CONGREGATION AND COMMUNITY:

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE AND IDENTITY IN THE SOUTH WEST WOOLLEN INDUSTRY, c.1760 to 1860

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ABSTRACT

The contribution of nonconformity to group collectivity and community identity has received little attention within historical archaeology. Religion was an integral part of socialisation during the industrial revolution, providing comfort and security, particularly in times of distress and instability. Durkheims' *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912) stressed the significant role which religious practice played in community solidarity, through shared history, ritual activity, and ceremony. Chapels were important locations for social interaction through worship activity, Sunday Schools, benefit societies and fundraising events.

In the woollen industry of South West England, a domestic craft industry had existed since the twelfth century, and increased mechanisation during the industrial period created real concerns for the cloth workers, as the traditions of their trade were threatened with extinction. This attachment to old traditions was emotionalised through increased riotous and protest activity from the early nineteenth century, until the industry's eventual decline in the 1850s.

Through analysis of the architectural elaborations and spatial locations of nonconformist chapels in seven case study areas, this research illustrates the significance of dissent in the expression of community identity. Detailed research into the social and economic contexts of this region within the time period reveals that nonconformist identities were not only visible in the built environment, but also in the social actions of the cloth workers, influencing their behaviour, political beliefs and relationships with their employers.

This research demonstrates that a study of religious observance is not only a valuable tool in understanding the socialisation and identities of the working classes, but also provides a timely and necessary study of the social archaeology of the industrial period.

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All photographs have been taken by the author unless otherwise stated

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DWL	Dr. Williams Library
Glos	Gloucestershire
GRO	Gloucestershire Records Office
NMR	National Monuments Record
RC	Religious Census 1851
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on the ancient and historical monuments of Wales
OS	Ordnance Survey
PRO	Public Records Office
N.D.	No Date
VCH	Victoria County History
Wilts	Wiltshire
WSRO	Wiltshire and Swindon Records Office

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This research uses archaeological techniques and documentary sources to question earlier historical interpretations of the role of nonconformity in the lives of the working classes engaged in the woollen industry in South West England between 1760 and 1860. More specifically it argues that religious observance – primarily of a dissenting origin – had a much wider reaching impact into the social and political landscape of the industrial revolution than previously considered. This research is both timely and necessary given the increasing focus within later historical archaeology on the social activities of the working classes and the trend to move away from traditional studies of industrial technology and processes that have previously dominated the discipline.

The study incorporates three main areas of enquiry, which will be outlined in Chapter 2 in greater detail. Firstly, this aims to evaluate to what extent the development of nonconformity was used by the employers in the cloth industry to control and manipulate the behaviour of their employees. Conversely, the study further examines how nonconformity may have affected, and contributed to, the community identity of the working classes and more specifically to assess whether it influenced their social behaviour with regards to resistance activity and independence from the state and work place in control. Thirdly, through examining such questions the research aims to evaluate how the rise of nonconformity, and the effect it had on the working classes and employers in the industry, impacted on the power relationships between the two, in order to understand more fully its role and significance throughout the industrial revolution.

Previous studies of the woollen industry in the South West of England have been largely based in social and economic history, with only some recognition of its social implications and the physical landscape (most notably by Palmer and Neaverson 2005). The archaeological methodology incorporated into this research enhances existing histories, building on and developing conclusions drawn from historical sources, in order to access

more fully the social context of the woollen industry, and its reflection in the urban landscape.

1.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 1 outlines the current place of religion in historical archaeology, and introduces the theoretical foundation to the research, illustrating the traditional studies of nonconformity in control and resistance strategies. It introduces the research area and case studies and the reasons for their choice, alongside the time parameters of the research. The physical and documentary sources used in the research are also briefly introduced.

Chapter 2 focuses on the theoretical framework for the research, building on the traditional theories of dissent outlined in **Chapter 1**. It incorporates an analysis of the role of doctrine in the social behaviour of the working classes, and introduces the premise that the social characteristic of religious observance contributed heavily to the development of community identity and group solidarity. Drawing on this theoretical framework, the research questions and objectives of the thesis will be addressed.

Chapter 3 introduces the methodological approaches used in the analysis, and highlights the validity of using architectural, spatial and documentary analysis to understand better the role of nonconformity, alongside other analyses that have also been incorporated into the research. The physical and documentary dataset is also presented, including an examination of its strength and limitations within the research.

Chapter 4 presents the development of the woollen industry and the growth of dissent in the South West, in order to provide the historical context to the research.

Chapter 5 provides the economic, social and religious history of six case studies to be used in the research. The social and physical growth of the town is also included, identified through historic maps and other documentary evidence. The locations of the chapels under

study are identified through GIS-based maps in order to illustrate their development in the locales.

Chapter 6 presents the results of the analysis, whilst **Chapter 7** provides the discussion and interpretation of these results.

Chapter 8 summarises the conclusions of the research, readdressing the research questions asked in **Chapter 2**, reiterating the significance of nonconformity in industrial communities. The chapter also introduces recommendations for further research which would expand this study. Finally, the importance and validity of this research within the broader social framework of industrial archaeology in the twenty-first century will be stressed, highlighting the significance of the study.

All appendices referred to within the research can be found in Volume 2 of the thesis.

1.2 RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE IN INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Michael Rix first defined industrial archaeology as the study of industrial processes and technologies, in *The Amateur Historian* in 1955, highlighting their need for preservation. In 1959 the Council for British Archaeology established a conference for the discipline, and by 1964 a quarterly journal had been launched (Hudson 1981: 155). More recently researchers have begun to explore the social archaeology of the industrial revolution although "too often the lives of those who worked, travelled and defended their communities are largely ignored by archaeologists who leave them to social historians" (Matthews 2003: 51), and the focus has been primarily on workplaces, processes and technologies as opposed to the leisure activities and social relationships of the period (Butt and Donachie 1979: 243). The English Heritage policy statement (1995: 1) on industrial archaeology characterises the discipline as the study of "capital investment, organised labour, technological development, and the scale of factory production". The statement's focus is on recording and managing the processes and the buildings housing them, with little stress on the significance of *social* structures and the need to understand and preserve

these. However, some studies have begun to readdress this, and more specifically the role of religion, in archaeological studies of the industrial period.

Nonconformist chapels have been regarded as "the foci of the emerging industrial culture" (Butt and Donachie 1979: 244), but their importance has largely been ignored in industrial archaeology. Existing studies, including the survey of nonconformist chapels in England (RCHME 1986) and the work of Stephen Hughes (2000) in South Wales, indicate the proliferation of such buildings within industrial communities. The RCHME thematic survey of nonconformist chapels (1986) provides a necessary starting point for the archaeologist studying nonconformity during the industrial revolution. However, it consists of a catalogue of chapels, including their date of construction, architectural style and architect, with occasionally a brief history. As such, it is useful for simple identification and basic information, but contains no social interpretation or analysis. The interpretation of nonconformist chapels by architectural and social historians has all too often focused merely on denominational similarities and differences, plans, and stylistic patterns, with little extensive study of their social impact however provide a useful introduction to the field (Lindley 1969; Powell 1980; Wakeling 1983).

Palmer and Neaverson sought to address this within *The Textile Industry of South West England: A Social Archaeology* (2005). They recognise the proliferation of chapel buildings within textiles communities of Wiltshire, deeming the number as 'striking', and are the first to draw the link between this high number and the riot activity that took place in the area in reaction to the introduction of new machinery and the factory system (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 114-115).

Stephen Hughes' work entitled *Copperopolis* (2000) is a detailed analysis of the copper industry around Swansea. One major focus of the work is to assess the role of paternalism and philanthropy of the industrialists through their provision of domestic and communal buildings, and religious structures. Hughes (2000) identifies the concept of designing settlements to ensure social control and encourage the docility of a large workforce, and sets to examine its extent through detailed analysis of historical documents and architecture. *Copperopolis* is one of the first archaeological studies to bring attention to the

role of religious buildings within the industrial revolution, using interpretive landscape approaches and architectural assessments in addition to historical documentation. His research also aims to examine how central chapels and churches were to the workforce, how they were funded, and assess whether the architecture was distinctive to Wales through the development of new architectural styles in chapel building. He highlights how churches and chapels may provide information on the human motivation for building these structures, assessing the value of faith alongside the aspirations of the workforce and their employers (Hughes 2000: 290-291). This work has built on the program of recording undertaken by the RCHME which sought merely to catalogue these structures.

Hughes recognises that "there may have also been a need to ensure social control and to ensure the docility of a large workforce by providing educational and religious buildings" (Hughes 2000: 241), also a significant theme within this research. He, in fact, discovered that in Swansea it was the workforce who funded the majority of chapel building, although the employers tolerated it through leasing land, laying foundation stones and speaking at opening services. He does not accept that the provision of religious buildings was a form of control but he does, however, highlight the competitive nature of chapels and churches through their constant expansion and elaboration in relation to each other. This can be interpreted as a degree of the significance of status and a way of attempting to assert authority (Anglicanism) or show independence and resistance (nonconformity), especially when considering that Anglican churches did not really need to be extended (Hughes 2000: 258).

Hughes' main conclusion is that paternalism played a significant role in the organisation of the copper industry around Swansea. *Copperopolis* is a valuable resource in the study of religious observance although since it was produced as a RCAHMW survey, the bias is on the surviving structures and technology. The incorporation of housing, schools and religious buildings, however, highlights the significance of social archaeology, and the work incorporates a multidisciplinary approach using historical accounts alongside architectural survey and a degree of landscape analysis.

Through studies such as these, it is clear that power relationships and their social manifestation through surveillance and control techniques, or resistance activity, are popular themes in current archaeologies of the industrial period. Ian Mellor's (2005) fascinating approach into examining social relationships, through the spatial layout of factory buildings in order to identify patterns of hierarchy and surveillance in the workplace, certainly highlights this increasing social focus within industrial archaeology.

Marilyn Palmer (2005b) has identified that the relationship between employer and employee is paramount in studies of industrial archaeology, incorporating aspects such as philanthropy and paternalism, its reflection on the physical historic environment, and the manipulation of power systems within industrial settlements. This research framework was incorporated into her social archaeology of the South West woollen industry, where paternalism, philanthropy and control by the employers were examined through the provision and construction of workers housing. The examination of resistance activity and independent expression by the working classes was also incorporated, in direct conflict the extent of control mechanisms (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 93-117).

However, it is not enough to consider the expression of identity, status and social relationships, purely through the conflicting concepts of *control* and *resistance*, although studies incorporating these themes have certainly developed studies of industrial archaeology. What is needed now is a deeper understanding of why these relationships developed, what their social impact was on the working classes, and its expression in the built landscape. It is not enough to determine the archaeology of the industrial period into either reflections of control, or reflections of resistance. There are wider themes that need to be considered, such as the increasing socialisation that took place as the workplace became more centralised, the class consciousness that developed as a result of these consolidating hierarchies, and the changing expressions of group identity and behaviour, both within and outside the workplace. The identity of the working classes and the employers is influenced not only by work patterns and structures, but by leisure activities – such as religion – which significantly contributes to our understanding of the industrial period, and the physical evidence we encounter (Palmer 2005b: 17). This research not only examines *whether* dissenting activity could be determined to be expressions of resistance or

control, but also examines *why* these religious activities developed, to obtain a more thorough understanding of their role, significance, and impact on industrial communities, and their position as markers of group identity.

The research by Lake *et. al* (2001) is one of the most valuable approaches in the study of nonconformity in the industrial revolution. The research uses a systematic approach to analysing the spatial arrangement of chapels within the urban landscape (focusing on Methodism in the mining communities of Cornwall), considering their impact on the community and the significance of architecture as symbols of identity. The work highlights the danger of making generalisations about these structures where the understanding of the social and historical context is ignored, and illustrates the need for regional and local studies with direct reference to the social context of the area (Lake *et.al* 2001: 11-13). This idea had previously been argued by David Wykes, in his 1990 essay on dissent and its influence in business and commercial success. Comparative regional studies allow the character of urban dissent and its local political significance and economic structure to be determined and assessed in greater detail, a theme utilised within this research.

The social impact of nonconformity and its significance within industrial archaeology is clearly a topic that is beginning to gain valuable ground in the field. One study by David Gwyn (2004: 48) on the slate quarrying landscape of Moel Tryfan in Gwynedd has examined the role of nonconformity in influencing political behaviour and social interaction. Gwyn argues that the growth in nonconformity resulted in a reduction of mob-like behaviour (such as riot activity, sheep maiming and destruction of property) towards political, social and economic distresses. He further argues that the emphasis that nonconformity placed on respectable behaviour, moral conduct and temperance created a more politically and socially aware community. The chapels and burial grounds in the area were important markers of religious and social identity (Holtorf and Williams 2006: 239).

The role of religion, and more specifically nonconformity, within the industrial period is evidently a significant area of research. Many eminent industrial archaeologists have stressed its significance within the discipline (Palmer and Neaverson 2005; Nevell 2006), whilst others have begun to incorporate them into wider studies of the period (Hughes

2000; Lake *et al* 2001; Gwyn 2004). However, despite the growing number of references to the significance of religion and the increasingly socially-orientated nature of industrial archaeology, there has been no large-scale, in-depth archaeological study entirely dedicated to the subject. It is clear that the religious structure of a society has wide reaching effects into community identity, political behaviour and social action, however there has been no approach that has attempted to explain why or how this is so. This research aims to readdress this deficit in archaeological studies of the industrial revolution.

1.3 TRADITIONAL STUDIES OF DISSENT

Stephen Hughes' work in South Wales (2000) assessed the role of control and manipulation of the workforce through the influence of religious worship and, although he didn't believe that this was the case in his region, focusing more on the impact of paternalism and philanthropy, this foundation emerged from a long standing theoretical tradition. Gwyn's (2004) conclusions, that the increase in religious observance reduced mob-like behaviour, stems also from this foundation. That religion produced an element of submissiveness in the workforce, and contributed to a decline in radicalism and an increase in morality and good behaviour, is the traditional approach developed by notable historians and sociologists such as Elie Halévy (1949), Karl Marx (1970 [1844]) and E.P Thompson (1991).

Palmer and Neaverson's (2005) perceptive observation of the growth of chapels alongside riot activity originates from a second (and more recent) theoretical approach advocated by scholars such as A.D. Gilbert (1976), James Bradley (1990), Huw Beynon and Terry Austrin (1994), and Hugh McLeod (2000). These scholars argued that dissent, rather than creating a more acquiescent workforce, contributed to an increase in social and political awareness and activity, a greater independence from traditional state authorities, and produced a more politically mobile working class. The chapel structures themselves have been largely ignored in previous studies. Their significance as places to create subservience or as locations to hatch reform and resistance activities have been massively underplayed; through examination of the physical structures themselves, their function and

significance can be better understood. In order to appreciate the impact and role of the physical structures themselves, the traditional theoretical approaches need to be evaluated. It is these approaches which have dictated the development of the research questions outlined in Chapter 3, and the design and process of the analysis undertaken.

1.3.1 'The opium of the people' and 'spiritual booze'

A History of the English People (1949) was Elie Halévy's most influential - and later highly criticised – piece of work. It focused on the growth of nonconformity, particularly Methodism, as a mechanism for preventing a revolution in Britain at a time when revolutionary spirit was sweeping across Europe in the eighteenth century. Halévy concluded that the stabilising influence of Methodism in this period had transformed the English spirit so profoundly that the labour force lost the desire to revolt (Halévy 1949, Vol.1: 425). He argued that, in order to revolt, the working class required the leadership of the middle and elite working classes, but these groups had been so captivated by the evangelical revival that no leaders could be found. Nonconformity, notably Methodism, caused an "uninterrupted decline in revolutionary spirit" (Halévy 1949, Vol. 1: 425) through teaching submission and loyalty to the state, and advising its followers to accept their position in society. Evangelical religion, according to Halévy, emphasised hard work, discipline, and loyalty to the state, and thereby reduced the working class tendency to use political action (Hopkins 1979:80). Wesleyan Methodism was essentially conservative in nature and, therefore, speaking out or criticising the government was not acceptable (Hill 1973: 189). Although Halévy was primarily concerned with the influence of Methodism, he did view this socio-religious phenomenon as filtering through into other branches of Evangelical sects. However, his analysis of this was very limited and Methodism remained the focus of his discussion.

Nevertheless, Halévy's idea that religion had such a powerful influence over the social infrastructure of the working class is paramount to this research. E.P Thompson, in his work entitled *The Making of the English Working Class* (1991), supported the Halévy thesis and further developed it. His work differs from Halévy's through a more negative

approach to the value of religion, arguing that evangelical religion indoctrinated a sense of shame and guilt, and that these doctrines, both within chapel life and in Sunday schools, were predominantly focused on preparing the masses for the world of work (Ditchfield 1998: 86). Thompson is far more precise about the fluctuating membership of Methodism than Halévy, significantly noticing that membership rates appeared to *increase* at a faster rate in periods of political instability notably around the time of the French Revolution. Where Halévy considered the primary beneficiaries of Methodism to be the middle classes, Thompson believed them to be the working classes (Thompson 1991: 42). Thompson's extensive chronological framework concludes that it was only after hopes for political gain had been quashed, that religious popularity revived.

Using religion as an instrument to create subordination was not a new idea and was certainly evident in the period under study. Andrew Ure in his *Philosophy of Manufactures* claimed in 1835 that "persons not trained up in moral and religious nurture, necessarily become, from the evil bent of human nature, the slaves of prejudice and vice..[]..and they are apt to regard their best benefactor, the enterprising and frugal capitalist who employs them, with a jealous and hostile eye" (Ure 1967 [1835]: 407).

This idea was also incorporated in to the work of Karl Marx (1970 [1844]). Although Marx never studied religion in much detail, he was influenced by the writings of Feuerbach. In *The Essence of Christianity* (first published in 1841) Feuerbach defined religion as the elevation of human ideas and values onto divine forces, enabling socially defined actions and values to be ascribed to the actions of the gods. It is only through the acknowledgement that our religious values are merely our own social values that those values can be achieved physically on earth (Feuerbach 1957 [1841]: 13-15, 274). In his *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'* Marx developed this idea by arguing that religion was a fantasy world, created in order to ease the pain and suffering of the unjust material world. He saw the religious world as epiphenomenal to the material world, and believed that only by readdressing the inequalities of the material world and reducing the self alienation that religion represents could a 'true democracy' be achieved (Marx 1970 [1844]: 31).

His famous phrase in which he described religion as 'the opium of the people' illustrates his dislike of the influence of religion on the working class, considering it to be a drug that produces an illusory happiness without real fulfilment (Marx 1970 [1844]: 131). Religion defers true happiness to the afterlife, influencing people to accept their material conditions on earth, and blinding people to the inequalities and injustices around them (Giddens 2001: 537). Historians have suggested that the doctrines of Anglicanism taught that the social structure was divinely ordained by God, who created different orders in society, and inequality in rank, wealth and power (Hart 1977: 108; Underdown 1985: 9). Lenin (1978 [1905]: 43) further re-classed Marx's view of religion as the 'spiritual booze' of the working classes.

These approaches clearly indicate how historians have regarded the significance of religion in producing a subservient working class. Many reformers, essayists, political figures and philosophers argued that the answer to social and moral reform lay in nurture and development by those of property – the employers and prominent social and economic figures of the time. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, although famous for his classical poetry, was also a political essayist and philosopher. Two of his works, *Two Lay Sermons* (1816) and *Specimens of Table Talk* (1835) examined the moral and social responsibility of the propertied classes, believing that it was these classes, as opposed to the church and state that could best improve the social conditions of the poor (Roberts 1979: 44). A contemporary of Coleridge, Robert Southey, was also well known for his criticism of the manufacturing industry and its mistreatment of the poor, describing industrial towns by saying "I thought if Dante had peopled one of his hells with children, here was a scene worthy enough to have supplied him with images of torment" (*Letters from England*, cited in Carnall 1964: 11). Influenced by the ventures of Robert Owen, in his essay entitled *Essay V: On the State of the Poor, and the Means Pursued by the Society for Bettering their Condition* (Southey 1971 [1832]: 212) he promoted benevolence by landlords and employers. This was further developed by Thomas Carlyle who, in his works entitled *Chartism* (1839), and *Past and Present* (1843), illustrated that guidance, governance and moral welfare needed to be more authoritative. The widespread rural poverty, overworked and undernourished factory children, slum life, and overcrowding in cities motivated him to

denounce the current role of the clergy and government, and promote property paternalism over that of the church and state (Roberts 1979: 31).

The industrial revolution had a significant impact on the rise of paternalism; however paternalism was not merely a result of a need to improve social and moral welfare. Thomas Arnold, schoolmaster and historian, asked in 1832 "has the world ever seen a population as dangerous…as the manufacturing population of Great Britain, crowded together in their most formidable masses?" (cited in Roberts 1979: 58). As riot activity in towns increased through Chartism and other social reform movements, a fear of the power of the working classes developed. Dependency and deference were paramount, since "the due subordination of one class beneath another lies at the very basis of all social happiness" (Hart,1977: 108). Isaac Watts claimed in the 1720s that the purpose of Sunday and Charity schools was "to impress upon the tender minds…the duties…of humility and submission to superiors (in Flinn 1967: 16).

The line, therefore, between being a benevolent and paternalistic employer, and maintaining parameters of control and deference is indistinct. Whether the clothiers were involved in religious culture because they believed, or because they wanted to watch over their employees is even less clear, and the use of religious observance as a means of creating social dependency - and therefore control - is very hazy. These ties of social dependency produced deference in the workforce. Joyce (1980: 92) explains this as "the social relationship that converts power relations into moral ones and ensures the stability of hierarchy".

It is necessary to stress that nonconformist sects can not be grouped together. They had significantly different doctrines with a variety of teaching. The more radical sects, for example the Quakers, believed in universal equality for all, and therefore clearly challenged the idea of an hierarchical social system (Acheson 1995: 69-70). They questioned the social order through their rejection of ministry and ecclesiastical structure, and refusal to pay tithes (Underdown 1985: 250-251); however they were essentially pacifist in nature. Although the writings of Halévy, Thompson and Marx are vital in considering the role of dissent in industrial Britain, they are nonetheless limited through their tendency to group all nonconformist sects as one. The example of the Quakers alongside the almost High Church

Anglicanism of Wesleyan Methodism illustrates that such generalisations about dissent are too negligently made. Historians such as A.D Gilbert (1976) and G.M Ditchfield (1998) have argued that local level politics and chapel culture offer much greater interpretative opportunities in assessing the link between social/religious behaviour and political activity (or lack of it) than a national generalised approach; this has contributed greatly to the regional approach adopted within this research. Local politics, paternalism, religious affiliation and social behaviour need to be considered within their own specific contexts, alongside the recognition of distinct doctrinal differences, in order to more fully appreciate the impact of nonconformity in working class culture.

1.3.2 Religion and resistance strategies

McLeod (2000: 6) has argued that joining a chapel was a symbol of independence and a rejection of state control and politics in the industrial period. For the most part the new Evangelical sects advocated equality and liberalism, rejecting excessive hierarchy, and predestination. However, doctrinal differences of the sects make it preferable to avoid such generalisations. Wesleyan Methodists, for example, still maintained a degree of hierarchy on a national scale, with overall control administered by the Conference, whereas the Congregationalists opted for self management within their own communities, with little regard for interior or exterior hierarchy. This idea was followed even more rigorously by the Quakers. The Presbyterians, who later became largely Unitarian, also used a more Anglican style of organisation with a greater emphasis on control of the church by a group of elders (Acheson 1995 46).

Calvinistic Methodists and Particular Baptists maintained a belief in predestination (salvation for the elected few), whereas the Wesleyan Methodists, General Baptists, and Congregationalists followed the Armenian view of salvation for all. It is therefore difficult to equate behaviour with generalised doctrinal beliefs. Through Calvinistic nonconformist sects and the Established Church, the poor could believe that their salvation was predestined and therefore whatever their activities on earth, they would still be saved (or not).

For those denominations which did advocate salvation for all their followers were in control of their own deliverance, which, as Wykes (1987: 436) believes, gave them more conviction to pursue their social ambitions and defend their beliefs and customs. The radical notion that all men were equal before God certainly disrupted the emphasis on social deference within families, local communities and the workplace, and Wykes argues that this influence gave the working classes greater aspiration to create a just society (Wykes 1987: 434). However, to what extent these doctrines actually affected radical and political behaviour is still debateable and will be considered in more detail in Chapter 2.

This research argues that the increase in protest activity in the woollen industry is in part a product of the social cohesion and intellectualism that developed from chapel culture. Riots and protest activity, both violent and peaceful, increased in scale, and the form of protest indicates a higher level of organisation. Archer (2000) argued that local popular protest and riotous activity were primarily conservative in approach. Thompson's (1971) analysis of eighteenth century food riots illustrated that riot activity was not purely reactionary, but an expression of the desire to preserve traditional customs and values. The rioters' activities were legitimised through popular consensus developed through shared experience and perceptions of their own plight. This same approach can be applied to the South West woollen workers. The cloth workers feared the factory, for the change it brought in customs that they were used to. Having strict working hours, controlled breaks, and more surveillance meant a loss of freedom and a "conscious resistance to the passing of an old way of life" (Thompson 1991: 448). Higher unemployment through trade depression and increased mechanisation also resulted in lower wages for the traditional craft industries, a second influence to protest and riot activity.

Some religious groups were certainly associated with specific political parties, and therefore there must have been some force or phenomenon that allowed this relationship to flourish. The Tories were regularly associated with, and sought to gain the vote of, Anglicans and traditional Protestant groups who favoured patriotism, loyalty to the crown and state and a respect for authority. Catholicism and dissent were usually linked to the more liberal political parties favouring democracy, egalitarianism and independence (McLeod 2000: 234).

James Bradley, in his study of religion and radicalism in the eighteenth century (1990), similarly argued that nonconformity specifically challenged the system of deference and inequality that the state (and therefore the established Church) advocated, and, as a result of this, dissent was largely associated with urban radicalism and unrest. He stated that "they did contribute directly to the evolution of radical ideology and the development of advanced political methods" (Bradley 1990: 5). This is also highlighted by A.D. Gilbert (1976: 79) who argued that as soon as the deference system created and controlled by Anglicanism began to break down, the resentment it produced resulted in mob culture.

T.J. Taylor, a government commissioner examining the conditions of the Durham coal mines, stated in 1844 that "the local preachers, the chief speakers at these prayer meetings were the men, who, by a certain command of language, and by an energetic tone and manner, had acquired an influence over their fellow workmen, and were invariably the chief promoters and abettors of the strike" (Beynon and Austrin 1994: 35). Even Methodism, in its later years, became associated with challenges to the social system. Many Methodists were known in the nineteenth century for their connections with Chartism, trade unionism and political action (Morgan 2004: 45). Methodist recruitment grew in times of political instability, and could have ultimately been an outlet for the social grievances of the working class (Gibson 1994: 81; Hobsbawm 1957: 124). Halévy himself saw the later Methodism of the nineteenth century in a similar light stating that

The majority of the leaders of the great trade-union movement that would arise in England within a few years of 1815 will belong to the nonconformist sects. They will often be local preachers, that is practically speaking ministers. Their spiritual ancestors were the founders of Methodism (Halévy 1949, Vol. 1: 425).

Before 1824, 'trade unions' were unlawful due to the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800, yet the Wiltshire Outrages of 1802 imply that these restrictions had little impact. The Outrages saw much riotous activity against lowering wage rates and increased mechanisation, and eventually culminated in strike action at Warminster, Trowbridge and other smaller settlements, costing the clothiers around eight thousand pounds in Trowbridge alone (Randall 1991:149-166). This activity implies that the woollen workers maintained some form of collaborative and group organisation in order to cause so much

strife. The South West woollen industry was based on the putting out system, where one person (the clothier) organised all the processes in the production of cloth. The clothiers would buy the wool and pass it on to the spinners, and from there the spun wool would be given to the weavers to weave. After this, the cloth would be passed to those in the finishing trades, and finally to a merchant for marketing either in the domestic market, or for export abroad (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 45-46). As a result of this system the working classes in the industry were scattered regionally, reducing the opportunity and ability to engage in social interaction, traditionally considered as an obstacle in creating collective social organisation (Bohstedt 1983: 134; Randall 1988: 33). However, the organisational element of the Wiltshire Outrages, and similar protest activity, suggests this was not so. Therefore, there must have been some element of social interaction occurring to enable this activity to take place. Inns (venues for food, drink and lodgings), alehouses (a lower class premises, which only provided drinks), and taverns (premises where food and drink but not lodgings could be obtained) were popular locations for social and political interaction. Inns and alehouses were commonplace in the case studies, as discussed further in Chapter 5.

However, within this research I argue that nonconformist chapels also played a critical role, as a location for social activities, and also through increasing literacy through education, and developing leadership and organisational skills. By advocating personal interpretation of the scriptures (which could be transmitted onto wider subjects such as politics), and through the management and organisation of benefit societies and clubs, the working classes gained skills and experience that may have affected their behaviour outside the chapel community.

Beynon and Austrin's (1994: 34) analysis of the Durham coal mines shows that Primitive Methodism from the 1820s became closely associated with early trade union activity in the area. Tommy Hepburn, a miner, became a preacher for the Primitive Methodists and was closely associated to union organisation. The Stroud Valley in the 1820s saw some workers establishing militant unions incorporating support from the chapel elders (Urdank 1990). Evans (1983: 167) goes as far as saying that union activity survived during the period of the Combination Acts under the guise of 'friendly societies', with a hazy

distinction between these and union meetings. Beynon and Austrin (1994: 200) further conclude that the Methodist chapels did provide centres for trade union activities by the 1850s and 1860s.

It has also been argued that chapels also represented a *symbolic* independence from their employers. By subscribing to nonconformity, and through attending chapels, the workforce was outwardly rejecting the values of the established Church and the State. Gilbert's (1976: 84) pioneering study sees this as a symbolic reflection of the ideology of the established Church and as a representation of independence. This covert form of resistance could be more easily and safely adopted by members, without fear of imprisonment for political activity, and is therefore a fundamental consideration within this research. It is this covert activity that would have happened on a day-to-day basis that needs further investigation. This research aims to determine whether this rejection of the ideological values of the established Church and the state can be witnessed within the physical landscape, an approach that has never been undertaken archaeologically at this level and with as much detail.

This section has outlined the two broad theoretical interpretations that have been traditionally associated with studies of dissent. The clear polar opposites in the argument are therefore *to what extent religion created a more subservient and controlled working class community*, and, at the other end of the spectrum, how it may have *increased working class independence, resistance to authority, and contributed to political radicalism*. However, to consider the contribution of religion to working class culture in either one or the other is not helpful, and an element of both must be considered to understand the impact of dissent more widely. It is not enough to fit religious observance into either of these parameters, but to try to understand the underlying themes that allow either of these approaches to gain credibility.

This research aims to examine the fundamental cause for this traditional association between nonconformity and political or social activity, and to further argue that the primary influence for this was the socialisation and group collectivity that developed as a result of increased religiosity (see Chapter 2). Moreover, it seeks to determine that the architectural symbolism and spatial location of nonconformist chapels reflect this increased socialisation

and collectivity in the physical landscape using an approach that has not previously been incorporated into this subject area on such a large scale. By considering the impact of nonconformity through the physical and visual expression of chapel structures, a better understanding of its role in daily social and political life can be achieved.

1.4 GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OF RESEARCH

As Wykes (1990) points out, local and regional studies contain much more opportunity for detailed analysis with avoidance of large-scale generalisations, therefore this study focuses on the woollen industries specifically in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. The detailed case studies chosen for this research are based within two geographical regions. The first lies in West Wiltshire and uses **Trowbridge** (including the nearby village of **Staverton**), and **Bradford upon Avon** as the locations for the archaeological analysis of religious observance. These towns were two primary centres of woollen cloth production in the county until the mid nineteenth century. The second area is in South Central Gloucestershire and uses **Stroud**, **Uley**, **Dursley** and **Cam** as the focus of the investigation, which were, again, prosperous clothing centres. The social, economic and religious histories of each of these case studies will be presented in greater detail in Chapter 5. The South West is an ideal location for this research due to the wealth of surviving buildings relating to the woollen industry, and the quantity of historical records that enhance the research. Figure 1.4a illustrates the locations of each of the case studies within Gloucestershire and Wiltshire.

Figure 1.4a removed for copyright reasons

Figure 1.4a: The locations of the case studies within the research (adapted from Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 8)

Due to the scattered nature of the workforce, the putting out system on which the industry was based makes the landscape complex and difficult to examine. The new model factory towns such as Cromford, Saltaire, and New Lanark are far simpler subjects of study, where the social infrastructure was constructed especially for the developing industrial community. In the South West, the industry had been based on a domestic level for many centuries where the social infrastructure including housing, inns, churches, and workshops had already been established. Where housing and the social infrastructure had already been created, the issue of paternalism and philanthropy is more difficult to determine. The South West woollen industry, therefore, has witnessed little large scale archaeological

interpretation due to its complicated social structure and scattered arrangement, tackled only by Palmer and Neaverson (2005), making it a prime target for further detailed analysis and interpretation.

The case study locations, highlighted earlier, clearly demonstrate the richness of the surviving evidence which is invaluable for the analysis (see Chapter 5 for further detail). This is primarily in the form of surviving chapel and church structures, domestic housing, factories and loom shops. Where the surviving structures are less abundant, historic maps and documentary evidence can contribute to the study. The following criteria have influenced the selection of the chosen case studies:

- Survival of chapels and churches
- Survival of domestic housing and social structures
- Survival of woollen manufacturing buildings
- Extent of historic map and documentary evidence
- Level of riot or resistance activity within the town
- Status and prosperity of the cloth industry

The difference in the type of protest activity within the two counties has also been a primary influence in choosing Gloucestershire and Wiltshire as the primary regions for study. The weavers and cloth workers of Wiltshire had been known for their riotous behaviour from the early sixteenth century (Rogers 1986: 26), in response to bad harvests and food shortages. Riots were common in Bradford and Trowbridge - the majority of which were in reaction to the introduction of machinery, such as at Bradford in 1791 and Trowbridge in 1792 (Randall 1991: 80-83). The behaviour of the Wiltshire cloth workers culminated in the aforementioned Wiltshire Outrages in 1802, where

strike action, rioting and mob behaviour were commonplace. The following table (figure 1.4b) summarises the main events of the Outrages. The decline in the cloth industry in the late 1820s witnessed further disruptive behaviour, and together clearly shows that the behaviour in Wiltshire amongst the cloth workers was both aggressive and controversial.

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF EVENT
20th May	A cart cloth of a Mr Bayley (Calstone Mills, Devizes) is attacked and destroyed
15th June	A rick of oats belonging to Peter Warren is burnt
c20th June	A gun fired into the lodgings of another clothier firm, Messrs Bleek and Strode
29th June	Gun fired into chambers of Henry Wansey as cloth workers from Trowbridge and Westbury assembled for a union meeting
6th July	Homes of John Jones (clothier) and Daniel Baker (worker of Wansey's) fired into
13th July	A barn and stable owned by Peter Warren burnt down
14th July	The first attack on Jones' Staverton Mill over shearing frames
15th July	Mill and home of John Newton burnt down, possibly over gig mills
16th July	Stephen James' (blackleg) home attacked and demolished by the mob
19th July	A rick owned by Mr Tanner (clothier of Bradford) burnt down
22nd July	A mill at Littleton owned by Francis Naish attacked by a small group
24th July	Troops dispatched to Twerton Mills, Paul Newman lost 2 more ricks, also troops stationed at Edward Phillips mill at Melksham
26th July	Bradford shearmen meet with John Jones, but no solution reached. Strike continues.
28th July	Second attack on Staverton Mill, patrol of mounted dragoons arrived.
29th July	An unoccupied house belonging to John Jones burnt down

Figure 1.4b: A summary of the main events of the Wiltshire Outrages of 1802 (adapted from Randall 1991: 149-164).

In Gloucestershire, riotous activity was more scattered than and not as numerous as in Wiltshire. Mob behaviour was on a smaller scale, and certainly didn't culminate in anything that could be called 'Outrages'. The Gloucestershire cloth workers chose more peaceful routes in legal petitioning and strikes. Some rioting did occur in 1766-7 over turnpikes (Porter, 1990: 100), over machinery (Woodchester, 1792), and against wage rates (Uley, 1792) (Bebbington 2003: 41; Perry 2003: 77). The 1820s witnessed an increase in violent action, where in Wotton under Edge in 1825 a large group of weavers smashed the windows of a clothier's house (Perry 2003: 115), and in 1828 a mob of weavers attacked Edward Sheppard's weavers in Uley who were working for the clothiers, below the regulated price (Perry 2003: 117). However, despite these few aggressions the reactions in Gloucestershire were largely peaceful affairs. Legal petitioning developed from the mid-

eighteenth century for wage regulation (Moir 1957: 262; Randall 1988: 32), the limitation of scribbling machinery (Perry 2003: 96), and the re-establishment of old statutes protecting the cloth worker's status in the industry (Bebbington 2003: 42).

Despite the differences in protest activity between Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, whether peaceful or violent, the scattered nature of the workforce - traditionally considered to be a hindrance in creating group cohesiveness and effective action – did not prevent combined action, and this thesis aims to evaluate whether this was improved through the collectivity developed by the emergence and growth in chapel activity.

1.5 TIME PERIOD UNDER STUDY

This study evaluates to what extent religious observance contributed to the development of community identity and collectivity, with specific focus on its manifestations within resistance movements and local politics. Consequently the time frame of circa 1760 to 1860 was chosen as it incorporates the period when the domestic textile industry was still prolific, incorporating the slow (and definitely not smooth) transition into the workshop and factory. Religiously, 1760 forms a period where the popularity of the Evangelical Revival was beginning to sweep through urban communities, after the apathy towards religion of the previous fifty years. During the first half of the nineteenth century evangelicalism continued to increase, and was counter-acted by the re-emergence of popular Anglicanism, culminating in the first (and only) Religious Census to be undertaken, in 1851, which provides a valuable historical source of information for this research. The period under study also witnessed a growth and diversity of protest and resistance activities, largely in response to increasing mechanisation in the woollen industry.

1.6 SOURCES

The study uses documentary and physical evidence to answer the research questions. The archaeological evidence is the primary tool for analysis and incorporates over 50 chapels

within the case studies that were present in the landscape within the time period 1760 to 1860, and consequently the building evidence exhibits a wide range of architectural styles and features dating from the late seventeenth century (the earliest being the Grove Chapel in Bradford, dating to 1698) to 1858 (Providence Baptist Chapel, Bradford). A detailed review of the extent of survival of the physical evidence can be found in Chapter 3.

Documentary evidence further complements the study and this research benefits from a wide selection of available sources to aid analysis, which are detailed further in Chapter 3, such as the first edition Ordnance Survey maps and other maps, Chapel Records Books including members' rolls, accounts and meeting minutes, religious and social census information dating from 1676 to 1861, wills, a Government Commission on the woollen industry in Gloucestershire, nineteenth and early twentieth-century photography and paintings. Recent publications on the history of the woollen industry, nonconformity and political activity have also been incorporated.

Although the documentary evidence has provided a valuable resource for the research, the physical evidence is the primary tool for the analysis. The wealth of surviving evidence of the religious structures allows interpretation of the role of nonconformity to be developed further than documentary evidence alone could allow. By assessing the changing styles of chapel architecture in conjunction with the spatial position of chapels in the urban landscape the research illustrates that nonconformity reflected more than just religiosity. The symbolism and ideology it advertised had much wider reaching effects than previously considered. Through using a landscape archaeology approach never previously undertaken on this scale, the significance of nonconformist chapels and their influence on the surrounding community both within the domestic sphere and in the workplace will be evaluated.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH

The introductory chapter has outlined the two traditional themes that have emerged through historical and sociological studies of dissent, namely its role as either a controlling mechanism over the working classes, or as a contributory factor in the development of resistance strategies. However, although these two approaches provide a useful theoretical framework for the study of the impact of religion in the industrial revolution, few studies have used an archaeological approach to examine why the relationship between nonconformity and political subservience or radicalism in the industrial revolution actually existed, and the implications that this association had. The purpose of this research is to understand more fully the role and position of religious observance, with particular reference to nonconformity in this period, and to assess the social experience of religion from an archaeological perspective. This chapter aims to introduce the theoretical framework of the research by considering how social behaviour was often at odds with the doctrinal beliefs of different nonconformist sects. This thesis then argues that religion played a significant role not only in the individual faiths of the members, but also had an extensive effect on the wider community. Religious observance is one aspect of social identity that has been often ignored in archaeologies of the industrial period, and this chapter aims to illustrate why this subject is so necessary in understanding the period more fully.

2.1 DOCTRINE AND PUBLIC BEHAVIOUR

The diversity of nonconformist sects culminated in a huge variety of doctrines that often revolved around attitudes towards salvation, the use (or rejection) of sacramental worship including Baptism and Communion, the liturgy, the organisation of the church, and the fundamental beliefs in God (for instance Trinitarianism, Unitarianism, and Arianism). The huge variation in codes of belief would have made a united circle of followers acting as one

body to achieve a common goal difficult, and the different denominations often challenged each other over doctrinal differences. In 1739 George Whitefield openly reproached John Wesley over predestination, and even after Whitefield's death in 1770 the clash between the Wesleyans and the Calvinists continued in a pamphlet war (Ditchfield 1998: 72). One man in Dursley is known to have changed from Calvinistic Methodism to Wesleyan by the late-eighteenth century, and it is unlikely that he was alone in this move (Evans 1982: 99). Moreover, the development of other sects was anything but harmonious and internal secessions were frequent. The Emmanuel Chapel in Trowbridge was formed through a secession from the Conigre Chapel in 1736 (VCH Wilts 7: 159), whilst the Zion Chapel in Bradford was formed when a group of Independents left the Morgans Hill Chapel in 1823, later to be joined by some Baptists from the Old Baptist Chapel in 1842 (VCH Wilts 7: 34). Sometimes this even culminated in a mass exodus of members who proceeded to change their religious allegiance and open a new chapel, such as in the secession of Independent Methodists from the Calvinistic Dursley Tabernacle in 1825 (Evans 1982: 144). On top of internal arguments, the dissenters faced further hostility, particularly from the Anglican Church. When John Wesley arrived to preach in Devizes, Wiltshire, "the town was in uproar from end to end, as if the French were just entering" (VCH Wilts 3: 128), whilst in Bradford upon Avon both Charles and John Wesley were met with a frosty reception, the former even receiving a threatening letter (VCH Wilts 7: 36).

The Unitarians also received much hostility from both within dissenting circles, and from the Established Church. They were famously excluded, alongside the Catholics, from the 1689 Toleration Act, which was repealed in 1813, although hostilities towards them both continued in to the middle of the nineteenth century. Their vocalised sympathies with the French Revolution were resented by other nonconformists, as it brought the whole of dissent under suspicion (Ditchfield 1998: 89). Unitarians were certainly the dissenting group to receive the most persecution from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, because they were considered to be radicals and revolutionaries (Flinn 1967: 24; Gandy 2001: 45). Anti-Catholic tendencies were also prevalent, and they had been excluded from civil and municipal office in the Act of Uniformity and Test Acts in addition to the aforementioned Toleration Act. Not until the Catholic Emancipation Act was introduced in 1829 were the disabilities enforced by these acts repealed (Gibson 1994: 144).

It is clear, therefore, that from the mid-eighteenth century, nonconformist sects faced severe problems in unity as a result of their differing doctrines. The doctrines themselves were often theologically confused by those of even a high status. Wesley commented that some of the Wesleyan Methodists were "almost as ignorant as if they had never heard the gospel" (cited in Gilbert 1976: 72). Certainly many of the members of chapel congregations were not so moved by faith that they always behaved piously. Section 2.3 gives further information on the offences that often resulted in suspension, or even exclusion. It is clear that although the doctrines of religious sects provided the foundation for worship, they did not always manifest themselves in acceptable social behaviour.

Yet, within the social and political sphere, such behaviour was often encouraged by many denominational leaders. John Wesley focused much of his early teachings on equality, moderate reform and the promotion of free-thought, literacy, and personal interpretation of the Bible. This allegedly developed "unsettling states of mind" whereby converts who believed God was the highest being became reluctant to accept orders from earthly masters, and aspired to social freedom and mobility (Walsh 2002: 230). This is evident, for example, at Ebley Chapel in Stroud, where the preacher, Benjamin Parsons, was a significant influence in local social reform movements (GRO, NC97: 623).

However, by the early nineteenth century, under the leadership of Wesley's successor as president of the Methodist Conference, Jabez Bunting, the actions of the Wesleyans had become more conservative. Through activities such as prohibiting female preaching, condemning day long 'camp meetings', producing propaganda in *The Methodist Magazine* supporting the monarchy and establishment, and condemning insubordination in the lower classes, they expressed their support for the status quo (Thompson 1991: 387). The character of Puddleham in Trollope's *The Vicar of Bullhampton*, published in 1870, portrays this stereotypical view of Bunting-esque Methodism (Trollope 1924). The Primitive Methodists, who had developed from 1811 under the leadership of Bourne and Clowes, were considered by outsiders to have supernatural beliefs and 'ranter' elements' as a result of the trances, hysteria, and visions that seemed to occur in Primitive Methodist meetings. This worried the Government -and the Wesleyans- so profoundly that they considered banning itinerant preaching.

The diversity in doctrine and the denominational reactions to social and political behaviour is clearly evident. There were certainly some sects who were far more radical in their belief systems (such as the Primitive Methodists) who would have been more sympathetic to reform movements. However, there was simply too much heterogeneity in doctrinal belief systems to ensure a united reform, or even radical, movement that would directly link nonconformity to political activity.

So, if the doctrines of nonconformist sects were so diverse and constantly modified, there must have been a further element associated with nonconformity that allowed dissent to be more closely associated with political activity. This research argues that the fundamental root of this connection was a result of the *social* relationships that developed through chapel culture. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries riots and protest activity tended to be local affairs, with specific targets often particular to the immediate region, stemming from a common concern or disillusionment (Bohstedt 1983: 3; Archer 2000: 60). This was certainly true for the cloth workers of South West England. The difference in the nature of action undertaken against grievances in the woollen industry is clearly evident between Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. Bohstedt (1983: 5) has argued that these local politics were not necessarily anti-institutional, and more concerned with retaining traditional customs, as opposed to revolutionising the industry, which would certainly complement dissenting teachings more readily.

Through the consideration of the nature of local politics, and the lack of consistency of doctrinal beliefs, this research argues that the fundamental cause for the link between nonconformity and political activity lies *outside* specific religious beliefs, yet within the social boundaries of it. More specifically, the mentality that allowed dissent to be so closely associated with political activity was social, rather than religious, yet was largely enhanced by religious activity.

The remainder of this chapter aims to illustrate how nonconformity developed an improved group collectivity within communities, through a sense of belonging, mutual aid, literacy and social interaction. This *community identity*, formed as a product of religious observance through chapel society, was the intrinsic factor linking political activity to nonconformity. Based on the writings of Foucault, Durkheim, and more recent social

historians such as Snell (2006), Morgan (1978), Hostetler (1978), Gilbert (1976), McLeod (2000), and Brace *et al*. (2006), the following sections argue that religion played a significant role in consolidating collective identities through shared beliefs, practices and experiences, a change in moral attitudes, and literacy and learning, which can be readily identified both within individual congregations, and also in the effects of these influences in the wider society. Prior to this, however, the validity of identity studies within archaeology needs to be assessed in order to understand how, and why, community identity (and the impact it had on the cloth workers of the South West woollen industry) is so significant for this study.

2.2 THE IDENTITY DEBATE IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Identity is a concept that has dominated archaeological interpretation for a number of years now (for example see Graves-Brown 1995; Giles 2000; Casella and Fowler 2004; Díaz-Andreu *et. al* 2005; Insoll 2007a). Archaeologists make use of numerous forms of material evidence, over a range of scales, in order to study historic cultures, through the "small things forgotten" (Deetz 1996) like grave stones, pottery, or small finds, to buildings individually and grouped together, to mounds in the landscape, to entire regional urban and rural landscapes. In the period studied within this research documentary evidence, records, art and contemporary fictional works are also valuable. Insoll (2007: 13) has argued that, due to the biased nature of archaeological remains (i.e. we get only what survives), their use in understanding identities is limited. The fact that objects *do* survive, however, is of critical significance. The analysis of the relationship between an object and an identity can be a legitimate approach since objects that have been produced, used, and reused reflect the social and cultural ideology of a group (Hides 1995: 26). This idea is advocated fiercely by 'post-processual archaeologists'. Material culture is not merely a passive record of past cultures, but its use and meaning is affected and manipulated by human agency, and the use and meaning of these artefacts is dependent on the context of the social system of that specific time-space situation. Human agency is paramount in understanding social

structures, rules and values, with the individual not merely duped or succumbing to a fixed external set of rules or influences (Barrett 1994; Johnson 1999).

However, one problem that archaeological studies of identity face is the preoccupation with imposing specific groupings onto cultures. This requires us to predetermine these groups before we begin. In early studies of identity, groups were over-simply rationalised through binary terms such as 'white/black', 'male/female', 'high status/low status', 'sacred/profane', but separating cultures into such rigid and predetermined groups can result in interaction between these groups, and the system of belonging to more than one group being ignored (Scott 1995: 6; Insoll 2007:10; Meskell 2007: 23). It is now accepted by archaeologists that identity contains a multiplicity of classifications on an individual and group level, which are not static and are constantly renegotiated (Jenkins 1975; Aronwitz 1995; Scott 1995; Castells 2004).

Actually defining what identity means is problematic in itself. As Craib (1998: 168) argues, identity itself is nothing. It is merely a relationship between our internal selves and the outside world. To ignore what makes us behave in the way we do, is to ignore the fundamental root of identity. Our psyche is dynamic and constantly changing; we cannot break it down into component parts to understand it, as it comprises an ongoing interaction between internal and external forces. Castells (2004: 7) describes identity as only existing as a result of our own relationship with the outside world and it is only when certain aspects of human behaviour are internalised by ourselves, and by others, that identity itself gains any meaning. Traditionally, identity does appear to have revolved around the 'sameness' of certain aspects of social groups, and consequently is inextricably linked with communal relationships, however the fluidity and constant renegotiation of these groups can not be ignored (Insoll 2007: 3). Tracking *how* relationships are mediated and negotiated is of critical importance to the archaeologist, in addition to where and when these activities resided.

So, within archaeological studies, is looking for meanings in social and cultural actions really beneficial? Certainly archaeological material is well equipped to deal with the search for meaning and actions within group behaviour. Post-processual archaeologies define material culture is a product of human action - the "media through which many social

relationships and interactions are negotiated" (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 9). Although material culture can relate specifically to individuals, and within historical archaeologies these individuals are easier to identify, the actual codes that create meanings in artefacts are rooted in a deeper social relationship. Socialisation and experience is core. Humans are essentially communal creatures and our socialisation is constructed through our relationships with others (Cohen 1985: 109; Aronowitz 1995; 112; O'Keeffe and Yamin 2006: 91). Craib (1998) has argued that experience is of vital importance in understanding 'identities', stating that sociological explanations of identity "can do nothing to enhance human experience of the world or human freedom in the world…in fact it closes down our possibilities of understanding and action by denying/ignoring the existence of experience" (Craib 1998: 176). He determines that assessing the processes, experiences and meanings that contribute to our psyche is the only way to begin to understand identity formulation. Ideology, folklore, upbringing, education and, of course, religion are just some aspects of socialisation that influence our behaviour and perceptions of self. The interaction of the self within society, and the negotiation and renegotiation of social meanings and beliefs can often be focussed around one, or many, central social systems (Thumma 1991).

Recent archaeological approaches have begun to incorporate this approach. Mrozowski (1991) searched for the meaning behind identities in his study of the landscapes of nineteenth-century New England. The transition from the domestic to factory production created a new ideology within the bourgeoisie and the working classes. By identifying a change in the spatial arrangement of production between the home and the workplace Mrozowski argues that this new ideology can be readily recognised. Through increasing compartmentalisation of landscapes, the development of specialised industrial areas (such as ports with warehouses, ship building, and facilities for seamen) resulted in increasing differences between the rural and the urban, and the worker and employer being reflected in architectural styles and landscape organisation.

At the United States armoury at Harpers Ferry (Virginia), Paul Shackel (2004: 47-48) has investigated the decline in the freedom of self expression on housing styles and personal artefacts (such as ceramics) as a result of increased corporate paternalism by the Ordnance Department, who took over the town in 1841. Before the take over, house plans and styles

were eclectic, but afterwards the town then became organised on a rigid grid system with little opportunity for personal expressions of identity. From this example, it is clear that paternalism is another significant aspect of socialisation that affected the personal and group identity of the workers of Harpers Ferry.

It is evident that, through looking at landscape, architecture and personal artefacts alongside a consideration of how these buildings/landscapes/artefacts came to 'be' the way that they 'are', we, as archaeologists, can more fully appreciate the processes and experiences of socialisation that affect our personal and collective identity. It is clear that in order to understand identities within archaeologies, we need to understand the forces that create the social system.

Religion is a valuable influential aspect of socialisation. However many other social cores were interlinked with religion to create the social behaviour seen in the South West woollen industry (such as industrialisation, literacy, gender, and class consciousness), which must be considered. Indeed, as stated by Timothy Insoll, "we need to recognise the potentially embedded nature of religion as a key building block, if not sometimes the key building block of identity" (Insoll 2004a: 150). Insoll, himself, has been keenly focused on the role of religion in archaeological studies for a number of years, and has produced much literature on the theoretical nature of religion and identity in archaeology. *'Are Archaeologists Afraid of Gods?'* (2004b) certainly highlighted the need (and also the reluctance) to use religion as a medium in post-processual approaches in order to understand identity, specifically recognising that many elements of life can be structured by religious influence (2004b: 3). This he described as a "glaring omission" within archaeological approaches (2004b). *Archaeology, Ritual and Religion* (2004a) attempted to define religion and ritual and highlight their importance in theoretical frameworks. Although Insoll has certainly advertised the need to consider religion as a framework for examining social identity, behaviour and agency, he spends much of his work summarising and criticising previous approaches to religion, focusing on definitions and meanings, rather than promote possible approaches or frameworks to readdress this deficit in studies of identity, and incorporate it better into future archaeological research.

Religion is generally, and is within the parameters of this research, a communal phenomenon. It is constructed on a belief system that is adopted by a group of people working towards the same goal (Ward 2000: 2). Although faith is often interpreted on a personal level (such as by the Christian hermits of the first millennia AD), or through isolation from the wider community (like the Amish and Shakers), the wider religious belief still exists. Naturally, these beliefs can be interpreted on a personal level differently, and as a result the identities created through religion are not systematic (Cohen 1985: 20). However, religious activity certainly affected community behaviour and politics on a wide and far reaching level and, through the construction of chapels, this community identity can be more readily examined in the landscape than personal individual faith.

2.3 RELIGION, CHAPEL CULTURE AND COMMUNITY IDENTITY

It is becoming increasingly apparent that religion was a significant socialisation tool and played a crucial role in influencing group behaviour. How and why this is so, however, needs further examination.

With regards to identity formulation and renegotiation numerous scholars have argued that attachment, belonging and security are paramount (Gilbert 1976; Cohen 1985; Craib 1998; Snell 2006). Craib (1998: 170) argues that through identifying ourselves as similar or different to others we are able to rationalize our anxieties of existing in the world, providing comfort and the feeling of security. Cohen (1985: 15-16) suggests that it is through attachment and belonging that people acquire their most significant social experience outside the home, through a range of common symbols that allow us to communicate shared feelings and beliefs. This is the idea of community.

The studies of community by Snell (2006) and Thompson (1991) are largely focused on the role of attachment and belonging in groups or communities. Community identities were increased through sentiment and attachments to the old customs and traditions, and were emotionalised through the recognition of loss. Communities with a traditional domestic industry and associated customs experienced increased self-consciousness in the threat of

developing mechanisation. The increase in local sports and festivals in the nineteenth century and the community sentiments they created, and a transition from mob rioting to political organisation and radicalism were considered to be evidence of this (Thompson 1991: 448). Snell (2006: 499), through his analysis of burial practices, marriage records, decline in 'local xenophobia' and parish relief agrees, suggesting that there was often a greater feeling of community in industrial epicentres as a result of this heightened sense of local pride and attachment. The importance of community relationships is further addressed by Cohen (1985), who argues that it was a mental construct that shaped individual identities, and through periods of change or distress these identities united to form solid group in order to cope with the threatened sense of self. Furthermore, he argues that community identity is paramount in shaping and reshaping individual identity (Cohen 1985: 109-110). Social or economic distress appears to be of great significance in studies of community identity. Gittens (1986: 251) states that "the more economically insecure the household, the greater its reliance on community and kin", which is particularly relevant for the South West woollen industry where the traditional domestic industry went into decline in the early nineteenth century, and depression and riot activity became commonplace. Within the parameters of this research *community* is defined geographically whereby chapels, and the neighbourhoods in close proximity to them, are the basis for local community identities.

Attachment and belonging to a place or community are significant and recurring themes in the study of community identity. This is clearly seen in the archaeology of the Colorado coal field. In 1913-14 the coal miners and their families were living in unsafe, squalid conditions, working in environments that violated state safety laws. They organised a campaign against their employers when they were forced out of company housing, which was subsequently burnt, causing some deaths and many injuries when the protest became violent. The archaeological research on the camp site revealed that, despite the ethnic differences between worker families that were retained in the domestic sphere, the miners and their families shared a common experience that enabled them to develop a class consciousness and consequently form a large scale rebellion against their unjust employers. This shared experience manifested itself archaeologically through aspects such as similar cellars and pits at their camp to provide warmth, storage, and protection, and personal

possessions that were abandoned as the strikers fled the camp (The Ludlow Collective 2001).

Of critical importance in the study of religion as a contributory element in bolstering community identity is the work of eminent sociologist Emile Durkheim. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912) stressed the significance of religious ritual practice and ceremonial activity in producing a collective consciousness and solidarity, most notably within times of adjustment and change (Durkheim 1976 [1912]: 226). This has been further recognised by Gilbert (1976: 70) who considers religion to be an ideological notion providing physical and emotional security. This notion allows the individual to feel 'belonging' through a religious association, and comfort in times of crisis. Through the functions of rites, ceremonies and disciplines the followers gain order in their lives, contributing again to their ideological security. Gilbert goes on to argue that, in times of crisis, membership numbers of religious sects actually increase. Both the years 1832 and 1849, for example, when serious cholera epidemics broke out, saw increases in religious observance (Gilbert 1976: 73). It appears that critical situations such as poverty, depression, economic and political stress, or social instability had distinct effects on the level of religious observance in a community. This is certainly a factor that should be considered in the fluctuating fortunes of the South West cloth industry and its associated religious observance.

Affiliation to a particular religious group increased the feeling of attachment and belonging. Thompson (1991) has considered the introverted nature of Methodism, a result of their strict cultural prohibitions which caused their members to harden "into a sect...to keep their numbers apart from the contagion of the unconverted" (Thompson 1991: 450-451). Although his focus is on Methodism specifically, as so many studies of nonconformist histories are (in part due to the extensive and meticulous records that have been kept by this denomination), this attitude of inclusion and exclusion can be seen across denominational groups.

Through announcing an allegiance to a religious body, a member was agreeing to conform to its moral conduct (Kryder-Reid 1996: 234). Nowhere is this better witnessed than in the nonconformist chapel record books. At the Baptist Bethesda chapel in Uley, the activities

of some of its members resulted in their exclusion from the 'community'. Mary Park and Ruth Bick were excluded for "improper conduct", Daniel Burford for adultery, and many others for non-attendance (GRO, D2626 1/1). The records of the Zion Baptist church in Bradford set out very specific rules of conduct that had to be adhered to prior to joining the community, including an interview to investigate the moral character of the applicant (WSRO, 2544/1). The behaviour of the congregation was taken very seriously by the communities. Joseph Sparks, a clothier at Morgans Hill chapel in Bradford, was only readmitted after two years of exclusion for "improper conduct" (WSRO, 3186/2). A 1936 history of the Emmanuel Church in Trowbridge describes the importance of good behaviour within the chapel community, with the most frequent grounds for suspension being drunkenness. In 1852 the minister at the time "delivered a strong protest against members frequenting public houses and also against sending for beer on Sundays". Other activities that resulted in suspension included lying, slander, improper conduct, bad language, and even failure in business (WSRO, 1706/24)

However, once settled into the church or chapel the unity of the group is clearly evident. When a friendly meeting took place at the Old Chapel in Stroud in 1838 there was "an unusually large attendance of members and a sweet spirit of union seemed to animate all" (GRO, D2569 2/1). For most nonconformists, Christian faith is essentially a communal faith whereby a group of people who share the same belief system and moral code will work together for a common goal (Ward 2000: 4). To be of a certain faith was to share a specific history, set of rites or moral codes of behaviour, symbols and rituals – all of which contributed to the member's perception of the world, and their role within it. For English nonconformists, McLeod (2000: 217-219) argues, the notion of their collective identity was felt especially keenly as they united against the intolerances and persecution of earlier years, alongside clearly defined religious beliefs sharply differing from Anglicanism, giving them a shared history, and unified them in their collective identity.

The role of chapels within this framework of solidarity and interaction is clearly indicated by a miner from Kibblesworth in North East England, who stated that "there was a small chapel where we had to attend every Sunday morning, afternoon and evening. It wasn't a big place but it was the main centre of the village" (Beynon and Austrin 1994: 190).

Hopkins (1979: 27, 80-83) agrees, declaring that after the alehouse, the chapel was the principal location for recreation and social interaction, providing a social centre for activities including musical evening, choir practices, and mutual improvement societies. Furthermore, he argues that dissenting chapels allowed the working class to establish their own identity, and provided the foundation for developing skills of leadership and organisation.

This sense of community was not restricted purely to the congregations themselves, and the need for attachment was not the sole factor in contributing to a community identity (Wakeling 1983: 12). It is widely accepted that the moral codes and other aspects of nonconformist teaching and learning filtered into the wider society. Snell's seminal work (2006: 74) considers religion as a unifying social factor within and between parishes. Although primarily focused on Anglicanism, it also outlines how nonconformity contributed to this notion of community outside the boundaries of the chapels themselves. Methodism, especially, developed a broader social and political awareness through its circuit structure which would have been also witnessed in its earlier years through open air meetings such as those held on Stinchcombe Hill, near Dursley, by George Whitefield in the 1740s (Evans 1982: 67). Of great importance are the leadership and organisational qualities nonconformity developed amongst the masses, notably with respect to protest movements which united people in a shared interest (Snell 2006: 76-77).

Clubs and societies created by nonconformist groups, alongside friendly societies, burial and clothing clubs, harvesting, and combination movements, all contributed to this collective consciousness (Snell 2006: 76-77). In Thompson's (1983: 84, 206) study of the fishing village of Marshside in Lancashire, Primitive Methodism has been identified as the root of the whole community's independence and identity. Where accident, death, and an unpredictable economy were prolific in this society, the community found comfort, meaning, purpose and hope in religion. Most of the social organisations of the village originated from the Primitive Methodist Society, and contributed heavily to the communal atmosphere of Marshside. Even when people in the community considered themselves to be irreligious, nonconformist doctrines still permeated into the wider society through clubs and societies, and education. A survey undertaken in the 1980s, examined the significance

of religion in communities amongst attendees and non-attendees. 84% of men and 93% of women stated they felt 'belonging' through religiosity even if they did not attend a church or a chapel, and for those who did their primary reason was the sense of belonging it gave them (Winter and Short 1993: 635-651).

Most children attended Sunday schools, which were often organised on a denominational basis. The children, however, often did not need to be a member of a particular chapel to attend. They may not have attended any chapel. Therefore, although the association between Sunday schools and chapels implies some sort of religious attachment on the part of the attendees, even those who did not consider themselves to be particularly religious would have been influenced by the scriptures taught (McLeod 2000: 219). In addition to this, through its encouragement of personal interpretation of the scriptures and literacy the Sunday school movement made its members more politically and socially aware, fuelled by the increase in political pamphlets and newspapers (Walvin 1984: 95).

On a less organised scale than education and social clubs, religion also influenced attitudes towards folklore and superstition. Owen Davies (1997), in his article about witchcraft and the supernatural in Methodism, examines the link between dissenting religions (including Catholicism) and superstition in day to day life. Even Wesley, in his journal, stated that "the giving up of witchcraft is in effect giving up the bible" (Davies 1997: 255). Other traditional day to day, or symbolic, activities had their roots in religion and superstition. These activities included the blessing of wedding rings prior to marriage by placing them in an envelope on a rats tail, planting crops on Good Friday as it was considered to be lucky, or crossing yourself after seeing a magpie to avoid bad luck (McLeod 2000: 252).

Clearly nonconformity had a substantial impact on the social lives of the communities in which they were placed, particularly in periods of distress and insecurity. Its influence within education, socialisation, superstition and folklore impacted not only within the congregations themselves, but in the wider community. Its significance in contributing to a sense of belonging, and in the development of group collectivity, is evident. However such themes have never been considered on an archaeological level. If the built environment is an expression of cultural ideology and identity, as discussed in the following chapter, then such beliefs should be apparent in the physical environment, as this thesis aims to illustrate.

2.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Throughout this chapter the significance of nonconformity in contributing to a community identity has been stressed. This research incorporates three research questions that the archaeological and documentary analysis aims to answer, in order to understand more fully the role of nonconformity in the historic woollen communities of South West England.

The three research questions are:

1) To what extent did the clothiers of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire use the development of nonconformity as a mechanism for controlling their workforce?

2) To what extent did nonconformity contribute to a community identity in the actions and social interactions of the workforce and their employers?

3) In consequence, how was nonconformity incorporated into the industrial working class of south west England, and what impact did it have on the relationships between the workforce and their employer?

QUESTION 1: This question aims to address the arguments put forward by Halévy, in conjunction with the theories of Marx, that nonconformity created a more docile and subservient workforce (see section 1.3.1). This question tackles the issue of whether nonconformity was used by the employers to control and manipulate the attitudes and ideologies of the workforce outside the workplace, in order to increase productivity and subservience within it. Figure 2.4a tabulates the possible questions relating to this theme that might be answered through the use of archaeological investigation and documentary research.

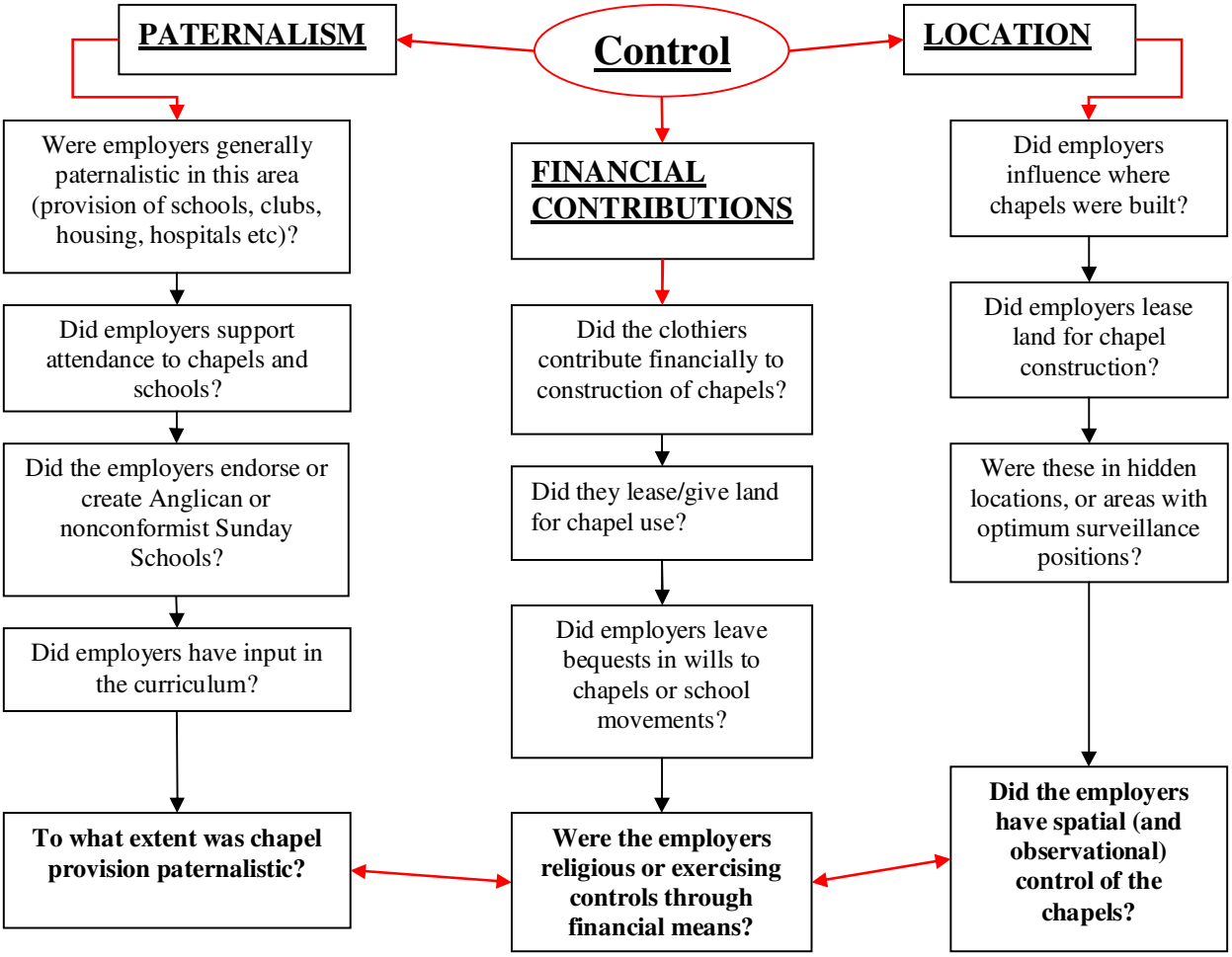


Figure 2.4a: Diagram illustrating the sub-questions linked to Question 1

The role of paternalism by employers within the communities is paramount in understanding their motivations for promoting dissenting worship. Richard Arkwright in Cromford (Derbyshire) was renowned for his philanthropy including the building of worker housing (plate 1), a local pub (plate 2), school, and the provision of a Saturday market. In addition to this, many of his houses had outside toilets, allotments, pigcotes and barns (DCMS 2000).

Plate 1: North Street, Cromford (2001)

Plate 2: The Greyhound Hotel, Cromford (2001)

It was necessary for Arkwright to provide this social infrastructure in order to attract a workforce to the area. However, through careful positioning of housing and other buildings relating to the social infrastructure these paternalistic ventures may have had a secondary benefit by increasing the control he had over the movement of his workforce, and the leisure activities in which they could partake. This idea can also be used to help understand the significance of the provision and funding of dissenting chapels, and to establish whether the location, financing and management of dissenting worship was as much an element of control as it was social improvement. The social infrastructure in the traditional woollen industry of the South West was already well established by the eighteenth century, so it was not necessary to attract a workforce as it was in the newer cotton industry areas. Therefore, understanding the extent of paternalism within these traditional cloth producing regions, like those in the South West, is more difficult.

To help understand whether the chapel provision was a paternalistic venture or a controlling mechanism, or indeed both, the research aims to evaluate the extent of other paternalistic activity in the area. Through the increasing construction of mills and factories in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whereby more processes could be incorporated under one roof outside the home, the clothiers obtained a higher degree of social control

within the workplace. As their prosperity increased they had the opportunity to improve social conditions for their employees. It is appropriate to question whether they did. Examining the denominations of the clothiers is also of paramount importance in answering this research question.

The extent to which clothiers contributed financially to the provision of dissenting worship can be used as an indication of their attitudes towards it, and provide further information on the paternalism/control debate. Similarly, the provision of the land where the chapels were constructed may also be a significant factor in the extent of nonconformity as a control mechanism. This research will address the issue of who provided the land for these structures, and consequently whether these people had ulterior motives in influencing their location.

Primarily, the research linked to the first question aims to achieve two objectives:

- To assess whether the provision of nonconformity in the region was a paternalistic venture or a mechanism of control.
- To assess to what extent the clothiers influenced the location, construction and management of chapels and their communities, and therefore the degree of control which they gained as a result.

QUESTION 2: Nonconformity has been linked with overt and covert resistance strategies as outlined in the previous chapter. This behaviour required a group solidarity, and often organisational and leadership skills, combined with a belief in a united or common goal. The research, therefore, aims to address to what extent nonconformity, and the communal social networks it created, contributed to a community identity and subsequently influenced, either directly or indirectly, the social and political behaviour of the congregations. Figure 2.4b outlines the sub questions of Question 2.

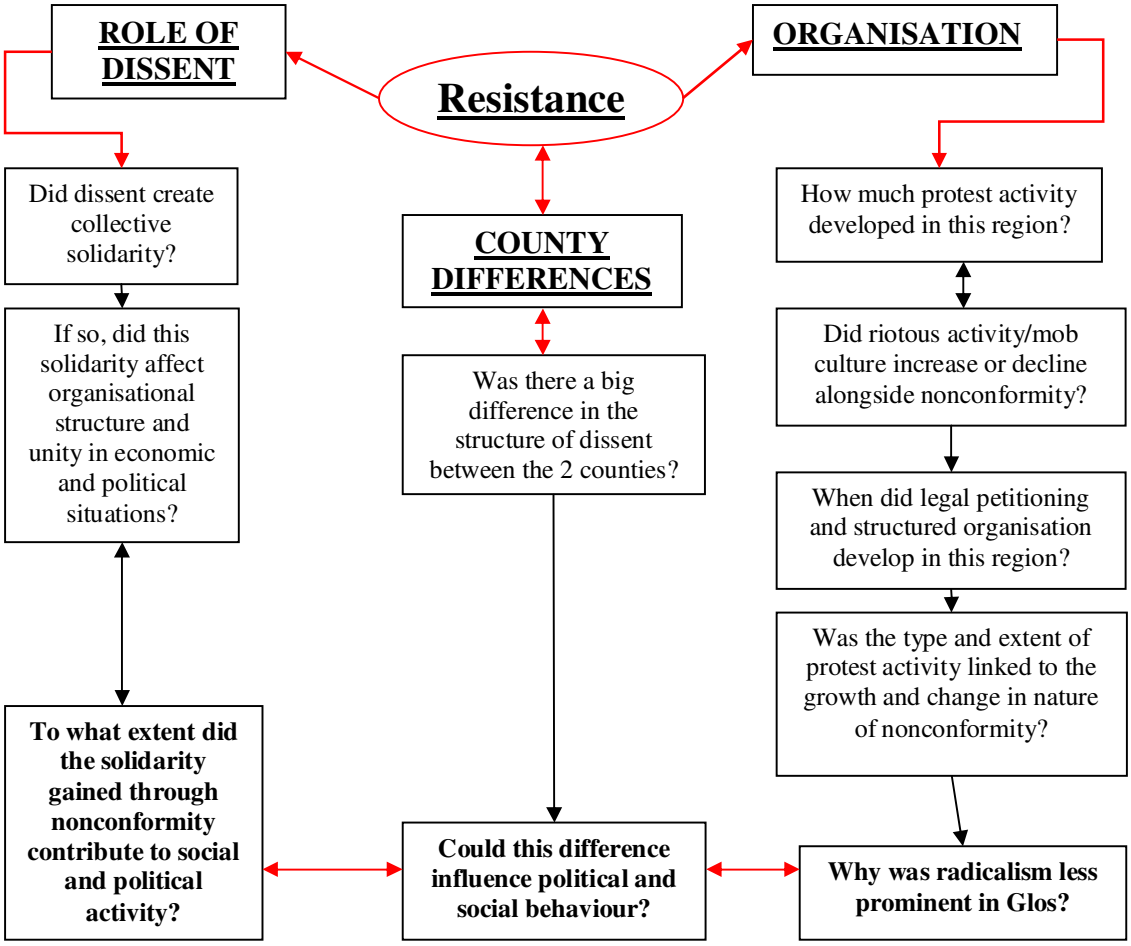


Figure 2.4b: Diagram illustrating the sub questions linked to Question 2

Clearly, overt resistance activity can be identified more easily through historical accounts of riot activity and legal petitioning, than through archaeological evidence. The research will attempt to correlate patterns of resistance, political behaviour and the level of worker organisation to dissenting organisation within the two regions, aiming to explore any links between the two. Chapel attendance naturally promoted social interaction, and this research aims to address to what extent this solidarity promoted overt strategies of resistance and organisation.

Covert strategies of resistance are much harder to define and will be identified through archaeological techniques. The architecture and physical position of the chapels could indicate a desire for independence by the workforce, through hidden or dominant locations,

and subtle or distinctive architecture. The latter could reflect a desire to display separation from the doctrines of the established church; conversely subtle architecture could represent a desire to keep the activities of the chapel secret and independent. The architectural and spatial approaches will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Primarily, the research related to this question aims to meet two objectives:

- To assess to what extent nonconformity contributed to overt and covert strategies of resistance.
- To evaluate the level and impact of collective solidarity within the labour force as a result of developing nonconformist interaction.

QUESTION 3: This research aims to contribute to a social archaeology of the industrial revolution that is so greatly needed, by evaluating the impact and influence of nonconformity in the woollen industry in South West England. Question 3 incorporates the broader sphere of assessing the role of religious observance in the textile communities of South West England. It will draw on the conclusions of the questions answered above to determine the impact and influence of nonconformity on industrial capitalist communities. By using spatial analysis it will assess to what extent the physical landscape was a reflection of the ideological landscape in creating patterns of control, deference and resistance – a theoretical framework incorporated by Glassie (1975), and Johnson (1993) in their studies of changing ideologies in early capitalist societies.

2.5 CONCLUSION

Post-processual archaeologies contain a diverse and varied set of ideas, as opposed to one simple methodology or framework. However, one key theoretical foundation to post-

processual thinking is the study of the active nature of human existence, and the dynamic process in which the products of group or individual existence in the world are manipulated and negotiated specifically to the context in which they find themselves, known better as *human agency*. This does not assume, as 'processual' archaeologists once did, that general laws or processes to apply to social systems (Giles 2000: 3). Dissent and religion were clearly intrinsic factors of socialisation and experience, through attachment, collectivity, interaction, increased literacy and organisation. However, if we are to understand these social products sufficiently they need to be considered in their own specific histories. This research focuses specifically on the woollen industry in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, considering the role and influence of dissent on communities faced with increasing industrialisation, unemployment, and loss of traditional status and living. Religion seems to have played a valuable role in their experiences, creating attachment, belonging and security and the products of these experiences – chapels, clubs, churches and social institutions – can be examined archaeologically with reference to specific contextual history, in order to more fully understand the social relationships of the woollen communities within their world. The research questions outlined here aim to achieve a greater understanding of the role of nonconformity within the infrastructure of industrial urban landscape.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

This chapter outlines the methodological approaches used to identify and evaluate the role of community identity and the significance of religion within it as a unifying factor in the development of collective consciousness. Firstly, the analytical methods used to assess the physical evidence will be outlined, followed by a discussion of the documentary resources that have been used in the research. However, it is the physical evidence that provides the bulk of the analytical material and, as a result, the extent of the surviving evidence of this resource will then be addressed, although the historical evidence is also of significant importance. The criticism faced by historical archaeologists that they have too great a dependency on documents, is unfounded. As Iain Stuart stated "historical archaeology […] should be a balance of documentary research and archaeological research into the past" (Stuart 2007: 48), and further outlined the importance of using texts in conjunction with archaeological methodology to achieve a greater understanding of the period. Both archaeology and texts should be critically 'read', and the way in which archaeologists use texts, and the questions they ask, can only enhance the study further (Courtney 2007: 40). In each of these sections the limitations and restrictions of each type of data (physical and documentary) will be discussed, with its impact on the research also assessed.

3.1 ANALYTICAL APPROACH: THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

This study will primarily use architectural and spatial analyses in order to investigate the research questions outlined in the previous chapter.

3.1.1 Considering Architecture

Architecture is an active representation of cultural expression by specific social groups (Giles 2000: 5). Henry Glassie (1975) and Matthew Johnson (1993) have both identified and interpreted the built environment as a physical expression of social

structure and cultural ideology in the wider landscape, particularly through the changing grammar of housing styles in the early modern period. Glassie's *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (1975) examined the 'grammar' builders used in designing houses, and the influences behind choosing specific layouts. He concluded that the builders consistently chose particular options for building design which reflected a deeper logical pattern within the ideological structure of the culture it encompassed (Glassie 1975: 117). This structural approach was developed by Johnson in his 1993 research entitled *Housing Culture: traditional architecture in an English landscape*. Through looking at vernacular houses in Suffolk dating from 1400-1700, Johnson (1993) concluded that the changing nature of architecture reflected the changing social structure from feudalist society to capitalist, based on the new relationships between tenant and landlord. Capitalism had created a wider gulf between the two, and vernacular architecture reflected this through the segmentation of open halls increasing privacy and social exclusion; a physical manifestation of the division between servant and master. James Deetz (1996) identified this reflection of cultural ideological transition through smaller articles of material culture such as changes in tombstone and ceramic design, and food butchering. He concluded that these changes marked the rise of a Georgian mindset, encompassing the rise of intellectual knowledge and liberalism, individual eating and preparation habits. Isaac's (1988) study of architecture, interior design, silverware, fashion, etiquette and dance styles in Virginia developed this idea further. Through the reordering of material culture to create neater and more symmetrical movement and expression, he identified that the social elite used space and material culture to maintain control over society in the face of the threat of American independence and liberty.

These structural approaches have for the most part successfully focused on the physical environment as a reflection of the ideological landscape of which they form a part. However, these approaches largely reduce the human experience to a series of general laws and assumptions, and does not account for the specific social and economic circumstances that influence individual communities. Mary Beaudry (1996) has advocated a return to the 'particularist' approach in historical archaeology, accepting that all societies are constructed through their own specific conditions making large scale generalisations redundant. Through looking at the smaller scale, she believes the archaeologist can gauge a better understanding which can be applied to larger societies

(Beaudry 1996: 496). Although the reflection of cultural ideology and identity in the physical landscape are the primary theoretical foundations for the research undertaken here, this merely aims to provide a model of the role of nonconformity with reference to the specific historical, social and political context of the region under review. The methodology, however, can be applied to wider contextual studies of nonconformity.

The architecture of nonconformist chapels is highly diverse, ranging from simple vernacular styles to classical temples and to Gothic 'cathedrals'; it is a natural expression of religious sympathies (Powell 1980: 2). What their architecture can symbolise or portray can be highly informative when considered alongside the social and economic context in which they are placed. The form, decoration, and embellishment of all structures represent a conscious choice, making overt statements about the use and meaning of the building to the people who occupy it. Style is a tool used for negotiating identity and communicating this to others (Burke 1999: 7). Gothic architecture, for example, has been traditionally argued as representing Catholic and Anglican religious practice rather than nonconformist (Powell 1980: 10), as Gothic embellishments have often been considered as 'Popish' (Mowl and Earnshaw 1995: 9).

In early chapels, financial considerations as well as the extent of toleration have been commonly considered to be the primary influences of architectural styles and spatial location. Even after the 1689 Toleration Act many dissenters still experienced persecution, consequently building their chapels on backstreets or using simple architecture to remain inconspicuous (Briggs 1946: 23; Lindley 1969: 49; Turner 1979: 230). Similarly, it has been traditionally argued that a lack of financial resources prevented architectural embellishment from occurring (Drummond 1934: 42; White 1964: 113; Turner 1979: 230; Powell 1980: 3; Howell 1995: 127). However through analysing architecture, alongside documentary sources, within the South West woollen industry this does not appear to be altogether the case in the period under study.

Research on other types of structures has suggested that financial limitations were not always so influential, as shown in Tittler's (1991) study of early modern town halls. Architectural expression was not entirely influenced by economic wealth and status (Tittler 1991: 68-72). Civic authorities often embarked on ambitious and elaborate building projects in politically unstable periods to reflect their authority in times of unease (Giles 2000: 5). Through considering the architectural development and

diversity of nonconformist architecture, with reference to the specific economic and social context of the area at the time, the research aims to identify whether, and to what extent, members expressed their identity through these buildings, and what these structures may have represented in the wider urban landscape.

3.1.2 The Architectural Analysis

In June 2007 a survey of the chapels was undertaken to record the style, features and embellishments of all of the chapels in the case studies, in order to map building styles and trends chronologically throughout the time period under study. Photographic surveys of each chapel were completed, and consideration was given to identifying similarities and differences in architectural styles and themes. Atypical features and plans that highlighted unique building styles were also recorded. An example of the survey proforma sheet can be found in Appendix 1.1. The rarity of some architectural styles in England such as the octagonal chapels so favoured by Wesley (Wakeling 1983: 39), seen at Bethesda in Uley and the Acre Street Chapel in Stroud, are complemented by the diverse selection of architectural forms and elaborations giving each chapel its individuality and uniqueness within the research. The Coppice Hill Methodist chapel in Bradford shows unique stylistic features, whilst the Bedford Street Chapel in Stroud with its circular stair tower and imposing classical style looks to be more suited to the townscapes of Bristol or Manchester than a small cloth town in Gloucestershire. In addition to this, there are the more humble chapels, designed and constructed by the congregations themselves emulating local architectural styles, perhaps with small adornments to distinguish themselves from domestic housing. Zion Chapel in Trowbridge, Zion Chapel in Stroud, and Bethel Chapel in Bradford are all good examples of these.

This architectural survey has provided much of the data on which the research is based. The survey has enabled analysis into denomination preferences for architectural styles, and also into the chronology of the popularity of specific styles. The addition, refitting, alteration and extension of each of the chapels have also been evaluated. Chapels were (and still are) functional spaces reshaped and altered to fulfil the needs of their members (such as extensions if they were getting too small, memorials to significant pastors or

benefactors, and stylistic alterations to update the structures). All these features are also considered and mapped, to the best of ability, within the time frame where they appear, as they represent the development and ideology of the communities they serve. The increasing addition of Sunday schools or classrooms, for example, reflects the increasing importance of education and literacy within chapel culture.

The chronological establishment of chapels has been mapped in order to identify patterns of denominational growth in each location, providing invaluable information on the similarities and differences between each, which significantly contributed to the interpretation of religious identity. In collaboration with this technique, the population growth of each location as also been mapped in order to identify how the relative ratio between the number of chapels and numbers of people potentially worshipping in each, to further our understanding of the growth/decline of religious observance during particular phases in the period understudy. Obviously, such a method is merely relative as it does not take in to account chapel size and membership figures, and consequently where congregational statistics have been identified in the archival resources, they have also been incorporated.

3.1.3 Considering Space

Mark Leone's work (1988) in Annapolis develops the studies of Glassie, Deetz and Isaac through using a spatial approach to the interpretation of cultural ideology in the urban landscape. This well known analysis of wealthy lawyer William Paca's garden, arranged on a series of three layered terraces, with a 'wilderness' at the bottom, led Leone to suggest it was a reflection of the social structure of the region. The formal gardens supposedly reflect the order and formality of modern society as a result of capitalism and increased wealth and power, whilst the wilderness represents the contradictions inherent in such a society, namely the chaos and confusion caused by the growing desire for American liberty against the maintenance of slaves, and the unfair redistribution of wealth, all legacies of emerging capitalism.

Mary Beaudry and Stephen Mrozowskis' (1996) study and excavations at Boott Mill, Lowell, Massachusetts, focused on understanding the social conditions of the workforce outside their working environment. They undertook spatial and architectural analysis to

determine how the corporation conveyed a sense of authority and hierarchy through the built environment, considering how this would have affected and controlled those who lived and worked there. The houses belonging to the agents of the corporation tended to be in an elevated position on an artificial terrace, surrounded by wrought iron fencing incorporating larger yards, and constructed with high quality building materials. The boarding houses occupied by the mill girls were flanked on each end by tenement blocks where the more skilled operatives and supervisors lived, and were constructed out of plain building materials, with an efficient design and smaller yards (Mrozowski *et. al.* 1996: 40-42). Their work was one of the first archaeological approaches undertaken of an industrial environment that focused on understanding power relationships and resistance strategies by both the corporation and employees, and this spatial approach is incorporated into the research forming this thesis.

Henri Lefebvre (1979: 288-299) has suggested that space does have limits imposed on it through factors such as topography, which is an important consideration in this research. Many of the established churches in the region had been constructed hundreds of years previously, and the location of chapels may merely have been related to availability of land. The physical location is not solely important however. It is not merely where the chapels are located that will be considered, but also what they do with the space they do have. The chapels have been mapped using GIS software built from first edition OS maps, in order to illustrate their location within the landscape. This system enables easier spatial visualisation of the case studies included in the research.

3.1.4 The Spatial Analysis

The spatial analysis was undertaken in several ways. A spatial and visibility survey was undertaken in June 2007 (see Appendix 1.2), where the location of each chapel was recorded. This survey sought to identify how prominent each religious structure was in the landscape on two levels: in the immediate streetscape, and in the wider landscape of the town. Elements, such as the building's elevation in the landscape, perimeter boundaries and fences, access routes, visibility to and from surrounding buildings, position to the street and proximity to commercial, industrial and domestic areas were all considered in order to assess their 'visual and symbolic impact' on the community.

As previously mentioned the architectural data was also incorporated into this survey since architecture is one significant method in making structures visible or hidden.

It was important to assess whether specific groups were more likely to develop more obvious (or indeed hidden) locations in the landscape, in order to appreciate whether particular denominations had more overt influence in religious identity in the wider landscape. The overall visibility of each structure on a streetscape, landscape and architectural level has also been mapped chronologically, in order to evaluate whether the traditional theory of early chapels being 'hidden' and later chapels being more obvious in the landscape is indeed correct. Through comparing the results of these spatial surveys alongside the detailed social and economic histories of the region further conclusions can be drawn about how religious identity became more significant in the developing economic, social and political context, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

3.2 THE PHYSICAL DATASET

This section will assess the extent of surviving physical data to be used in the research, including the chapels which have since been demolished, and also highlight the restrictions or limitations encountered in studying this resource. In some cases there is archival evidence for the demolished chapels which will be discussed as they arise.

A database has been compiled using the software *FileMaker Pro®* , and included information on location, denomination, date of construction, historical information, architectural and spatial information, and archival sources. The database is too detailed to include in full in this research, however a summarised version containing the basic information has been compiled, and can be found in Appendix 1.3.

3.2.1 The Surviving Evidence

Largely as a result of twentieth-century redevelopment only a proportion of the chapel buildings survive, and some of them not in their original form, having been demolished or rebuilt during the eighteenth, nineteenth or twentieth centuries. Overall, taking into

account all the chapel structures that are still surviving, demolished or have been rebuilt there are 54 chapels in the dataset. This figure includes all phases of chapel building (both the demolished chapel and the replacement chapel constructed in the time period under study), and now demolished structures that were still standing in the time period. Out of this 54, 32 remain standing (59%). The relatively high percentage of surviving chapels enables this research to be better undertaken, as the architectural detail and spatial location of these buildings is of paramount importance.

Out of all the research areas only Cam has a 100% survival rate for its chapels, followed by Stroud with 78.6% of its total chapels still standing. Uley and Bradford both have a 66.6% survival rating, whereas Trowbridge and Dursley have the lowest survival rate of chapels at 37.5% and 33.3% respectively. In some cases, there are photographic or archival sources for the demolished chapels which will be considered in further detail in section 3.2.2. The following tables (figures 3.2a to 3.2f) illustrate the surviving chapels in each of the study areas, illustrating their current use.

CAM		
Date	**Standing Building**	**Current Use**
1702	Congregational Chapel	Chapel
1825	Wesleyan Methodist Chapel	Chapel
1852	The Quarry URC	Chapel

Figure 3.2a: Surviving Chapels in Cam

STROUD		
Date	**Standing Building**	**Current Use**
1750	Rodborough Tabernacle	Chapel
1763	Acre Street Methodist Chapel	Salvation Army
1824	John Street Chapel	Chapel
1824	Randwick Methodist Chapel	Flats
1835	Bedford Street Chapel	Chapel
1835	Paganhill Chapel	Building contractors
1836	Primitive Methodist Chapel	Theatre
1836	Randwick Primitive Methodist Chapel	Private house
1852	Plymouth Brethren	Chapel
1856	Zion Chapel	Private house
1857	Immaculate Conception RC	Church

Figure 3.2 b: Surviving Chapels in Stroud

ULEY		
Date	**Standing Building**	**Current Use**
1790	Union Chapel	Private house
1821	Bethesda Chapel	Arts centre

Figure 3.2 c: Surviving Chapels in Uley

BRADFORD		
Date	**Standing Building**	**Current Use**
1698	Grove Chapel (now Zion)	Chapel
1740	Morgans Hill Chapel	Chapel
1756	Wesleyan Methodist Chapel	Private house
1797	Old Baptist Chapel (rebuild)	Chapel
1800	Bethel Chapel (rebuild)	Chapel
1818	Coppice Hill Chapel	Empty
1845	Sladesbrook Chapel	Private house
1858	Providence Chapel	Private house

Figure 3.2d: Surviving chapels in Bradford

TROWBRIDGE		
Date	**Standing Buildings**	**Current Use**
1810	Emmanuel Chapel (rebuild)	Chapel
1814	Islington Down Chapel	Church
1816	Zion Chapel	Chapel
1822	Bethesda Chapel	Coffee shop
1824	Staverton Methodist Chapel	Empty
1850	Upper Studley Chapel	Chapel

Figure 3.2e: Surviving chapels in Trowbridge

DURSLEY		
Date	**Standing Building**	**Current Use**
1808	New Tabernacle	Chapel
1821	Hill Road Chapel	Garage

Figure 3.2f: Surviving chapels in Dursley

In some cases the current use of the building affected the possibility of either architectural or spatial interpretation, perhaps as a result of reduced access or significant architectural alterations. For those converted to private domestic dwellings, interior access was restricted, however, within the parameters of this research, interior access is not required. For the chapels that have now been converted to domestic use even access

to the exterior has been more difficult (due to them being on private land). Some exterior facades (especially to the rear of the properties) were often unable to be assessed for these reasons. However, for the most part, where chapels do now have a private use, sufficient information could be gained from the structure without this rear access, as the majority of their external elevations could be seen from the street. The limitations of the physical dataset are outlined in section 3.2.4.

3.2.2 Demolished Chapels

The 41% of the dataset that have been demolished are still incorporated into the research. In some cases such as the Manvers Street Methodist Chapel (Trowbridge) and the Boulton Lane Chapel (Dursley) there is photographic evidence that can enable some architectural analysis to take place. Where photographic evidence doesn't survive, the RCHME survey into nonconformist chapels (1986) provides an architectural description of some, such as the Zion Chapel in Bradford, and the Water Street Presbyterian Chapel in Dursley. The following tables (figures 3.2g to 3.2k) illustrate the demolished chapels of each research area, and the archival information relating to the analysis of their architectural features.

STROUD			
Date	**Demolished Buildings**	**Picture**	**RCHME**
1711	Old Chapel	Yes	Yes
1797	1st Ebley Chapel	Yes	No
1807	1st Randwick Methodist Chapel	No	No

Figure 3.2g: Demolished chapels in Stroud

ULEY			
Date	**Demolished Building**	**Picture**	**RCHME**
1819	Wesleyan Chapel	No	No

Figure 3.2h: Demolished chapels in Uley

BRADFORD			
Date	**Demolished Buildings**	**Picture**	**RCHME**
1689	1st Old Baptist Chapel	No	No
1698	Quaker House at Cumberwell	No	No
1718	Quaker House in Bradford	No	No
1823	Zion Chapel	Yes	Yes

Figure 3.2i: Demolished chapels in Bradford

TROWBRIDGE			
Date	**Demolished Buildings**	**Picture**	**RCHME**
1699	1st Conigre Chapel	Yes	Yes
1723	Silver Street Chapel	Yes	Yes
1754	1st Emmanuel Chapel	No	No
1754	Waldron Square Chapel	No	No
1771	1st Tabernacle	No	No
1790	Town Bridge Chapel	Yes	Yes
1828	1st Bethel Chapel	No	No
1835	Manvers Street Methodist Chapel	Yes	Yes
1850	2nd Bethel Chapel	Yes (St Stephens)	No
1856	2nd Conigre Chapel	Yes	Yes

Figure 3.2j: Demolished chapels in Trowbridge

DURSLEY			
Date	**Demolished building**	**Picture**	**RCHME**
1702	Water Street Chapel	Yes	Yes
1764	1st Tabernacle	No	No
1802	Methodist Chapel	No	No
1828	Boulton Lane Chapel	Yes	Yes

Figure 3.2k: Demolished chapels in Dursley

Of all the chapels that have been demolished (22 in all), ten (45%) have no photographic or descriptive evidence making them redundant in the architectural analysis. However, as this research is not just based on the architectural analysis but the spatial location too, all of these chapels can be incorporated into the dataset. Where the exact location is unclear due to lack of information from historic maps, the general location is known (i.e. within a particular area, or on a particular street) making them still valid within the research.

The Waldron Square preaching house in Trowbridge is not on any historic map, since it was superseded by the Town Bridge Chapel in 1790, but the area of Waldron Square has been found in modern street guides, indicating that the chapel must have been located within this area. The Town Bridge Chapel in Trowbridge has also since been demolished but its name indicates the vicinity it was in. One map of Trowbridge town centre dating to 1860 illustrates a 'chapel' close to the Town Bridge, which is assumed to be this chapel, since there are no others that fit the location.

In Dursley no location record could be found for the Water Street Presbyterian Chapel, and the Boulton Lane Chapel, although their names enable a street level location to be identified. The original Tabernacle in Dursley (demolished in 1810 after the present structure was built), is described as standing opposite the present parsonage and the new Tabernacle on Kingshill Road (DWL, 5106.Gl.8: 12) so again a general location can be concluded. Opposite the current Tabernacle lies a piece of vacant land enclosed by a stone rubble wall with (modern) wooden gate (plate 3). This may have been the site for the original Tabernacle building; this is merely conjecture, but it certainly lay within this area.

Plate 3: Possible location of the first Tabernacle, Dursley (2006)

3.2.3 Omissions

Any eagle-eyed local historian may notice a few omissions in the study area. There are legitimate reasons for this. The Anglican and nonconformist chapels at the cemetery in Stroud, constructed in 1855, are absent because, although both used for funerary services, they were never used for regular worship (VCH Glos 11: 136).

Similarly, at Bradford the Anglican chapel of St Mary Tory, and the Saxon church of St Laurence have also been omitted from the research. St Mary Tory, although used for

worship before and after the period under study, was actually converted to a cloth factory in the early eighteenth century, and wasn't returned to worship until 1871 (Bradford on Avon Tourist Information Centre: 2003). The Saxon church has not been used for regular worship for many centuries, since it was 'lost' sometime in the medieval period, hemmed in by buildings and redeveloped for domestic use, and was not 'rediscovered' until 1856 (Jones and Jackson 1907).

Furthermore, there are numerous brief references to other chapels, primarily in the form of meeting house licenses that could not be associated with any known structure. These chapels may not have existed as many congregations merely licensed their meetings without constructing a purpose built chapel (Chandler 1985: xxix). Where there are references such as these, it has been deemed that there is simply too little information regarding their location, architecture or even their existence, to validate them as part of the dataset for this research. One church, a Catholic Apostolic Church in Trowbridge, is recorded in the Victoria County History for Wiltshire (Vol. 7: 163). It was reported to be in existence by 1838 however the registers were closed in 1843, and by 1851 the meeting had gone. With no record of its location, and no other historical evidence of this church alongside its curiously short-lived lifespan, it has also been omitted.

Also in Trowbridge, a congregation of the Church of the Latter Day Saints (or Mormons) had appeared by 1851 and was meeting at the Charter House in the Conigre area of the town (VCH Wilts 7: 163). As no more information on this meeting can be found, alongside the fact that no purpose built religious structure was constructed by them, it has too been omitted.

In many cases, prior to the construction of purpose built chapels, worship took place in private homes or other rented buildings. Much of this activity occurred before the time period under study, and is therefore not relevant for this research. However, in some cases meetings were held in private properties within the time period. For example, prior to the construction of the Town Bridge Methodist Chapel in Trowbridge, and its successor at Manvers Street, services were held at the home of a Mr John Knapp from 1781 (VCH Wilts 7: 162). A home in Paganhill in Stroud was registered for worship in 1825 before funds were saved to construct a chapel (VCH Glos 11: 140). If the congregation of the small hamlet of the Quarry, outside Dursley and Cam, could not make it to the Cam Congregational Church they worshipped in private houses such as

those belonging to John Cox and Samuel Workman, until the chapel was built in 1852 (GRO, D3898/3). Although these properties were fundamental to the development of nonconformity in the study areas they are generally only referred to via brief references. There is not enough information on their location to provide any valuable contribution to the spatial analysis, and the proliferation of these meetings in private houses meant that an architectural survey of these places, if indeed they could be located, is redundant. Therefore, this research is solely focused on purpose-built chapels, although relevant information on previous meetings (such as whether these home owners were clothiers) will be referred to as specific subjects arise.

3.2.4 Limitations of the Physical Dataset

As previously mentioned, the physical access to the surviving buildings was generally sufficient to carry out the research. However there were some problems primarily with later alterations to the surviving structures.

In Stroud the Primitive Methodist Chapel (plate 4) and the Paganhill Chapel have both been converted to modern uses. The theatre that had once been the Primitive Methodist Chapel is currently being renovated (June 2008) and therefore access to the building was limited. The building is currently in a bad state of repair, with many alterations, extensions and rendering masking the original features of the chapel. One earlier photograph of the chapel, however, has been obtained which is invaluable in undertaking the architectural analysis.

Plate 4: Former Primitive Methodist Chapel, Stroud (2006)

The conversion of the Paganhill chapel to commercial use has resulted in much alteration which has masked many of the original features. Unfortunately earlier photographs of the chapel could not be located.

In Bradford, sufficient access was available for all the chapels except for the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel of 1754. This chapel may not have been the original 1754 chapel (Bradford Tourist Information Centre *pers comm.*, April 2007), however, no documentary evidence has confirmed this, and therefore a possible earlier structure has been ignored within this research. In addition to this, access to the building was heavily restricted due to its enclosed location behind another building, down a small alley. Plate 5 illustrates the restricted access to the site. The Coppice Hill Chapel (Plate 6) in Bradford is now a roofless shell, and is inaccessible due to its dangerous, fragile state. However, the front elevation of the building and the architectural details of it can be easily seen from outside the restricted area.

Plate 5: The Former Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Bradford (2006)

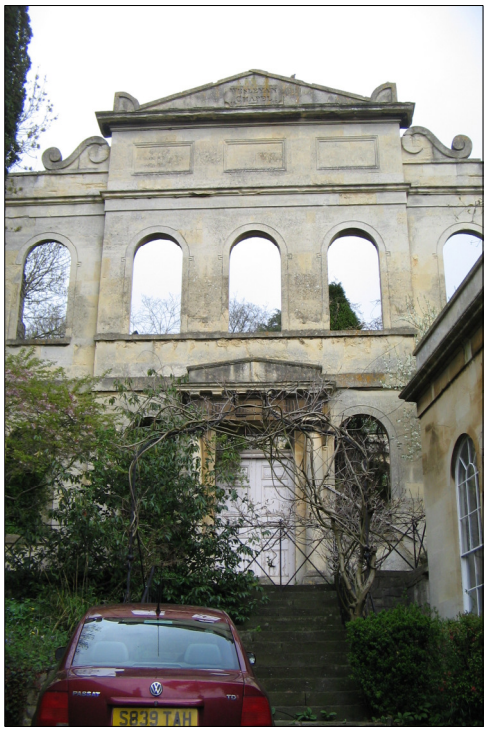


Plate 6: Coppice Hill Chapel, Bradford (2006)

In Trowbridge only the Bethesda Chapel caused limited problems. Only the front elevation could be evaluated as the whole chapel has now been absorbed into the local shopping centre, and is now flanked by the mall shops (plate 7).

Plate 7 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 7: Bethesda Chapel, Trowbridge (2001)
(http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getchurch.php?id=349, accessed 05/06/08)

Hill Road Chapel in Dursley (plate 8) has now been converted to a commercial garage and, like Paganhill Chapel in Stroud, many of its original features have been masked or removed in its development. Earlier photographs of the chapel have not been located.

Plate 8: Hill Road Chapel, Dursley (2006)

Further to the current use of the buildings, any major alterations to the exterior of the chapels in the dataset need to be considered. The addition of school rooms, extensions, vestibules or porches, and the heightening and the replacement of windows all need to be considered if they took place during the period under study. In some cases there is

no evidence to suggest when certain alterations or extensions were completed, but the architectural style of these features often allows an estimated date to be made.

Generally, where schoolrooms or vestries have been added they are recorded in historical documents, however smaller additions are rarely recorded. The primary example of this is in the addition of vestibules or porches at the entrance of the building. There are few historical references to these but they do significantly alter the image of the building.

The Dursley Tabernacle has a late Victorian Gothic vestibule at its entrance which has no specific date reference, but was presumably added when the doorway was resited to the end wall in 1880. Smaller porches such as those at the Zion Baptist Church in Trowbridge, the Bethel Chapel and the Old Baptist Chapel in Bradford, and the Wesleyan Chapel in Cam are all undated. They may of course have been original to the building however many look to be later additions judging by the stonework – these will be identified within the architectural analysis when they occur.

In addition to the problem of undated porches and vestibules, further architectural alterations significantly alter the image of the building. The Acre Street Chapel in Stroud clearly illustrates this. Plates 9 and 10 show the changes made to the chapel from sometime after 1905 when the Salvation Army took it over. Plate 9 shows a whitewashed date stone in the pediment above the Salvation Army plaque, which presumably refers to the Wesleyan Chapel. This pediment and parapet have since been removed, as shown in plate 10.

Plate 9: Acre Street Chapel, Stroud (c.1905) highlighting the removed pediment and plaque (Tucker, 1991: plate 23)

Plate 9 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 10: Acre Street Chapel, Stroud (2006)

Other alterations such as the removal of exterior perimeter railings or walls, the replacement of windows and the repositioning of doorways all need to be considered in the architectural survey in order to fully appreciate the appearance of the building in the time frame under study. In some cases, due to the lack of historical information, it was not possible to correctly identify all the alterations; however this will be referred to as the relevant examples occur.

3.2.5 Conclusion

Despite the aforementioned problems arising from chapels that have been demolished, notably where no pictorial evidence survives, all the chapels in the study areas can be used within the spatial analysis. Where there is no pictorial evidence, there is still a large proportion of the dataset that can be used for the architectural analysis. Figures 3.2l and 3.2m illustrate the available percentage of chapels for each analytical method.

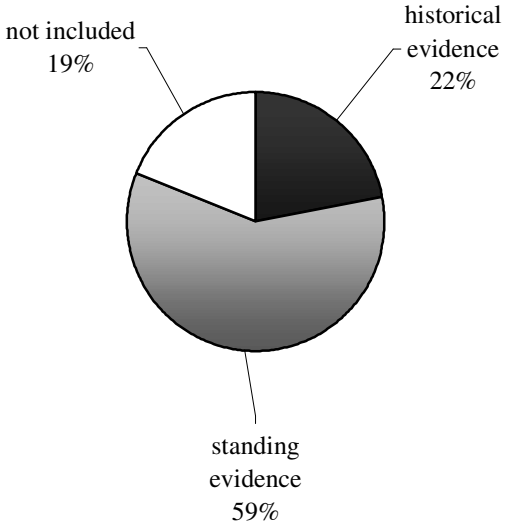


Figure 3.2l: Percentage of the dataset to be used in the architectural analysis

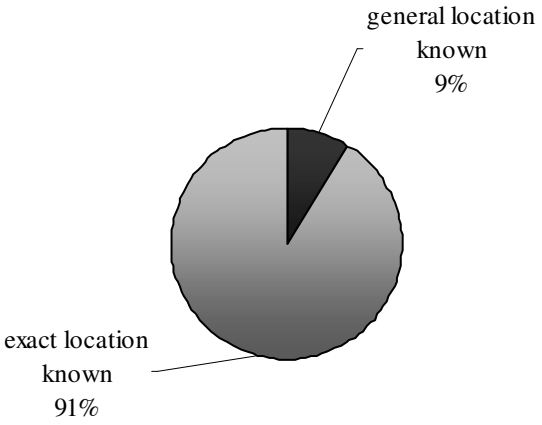


Figure 3.2m: Percentage of the dataset to be used in the spatial analysis

The dataset also benefits from a representative number of chapels for different times within the period under study. Numerous chapels were constructed over the time period from the early ones which existed before 1760, such as the Grove and Morgans Hill chapels in Bradford (1698 and 1740 respectively), Congregational Chapel at Cam (1702), and the Rodborough Tabernacle at Stroud (1750), through to the later chapels

like the Providence Chapel in Bradford (1858), Zion Chapel in Stroud (1856), and The Quarry Chapel near Dursley (1852). Figure 3.2n illustrates the construction dates of all the chapels in the dataset. This chronological arrangement of chapels allows any increase in architectural features or stylistic forms to be mapped in corroboration with the historical context of the research area, enabling, ultimately, an examination of the link between the role and position of nonconformity to the economic and social fortunes of the study areas.

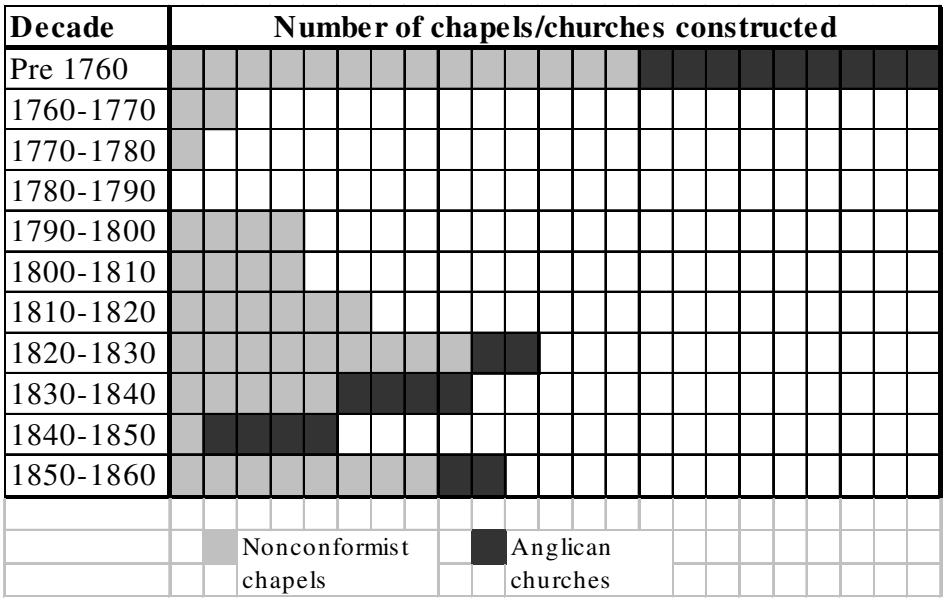


Figure 3.2n: Chronological arrangement of chapels and churches in the study area

The dataset, therefore, is a valuable sample of nonconformist chapels which will provide the majority of data for the analysis undertaken within this research, with associated documentary material enabling further discussion.

3.3 THE ANALYTICAL APPROACH: DOCUMENTARY RESOURCES

Documentary evidence has also been consulted in order to assist the analysis undertaken, and in some cases has furthered the results of the architectural and spatial surveys. This section briefly introduces the historical resources that have been used, alongside some discussion of their limitations and biases.

3.3.1 Primary Sources

The *Miles Report* was published in 1839 as part of a Government Commission into the condition of the handloom weavers in Gloucestershire. This volume provides information on the worker conditions, the increase in power looms, paternalistic and social ventures provided for the workers, and education and religious observance. However it primarily focuses on the outworkers as opposed to the factory weavers and therefore covers only a proportion of the workforce; also there was also no equivalent document produced for Wiltshire.

Historic maps provide valuable evidence on the structure of the woollen communities in the South West, as well as contemporary information regarding chapel and church locations in relation to industrial structures and domestic housing that will be incorporated into the spatial analysis. Primarily, the maps that have been used are the 1830s tithe maps of the area, and the first edition OS maps dating to the 1880s. These OS maps have been chosen as the primary base for the spatial analysis because they provide consistent and full coverage of each area, despite their later date. Earlier maps have been consulted and will be referenced as required.

The **1676 Compton Census**, and the **Benson Visitation** (1735-51) have been consulted in order to gain a wider understanding of the growth and change in nonconformity in the two counties. Both of these reports were administered in order to quantify the extent of dissent, and although they present numerous problems in analysis (to be addressed later), they do provide useful information. The **1851 Religious Census** is an invaluable source for the study. The England and Wales report was published in 1853, entitled *Religious Worship, England and Wales,* and includes statistics on worship attendance numbers and seating availability, alongside the provision of religious buildings, and county trends. The Religious Census will be used to identify the level of nonconformist activity in both Wiltshire and Gloucestershire by 1851, and provide the basis for the comparison between these levels of activity and the degree of radicalism within each area.

In addition to this, population censuses have also been consulted in order to gain a deeper understanding of the social context of the communities under study. The population censuses of Great Britain were begun in 1801 and were undertaken every

decade, giving valuable information on the changing demographics of the case study locations.

After the 1689 Toleration Act, dissenting worship was legalised in registered buildings, whether they be chapels, private homes or other structures. For the county of Wiltshire, Chandler (1985) has compiled a list of all the surviving meeting house certificates which helps to illustrate the growth rates of nonconformist congregations and chapels, as well as identifying periods of potential increased religious observance. Unfortunately, such a compendium has not yet been written for Gloucestershire, and to do so would be too time consuming for the present project.

Some nonconformist meetings created their own Church Record Books which are deposited in the County Records Offices, however, only a small proportion of the chapels in the case study areas have these records. Where they exist, these Chapel Record Books can be very useful as they detail meeting minutes, member lists, historical backgrounds, births, marriages and deaths, and accounts amongst other information, including the funding and development of the structures themselves. The financial records relating to the refitting, enlargement, and alterations of chapels can also be found within these sources, providing valuable information on the amount of money spent on religious ventures at certain points in the period under study.

A further valuable use of the historical documents is in assessing the role that clothiers (the employers within the cloth industry in the region – see Chapter 1, page 16) played in the religious and social life of their workforce, in order to question the theoretical questions outlined by Halévy, Marx and Thompson on the use of religion as a controlling and manipulating force. Although it would be impossible to compile a complete list of all the clothiers in the study area during the period, numerous historical sources have been consulted to create a large sample list of the clothiers. It does not claim to be exhaustive however all the names of those believed to be clothiers that have been identified have been included. By collating these names together, it was possible to cross-reference those people associated with the moral and religious nurture of the working classes (for example, from chapel record books) with the list of clothiers, to assist in the identification of their role. The extent of 'paternal' ventures, such as bequeathing money to the poor or to religious causes on death, or helping to fund and manage Sunday schools, by clothiers could be better determined.

Wills, particularly, were very significant in identifying the roles of clothiers in chapel culture. Using these wills has enabled a deeper understanding of the extent of religious provision by the clothiers for the workforce, and contributes to the analysis of paternalism within the area, and therefore the degree to which employers were maintaining control through paternalistic endeavour. The majority of the wills of the more wealthy individuals are kept at the Public Record Office in Kew.

There are numerous other miscellaneous documents and archives that contribute further to the research ranging from population surveys, and data on specific towns and villages, to deeds and licenses for erecting or creating meeting houses, and old photographs.

3.3.2 Secondary Sources

In all stages of the analysis the patterns, themes and results have been consistently cross-referenced with the social and economic histories of the region, with particular focus on the fortunes of the woollen industry and the rise and changing nature of riot and protest activity.

The *Victoria County History* (VCH) volumes provide invaluable historical information for the two counties. Unfortunately, the volumes have not yet been completed for the Uley, Dursley and Cam area and are not due for publication until 2016. The VCH also includes extensive information on charities set up for the poor by wealthier members of the community, often with religious affiliation, that can further illuminate the role of clothiers in the social and religious life of the community.

There are also numerous books and pamphlets on the local history of the chapels and churches in the areas that can be found both in the County Records Offices, and the Local Studies libraries, which have been consulted.

3.3.3 Limitations of the documentary resource

There are numerous problems with the documentary evidence consulted in the research, particularly within the various census returns. This section will attempt to outline the most significant issues that have arisen through using these sources, although further detail will provided for the smaller documents throughout the thesis as they occur.

Primarily, the majority of the limitations lie in the organisation and completion of census information. The Compton Census of 1676 illustrates such problems. It was compiled in 1676 under instruction from the Archbishop of Canterbury and organised by Henry Compton, Bishop of London. The primary impetus of the census was to quantify the number of dissenters and Roman Catholics in every parish, in order to establish the extent of their threat to the Established Church. Its significance lies in the fact it was the first national census of this type (Wykes 1980: 72). Since this thesis is not intended to be an exhaustive critique of its validity only the primary issues will be considered here. For a full understanding of the problems of using the Compton Census refer to Whiteman's invaluable book *The Compton Census of 1676: a critical edition* (1986).

The Census asked local parish ministers to enumerate the numbers of popish recusants and protestant dissenters within each diocese. However, the questions were not clearly phrased and there was little guidance on the completion of the returns. The answers received were therefore often muddled, ambiguous and inconsistent. Some returns have notes and explanations attached, whereas some gave no comment at all. For example, the first question asked how many in the parish could receive Holy Communion which hypothetically meant all those men and women over the age of sixteen. However, this was not clear and some returns included only men over the age of sixteen, whilst others included men, women and children too. Some parishes determined it to be the total population of the parish, whilst others excluded dissenters and popish recusants (Whiteman 1986: xxxiii). In addition to this many of the figures are suspiciously rounded, again undermining the accuracy of the results (Whiteman 1986: xliv).

The second and third questions (relating to the number of popish recusants and protestant dissenters respectively) of the census create further discrepancies. It has been argued that the numbers of both were heavily under represented in the survey (Peyton

1933: 100-103; Timmons 2006). Whiteman (1986) considers the number of popish recusants to be fairly reliable, however Timmons' analysis of the local records of Devon and Cornwall (2006) suggests the figures were vastly underestimated. The reasons for this were possibly due to firstly, the high level of partial nonconformity (a term referring to those who worshipped at nonconformist chapels *and* Anglican churches) and secondly, the reluctance of Roman Catholics in England in identifying themselves for fear of persecution. Partial or occasional nonconformity was common and Celia Fiennes reported that the Presbyterian meeting in Cullompton, Devon, drew more than seven times the number of dissenters than recorded in the Compton Census (Timmons 2006: 466). At the time of the taking of the census, dissent and Roman Catholicism were certainly not legal, which begs the question of who would actually admit to partaking in worship there?

Alongside partial or occasional nonconformity, absenteeism and indifference were also significant problems at the time (Whiteman, 1986: lxxvii; Timmons, 2006: 466). For those parishes which subtracted the number of dissenters from their total populations this would not account for those who failed to attend any form of public worship.

The extent of effort the ministers were prepared to take in completing the returns and the nature of the settlements surveyed increased the limitations of the Census. It was generally more difficult to survey vastly growing urban settlements than more stable rural ones (Whiteman 1986: xlv), and it was the urban settlements where dissent appeared to flourish more easily (Timmons 2006: 467). Many itinerant groups such as soldiers and sailors were often omitted. Lodgers were perhaps also not included, or those in hospitals or almshouses. Large estates that had their own private chapels may have not been included, alongside their servants who may have also been omitted. Other groups who are likely to have been omitted are vagrants, squatters, and even the preachers and ministers themselves (Whiteman 1986: xlvii).

Finally the tabulation process may have resulted in some problems. Comments that were included in the original returns were omitted in the final draft, and these original returns were then destroyed – only a few remain that highlight this problem. Numbers that had been estimated in the original returns would have been made definite in the final, and there is also the risk of copying errors (Whiteman 1986; xlvii).

The Benson Visitation, undertaken in Gloucestershire between 1735 and 1751, at least improved on some of the discrepancies of the earlier Compton Census. It, for one, required a total number of inhabitants which was a considerable deficiency in the Compton Census, and it also lists the nonconformists by denomination whereas the Compton Census lists them merely as dissenters. In addition to this, Church of England and nonconformist schools are listed, and meetings and meeting houses are also distinguished. Details about the type of settlement, the ministers and lords, and the status of livings are included providing a detailed summary of each parish.

The primary problem with the Benson Visitation is the dating of its tabulation. It was first undertaken in 1735, but Benson continuously updated it until his death in 1752. Six versions of the Visitation survive, dating from between 1735 and 1751 (Fendley 2000: ix). Due to his continuous updating, it is difficult to determine the specific statistics for any one date. Some parishes and chapelries do not provide any returns, and others only completed the population figures. It is impossible to determine whether there were no dissenters in these locations, or whether they just did not know, or did not want to include figures for them.

Using meeting house certificates is also problematic. Some congregations never licensed their meeting houses either on principle, or because they saw no reason to do so. Where a dissenting congregation was fairly well established and accepted, a licence may not have been obtained. In addition to this many people applied for licenses for buildings that would have ultimately not been used for worship at any point. It gave congregations the security that there would be a place or worship should they require it.

With regards to Chandler's (1985) collection of Wiltshire meeting house certificates specifically, it is a largely complete document. However, when licenses are compared to information about existing or demolished chapels – location and date – there are some discrepancies. When the meeting house certificate evidence is compared with the physical evidence for Bradford, three chapels appear not to have been licensed – the Old Baptist Chapel (1689), the Friends Meeting House (1718) and Providence Baptist Chapel (1858). This can be understood through the fact that it was only compulsory to obtain a license for a nonconformist chapel between 1812 and 1852. In Trowbridge a total of eight chapels don't appear to have certificates. Those that predate 1812 are the Emmanuel Chapel (1754), the Waldron Square Chapel (1754), the Tabernacle (1771),

and the Town Bridge Chapel (1790). Islington Down Chapel (1814), Zion Baptist Chapel (1816), Staverton Methodist Chapel (1824) and Manvers Street Methodist Chapel (1835) are the chapels that do not have corresponding certificates which were legally bound to get them.

The Barrington Visitation of Wiltshire (1783) is another survey of religious observance undertaken, although not with the same meticulous detail of the Benson Visitation of Gloucestershire. The visitation aimed to get a complete image of religious observance in each parish through a series of questions relating to number of services on a Sunday, number of weekday services, minister status, and number of Holy Communions per year, register records and so forth. The most interesting section for this thesis, however, is the number of communicants, Roman Catholics and dissenters in the parish. The census, like the Compton Census, gave out few guidelines on the completion and many of the returns are vague and longwinded. 20 parishes are omitted as they were not under Bishop Barrington's jurisdiction, and a further nine were either lost or simply weren't returned in the first place (Ransome 1972: 5).

The Religious Census of 1851 was taken on Mothering Sunday, March the 30th, 1851 and has never since been repeated on the same scale. Its aim was to assess the state of religion in England and Wales through counting the number of attendees, sittings and places of worship within every parish on that particular day. Multiple services were also included, as were all religious bodies in the country irrelevant of sect. The report was compiled and tabulated by Horace Mann, and sought to establish the problems of declining attendance figures, availability of places of worship and free sittings, and in general produce suggestions that could improve religious provision and education at a national level. Since no survey of this scale has ever been repeated, it is unknown whether it had much influence.

The Census naturally has its limitations which are too far reaching to describe in full here. Pickering's 1967 article entitled 'The 1851 Religious Census – a useless experiment?' provides an invaluable introduction to the discrepancies of the document, however concluding that, overall, despite its issues, it remains a valuable document in assessing the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Census and the "demographic state of the churches in England at a given moment in time" (Pickering 1967: 406).

He attributes the greatest problems with the Census to a lack of rigid organisation. The Census was not compulsory and some of the returns were not complete. A total of 2,524 cases gave no information to the number of sittings. Although limited guidance was given to clergy for the completion of the census, little help was given for the enumeration or 'counting'. One wonders when, during a service, the minister would have found the time to count his flock. In some cases ministers advertised that the count would take place on the previous Sunday, in other places they did not causing inconsistencies in advertising across parishes. In many cases the count was estimated, and rounded off to the nearest ten. If the counting itself is not precise it reduces the validity of all the findings of the Census. This brief overview of the problems of using the 1851 Religious Census is certainly not exhaustive but to list them all would be time consuming and irrelevant. Unfortunately, the returns of the Census have only been published on a County basis and therefore this is the smallest level of analysis we can currently assess within the time scale of this research. This makes it difficult to assess the case studies individually.

Although this section provides a detailed understanding of the problems of the more important sources that have been consulted, there are numerous smaller documents that have been used which are discussed as they arise. Any problems encountered with these sources will be identified as they are used. As with all historical documents, care is consistently taken to understand the motivations of the author in compiling such accounts in order to more fully assess their validity within the research.

3.4 THE GIS DATABASE

Maps created using GIS software (ArcMap) were compiled for each of the case study locations, specifically to map the nonconformist chapels and Anglican churches in each place in five time periods (Pre 1760, 1760-1785, 1785-1810, 1810-1835, and 1835-1860) in order to illustrate the growth and changing nature of religious observance over the time period under study. In mapping these structures, the first edition Ordnance Survey maps have been used (dating to the early 1880s), as they are the only maps that provide a consistent overview of all of the case study areas. These GIS maps are presented in Chapter 5, and can be found in Appendix 2 (in Volume 2). Earlier maps of

some locations have been collected however these provide varying degrees of detail, and are not complete for all of the locations. The first edition OS maps, although postdating the period under study, are the only collection of consistent, detailed maps making them the most valuable source of information for the GIS database.

However, it must be remembered that these maps show only one moment in history and ignore the earlier development of the case studies. Further documentary evidence including earlier maps and historical sources has been used in order to more completely map the physical development of the towns, and these will be referred to as necessary.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Despite the access and survey problems of the architectural evidence alongside limitations within the documentary resources, the dataset used in the research provides a good sample of chapel structures throughout the period under study. Where physical evidence does not survive, often pictorial or descriptive evidence does, contributing to a fuller and more detailed analysis. The case studies have been chosen in part, as a result of their wealth of surviving evidence and associated documentary resources, and are valuable case studies in the wider context of the analysis of religious observance in industrial textile towns. The following chapter introduces the social, economic and religious history of each of the case studies in more detail, providing location maps and further information of the context of religion in the study.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

The previous chapter has introduced the research area with some reference to the cloth industry, which provides the context of the study, the significance of the study of nonconformity based on traditional theories of dissent, and the need for an archaeological approach in order to better understand the impact of religion. This chapter provides the historical context of the industry and the development of nonconformity in the region from the sixteenth century onwards. It aims to highlight the important relationship between the development of urban industrial communities and the rise of dissent, in order to provide the necessary context for the theoretical framework and the methodology of the research.

4.1 PREVIOUS STUDIES OF THE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY

Although much literature has been written on the economic history of the woollen industry in Britain, and in the South West specifically, the focus has primarily been on the technological processes of the trade, the economic climate, and the mill buildings, as opposed to the social structure of the communities and its workers. These studies are nonetheless valuable in providing an historical foundation.

Some excellent volumes on the development of the wool trade have been written, highlighting the processes and technical innovation of the trade in Britain, and the differences in organisation and their relationships to the national economy. D.T. Jenkins and K.G. Ponting published *The British Wool Textile Industry 1770-1914* in 1982, which provides a detailed economic history of the trade nationally, illustrating chronologically the changes to the trade and markets as a result of increased industrialisation, whilst G.D. Ramsay's *The British Woollen Industry, 1500-1750* (1982) adds to this through its focus on the trade in an international context, with much reference to the export market. K.G. Ponting uses an international focus in his work entitled *The Wool Trade* (1961), which interestingly focuses on the wool trade in Australia, developed by British settlers who fled

the declining trade in Britain. The national or even international, woollen industry is a large topic, and consequently publications relating to it are rarely exhaustive accounts.

However, once particular regions or counties are focused on, more detail and more variation in the study is achieved. For the South West, the amount of publications on the history of the woollen trade is prolific, being the most prominent trade in the region until the nineteenth century. Julia de Lacey Mann's seminal work entitled *The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880* (1971) has been of critical importance in this research, providing a meticulous chronological study of the trade, considering in great detail the fluctuations in the fortunes of the woollen industry, with reference to the national context. This work has provided much of the historical background to the study, and been a constant reference throughout the research. Other good volumes provide much of the same material, with a similar focus on the economic history of which K.G Ponting's *The West of England Cloth Industry* (1957) and *The Woollen Industry of South West England* (1971) are good examples.

The economic and technical histories, however, are developed further when considered on a regional or county basis. This is reflected in the work of G.D Ramsay entitled *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1943). Although the study is a little too early for this research, it nonetheless provides a useful early history. It is significant through its landscape approach, considering the geological and geographical influences in the organisation and location of the trade. K.H. Rogers' *Warp and Weft: the Somerset and Wiltshire Woollen Industry* (1986) follows a similar pattern, and he interestingly focuses on the structures associated with the woollen trade and includes many photographs and illustrations, illustrating the significance of the physical landscape, as opposed to just the economic history. The mills, loomshops and factories are considered in even greater detail in Jennifer Tann's *Gloucestershire Woollen Mills* (1967), and K.H. Rogers' *Wiltshire and Somerset Woollen Mills* (1976), which consider in detail the development of the structures as a result of aspects such as steam power. Both provide a gazetteer for the architectural historian or buildings archaeologist, including a brief history of each mill and its development. These important publications highlight the

proliferation of surviving structures, and furthermore illustrate their architectural and visual significance, and thereby their importance as an archaeological resource.

The increasing focus on the landscape of the South West woollen industry has been further enhanced by the development of studies that have begun to consider the social aspects of the trade, outside the immediate workplace. Palmer and Neaverson's aforementioned publication entitled *The Textile Industry of South West England; a Social Archaeology* (2005) is the first archaeological study of the trade in the region, and the first to focus in detail on the social life of the working class communities and their employers. The volume particularly considers the housing of workers, and the clothiers, and illustrates in detail the significance of paternalism, power and control in the architectural landscape. From a historical perspective, A.J. Randall's publication entitled *Before the Luddites* (1991) is important in considering the protest activity of the Gloucestershire woollen workers, through the impact of increased mechanisation and threat to local tradition, custom and community, highlighting the high level of working class organisation through an analysis of the protest movement that occurred. J. Rule's chapter in Harris' *Popular Culture in England 1500 to 1850* (1995) further highlights the importance of custom, and resentment towards increasing surveillance in the workplace, within the woollen communities of South West England, and the influence this had on the development of restive activity.

It is clear that the social history and archaeology of the South West woollen workers has begun to play a much more prominent role within the field, building on traditional economic studies of the trade, particularly with reference to protest activity and control. Although Palmer and Neaverson's 2005 publication references the link between the rise of the protest movement, and the increase in dissenting chapels, this is the only volume really to recognise the importance of chapel culture in the social lives of the working classes on an archaeological level. One study – David Underdown's *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (1985) – certainly achieves this from a historical perspective. He highlights the search for and construction of belief systems in periods of economic and social distress, concluding that the development of chapel culture was a new form of community that challenged the traditional parochial structure. The increasingly urban landscapes of the cloth trade were hotbeds of dissenting activity, and the increase in population alongside the transition in the

technical processes of the trade, produced a new system of society, influenced by community solidarity and chapel culture, which was, in part, reflected in protest and restive activity.

The importance of studying nonconformity and communities is clear; and this research introduces a different perspective to the understanding of the woollen communities in South West England, than the historical studies that are currently available offer. The landscape approaches to the woollen industry undertaken by scholars such as Palmer and Neaverson, Tann, and Rogers certainly further the understanding of the industry's physical landscape, and highlight the significance of the structures and their visual impact; however such an approach has never been incorporated into the religious life of the trade. Through looking at the religious landscapes of the woollen industry, as the research aims to do, a better and more complete appreciation of the social impact and character of the South West woollen industry can be achieved.

4.2 THE SOUTH WEST WOOLLEN INDUSTRY

Wiltshire and Somerset produced cloth from a very early date, with archaeological evidence dating from the Bronze Age onwards (Rogers 1986: 13). Somerset had a well developed industry during the Iron Age, and excavations have also concluded that by the third century AD rugs and capes from the South West were the country's principal exports (Aspin 1982: 5). However it was not until the Norman Conquest that sheep became more prized for their wool, than for their meat and manure (Aspin 1982: 5). By the eleventh century the water-powered fulling mill, where fabric was washed, degreased and beaten in a tank containing water, clay and gypsum had been introduced (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 18). Early fulling mills in Gloucestershire appear at Sherborne (by 1180), and Barton by 1185 (Perry 2003: 2), and one on at Stanley in Wiltshire by 1189 (Rogers 1986: 17). The introduction of fulling mills caused the relocation of the industry from urban centres into the countryside, and was the primary cause of the fragmentation of the guild system which had previously retained strict control (Ponting 1971: 15).

Further developments in spinning and weaving promoted more growth. The broadloom, introduced in the fourteenth century, allowed the width of cloth to be increased, requiring the employment of two people to undertake the weaving process (Ponting 1971: 9). The spinning wheel was also introduced in the fourteenth century, following the introduction of carding in the thirteenth century to improve the quality of the wool (Rogers 1986: 14; Ponting 1971: 14). In the fourteenth century Edward III invited Flemish weavers to settle in order to teach their superior skills to the workers of the stagnated industry in England, and within a few years England had begun to export around five thousand pieces of cloth annually (Rogers 1986: 21). It is around this time that the putting out system began to develop in the South West.

By the fifteenth century the clothiers of the South West woollen industry (and nationally) were becoming immensely prosperous, evident in their wills, probate inventories, and buildings. William Horton of Bradford upon Avon is a prominent example. After inheriting part of his father's industry in 1497 he proceeded to open a fulling mill. His wealth was increased by his marriage into another prominent clothier family (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 49). 'Woollen Churches' sprang up across the country, largely funded by prosperous clothiers to ensure salvation, and as symbols of their piety, as seen at Fairford and Cirencester (Bebbington 2003: 36). Thomas Horton financed a chantry for Holy Trinity Church (plate 11), a church house, and a house for a priest (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 49).

Plate 11: The Chantry House, Bradford (2006)

The industry was rurally based by the sixteenth century, with the South West prominent in England's woollen cloth manufacture, aided by further technological innovation within the

finishing processes notably through the introduction of the gig mill. This improved the process of raising the nap which had previously been undertaken using teasels (Berg 1994: 246). Although largely resisted in Wiltshire, the gig mill spread relatively quickly in Gloucestershire.

The prosperity of the previous century was curtailed by James I (and VI) in 1614, in what became known as the Cockayne experiment, where he gave the monopoly in dyeing all cloth for export to Alderman Cockayne. The European markets had their own advanced methods of dressing and dying cloth, and were angered by the impact this had on their market, since English cloth was traditionally exported in an undressed state (as plain white broadcloth). Subsequently, the Dutch forbade the import of all English cloth, severely affecting export demand in the industry (Rogers 1986: 31). This was worsened by the cloth depression of the 1640s due to the Civil War, and harvest failures. North Wiltshire suffered particularly badly, witnessing severe poverty, drunkenness and immorality (Underdown 1985: 241). Riots were a common occurrence and the weavers of this area were already becoming renowned for their turbulent behaviour (Rogers 1986: 26).

By the mid sixteenth century a new form of cloth revolutionised the woollen industry, which greatly contributed to its prosperity. The *new draperies* originated from Dutch weavers, and were much lighter requiring little fulling or shearing, and so were easier to produce, helping to meet the demand caused by the gradual increase in population (Perry 2003: 22). In 1657 Paul Methuen settled Dutch cloth workers at Bradford, and the house named Dutch Barton commemorates this venture (plate 12); by the seventeenth century it became the area's leading export (Palmer and Neaverson, 2005: 23).

Plate 12: Dutch Barton, Bradford (2006)

Spanish cloths developed soon after, produced from the wool of Merino sheep. The wool was shorter and finer, making it lighter than the new draperies and broadcloths. A second advantage of this cloth was that it could be dyed in the wool, as opposed to in the cloth, and could therefore be used to create fabrics of multiple colours and patterns (Perry 2003: 23; Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 23). These coloured cloths became known as *medleys*.

As a result, the first half of the eighteenth century saw much expansion and clustering of specialist trades (Mann 1971: 28-31). However, for 40 years after this period the trade witnessed fluctuations due to increasing competition from Yorkshire and their successful export campaign to the Mediterranean and the Levant. The later eighteenth century saw a period of recovery with increased demand in the 1790s (Rogers 1986: 39), and export increased from 89,620 pieces in 1786, to 214,489 in 1791 (Mann 1971: 135). The disruption caused to the French woollen industry during the Revolution benefited the home industry as competition declined, further aided by the American War of Independence where Gloucestershire provided much of the uniform cloth. Between 1792 and 1815 almost every European country was at war, and the vast numbers of uniforms required allowed limited prosperity in the South West (Perry 2003: 69).

The Napoleonic War did create some problems in trade, despite the demand for uniform cloth. Between 1800 and 1812 Napoleon controlled most of central Europe and he boycotted English goods. The blockades were not impassable but the impact on the South West woollen industry was still felt. Furthermore, Spain's allegiance with France resulted in increased problems in obtaining the Spanish wool needed for the ever popular medley cloths (Perry 2003: 70).

From 1815 returning soldiers swelled the labour market, which was already suffering with the loss of the uniform market. The East India Company lost its export trade with India causing a fall in the export of finer, lighter cloths. By 1825 no cloth was being exported to India (Mann 1971: 157-158). Wheat prices had risen due to bad harvests, pushing the poor rate to unparalleled levels (Evans 1983: 191). Bankruptcies were common throughout the South West. Between 1816 and 1825 Wiltshire lost 38 of its woollen companies,

Gloucestershire lost 85 companies, and Somerset 46 (Mann, 1971: 181). This depression caused many cloth workers of Gloucestershire to emigrate to Australia, America and Canada (Mann 1971: 158).

By December 1825 the industry was in panic. Half the population of Trowbridge, Melksham and Frome was unemployed (Mann 1971: 168). By the end of the 1820s the industry was declining rapidly. The tariff on English exports had been raised again in 1828, exacerbated by the growth in European woollen industries and competition from Yorkshire (Rogers 1986: 100; Mann 1971: 164). The 1830s were a period of fluctuation in the wool trade. An improvement between 1832 and 1836 was followed by another period of great severity in the late 1830s, lasting into the 1840s. In Bradford, half of the manufactories that existed in 1820 had gone bankrupt. Trowbridge fared better, witnessing only two bankruptcies, but this period saw the end of the trade in Salisbury, Warminster and Shepton Mallet (Rogers 1986: 104).

A short period of prosperity from 1843 was briefly curtailed with another depression in 1847-8 as a result of the collapse of 'railway mania' (Rogers 1986: 109). Some larger firms stayed in business and did well, and by the 1850s this prosperity had been sustained enough for clothiers to begin expanding again. New machines were installed and weaving sheds were added to factories where there was space to do so (Rogers 1986: 112). The number of mills on the whole was decreasing; however this was largely due to the concentration of larger firms, evident in the rise in employment levels (Mann 1971: 196). The proportion of cloth being produced was now much lower than it had been in earlier years. Gloucestershire's output had decreased by £300,000 since 1836 and the South West in general had only 9% of the spindles, and 17% of the operatives employed in the English woollen industry, in comparison to Yorkshire which had 68% and 63% respectively (Mann 1971: 187).

The great period of prosperity in the South West woollen industry was evidently the latter part of the eighteenth century, where elaborate clothier houses were constructed as fortunes were made. From the start of the nineteenth century, particularly between 1820 and 1840, the industry was in decline reflected in increasing poor rates, poverty, and emigration. This fluctuation of trade, and its impact on the working classes, is of great importance to the

research, with this particular period (between 1760 and 1860) chosen in order to address the role of nonconformity in periods of both growth and decline. The economic instability, alongside the rising mechanisation of the trade and transition from domestic to mill or factory production is paramount in understanding the importance of community in this area. As Chapter 2 highlighted, chapels and religion allegedly became more popular in periods of distress, as a result of the security, attachment and belonging they provided, and this period – as covered in this study – aims to address whether this is visible in the physical landscape.

4.3 THE GROWTH OF NONCONFORMITY AND ITS IMPACT ON SOUTH WEST ENGLAND

Within this research the significance of nonconformity can not be fully understood without some knowledge of its position in the region. The importance of regional studies has been stressed, and this section will provide the historical context of the rise of protestant dissent in England, and particularly within the South West, illustrating the main forces behind the development of nonconformity with reference to the cloth industry. Furthermore, by examining the occupational structure of dissent, its prominent status in manufacturing communities is apparent. Much literature has been written on this subject and this section is certainly no exhaustive account of the history of nonconformity. Historians such as Acheson (1995) and Bradley (1990) have focused on Puritanism and the rise of dissent from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, whilst Gibson (1994) and Gilbert (1976) have adeptly discussed the relationships between the church, dissent and the social, political and economic environment of the industrial revolution. Ditchfield (1998) has focused specifically on the Evangelical Revival and its impact within the eighteenth and nineteenth century social and economic upheavals. This section serves only as a summary of the growth of dissent in the clothing areas of South West England prior to the period under study (1760 to 1860) and will provide a summary of the historical context of the Church, dissent and Catholicism within the research period.

4.3.1 The decline of the Church of England

The Established Church was declining in popularity by the late sixteenth century. The Reformation had weakened ecclesiastical power through its support by secular authority, culminating in the separation of England from Roman Catholicism by Henry the VIII in the 1530s. With these movements it had become clear that ecclesiastical power was now under control of the state, and with the dissolution of the monasteries the church was deprived of its wealth and influence (Gilbert 1976: 4-5). The controversy caused by these acts is infamous, and, by placing Henry VIII as the head of the Established Church in England in the *Act of Supremacy* in 1534, there was never going to be a simple transition for the population. After his death in 1547 Edward VI continued his father's Protestantism, famously reversed by Mary when she ascended to the throne in 1553. Elizabeth I, although Protestant herself, vowed not to "make a window into men's souls", however she required outward conformity, reflected in the *Act of Uniformity* of 1559.

By the 1570s England was experiencing a rise in Protestant and Catholic dissent against the Church of England, largely through the influence of men such as Thomas Cartwright and Thomas Field. Cartwright was a leading Protestant who ran into a controversial dispute with John Whitgift, then Vice Chancellor of Cambridge University, and later the Archbishop of Canterbury, over the hierarchical organisation and constitution of the Church of England. Thomas Field was a radical Protestant clergyman whose career encountered controversy, expulsion from preaching, and imprisonment as a result of his extreme beliefs on the structure of the Established Church. The Church of England was in decline and by 1600 it was estimated that only 75% of those who could receive the sacraments actually did, and one observer in 1618 suggested that one in four English men were irreligious (Gilbert 1976: 6-7).

4.3.2. Definition of Terms

It is worthwhile at this point, to determine what is meant by terms such as *dissenter*, *nonconformist*, and *Puritan*, as the terms are regularly used interchangeably yet have different meanings.

To begin, the term 'Protestant' is used to describe all those across the world who protested against the papal authority and doctrine of Roman Catholicism, whereas 'Anglican' is specifically associated with Protestants who are affiliated with the Church of England.

The word 'nonconformist' has a complex meaning. From the Edward VI to the Restoration in 1660, it referred to those who took communion in the Church of England, yet refused to conform to other practices stipulated by the *Act of Uniformity* of 1552. However, post Restoration it was commonly applied to those who physically split from the Church of England, and worshipped fully outside its parameters, and at this point they became more commonly known as 'dissenters', a legally-defined movement which refused to comply with the *Act of Uniformity* of 1662 (Watts 1978: 1-2).

'Puritanism' was a theological notion based on purifying religious worship through purging the Established Church of corruption and, in its place, increase the focus on preaching and the scripture (Underdown 1985: 41). Puritans were a broad group united only in their abhorrence of the Popish aspects of the Church of England, and, despite their dislike of the structure of the Established Church, many Puritans did not necessarily emerge as 'dissenters' after the *Act of Uniformity*, considering an unreformed national church to be the lesser of two evils (Hurwich 1976: 25-26).

The term 'Anabaptist' referred to those who, although may not have undertaken physical believer's baptisms, were still a radical religious group who believed in pacifism, equality and rejected the authority of secular laws and oaths. 'Separatists' were those who denied the reform of the Church of England (as the Puritans wanted), and partook in illegal secret meetings prior to the Restoration (Watts 1978: 1).

4.3.3 The growth of Puritanism and the Civil War

Protestant nonconformity flourished from the seventeenth century; however at this point the threat to the Established Church was not serious. Nonconformity developed early in South West England - indeed the earliest surviving nonconformist chapel in the country lies in Horningsham (plate 13), Wiltshire, erected in 1566, supposedly by Scottish workers on the Longleat Estate (Banton 1964).

Plate 13: Horningsham Chapel (2007)

The early seventeenth century saw a more coherent development of Puritanism based on the Calvinistic belief of unconditional election to salvation (predestination). With the accession of James I and VI in 1603, many Puritans hoped for a reform of the Church within the model of Presbyterianism, as had been achieved in Scotland in 1560. Although James, both a Scot and a Calvinist, gave some support to prominent Presbyterians, he was reluctant to convert the country to Presbyterianism as he disagreed with its democratic organisation and loathing of the divine right of kings as head of the church. He considered the Geneva Bible, used by Presbyterians, to be seditious and, in response to its growing popularity, commissioned a new Bible, known as the King James Bible (Smylie 1996: 32).

However, Puritanism, in its various forms, spread quickly in the prominent clothing areas of North Wiltshire. It was not so successful in the more socially cohesive, close-knit agricultural areas, where social dependency and traditional local politics survived

(Underdown 1985: 89). Underdown significantly highlights that "the further the village from the clothing region, the more likely it is that traditions survive" (1985: 93).

Evidence of early Puritanism appears in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. In the latter it was not uncommon for parishioners to stop attending church. In 1603 a weaver and a roughmason criticised the prayer book, alleging that a ministry that ignored preaching could not rightly administer the sacraments (VCH Wilts 3: 37). Slaughterford, Bradford, Warminster and Salisbury also witnessed early dissenting activity under the guise of Puritanism (VCH Wilts 3: 101). There were dissenters in Bradford by 1604 where weavers from Castle Combe were known to be attending Congregational meetings at Slaughterford, and by 1626 there was a Baptist church at Salisbury, whose members were being fined for non attendance at the local parish church (VCH Wilts 3: 101-102).

The unstable reign of Charles I (1625-1649) increased the popularity of Puritanism and contributed to the rise in Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and the Baptist movement. London began to emerge as a centre of Baptist activity - however they were only considered to be a "minor nuisance" by the Church of England (Acheson 1995: 24). The Puritans distrusted Charles as a result of his marriage to a Catholic, and his close friendship with Richard Montagu. Montagu wrote vehemently against Calvinism, and supported the reforms of Archbishop Laud which seemed to be making the Church of England more ceremonial. As a result of this the Puritans feared Charles was pushing the country towards papacy, and Calvinist religious reform became a Parliamentary campaign of the Civil War (Gandy 2001: 37). Nationally, in the run up to the Civil War, dissenting sects were becoming popular, and had been gaining much influence in court following the Parliamentary challenge to Charles I. In 1643 episcopacy was abolished, and the direction of the Established Church was given to the Westminster Assembly, consisting of 150 people, largely Presbyterian in outlook. In 1645 the Book of Common Prayer was suppressed, replaced by the Directory (RC Vol I: xlix).

Within the South West, the cloth trade depression of the 1640s bred poverty and discontent, and local Puritan Ministers attempted to curb the resulting immorality and dissatisfaction through preaching activities. Dursley in Gloucestershire was particularly known for its Puritan activity. The parish church in Dursley came under the government of Puritans as

the account books show the disappearance of the Book of Common Prayer and the elaborate Communion furniture in 1643 (Blunt 1975: 60).

From the 1640s Quaker groups also began to develop under George Fox, causing more of a threat to the Established Church and the State than any other nonconformist group through their rejection of the ministry and hierarchy in ecclesiastical structure. The Quakers were considered by Hallywell (1673) to be "but the refuse of the world" tempting the lower classes with dangerous doctrines (cited in Reay 1980: 55). However, according to Flinn (1967), during the seventeenth century the Quakers were never a serious threat and remained a minority, and he doubts whether even 1% of the population was Quaker (Flinn 1967: 23).

Gloucestershire and Wiltshire were staunchly Parliamentarian (and consequently Puritan sympathisers) during the Civil War, observed by Corbet who stated that "the yeomen, farmers, clothiers, and the whole middle ranke of people were the only active [supporters of Parliament]", agreed with by Baxter who observed that "On Parliament's side, were…the greatest part of the Tradesmen, and Freeholders, and the middle sort of men; especially in those Corporations and Counties which depend on Cloathing and such manufactures" (Manning 1988: 161)

However, by the end of the Civil War attitudes towards Puritanism had changed. Presbyterianism was established nationally in 1648 as a result of the Parliamentary victory (Gandy 2001: 37). However, many who had initially sympathised with the Parliamentarians began to resent the military rule of the Interregnum, and the Puritans received much criticism. Resistance was exposed through the refusal to give up festivals and sports, and there were frequent reports in Wiltshire of "festive disorder by the ungodly", especially in the clothing towns (Underdown 1985: 262). The sombre disposition of the Puritan middling classes was thought to be insipid in the post-war period and soon began to decline in popularity, giving rise to other more extreme sects. The Ranters (plate 14) were a sect who believed that God was within every living creature and thereby denied the authority of the church. They were never a large group but there were some groups in Wiltshire and Somerset, finding their supporters amongst the lower classes and labourers, notably in Bradford, Salisbury and Lacock (Underdown 1985: 249).

Plate 14 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 14: The traditional image of Ranters. The Ranters were often associated with nudity and sexual immorality as depicted in this engraving. One possible explanation for this is their rejection of excessive material belongings, particularly in expressing equality (http://www.nodo50.org, accessed 05/12/05)

Independency flourished and it was clear that even at this date, the nonconformist sects had different theocratic notions and actions. Many denominations developed out of a Puritan mindset, but varied in their attitudes towards church organisation and reform. Congregationalists and Independents, for example, desired greater autonomy for individual congregations, believing that their congregation was their entire church (Acheson 1995: 46), whilst Presbyterianism, although governing individually through their own elected Church elders, formed part of regional, and national General Assembly.

During the Commonwealth the principle of toleration had been recognised and nonconformist groups developed rapidly. The only groups to receive less toleration were the Papists, Socinians (Christians who reject traditional doctrines such as the divinity of Christ and the Trinity, and original sin) and Jews (RC Vol I: xxvii). This level of toleration, however, did not last long.

4.3.4: The Restoration of the Monarchy and the Suppression of Dissent 1660-1730

The period between 1660 and 1730 witnessed a decline in most forms of religious observance. The Established Church and nonconformist groups were struggling with the demoralising effect of Civil War schisms, and dissenting causes had lost much of their support from the higher classes and therefore their financial support (Flinn 1967: 22; Evans 1982: 53), and comprised only a minority of the population (Wykes 1990: 39). After Cromwell's death in 1658 English society destabilised further under squabbling military regiments and social, political and economic stress. The Restoration, after the almost anarchic winter of 1659, was welcomed for its return to security and stability, although its supporters were by no means united in what they aimed to achieve politically, economically and religiously (Glassey 1997: 2). In 1660 Charles II was brought out of exile to regain the throne of England, restoring the Church of England as the Established Church once more.

Charles restored customs and festivals, much to the displeasure of the few Puritan groups that remained active. Lord Clarendon, Charles' first chief advisor, influenced the introduction of numerous anti-dissenting Acts that came to be known as *The Clarendon Code*. This consisted of four acts that aimed to restrain the influential power of the Presbyterians (although it affected other dissenting groups too) who had gained much political influence during the Commonwealth period. In 1661 the *Corporation Act* stated that all people who were to be employed in any government, city or corporation office must have participated in at least twelve months of Communion at an Anglican church – meant to dispossess powerful Presbyterians of governmental or military influence. In 1662 dissenting activity was further curbed by the *Act of Uniformity* which required all places of worship or religious groups to use the rites and ceremonies of the Established Church and the Book of Common Prayer, and also required all ministers or preachers to receive Episcopal ordination in order to be able to preach. The result of this act was the ejection of over 2,000 ministers in the country who refused to comply, a result which was consequently met with the *Five Mile Act* of 1665, whereby no minister could go within five miles of any parish from which they had been banished (Flinn 1967: 22). Immediately prior to this the *Conventicle Act* of 1664 made any religious gathering of five or more

people engaging in dissenting worship illegal, and so made the meeting of the nonconformist congregations which had flourished with the Civil war difficult.

Secret gatherings and meetings, however, did flourish in private houses or in moorlands and woods (Lindley 1967: 49). Elizabeth Sterridge, a seventeenth-century Quaker, recorded the dangers of attending illegal religious meetings in this period, describing it as a "time of great suffering amongst Friends", and that they and other nonconformist groups "went to our meetings in peril of our lives". She acknowledged the importance of informants who were used to quell the survival of illegal nonconformist groups. One such informant bought a sword and "swore he would bathe it in our blood; and said, it was no more sin to kill a Quaker, than it was to kill a louse" (cited in Booey 2004: 126) although it is unknown how many were actually murdered as a result of their religious beliefs. Despite these dangers, nonconformist meetings survived. The Congregational meeting in Cam, for example, was allegedly meeting as early as 1662. Evidence from the Gloucestershire Quarter Sessions dating to 1682 indicates that illegal meetings were a very real threat and there were numerous attempts to suppress them (GRO, R.O.L.4). Within the Wiltshire cloth industry Slaughterford became a breeding ground for secret illegal meetings, as did the districts between Warminster, Bradford and Salisbury (VCH Wilts 3: 101).

Charles II attempted to lessen the impact of The Clarendon Code by attempting to introduce the *Royal Declaration of Indulgence* in 1672; however the Royalists within Court and Parliament (who held a majority) forced him to withdraw this, more in fear that it would increase popery, rather than dissent (Cruickshanks 2000: 5). Charles II had been suspected of being a Catholic throughout his reign, and likely converted to Catholicism on his death. In the place of the Declaration of Indulgence, he conversely agreed to the introduction of the *Test Act* in 1673, which required public officials to receive the Church of England sacrament and so exclude popish recusants from civil and military office. This was extended in 1678 to include membership of the Houses of Parliament. Whether these acts were wholly successful is largely debatable and not relevant for this thesis but the work of David Wykes (1987; 1990) covers this topic in much detail. Such government action, however, leads one to wonder whether dissent was really as small in scale as traditionally

argued if such a large number of acts and movements against them were deemed so necessary.

The decline in popularity of Puritanism, alongside the enforced restrictions on all dissenting groups in the Restoration period, made its growth limited and sporadic. It was not until the 1740s that dissent was really in a position to become a direct threat to the Church of England (Gilbert 1976: 16). However, the Church of England was also not receiving the support it had in previous centuries and was suffering high rates of absenteeism. Many people had just stopped attending religious services of any form, Established or otherwise (Gilbert 1976: 9-10).

The lack of religious observance alongside economic instability caused an increase in deprivation and hopelessness. However, in the clothing parishes of Wiltshire some small-scale dissent did flourish and contemporaries were surprised at the sheer number of them in comparison to elsewhere. In 1669 Carter commented that "in the small parish where I was born, where there are fifteen clothiers or thereabouts, twelve are dissenters; and in another little clothing town there are 24 clothiers of whom 20 are dissenters" (VCH Wilts 3: 120). The Compton Census was compiled and tabulated in 1676. It enumerated the number of dissenters and papists in every county in order to establish the extent of their threat to the Established Church. By the time of this census the most prominent dissenting places in Wiltshire were North Bradley (340), Trowbridge (174), Bradford (159) and Melksham (100) (VCH Wilts 3: 119), all of which were prominent in the clothing industry.

The reign of James II highlighted the unstable position of nonconformity at the time. James was openly Catholic and had relinquished his title as Lord High Admiral under his father's Test Act. The court nobles feared a return to papacy, and James faced his first opposition in the Monmouth Rebellion. During this James appointed several Catholics to lead his regiments, giving them prominent positions in public office, further displeasing Parliament which was then dissolved. In 1687 he introduced the *Declaration of Indulgence* which suspended the previous Acts punishing Roman Catholics and dissenters, allowing them to hold state positions. It was reissued in 1688 and ordered to be read in Anglican churches. Fears for a Catholic dynasty increased when he bore a son, inciting the Protestant nobles to ally with the Protestant Prince William of Orange who landed in

England to claim the throne through his wife Mary, James' daughter. Eventually James fled in what became known as the 'Glorious Revolution' in England, and William and Mary became joint rulers in 1688 (Cruickshanks 2000: 31).

Although the Declaration of Indulgence of 1687 became void at James' abdication, William and Mary introduced the 1689 *Toleration Act* in order to grant some freedom to nonconformists (excluding Unitarians and Catholics). For those who benefited, chapels and meeting houses became legal, subject to acceptance of certain oaths of allegiance. Nonconformists still, however, retained their existing social and political disabilities (Gilbert 1976: 10). In the first half of the eighteenth century the number of dissenters began to rise once more, albeit with many discontinuities with different denominations developing at different rates and times.

4.3.5 The rise of the New Dissent from 1730

The New Dissent is a term that refers to an emerging breed of evangelical worshippers in the eighteenth century who revived older dissenting groups under social and spiritual influence. It was led by the Wesleyan Methodists which developed rapidly under the leadership and organisation of John Wesley (plate 15).

Plate 15: John Wesley, by Robert Hunter (1765)

Plate 15 has been removed for copyright purposes

John Wesley was educated at Oxford and was ordained as an Anglican deacon in 1725. In 1729 he joined a 'holy club', which became known as the Methodists (Foot 1988: 13). He was deeply influenced by his relationship with the Moravians whom he encountered on his visit to America in 1735. He was impressed by their peace and inner strength, their belief in Arminianism (salvation for all) and belief that God's spirit was in all. On his return to England in 1738 he allied with the Moravian society in London, and visited the society headquarters in Germany the same year (Marshall 1965: 23, 27).

Wesleyan Methodism taught that everyone could achieve salvation through faith, good works, and belief in Jesus, in clear opposition to the Calvinism (predestination) discussed earlier. By the mid-1740s Wesleyan Methodism had organised itself into a hierarchical society with a national annual conference and regional circuits (Ditchfield 1998: 63). Its growth was initially slow, and was mistrusted for various reasons including the itinerancy of its preachers, open air meetings, and the acceptance of female preaching. Wesley, as an Anglican minister, often sought to use Anglican Churches as locations for his sermons but on many occasions he found their doors closed to him. As a result, Methodism became closely associated with open air meetings (Barton 1975: 8). Specially constructed chapels were rare in the early years and these outdoor locations were the 'first' Methodist chapels.

Between 1740 and 1830 Methodism developed into a mass movement appealing to those with little formal education, including groups previously untapped by the more traditional (and more middle class) dissenting groups. Although the leaders and members of influence were rarely impoverished and destitute themselves, they understood the effects of poverty, and were sympathetic towards it (Ditchfield 1998: 76).

Wesley never intended to split from the Church of England, but merely to reform from the inside, and he never truly abandoned this idea. By the 1760s, however, he began to realise that the Anglican Church was too conservative to accept his ideas. In 1785 he gave legal status to the Methodist Conference, which moved the society towards its ultimate split from the Church of England, after Wesley's death in 1791.

Methodism suffered schisms as much as any other sect, which was a contributory factor in the rapid growth of Methodist chapel construction in the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries. Those who retained their belief in predestination united under George Whitefield and the Calvinist Methodists (plate 16).

Plate 16: George Whitefield, by John Wollaston (c.1742)

Plate 16 has been removed for copyright purposes

Although Wesley and Whitefield initially worked together they soon split to develop their own perceptions of Methodism independently. One of Whitefield's most famous converts was Selina, Countess of Huntingdon who financed chapel construction and provided ministers for the cause. Although never really a separate sect in its own right, many Calvinistic Methodist churches are named Countess of Huntingdon churches as a result of her influence, yet there were no doctrinal differences (Gandy 2001: 35). Ebley Chapel near Stroud was described to have been part of the 'Countess of Huntingdon Connexion' by 1806, for example (GRO, NC97). In 1797 the Methodist New Connexion was formed by Alexander Kilham, and 1806 saw the development of the Independent Methodists who, like the Congregationalists, preferred a more individual autonomous church organisation (Barton 1975: 8). The passionate and vivacious Primitive Methodists developed in Staffordshire from 1812 under Hugh Bourne and William Clowes. They were unclerical, radical, uncontrolled, and became known amongst nonconformist communities as the "nasty numerous vermin of Methodism" (Gibson 1994: 152). Their growth, however, was phenomenal, rising by 50,000 members between 1821 and 1839, largely in conjunction with Trade Union movements (Gibson 1994: 153). In 1815 the Bible Christians split into their own group led by William O'Brien, and in 1828 the Protestant Methodists also split

from the father movement, and joined with the Wesleyan Association sect that was formed in 1836 (Barton 1975: 9).

The Baptists also reformed themselves in this wave of New Dissenting religions. The Baptists originally developed in the early seventeenth century and gained support from the middling sort downwards, with the bulk of their leadership comprising of yeoman, tradesmen and clothworkers (Underdown 1985: 248). Traditionally the Baptists had been split into two factions – the General Baptists (Arminian) and the Particular Baptists (Calvinistic), much like the Methodists. Although at the time of the Restoration Baptists already had a reputation for social and political radicalism, they still modernised during the Evangelical Revival making them unique components of both the Old and New Dissent (Mullett 1991: 23). The Particular Baptists modified their strict Calvinism by the late eighteenth century, focusing on a more open missionary approach, and although many of the old General Baptists declined into Unitarianism in the eighteenth century, by the 1770s the New Connexion General Baptists had been founded which made great progress in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. In 1801 there were 652 Baptist Churches in England, but by 1826 they boasted of 2,789 (Mullett 1991: 35; Sellers 1977: 3).

Congregationalism and the Independents were older dissenting movements that witnessed much growth during the Evangelical Revival. The two sects are often interchangeable, with Independent sects referring to all those who favoured self government, with the Congregationalists being the primary denomination arising from this outlook (Barton 1975: 6). Their numbers exploded by 78% between 1760 and 1810 with more than 3,200 churches by 1850 (Sellers, 1977: 2). Their theology was diverse, although largely Calvinist in outlook, and therefore attracted a diverse character of support. Their primary goal was to achieve autonomous management focused on individual congregations as opposed to the hierarchic nature of the established Church (Mullett 1991: 46; Spurrier 2005: xxxv).

The casualties of the Evangelical Revival were the Quakers and the Presbyterians. The Quakers had isolated themselves through their traditional dress, archaic language, and insular attitudes and had even been allowed to perform their own marriages from 1754 (Mullett 1991: 107). Between 1799 and 1861 their national membership fell by 7,000, and by 1828 there were only two Quaker meetings in Wiltshire in comparison to the eleven that

had existed in 1785 (Gibson 1994: 158). In England, the Presbyterians often formed joint congregations with the Congregationalists in the late seventeenth century (Wykes 1990: 40; Mullett 1991: 45). By the start of the nineteenth century they had become almost entirely Unitarian in their outlook, rejecting the concept of the Holy Trinity (Gandy 2001: 38), and were often rejected by other religious and political groups as a result of their rationalism. Joseph Priestley, a prominent Unitarian, outwardly sympathised with the French Revolution bringing all dissenters, not just Unitarians under suspicion (Ditchfield 1998: 89). This attitude towards Unitarians continued into the 1840s. Although their figures did not drop significantly by the 1820s, they similarly did not rise merely retaining their support from the professional, mercantile and wealthier manufacturing classes (Gibson 1994: 157). Unitarianism did find some support in the new industrial towns, unlike the older more traditional Presbyterianism (Sellers 1977: 5) and as a result Unitarianism was finally legalised in 1813 (Thompson 1972: 3).

Two further nonconformist sects who figured in the research for this thesis are the Plymouth Brethren (where a meeting started in Stroud in 1852) and the Church of the Latter Day Saints (or Mormons, or Church of Christ, who had appeared in Trowbridge in 1851). The Plymouth Brethren were established in 1832 by J.N. Darby and are divided into two groups, the Open Brethren and the Exclusive Brethren. Membership to these groups was (and still is) different for each; however both had a traditional Puritan outlook, focusing on the breaking of the bread at communion and autonomous church organisation (Barton 1975: 9). The Church of the Latter Day Saints was formed in America in 1829.

By the start of the nineteenth century the Church of England was beginning to develop an evangelical approach itself (Gibson 1994: 88). It gained popularity under moderate evangelicalism and, through the support of the middle classes who were succeeding through trade and industrialisation, and sought the patronage of the Church of England for the social advantages it gave them. Richard Arkwright, initially a Baptist, certainly converted to Anglicanism, resulting in his election to High Sherriff of Derbyshire in 1787, a title he could not have gained as a nonconformist (Hills 1973: 85). The Church Building Society was funded by Parliament to a cost of six million pounds and by 1845 it was contributing to the construction of more than 50 new churches a year, largely in response to

the overwhelming growth of nonconformity (http://www.historicchurches.org.uk/icbs. htm, accessed 04/06/2008).

4.3.6 The notable exclusion of Roman Catholicism

It is clear from this chapter that less attention was paid to the English Roman Catholics from the eighteenth century onwards, probably because they were no longer deemed as a threat to the Established Church. This is not to say there were not feared, as highlighted in 1678 by the 'Popish Plot'. Protestants were paranoid about Catholics, fearing that they had started the Great Fire of London of 1666, and their growth at Court, despite the restrictive acts against them. Memories of the Spanish Armada (1588-9), the Gunpowder Plot (1605), and the Irish Rebellion (1641) exacerbated this paranoia. Titus Oates, a "disreputable and accomplished conman", returned from Europe in 1677 where he claimed a Catholic plot to assassinate Charles II and reintroduce Catholicism under his brother James was forming. Anti-Catholic hysteria escalated, and many Catholics were arrested or attacked, and popish effigies were burnt in the street (Coffey 2000: 183-185). This resulted in the *Exclusion Bill* being passed by the Commons preventing James from succeeding the throne; however it failed to pass through the House of Lords, and James did ultimately replace Charles II in 1685.

Despite the mistrust of Catholics, by the 1740s they had become a marginal religion in England as a result of the oppression and intolerance of the preceding two centuries. They maintained a low profile, which in itself makes them difficult to enumerate (Cruickshanks 2000: 5). It was estimated that perhaps one in seven English gentleman were, in fact, Catholic at the time of the Restoration - however this has never been fully determined (Cruickshanks 2000: 5). Catholicism held no serious opposition to English rule at any point after this, although its influence was still feared. Unlike Protestant dissent, Catholic growth depended on external sources, such as Irish immigration, which did not increase significantly until after 1790, however probably increased the Catholic population threefold by 1851. This was further aided in 1829 by the *Catholic Emancipation Act* which repealed

the disabilities enforced on Catholics in the Act of Uniformity and Test Acts (Gibson 1994: 85,144).

In the case studies under analysis here, Catholicism appeared to have played a very minor role. Neither Bradford, Dursley or Cam had any physical place of Catholic worship in the period under study, although there is reference to a Catholic community worshipping in Trowbridge by 1838, although no record of its location, size or previous history exists (VCH Wilts 7: 163). A Catholic church at Owlpen, near Uley is also mentioned in the work of Samuel Rudder dating to 1779 described as "very small and has a low spire at the west end" (Barton 1989); however it is not mentioned in any Census or historical document found so far. In Stroud, a Catholic meeting was first established in a private house in 1850. A public place of worship was soon constructed and opened in 1857, dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (VCH Glos 11: 83).

4.3.7 Persecution against dissenters

Understanding the level of persecution against dissenters in the woollen industry is also important as it is traditionally argued that a high level of persecution had a large impact on the architecture and location of chapels (for example, Lindley: 1967). In order to fully understand the architectural elaborations and spatial location of such buildings, the scale of toleration of nonconformists therefore needs to be considered. Information has been gathered from historical sources regarding recorded events of persecution. However, in order to appreciate this topic more fully the prosecution records in the county Quarter Sessions should be consulted. Unfortunately, within the timescale of this research, this was not possible.

As outlined earlier in this section, there were many legal attempts to prevent dissenters from obtaining powerful positions in civic and military office, and to limit nonconformist worship activities in seventeenth-century England. However, local popular politics and protest also resulted in smaller scale persecution against dissenters. John Wesley recorded high levels of persecution against Methodists in a town in Devonshire, where many had

been threatened, forced out of their jobs, and even turned out of their homes. Many outdoor Methodist meetings had been disrupted by Anglican clergymen and gentry (Gilbert 1976: 79). In the eighteenth century humiliation, verbal abuse and attacks against property were commonplace, against not just Methodists, but all dissenters (Stevenson 1992: 36).

Dissenters and Catholics were often targeted in times of political uncertainty in the eighteenth century and were regularly used as scapegoats. The Quakers, for example, were targeted during food riots as a result of their association with commerce, and were blamed for the scarcity of food and the increase in prices (Stevenson 1992: 36).

By the 1790s persecution against dissenters reached national levels in the form of the *Church and King Riots* which were a reactionary movement against the increasing political leniency towards dissenting groups (Archer 2000: 60). The worst attacks to take place were the *Priestly Riots*, against the religious and political controversialist Joseph Priestly, in Birmingham in 1791. The riots culminated in the destruction of over 25 homes (including Priestley's) and four dissenting meeting houses (Bohstedt 1983: 15; Archer 2000: 61).

The historical evidence relating to the persecution of dissenters in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire suggests there were no serious incidents there. The most prolific activity appears to have been towards the Methodists in Bradford, where John Wesley was greeted by a jeering crowd, with one member even attempting to throw eggs at him. He had previously been snubbed by the local Presbyterian minister, who had deemed Wesley to be "a little crack brained" (Fassnidge 1988: 58). John's brother Charles fared no better. After his visit in 1739 he received a letter warning him not to return for fear that the cloth workers would attack him, and he was refused permission to preach in the church when he did return the following week (VCH Wilts 3: 36).

In Gloucestershire, Thomas Adams of Dursley allegedly met with some problems, however no further details were recorded (Evans 1982: 61). It even seems that it was the Anglicans who received more persecution than the dissenters. In Dursley, the worst religious attacks seemed to have been in 1702 where the parish church was attacked by a mob during a Sunday service. More than 200 people began throwing stones and caused so much

disruption that the service had to be brought to a premature close, and the minister, on leaving, was punched in the chest (GRO, T.R.S.62). In Stroud, the Calvinistic Methodists faced some problems in the middle of the eighteenth century when the aforementioned Thomas Adams was thrown in a pond by a mob on no fewer than two occasions. John Cennick, another Methodist preacher, was attacked with a mob bearing frying pans and sheep bells, who barked at him like dogs (Evans 1982: 61; GRO, D4248 13/1). William Knee, the Wesleyan preacher of Randwick was also initially met with insults and threats at the start of the nineteenth century (R.H.A, 1989: 9).

On the whole, however, persecution against dissenters appears to have been small-scale in the South West, although certainly harrowing for those who were subjected to it when it did occur. This chapter has highlighted the early and large-scale growth of dissent in the region under study, and it appears that, from the scarcity of sources referring to activities of persecution, it was generally not widespread. The level of tolerance towards dissenters may certainly have had some influence over the spatial location and architecture of nonconformist chapels. Where congregations were threatened, or persecuted by the community, there may have been a desire to remain inconspicuous. However, as this chapter has illustrated, and as chapters 6 and 7 will demonstrate, this does not appear to be the case in the South West woollen industry.

4.4 DISSENT AND THE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY

The clothing parishes of South West England appeared to adapt to dissent much faster, and on a much larger scale than the rural agricultural areas, which is significant for this research. Moir (1957), Underdown (1985), Wykes (1990), and Archer (2000), amongst others agree that dissent was more popular in manufacturing districts than any other areas. However, relating specific social groups and occupations to denominational patterns is difficult to assess. In Wykes' unpublished thesis (1987) he goes some way to interpret the occupational structure of dissent in the manufacturing districts of Leicester using a variety of historic sources. He concluded that the dissenters of Leicester were primarily from

crafts, trades and manufactures but were not distinguished by class, with no special affinity to particular industries.

4.4.1 The Social Structure of Dissent

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Presbyterian and Quaker membership came largely from the middling classes, although at a lesser extent for the Quakers, who appeared to have gained recruits from a variety of social groups. The Ranter sects gained much support from the unskilled labourers and the poor. The Quakers gained popular support throughout South West England, especially in the clothing districts and urban centres of Marlborough, Devizes, Calne and Chippenham (Underdown 1985: 251). Reay (1980: 62) suggests through his documentary analysis of Quakers in numerous counties that a large proportion of them were weavers, possibly a result of the reflective nature of their work and perhaps a higher than average level of literacy.

Gilbert (1976: 64) has suggested that the Baptist and Congregational denominations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were more artisan (i.e skilled craftsmen or manual workers who used tools and machines) than the Wesleyan or Primitive Methodists, with weavers comprising the largest artisan group in every denomination. However it is fair to argue that the level of artisan enrolment depended more on what denominations were locally available. John Wesley kept some information on the occupational structure of early Methodism in his diaries, recording the earliest converts to be “a low, insignificant people”, and that the labouring classes and artisans of the manufacturing industries of the North East, North Midlands, West Riding, the Potteries, the Cornish tin mines and the South West woollen trade were areas where Methodist societies developed quickly (Gilbert 1976: 60). It is also significant that groups associated with rural industry formed a very small proportion of adherents to dissent (Gilbert 1976: 67).

Gilbert has researched the occupational structure of the New Dissent through Non-parochial Registers and has created an overview of dissent between 1800 and 1837 (figure 4.4a). It is clear from this table that artisans had the most dominant role in each of the

denominations, implying that this group was more prone to dissent than any others. Although the merchants/manufacturers category seems to consist of a very small percentage of dissenters, it is worth remembering that this table only covers the New Dissenting sects, ignoring the older dissenting movements such as the Presbyterians and the Quakers that may have been more attractive to the middling and upper classes, not to mention the Established Church itself. In all denominations outlined in figure 4.4a, farmers and merchants/manufacturers appear to be the least likely to dissent in most cases.

	All nonconformists		Wesleyan Methodists		Primitive Methodists		Baptists + Congregationalists	
Occupation	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Merchants/Manufacturers	245	2.2	76	1.7	13	0.5	139	5.4
Shopkeepers	796	7.1	253	5.8	93	3.9	213	8.2
Farmers	579	5.3	239	5.5	135	5.6	183	7.1
Artisans	6531	59.4	2750	62.7	1149	47.7	1629	63
Labourers	1192	10.8	415	9.5	387	16.1	101	3.9
Colliers/Miners	726	6.6	334	7.6	301	12.5	55	2.1
Other occupations	928	8.5	318	7.2	329	13.7	263	10.3
TOTAL	**10,997**	**100**	**4385**	**100**	**2407**	**100**	**2583**	**100**

Figure 4.4a: The Occupational Structure of Dissent (Gilbert 1976: 63).

4.4.2 Clothier Involvement in Chapel Culture

There is much historical evidence to suggest that the clothiers in the South West woollen industry expressed nonconformist sympathies from an early date, further supporting Underdown's argument (1985: 93) that dissent developed easily in these cloth communities, as a result of their distance from traditional landed influence.

During the research, a large sample of clothier families was identified and could therefore be cross referenced to wills, chapel records and other historical sources, in order to identify the extent of their religious activity. This sample is by no means complete; however hundreds of clothier family names were compiled in order to understand this field more thoroughly. Appendix 1.4 illustrates the clothiers worshipping at specific chapels in the

time period under study, illustrating that nonconformist worship was certainly popular amongst prominent clothier families. Some clothier families did remain Anglican, however, and the Horton family of Bradford on Avon were a prime example. Thomas Horton (d. 1530) made numerous financial benefactions to the parish church of Holy Trinity, and is recorded within the church on a brass tablet (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 49).

Many clothiers held prominent positions in the nonconformist community as deacons, trustees or treasurers. Deacons, in dissenting traditions, tended to be more associated with administrative duties such as financial management, rather than liturgical or pastoral duties which are more familiar in the Anglican Church. Trustees were property holders on behalf of the group. Known trustees included James King and James Shrapnell at Silver Street Chapel in Trowbridge (WSRO, 1025/1), James Shrapnell and Joseph Spender at Morgans Hill Chapel in Bradford (WSRO, 3186/42), John Phillimore (elder and younger), Nathaniel Hicks, John and Thomas Pope at Cam Congregational Chapel (DWL, 5106.Gl.38), and George Dauncey at Union Chapel, Uley (GRO, D2626 2/3). Deacons included William Stancomb and Richard Harris at Emmanuel Chapel, Trowbridge (WSRO, 1706/1), Benjamin Marshman at Zion Chapel in Trowbridge (WSRO, 2695/1), William and Samuel Marling, Joseph Browning and Joseph Partridge at the Old Meeting in Stroud (GRO, D2569 2/1). Samuel Marling was also a sub treasurer for the committee for the erection of Bedford Street Chapel in 1835 (Hoy 1987: 26).

In the earlier histories of the nonconformist chapels clothiers often licensed their own properties for the use of worship, prior to the construction of a purpose-built chapel. In Trowbridge, Edward Grant's house provided a place for worship for Anabaptists in 1669, as did James Willet's, James Webb's and Phillip Long's in 1702 (Chandler 1985: 11. *certificate 124*). In 1695 Thomas Bush in Bradford licensed his house for worship, whilst Posthumous Bush licensed a room in the town for the same purpose. The same is true of John Houlton in 1672 and Francis Yerbury in 1689 (Chandler 1985: 1, 173. *certificates 2 and A37*.). In Uley, the clothier families of Dauncey, Jackson, Went, and Evans were amongst the ones to provide private locations for worship prior to the construction of the first chapel in 1790 (Bebbington 2003: 86).

Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that the clothiers promoted religious activity amongst their workforce. When subscriptions were required for the replacement of the Randwick Wesleyan Chapel in 1824 Stephen Clissold and John Phipps were amongst those who appealed for funds declaring that "the change produced by the education of the poor is the most general, most effectual, and the most happy we ever witnessed" (R.H.A 1989: 14). In Dursley it was said that the prominent clothiers took such a large interest in their workers' education, and attendance to religious worship that they were dismissed from work if they didn't go (Evans 1982: 130).

However, as much as they promoted and financially contributed to religious education or chapel facilities (which will be discussed further in Chapter 6.1.5), only one record has been found of a clothier actually teaching or having a more direct effect on Sunday school management. Samuel Pitman, despite being a Baptist, was a superintendent at the St James Sunday School in Trowbridge, whilst his sons Isaac and Jacob Pitman taught there too, with Isaac also teaching at the Zion Chapel Sunday School in Trowbridge (VCH Wilts 7: 160). However, despite this, the favour of some clothiers towards dissent is clear, and provides an interesting focus for the development and change of power relationships within the cloth communities, which is of great interest to this research. This chapter clearly denies the idea that there was a difference in religious affiliation between the clothiers and their workforce, although there were naturally some exceptions, for example by the Hortons in Bradford. It is clear from this chapter that dissent was closely associated with those engaged in the woollen industry in South West England yet little work has been carried out into the effect of this on the built environment in the period 1760 to 1860, the time period of this thesis.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE CASE STUDIES

Chapter 1 introduced the case studies, whilst the previous chapter outlined the development of the woollen industry and nonconformity in the region. The methodology outlined in Chapter 3 illustrated the archaeological and documentary approaches to be used on the case studies; however, in order to more fully appreciate the role of nonconformity within these locations, further historical context is needed. The research argues that, in order to understand community identity, a particularist approach should be used, considering the specific social and economic situations within a chosen locale. Consequently, in this chapter the economic and religious history of each locale will be incorporated. The chapels have been mapped chronologically using GIS software and are presented within Appendix 2, in order to visualise their location and development.

5.1 BRADFORD UPON AVON

The woollen industry in Bradford developed from the thirteenth century and flourished from the fifteenth century, through the migration of Dutch weavers, who dispersed their superior cloth manufacturing skills (Child 1995: 16). By the sixteenth century the woollen trade was so prosperous that John Leland recorded that "all the towne of Bradford stondith by cloth making" (Terson 1990: 40).

The Cockayne experiment (1614) caused a slump in Bradford's primary export line – plain broadcloths – and, alongside some criticism of the quality of the cloth; the industry faced much fluctuation (Fassnidge 1998: 28). A Royal Commissioner under Charles I investigated the issues, and the cloth workers of Bradford, offended by the intrusion, threw him into the Avon (VCH Wilts 7: 43). The industry improved after the Civil War when Paul Methuen introduced more Flemish weavers (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 22) and Bradford's industry diversified and improved as new medley cloths were introduced (Fassnidge 1990: 29; Terson 1990: 27).

The eighteenth century saw great prosperity in Bradford, seen in the elegant houses built by clothiers, such as Westbury House near the town bridge, owned by the Phelps family (plate 17) (VCH Wilts 7: 5). Daniel Defoe wrote in 1724 that "they told us in Bradford that is was no extraordinary thing to have clothiers worth from ten to forty thousand pounds a man, and many of the great families who now pass for gentry have been originally raised from and built up by this truly noble manufacture" (Terson 1990: 34). By the early nineteenth century the town had 32 cloth factories (Pevsner 1963: 116).

Plate 17: Westbury House, the scene of a serious riot in 1791 (2006)

The decline in trade from 1800 came as a severe blow. In 1821 it was reported that four weavers committed suicide on the same day (Fassnidge 1998: 32). By 1841 there were only four cloth making firms left in the town (Terson 1990: 40) and more than 400 people – primarily skilled workers of the cloth trade – were admitted to the Avoncliffe Workhouse (Langdon 1976: 33). By 1867 there were only two mills producing cloth in Bradford (Greenland Upper Mill and a mill at the Bull Pit) and by 1905 all cloth production had ceased (Fassnidge 1998: 33).

The striking feature of the Bradford cloth industry is the attitudes of the workers. They were clearly a militant group, noted earlier by the immersion of the Royal Commissioner into the Avon in the 1630s. This was not their only misdemeanour. The most famous account of the Bradford cloth workers was the riot that took place in May 1791 after Joseph Phelps introduced a scribbling engine in the workshops behind Westbury House. A group of 500 assembled, smashing Phelps' windows, and breaking

the furniture inside. The riot was eventually broken up but not before a man, woman and child had been killed, and others mortally wounded (Randall 1991: 80-83).

Prior to the second millennium A.D. the heart of the town was the St Margaret's area, to the south of the river. However by the sixteenth century John Leland recorded that the focus had shifted northwards to the area encompassed by Market Street, Mason's Lane, Silver Street and Whitehead's Lane (plate 18). The eighteenth century prosperity in the cloth trade resulted in a population increase from c.3,105 in 1676 to 4,000 in 1739, which is reflected in the number of houses constructed for the growing workforce around Coppice Hill, Middle Rank and Newtown (plates 19 to 21).

Plate 18 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 18: The sixteenth century centre of Bradford (adapted by author from Ashmead's map, 1864, WSRO, GI3/990/9L)

Plate 19: Weavers' housing on Coppice Hill (2006)

Plate 20: Weavers' housing on Middle Rank (2006)

Plate 21: Weavers' housing on Newtown (2006)

Some eighteenth-century maps of Bradford survive, illustrating the extent of the town in the height of the cloth trade prosperity. Druce's map of 1767 (plate 22) shows the centre around Market Street and Silver Street, but also exhibits the abundance of dwellings south of the river in the St Margaret's area, and properties developing on Newtown. Andrews and Durys' map of Wiltshire (plate 23) dating to 1773 is less clear, but does show the developing suburbs of Bearfield and Newtown far better than Druce's map. The St Margaret's area was the location for numerous affluent eighteenth-century properties, such as 5 St Margaret's Street (plate 24), and also contained numerous ranks of smaller cottages like Nowhere Lane (now demolished), and inns.

Plate 22 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 22: Druce's map of Bradford, 1767 (annotated by author, www.freshford.com/map_1767.htm, accessed 05/06/08)

Plate 23 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 23: Andrews and Dury map of Bradford, 1773, (annotated by author, http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getcom.php?id=26, accessed 05/06/08)

Plate 24: No.5 St Margaret's Street (2006)

Prior to the eighteenth century, the suburb of Bearfield had been an outlying hamlet. However, through the construction of cottages on Huntington Street, alongside the Bethel Chapel in 1790, the area flourished as a working class district. Along the Trowbridge Road, leading South East out of Bradford, further housing for workers incorporating workshop space were constructed on Poulton Terrace, and Regent Terrace in the early nineteenth century (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 105). Expansion continued into the nineteenth century, prior to the collapse of the woollen industry through the development of transport networks like the Kennet and Avon Canal (1810) and the first coach service from London to Bradford (1808). Newtown and Bearfield continued to develop, and new buildings were also constructed in the town centre. Industrial development also continued in the construction of woollen factories, for example the Spackman factory in Coppice Hill (plate 25).

Plate 25: The Spackman Factory, Coppice Hill (2006)

The 1837 Ashmead map shows the town in the early nineteenth century (plate 26), with Newtown, and Tory fully established, further expansion along the Holt Road to the East, and additional growth in the St Margaret's area. The 1841 tithe map of Bradford illustrates more clearly the growth of the town limits and the increasingly congested town centre (plate 27). After the 1840s expansion slowed, as the cloth industry went into decline, and the Ashmead map of 1864 shows little change from its 30 year old forerunner.

Plate 26 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 26: Ashmead Map of Bradford, 1837 (annotated by author, WSRO, GI3/990/9L)

Plate 27 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 27: Tithe map of Bradford, 1841 (www.freshford.com/map_1841.htm, accessed 05/06/08)

There are some records of early nonconformity in Bradford. In 1532 a man was burnt to death for denying the presence of Christ at communion (Jones and Jackson 1907: 43) and in 1539 two residents were prosecuted for sympathising with northern rebels (VCH Wilts 7: 32). By 1660 a Baptist congregation, and soon after a group of two hundred Presbyterians, were said to be meeting in Bradford (VCH Wilts 7: 32). The growth of nonconformity was recorded by John Eyre who requested troops to be stationed there as a protective measure against nonconformist sympathies (VCH Wilts 7: 32). Even by 1760 there were already five places for nonconformist worship in the town covering a range of denominations, in addition to the Anglican Church of Holy Trinity (plate 28).

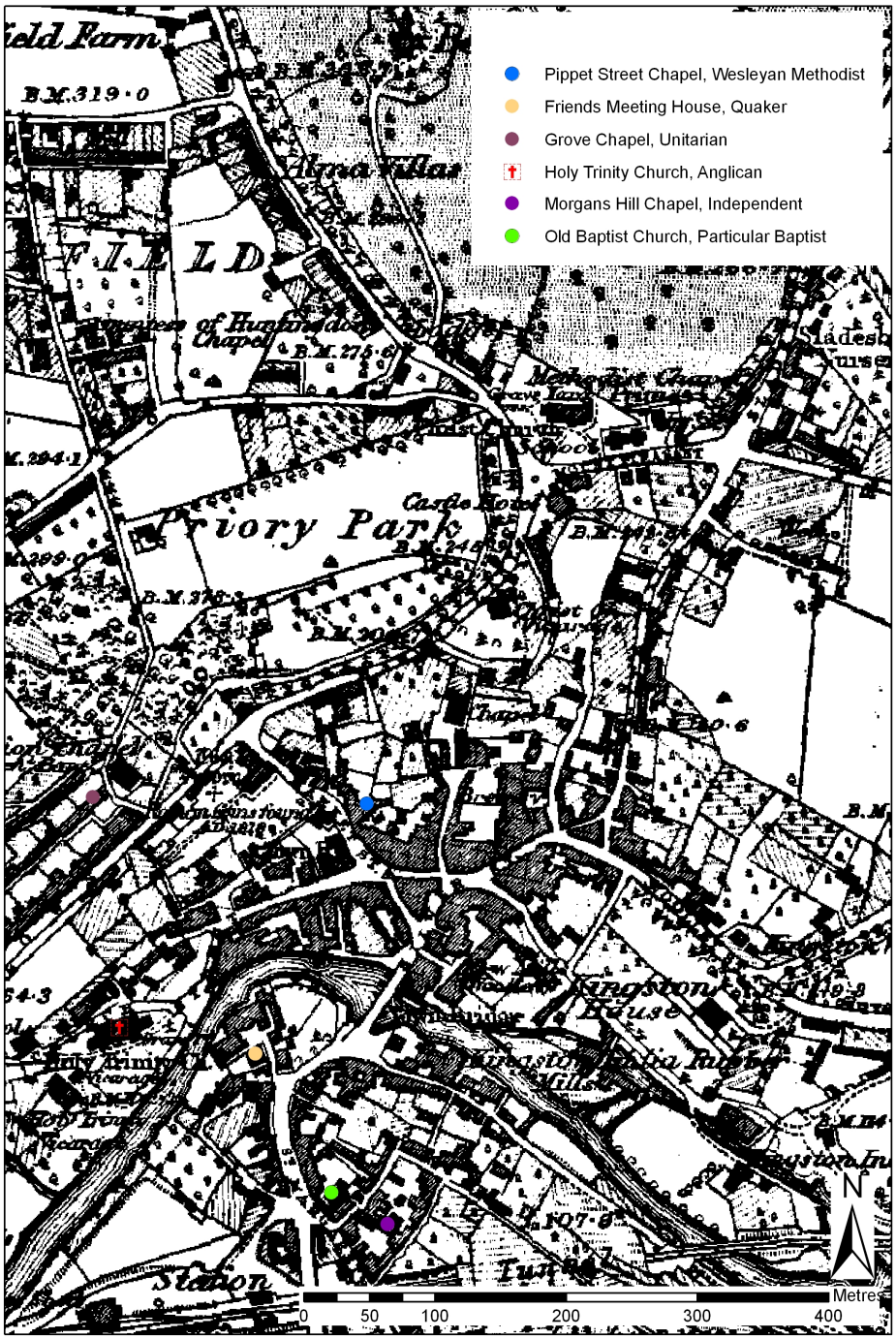


Plate 28: Places of worship in Bradford, 1760 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1887) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

The first Baptist meeting in the town was in a registered barn, and they built their first chapel in 1689 in St Margaret's Street, which was rebuilt on the same site in 1797

(Fassnidge 1998: 54). A second Baptist chapel opened in Bearfield in 1858 converted from terraced housing (VCH Wilts 7: 35). The Baptists were clearly popular in the town and further expanded by taking over the Zion Chapel (which had been constructed in 1823) in 1842 on Middle Rank.

John Holton and Francis Yerburys' homes were registered for Presbyterian worship in 1672 and 1692 respectively. Grove Chapel was built in 1698, but was taken over by Independents from 1815. The chapel had adopted Unitarian views which caused some of the congregation to secede and form the Morgans Hill Chapel (VCH Wilts 7: 33). Grove Chapel was then taken over by Particular Baptists from 1842 but by 1860 it was exhibiting neglect as Canon Jones reported that "from long disuse it is fast hastening to decay" (cited in Langdon 1976: 19).

The Independents began meeting in John Pitman's home in 1738, seceding from the Grove Chapel, before Morgans Hill Chapel was opened in 1741. Some of this congregation took over the Grove in 1815 after a disagreement over the selection of trustees (Fassnidge 1998: 56). The growth of the Independent movement is further illustrated through the construction of Zion Chapel on Middle Rank in 1823, although by the early 1840s it had been taken over by Baptists.

Bethel Chapel in Bearfield was erected as an Independent Chapel in c.1790 (rebuilt in 1800) and received "a good and respectable congregation" (VCH Wilts 7: 35). This Chapel became a Countess of Huntingdon Chapel in 1824, but the Calvinist attitudes of the Huntingdon Connexion were unpopular in this working class district and the chapel became dilapidated, with only seven members by 1847. In the later nineteenth century the chapel became Congregational as it remains today (Fassnidge 1998: 56-57).

Bradford was the first place in Wiltshire to have a registered place for Methodist worship, and was the heart of Wiltshire Methodism for the second half of the eighteenth century. John Wesley preached in Bearfield to congregations of up to 10,000 and visited the town nearly 30 times throughout his career (Fassnidge, 1998: 58). The first place of worship was a property in Pippet (now Market) Street in 1756. The chapel was replaced by the larger Coppice Hill chapel in 1818 (Fassnidge, 1988: 58). Primitive Methodism also developed and a building was registered in 1810, until a chapel was constructed in 1845 in Sladesbrook (Fassnidge 1998: 62), however it was given up in

the late nineteenth century for use as a Temperance Hall (VCH Wilts 7: 37). By the end of the period under study there were three Methodist places of worship in the town, alongside the three aforementioned Baptist Chapels, the Grove Independent Chapel and the Congregational Chapel at Morgan's Hill (plate 29).

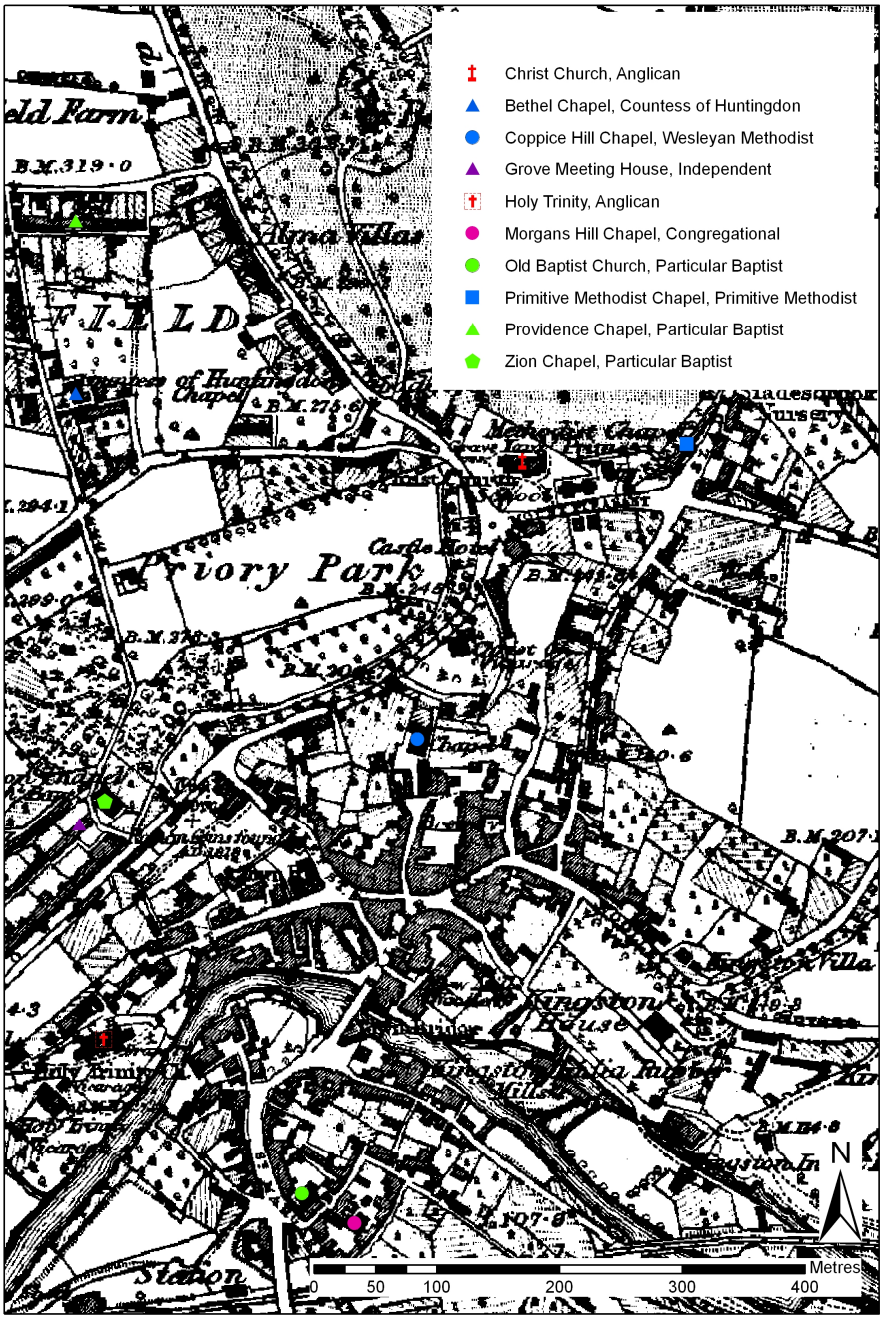


Plate 29: Places of worship in Bradford, 1860 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1887) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

Quakers were worshipping illegally in a house known as Cumberwell by 1660. They built a meeting house in 1718 but membership declined and both places had closed by 1775 (VCH Wilts 7: 33). The complete set of distribution maps dating from 1760 to 1860 illustrating the development of each nonconformist denomination within Bradford can be found in Appendix 2.1.

Bradford upon Avon is a valuable case study with great potential within this research. The preservation rate of the buildings relating to the woollen industry is considerable, partly due to the creation of a local preservation society in the late 1950s in response to the threat of demolitions under the 1957 Housing Act (Fassnidge 1998: 109). Its position both as a primary centre for the woollen industry in Wiltshire and its early adoption of nonconformist tendencies, interestingly alongside the aggressive tendencies of the workforce in the threat of machinery displacement, make it a fascinating locale for study.

5.2. TROWBRIDGE

The town of Trowbridge lies four miles to the south east of Bradford. Although having a lower rate of building preservation, Trowbridge is certainly a valuable and significant addition to the selection of case studies used in this research.

The cloth trade dates to the fourteenth century but really developed from the fifteenth century. In 1685 John Aubrey described it as a "great cloathing town", which was producing high status cloth. Defoe recorded in the 1720s the production of "fine medley, or mix'd cloths, such as are worn in England by the better sort of people" (La Vardera 2004: 10-20). During the eighteenth century the cloth industry prospered and the town centre was filled with elaborate houses built by wealthy clothiers. Properties such as those on Fore Street and The Parade would have made "notable additions to the palazzo architecture of, say, Verona" (Pevsner 1963: 44) (plates 30 and 31)

Plate 30: The HSBC Bank, Fore Street (2006)

Plate 31: The Parade (2006)

Prosperity continued into the nineteenth century. According to Rogers (1986: 99) the labouring population were reputed in the local area to have been neat and industrious, and even in the immediate post-Napoleonic war period Trowbridge survived remarkably well. By the mid 1820s however Trowbridge witnessed a slump in trade as all clothing regions did (VCH Wilts 7: 139). By 1825 employment figures had dropped to a third of its total in the preceding decade. This worsened by 1829-30. The neatly-dressed labouring poor were no longer a feature of Trowbridge; a government inspector of the time reported that he had never seen "such a scene of rags and ghastly faces"

(Mann 1971: 164). By 1834 there were around 3000 unemployed weavers and shearmen alone in Trowbridge (VCH Wilts 7: 139). However the fine quality of the Trowbridge cloth allowed some trade to be won back in the 1830s, and where the 1840s were considered to be critical times for other cloth towns, Trowbridge weathered the storm well. It witnessed only two bankruptcies and retained the most factories of any cloth town in Wiltshire, aided by the increased use of power looms in the late 1840s and 1850s (Mann 1971: 201; Rogers 1986: 104).

It was also a centre of protest activity, adding to its validity as a case study. The Trowbridge cloth workers were infamous during the Wiltshire Outrages (1802). In July they burned down two properties belonging to Francis Naish and undertook strike action through illegal combinations (Rogers 1986: 78). Protest activity against the mechanisation of processes, exacerbated by economic distress, continued throughout the early nineteenth century and, by the 1830s, Trowbridge became the centre of the Wiltshire Chartist movement. Numerous influential leaders led the Chartists in meetings and fundraising events, often undertaken within nonconformist chapels in the town (Mann 1971: 160; VCH Wilts 7: 127).

Trowbridge was first recorded in the Saxon period; however it grew little until the second millennium A.D (Child 1995: 40). By the fifteenth century the central market district began to develop around Castle Street, Court Street, Lovemead (now Roundstone) Street, Back Street and Church Street (plate 32) (VCH Wilts 7: 131; Rogers, 1984: 29).

Plate 32 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 32: The fifteenth-century centre of Trowbridge, from Howell's map, 1860 (annotated by author, WSRO G15/1/89/PC)

In the seventeenth century, as trade prospered, the town expanded, particularly around the areas of the Conigre, and Roundstone Street. Waste land in the Islington Down and Stallard Street areas were occupied by cottages, where many workers of the cloth industry lived in appalling conditions. These continued in use into the eighteenth century (VCH Wilts 7: 145). This century also saw the development of some larger cloth mills along the River Biss, particularly Castle Mills around the Town Bridge area, which grew out of earlier sixteenth-century structures (VCH Wilts 7: 163) (plate 33). In the eighteenth century some purpose-built weavers' housing, incorporating workshop floors, also appeared, such as those on Yerbury Street (1793), Newtown (1790-1800), and Castle Street (plates 34 to 36). Large cloth mills along the Biss were commonplace, for example Bridge Mills (1796), and Samuel Pitman's Silver Street factory (1795) (Rogers 1984: 37)

Plate 33 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 33: Trowbridge in the seventeenth century, from Howell's map, 1860 (annotated by author, GRO G15/1/89/PC)

Plate 34: Weavers' housing on Yerbury Street (2007)

Plate 35: Weavers' housing on Newtown (2006)

Plate 36: Weavers' housing on Castle Street (2006)

Few maps of Trowbridge prior to the nineteenth century survive, however Andrews' and Durys' map of Wiltshire shows the waste lands of Islington Down and Stallard's Turnpike, alongside the central street layout, and the wider tithings of Upper and Lower Studley (plate 37).

Plate 37 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 37: Andrews' and Durys' map of Wiltshire, 1773
(http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getcom.php?id=228, accessed 05/06/08)

The revival of trade in the Post-Napoleonic war period allowed Trowbridge to expand further, and by 1826 a local newspaper reported that the town covered twice as much land than had done 12 years previously (Rogers 1994: 62). Trimbrell Street was laid out in 1814, and the area around the Conigre and Islington Down further developed. The wasteland areas of Stallard Street were improved, and there was additional development in Newtown, and around Roundstone Street, Duke Street and The Halve (plate 37) (VCH Wilts 7: 145). Cloth mills were constructed all over the town as a result of the introduction of steam power in the early part of the century. J. Howell's map of Trowbridge was drawn in 1860 (and used in plates 32, 33 and 38), and illustrates the town in the mid-nineteenth century.

Plate 38 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 38: Trowbridge in the nineteenth century, from Howell's map, 1860 (annotated by author, GRO G15/1/89/PC)

Dissent in Trowbridge developed from the seventeenth century (Rogers 1994: 36) and by the late 1660s there were numerous Baptists, Presbyterians and Quakers in the town, and the Compton Census of 1676 records Trowbridge as having one of the largest populations of nonconformists in West Wiltshire. Plate 39 illustrates the five different denominations that were worshipping in Trowbridge as early as 1760, in addition to the Anglican Church of St James.

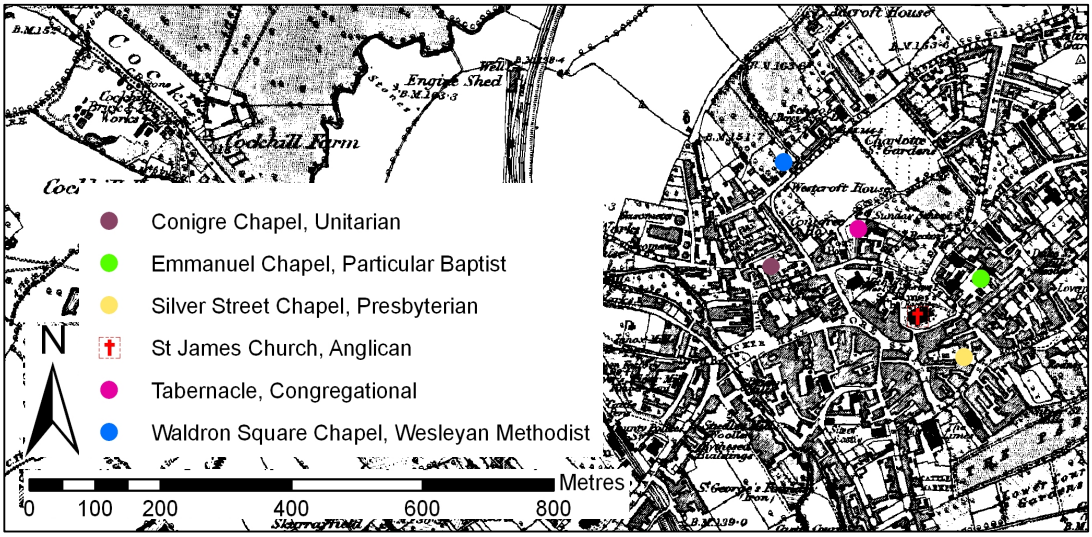


Plate 39: Places of worship in Trowbridge, 1760 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1888) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

Trowbridge Baptists constructed their first chapel in 1699 (rebuilt 1856) in the Conigre. A second chapel was constructed in 1754 on Back Street (Emmanuel Chapel), and was followed by later Baptist chapels on Union Street in 1816 (Zion Chapel), Court Street (Bethesda Chapel, 1822), Castle Street (Bethel Chapel, 1828) and in Upper Studley (1850). The abundance of Baptist chapels certainly indicates the popularity of the denomination. The Conigre Chapel appeared to have converted to Unitarianism by 1736, and it was the members who were unhappy with this conversion who seceded to form the Emmanuel Chapel congregation (VCH Wilts 7: 158). The popularity of these Baptist Chapels can be seen in the sheer number of them that had been constructed by 1860 (plate 40, shown in green).

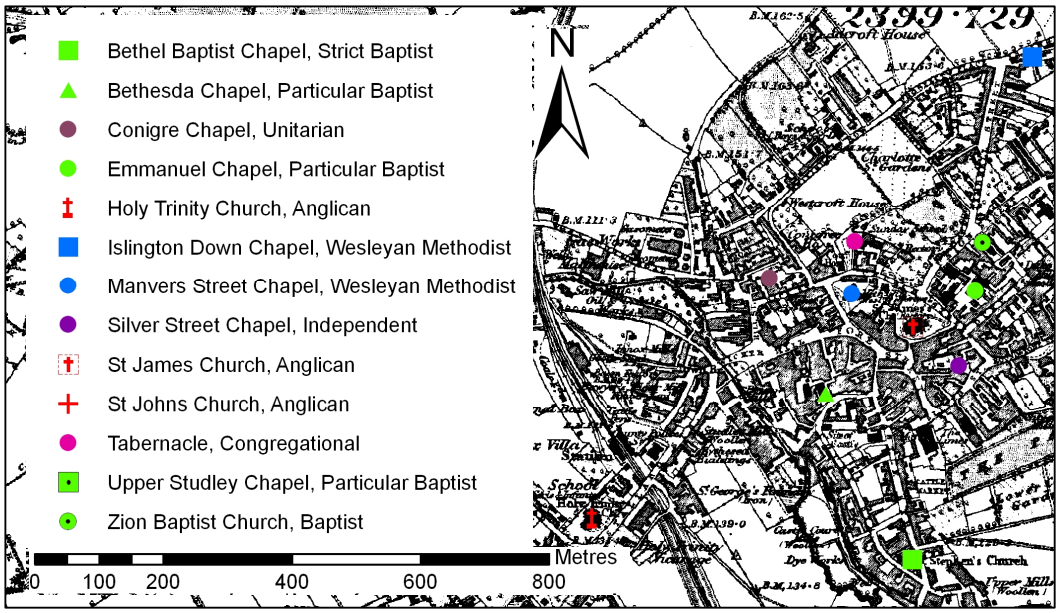


Plate 40: Baptist places of worship in Trowbridge by 1860 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1888) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

Methodism was popular in Trowbridge from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. John Wesley preached in hired rooms in 1754 (Rogers 1994: 51) and the success of this visit resulted in the construction of a chapel in Waldron Square, on the northern outskirts of the town, followed by the construction of a Wesleyan Chapel near the Town Bridge in 1790. This building, however, was vulnerable to flooding, and was eventually closed in 1835, to be replaced by a new larger chapel in Manvers Street (Goodrich 1932: 168). Another Wesleyan chapel was constructed on Islington Down in 1814, in the north easterly area of the town, and both are shown on plate 40 (VCH Wilts 7: 162).

There was one Presbyterian chapel in Silver Street (constructed 1723) however it converted to Independent by 1827 (VCH Wilts 7: 159). The Tabernacle was built in 1771 to serve the Congregational community who had developed under the influential leadership of Joanna Turner. The distribution and development of dissent are all illustrated in Appendix 2.2, whilst the location of the church and chapel in the nearby

village of Staverton which has been incorporated as part of the Trowbridge case study, can be found in Appendix 2.3.

Economically and religiously, Trowbridge makes an interesting and useful case study. Although the survival rate of many of the chapels is lower than in Bradford, there is much documentary evidence to aid the research. More documentary resources for chapels in Trowbridge survive than in any of the other case studies. It was the foremost cloth producing town in Wiltshire even during the depression of the 1830s, and remained a putting-out centre for surrounding villages such as Southwick and North Bradley until the 1870s, a trend not witnessed in any of the other case studies. Furthermore, its association with very wealthy clothiers and riotous workers makes ignoring this town unreasonable.

5.3 STROUD

Stroud is located on the western escarpment of the Cotswold Hills in Gloucestershire. Due to the sprawling character of the town, and the fact that Stroud originally consisted of separate villages that merged during the industrial revolution, this case study will be considered in sections to minimise confusion. Stroud has been separated within the research into five sections, all of which can be observed on plate 41.

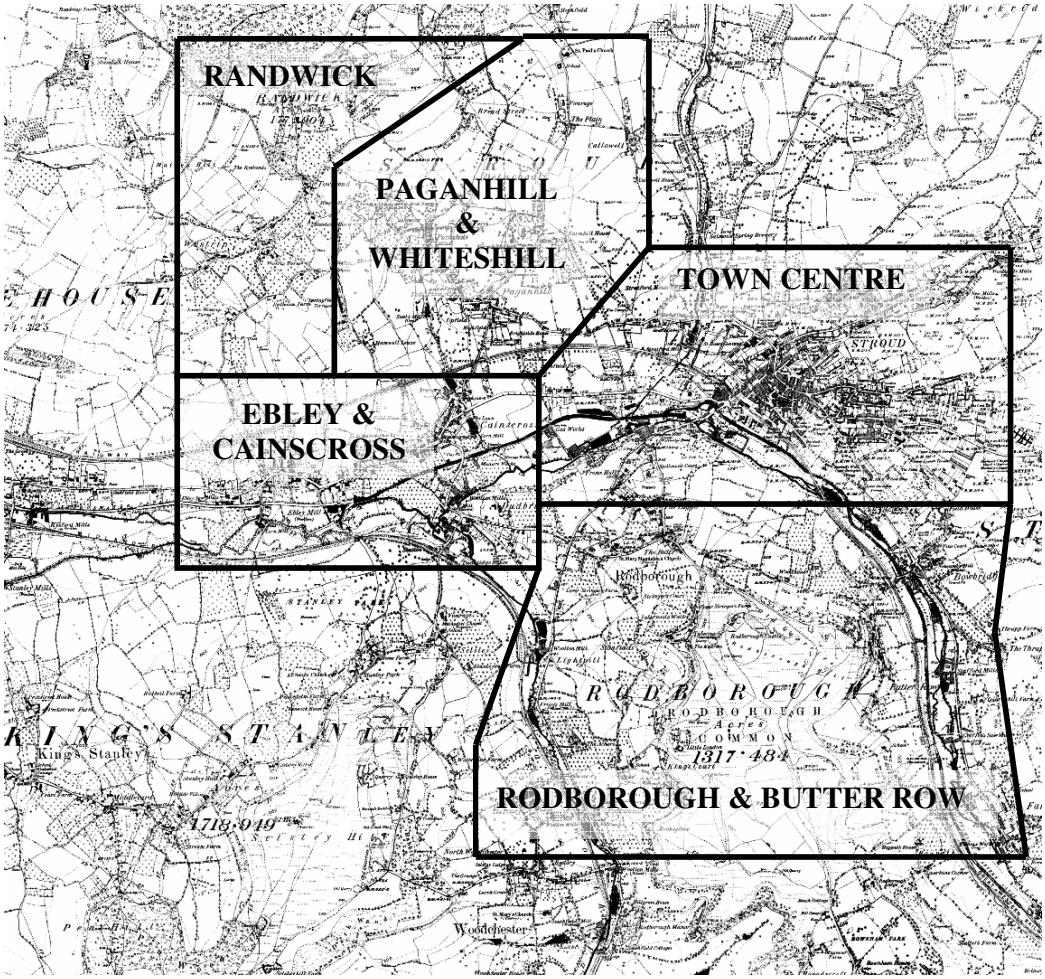


Plate 41: The five areas of the Stroud case study (adapted by author from OS first edition, 1885-1887, 1:10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service**)**

5.3.1 Town Centre

Stroud was particularly famous for dyeing the deep red cloth known as 'Stroud scarlets', and became a centre of the woollen industry in Gloucestershire. The industry developed from the fourteenth century and by 1608 there were numerous cloth workers in the parish, including nineteen clothiers and 76 weavers. The early seventeenth

century was very prosperous and witnessed an increase in the amount of broadcloth exported, and the number of mills constructed (Tann 1967: 34).

Despite the bad harvests of 1756, and some fluctuation in the sale of exports due to competition from the Continent, the cloth trade in the eighteenth century was thriving (Perry 2003: 57). By the second half of the century there were reportedly eighteen cloth mills working in Stroud, with further recovery from circa 1770 to the end of the century. Cloth mills expanded through the addition of dyehouses, wool stores, and shearing shops, incorporating mechanised processes such as the flying shuttle and the scribbling engine (VCH Glos 11: 119-132). The number of loomshops dedicated to the production of broadcloths also increased (Randall 1991: 194), and the production of finer cassimeres through improvements in the finishing processes allowed the town to "flourish[ed] with a vigour unknown to the manufacturers of Wiltshire" (Mann 1971: 138). The revolutionary wars in France and America further improved the industry, both through the demand for uniform cloth, and also the disruption it caused to foreign competition (Perry 2003: 69).

The early nineteenth century brought some disruption as the wars ended, stunting demand and flooding the labour market with returning soldiers (Randall 1991: 197), but the cloth industry continued, and some mills expanded. However, by the mid 1820s the industry was facing the panic witnessed in Wiltshire (Perry 2003: 111). Stroud survived the depression better than the wool parishes in the southern half of the county (like Uley and Dursley), and many of the larger mills continued to flourish, although the period saw numerous bankruptcies of smaller mills (Tann 1967: 55; Mann 1971: 168).

The late 1830s and early 1840s saw more crises in the industry and some of the larger clothiers began to fail. Thrupp Mill converted to an iron foundry, whilst Ham Mill and Griffins Mill were recorded to have been saw mills by 1846 and 1838 respectively (Tann 1967: 61), whilst many more lay empty. A period of calm followed in the 1850s and the Stroud woollen industry faced limited prosperity, with some larger mills thriving into the late nineteenth century.

Gloucestershire was known for its more peaceful approach to protest activity, using techniques such as strike activity and petitioning, although this is not to say that riot activity and violence did not occur. It was near Stroud, on Selsley Common where

thousands of weavers met to bury their shuttles in peaceful protest against declining wage rates (Perry 2003: 115) – an activity with no equivalent in Wiltshire. Many early union clubs within the cloth trades were established in Stroud. In 1764 the Society of Clothworkers was established, and by the early nineteenth century the Woollen Cloth Weavers' Society were meeting in the Kings Head Inn (Perry 2003: 87). The late eighteenth century also saw the first meetings of the Gloucestershire Society of Broad and Narrow Cloth Weavers (Randall 1991: 196). The Woollen Cloth Weavers' Union Savings Bank was established in the mid 1820s, which employed a lawyer to advise them, and used strike action to enforce their activities (Perry 2003: 114). The clothiers also formed themselves into protective groups, one of which incorporated clothiers from Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire, and were known to meet either in Bath, or the Bear Inn in Rodborough (Tann 1967: 46)

Stroud town centre during the medieval period was centred on the High Street, where the parish church was constructed. It spread south eastwards to what is now Parliament Street and Nelson Street in an area known as 'The Cross', and grew eastwards as Middle Street and its environs developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (VCH Glos 10: 99-104).

Middle Street epitomises the varied collection of buildings in Stroud town centre, ranging from rows of small cottages (plate 42) to cottages with weaving shops on the ground floor (plate 43). The prosperity of eighteenth century Stroud can be clearly identified in the architecture, particularly around the Whitehall area to the east of Middle Street (plate 44), however not ignoring the row of smaller cottages on the south side of the street (plate 45).

Plate 42: Cottages on Middle Street (2007)

Plate 43: Cottages with workshops, Middle Street (2007)

Plate 44: Mews on Whitehall (2007)

Plate 45: Cottages on Whitehall (2007)

The earliest surviving map evidence of Stroud dates to 1825 and clearly illustrates the layout of the town at this point (plate 46).

Plate 46 has been removed for copyright purposes

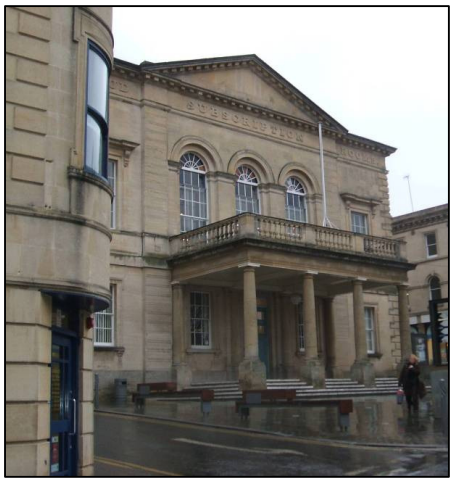
Plate 46: Stroud town centre, 1825 (adapted by author from GRO, PC333)

A map of Stroud dating to 1835 illustrates some nineteenth-century expansion, particularly around the area south of High Street around Union Street (which became Bedford Street) and Russell Street (plate 47), which became home to many elaborate public buildings such as Bedford Street Congregational Chapel, and the Stroud Subscription Rooms (plate 48), constructed in 1833, as a location for balls, political meetings and social activities (VCH Glos 10: 99-104).

Plate 47 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 47: Stroud town centre, 1835 (adapted by author from GRO, PC652)

Plate 48: Stroud Subscription Rooms (2007)



Stroud is striking in the sheer diversity of nonconformist congregations that developed in the town. The number of different sects greatly exceeds that which emerged in any of the other case studies making it an interesting location for analysis. This could be a result of the scattered nature of the town, in comparison to the more nucleated centres of Trowbridge and Bradford, perhaps allowing a greater selection of sects to emerge and develop. Early nonconformity developed in Stroud centre during the seventeenth

century, no doubt influenced by two nonconformist ministers – Daniel Capel and William Beckett - who settled in Stroud after ejection from their ministries as a result of the Act of Uniformity of 1662 (Underdown 1985: 68; Hoy 1987: 2). There were at least five dissenting meetings in the seventeenth century – four of which were Independent, alongside one Baptist congregation (GRO, NC97).

The first known nonconformist meeting met in a barn on Silver Street, allegedly from before the Restoration, and constructed their first purpose-built chapel by 1711 (Hoy 1987: 1). The chapel was initially Presbyterian, however Independents worshipped there also. The chapel then converted to Congregationalism in 1811 under the pastorate of John Burder (Hoy 1987: 12). By the 1830s a second meeting house was deemed necessary, and the elaborate Bedford Street Chapel was constructed and opened in 1836 (Hoy 1987: 25).

The visits of John Wesley from 1763 to 1790 influenced the development of Wesleyan Methodism in Stroud (GRO, NC97), where he regularly preached in Acre Street Chapel, the first Wesleyan chapel in the town to be constructed in 1763 (Wicks ND: 2; RCHME 1986: 97). A chapel for the Primitive Methodists was also constructed within the expanding town limits on Parliament Street in 1836.

The early Baptist meeting dating to the seventeenth century appeared to be worshipping in a private house on Russell Street during the eighteenth century, until the first chapel was constructed on John Street in 1824 (Wicks ND: 6).

Two other denominations developed in the town in the 1850s and are not witnessed elsewhere within the case study locations through physical structures. A group of Plymouth Brethren opened a meeting room in 1852, whilst a Catholic church dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception was constructed in 1857 (VCH Glos 10: 83). The different denominations that developed in Stroud can be clearly seen on plate 49. In conjunction with the growing number and diversity of nonconformist sects the Holy Trinity Anglican Church was constructed in the south east district of the town in 1839, as a chapel of ease for the parish church of St Laurence (Libby 1890: 23). The distribution and development of nonconformity within the time period can be found in Appendix 2.4.

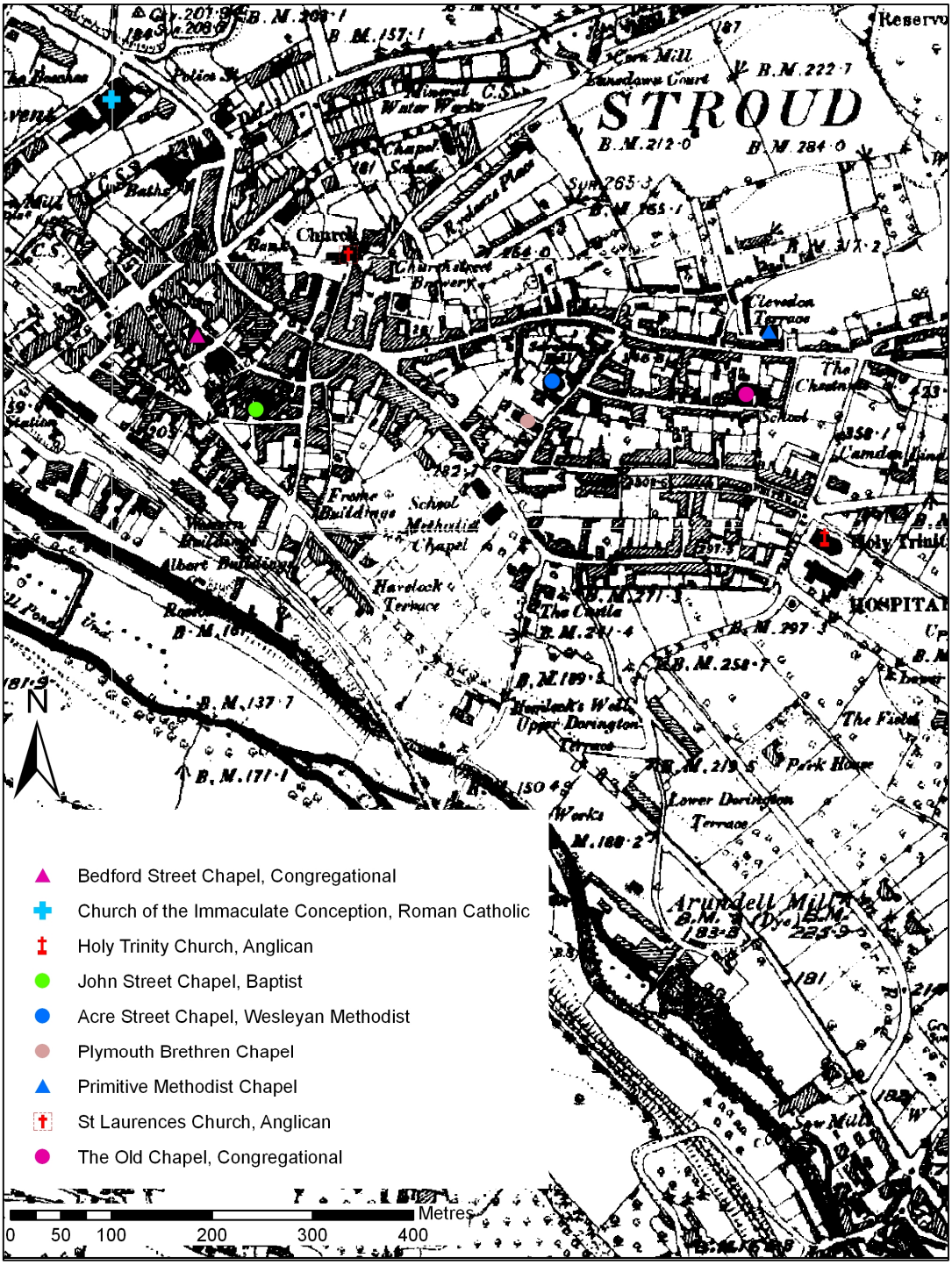


Plate 49: Places of worship in Stroud by 1860 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1886) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

5.3.2 Rodborough and Butter Row

Rodborough and Butter Row lie to the south of Stroud centre. The cloth industry developed from the thirteenth century, particularly from the seventeenth century. The earliest records of Lodgemore Mill date to the fifteenth century whilst Hope Mill, Fromehall Mill, Friggs Mill and Lightpill Mill were certainly fulling and processing cloth during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Tann 1967: 161-222). The eighteenth century saw further development through the establishment of Dudbridge Mill, and Rooksmoor Mill (Tann 1967: 222). The decline of the cloth industry in the 1820s had some impact on the cloth mills in Rodborough, with Rooksmoor and Friggs Mill converting to other uses by the 1850s. Lightpill Mill, although still engaged in cloth manufacture, leased many of its workshops and space to manufacturers of other goods, such as pin manufacturing, in the 1830s, whilst Hope Mill went out of business some time in the 1830s to 1840s (Tann 1967: 161, 222). However, the larger mills weathered the depression better – Dudbridge Mill and Wallbridge Mill continued well into the post-period timescale, with the latter even installing four power looms in 1837 (Tann 1967: 155, 162).

Rodborough centre was initially primarily in the north of the area, with cottages scattered around the parish church. The workhouse was also situated in this area. As the eighteenth century progressed numerous cottages were also constructed along Butter Row and Walkley Hill to the south east of the central village focus, including the Woolpack Inn which dates to 1805 (plate 50), and its neighbouring houses with workshops (plate 51). The area to the west of the Common also developed in this period around Kingscourt Lane (VCH Glos 11: 219).

Plate 50: The former Woolpack Inn (2006)

Plate 51: Weaver's housing with ground floor workshops, Butter Row (2006)

Rodborough contains some elaborate manor houses constructed by or occupied by wealthy clothiers. Some of the most notable of these include Mount Vernon on Butter Row, and Rodborough Court near the church (VCH Glos 11: 219).

Despite the successful fortunes of the Rodborough mills, the cloth workers were central in the protest movements that took place. As well as partaking in the events undertaken by the rest of the town, Rodborough was a centre of peaceful activity. In 1755 the Rodborough weavers combined with other local cloth workers to petition parliament for a reassessment of wage rates and to outlaw truck, and hired a lawyer to assist them (Perry 2003: 59). The Fleece Inn was the location for meetings between the clothiers and the workers, particularly in the 1790s as the flying shuttle was gradually being introduced, and the gig mill was causing consternation (Randall 1991: 99).

Nonconformity in Rodborough was established at a relatively early date. There is some evidence of registered properties for worship in the seventeenth and eighteenth century including licences for Quakers, Presbyterians and Independents (VCH Glos 11: 232). However, the first purpose-built chapel to be constructed was the Rodborough Tabernacle (1750), and the early congregation primarily consisted of artisans and craft workers of the woollen industry (Cook, *pers comm.*, November, 2007). Further Calvinistic Methodist congregations were established in private houses in Bagpath and Rooksmoor (VCH Glos 11: 232). Rodborough Tabernacle dominated religious life for

100 years until Zion Primitive Methodist Chapel was constructed on Butter Row in 1856 (Evans 1982: 60). These two chapels are illustrated on plate 52.

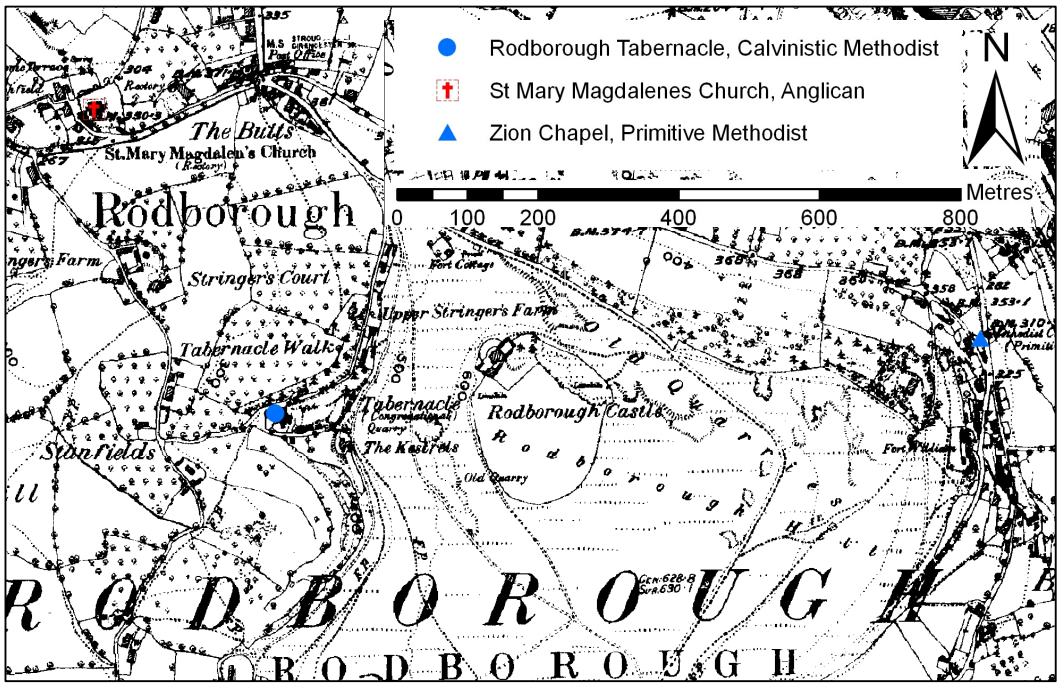


Plate 52: Places of worship in Rodborough and Butter Row, 1860 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1887) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

No other purpose-built chapels were constructed in this region, indicating that other congregations either continued to meet in private locations, or travelled into nearby environs for worship. Both chapels survive today, although Zion has now been converted to a private house. The chronological development of the two chapels and the Anglican Church of St Mary Magdalene can be found in Appendix 2.5.

5.3.3 Ebley and Cainscross

The cloth industry of Ebley and Cainscross expanded from the early nineteenth century, primarily a result of the construction of Ebley Mill. A corn and fulling mill had stood in Ebley since at least the mid-sixteenth century under various tenants, but was sold to the Clissolds in 1799 who rebuilt it between 1800 and 1818. The Marlings had taken over

the mill by 1834, which by now had a gig mill, stoves, a teasel house, counting house, scouring house, dyehouses and warehouses, and 71 handlooms by 1840 (Tann 1967: 153-154).

There were some earlier mills in the area – Stonehouse Upper Mill and Stonehouse Lower Mill both had fulling mills in the sixteenth century, and Oil Mill (which originally produced rapeseed and linseed oil) was converted to cloth manufacturing in the eighteenth century (Tann 1967: 147-152). In the eighteenth century the Bridgend Mills also developed, first as a fulling mill, but by the end of the century it had also become famous for the dyeing of scarlet cloth (Tann 1967: 147). Stanley Mill was another of the large cloth mills that developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It had roots in the sixteenth century, however the early nineteenth century saw the construction of many new buildings to house the various mechanised processes, flourishing under the management of such prominent clothiers as Paul Wathen and Samuel Stephens Marling (Tann, 1967: 149-150). Many mills survived through the depression, probably as a result of their sheer size and importance in the Stroud cloth industry. Oil Mill did cease to produce cloth in the early 1840s, and Stonehouse Upper Mill was destroyed by fire in 1847, however Ebley, Stanley and Stonehouse Lower Mill remained in business (Tann 1967: 147-152). The majority of the inhabitants of Ebley and Cainscross were employed in the woollen industry, with most working within the factories. According to the Victoria County History (VCH Glos 10: 276-284) the distress for the cloth workers of Ebley and Cainscross did not appear to be as severe in comparison to Paganhill and Randwick, for example.

In the early nineteenth century the village comprised a small cluster of houses. It was the development of Ebley Mill that influenced the expansion of the settlement (GRO, NC97: 620). The early centre was in the southern part of the area to the west of the mill, but when the Congregational Chapel was constructed in 1797, small cottages began to develop up around it, although many have since been demolished. As the area developed so too did the social activity, with numerous alehouses being constructed, which became the focus and location for the friendly societies that developed. The Globe Inn in Stonehouse was the meeting place for the Clothworkers' Society from 1812, whilst the White Horse Inn in Cainscross provided the location for the United

Provident Society (from 1817) and the Journeyman Millrights' Society, with further societies meeting at the Golden Cross (VCH Glos 10: 272).

The earliest maps surviving of the area are the tithe maps dating to 1842. The tithe map of Ebley (plate 53) clearly illustrates that the settlement had indeed expanded northwards from the mill structures, and along Ebley Road and Westward Road. Ebley Mills lay to the east of Oil Mill at the bottom of the map. The tithe map of Cainscross (plate 54) also illustrates numerous properties along Westward Road, and the Golden Cross Inn.

Plate 53 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 53: Ebley tithe map, 1842 (adapted by author from GRO, GDR/T1/28)

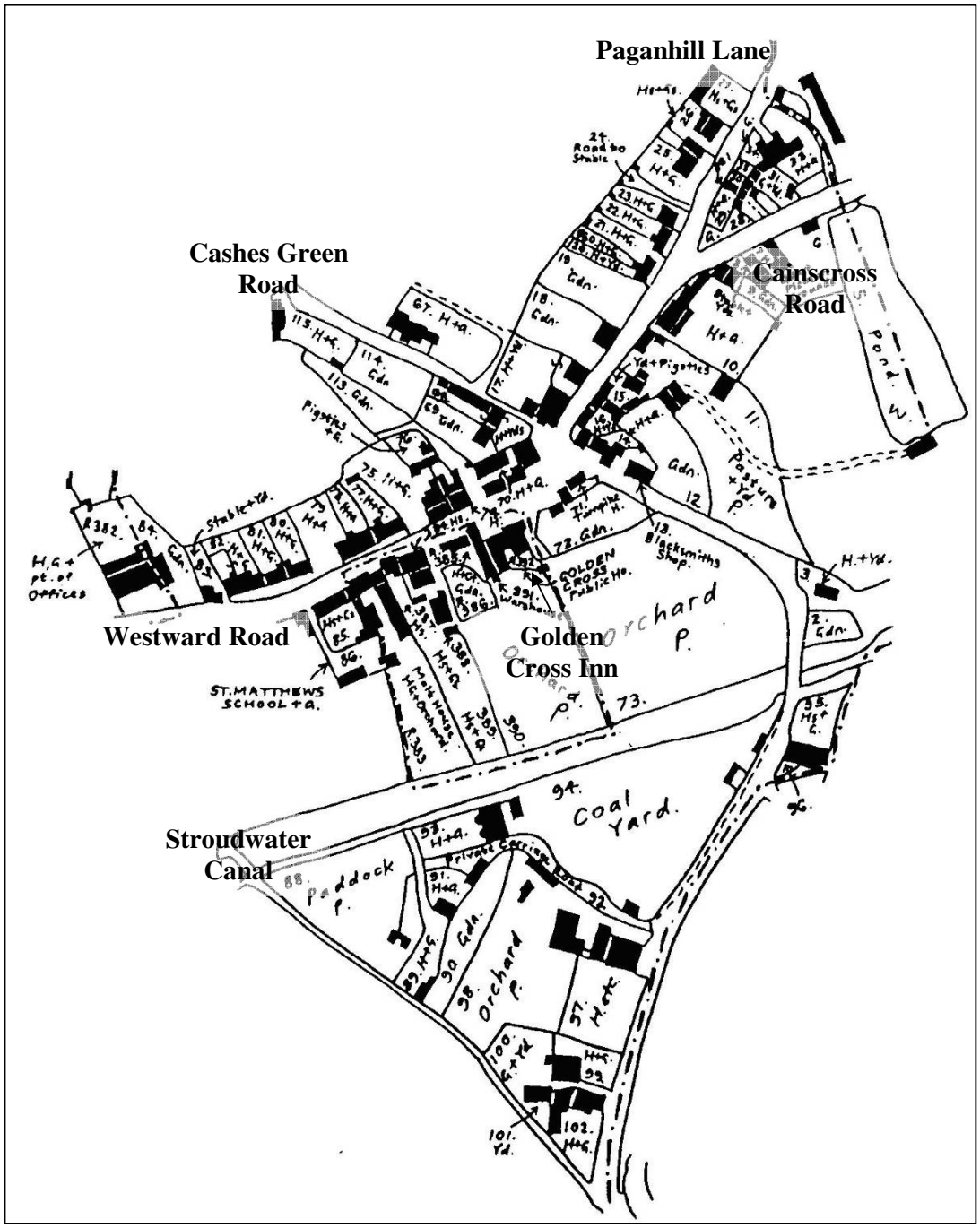


Plate 54: Cainscross tithe map, 1842 (adapted by author from GRO, GDR/T1/28)

A map of the ecclesiastical parish of Cainscross dating to 1863 illustrates the location of St Matthews Church and Ebley Chapel, however other detail is lacking (plate 55).

Plate 55 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 55: Map of the ecclesiastical parish of Cainscross, 1863 (GRO, D5967/1)

The only nonconformist denomination to thrive in the Ebley and Cainscross area was the Congregationalists. A Congregational Chapel was constructed in Ebley in 1797, funded by one of the local clothiers, although it had converted to the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion by 1806 (DWL, 5106.Gl.5). There was no Anglican Church in the area, the nearest being in Stonehouse, which was rectified through the construction of St Matthew's Church in 1835 (VCH Glos 10: 287). These two locations of worship can be seen on plate 56. The complete set of maps illustrating the development of religious worship in Ebley and Cainscross can be found in Appendix 2.6.

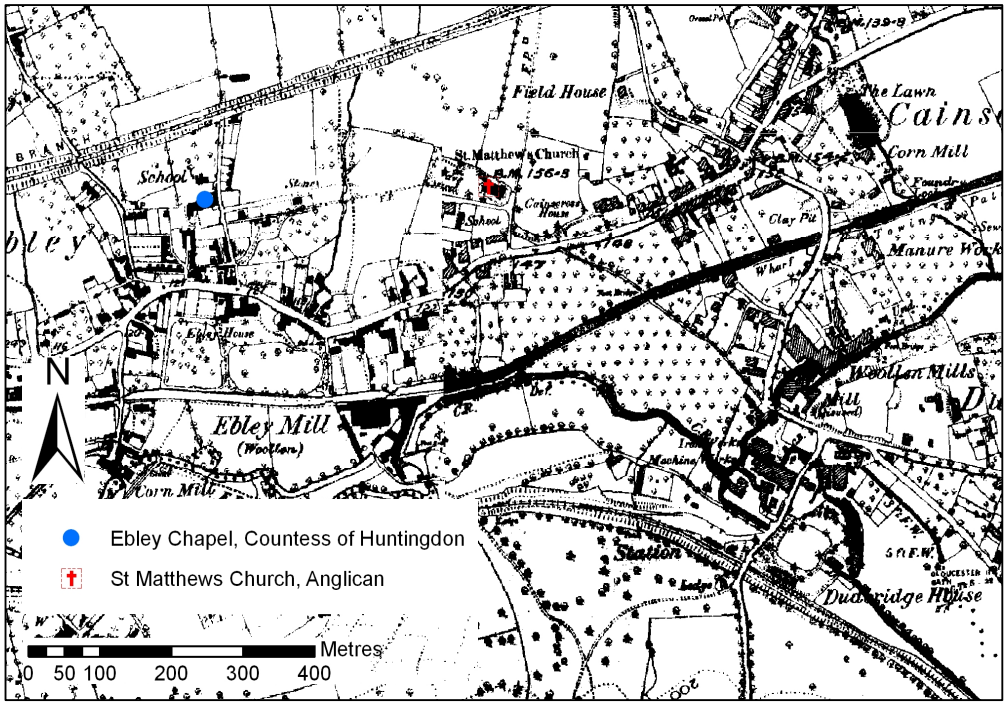


Plate 56: Places of worship in Ebley and Cainscross by 1860 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1887) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

5.3.4 Randwick

Randwick lies one and a half a miles North West of Stroud. There was a church by the thirteenth century, and a workhouse was there by 1782. The population remained small in comparison to the other areas, with only c.400 in 1710, but rising to c.800 in 1801. Randwick differs from the other case studies as this village remained a cottage industry since no large mills or loomshops were constructed in this suburb, despite their development around the rest of the Stroud district. Randwick is the furthest suburb from the centre of Stroud, and certainly the most inaccessible, and as a result, the cloth workers retained their domestic trade. As the industrial revolution progressed, the cottage industry began to decline, and the focus of work shifted to the large factories and loomshops in Stroud centre, Ebley, and Paganhill. Randwick faced much poverty - seen in the extremely high poor rates in the parish, even as early as the late eighteenth century, when other areas of Stroud were experiencing prosperity (VCH Glos 11: 227). In 1804 William Knee described the village cottages as "hovel[s]" (GRO, D4693 13).

By the 1830s the situation was desperate with the inhabitants almost entirely dependent on poor relief (Perry 2003: 123).

The centre of Randwick consists of numerous eighteenth and nineteenth-century cottages. A map dating to 1809 shows little detail (plate 57); however the tithe map of 1841 illustrates the extent of the village far more clearly (plate 58). An inn and some alehouses were commonplace in Randwick despite efforts in the early nineteenth century by the local gentry to suppress their growth. By 1840 the parish had seven, including the Rising Sun (next door to the Wesleyan Chapel) (plate 59)

Plate 57 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 57: Randwick, 1809 (adapted by author from GRO, P263 VE1/2)

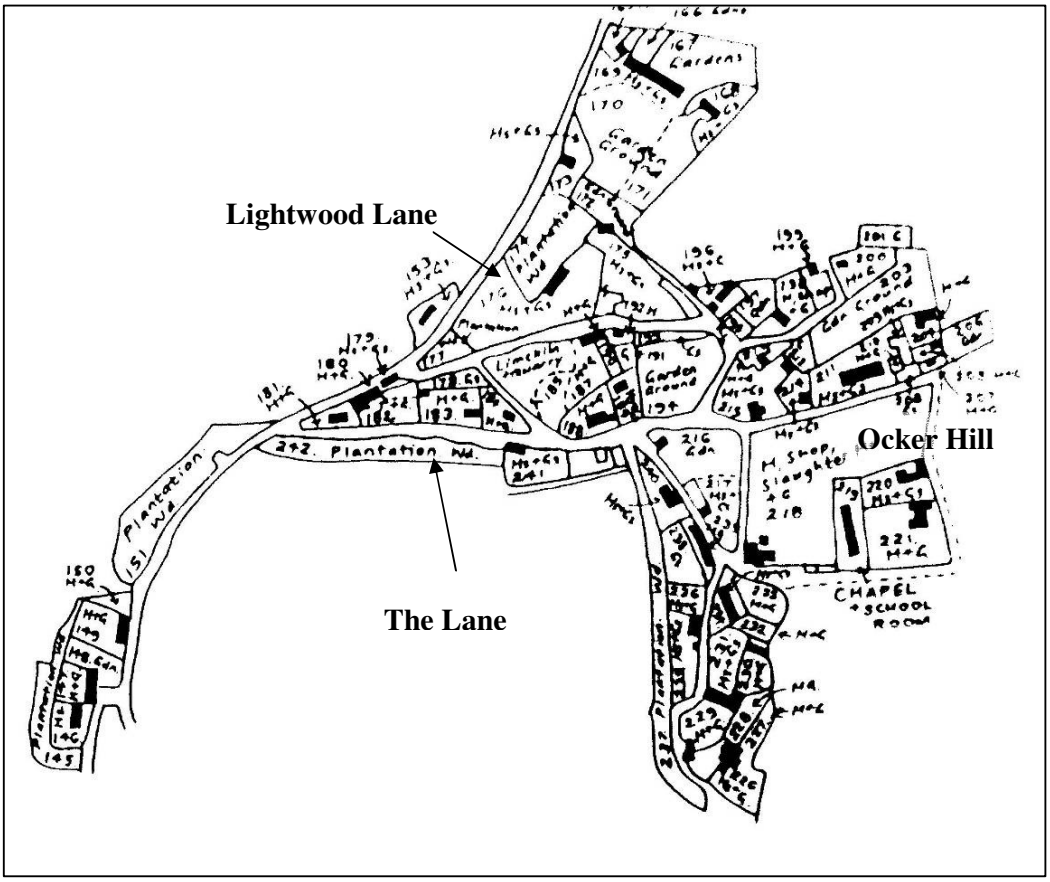


Plate 58: Randwick tithe map, 1841 (adapted by author from GRO, GDR/T1/146)

Plate 59: The Rising Sun Inn (R.H.A, 1995: 36)

Plate 59 has been removed for copyright purposes

In the Compton Census of 1676 eleven nonconformists were recorded in the village out of a population of 350, but after George Whitefield preached at the parish church in 1739, followed by visits of John Wesley in 1739 and 1742, Methodism began to flourish, with Wesley reportedly exclaiming "Oh what a harvest is here!" (R.H.A 1989: 5). Rooms were initially hired for Wesleyan worship until chapel was constructed in 1809 (R.H.A 1989: 13). The chapel was rebuilt in 1824, and survives today although recently converted to flats.

The Primitive Methodists also constructed a simple chapel on The Lane in 1836, but this converted to the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion by 1851. Three private houses were also licensed for dissenting worship between 1820 and 1845, however their denominations were not recorded (VCH Glos 11: 229). The locations of the two Methodist chapels, and also the parish church can be seen on plate 60, whilst the complete chronological development and distribution of the places of religious worship can be found Appendix 2.7.

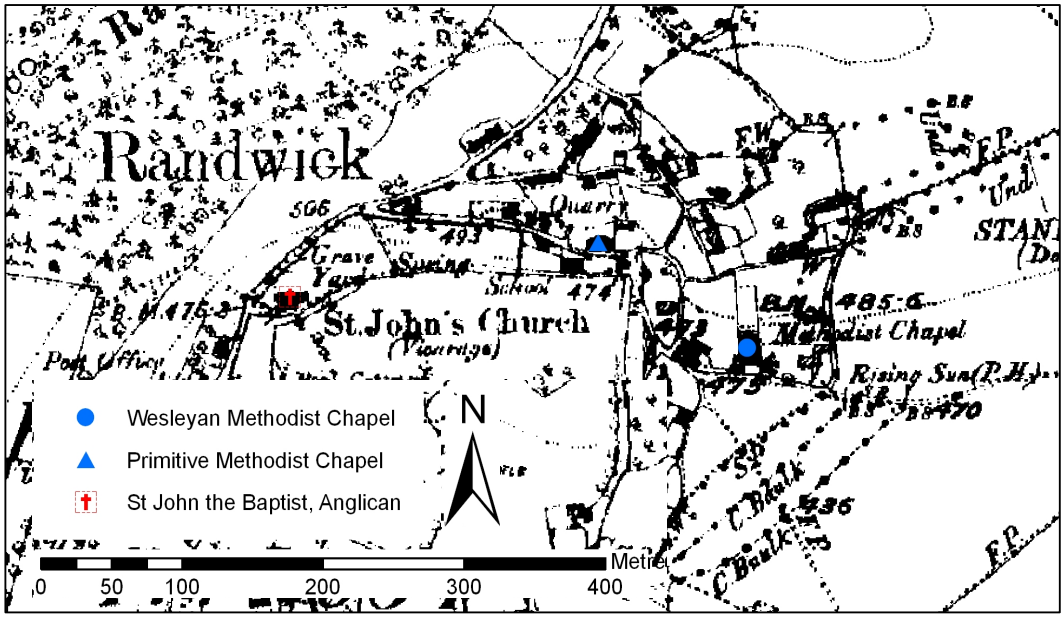


Plate 60: Places of worship in Randwick by 1860 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1886) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

5.3.5 Paganhill and Whiteshill

The tithing of Paganhill lies to the North West of Stroud town centre, and included the villages of Whiteshill and Ruscomb – the latter of which is not included within this research. The village of Paganhill was certainly in existence by the thirteenth century when the first records of a chapel of ease to Stroud parish church appear, although Whiteshill was not recorded as a settlement name until 1732 (VCH Glos 11: 110).

There were numerous mills in the area, alongside rows of domestic dwellings with weaving shops for those engaged in the cottage industry. Stratford Mill and Paganhill Mill have records dating back to the seventeenth century, and by 1766 the Rock Mill was recorded as a fulling mill. Ozelbrook Mill and Puckshole Mill were likely to have been fulling mills before the nineteenth century; however there is little documentary evidence to ascertain this fully (Tann 1967: 200-201).

However the decline in the woollen industry in the 1820s and 1830s had great impact on the economy of Paganhill. During the early years of depression the area was renowned for being poverty stricken, and as one of the most morally and socially degraded parts of Stroud (Hawkins Fisher 2004: 223). This depression is reflected in the closure or conversion of many of the mills. By the 1840s Ozelbrook Mill had converted to a flour mill, and Stratford Mill also converted to this use at some point in the nineteenth century. Salmon's Mill had converted to corn milling even earlier – by 1820 – whilst Rock Mill and Kings Mill were manufacturing pins by circa 1860. Puckshole Mill was certainly a silk throwing mill by the late nineteenth century, and Masons Mill had also converted to this use in the 1860s (Tann 1967: 200-201).

Primarily the buildings in Paganhill date to the nineteenth century although there is a relatively high number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century properties, such as those on Park End (plate 61) and for the later eighteenth century, three-storey properties with workshops in the centre of the village off Park End Road and Farmhill Lane (plate 62). The earliest surviving map evidence, dating to 1819, illustrates the centre of the village (plate 63).

Plate 61: Park End Road (2007)

Plate 62: Weaver's housing in the centre of Paganhill (2007)

Plate 63 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 63: Paganhill tithe map, 1819 (adapted by author from GRO, P320/VE 1/9)

A map of Paganhill dating to 1825 is less clear, but shows little development from the 1819 map (plate 64). There is also a map of the area dating to 1835, which shows little development, indicating that there was little expansion in the area in the early nineteenth century due to the decline in trade (plate 65).

Plate 64 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 64: Map of Paganhill, 1825 (adapted by author from GRO, PC333)

Plate 65 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 65: Map of Paganhill, 1835 (adapted by author from GRO, PC652)

During the nineteenth century the Rose Inn opened (plate 66) which became a central focus for social activity, and this was soon followed by the Stag and Hounds, both on Paganhill Lane. In Whiteshill, the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw an increasing number of small stone cottages, and inns, including the Star Inn which was certainly in existence by 1782 (plate 67) (VCH Glos 11: 110). Although there were fewer elaborate clothier estates in this area, one particularly stands out. Farm Hill Park was constructed by Richard Cooke (a clothier) in 1784, but sold to Henry Wyatt (a Stroud clothier, banker and magistrate) in 1833. This particular estate reflects a significant part of Paganhill's history, that of its prominent role in the Anti Slavery movement under the leadership of Wyatt, a staunch abolitionist. Under Wyatt's leadership many Stroud inhabitants campaigned for the abolition of slavery in British Colonies, and when this was achieved in 1833 Wyatt funded the construction of a memorial arch, which still stands today (Hawkins Fisher 2004: 169).

Plate 66: The Rose Inn (2007)

Plate 67: The Star Inn (2007)

There does not appear to have been any centres for religious observance in Paganhill and Whiteshill before the nineteenth century until John Burder, the preacher in the Old Meeting in Stroud centre, registered a property for Congregational worship in 1825 (VCH Glos 11: 141). There is also fleeting reference to a Baptist congregation meeting at a house in Paganhill, which was later converted fully to worship (Wicks ND: 68-69). Allegedly an Independent Chapel was constructed in 1835, although this could be the aforementioned Baptist Chapel house conversion – the chapel had certainly converted to the Baptist denomination around by 1869 (VCH Glos 11: 141). This chapel is indicated on plate 68.

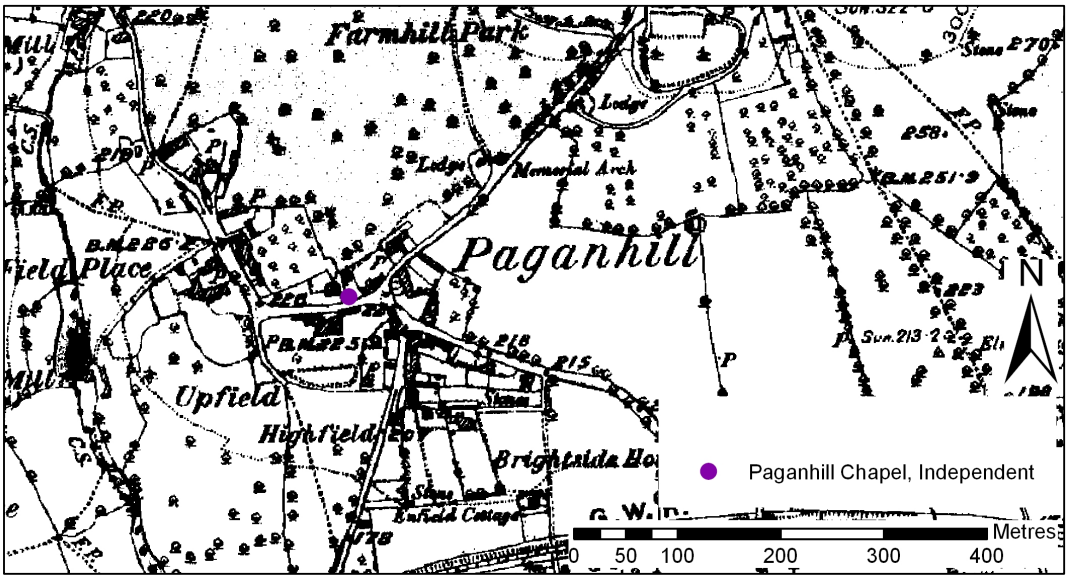


Plate 68: Paganhill Independent Chapel, 1835 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1886) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008/Edina supplied service).

An Anglican Church was constructed in Whiteshill in 1841 to further improve the moral and social nuture of the working classes, alongside the erection of a Congregational chapel at Ruscomb, and the spreading influence of William Knee and the Wesleyan Methodists in nearby Randwick (Hawkins Fisher 2004: 171). The chronological distribution and development of the Independent Chapel and the Anglican Church can be found in Appendix 2.8.

5.3.6 The Stroud case study: conclusion

Stroud is a valuable case study in the research as it exhibits a larger, more sprawling settlement than the other case studies, with a diverse selection of nonconformist denominations and industry. Randwick, for example, represents a cottage industry that suffered great poverty and deprivation as a result of the increasing industrialisation of the woollen industry, whereas Paganhill and Ebley illustrate areas of the town where mills and factories were more prolific. The role of the town in protest activity within the woollen industry, make the case study even more interesting for the research. The role of nonconformity within these parishes, appears to have greatly motivated the social activity of the inhabitants, and the profound impact this may have had on the built environment is a topic that has never been studied within histories of the town.

5.4 THE STROUDWATER CASE STUDIES

There are three more rural case studies within the research, all of which lie in Gloucestershire, to the South West of Stroud, in an area which is known within this research as Stroudwater. As each of these rural case studies have only a small number of chapels, and as a result of their close proximity and similar industrial and religious history, they are primarily considered as one locale, however within this section it is prudent to introduce each place individually to provide the historical context.

5.4.1 Cam

The earliest records of the woollen industry in Cam date to the sixteenth century when Corriett's grist and fulling mill was in production by 1533, and Halmer Mill was fulling cloth by the 1560s. During the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries further mills were recorded in the area belonging or leased to a number of prestigious cloth manufacturing families. Upper Cam Mill, which was in existence from the mid-seventeenth century, was owned successively by the Hicks, Adey and Lloyd families, whilst Draycott Mills was the property of the Phillimores (Tann 1967: 116-124). Cam suffered a decline in the industry from the mid 1820s, and by the 1830s the cloth

industry in the town was reducing in size rapidly. One of the most prosperous and prestigious of the Cam mills - Upper Cam Mill - was converted into a flour mill by 1839 after it went bankrupt in 1826 (Tann 1967: 124). By 1860 only one mill (Cam Mill) was still producing cloth and the other seven had either been converted for other uses, or lay empty (Tann 1967: 119).This decline took its toll on the workforce. By the time Miles wrote his report on the condition of the handloom weavers in Gloucestershire in 1839 there were around eighty weavers living in the Cam area, and it was reported that nearly every one of them was ill with measles, whooping cough or consumption, and could only find sporadic work (Snelling 2001: 33).

Cam became a centre for organised political action against the injustices of the woollen industry when, in 1802, a meeting was held in the Berkeley Arms, primarily as a result of the increasing use of the gig mill. This meeting resulted in the formation of the Woollen Cloth Workers' Society (Perry 2003: 87). The weavers and shearmen of Cam often combined with those of the surrounding area, including Dursley and Uley to protest against declining wage rates and unemployment.

The early centre of Cam was focused on Upper Cam, close to the parish church of St George, whilst Lower Cam developed as a result of the thriving cloth trade in the early nineteenth century, and many rows of weavers housing still survive. The earliest surviving maps of the area are the local tithe maps dating to 1839 (plates 69 and 70). The tithe map of Upper Cam (plate 69) illustrates the parish church of St George and also the Congregational Chapel, and further highlights a sporadic array of domestic housing and orchards. Hopton Road, which is the long north-south road on the map, was the location for the parish workhouse which was constructed in 1783 (Snelling 2001; 31).

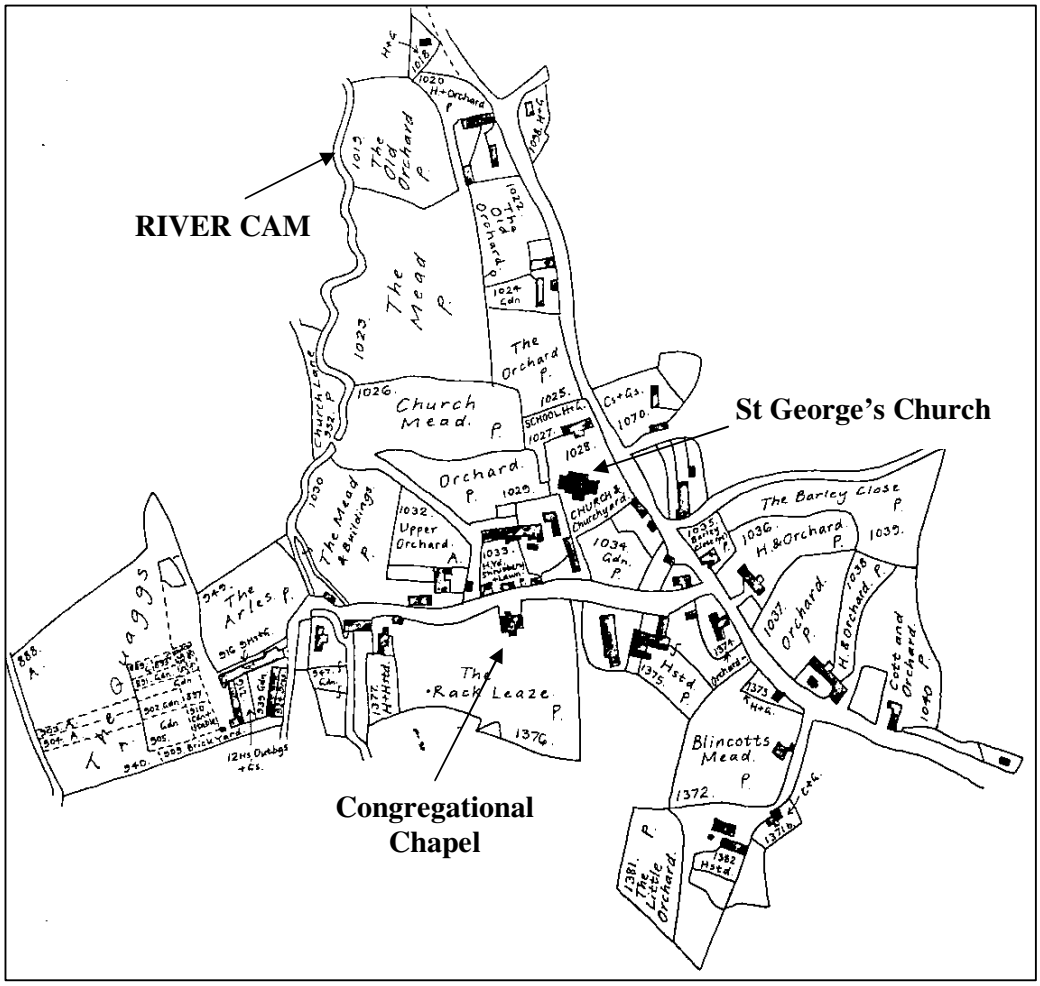


Plate 69: Upper Cam tithe map, 1839 (GRO, GDR/T1/43)

The industrial activity was focused on the River Cam, lying to the West of Upper Cam at the bottom of the valley, and as the industry developed from the late eighteenth century numerous mills sprang up along its banks. The village of Lower Cam expanded along the river, and the tithe map illustrates terraces of weavers' housing that developed in the southern part of the village around Rowley and Chapel Street, as a result of the improving cloth industry.

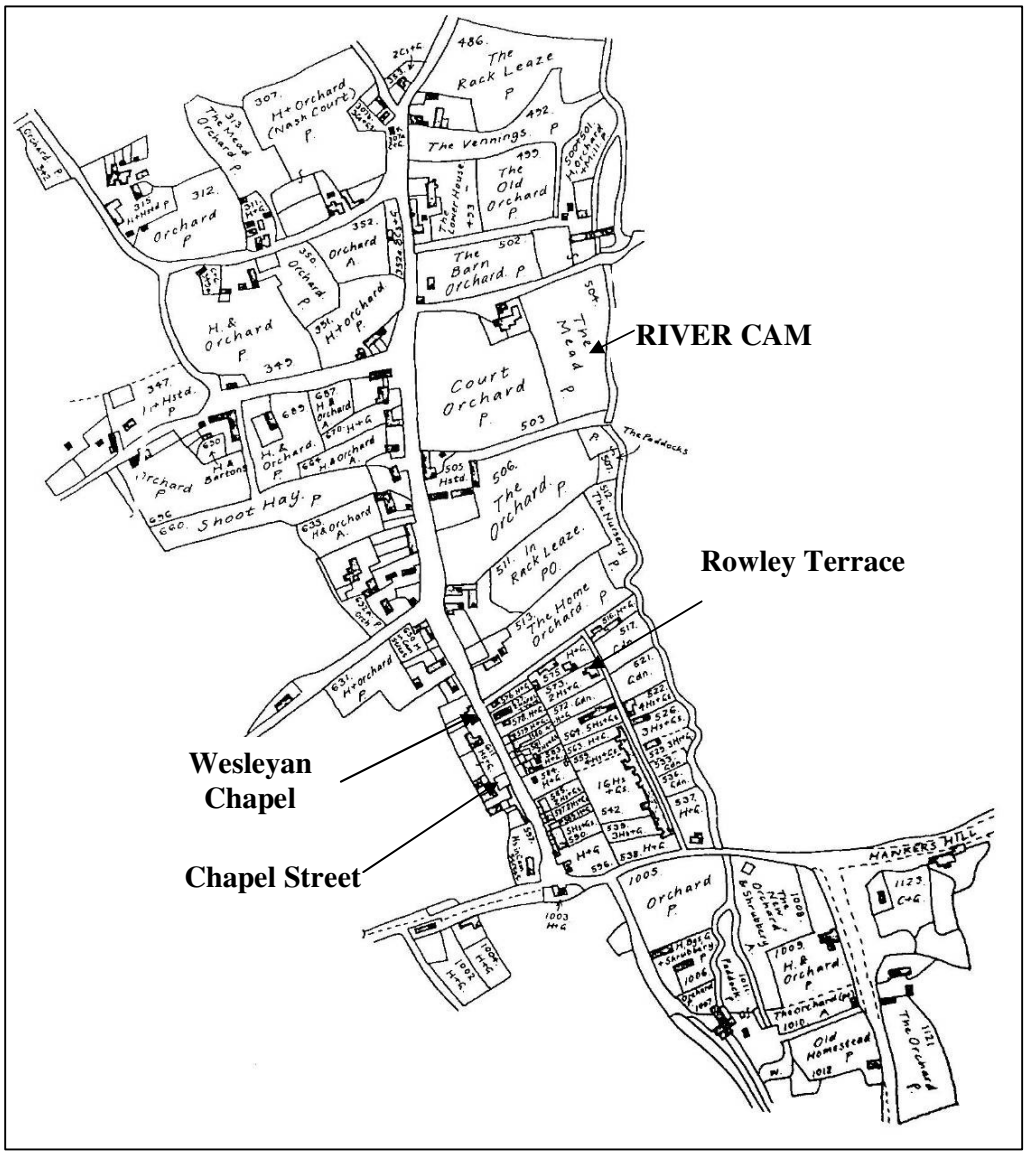


Plate 70: Lower Cam, tithe map 1839 (GRO, GDR/T1/43)

A builder named Reuben Hill constructed many of the weavers' houses in Lower Cam, including those at Rowley, between c.1800 and 1820 (plate 71, Evans 1982: 31). Further weavers' housing still exist on Chapel Street (plate 72 and 73), although many have been heavily altered.

Plate 71: Weavers' terraces at Rowley (2006)

Plate 72: Chapel Street (2006)

Plate 73: Chapel Street (2006)

Further development in Lower Cam took place in the mid-nineteenth century when the railway arrived in 1856 (Snelling 2001: 37). The case study of Cam also includes the small hamlet of the Quarry, which lies to the West of Lower Cam. A chapel was built in the hamlet in 1852, however prior to this the inhabitants would have travelled to Upper Cam or Dursley for worship, although it did have a Quaker burial ground (Evans 1982: 41).

Perhaps the most significant feature of Cam during the industrial revolution is the pivotal role it played in the early development of nonconformity. It has been argued by Snelling (2001: 10) that the Stroudwater area was more sympathetic to nonconformity at an earlier date due to its location away from the influence of larger towns and authorities. This certainly seems to have been the case in Cam. The Congregational Meeting in Cam was one of the earliest meetings in the county, with the first evidence dating to 1647 (Evans 1982: 46) and the meeting house was constructed in 1703. During the eighteenth century the popularity of the chapel grew, and it had one of the largest congregations in the county at the time. By 1715 it reportedly had over 800 members (Evans, 1982: 35). Baptism records illustrate members were attending from Dursley, Uley, and The Quarry but also from places further a field such as Tetbury and Nailsworth (Evans 1982: 46). It was not until the late eighteenth century that a second dissenting group appeared. The Wesleyan Methodists had begun to meet in an attic in a cottage on the High Street until a chapel could be built in 1825 (Evans 1982: 100). In 1852 the congregational chapel in The Quarry was constructed (Snelling 2001: 37). In 1844 St Bartholomew's church was built in Lower Cam to provide further Anglican worship in addition to the parish church of St George. The locations of these places of worship are identified on plate 74. St Bartholomew's lay closer to the village centre, nearer the mills and housing, and aimed to provide a more accessible location for Anglican worship for the cloth industry, that Cam then lacked (Revd Ian Robb *pers comm.*: March 2007). The distribution and development of the chapels and the Anglican churches in Cam over the time period are presented in full in Appendix 2.9.

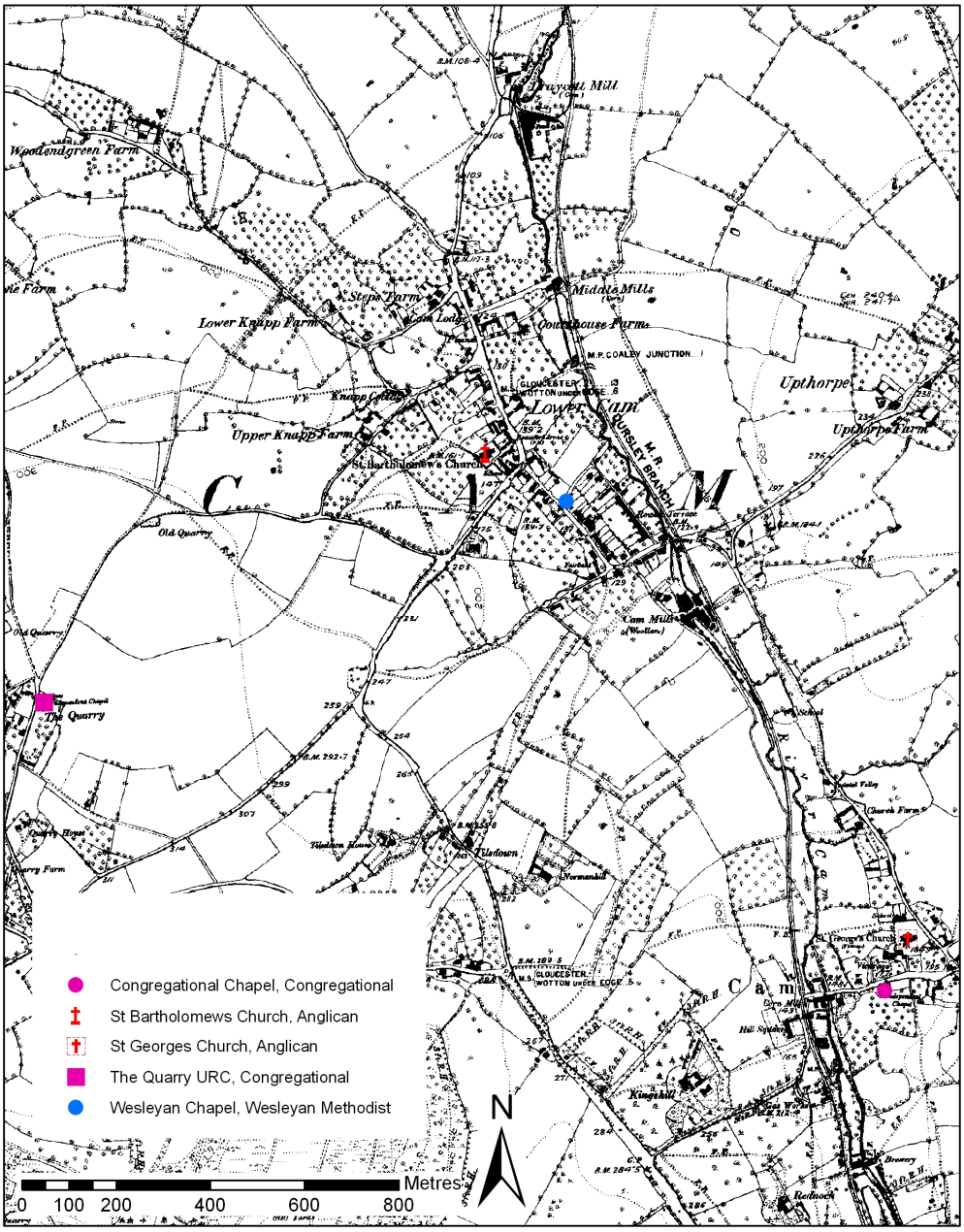


Plate 74: Places of worship in Cam by 1860 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1885) 1: 10560, © Crown Copright/database right 208. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

Cam is a valuable case study due to its association with the early growth of nonconformity in Gloucestershire. Furthermore, many original buildings of the period survive, including 100% of the chapels, enabling full architectural and spatial analysis,

particularly with reference to the growth of the town, and the domestic and industrial buildings.

5.4.2. Dursley

The cloth industry in Dursley developed from the fifteenth century (Blunt, 1975: 9) and by the mid-sixteenth century John Leland had referred to it as a "praty clothing towne" (Perry 2003: 19). Dursley was becoming an important centre in the production of new drapery cloths, influenced by the incorporation of new cloth production techniques introduced by Dutch immigrants.

By the start of the seventeenth century around half the population of the area was involved in the woollen trade (Rollison 1992: 22), aided by the construction of many cloth mills, including Phelps Mill, New Mills and Dursley Mill (Tann 1967: 127-130). By 1795, New Mills in Dursley – one of the most prominent mills in the region, owned by the prestigious Purnell and then Vizard families - had four fulling stocks, three gig mills, and 17 carding, spinning and slubbing machines (Tann 1967: 130; Perry 2003: 72).

The fortunes of the woollen workers in Dursley were closely associated with those in surrounding cloth parishes, such as Cam. The post-Napoleonic war period of prosperity was replaced by the depression of 1825 and the slow painful decline of the wool trade, as a result of increasing competition from Yorkshire and increasing expenses. The eight mills that had been in existence in Dursley in 1820 had reduced to five by 1840, and the remaining mills had all but ceased production by the 1860s. The woollen workers suffered high levels of unemployment, or low wage rates if they could find work, and increasing poverty. Augustus Miles reported in 1839 that the clothworkers' housing in the town were "wretched and destitute", and that those who could not find work in the cloth industry had either emigrated, become agricultural labourers, or were paupers (Miles 1839: 434).

In the nineteenth century the centre of Dursley was focused on Parsonage Street, Long Street and Silver Street, which were the chief commercial and residential areas in the town. The earliest surviving map of the town is the tithe map dating to 1845 (plate 75).

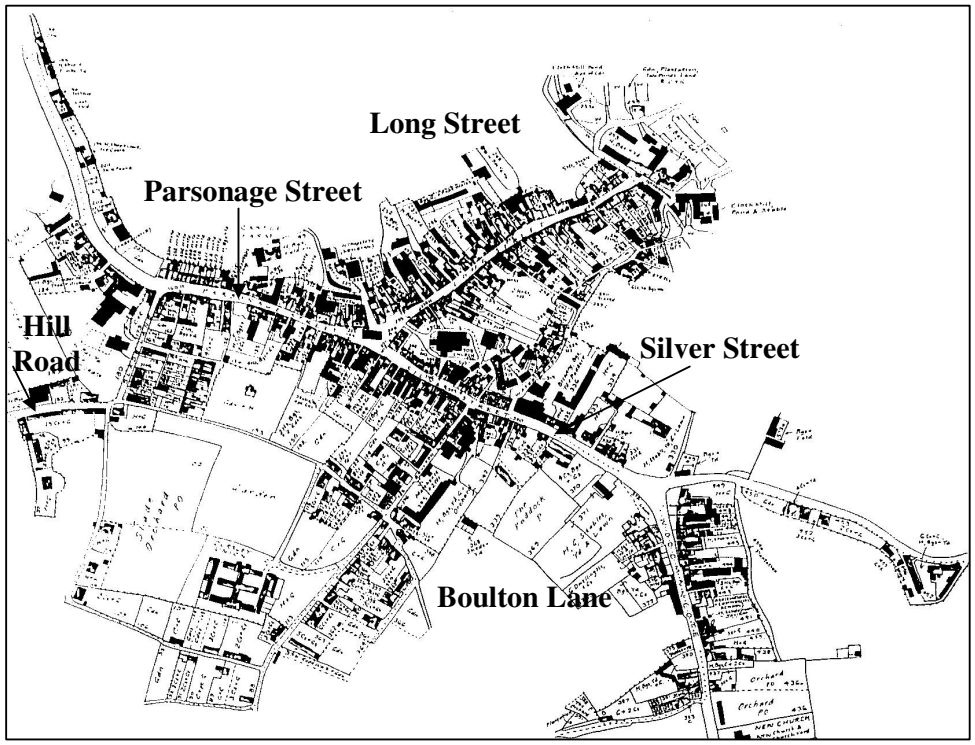


Plate 75: Dursley tithe map, 1845 (GRO, GDR/T1/71)

The Market House (plate 76) stands at the southern end of Parsonage Street, close to the parish church of St James and was constructed in 1738 as a location for markets and fairs. Other properties on Parsonage Street date primarily from the early 1800s, although many have been demolished and replaced (Evans 1982: 61). Silver Street and Long Street provided extensions to Parsonage Street as both residential and commercial areas. Long Street shows a remarkable array of affluent Georgian houses, such as Raglan House (plate 77), and smaller vernacular properties (plate 78). The Priory (plate 79) at the bottom of Long Street was once a Chantry house for local priests, and was converted to cloth manufacturing in the industrial period (Barton, *pers comm.*: August 2008).

Plate 76: The Market House (2008)

Plate 77: Raglan House, Long Street (2007)

Plate 78: Long Street (2007)

Plate 79: The Priory (2007)

To the south of Parsonage Street and Silver Street was an area with less affluence, dominated by smaller cottages, of which many have now been demolished. The parish workhouse (constructed in 1837) lay at the top of Union Street (south of Boulton Lane) (Sutton 1991: 124), and road names such as Weavers Close and Hunger Hill indicate the nature of the population in this area.

The southern end of Dursley (plate 80) is centred on Woodmancote, which was initially a separate hamlet. There are many fine properties along Woodmancote (plate 81), which developed through the early nineteenth century, and complemented by the construction of St Mark's Church in 1844, and the Vizard almshouses in the early nineteenth century (Sutton 1991: 43).

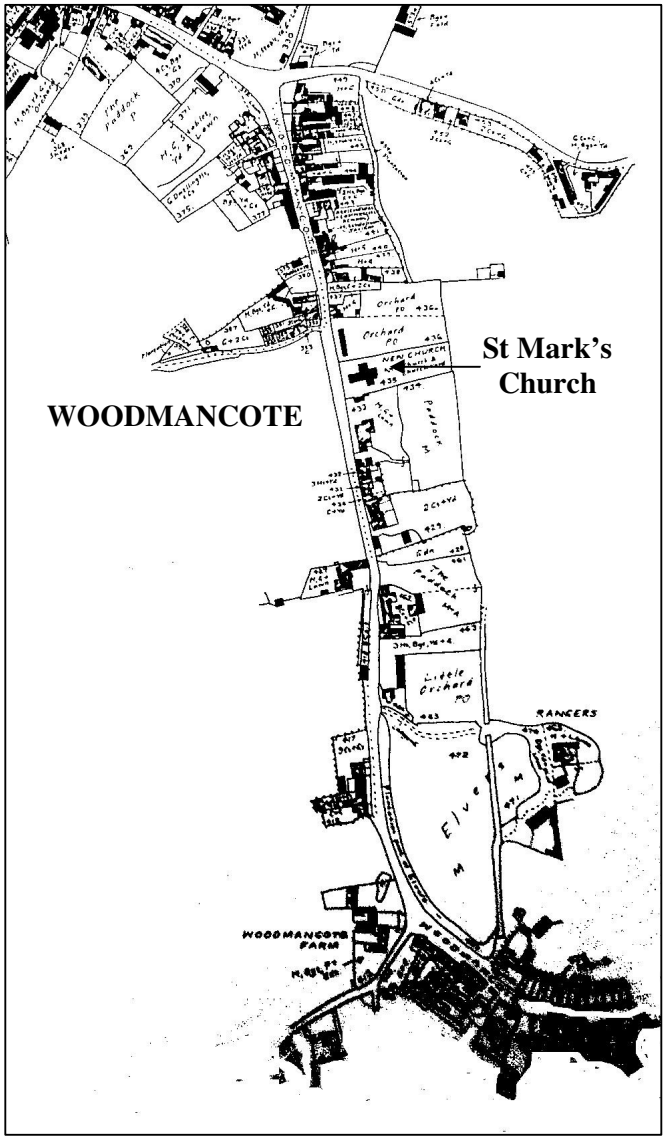


Plate 80: Woodmancote, from Dursley tithe map, 1845 (GRO, GDR/T1/71)

Plate 81: Bull Pitch, Woodmancote (2007)

Dursley has a long history of nonconformity. It was strongly Puritan during the Civil War, shown by the disappearance of the Book of Common Prayer, the altar rails, the Communion table and the Communion Cup from the parish church in the 1630s and 1640s (Evans 1982: 16). There are some references to a seventeenth-century Quaker congregation in the town, and other references to early nonconformity can be seen in the ejection of Henry Stubbes as a minister in the town under the Act of Uniformity of 1662, and through early licences (Evans 1982: 28).

The first chapel in the town was built in Water Street by 1715, and led by Joseph Temlow, who had been the first minister of the Cam Congregational Meeting, as a Presbyterian school and meeting house. However, worship appears to have stopped there by the 1770s (Snelling 2001: 22).

Methodism was the most prolific denomination in the town, influenced through the preaching of George Whitefield who visited the town in 1743, and then preached on the nearby Stinchcombe Hill soon after (Evans 1982: 66). This clearly influenced the population of Dursley who created a meeting, and eventually constructed the first Dursley Tabernacle in 1760. The first Tabernacle was demolished in 1810, but not before a new structure had been constructed on the opposite side of Parsonage Street in

1808, which survives today (DWL, 5106.Gl.8). Some members of the Tabernacle seceded in 1821 to form an Independent Methodist congregation who constructed a chapel on Hill Road; however, by 1826 this society had collapsed and was being used by a second group of Tabernacle defectors. This second group chose to build their own chapel on Boulton Lane in 1828 and it remained Calvinistic Methodist until around 1840 when they reunited with the Tabernacle. The chapel was left empty until 1842, when it reopened as a Temperance Hall. Splinter Methodist groups such as the Wesleyan Reform Church and the New Wesleyan Connexion worshipped there from the 1850s but never had a huge following in the town (Evans 1982: 128-134).

A Wesleyan Methodist society also developed in Dursley, believed to have been formed in the hamlet of Woodmancote at some point during the eighteenth century. By 1799 they were large enough to seek their own place of worship, and used an old workshop supplied by Henry Vizard, before demolishing it and constructing a purpose built chapel on the same site in 1802 (Evans 1982: 99). This structure lies on Castle Street, near St James' Church and Parsonage Street; however the street has changed drastically since the nineteenth century as a result of twentieth-century regeneration. This structure was demolished for a new larger chapel in 1864. The popularity of Methodism is clearly illustrated on plate 82 (shown in blue), and identifies the only other group with purpose-built religious buildings to be the Anglicans.

A second Anglican church was constructed in Woodmancote in 1844, funded by a local clothier and philanthropist Henry Vizard, partly in response to the growing dissenting populations in the town. Due to the level of poverty in Dursley in the 1840s Vizard wanted to provide more free seats (without pew renting) for the working classes and the inmates of the parish workhouse on Union Street (GRO, P124 IN 3/2). The complete chronological distribution and development of the nonconformist chapels and the Anglican churches in Dursley are shown in Appendix 2.10.

Unfortunately many of the chapels in Dursley no longer exist – the first Tabernacle, the first Wesleyan Chapel, Boulton Lane Chapel and Water Street Chapel have all been demolished. However, their locations are known and in some cases documentary evidence exists. Nonetheless, Dursley remains a valuable case study especially when considered in conjunction with Cam and Uley.

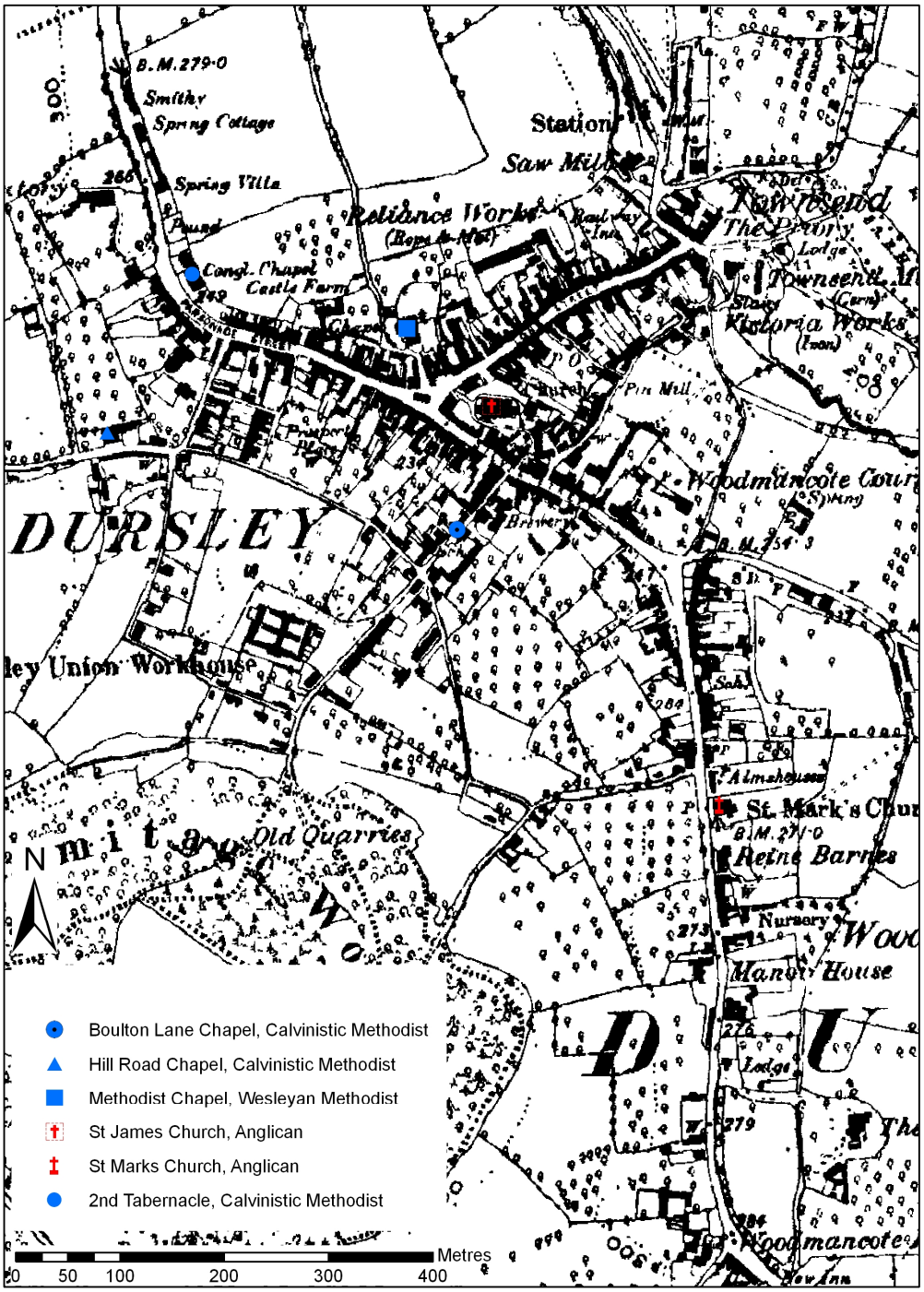


Plate 82: The popularity of Methodism in Dursley, 1860 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1885) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/databse right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

5.4.3 Uley

Little is known about the cloth industry in Uley prior to the eighteenth century. However, Smyth's Muster Roll (1608) records three clothiers and 29 weavers in Uley, and a further thirteen weavers in the neighbouring hamlet of Owlpen (Perry 2003: 20). The cottage industry appears to have developed in the later seventeenth century (Bebbington 2003: 36); however, there is some tenuous early evidence of cloth being made at Eyles Mill from about 1600, and, by 1665, John Eyles was certainly producing Spanish cloth there (Bebbington 2003: 44). In 1689, Dauncey's Mill was producing cloth in Uley (Bebbington 2003: 48).

In the 1790s Uley was becoming renowned for its dyed cassimeres known as 'Uley Blues'. In the eighteenth century, a number of mills were established contributing to a population increase. Rockstowes Mill was being run by William Phelps between 1790 and 1800, and was then owned by Edward Sheppard and Henry Hicks, but production ceased in the 1840s. By 1795 the workshops at Angeston Grange owned by the Lloyd family already had wool lofts, a press shop, a shear shop, a spinning shop, a sizing loft, a weaving shop and tentering land (Bebbington 2003: 47-50). The early nineteenth century saw the cloth industry of Uley expand rapidly. Marsh Mill, Jackson's Mill, Dauncey's Manufactory (plate 83), and Jeen's Factory had all been constructed by 1828. However within ten years of their establishment, the cloth industry of Uley was in serious decline.

Plate 83: Dauncey's Manufactory, South Street (2007)

Sheppard's Mill (plate 84), which had previously employed more than 1,000 people, had gone bankrupt by 1837, and the factory equipment was sold (Perry 2003: 101). Jeen's, Dauncey's and Marsh Mills were out of business by 1840, causing large scale unemployment and acute distress, reflected in the decrease in population from 2,641 in 1831, to just over 1,000 in 1881 (Bebbington 2003: 42).

Plate 84: Sheppard's Mill, South Street (2007)

This unemployment put much pressure on the parish resulting in the reopening of the workhouse (Bebbington 2003: 42). Emigration was encouraged and when Augustus Miles visited the village in 1837 he observed 200 vacant properties as a result of emigration (Perry 2003: 123). The decline in the Uley cloth industry was so severe that it was said to be the most heavily burdened parish in the county in the 1840s, with reports of starving families, drunken unemployed cloth workers, and cholera epidemics (Bebbington 2003: 42).

The town of Uley has grown a little in the last 100 years, although many of its eighteenth and nineteenth-century cottages survive. The Street is the main road through the village and on it in the industrial period were a range of cottages, fine houses, and alehouses. Fop Street and Whitecourt, at the North-Eastern end of the village were the locations for much of Uley's nineteenth-century weavers' cottages and workshops, as well as the workhouse, a nonconformist chapel, and Jeens' Manufactory. The Green, at the North Eastern end of the village was a prime location for fancy clothiers houses (although these are also located along The Street and elsewhere in the village), and the parish church of St Giles, rebuilt in 1858.

A map of Uley dating to 1840 (plate 85) allows some understanding of the village when the cloth industry was well into its final years, however the map does not show any of the nonconformist chapels (all of which were in existence by this point), nor the working class area of Fop Street and Whitecourt, indicating the map may not be wholly accurate.

Plate 85 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 85: Map of Uley, 1840 (GRO, D1388 4/7/2)

The tithe map dating to only two years later is far clearer, and plainly exhibits the development around Fop Street and Whitecourt, The Street and The Green, as well as some properties and land associated with the cloth industry, including rack grounds (where cloth was hung to dry after processing), two of the three nonconformist chapels, and the workhouse (plate 86).

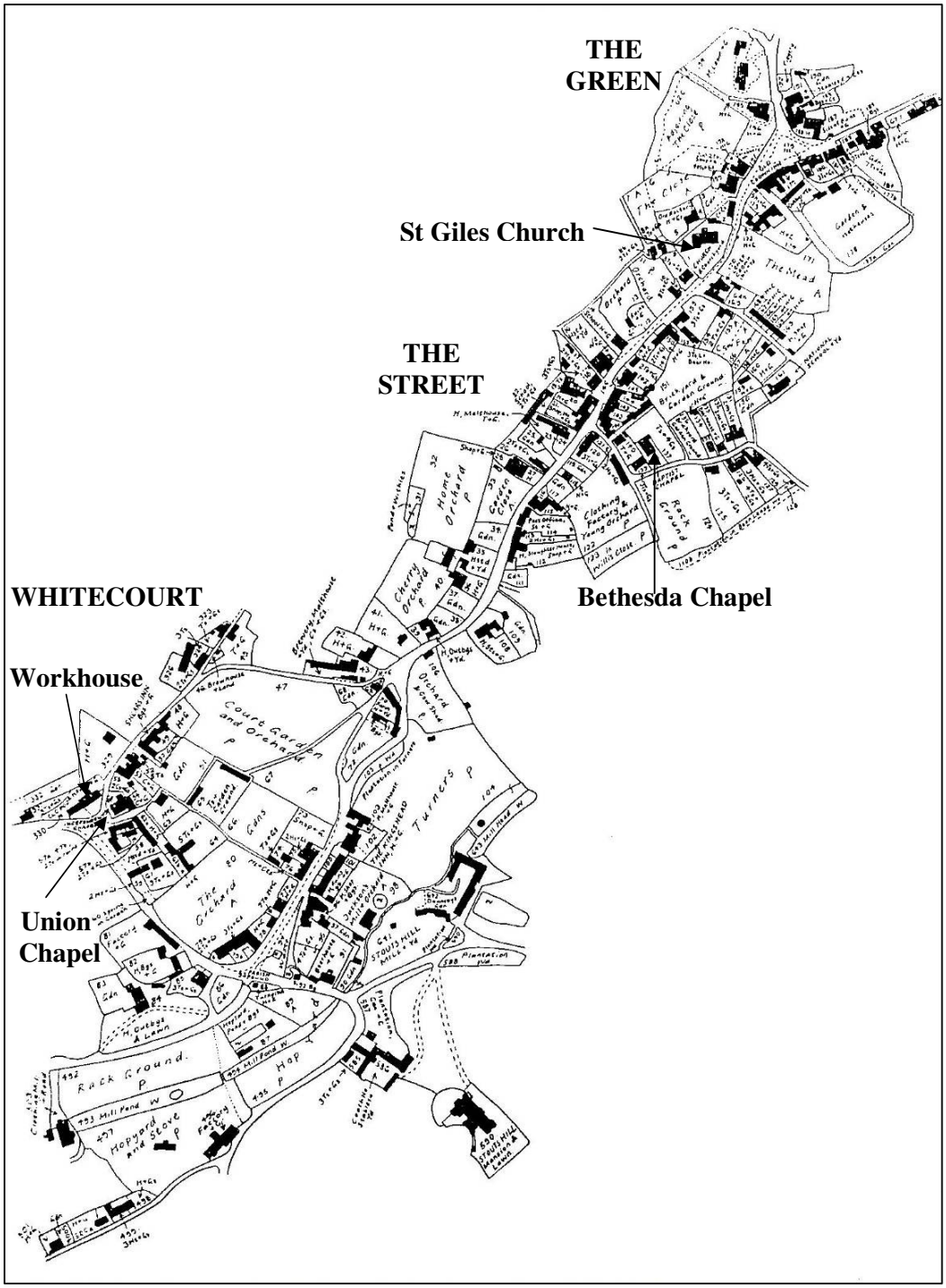


Plate 86: Uley tithe map, 1842 (GRO, GDR/T1/187)

Unusually for Gloucestershire, some more violent protest activity took place in Uley. In 1792, as a result of decreasing wages, a house in Uley was attacked because the occupant weaver was working below the common price (Bebbington 2003: 41). In 1828 a troop of dragoons was stationed in Uley and Dursley due to threat of further trouble over wage disputes. Weavers agreeing to work for a lower price were often stoned by the mob (Bebbington 2003: 42). The weavers attacked Edward Sheppard's son who was en route to Dursley to deliver some finished cloth (Perry 2003: 117). Strike activity also prevailed against Sheppard's Mill in 1824, lasting for six weeks, certainly contributing to Sheppard's bankruptcy three years later (Bebbington 2003: 42).

The history of early nonconformity in the town is patchy; however, the earliest licence for dissent was recorded to be at the home of John Hancock in 1627. By the late seventeenth century there were reported to be around 25 nonconformists in a population of 300 (about 8%). In 1684 a Thomas Evans and a Henry Hill were excommunicated on the grounds of being dissenters, and from the early eighteenth century many Uley names and properties begin to appear on the licensing registers for nonconformists worship, including those of the clothiers (Bebbington 2003: 86). It was not until the cloth industry really began to expand in Uley that nonconformity increased too (Bebbington 2003: 91-93). In the mid eighteenth century, the Baptists and Independents began to gain popularity and private cottages were initially used for worship until the congregation moved to the home of a Mr Went, who was presumably the clothier who resided in Went House (plate 87).

Plate 87: Went House (2007)

Union Independent Chapel opened in 1790. In the early nineteenth century a group of traditional Baptists left Union Chapel to worship privately at the houses of a Mr Park, and a Mr Jackson. The first Uley Baptist Church was opened on the Jackson premises in 1819, when Mr Jackson cut a hole in the ceiling of a cottage he owned to form a gallery, enabling it to accommodate up to three hundred worshippers. Presumably this cottage was particularly large, in order to achieve this. In 1821 as those premises became too small, Bethesda Chapel was built on South Street (Bebbington 2003: 84-88).

The first mention of a Wesleyan Methodist chapel is in the archives relating to the sale of land by Samuel Hill to Daniel French in 1819, lying north of land which was said to be "lately conveyed by the said Samuel Hill to the trustees of a certain Wesleyan Society and on which or on some part thereof a Methodist Chapel is now erecting" (Bebbington 2003: 87). This chapel has since been demolished, however, the iron railings still remain, identifying its location to the east of Bethesda Chapel in South Street. The locations of the three nonconformist chapels in Uley are highlighted on plate 88, whilst the chronological development and distribution of these structures are detail in full in Appendix 2.11.

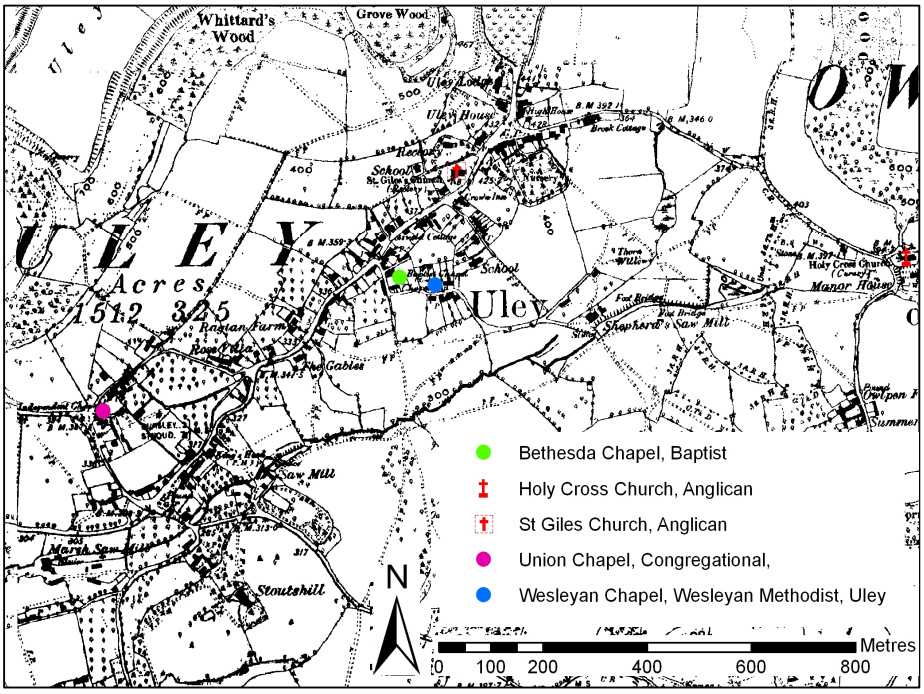


Plate 88: Places of worship in Uley by 1860 (created from the 1st edition OS map (1887) 1: 10560, © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. An Ordnance Survey/Edina supplied service).

Uley is an important case study. The survival rate of buildings in Uley is fairly high. The parish church of St Giles, and the Whitecourt and Bethesda Chapels still stand. The railings of the demolished Wesleyan Methodist chapel identify its location in the village. Although parts of the village have been redeveloped in recent years many original buildings of the cloth industry, both domestic and industrial, survive. The area around Whitecourt Chapel is a fine example of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century workers' housing, and many of the clothier houses are still standing, such as Coombe House on Fop Street (e.g. plate 89).

Plate 89: Coombe House, Fop Street (2007)

5.4.4 The Stroudwater case studies: conclusion

The Stroudwater case studies provide a unique resource for the study of community in the woollen industry. Despite the small distances between the villages, the workers clearly united in their defence of old customs, traditions, and wage rates. The close association between the three locations make them an interesting study of local relationships, both in terms of dissenting activity (through the influence of Methodists, for example) and also political and social behaviour. They are particularly useful as their self-contained, small-scale (yet successful in its day) woollen trade offers a unique comparison to the urban industries of Bradford, Trowbridge and Stroud.

Each of the case studies within the research provides valuable opportunities for archaeological analysis, whether through the extent of surviving religious, economic and social structures, or in some cases through the assistance of surviving documentary resources. The difference in protest activity between the two counties, alongside the

range and diversity of denominations that developed are intrinsic to the research, and has therefore influenced the choice of using these particular case studies.

CHAPTER 6

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results of all the analyses, outlined in Chapter 3. Three categories of results are displayed.

- The architectural analysis explores the development of architectural styles throughout the period, the relationship between architecture and denomination and the architectural elaborations that occurred on chapels, alongside the building activity that took place through renovation, enlargement and alteration. This section also incorporates a study of the finances of chapel building activity and sources of funding.

- The visibility analysis considers the spatial landscape of the chapels in their immediate and wider environments, incorporating aspects such as prominence, access, concealment and religious display.

- The growth of dissent in each of the case study locations is then considered through documentary resources such as meeting house licences and census information, and also through the growth in the number and denomination of the chapels actually constructed.

The architectural and spatial analysis provides the foundation for the interpretation of the expression of identity amongst the workers of the woollen industry during the time frame under review, whilst analysis of the development of dissenting traditions in each county through the documentary and physical evidence enables further discussion of its popularity and expansion with reference to the specific economic and social contexts of the case studies. Evidence of chapel finances and sources of funding further enhances the understanding of the significance of dissent in this period, and provides further information on the involvement of the clothiers in chapel culture. These results are invaluable in interpreting the power relationships and social interactions between employer and employee within the case studies. The interpretation and discussion of these results can be found in Chapter 7.

6.1 ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS

6.1.1 Architectural Styles

Architecture is a highly visual medium, and therefore its form can express and communicate individual and group social identities (Markus 1993: 4; Burke 1999: 7). Religious identities can often be clearly reflected in a chapel's aesthetic appearance (Powell 1980: 2). Each of the chapels in the case studies were studied with particular reference to its architectural elaboration, in order to assess whether religious identities were apparent in the community, and examine whether this expression changed as a result of external social and economic pressures. An overall examination of the architectural style of each chapel was undertaken in order to identify overt statements of wealth, prosperity and intellectualism through architectural design. Following this, specific elements associated with religious buildings were also identified, such as name/date plaques, pediments, and stained glass. Through analysing the structures in this way, it is clear that architectural embellishment certainly increased in the nineteenth century. A discussion of what this means can be found in the following chapter.

Architectural styles that have developed as a result of local styles and traditions, using local materials, and construction techniques (known as *vernacular architecture)* are certainly a feature of the early period under study. Within the boundaries of this research, *vernacular architecture* incorporates those buildings without any identifiable use of informed or polite architectural styles, such as Classicism and Gothicism, which are so often associated with religious structures. The Grove Chapel in Bradford (1698, plate 90), and the Cam Congregational Chapel (1702, plate 91) exhibit vernacular styles, whilst Water Street Chapel in Dursley (1702, plate 92) was simply converted from an existing terraced house. Rodborough Tabernacle (1750, plate 93), although having elements of a simple Classical style in its symmetry, is otherwise vernacular with little architectural embellishment. Some later chapels are also relatively plain perhaps indicating the wealth of the congregation. Bethel Chapel in Bradford (1800, plate 94), Upper Studley Baptist Chapel in Trowbridge (1850, plate 95), the Quarry URC in Cam (1852, plate 96) and Providence Chapel in Bradford (1858, plate 97) which was also converted from a row of terraced houses, all exhibit this simplicity.

Plate 90: Grove Chapel, Bradford (2006)

Plate 91: Cam Congregational Chapel (2006)

Plate 92 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 92: Water Street Chapel, Dursley (Evans 1982: 40)

Plate 93: Rodborough Tabernacle, Stroud (2006) – the darker area in the centre is the original 1750 part; the round arched windows on the upper floor were added in 1837.

Plate 94: Bethel Chapel, Bradford (2006)

Plate 95: Upper Studley Chapel, Trowbridge (2006)

Plate 96: Quarry URC Chapel, Cam (2006)

Plate 97 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 97: Providence Chapel, Bradford (WSRO, 2582/14)

For the majority of chapels, Classical Revival architecture is clearly evident, particularly from the nineteenth century. Features such as symmetrical facades, pediments and entablatures, columns, rusticated lower stages and Venetian windows, are all stylistic, and are common on the chapels in the study area. Round arched windows are the most popular representation of Classical expression, although more elaborate examples are evident from circa 1820 onwards. It has been argued that using Classical styles in chapels was a symbolic statement against traditional church symbolism and popery, by dissenting groups (Lindley 1969: 14). As nonconformity had no architectural tradition, as Anglicanism and Catholicism had, Classicism was incorporated quickly (Drummond 1934: 43). A desire to attract the wealthy and

intellectual may also have been a motivation for the incorporation of Classicalism. The Congregational Yearbook stated that

We have no need to build barn-like places of worship. When money is to be spent for the service of God, we are bound to use it with taste and judgment, so as to attract, rather than repel, persons of intelligence and respectability (cited in Powell 1980:7).

Classical architecture appears popular in the study area, becoming more elaborate as the nineteenth century progressed. Prior to 1800 only one chapel expressed classicism: Pippet Street Chapel in Bradford (1756) had a Venetian window (plate 98), typical of Palladian architecture. However this is the only chapel to express this form in the eighteenth century.

Plate 98: Pippet Street Methodist Chapel, Venetian window, 1986 (NMR, RCHME 20:BB72/4276).

Plate 98 has been removed for copyright purposes

The increasing popularity of classicism in the nineteenth century is reflected in Emmanuel Chapel (1810) and Zion Chapel (1816) in Trowbridge (plates 99 and 100), and far more elaborately so in Coppice Hill Chapel in Bradford (1818), which consists of round arched windows, blocked courses, a Doric entablature and masonry scrolls on the façade (plate 101).

Plate 99: Emmanuel Chapel, Trowbridge (2006)

Plate 100: Zion Chapel, Trowbridge (2006)

Plate 101: Coppice Hill Chapel, Bradford (2006)

After 1820 simple classical structures flourished and were expressed particularly through symmetrical facades and round arched windows. This is evident in Cam Wesleyan Chapel (1825), and the four Primitive Methodist Chapels at Stroud (1836), Randwick (1836), Bradford (1845), and Rodborough (1856) (plates 102 to 106).

Plate 102: Wesleyan Chapel, Cam (2006)

Plate 103 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 103: Primitive Methodist Chapel, Stroud (Beard *et al.* 1995: 94)

Plate 104: Randwick Primitive Methodist Chapel, Stroud (2006)
(entrance originally on end elevation)

Plate 105: Sladesbrook Primitive Methodist Chapel, Bradford (2006)

Plate 106: Zion Primitive Methodist Chapel, Rodborough, Stroud (2006)

However, although this simple Classical style continued into the nineteenth century, there was also a large increase in the display of elaborate Classical architecture. Bethesda in Trowbridge (1822, now incorporated into a shopping centre), Zion in Bradford (1823), John Street Baptist Chapel in Stroud (1824), Manvers Street Methodist Chapel in Trowbridge (1836), and Bedford Street Chapel in Stroud (1836) clearly illustrate this (plates 107 to 111). In addition to this, a Venetian window was added to Rodborough Tabernacle in 1837. It is perhaps interesting to note that all of these overtly elaborate Classical structures were constructed between 1818 and 1840.

Plate 107 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 107: Bethesda Chapel, Trowbridge (2001)
(http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getchurch.php?id=349, accessed 05/06/08)

Plate 108 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 108: Zion Chapel, Bradford (1930s)
(http://www.freshford.com/zion_chapel.htm, accessed 06/07)

Plate 109: John Street Baptist Chapel Stroud (2006)

Plate 110 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 110: Manvers Street Methodist Chapel, Trowbridge, date unknown (NMR, RCHME 148: BB69/7460)

Plate 111: Bedford Street Chapel, Stroud (2006)

Prior to the nineteenth century, many nonconformists considered Gothic architecture to be popish, and linked to Anglicanism (Turner 1979: 241; Mowl and Earnshaw 1995: 9). However, from the start of the nineteenth century, Gothic embellishments were incorporated. Briggs (1946: 39) argued that this was a desire to gain respect, and appear more established through a long history (due to the association with medieval churches). The famous architect Pugin (1969 [first published 1836]) was an advocate of Gothic revival architecture, claiming in *Contrasts* that is was the purest form of Christian architecture, whereas Classical architecture was pagan.

The chapels within the case studies indicate a slow acceptance of Gothic architectural traditions; the style was less popular than classical architecture, particularly from the start of the nineteenth century, although earlier examples do exist. The use of pointed windows and stone tracery or pinnacles was the most common embellishments. Cam Congregational Chapel (1702) , Union Chapel in Uley (1790), the rebuilt Baptist Chapel in Bradford (1797), and, more elaborately, the rebuilt Tabernacle in Dursley (1808) all reflect Gothic revival tendencies (plates 112 to 115).

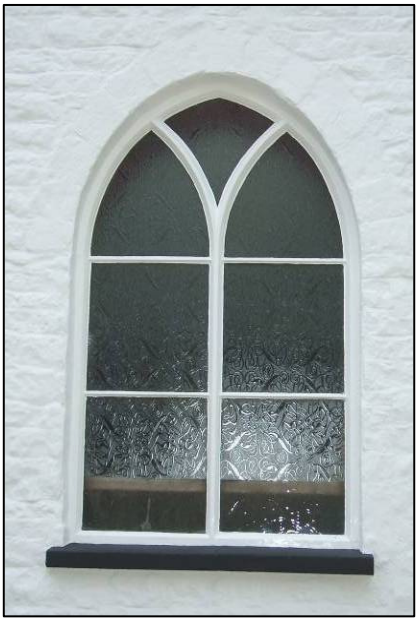


Plate 112: 'Gothic' window, Cam Congregational Chapel (2006)

Plate 113: Union Chapel, Uley (2006)

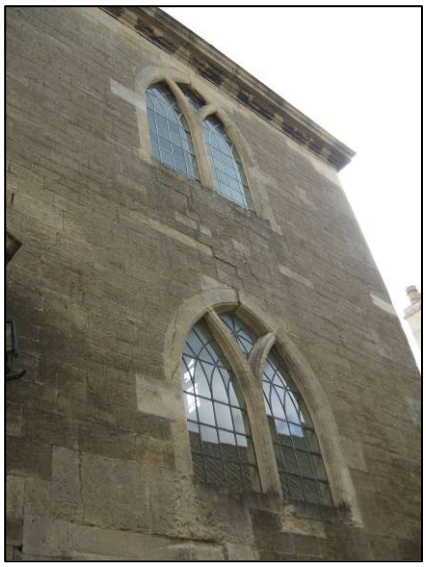


Plate 114: 'Gothic' windows, Old Baptist Chapel, Bradford (2006)

Plate 115: Dursley Tabernacle (2006)

Staverton Wesleyan chapel (1824), and Boulton Lane Chapel in Dursley (1828) also reflect Gothic architecture through pointed windows. However, three chapels show more obvious Gothic Revival architecture, all located in Trowbridge. The first,

Islington Down Wesleyan Chapel, was constructed in 1814 (plates 116 and 117), and is clearly part of the Gothic Revival movement. The architecture of the second Bethel Chapel of 1850 included stained glass, and elaborate traceried windows (plate 118). The third example, the rebuilt Conigre Chapel (1856), again has elaborate windows with stone tracery, pinnacles and mouldings (plate 119). The Old Meeting in Stroud also had a Romanesque façade added in 1844 which further illustrates this growth in overtly elaborate Gothic styles (plate 120).

Plate 116: Islington Down Chapel, Trowbridge (2006) (north elevation)

Plate 117: Islington Down Chapel, Trowbridge (2006) (south elevation)

Plate 118 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 118: Second Bethel Chapel, Trowbridge (Lansdown *et. al.* 1979: plate 56)

Plate 119 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 119: Second Conigre Chapel, Trowbridge
(http://eshop.wiltshire.gov.uk/shop_search.php, accessed 20/06/08)

Plate 120 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 120: Romanesque Façade, Old Meeting, Stroud, 1986 (NMR, RCHME 138: BB73/4849)

With regards to more specific features associated with religious or public buildings clear patterns are evident. Name and date plaques, for example, are perhaps the most overt way of expressing religious identity. No more clearly is the building's function expressed than through a statement of its date of establishment and religious affiliation. When the appearance of plaques is mapped chronologically interesting patterns can be observed. Figure 6.1a illustrates the percentage of chapels with name and date plaques throughout the period under study.

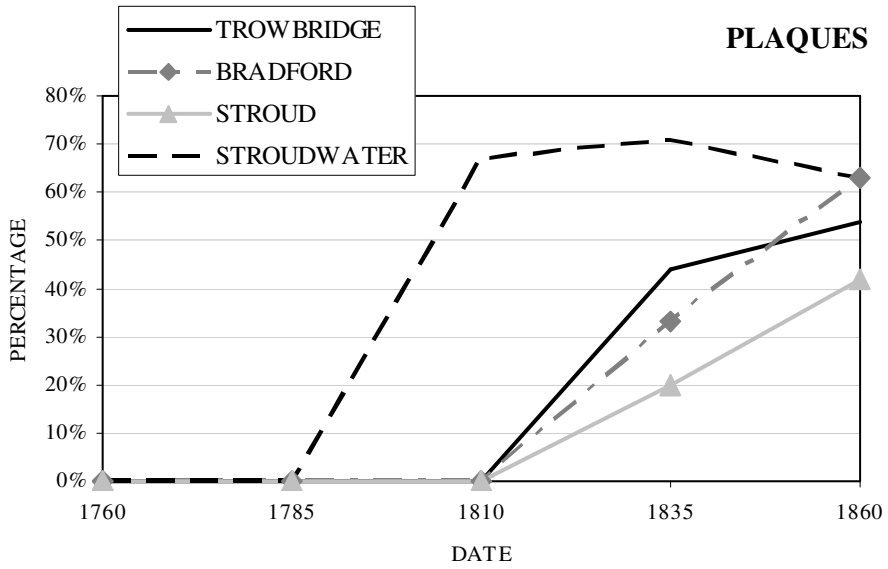


Figure 6.1a: Percentage of chapels with name/date plaques in each case study

Only permanent stone plaques within the fabric of the structures were recorded. Some chapels, such as Bethel Chapel and the Old Baptist Chapel in Bradford, had wooden signs attached to the structures; however these were excluded on account of their temporary nature. Many of which were also undoubtedly recent additions.

It is clear from the results that 1810 to 1835 is the period of greatest increase in the percentage of chapels with plaques in the study area. Stroudwater is the obvious anomaly, with its primary period of growth being slightly earlier, from 1785 to 1810. Interestingly, the earliest evident date plaque is 1790 (Union Chapel in Uley, plate 121), and this contains only the date with no reference to its religious affiliation. The next chapel to be constructed with a date plaque is Dursley Tabernacle (1808). The similarities between the two are uncanny, signifying almost certainly the work of one mason (plate 122). The inclusion of 'The Tabernacle' on the plaque indicates a greater desire to express religious identity, as a tabernacle was traditionally a place of worship.

Plate 121: Plaque, Union Chapel, Uley (2006)

Plate 122: Plaque, Dursley Tabernacle (2006)

Plaques were generally not elaborate. Ones such as those at Emmanuel Chapel in Trowbridge (1810, plate 123), Randwick Wesleyan Chapel (1824, plate 124), Sladesbrook Chapel in Bradford (1845, plate 125), and Zion in Stroud (1856, plate 126) are the norm; however two chapels exhibit further religious affiliation through inscriptions, as seen at Manvers Street Methodist Chapel in Trowbridge (1836, plate 127). Stroud Primitive Methodist Chapel has the inscription "*Thou Godst Seest Me*",

although since the building has been heavily altered this can no longer be identified (NMR, RCHME 143: 247/2).

Plate 123: Plaque, Emmanuel Chapel, Trowbridge (2006)

Plate 124: Plaque, Randwick Wesleyan Chapel (2006)

Plate 125: Plaque, Sladesbrook Chapel, Bradford (2006)

Plate 126: Plaque, Zion Chapel, Stroud (2006)

Plate 127 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 127: Inscription, Manvers Street Chapel, Trowbridge, date unknown (NMR, RCHME, 148:

A second evident feature of nonconformist architecture is pedimented gables, or gable-ended structures. The revival of classical Roman and Greek architectural styles in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century resulted from greater knowledge of antiquity as a result of European Grand Tours, and suited nonconformist structures, reflecting intellectualism, financial prosperity and a statement of worldly knowledge (Tann 1970:

151-159; Johnson 1996: 152). The pedimented gable, or gable-ended structure without pediment, became synonymous with chapel design. Figure 6.1b illustrates the growth in pediments and gable-ended structures.

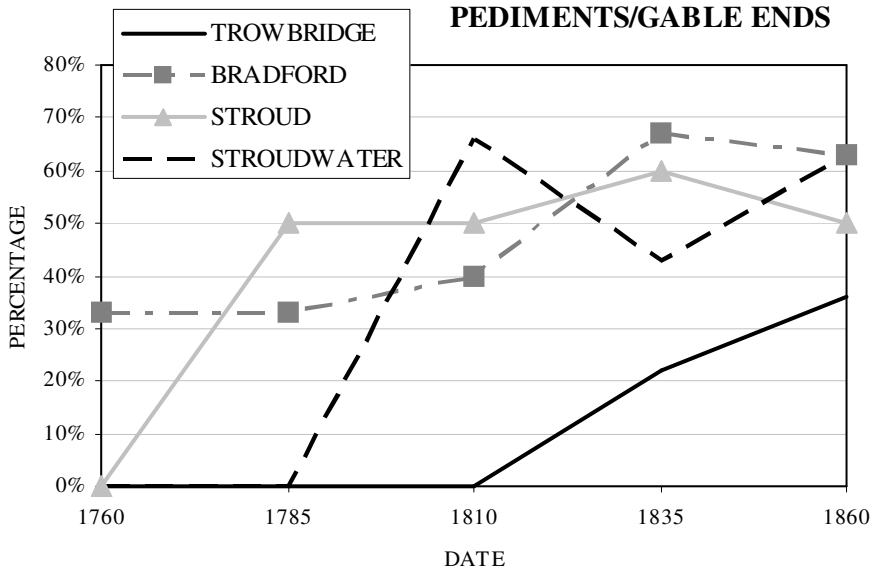


Figure 6.1b: Percentage of chapels with pediments/gable ends in each case study

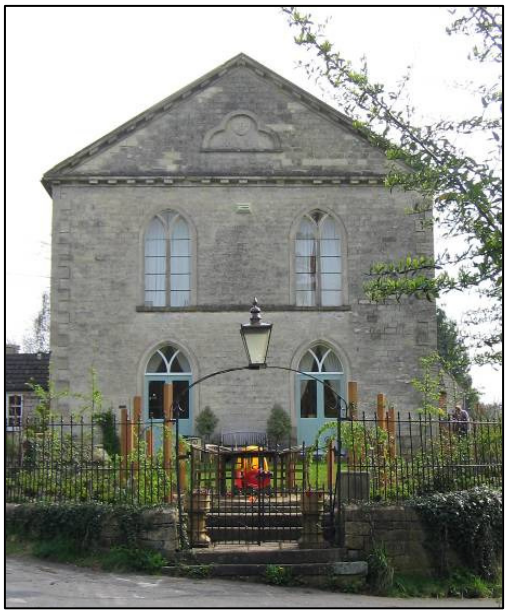
It is evident that the appearance of pediments or gable-ended structures began to appear earlier than plaques. Certainly there were some before the end of the eighteenth century, the earliest being Morgans Hill Chapel in Bradford (1740, plate 128), Acre Street Chapel in Stroud (1763, plate 129), and Union Chapel in Uley (1790, plate 130).

Plate 128: Pediment, Morgans Hill Chapel, Bradford (2006)

Plate 129 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 129: Pediment, Acre Street Chapel, Stroud (Tucker, 1991: plate 23)

Plate 130: Dentilled pediment, Union Chapel, Uley (2006)



From 1800 pediments and gable-ended chapels become more common, and each case study location witnesses a significant rise in the proportion of chapels with them. These can seen at chapels such as Coppice Hill Chapel (1818, plate 101), Sladesbrook Primitive Methodist Chapel (1845, plate 105), Emmanuel Chapel (1810, plate 99), Manvers Street Methodist Chapel (1835, plate 110), John Street Baptist Chapel (1824, plate 109), and Zion Chapel in Rodborough (1856, plate 106).

Stained-glass windows are more normally associated with Anglican and Roman Catholic structures than Protestant nonconformist ones. Nonetheless, although this feature is rare in chapel buildings, it is evident. Figure 6.1c charts the increase of the use of stained-glass windows in nonconformist chapels.

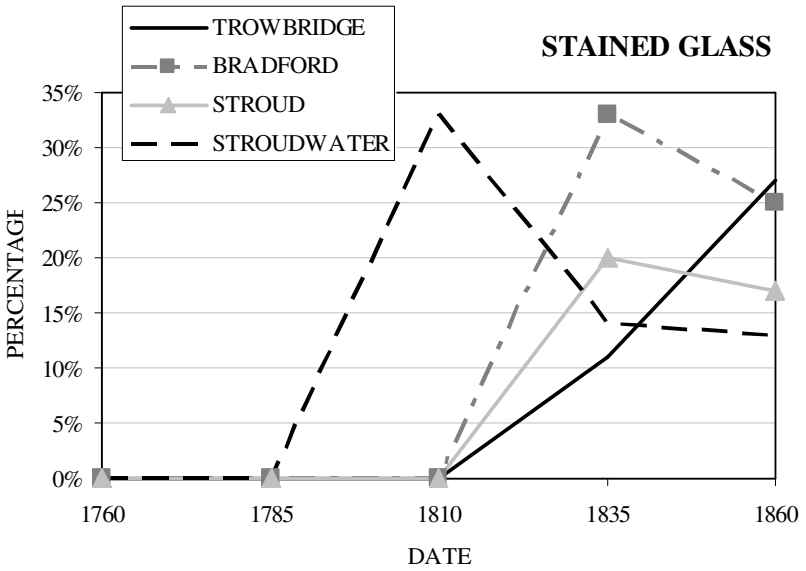
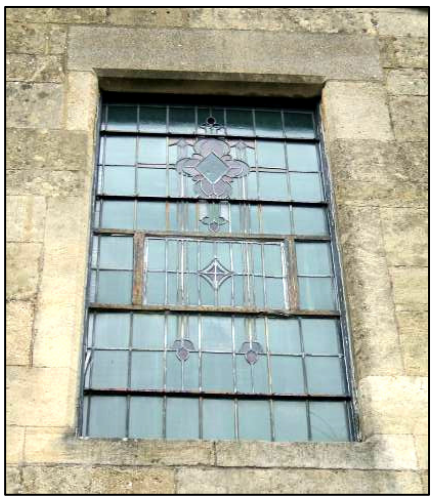


Figure 6.1c: Percentage of chapels with stained glass windows in each case study

The largest increase in the use of stained-glass windows is again in the period between 1810 and 1835; although in Trowbridge chapels continue to incorporate stained glass after this period too. Only the Tabernacle in Dursley potentially had stained-glass windows prior to 1810; however these could have been added later when the vestibule at the South-Eastern end was built in 1881. Morgans Hill Chapel in Bradford (1740) also has stained glass in its upper windows (plate 131), however these windows were heightened in 1835 when the roof was raised and are more likely to date to that period, although if original they could have been altered to fit the larger windows. Unfortunately there is no further evidence to clarify this.

Plate 131: Stained glass, Morgans Hill Chapel, Bradford (2006)



From the nineteenth century the use of stained-glass becomes more abundant. Emmanuel Chapel (1810, plate 132), Randwick Wesleyan Chapel (1824, plate 133), Coppice Hill Chapel (1818, plate 134), Manvers Street Methodist Chapel (1835, plate 135) and the second Conigre Chapel (1856, plate 136) all have stained glass windows. The only Roman Catholic structure (1857) also has stained glass windows. Interestingly, only Emmanuel Chapel bears religious iconography in its stained glass. The other examples choose either plain panes of coloured glass (as at Randwick), or patterns avoiding iconographic styles, such as at Manvers Street, and Coppice Hill, perhaps indicating the nonconformist desire to distance themselves from traditional 'popish' embellishments.

Plate 132: Stained glass, Emmanuel Chapel, Trowbridge (2006)

Plate 133: Stained glass, Randwick Wesleyan Chapel (2006)

Plate 134 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 134: Stained glass, Coppice Hill Chapel, Bradford (1986) (NMR, RCHME 21:

Plate 135 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 135: Stained glass, Manvers Street Methodist Chapel, Trowbridge, date unknown (NMR, RCHME 148: BB69/7464)

Plate 136 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 136: Stained glass, Conigre Chapel, Trowbridge, date unknown (NMR, RCHME 142: BB71/11958)

The case studies therefore demonstrate an increase in the use of Classical and Gothic Revival architecture for chapels in the nineteenth century, particularly from 1820 onwards. However, there are county differences that need to be highlighted. The chapels in the Gloucestershire case studies are generally less elaborate than in Wiltshire. This is particularly evident in the more rural case studies in Stroudwater. The chapels in Stroud, although reflecting an increase in architectural elaboration, are usually more subtle with only a few overtly elaborate structures in Bedford Street Chapel (1836, plate 111) and the addition of the Romanesque façade to the Old Meeting House in (1844, plate 120). In Wiltshire, more chapels are elaborate, in both Classical and Gothic expression. This is clear in the cases of Coppice Hill Chapel (1818, plate 101), Bethesda in Trowbridge (1822, plate 107), Zion in Bradford (1823, plate 108), Manvers Street Methodist Chapel (1836, plate 110), the second Bethel Chapel in Trowbridge (1850, plate 118), and the second Conigre Chapel (1856, plate 119). The period of most prolific architectural elaboration is between 1820 and 1840 for both counties. Chapels with elements of Gothic architecture are more prolific in Gloucestershire, whilst the Wiltshire case studies appear to favour more Classical styles, although examples of each do appear in both counties.

6.1.2 Denomination and Architecture

In each of the case study areas there seems to be little association between distinct architectural forms and specific denominations. Appendix 3.1 illustrates a list of all the chapels with a brief summary of their architectural style.

The Baptist Chapels in the study area vary from primarily Classical styles such as Emmanuel Chapel, and Bethesda Chapel in Trowbridge, and John Street Chapel in Stroud (plates 99, 107, and 109), to chapels that have only traces of classical features for example the round arched windows at Providence Chapel in Bradford, and Zion Chapel in Trowbridge (plates 97 and 100). Two of the Baptist chapels (Providence in Bradford, and Upper Studley Chapel in Trowbridge) are primarily vernacular with only traces of formal architectural styles in their round arched windows. The Old Baptist Chapel (plate 114) in Bradford shows a range of architectural styles added at various times. The Y-stone tracery in the pointed windows reflects Gothic tendencies, whilst the entrance with its pediment and columns are clearly associated with Classical architecture. Only one chapel is distinctly Gothic in appearance - the second Bethel Chapel in Trowbridge (plate 118), identified from later pictures of St Stephen's Church who took over the building in 1863.

An obvious anomaly is the Bethesda Chapel in Uley (plate 137), constructed in 1821, and one of only two octagonal chapels in the study area. Octagonal chapels were a particular favourite of John Wesley between the 1760s and 1790s, in part due to their acoustic benefits. It was often argued that octagonal chapels provided no corners "in which the devil could hide" (cited in Wakeling 1983:39). However, a Baptist chapel of this style is unusual, as it dates to a period when octagonal chapels had largely gone out of fashion.

Plate 137: Bethesda Chapel, Uley (2006)

In the Methodist chapels, overt Classical and Gothic elements are observed. There are some very distinct Classical examples (both of which are Wesleyan) in the Wiltshire case studies. Coppice Hill Methodist Chapel (1818, plate 101) and Manvers Street Methodist Chapel (1835, plate 110) exhibit elaborate Grecian elements, from the entrance entablatures to the pediment ornamentation, with Manvers Street almost certainly being constructed or influenced by the architect of the former. The majority of Methodist chapels, however, are not as elaborate, and exhibit only traces of Classical elements. Rodborough Tabernacle exhibits the symmetrical façade and (later) round arched windows so favoured in polite Classicism, further seen at Cam Wesleyan Chapel, Sladesbrook Primitive Chapel in Bradford, and Zion Chapel in Stroud (plates 93, 102, 105,and 106). The Randwick Primitive Methodist Chapel in Stroud appears to be of a more vernacular style, with little influence of formal architectural styles although the round arched windows could be interpreted as Classical (plate 104).

Gothic architecture or embellishments are prolific in Methodist chapels. There is only one Methodist chapel (Wesleyan) that is overtly Gothic with little trace of any other architectural style. The Islington Down Methodist Chapel in Trowbridge (plates 116 and 117) has a pointed arch-moulded doorway, with a circular window and two pointed arched windows on the front elevation, with a pointed arched three light window to the rear. Other Methodist Chapels in the study area also have clear Gothic associations. The pointed arched windows and pinnacles on the Dursley Tabernacle (1808, plate 115) certainly advertise favoured Gothicism, as do the pointed arched windows on the Town

Bridge Chapel in Trowbridge (plate 138), the Randwick Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (plate 139), and the Staverton Methodist Chapel.

Plate 138 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 138: Town Bridge Chapel, Trowbridge (date unknown) (NMR, RCHME 147: notes)

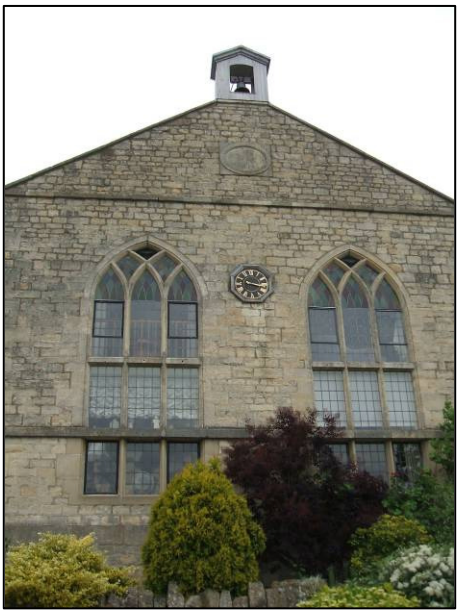


Plate 139: Randwick Wesleyan Chapel (2006)

The second octagonal chapel in the study area is Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (Acre Street Chapel) constructed in 1763, which fits easily in to the popular time frame for chapels of this type (plate 140).

Plate 140: Acre Street Chapel, Stroud (2006)

The architecture of Methodist chapels appears to be more diverse than in the Baptist denomination, with a greater range of styles and levels of elaboration. The Primitive Methodists have a more simplistic architectural style, often due to the often lower financial status of those who worshipped there although the desire to retain traditional expressions of worship may also have been a factor, whilst the Wesleyans and Calvinists exhibited more elaboration.

Regarding Congregational chapels Gothic architecture does appear to be slightly more favoured than other styles, although the elaborations are subtle. The Congregational Chapel at Cam, Quarry URC Chapel at Cam, and Union Chapel in Uley all have pointed arched windows and entrances, with Y-tracery in the case of the latter (plates 91, 96, and 113). There are certainly no overt Gothic embellishments but the favoured style is certainly hinted at, as opposed to being clearly exhibited. Although the Old Meeting in Stroud was originally constructed to be a Presbyterian chapel, by 1844 when the Romanesque façade was added the chapel had converted to Congregationalism (plate 120). Only two Congregational chapels show clear classical elements. The first Tabernacle in Trowbridge (1771, plate 141) has pedimented entrances; however the windows were pointed, indicating an amalgamation of both styles. The Bedford Street Chapel is the only obviously Classical Congregational chapel, with its fluted ionic columns, Venetian window, and domed circular bell tower with pilasters (plate 111).

Plate 141: First Tabernacle, Trowbridge (date unknown) (Lansdown *et.al*, 1979:

Plate 141 has been removed for copyright purposes

Independent chapels appear to favour classical architecture, although vernacular styles are also popular. Morgans Hill and Bethel Chapel in Bradford have few architectural

adornments, however both had entrances with pediments and columns added to them at later dates. The first Ebley Chapel at Stroud has the round arched windows associated with Classical formal architecture (plate 142). Zion Chapel in Bradford (plate 108) is the only overtly Classical Independent chapel, with its pedimented façade, rusticated lower stage, round arched windows and columned entrance. The Paganhill Chapel in Stroud is difficult to interpret as only one picture of the structure in its original form has been found (plate 143). The thatch roof and rubble walls indicate vernacular architecture; however, too little of the structure can be seen to make any further conclusions.

Plate 142 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 142: First Ebley Chapel, Stroud (date unknown) (Tucker 1991: plate 24)

Plate 143 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 143: Paganhill Chapel, Stroud (date unknown) (Wicks N.D: 70)

The other nonconformist denominations have few chapels in the study area, making them too small a sample to interpret with any accuracy. The two Presbyterian Chapels (the Old Meeting in Stroud, and Silver Street Chapel in Trowbridge) survive only in photographs. The Romanesque façade added to the Old Meeting has already been discussed as, by this point, the chapel had converted to Congregationalism. Images of the rest of the building are rare; however the archive of the RCHME survey of nonconformist chapels contains some photographs that indicate large round arched windows, perhaps associating the chapel more with Classical ancestry than the Romanesque façade gives credit for (plates 144 and 145).

Plate 144 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 144: Rear of the Old Chapel, Stroud (1986) (NMR, RCHME 138: BB73/4861)

Plate 145 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 145: Side entrance, Old Chapel, Stroud (1986) (NMR, RCHME 138: BB73/4857)

Images of the Silver Street Chapel in Trowbridge are also rare; however surviving ones do indicate a simple structure with few architectural adornments (plates 146 and 147).

Plate 146 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 146: Entrance, Silver Street Chapel, Trowbridge (date unknown) (Rogers 1994: 30)

Plate 147 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 147: Rear of Silver Street Chapel, Trowbridge (1983) (NMR, RCHME 150: 26/10/1961)

The Grove Chapel (1698) in Bradford was also Presbyterian, and uses simple architecture, with its round arched windows and multi-light mullioned window only being added in the nineteenth century (plate 90).

The second Conigre Chapel (1856) in Trowbridge was the only chapel purposely constructed for Unitarian use, making the architecture of Unitarian chapels difficult to interpret. It is an elaborate Gothic structure (plate 119). The Friends Meeting House in Bradford has been omitted as there is no surviving evidence as to what it looked like.

The analysis indicates that there is no specific architectural style associated with denominations although subtle Classical elements are prolific throughout. The Baptists and Methodists provide the largest sample of chapel buildings and there does appear to be a greater preference for Gothic architecture in the Methodist chapels, whereas the Baptists tend to favour the Classical; however this is a theme, not a rule.

6.1.3: Chronology and Architectural styles

It has been argued that the architectural styles of nonconformist chapels are not predominantly associated with denomination. What other influences, then, may have contributed to their aesthetic appearance? In order to understand whether the chapels in South West woollen communities were influenced by other considerations, such as economic prosperity and changing architectural fashions, the development of chapel architecture needed to be mapped.

Each chapel with available architectural information was classified into one of four groups: vernacular/domestic, Classical or Classical elements, Gothic or Gothic elements, and both Classical and Gothic elements. These four groups represent all the possible variations of the chapels in the study area. Once the chapels were classified they were mapped chronologically into five time periods (pre 1760, 1760-1785, 1785-1810, 1810-1835, and 1835-1860). The results are exhibited below.

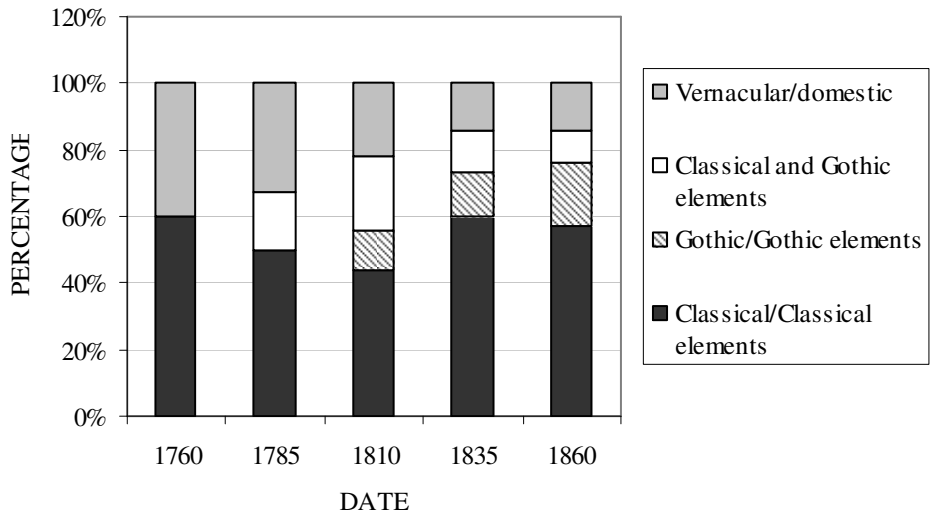


Figure 6.1d: Chronology of chapel architecture in Wiltshire, 1760-1860

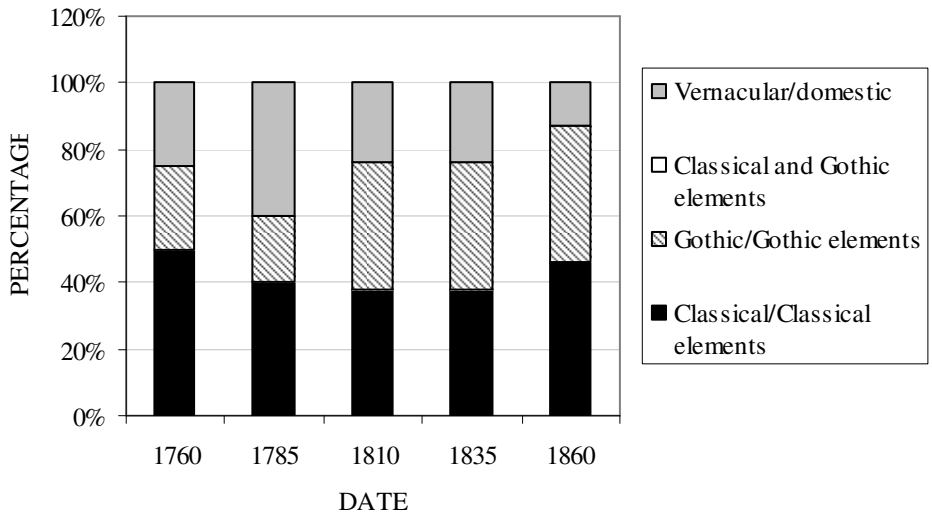


Figure 6.1e: Chronology of chapel architecture in Gloucestershire, 1760-1860

The results between the counties are fairly consistent. In both cases, the percentage of chapels of classical style or classical elements experienced a small decline in number between 1760 and 1810, however rising again after this period. In Gloucestershire this growth in classical architecture is less obvious, potentially a result of a larger growth in chapels with Gothic elements, than in Wiltshire.

In Gloucestershire, Gothic architecture appears to have a longer history and is exhibited to a greater percentage than in Wiltshire, where is doesn't appear until around 1810 and at a smaller level. Conversely, in Wiltshire, Classical styles are consistently more popular. The Wiltshire case studies also appear to have a larger percentage of chapels with mixed architectural styles which is not witnessed in Gloucestershire.

In both counties there is a clear decline in the use of vernacular or domestic architectural styles for chapels, which becomes much more pronounced from c.1810, in direct contrast to the growth in Gothic and Classical architectural styles.

From the results, a changing taste in architectural styles for nonconformist chapels in the study area can be seen. These changes, however, are more obvious in Wiltshire than Gloucestershire, where a more diverse range of architectural styles is evident.

6.1.4: Enlargement, Refitting and Alteration of Chapels

A further way of assessing the changing context of nonconformist chapels in order to evaluate religious observance is through the building activities that took place in addition to the construction of the chapel, such as enlargement, alteration, and internal refitting of chapels, with particular reference to when these activities were at their most prolific.

Appendix 3.2 illustrates the known alterations, enlargements and refitting that took place for all the case studies, recorded through the physical evidence and documentary evidence, and are as complete as possible; however it is important to remember that some smaller alterations – especially where the historical records are less complete – may have been omitted. In addition to this, many chapels that do not survive and/or have little historical evidence may also have witnessed extra building and alteration activities for which there is no record.

By assessing the information in Appendix 3.2, it is clear that alterations to chapel structures were commonplace throughout most of the period. Before 1790 extra building activity was rare, which could be partly due to the fact there were fewer chapels, and the ones that did exist were still relatively new, with perhaps less need for

alteration or repair. Activity increases from 1790, reaching its peak in the 1820s before declining slowly from the 1830s onwards.

Interestingly, the periods of least chapel building activity are the periods of most prosperity (c.1770 to 1820). Significantly, the second half of the 1820s and the 1830s witnessed a greater scale of activity, and higher expenditure in a period where depression, bankruptcy and unemployment were rife. Chapel finances and their relation to economic circumstances are discussed further in section 6.1.5.

However, merely identifying the most prolific periods of building activity is not enough, since *what* was being done to the chapel structures is also important. Although the activity appears to be more prolific in periods of economic distress the activities may have been on a smaller scale, thereby having less impact on chapel finances. Through considering the information in Appendix 3.2, three key areas of activity appear to emerge. These areas are *enlargement*, *educational structures*, and *general alteration/repair*.

Enlargement activity takes precedence over any other activity from 1760 to c.1820. This is better understood when considered in conjunction with both the population increase and the congregational statistics. Figure 6.1f illustrates the population figures for each location from 1801 to 1861. The available population figures prior to the first census of 1801 are sporadic at worst and at best unreliable and have therefore not been used in this analysis.

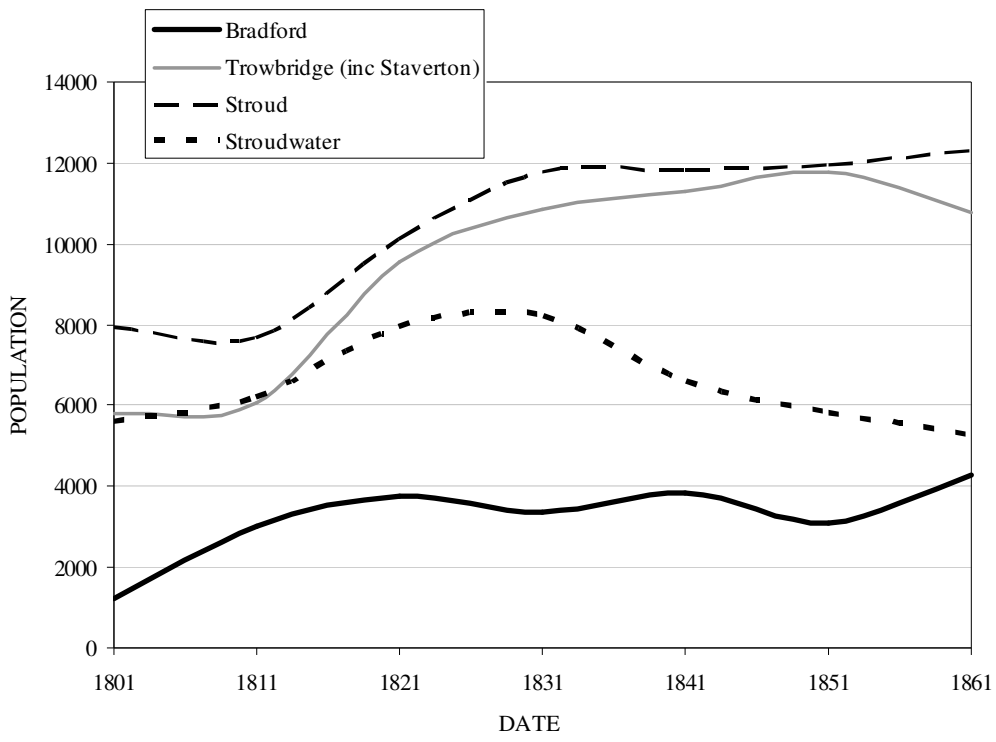


Figure 6.1f: Population figures for each case study, 1801-1861

In Trowbridge and Stroud, the period of greatest population growth is 1811 to 1831. This growth is further reflected in the Stroudwater case studies. In Bradford the population levels consistently fluctuate with periods of small-scale decline between 1821 and 1831, and 1841 and 1851. Overall, the periods of growth in the population correspond with the enlargement building activity that took place. As the population begins to slow, the enlargement activity also decreases, particularly evident in Wiltshire.

The enlargement of chapels is necessitated by an increase in members, which the population statistics alone can not directly illuminate. Chapel histories and church Member Rolls provide information on the growth of congregations. Unfortunately, this information could not be obtained for all chapels, and was particularly lacking in the Stroudwater case studies; however a large enough sample to provide valuable information for Trowbridge, Bradford and Stroud was obtained. The full results for each of the case studies can be found in Appendix 3.3.

In Trowbridge, the chapel membership figures appear to be at their highest in the 1820s. This is certainly reflected in the building activity that took place through enlargements and the addition of gallery space. The membership figures for Silver Street, for example, are corroborated by the chapel's enlargement (twice) in the 1820s. The Town Bridge Chapel was also enlarged in the 1820s, when its congregation levels were at its highest, and Emmanuel Chapel, whose membership increased by two hundred within fifty years experienced multiple enlargements in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

In Stroud the results are clearly different. At all the chapels save for the Paganhill Chapel and the Randwick Primitive Methodist Chapel (for which we only have one figure) the largest congregations are in 1851, enumerated from the religious census, and in all cases the number in 1851 is significantly higher than the figures preceding them. For example, at the Old Chapel the congregation is described at 'scanty' in 1810, yet reaches five hundred by 1851 following a fluctuation in size in the 1830s. At Ebley Chapel the congregation in 1826 is described as 'small' yet by 1851 the minister was attracting an evening congregation of over five hundred. This pattern, again, is reflected in the building activity, where the majority of chapel building activity in the town took place from the late 1830s onwards.

It is clear that the provision of educational facilities, such as Sunday schools, libraries, and classrooms, became of paramount importance from the 1820s to the late 1840s, and the provision of these structures decreases considerably after this period, despite the continuing construction of new nonconformist chapels.

General alterations and repairs were consistent throughout the period, although they increase as the period progresses (again, partly in relation to the number of chapels, and more specifically, the increasing number of older chapels). Interestingly, there appears to have been a large increase in the number of organs installed in the 1840s, perhaps reflecting the changing nature of religious worship and the increase in more formalised musical arrangements, and the growing popularity of music groups and choirs.

There are some interesting differences that occur between the two counties. There is certainly more surviving or historical information relating to building activity for the Wiltshire cases studies, specifically Trowbridge. The largest difference between the

scales of activity in each county is in the 1830s, where Wiltshire witnesses more activity than Gloucestershire. This could simply mean that there is more surviving evidence for the Trowbridge chapels; however this information also reflects Trowbridge's wealthier position in the cloth industry, and its higher level of funds to invest into chapel building projects.

6.1.5 Chapel Finances and Paternalistic Ventures

Although not directly related to the physical architecture of the chapels themselves, the amount of money spent on religious building projects – such as those indicated in the previous section – is of critical importance. Information gained from chapel record books and histories has been used to identify costs of projects and the sources of money. From there, specific periods of expenditure have been analysed with reference to the wider social and economic situations, the significance of which will be discussed in the following chapter. Appendix 3.4 outlines the available information on chapel finances for each case study. Unfortunately, little information could be gathered for the Stroudwater case studies, and consequently only Trowbridge, Bradford and Stroud can be used. Primarily, the financial information that has been obtained relates to three main areas – *chapel construction*, *schoolroom construction*, and *chapel enlargement or alteration*. In addition to this, smaller expenditures are evident; these included activities such as the installation of organs and debt repayment, which have been grouped as *miscellaneous expenditures*.

The financial information for each location has been plotted onto scatter graphs in order to reveal patterns in the date and cost of the known expenditures. These graphs can be seen below in figures 6.1g to 6.1i. Through using the website *www.measuringworth.com,* established by the Institute for Measuring Worth, the costs have been calculated to its relative worth in 1800, in order to combat the issue of inflation over the one hundred years in question, and to make the results more consistent. Appendix 3.4 illustrates each of the activities with their value calculated to 1800.

KEY	
■	Schoolroom construction
●	Chapel enlargement/alteration
◆	Chapel construction
—	Miscellaneous expenditure

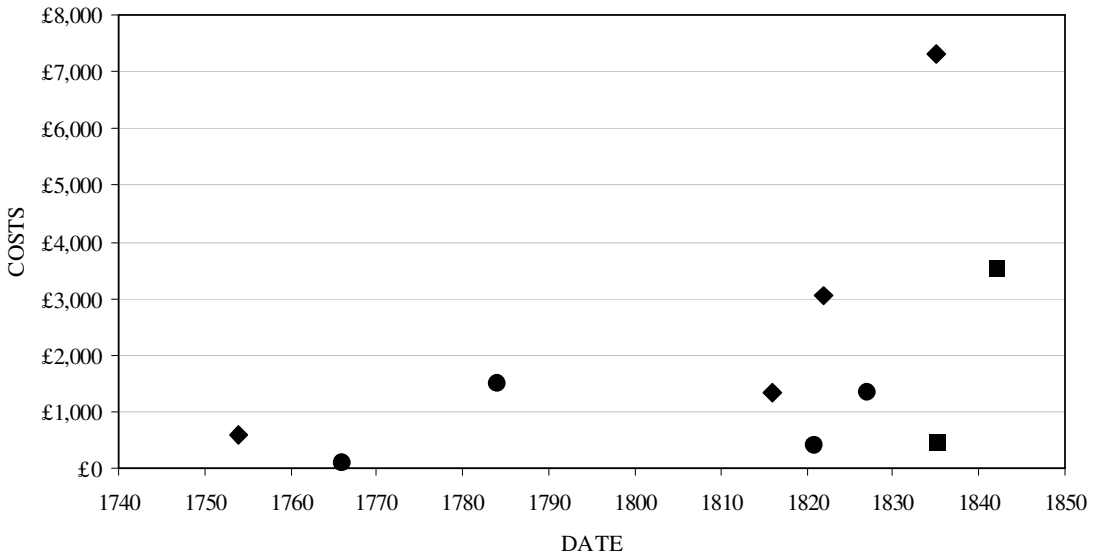


Figure 6.1g: Chapel expenditure in Trowbridge

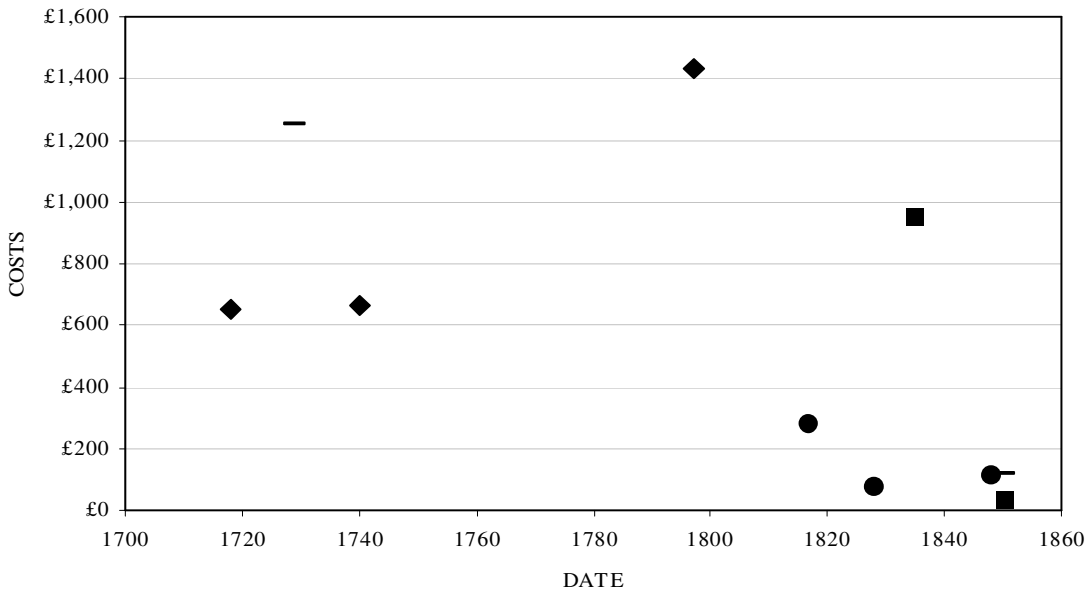


Figure 6.1h: Chapel expenditure in Bradford

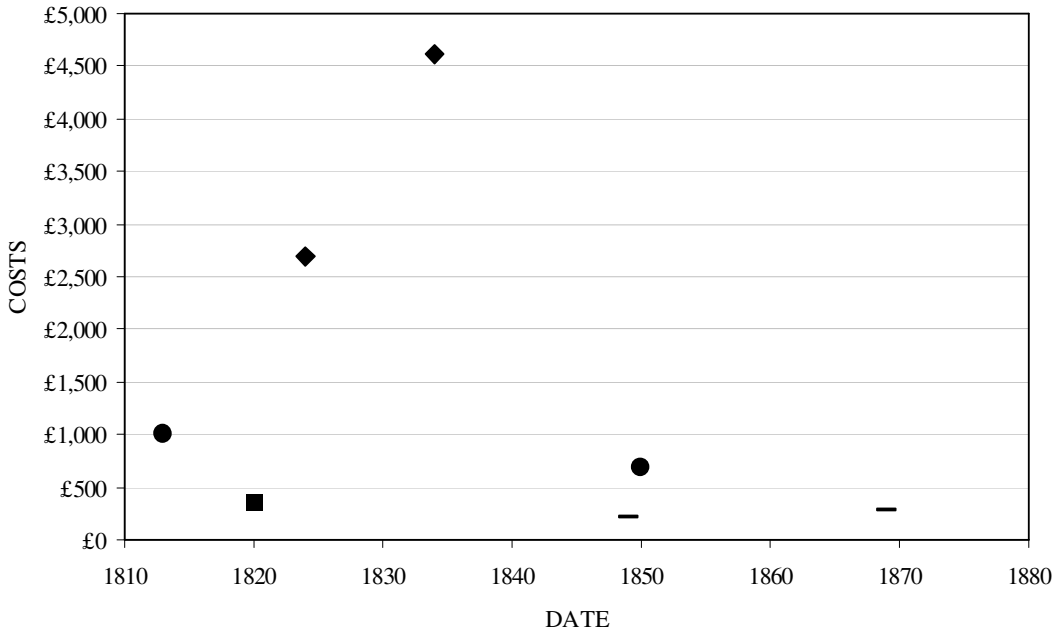


Figure 6.1i: Chapel expenditure in Stroud

These graphs illustrate, for the most part, that the period of highest expenditure on chapels or associated buildings was between 1820 and 1840. This period generally sees an increased level of spending, with larger amounts, particularly in Trowbridge and Stroud. The largest expenditure in Bradford is earlier (the rebuilding of the Old Baptist Chapel in 1797), and, although spending appears to increase in the later period, it is for smaller amounts.

The overall expenditure in Trowbridge was £13,057 of which £8,246 was spent between 1820 and 1840 (followed by a further £2,500 in 1842). In Stroud, the overall expenditure is £7,188 with £5,300 spent between 1820 and 1840. In Bradford, the results are a little different. The overall expenditure is much lower, at £3,394 however only £654 was spent in these two decades. This analysis clearly highlights significant financial differences between Bradford and the other case studies. Bradford certainly did not weather the economic depression as well as Trowbridge, a possible reason for lower expenditure on chapel building projects. The research has also shown that nonconformity in Stroud developed later than in Bradford, which could explain the high levels of expenditure spent on building projects for this case study, in comparison to Bradford at this time.

When considering financial expenditure, it is important to consider where the money was coming from. Appendix 3.4 indicates the sources of funding, where known. It is clear from the results that funding through subscription was still very much incorporated during the period of most economic distress, and in large amounts. The period 1820 to 1840 witnessed large amounts of expenditure through subscription, such as the £2,000 spent on the construction of John Street Chapel Bedford Street Chapel in Stroud, and the construction of the Tabernacle schoolroom (1842) in Trowbridge. Out of the 20 chapels where the funding sources are known, fourteen of the ventures were funded, at least in part, by subscription. Although gifts and loans from wealthier members of the congregations are also evident, they are usually in conjunction with public subscription and/or fundraising, indicating that subscription and fundraising were the prominent sources of funding, even in periods of depression.

However, some clothiers did contribute financially to the construction, enlargement and maintenance of chapels and associated structures, alongside funding paternalistic projects outside the immediate chapel community, which is important in assessing their attitudes to social and moral improvement. Some contributed land, although often it is unknown whether this was given *gratis* or was purchased or rented. The first Conigre Chapel in Trowbridge was built on land belonging to the Houlton Family (VCH Wilts 7: 158), the Grove Chapel in Bradford was built on land belonging to Anthony Methuen (VCH Wilts 7: 33), whilst the land for the Cam Congregational Chapel was given by the Hicks family (Snelling 2001: 11). Prior to the construction of a Baptistery at Emmanuel Chapel in Trowbridge, baptisms took place in the river, of which one location was Samuel Salter's dyehouse (WSRO, 1706/24).

The extension to Emmanuel Chapel in Trowbridge (1846) was financed by Samuel Salter, who also further provided land for a schoolroom and also contributed largely to the building costs of Upper Studley Baptist Chapel in 1850 (VCH Wilts 7: 160). There is further evidence of large subscription amounts being given to the chapel by the Salter and Stancomb families, for the construction of a new Baptistery in 1854 (WSRO, 1706/1). £106 was given by a group of clothiers for the renovation of Silver Street Chapel in Trowbridge (WSRO, 1025/1). Samuel Marling was renowned for his contributions to chapel activity in Stroud. He contributed £20 for the construction of a road at the back of Bedford Street Chapel in 1835 (GRO, D2537 2/1), with further

smaller contributions for regeneration and alterations, as well as providing the scarlet cloth for the door coverings (GRO, D2537 5/1). He also largely financed the re-fronting of the Old Meeting in 1844 (GRO, D2569 2/1). Clothiers also loaned money for chapel construction. This is seen clearly in the records for Zion Chapel in Trowbridge where William Hayward lent £500 (WSRO, 2695/1).

On their deaths some clothiers bequeathed money to ministers or to religious causes; however this is far rarer. Out of over 90 wills of clothiers dating to between 1760 and 1860 consulted at the Public Record Office in Kew, only seven bequeathed money to nonconformist causes. William Perkins of Trowbridge left £30 to the Tabernacle Sunday School (PRO, PROB 11/1786), whilst William Wathen left £5 to be applied for the promotion of Sunday Schools in the Stroud parish (PRO, PROB 11/1182). Others bequeathed money to the ministers, such as Richard Haynes in Bradford, who also left an investment of over £1,000 in property to the Old Baptist Chapel (PRO, PROB 11/942). Joseph Marshman Harris left £200 to the Baptist Missionary Society (PRO, PROB 11/1691). Mr Grant and Mr John Pitman left £2,144 worth of property between them to Morgans Hill Chapel on their deaths, whilst Samuel Cam left the interest of £100 for the Grove Chapel minister's salary (VCH Wilts, 7: 34). Other small benefactions are dispersed through the chapel record books; however with the exception of a few notable examples – such as Richard Haynes, who was a dissenting minister as well as a clothier - leaving money on death for nonconformist causes was not popular.

In comparison to the financial contributions made to religious buildings and facilities, far more money was left to social causes in the wider community. There are numerous accounts of charities and trust funds being established for the distribution of bread or money amongst the poor, or to Charity Schools. To name a few, John Wearet's will, dating to 1790, left £20 each for distribution amongst the poor in Trowbridge and Bradford (PRO, PROB 11/1063), and Robert Hughes of Stroud left £20 in 1794 to the trustees of the pauper fund (PRO, PROB 11/1250). Harry Cozens of Trowbridge left £50 in trust in 1775 to the town overseers to distribute amongst the poor immediately, amongst other charitable gestures (PRO, PROB 11/977). In 1802 John Clark of Trowbridge left the interest on over £50 to be distributed in the form of bread to the poor every Christmas Day (Rogers 1994:44).

Bequeathing money to educational causes outside the Sunday school movement was also popular. James Singer in Trowbridge left £2,000 for the education of children and construction for a free school in 1725 (VCH Wilts 7: 163), whilst William Stancomb and Samuel Salter both contributed £100 each to the boys and girls schools on British Row (VCH Wilts 7: 164). William Wathen also left money in trust to the charity school in Stroud (PRO, PROB 11/1182), and Robert Ellis of Randwick left the profits of annual rents to the schoolmaster of the Randwick Charity school, alongside further contributions for the education of local poor children (PRO, PROB 11/873). There is further evidence of financial contribution to other ventures by clothiers, for example Thomas and Samuel Marling were part of a group that steered the establishment of gas lighting in the streets of Stroud in the 1830s (VCH Glos 11: 134).

It certainly appears that financial expenditure on religious projects were extensive during periods of financial distress, and that the clothiers played a prominent role in contributing to their improvement, and also in the improvement of the wider community. This is also important when considering their role in 'controlling' the working classes, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.2 SPATIAL ANALYSIS

6.2.1 Visibility and Spatial Analysis

Assessing the chapels through their relationship with the locale in which they lie, and their visual impact on the immediate streetscape and the wider landscape, allows further understanding of their role as communal structures, and the influence they had on the communities they served, which will discussed in more detail in the following chapter. For the purposes of this analysis each chapel has been assessed with specific reference to its visibility in the immediate and wider landscape, considering aspects such as the effect of its perimeter boundaries on the visibility, its access routes and its extent of concealment from the wider community, as a means of assessing its prominence, status and level of overt religious identity in context with the sociological and economical situation of the period.

In many cases chapel trustees had little choice regarding the location of their chapels, which was influenced primarily by available land and finances. Therefore, the nature of what they *did* with the land they had is intrinsically important. These aspects have also been considered alongside the visual architectural impact of the structures and their locale, with the question of how much the chapel looks like a religious structure to the outside world being an important portion of this. Summary tables of the streetscape visibility have been compiled for each case study location and can be found in the body of the text.

In addition to the streetscape visibility analysis, the position and prominence of the chapels in the wider landscape has also been considered. Although the positioning of chapels was influenced by available land, finances, and accessibility for the community they sought to serve, their status and appearance in the landscape made an impact into the nature of the urban landscape in which they stood

In Trowbridge, through looking at the streetscape visibility of the chapels, it does appear that the earlier the chapel was constructed, the more hidden it is from the wider community. This is reflected in the level of architectural elaboration, but also in the extent of concealment from the immediate locale. This concealment appears to wane after circa 1810, when the chapels become far more visible through more open access and perimeters, elevation, and larger, more clearly religious architectural structures. Figure 6.2a summarises the results of the streetscape visibility, illustrating this trend.

Date	Chapel	Religious architecture?	Access from street	Visibility of architecture	Effect of perimeters	Visibility in streetscape
1699	1st Conigre Chapel	No	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1723	Silver St Chapel	No	Enclosed footpath	Hidden	Enclosed	Hidden
1754	1st Emmanuel Chp	Unknown	Enclosed footpath	Hidden	Enclosed	Hidden
1754	Waldron Sq Chapel	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1771	Tabernacle	Elements	Passageway	Hidden	Hidden	Hidden
1790	Town Bridge Chp	Elements	Enclosed footpath?	Partial visibility?	Unknown	Partial visibility
1810	2nd Emmanuel Chp	Yes	Enclosed footpath	Hidden	Enclosed	Hidden
1814	Islington Down Chp	Yes	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1816	Zion Chapel	Yes	Via foreyard off street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1822	Bethesda Chapel	Yes	Via foreyard off street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1824	Staverton Chapel	Yes	Via foreyard off street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1828	1st Bethel Chapel	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1835	Manvers St Chapel	Yes	Via foreyard off street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1850	2nd Bethel Chapel	Yes	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1850	Upper Studley Chp	No	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1856	2nd Conigre Chapel	Yes	Via foreyard off street	Visible	Visible	Visible

Figure 6.2a: Summary of streetscape visibility analysis for Trowbridge

Little is known about the access and perimeters of the first Conigre chapel, the Waldron Square Chapel and the first Bethel Chapel due to a lack of physical and historical evidence. However, there is much evidence for the other chapels in this case study. Silver Street Chapel, despite being in a central location in the commercial and industrial district of the town, remains heavily concealed. The 1860 map (plate 148) shows it in a small courtyard accessed by a passageway off Silver Street, with other buildings enclosing the structure on all sides.

Plate 148: Silver Street Chapel perimeter, Trowbridge (WSRO G15/1/89/PC).

Plate 148 has been removed for copyright purposes

The Tabernacle was also located in the heart of Trowbridge, yet remains concealed from it by buildings on Church Street. Access to the chapel would have been similar as today, since the building was rebuilt on the same site on the same alignment in 1886, and consists of a pathway from Church Street to the chapel itself. Little is known about the Town Bridge chapel. It could be the building in the location illustrated on plate 149 (dating to 1860), however there is no further evidence to support this, other than that building on the map is currently unaccounted for and lies in the correct general location, and it had gone by the publication of the first edition OS map in 1888. From the only pictorial source that has been found of the chapel (plate 138), it appears to be very visible in the streetscape; however; the map suggests it was surrounded on its north and west sides by other structures, with access via a small passage. The photographic evidence does not show enough to confirm or deny this.

Plate 149: Possible evidence of the Town Bridge Chapel (WSRO, G/15/1/89/PC)

Plate 149 has been removed for copyright purposes

Emmanuel Chapel was rebuilt in 1810, in the same location as the earlier chapel (of 1754). The chapel lies opposite the parish church but is concealed from it by cottages and shop fronts on Church Street. Access to the chapel is via a small passage (plate 150) between eighteenth-century cottages. Plate 151 shows the view from the chapel to the street, which is clearly very limited.

Plate 150: Access gate to Emmanuel Chapel, Trowbridge (2006)

Plate 151: View to access gate from Emmanuel Chapel entrance (2006)

Due to the masking of these buildings by other structures, alongside their restricted and discreet access routes, and subtle architecture, the chapels are also largely invisible in the wider landscape.

After circa 1810, there is a clear increase in the streetscape visibility of the Trowbridge Chapels. Islington Down chapel (1814, plates 116 and 117) lies on the outskirts of Trowbridge and was clearly religious and access was on the street front, making the chapel very visible in the streetscape. Zion Baptist Chapel (1816) follows a similar trend. The chapel had a courtyard in front of the structure, and access was via a path through this space. The perimeter was (and still is) small iron railings, making the chapel easily visible from the street (plate 100). From the second edition OS map (1901) it is clear that the ground to the north west of the chapel was sparse (plate 152).

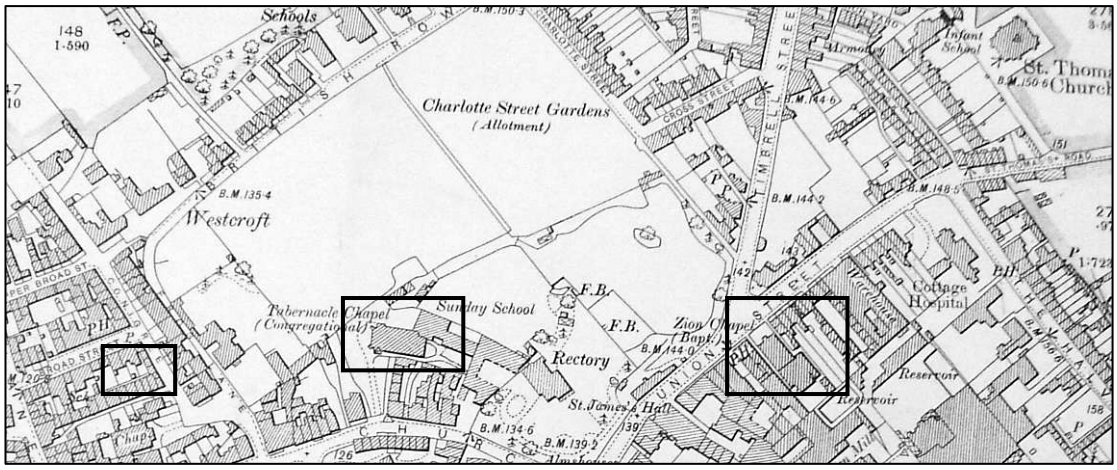


Plate 152: Zion Chapel, the Tabernacle and the location of the Conigre Chapel, Trowbridge (adapted from the second edition OS map, 1901, XXXVIII.7, 1:2500).

Due to large-scale demolition in the town today, the visibility of Zion from this position can be estimated. The town was viewed from British Row (to the top left of plate 152). Zion Chapel could be clearly seen, as could the new Tabernacle (rebuilt 1881). Although the architecture of the new Tabernacle is far more elaborate, and larger than the original had been, its Sunday school (built 1842) indicates what the original building may have looked like in size and style, as it is believed to have complemented the chapel structure well.

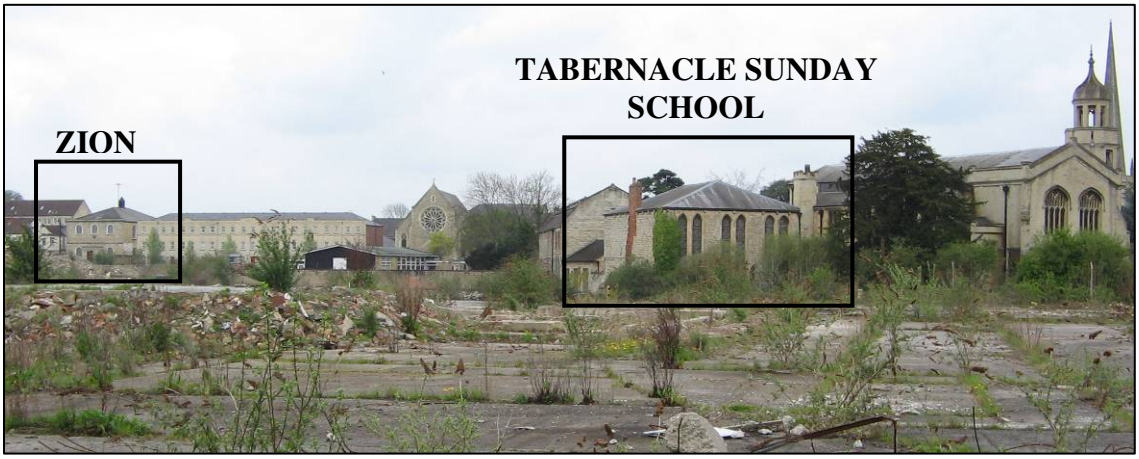


Plate 153: Tabernacle Sunday school, and Zion Chapel from British Row, Trowbridge (2006)

This image illustrates that even when chapels were masked by other buildings and hidden from their immediate streetscape, sometimes they could still be visible from further away. The Conigre Chapel, despite also being located on the western edge of this expanse of land, may have also been more visible, depending when the structures to the east of it on The Conigre were constructed (date unknown).

Bethesda Chapel also shows this increasing visibility of chapels in the streetscape clearly. The architecture was elaborate and clearly nonconformist, whilst its position was practically street fronted, the perimeters consisting of a small low wall (plate 154).

Plate 154 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 154: The street location of Bethesda Chapel, Trowbridge (date unknown) (http://www.bbc.co.uk, accessed 02/09/08)

This increase in streetscape visibility is further emphasised by Manvers Street Chapel (plate 155), the second Bethel Chapel, and the second Conigre Chapel (plates 118 and 119), all of which have boldly elaborate religious architecture and have prominent spatial locations in the immediate streetscape. Manvers Street Chapel is elevated and accessed via a small garden, whereas Bethel Chapel is street fronted. Manvers Street Chapel has since been demolished; however, through visiting its original location, it is clear that due to its elevated nature and close proximity to the commercial centre of the town, the building would have contributed to the elegance, status, and exhibition of prosperity of the area (plate 156).

Plate 155: Manvers Street Chapel, Trowbridge (date unknown) (http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getchurch.php?id=350, accessed 06/07)

Plate 155 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 156: The location of the Manvers Street Chapel, from Fore Street, Trowbridge (2006)

Staverton Wesleyan Chapel (1824) and Upper Studley Baptist chapel (1850) are both more architecturally plain, however are clearly visible in their immediate locale, both being located on main roads.

The physical and historical evidence in Trowbridge suggests that as the nineteenth century progressed the chapels became more visible in their immediate locales. This is also true, albeit to a lesser extent, for the buildings in the wider landscape. Where so many chapels have since been demolished and much modern building has taken place, it is difficult to assess in detail their wider spatial visibility; however through considering their locations with regards to map evidence, and their surrounding buildings some conclusions can be drawn.

Increasing streetscape and landscape visibility is also evident in Bradford. Three phases can be identified. In the earliest phase (circa 1690 to 1800) the chapels remain hidden and invisible in the immediate streetscape; however, by the early 1800s a culmination of the increase in architectural elaboration and less concealed grounds allows a greater degree of visibility of religion in the landscape. This visibility is retained post 1840; however, the architecture and locations of the chapels are far more subtle, constructed for the expanding town suburbs. Figure 6.2b summarises the results of the analysis for Bradford.

Date	Chapel	Religious architecture?	Access from street	Visibility of architecture	Effect of perimeters	Visibility in streetscape
1689	1st Old Baptist Chp	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1698	Grove Chapel	No	small road off street	Partial visibility	Unknown	Hidden
1718	Friends Meeting Hs	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1740	Morgans Hill	Yes	Passageway	Hidden	Hidden	Hidden
1756	Pippet St Chapel	Elements	Passageway	Hidden	Hidden	Hidden
1790	1st Bethel Chapel	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1797	2nd Old Baptist Chp	Yes	Via arch way	Hidden	Hidden	Hidden
1800	2nd Bethel Chapel	No	Via garden from street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1818	Coppice Hill Chapel	Yes	Passageway	Visible	Enclosed	Visible
1823	Zion Chapel	Yes	small road off street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1845	Sladesbrook Chp	Yes	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1858	Providence Chapel	Elements	small road off street	Visible	Visible	Visible

Figure 6.2b: Summary of streetscape visibility analysis for Bradford

Little is known about the first Old Baptist Chapel and the Friends' Meeting House due to a lack of physical and historical evidence. The first Old Baptist Chapel was small, seating only 300 (Oliver 1989: 8), and was located within the early centre of Bradford,

in the St Margaret's area, amongst small cottages, like those on Nowhere Lane, discussed in Chapter 5. Access to the chapel was via St Margaret's Hill, a smaller road than St Margaret's Street where the current access is, so although the evidence is scanty it could be surmised that the chapel was likely to have been relatively hidden. With regards to the Friends' Meeting House, even less is known, although due to the theological beliefs of the Quakers the chapel would likely have been plain, with no architectural reference to its religious function.

Other chapels included in this first phase are also concealed within the streetscape. Chapels were masked by other buildings, hiding them from the main roads. The first Old Baptist Chapel, as previously discussed, was likely to have been concealed behind other buildings. Morgans Hill Chapel was certainly located behind a variety of large affluent properties on St Margaret's Street, with ranks of other smaller terraces around it to the North, West and East. Pippet Street Methodist Chapel, although now concealed behind a more recent building, was likely concealed at its construction too (NMR, RCHME: 20). The second Old Baptist Chapel (rebuilt in 1797) was certainly concealed from the main road (plate 157) by a building that was bought by the congregation who demolished part of the ground floor to provide access through to the chapel (Oliver 1989: 9).

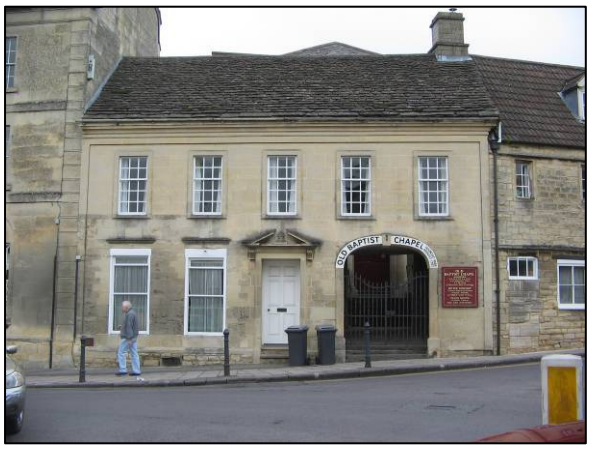


Plate 157: Access route to the second Old Baptist Chapel, Bradford (2006)

Not only were the buildings masked by other buildings, but access to them was also concealed. Access to the Grove Chapel was via a track way off Newtown, and lay on the outskirts of the town at this point. Morgans Hill Chapel, Pippet Street Chapel and the second Old Baptist Chapel were all accessed via concealed passageways, or enclosed entrances (plates 158 to 160).

Plate 158 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 158: The entrance to Morgans Hill chapel from St Margaret's Street, Bradford (date unknown)
(http://www.freshford.com/congregational_chapel.htm, accessed 20/06/07)

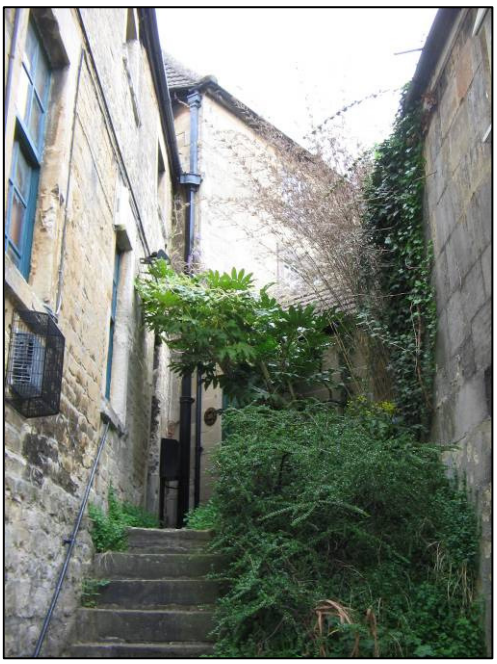


Plate 159: Access to Pippet Street Chapel, Bradford (2006)

Plate 160: Access out of Old Baptist Chapel, Bradford (2006)

The architecture of these chapels was also subtle. The Grove Chapel (plate 90) and probably the Friends Meeting House looked more like private homes than chapels. Morgans Hill Chapel and Pippet Street Chapel do exhibit more architectural elaboration through their pedimenteds façade and plaques, and Venetian window (on Pippet Street Chapel). However these features could not be seen unless the viewer had gained access through to the chapels, and were located directly in front of the building. These features could certainly not be seen from the street.

The concealed nature of the early chapels is also reflected in the wider landscape visibility. Plate 161 is a drawing of the area of St Margaret's to the south of the River Avon as it would have looked circa 1880. Both the Old Chapel and Morgans Hill Chapel are located behind other buildings, away from the main street, with hidden access routes.

Plate 161 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 161: St Margaret's, Bradford, c.1880 (Gareth Slater, http://www.freshford.com/nowhere_lane.htm, accessed 06/07)

The spatial location of the majority of early chapels prevents them from having any significant presence in the town; even their access points are discreet for some, particularly Morgans Hill Chapel, and Pippet Street Chapel (plate 162).

Plate 162: The entrance passage to Pippet Street Methodist Chapel, Bradford (1986) (NMR, RCHME: 20, MLM: 8474)

Plate 162 has been removed for copyright purposes

By the early 1800s, chapel visibility became more pronounced. It is unknown what the first Bethel Chapel in Bearfield looked like, but the second, which replaced it only ten years later, was certainly prominent in the landscape, aided by its large open burial ground, low wall and central position (plate 163).

Plate 163: Bethel Chapel, from Huntingdon Street, Bradford (2006)

Coppice Hill Chapel radically changed the view of Bradford's urban landscape. Despite the access to Coppice Hill Chapel (1818) being relatively enclosed, its elevated position and elaborate architecture compensate for this vastly, making the structure prominent in its immediate streetscape, and hugely visible in the wider landscape (plates 164 to 166)

Plate 164 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 164: Aerial photograph of Coppice Hill Chapel, Bradford (1930s)
(http://www.freshford.com/coppice_hill.htm , accessed 06/07)

Plate 165: Coppice Hill Chapel, from the south side of the River Avon, Bradford (2006)

Plate 166 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 166: Coppice Hill chapel from the south side of the River Avon, by William Westall (date unknown, early nineteenth century?)
(http://www.freshford.com/bradford_pictures.htm, accessed 20/06/07)

Zion Chapel (1823) further illustrates this increasing visibility. Its elevated position, elaborate architecture (plate 108) and open perimeter boundaries gave it a prominent position in the expanding Newtown area, in direct comparison to the Grove Chapel lying immediately to the west of it, and furthermore dominate the northern side of the valley, giving it huge visual prominence over the town, similar to Coppice Hill Chapel. Plate 167 illustrates it scale in relation to the surrounding buildings, including Grove Chapel, lying immediately to the left of Zion Chapel.

Plate 167: Zion Chapel, Bradford (1930s)
(http://www.freshford.com/zion_chapel.htm, accessed 20/06/07).

Plate 167 has been removed for copyright purposes

The views from (and to) the Zion Chapel were also impressive, over the rooftops into Bradford below (plate 168). These views were not clear from the nearby Grove Chapel as a result of the high wall and vegetation in the grounds of the chapel.

Plate 168: The views from where Zion Chapel once stood, Bradford (2006)

During this second phase, the architectural elaboration, the access routes and visibility of the chapels dramatically increased. One useful way to illustrate the increasing visibility of chapels is to look at nineteenth-century images of the town. Plate 169 was drawn in 1805 by Nattes from Barton Bridge. Holy Trinity Church is clear. The suspected location of the Grove Chapel (1698) is illustrated. The chapel is clearly not visible.

Plate 169 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 169: Bradford (1805) (http://www.freshford.com/bradford_pictures.htm, accessed 20/06/07).

Elizabeth Tackle was a celebrated local artist, and her portraits dating to the mid-nineteenth century illustrate the dominance of nonconformist chapels in the landscape. Her view of the town from Barton Bridge, circa 1850, again clearly illustrates Coppice Hill Chapel, whilst her second painting of the same period illustrates more of the chapels in the townscape (plates 170 and 171).

Plate 170 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 170: View of Bradford by Elizabeth Tackle (c.1850)
(http://www.freshford.com/bradford_pictures.htm, accessed 20/06/07)

Plate 171 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 171: View of Bradford from Jones' Hill, Elizabeth Tackle (c.1850) (http://www.freshford.com/bradford_pictures.htm, accessed 06/08)

This theme continued after 1840, although on a less conspicuous scale. The Primitive Methodist Chapel at Sladesbrook (plate 105) is less architecturally elaborate than Coppice Hill and Zion; however it is street fronted, and clearly visible. Providence Chapel, again, has more subtle architecture although still identifiable as a chapel. It is less conspicuous in the landscape, being located amongst terraced housing on a small side street off Huntingdon Street in Bearfield. Today, with the refurbishment it has faced, it can barely be seen even when looking for it (plate 172), however before refurbishment it had two-story round arched windows, and its function etched above the door. Despite this reduction in visibility, these two later chapels are still more conspicuous than those in the earlier period.

Plate 172: Providence Baptist Chapel, Bradford, now private homes (2006)

In Bearfield, Bethel Chapel dominates its immediate vicinity; Providence does so to a lesser extent, but their presence seems reserved merely for the local congregation and inhabitants, as opposed to the town or suburb. This is reflected also in Sladesbrook Chapel. They are not hidden or masked to the extent of the earlier chapels, but their landscape dominance is distinctly missing. The centre of Bradford therefore clearly exhibits the increasing visibility and status of nonconformist chapels in the streetscape

and the wider landscape, although to a lesser extent in the smaller suburbs of Bearfield and nearby Sladesbrook.

The visibility of religious structures in Stroud follows very broadly the pattern of Trowbridge and Bradford; however phases are not so easily defined. Generally, visibility tends to be higher at an earlier date in Stroud. Figure 6.2c summarises the results of the streetscape analysis for the Stroud chapels.

Date	Chapel	Religious architecture?	Access from street	Visibility of architecture	Effect of perimeters	Visibility in streetscape
1711	Old Meeting	Elements	Passageway?	Unknown	?	?
1750	Rodborough Tabernacle	No	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1763	Acre Street Chapel	Yes	Via foreyard from street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1797	Ebley Chapel	Yes	Via foreyard from street	Visible	Unknown	Visible
1807	1st Randwick Wes Chp	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1824	2nd Randwick Wes Chp	Yes	Via foreyard from street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1824	John St Chapel	Yes	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1835	Paganhill Chapel	No	Via foreyard from street	Unknown/hidden	Unknown	Unknown/hidden
1836	Bedford St Chapel	Yes	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1836	Primitive Meth Chp	Yes	Via foreyard from street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1852	Plymouth Brethren	No	Via foreyard from street	Hidden	Hidden	Hidden
1856	Zion Chapel	Yes	Via garden from street	Visible	Visible	Visible

Figure 6.2c: Summary of streetscape visibility analysis for Stroud

From the start of the eighteenth century, when the first chapel in Stroud emerged, to the 1820s, religious structures were evident in the streetscape and landscape, although their architecture was more subtle than later. Access to the chapels was, for the most part, open and obvious – a far cry from the passageways and small paths of Trowbridge and Bradford.

The Old Chapel appears to have been street fronted, according to the 1842 tithe map albeit on a narrow residential street, yet the historical sources imply that access to the chapel was via a small passageway known as 'Tween Walls', with "high bordering walls" that "created an echo which delighted the children clattering up and down the path" (heritage plaque on The Chur, off Chapel Street, Stroud, observed April 2006). This path was lost in the mid-nineteenth century when widened to provide a drive way. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, however, access appears to have been enclosed and restricted.

Although Rodborough Tabernacle (1754) was located on the street (plate 93), it is relatively remote with only a small lane of cottages close by (plate 173). Its elevated position indicates that its visibility in the landscape was much higher than the Old Chapel. It lies on the southern slope of the Stroud Valley, overlooking the western end of the town (plate 174). When considered alongside its architecture, however, its status and prominence as a religious structure was far more concealed.

Plate 173: Tabernacle Walk, Rodborough, facing South East (2006)

Plate 174: Views from the Tabernacle, Rodborough, facing North to Stroud (2006)

Acre Street Chapel (1763), although subtle, was distinguishable through its octagonal architecture, and was accessed through a small foreyard with low stone wall, making it clearly visible from the street. However, as with the other early nonconformist chapels in the town, its prominence in the wider landscape was restricted, despite its elevated location. The surrounding buildings kept it concealed to the wider community.

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, chapel prominence increased. The area of Ebley is a little elevated on the northern slope of the Stroud Valley. Ebley Chapel was located close to the main East-West road into Stroud. An eighteenth-century image of the chapel in its locale indicates that it dominated the surrounding landscape with its sheer scale, and as a consequence of the open surrounding landscape (plate 142). The surviving gate post further indicates its status within the Ebley community (plate 175).

Plate 175: Ebley Chapel gateposts (2006)

By the 1820s, architecture and visibility had improved vastly. The Wesleyan Chapel at Randwick (1824) lies to the south of the village on the western edge of the Painswick Valley, and dominated the centre of the village; despite being enclosed by a high stone wall, its roof and bellcote were visible from a wide area. Its status and prominence is reflected both in its spatial location, and also in its dominant architecture. The views across the valley to Whiteshill, Ruscomb and Stroud are stunning (plate 176), and the chapel is close to the local houses and amenities.

Plate 176: View from Randwick Wesleyan Chapel, facing South West (2006)

The Primitive Methodist Chapel in Randwick (1836) reflects this prominence to a lesser extent. Its architecture is more subtle, yet it is street fronted, lying on the main access route into the village, opposite the school and amongst residential properties. It is clearly visible, as well as having exstensive views towards Stonehouse and Stroud (plate 177).

Plate 177: Views from Randwick Primitive Methodist Chapel, facing South (2006)

In the centre of Stroud, this increased visibility is also evident. John Street Baptist Chapel (1824) was open to the street (save for some low iron railings), and had architecture of clear religious association (plate 109), whilst Bedford Street Chapel (1836, plate 111), with its elaborate Classical architecture, in a prominent street fronted position in the centre of Stroud, made it impossible to miss in the streetscape, although both are less evident in the wider landscape as a result of topography.

Only two chapels do not easily corroborate this pattern. Little is known of Paganhill Chapel; however the one surviving photo that has been found (plate 143) indicates the structure was architecturally plain, and its location was pushed back from the street. With no further information on its perimeter, or architecture, further detail of its visibility in the landscape can not be identified. It is unlikely that it had a particularly visible presence in the village, despite its central location. The occupants of the nearby cottages and workshops would have been aware of its existence through passing it in their routines; however it could have been easily missed by outsiders.

The Plymouth Brethren meeting rooms on Acre Street are architecturally simple, with the chapel hidden from the road by associated buildings to the front, which are plain and discreet. Access to the structure is via a small courtyard enclosed by a low wall with railings (plate 178). This could merely be a reflection of the increased Puritanical theological viewpoint of the Plymouth Brethren. The chapel lies behind the entrance building, and has little to advertise it as a religious structure, making it largely invisible in the wider landscape.

Plate 178: Entrance to the Plymouth Brethren rooms, Stroud (2006)

Patterns of streetscape visibility for Stroud do appear to be less cohesive than those of Trowbridge and Bradford. The earlier chapels appear to be less concealed as a result of their slightly more elaborate architecture hinting, if not boasting, religious affiliation, in conjunction with their more open and accessible entrance routes. Nonetheless, the later pattern of greater architectural elaboration alongside clear streetscape visibility and access resonates throughout all three of these case studies.

In the Stroudwater case studies the patterns of changing streetscape visibility are less easily determined than in Trowbridge, Bradford, or Stroud. The streetscape visibility of the early chapels (up to circa 1800) is mixed, although appears to become more elaborate by the end of the century. The later period (post 1800) is also mixed, with a variety of more elaborate chapels in more visible locations (although with no examples as elaborate architecturally as examples in the other case studies), in conjunction with more subtle chapels. Figure 6.2d summarises the visibility results for the Stroudwater case studies.

Date	Chapel	Religious architecture?	Access from street	Visibility of architecture	Effect of perimeters	Visibility in streetscape
1702	Cam Congregational	Elements	Via foreyard from street	Visible	Partial	Visible
1702	Water St Chapel	No	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1764	1st Tabernacle	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1790	Union Chapel	Yes	Via foreyard from street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1802	Wesleyan Chp DL	Yes	Street fronted?	Visible	Unknown	Visible
1808	2nd Tabernacle	Yes	Via foreyard from street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1819	Wesleyan Chp UL	Unknown	Via garden from street	Unknown	Visible	Visible
1821	Bethesda Chapel	Yes	Via garden from street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1821	Hill Road Chapel	Unknown	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1825	Wesleyan Chp CM	Yes	Street fronted	Visible	Visible	Visible
1828	Boulton Ln Chp	Yes	Via foreyard from street	Visible	Visible	Visible
1852	The Quarry Chapel	Elements	Via garden from street	Visible	Visible	Visible

Figure 6.2d: Summary of the streetscape visibility analysis for Stroudwater

Structures from the early eighteenth century, when the first nonconformist chapel was constructed (Cam Congregational Chapel, 1702), to the early nineteenth century display a variety of streetscape visibility. Cam Congregational Chapel lies in an elevated position, clearly visible in the surrounding position. Its architecture is subtle, although the pointed arched windows hint at religious affiliation, but the structure is clearly visible in its immediate streetscape, and also from the western side of the Cam Valley (plate 179).

Plate 179: Cam Congregational Chapel, looking West from Kingshill (2006)

The chapel is not hidden, lying on what was a major route into Cam, on a hill in clear view of the structures around it, and also from the other side of the valley. Its proximity to the parish church of St George is also significant. The chapel lies almost

directly opposite, where parishioners from Cam would pass in order to enter the church. If early chapels were keen to keep themselves hidden and discreet, as Briggs (1946) and Lindley (1969) suggest, then its positioning here was almost certainly not its wisest move. It does appear that the area was relatively highly populated, which may indicate why the chapel was located here. Conversely, Water Street Presbyterian chapel (1702) has no elements that advertise it as a religious structure, and despite its central street-fronted location, it has no prominence or status over the surrounding landscape (plate 92).

As the eighteenth century progressed, the first Dursley Tabernacle was constructed on Parsonage Street – the main commercial street in the town – and although its architecture is unknown, the increasing visibility of nonconformity becomes more evident, through its prominent location. From the end of the eighteenth century the visibility of the chapels further increased. This is emphasised when the warehouse that was used as a meeting place by Wesleyan Methodists in the town centre was demolished and rebuilt as a chapel (http://www.dursleyglos.plus.com/, accessed 03/06). Although its architecture is unknown, its virtual street-fronted location close to the commercial district and St James Church suggests increasing confidence and less desire to remain inconspicuous (plate 180).

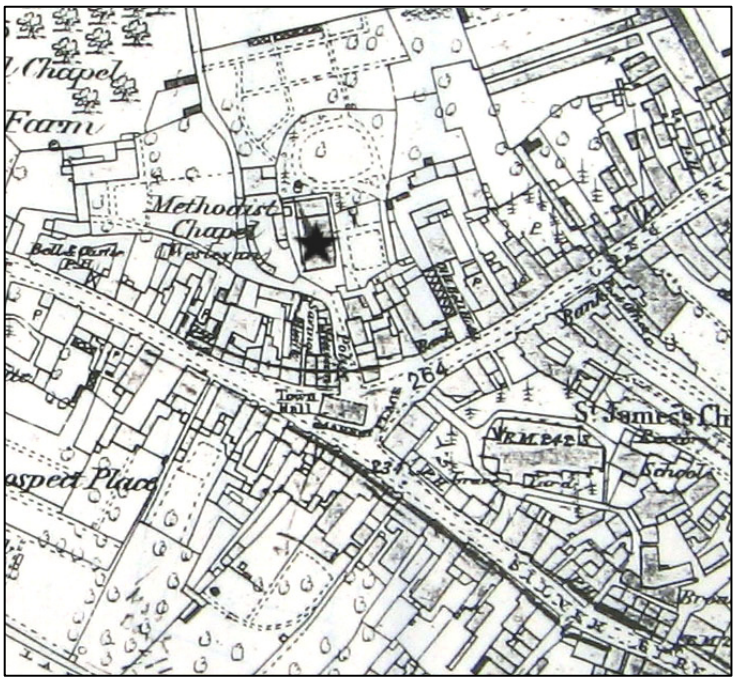


Plate 180: The location of the later Dursley Wesleyan church, perhaps indicating a similar access to the earlier structure (adapted from first edition OS, (1885), XXXXXVI.3, 1:2500).

The second Dursley Tabernacle (rebuilt in 1808) exhibits the peak of chapel visibility, lying on a main road, elevated, with elaborate architecture advertising its presence (plate 181), with open access from the main road. It is the most visible chapel in Dursley.

Plate 181 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 181: Postcard showing the Dursley Tabernacle on Parsonage Street (c.1910)
(http:www.dursleyglos.org.uk/html/dursley/postcards/dursley.postcards.htm, accessed 04/06/07)

A drawing dating to c.1850 showing the town from Hermitage Wood, south west of the town, illustrates the visibility of religious structures in the landscape (plate 182), and also the only image there is of the first Wesleyan Methodist church. The Tabernacle and the Wesleyan Church are clearly prominent, certainly competing with St James' church for status and dominance. Plate 183 shows the Dursley Tabernacle in c.1866, further illustrating its prominence.

Plate 182 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 182: Dursley, from Hermitage Wood (c.1850)
(http://www.xnm15.dial.pipexcom/dursley.htm, accessed 04/06/08)

Plate 183 has been removed for copyright purposes

Plate 183: the Dursley Tabernacle (c.1866) (Sutton 1991: 124)

Union Chapel in Uley (plate 113) is clearly religious in its architecture, and has a visible elevated position with a low perimeter wall and railings. The Wesleyan Chapel (1819) and Bethesda Chapel in Uley (1821), despite not being on the main

road through the village, are close to the centre with grounds open to the street, surrounded by low iron railings making them easily visible in the streetscape, although the topography of the village hinders their visibility on a larger scale. Architecturally, the octagonal shape of Bethesda highlights religious affiliation; the architecture of the Wesleyan Chapel is unknown. The Wesleyan Chapel constructed in Lower Cam in 1825 (plate 102) also lies centrally in the town; it is street-fronted, demonstrating religious affiliation in its architecture. It is close to numerous weavers' cottages on Chapel Street and Rowley Terrace, and is clearly visible in the landscape of the town, despite being located in the bottom of a valley.

Interestingly, in Dursley, after the construction of the Tabernacle, the level of wider visibility appears to decrease. Both Hill Road Chapel and Boulton Lane Chapel are clearly nonconformist chapels, and are street-fronted, and accessed via a small garden respectively; they are highly visible in their immediate surroundings, located centrally in the towns they serve. Hill Road Chapel was drastically altered in the twentieth century, however its gable end suggests its architecture was associated with other nonconformist structures of the period, perhaps similar to Sladesbrook Primitive Methodist Chapel in Bradford (plate 105).

With regards to the wider landscape visibility, Hill Road Chapel, although prominent in its own streetscape, appears to have had little impact on the Dursley townscape. Boulton Lane chapel, if it is the building indicated on plate 182, was certainly larger, more architecturally elaborate and more central; however, understanding its true impact on the wider landscape is harder to determine as it no longer survives. Certainly the peak of overt nonconformist identity in Dursley was in the first part of the nineteenth century, through the construction of the Wesleyan Chapel and the rebuilding of the Tabernacle.

In Cam too, the later of the nonconformist structures (The Quarry URC, 1852), is more discreet architecturally. It was not really associated with the woollen industry workers to any great extent, since the area – as the name suggests – was dominated with quarry workers. The chapel can not be considered to be particularly visible in the wider landscape. The first edition OS map shows it to be pushed back from the (quiet) road, with few buildings close to it (plate 184).

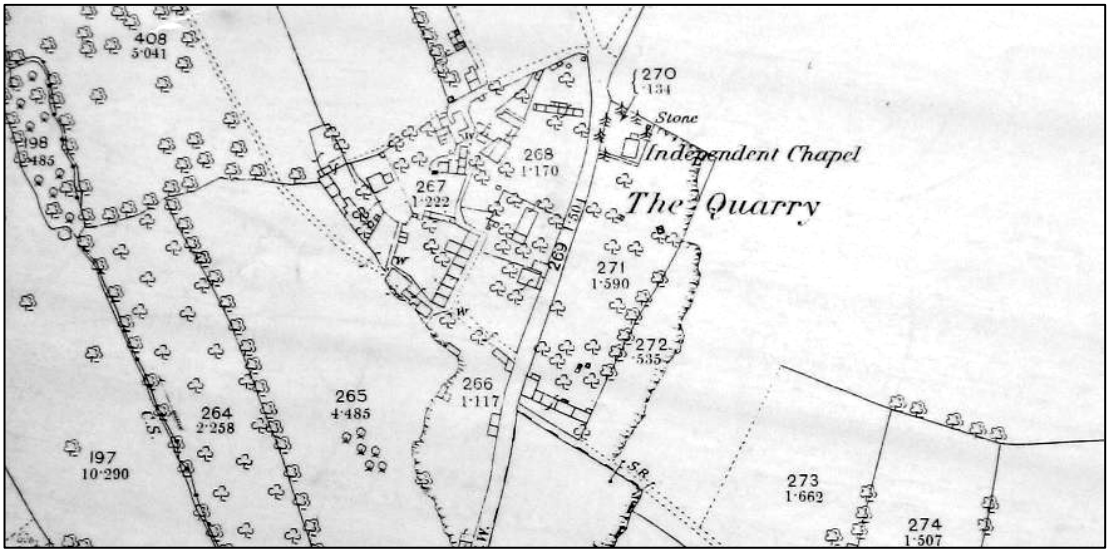


Plate 184: The Quarry, Cam (first edition OS (1885), XXXXVIII.15, 1:2500)

Plate 185: The Quarry URC (2006)

It is clear from the Stroudwater case studies that, although nonconformity did become more visible architecturally and spatially in the landscape, this was to a lesser extent than in Stroud, Bradford and Trowbridge. The architecture of the chapels in these more rural locations is generally far more subtle, with Union Chapel in Uley, and the Tabernacle in Dursley being the most elaborate examples. This does not necessarily mean that there was a greater desire to remain discreet, merely that a greater reliance on the fortunes of the woollen industry may have had more of a financial impact on the level of building activity. Spatially, on a streetscape and landscape level, the chapels do appear to become more visible, although Cam Congregational Chapel is a significant exception. Possible reasons for this difference in activity in these locations will be considered in detail in the following chapter.

In all of the case studies, the natural topography of the landscape has a significant influence on the visibility of the chapels. This is most clearly seen in Bradford, where the steep valley sides significantly alter our perception of the chapels in the landscape, as opposed to Trowbridge where the ground is much flatter. However, when compared alongside the architectural and access visibility, this analysis has shown that nonconformity did indeed appear to become more prominent, with a higher degree of status and show as the period progressed. This increasing visibility was a significant cause and effect of the changing social attitudes of the working classes in the woollen industry, which will be detailed in the following chapter.

6.3 THE GROWTH OF DISSENT

6.3.1: Meeting House licences (Wiltshire only)

Chandler's (1985) compilation of surviving meeting house licence certificates contributes to the understanding of the pattern of religious observance between 1689 and the end of the period under study. The meeting house certificates for both Trowbridge and Bradford upon Avon have been enumerated and are displayed in figures 6.3a and 6.3b below, respectively. The total number of certificates have been included, with further detail on what type of structure the certificate refers to where

known. This is further complemented by the inclusion of the actual number of physical chapels that were constructed in each decade, considering that many licences obtained did not result in the construction of a chapel (as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3).

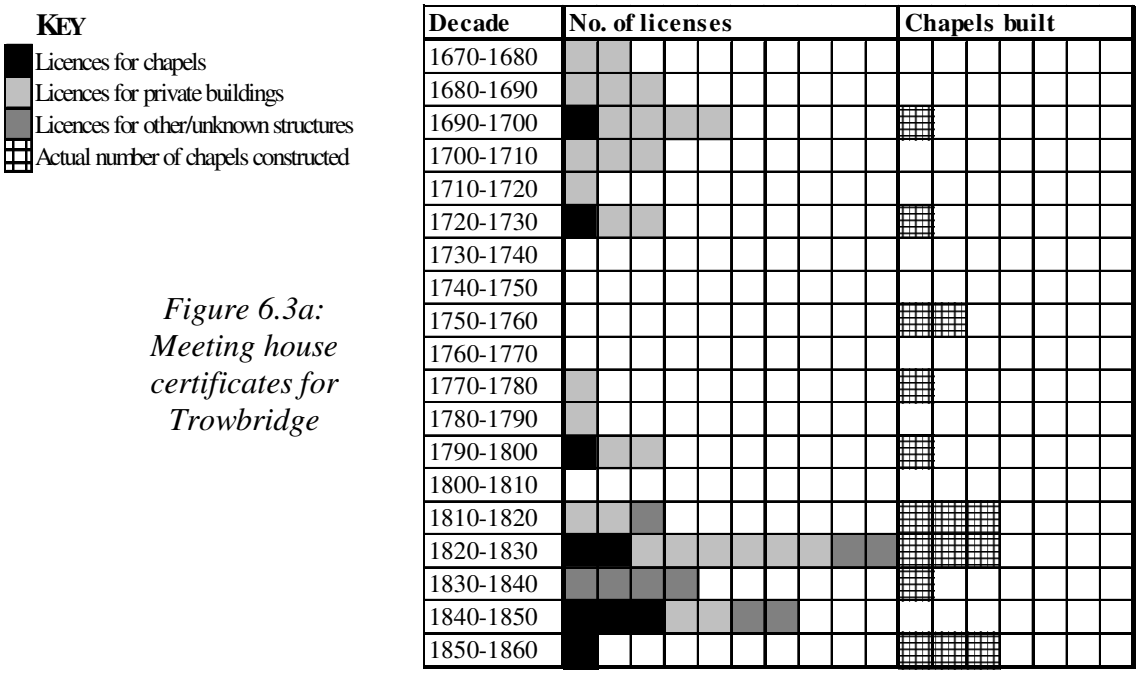


Figure 6.3a: Meeting house certificates for Trowbridge

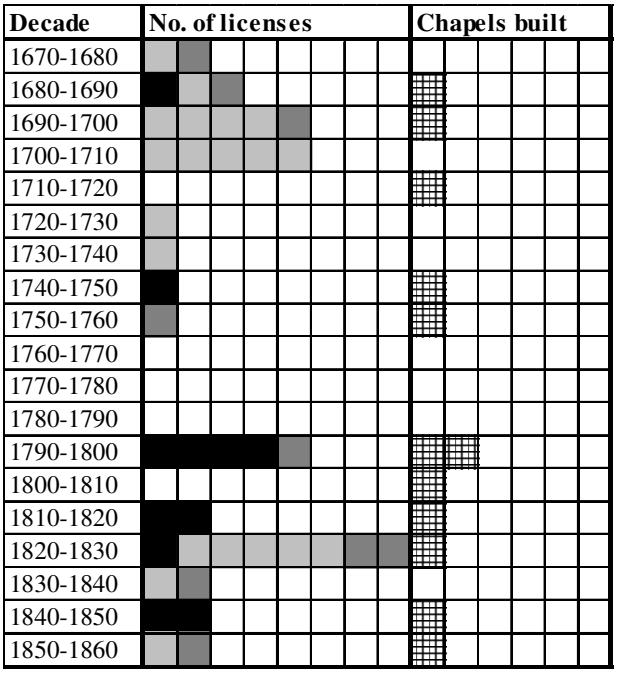


Figure 6.3b: Meeting house certificates for Bradford

It is clear from both locations that the most significant periods of growth in religious observance from the license activity were between 1670 to 1710, and 1820 to 1830. In both cases the increase is dramatic; however only in Trowbridge is this reflected in the actual number of chapels constructed where there is also a sharp increase beginning from circa 1810.

The number of licences applied for in Trowbridge is generally higher from 1820 to 1850, although fluctuating mildly, whereas in Bradford the growth appears limited to the 1820s. Furthermore, in Bradford there is a second period of certificate growth in the 1790s, which is not the case in Trowbridge.

Private houses were the commonest form of building to be licensed, clearly seen in the early period; however there is an increase in the licensing of purpose-built chapel structures from the end of the eighteenth century, most prolifically in Bradford in the 1790s and in Trowbridge in the 1840s.

By plotting the denominations chronologically, as recorded on the certificates, the denominational growth of the Wiltshire case studies can be identified more easily. Figure 6.3c illustrates the increase in certificates for known denominational sects. Although 19% of the certificates had no denomination recorded it is clear that Baptist denominations were the most popular, followed by the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations.

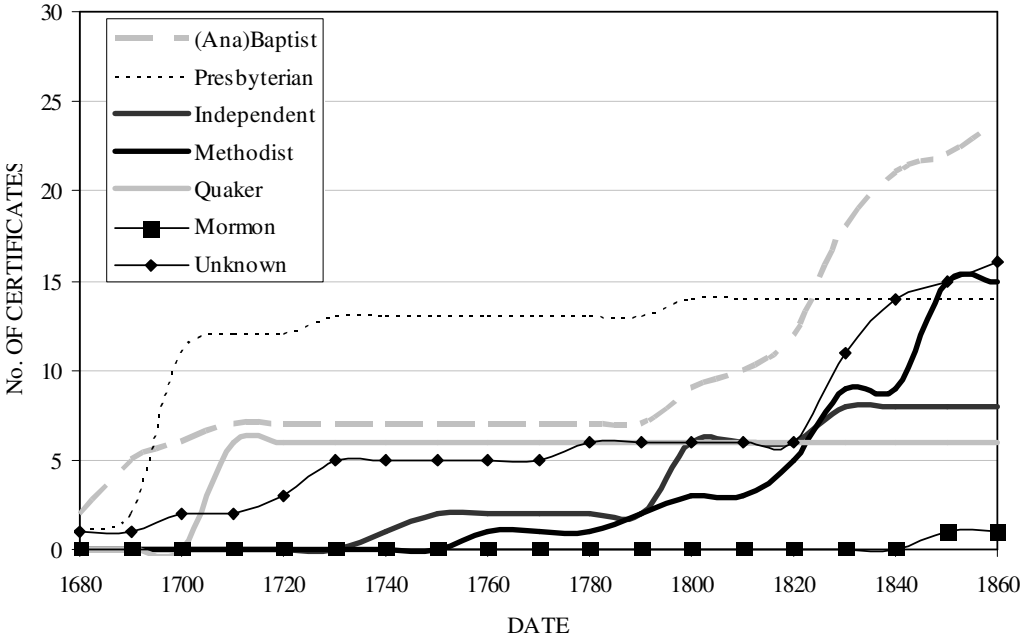


Figure 6.3c: Denominational growth of nonconformist sects from Meeting House Certificates

The number of certificates obtained by Presbyterians rose rapidly between 1690 and 1700, but after this period few were recorded. Prior to 1720 the Quakers also witnessed a significant growth in certificates; however, there were no more certificates dating to after 1710 for either case study. The Baptist certificates increased in number prior to 1720, however the largest number dated to between 1790 and 1860, particularly between 1820 and 1840. Methodist certificate growth follows this pattern too. Although experiencing some increase from 1750, it was between 1810 and 1850 that growth increased, and again particularly from 1820 onwards. The fortunes of the Independent sects fluctuated but they experienced significant growth periods between 1790 and 1800, and 1820 to 1830. The period between 1720 and 1790 is relatively consistent within all denominations, experiencing little or no increase in certificates in all of the sects.

The results here are only relative. It is not known when particular conventicles or groups discontinued worship in their licensed properties, or indeed whether they established worship there in the first place. For example, although the Presbyterians appear to remain consistent after their initial period of growth, it is probable that some conventicles closed. It can be concluded from these results that the Baptists were

potentially the most numerous sect in the region; the Methodists were also significantly prevalent, both more so in the later period. The popularity of the older dissenting sects appears to wane after 1720 in favour of the Baptists, Methodists and Independents.

6.3.2 The Compton Census, 1676

The Compton Census of 1676 also provides valuable information on the increase in religious observance of dissenting sects.

The Wiltshire case studies lie in the Diocese of Salisbury, in the Potterne (PT) deanery of the Sarum archdeaconry. Staverton is not included in the Census. For the purposes of this study the deanery of Malmesbury (M) has also been included in order to more fully examine nonconformity in the clothing region of West Wiltshire. In Gloucestershire, all the case studies lie in the Diocese of Gloucester across four deaneries: Gloucester (DL), Dursley (DL), Stonehouse (ST) and Hawkesbury (HK). These four deaneries cover South and Central Gloucestershire. Appendix 3.5 shows the Compton Census results for the Wiltshire and Gloucestershire areas.

For the Potterne deanery, nonconformity is highest in the primary cloth producing parishes. Trowbridge has a higher proportion of nonconformists than any other parish in the deanery, excluding North Bradley which is an anomaly at 77.27%. North Bradley was adjoined with Southwick civil parish until 1866 and Southwick was renowned as a centre for the rise of the Baptists from the mid-seventeenth century. As a result, Baptists flourished and it was believed that meetings were held in Southwick for over 2,000 people from nearby towns and villages. It remains the only parish in either the Potterne and Malmesbury deaneries to have more than 19% of its inhabitants participating in nonconformity.

The proportion of nonconformists in Bradford is comparatively low at less than 5%, the lowest of all the cloth towns. By 1689 only the houses of Francis Yerbury, John Houlton and John Broome's barn were registered for worship and it is unknown how many members they had. The first chapel was not constructed until 1689. By contrast, in Trowbridge, there were at least 140 Baptists in the town by 1669, about 50

Presbyterians and around 40 Quakers worshipping in licensed houses (VCH Wilts, 7:157).

As discussed in Chapter 4, it is widely argued that dissent thrived better in urban areas than in rural ones, however this does not seem to be the case for either county in this period. Dissent, although prominent in the cloth areas, does not appear to have flourished in towns over smaller areas. The average percentage for nonconformity in the Potterne and Malmesbury deaneries is 4.7% but, when all the parishes with a higher than average percentage of nonconformity were mapped, there was no significant concentration in the larger urban areas. Appendix 3.6 illustrates the places with an above-average level which are consistently distributed amongst all locations whatever their size. North Bradley was not included in this calculation as its higher than average nonconformity level would distort the results.

In West Wiltshire 44% of the parishes had above-average levels of nonconformity, with 27% of those over 2% above average. Sutton Benger, Hilprington, Kelways and Grittleton all had large levels of nonconformity but were not prominent in the woollen industry at this time. Even those locations with a population below 70 are not distinguishable by a lower proportion of nonconformity.

The levels of nonconformity in Gloucestershire are more unexpected. The smallest of all the Gloucestershire case studies – Uley and Owlpen – that have the highest proportion of nonconformists in the case studies which is suprising, especially since the first chapel in Uley was not constructed until 1790 - late in comparison to the other case studies in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. Owlpens' high number could be a result of its close social and economic association with Uley. There was no industrial base in Owlpen, nor any known nonconformist meetings over the time period. Technically, it is not a clothing village in its own right, but was included as part of Uley. Stroud, Dursley and Rodborough each have unexpectedly low levels of nonconformity considering their eminence in the woollen industry. The level of nonconformity in each of these places is below one percent. Out of these three, Stroud has the lowest level, followed by Dursley and then Rodborough. If all the case studies are presented in the form of their level of nonconformity (one being lowest, seven being highest) a surprising trend appears:

1) Stroud
2) Dursley
3) Rodborough
4) Cam
5) Randwick
6) Uley
7) Owlpen

The average percentage of nonconformity for this region of Gloucestershire is again 4.7%. However, in Gloucestershire only Owlpen and Uley have above average levels of nonconformity (see Appendix 3.6). In contrast to Wiltshire, the levels of nonconformity in the cloth manufacturing parishes is greatly *below average* ranging from between 0.1% and 4.1% and include prominent places as Woodchester, Bisley and Wotton under Edge. Only Painswick, Cam, Minchinhampton and Tetbury have levels of nonconformity above 1%, and only the latter of the four is significantly above 1%.

As in Wiltshire, there seems to be no huge discrepancy between the larger urban areas and the smaller ones with regards to the levels of nonconformity. They appear to be spread relatively consistently despite the parish size. There appears to be no distinctive relationship between the level of nonconformity and the textile industry in Gloucestershire at this time.

The Compton Census, despite being fraught with problems, is useful as it already shows distinct differences between the two counties, and questions the traditional theories of the development of dissent in urban, over rural, areas. The case studies in Wiltshire show a higher level of nonconformity than its Gloucestershire equivalents. In fact about 75% of the cloth parishes in Gloucestershire are greatly below the average level whereas the relative figure for Wiltshire is only 20%. Of all the cloth parishes in both counties Stroud, Dursley, Rodborough and Cam – all in Gloucestershire - have the lowest levels of nonconformity which is surprising considering their significant role in the woollen industry. The four highest are North Bradley, Trowbridge, Chippenham and Devizes which are all within Wiltshire.

The Compton Census provides a good basis for the position of nonconformity prior to the period under study, if reviewed in light of its limitations and not taken too literally. One distinct problem with the Census is that it does not distinguish between

denominations which would have been highly valuable within this research in order to chart the growth or decline of different sects in the two regions over the time frame under study.

6.3.3 The Benson Visitation 1735-1751

Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester in 1735, carried out a comprehensive survey of his diocese, in part out of concern over the increase in nonconformity (Fendley 2000: ix). The Benson Visitation provides more detail than Compton's equivalent, by not only specifying the number of inhabitants, but also listing the nonconformists by denomination. Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, Sabbatarians, Congregationalists, papists and absenters are all listed.

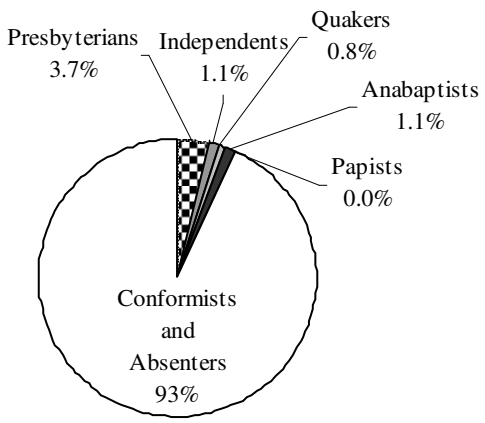
In this survey all the case studies and other prominent wool parishes fall in the deaneries of Dursley and Stonehouse so only these areas have been assessed (Appendix 3.7). Significant omissions are Rodborough, where only the number of inhabitants is given, Randwick which is entirely omitted, and Owlpen which is listed as part of Newington Bagpath.

Within the 51 parishes in the deaneries, four give no detail about the inhabitants at all. These are Chalford, Rodborough, Lasborough and Falfield. Another fifteen parishes give only the number of inhabitants and nothing further. Where this is the case it has been noted in the table as those where there was 'no return' and those where simply no dissenters were mentioned. There is no way determine whether there were simply no dissenters in these parishes, or whether they were just not included in the survey. Together these parishes comprise of 37% of all those within the two deaneries. This is the primary limitation to this survey. In parishes where the population has been recorded as 'families' or 'houses' the figures have simply been multiplied by four in order to get an average population statistic.

From the results we do have (figure 6.3d), we can identify that Presbyterianism was the most popular denomination in Gloucestershire at the time of the visitation, adhered to by 3.7% of the population. Thereafter the Independent and Anabaptist congregations were most popular, with the Quakers and Papist congregations having

less than 1% of the population of the parishes which contained dissenters within them. It is difficult to determine the number of absenters from conformists as, in most cases, the number for absenters was merely included as 'some', without definite figures.

Figure 6.3d: Dissenters in the Benson Visitation (of those where dissenters were included in the returns)



When percentages of overall nonconformity are compared to the Compton Census further conclusions are obtained. Figure 6.3e illustrates the growth or decline of dissent in parishes where dissent was recorded, with reference to the Compton Census, between 1676 and circa 1750. The name in brackets indicates a change of spelling between the two and only in Horsley are the results not comparable (due to its omission in the Compton census). In the Compton census Stinchcombe was also included in the Cam statistics and therefore can not be assessed individually. The Benson census further includes Owlpen within the Newton Bagpath results as previously mentioned so can also not be assessed in its own merit.

Parish	Population	Compton	Benson	Growth/Decline
Stonehouse	1000	1.04%	0.20%	-0.84%
Frocester (Fracester)	293	0%	0.70%	0.70%
Berkeley	2300	0.30%	0.70%	0.40%
Leonard Stanley	460	0.50%	0.90%	0.40%
Slimbridge (Glimbridge?)	100	0.30%	1%	0.70%
North Nibley	1800	0.20%	1.10%	0.90%
Ozleworth (Woselworth)	80	0%	1.30%	1.30%
Kings Stanley	1050	-	1.30%	
Miserden (Muserdon)	417	0%	1.40%	1.40%
Coaley (Cowley)	600	2%	1.70%	-0.30%
Woodchester	600	0%	1.80%	1.80%
Bisley	4000	0.50%	1.85%	1.35%
Stroud	**5000**	**0.10%**	**2%**	**0.90%**
Minchinhampton	4000	4.10%	3.15%	-0.95%
Newington Bagpath/Owlpen	354	10.70%	3.40%	-7.30%
Rockhampton	100	18.75%	4%	-14.75%
Stinchcombe (with Cam in Compton)	345	1.50%	4.30%	2.80%
Cranham	170	0%	5.90%	5.90%
Thornbury	1800	11%	6.10%	-4.90%
Avening (Aving)	1000	2.86%	7.60%	4.54%
Nympsfield (Nimpsfield)	100	21.30%	8%	-13.30%
Uley	**1160**	**7.70%**	**8.20%**	**0.50%**
Tetbury	3115	4%	9.46%	5.46%
Painswick	2256	2.90%	9.74%	6.84%
Wotton under Edge	4000	0.80%	10.10%	9.30%
Kingswood	800	0.20%	12.50%	12.30%
Dursley	**2000**	**0.50%**	**12.50%**	**12%**
Horsley	1800	-	30.60%	
Cam	**900**	**1.50%**	**33%**	

Figure 6.3e: Protestant dissent in the Benson Visitation (with comparison to the Compton Census)

The Benson Visitation results also suggest, like the Compton Census, that dissent did not necessarily flourish in urban areas more than in rural ones. Data from the Benson Visitation does initially suggest that there is a higher percentage of nonconformity in places with a higher population, such as Wotton under Edge, Dursley, Tetbury and Painswick; however it is also clear that places with a high population do not necessarily have a higher percentage of nonconformity over smaller ones. Of those with a population above 2,000, 50% have a level of nonconformity below 3.15% (Berkeley, Bisley, Stroud and Minchinhampton). Of those with a very high population (above 4,000) ¾ have a comparatively low level of nonconformity (Bisley, Stroud and Minchinhampton). Those with a smaller number of inhabitants can have a high proportion of evident nonconformity, Cam and Kingswood for example, although generally a significantly low population (below 500) indicates a low level of

nonconformity. Potentially, where there is a smaller population and less industry there may be less finance available for chapel construction; however this ignores the use of private houses for worship that is so often ignored.

When compared directly to the Compton Census it is clear that the average level of nonconformity rose between 1676 and 1750 from 4.7% to 6.4%, perhaps not surprisingly given the increased in state tolerance. However 26% of parishes in the Benson Visitation witnessed a drop in nonconformity, some by a high proportion, for example, Nympsfield and Rockhampton. Generally, growth in parishes was only small; however some parishes did witness steeper growth. The levels of nonconformity in Cam, Dursley, Kingswood and Wotton all grew by around 10%, and are, interestingly, again all cloth-producing parishes. Even those with a growth rate between 5% and 10% are dominated by textile parishes. In certainly appears evident that dissent did at least grow at a faster rate in the clothing parishes, even if the levels of dissent were not particularly high. Again, Stroud shows little significant growth, certainly not at the rates of the other cloth-producing parishes.

Those parishes with a growth rate of less than 1% are primarily rural or agricultural locations. The only exceptions are North Nibley, Uley, Stroud and Minchinhampton. The small growth rate in Uley is perhaps not surprising due to the high level of nonconformity that was already present in 1676. However the population had grown dramatically since 1676, to 900 in 1712 and up to 1,310 in 1779 so it is interesting that the growth rate of nonconformity is not closely related to the growth in population within this parish. From the evidence presented here it is clear that nonconformity neither established itself firmly within Stroud, Minchinhampton, and to a lesser extent Bisley, nor witnessed the significant growth that other cloth-producing parishes experienced.

6.3.4 Dissent in Wiltshire, c.1750

Unfortunately no similar census was undertaken for Wiltshire leaving our understanding of the position of Protestant dissent in the county at this period less clear. However, by looking at the meeting houses licences for the county in the

period between the Compton Census and the Benson Census valuable information can be obtained.

Appendix 3.8 presents the results of the meeting house certificates in the two deaneries used in the analysis of the Compton Census, Potterne and Malmesbury, between 1689 and 1750. It is clear from the results that the level of dissent is more dominant in the cloth-producing parishes. Across Wiltshire generally Chandler (1985: xxx) concludes that the greatest geographical concentration of certificates was in the west Wiltshire manufacturing towns, especially within places where dissent had been popular before the Act of Toleration in 1689.

In the Compton Census, Trowbridge and North Bradley, and to a lesser extent Chippenham, are the parishes with a higher level of dissenting activity. This is comparable to Chandler's analysis. However in Bradford and Melksham dissent appears to have grown between 1676 and 1750. Where Bradford was at the lower end of the Compton Census with regards to the level of nonconformity, it takes second place in 1750.

The meeting house certificates also detail denomination. Although it cannot be identified what proportion of the population were dissenters through meeting house certificates, as we can with the Benson Visitation, we can identify the proportion of dissenters of different sects. Although the denomination was not recorded on 42% of the certificates, we can still use the remaining 58% to identify denominational patterns in Wiltshire. Figure 6.3f identifies the denominations of certificates applied for in the Potterne and Malmesbury deaneries. The Presbyterians, Quakers and Baptists have virtually an equal number of certificates between 1689 and 1750. The Independents have only 1% of all certificates.

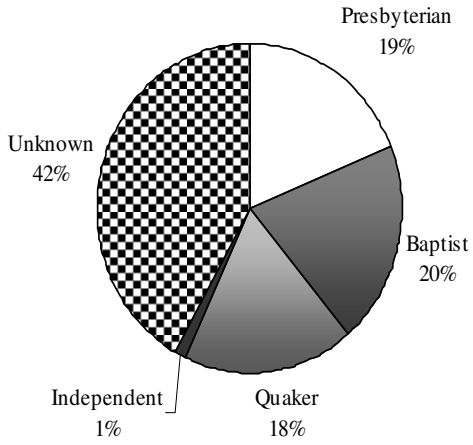


Figure 6.3f: Denominations in West

If the proportions of known dissenting denominations (excluding the 'unknown' certificates) are calculated into percentages for the meeting house certificates, and compared with the proportion of known dissenting groups identified in the Benson Visitation, some very different patterns occur (Figures 6.3g and 6.3i).

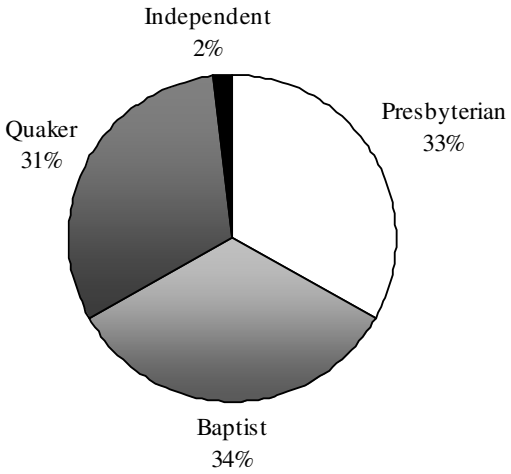


Figure 6.3g: Dissent in Wiltshire c.1750

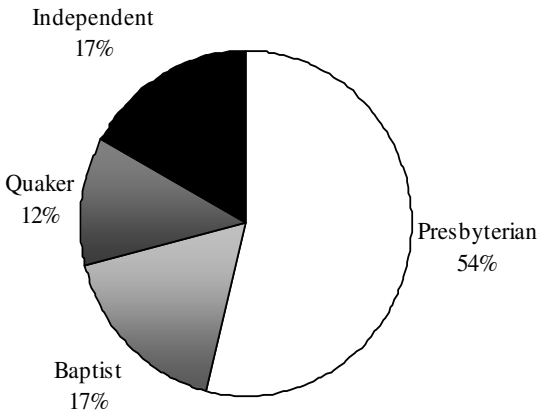


Figure 6.3i: Dissent in Gloucestershire c.1750

The composition of dissent is clearly different between the two counties, with both monopolised by the Old Dissent. In 1750 there were no Methodist congregations specified in West Wiltshire or South and Central Gloucestershire. Gloucestershire is clearly dominated by Presbyterianism, with Independent and Baptists denominations each comprising of 17% of the dissenting population. In Wiltshire, Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers comprise of about a third of the dissenting population, with only 2% being Independent.

There are inherent problems in considering the statistics in this way. A comparison between actual participants in congregations (as in Gloucestershire) and meeting house certificates is only relative. With regards to the meeting house certificates, even if each one illustrates an active congregation (which is doubtful), we have no evidence as to the size of the congregation. There was also no procedure for de-registering properties and consequently it is unlikely that all the locations licensed in the early years would still be in use by 1750.

6.3.5 The Barrington Visitation of Wiltshire, 1783

A visitation of Wiltshire did occur in 1783, but not with the same meticulous detail and organisation as the Compton Census in Gloucestershire. The visitation aimed to survey religious observance in each parish through a series of questions relating to

number of services on a Sunday, number of weekday services, minister status, number of Holy Communions per year, register records and so forth. The most interesting section for this thesis, however, is the number of communicants, papists and dissenters in the parish.

The visitation supplied few guidelines, and many of the returns are vague and longwinded. Twenty parishes are omitted as they were not under Bishop Barrington's jurisdiction, and a further nine were either lost or simply weren't returned in the first place (Ransome 1972: 5).

In general, the returns appear to imply that dissent was not a serious threat in the majority of parishes, and habitual absenteeism was a far greater problem. Out of 232 parishes that completed their returns, 158 claimed to have no dissenters at all and where dissent was more popular, it was largely confined to the clothing towns (Ransome 1972: 7). As this visitation is heavily biased and largely unstructured, less detail will be given than in previous sections. In many cases actual figures are not used and terms such as 'many' or 'few' make it difficult to come to conclusive remarks about the growth, or indeed decline, of dissent.

In the Potterne and Malmesbury districts, which in this case contain 70 parishes altogether, only five claim to have "innumerable" or "many" dissenters. These five consist of Bradford, North Bradley, Devizes, Malmesbury and Trowbridge - all cloth-producing parishes. The returns are not specific with figures. North Bradley claims the majority are Baptists which corroborates with the Meeting House licence information, and interestingly states that the teachers are largely weavers. Trowbridge further announces that the number of Methodists had greatly increased in the town. Only 28 of the parishes claim to have few dissenters and in the majority the exact number is not given. Denominational differences are impossible to determine to any detail, as in most cases the figures are too general and the denominations not specified.

It does appear that dissent was more widespread in the cloth towns by this point, perhaps indicating a change in the social base of dissent, to a more chiefly urban audience.

6.3.6 The Religious Census of 1851

The 1851 Religious Census is more useful than earlier censuses or visitations in a variety of ways. It provided information on the number of places of worship in each parish for all denominations, as well as attendance figures, all of which are comparable to the national average.

Firstly, the number of places of worship provided in the South West counties, in comparison to other significant cloth-producing counties as well as nationally, was considered in order to assess the provision of religious worship. Figure 6.3j illustrates the percentage of places of worship for each denomination in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.

6.3j: Places of worship in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire in 1851.

Denomination	Glos	Wilts
Church of England	46.6%	46.7%
Independents	10.3%	10.1%
General Baptists	0.1%	0.1%
Particular Baptists	8.9%	9.7%
Seventh Day Baptists	0.1%	-
Gen Baptists, New Conex.	-	0.3%
Baptists (undefined)	1.8%	3.3%
Society of Friends	1.3%	0.3%
Unitarians	0.8%	0.3%
Moravians	0.3%	0.3%
Original Connexion	15.5%	12.9%
Primitive Methodists	3.2%	12.6%
Bible Christians	0.8%	
Independent Methodists	-	0.4%
Wesleyan Association	0.3%	-
Wesleyan Reformers	3.2%	0.1%
Lady Huntingdon's Conex.	1.2%	0.3%
New Church	0.1%	0.1%
Brethren	0.9%	0.6%
Isolated Congregations	1.7%	1.1%
Roman Catholics	1.5%	0.4%
Latter Day Saints	1.0%	0.4%
Jews	0.2%	-

The five denominations with the largest proportion of places of worship provided have been highlighted, and are noticeably the same denominations in each county. However, in Gloucestershire, the Original Connection Wesleyan Methodists have more places of worship than the Primitive Methodists, whereas in Wiltshire the

provision of places of worship for these is virtually equal. The other 'top five' denominations appear to be relatively consistent. In most of the cases the difference between the two counties is less than 1%.

Figure 6.3k illustrates the provision of religious worship in these two counties, in comparison to the rest of the South West, and other significant cloth-producing counties. Nationally, the buildings provided for Anglican worship numbered 14,077 out of 34,467, or 41% (Pickering 1967: 388).

Denomination	**County**								
	Cornwall	Devon	Gloucs	Lancs	Leics	Notts	Somerset	Wilts	West Riding
Church of England	24%	42.3%	46.7%	32.5%	44.0%	39.4%	48.9%	46.7%	28.4%
Scottish Presbyterians				1.4%					0.1%
Independents	3.4%	10.9%	10.3%	10.4%	6.6%	3.3%	9.7%	10.0%	7.7%
Baptists	2.3%	8.6%	11.0%	6.1%	13.0%	8.6%	7.9%	13.4%	4.8%
Wesleyan Methodists	66.4%	29.0%	23.0%	32.0%	30.7%	43.8%	27.4%	26.0%	51.6%
Calvinistic Methodists	0.3%		1.2%	1.2%	0.2%		0.4%	0.3%	
Roman Catholics	0.6%	0.6%	1.5%	7.0%	1.8%	0.8%	0.7%	0.4%	1.5%
Others	3.0%	8.2%	6.3%	9.3%	3.8%	4.6%	5.0%	3.2%	6.0%

Figure 6.3k: Places of Worship in the South West, and other textile manufacturing counties

Initially, the results do not appear to suggest particular patterns between either Gloucestershire or Wiltshire and the rest of the South West, or indeed their relationship with other textile manufacturing counties, although the proportion of Baptists is higher in these two counties. The results certainly do not illustrate specific religious differences between the South West and other cloth-producing counties. Lancashire and West Riding were the main rivals of the South West woollen industry, and differences between them are minor, except for a lower provision of Anglican places of worship than in the South West.

The differences between the nonconformist sects are not regionally specific, and what occurs in one part of the South West does not necessarily occur in another. Cornwall is a significant example. All denominations in Cornwall generally have fewer churches and chapels in all cases apart from Wesleyan Methodism, where provision is far greater than any county. This is partly a result of the frequent visits made to the county by both John and Charles Wesley, alongside the bad working conditions of the miners who were attracted to the doctrines of Methodism. This certainly reflects the popularity of Methodism in Cornwall at this time. Wiltshire and Gloucestershire together, however, seem to follow a similar pattern, far more similar than any other two counties in the sample. Both have a higher proportion of Independent chapels than most others, and also significantly higher levels of Baptists than other counties. In comparison, the provision of Wesleyan Methodist Chapels for these two counties is at the lower end of the scale in comparison to the others.

It can be argued that assessing the results through the number of meeting houses ignores attendance figures on Census Sunday which could reflect vastly different figures. By counting the number of chapels, the figures take no account of congregation size. The chapels therefore could be large, with a small congregation or vice versa, which can not be identified by tabulating the results in this way.

Each of the attendance figures for morning, afternoon and evening have been added to create a sum total of all attendance on Census Sunday, which will be used as a relative guide. Only the counties of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire have been calculated as the previous test clarified that there was no pattern between the South West and elsewhere. Figure 6.31 illustrates the attendance figures and relative percentages of each denomination in each county, and highlights the five most popularly attended denominations.

Religious Denomination	Number of attendants at public worship on						Total number of attendants		Percentage of attendants	
	Morning		Afternoon		Evening					
	Wilts	Glos	Wilts	Glos	Wilts	Glos	Wilts	Glos	Wilts	Glos
Church of England	52,258	77,494	46,823	53,595	14,528	26,678	113,609	157,767	52.3	55.6
Independents	10,632	3,792	4,203	3,792	11,410	19,053	26,245	26,637	12.1	9.4
Baptists:										
General Baptists	480	70		366	316	48	796	484	0.4	0.2
Particular Baptists	10,448	13,426	6,276	4,979	9,974	12,954	26,698	31,359	12.3	11
Gen. Baptists, New Connex	117		115		131		363		0.2	
Seventh Day Baptists		12						12		<1
Baptists (undefined)	1,470	522	1,167	177	1,444	746	4,081	1,445	1.9	0.5
Society of Friends	37	648	11	51	16	200	64	899	<1	0.3
Unitarians	165	980	80	60	120	511	365	1,551	0.2	0.5
Moravians	271	462		106	250	307	521	875	0.2	0.3
Wesleyan Methodists:										
Original Connexion	7,140	8,248	5,738	5,525	10,360	11,645	23,238	25,418	10.7	8.9
Primitive Methodists	2,165	989	6,036	1,535	8,162	2,512	16,363	5,036	7.5	1.8
Independent Methodists	163		209		146		518		0.2	
Bible Christians		193		279		425		897		0.3
Wesleyan Association		64		84		72		220		0.1
Wesleyan Reformers	40	4,283	18	954	70	5,812	128	11,049	<0.1	3.9

(continued overleaf)

Calvinistic Methodists:										
Lady Huntingdon's Connex	120	2,304	236	726	144	2,517	500	5,547	0.2	1.9
New Church		35	10		55	32	55	67	<0.1	<1
Brethren	119	443	78	203	135	606	332	1,252		0.4
Isolated Congregations	552	1,328	195	656	792	2,231	1,539	4,305	0.7	1.5
Roman Catholics	995	3,542	442	1,642	85	2,282	1522	7,465	0.7	2.6
Catholic and Apostolic Church	50						50			
Latter Day Saints	100	456	321	620	346	937	767	2,013	<0.1	0.7
Jews		111		17		126		254		<1

Figure 6.3l: Denominational attendance figures and percentages for Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, 1851.

It is clear from these results that both counties are similar in denominational popularity. The largest attendance was at the Anglican churches, followed by the Particular Baptist, Independent, and Wesleyan Methodist Original Connexion. It is only in the final 'top' denomination that differences occur, with Gloucestershire having more attendants at the Wesleyan Reformers meetings, whilst Wiltshire witnesses greater appeal for the Primitive Methodists. In Gloucestershire, the percentages of attendance at nonconformist churches are slightly lower than that of Wiltshire, and the level of Anglicanism is higher, as is the level of Roman Catholicism. However, the numbers are so small this is hardly significant.

When compared to the results of figure 6.3k some discrepancies do occur, indicating the issues in using the results in two formats: number of chapels and number of attendants. The number of chapels provided by denomination appears to be not proportionate to the number of attendants. The Wesleyan Methodists appear to provide the largest number of chapels, followed by the Baptists, the Independents and then other denominations. Naturally the size of the chapels would affect these inconsistent results.

6.3.7 The Physical Evidence

Although the census information has contributed valuable information to the denominational growth of nonconformist chapels, considering the growth in the number of physical structures is also beneficial. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are many inconsistencies and issues of validity in using census information. Through identifying the growth of nonconformity through the number of chapels constructed throughout the time period, following the premise that chapels were constructed out of popularity for that particular sect, the growth and nature of nonconformity can be better understood. It is necessary to remember that chapels often changed denomination over time, and many were not the same denomination by the end of the period under study as they were at the beginning. These changes have been incorporated into this analysis.

In Trowbridge the period 1760 to 1810 appears to be one of relative stability within the level of religious observance (figure 6.3m). The number of chapels within each

denomination remains consistent at one, save for the appearance of a Congregational chapel in the 1770s (the Tabernacle).

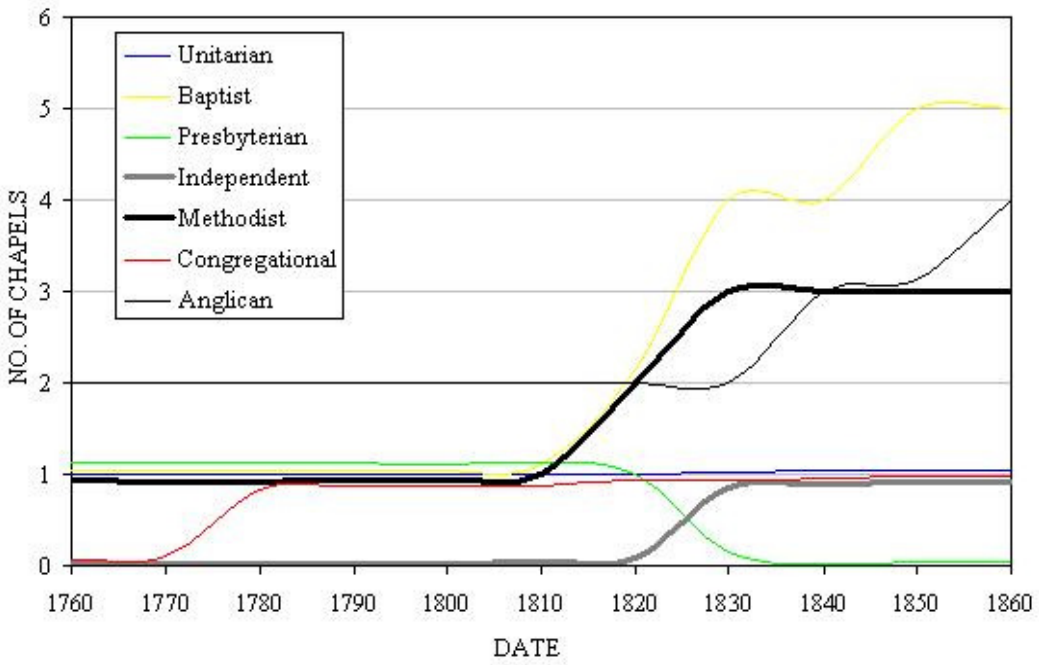


Figure 6.3m: Denominational growth in Trowbridge from the physical evidence

Until 1810, Anglicanism dominated the religious scene and only one chapel each representing the Unitarians, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists were constructed. 1810 to 1830 is the period of most growth in religious observance, especially within the Methodist, and Baptist adherents. A small decline in the level of old dissenting congregations can be seen when Silver Street Presbyterian chapels converted to Independent in the 1820s. The 1830s and 1850s also illustrate the reaction of the Church of England to the increasing nonconformist presence through the construction of Holy Trinity Church in 1838, and St John's Church in 1852.

The growth rates of the nonconformist denominations in Bradford (figure 6.3n) are also relatively consistent until about 1830 with the only denomination experiencing significant growth being the Independents (with two further chapels constructed between 1790 and 1830). This period also sees a decline in the Old Dissenting denominations as a result of the growing popularity of the New Dissenting

denominations. The Methodists experience significant growth slightly earlier than the majority of the other denominations, from 1820 to 1850, whereas the number of Baptist, Congregational and Anglican buildings is later (1840 to 1860, 1850 to 1860, and 1830 to 1840 respectively).

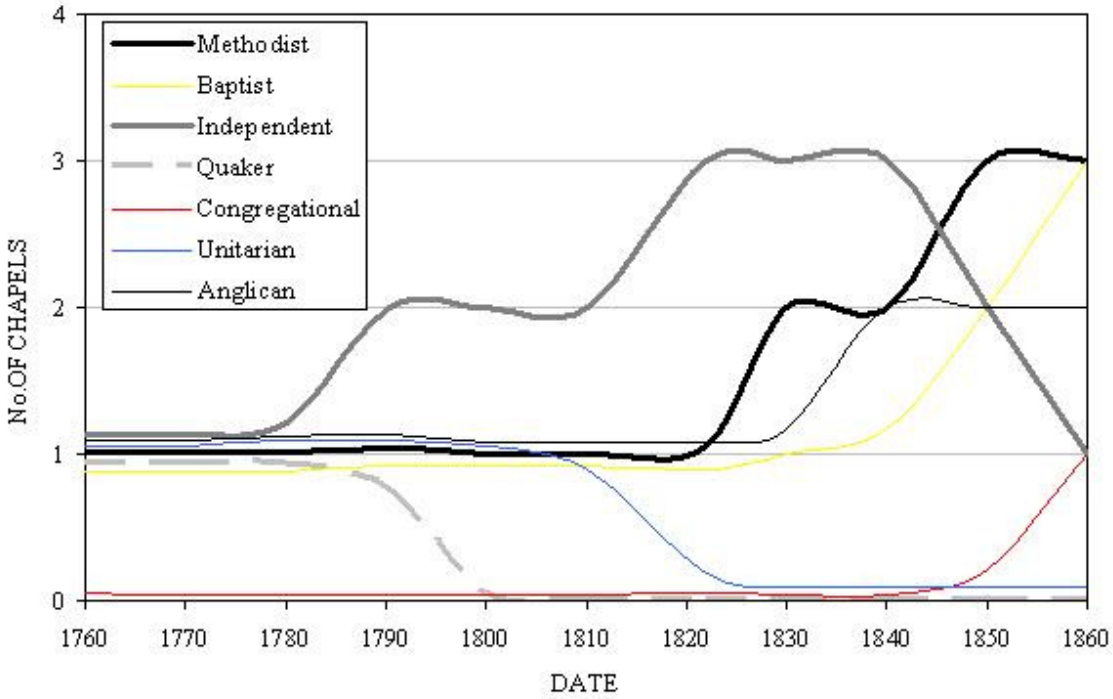


Figure 6.3n: Denominational growth in Bradford from the physical evidence

There are some noticeable differences between Stroud and the Wiltshire case studies (figure 6.3o). Firstly there is a smaller number of chapels established in Stroud by the start of the period under study, than there were in Bradford and Trowbridge, further highlighting that dissent did not develop as early and as easily in Stroud, as discussed in section 6.3, perhaps as a result of the more scattered nature of Stroud in comparison to the more nucleated case studies of Trowbridge and Bradford, as mentioned earlier. There is also a much lower number of Baptist chapels constructed (which do not appear before 1820), and a comparatively higher level of Methodism particularly from 1800, which is the only denomination to outnumber Anglican churches (from 1810). The period between 1800 and 1820 also witnesses the decline of the Older dissenting denominations, as the New Dissenting groups became more popular.

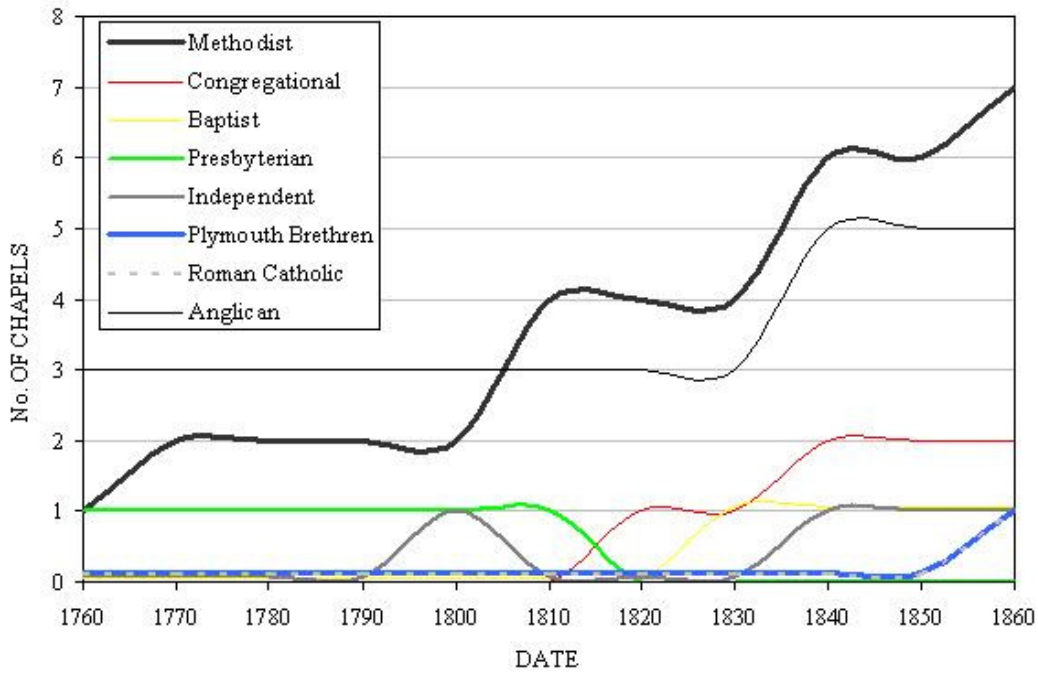


Figure 6.3o: Denominational growth in Stroud from the physical evidence

The period between 1830 to 1840 experiences the largest increase in the number of chapels constructed, followed by another period of stability between 1840 and 1850. Between 1850 and 1860 a greater variety of denominations appears, with the establishment of a Roman Catholic structure and a Plymouth Brethren structure. Although the denominational growth rates of the Stroud chapels appear to be on a smaller scale, and bloom later than the Wiltshire case studies, there appears to be a greater diversity of more unusual sects by the end of the period. This could again be the result of the more scattered, sprawling nature of Stroud. Where neighbourhoods are so close together, as in Trowbridge and Bradford, they are more likely to be dominated by fewer denominations. As communities and neighbourhoods increase in size, there is more opportunity for diversity, and room for a greater variety of groups.

In Stroudwater, there is some fluctuation in the denominational structure between 1760 and 1800; it certainly appears to be a period of establishment and growth, specifically for the Methodist and Congregational sects (figure 6.3p). George Whitefield, as mentioned in Chapter 5, would have had much impact on the growth of Methodism in this region, and the early development and popularity of the Cam Congregational Chapel (the earliest known meeting in Stroudwater) would certainly

have influenced to growth of Congregationalism. As witnessed in the other case studies, the old dissenting Presbyterians go into decline. From 1800 to 1820 only the Methodist denominations increase in number, likely contributing to a reactionary growth period in Anglicanism between 1840 and 1850. Like Stroud, Baptist denominations are much smaller in number, and Methodism is the dominant sect, again likely due to the influence of George Whitefield.

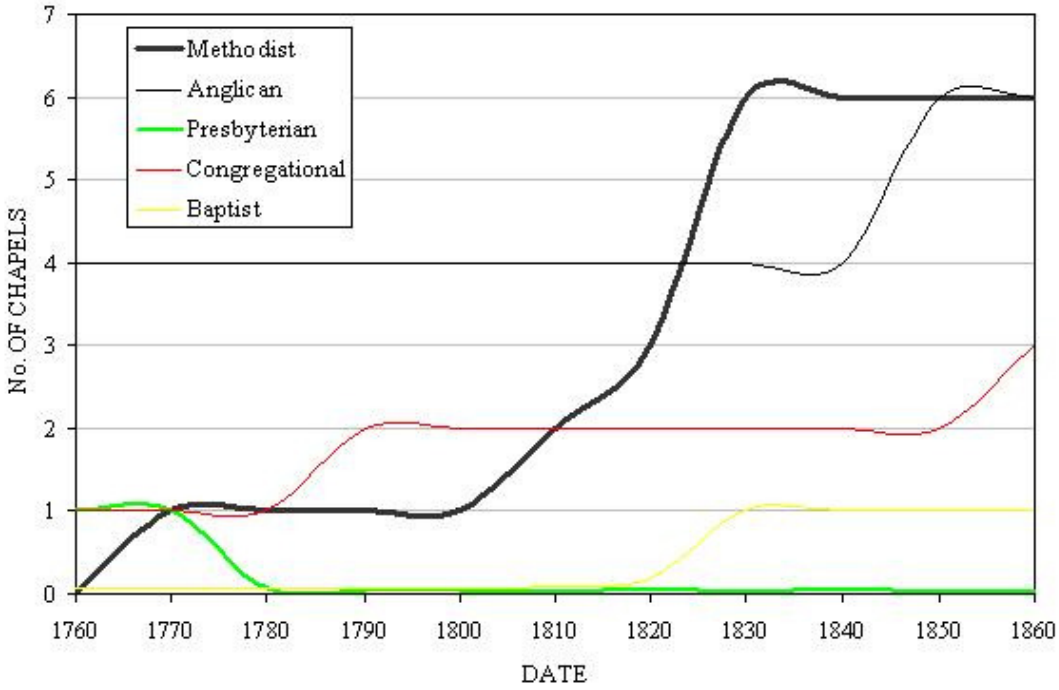


Figure 6.3p: Denominational growth in Stroudwater from the physical evidence

It seems apparent that the Wiltshire case studies had both a larger number, and a greater diversity of nonconformist chapels at an earlier date than Gloucestershire, and that Wiltshire had a more equal balance between Methodists and Baptists, who were the most dominant denominations. In Gloucestershire, the Methodist congregations clearly outnumbered the Baptists, and there also seems to have been a stronger presence of Anglicanism in the latter county. In each of the case studies, regardless of county, the growth of denominations appears relatively consistent to circa 1800 most notably seen in Trowbridge and Stroud, and to a lesser extent in Bradford and Stroudwater. The most significant growth rate period in Wiltshire is from 1820, lasting longer in Trowbridge (to about 1850) than in Bradford (circa 1840). In the Gloucestershire case studies the growth rate seems to gain speed from about 1830,

although in Stroudwater this is less clear. All locations seem to experience a decline in the Old Dissent, particularly the Presbyterians.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented some useful results for the research, considering the architectural and spatial visibility of chapels, the growth of dissent through documentary sources and in the physical evidence, and also the financial expenditure on chapel and community projects by the working classes and the employers alike. These results allow for much interpretation into the social role of religion during the period under study, and therefore need further discussion which is undertaken in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The previous chapter has presented all the results from the analysis undertaken in this research. However, the statistics and results presented need further discussion in order to appreciate the role of chapel culture in the woollen communities. By evaluating them against the economic context of the case studies the social significance of dissenting religions can be better understood:

- Firstly, the growth of dissent for each county is discussed, highlighting periods of popularity through the physical and documentary sources, in order to illustrate its increasing regard and significance in the time period under review.

- Secondly, the development of dissent and its impact on community solidarity and social behaviour is assessed chronologically, by identifying periods of transition with particular reference to the wider social and economic context.

- The traditional contrasting theories outlined in Chapter 1, which question whether dissent and religion were tools for manipulation and control, or the means of worker confidence and solidarity are then explored.

The physical evidence is of paramount importance in this research, providing discourse on the expression of religious identity that enhances historical accounts of the role of religion. The research is centred on the role of chapels as expressions of religious identity, and the architectural and spatial dimensions of such buildings reflect more than merely functional locations for worship. They embody meanings and symbols, their exterior being a canvas for social expression. This aspect of built structures is intrinsic to the research, and clearly illustrates the increasing significance of religion as a key factor in community identity.

7.1 THE GROWTH OF DISSENT

Through using the physical and historical evidence, the development of dissent within the case studies can be identified. In Wiltshire, the evidence suggests that dissenting congregations were established earlier than its neighbouring county, and seemed to preference the Baptists over any other nonconformist denomination. In Gloucestershire, although dissent appeared to flourish later, a more diverse selection of denominations were eventually established, and the populations appeared to favour Methodism over the Baptists, particularly in the more rural areas. As mentioned in the previous chapter, these differences in religious observance in Gloucestershire could be a result of the influence of George Whitefield, and the more dispersed nature of the settlements.

From the sources, it is clear that Trowbridge had a consistently high level of nonconformity from the 1670s through to the end of the period. In the Compton Census it was the location with the highest percentage of nonconformists within the Wiltshire and Gloucestershire examples, excluding North Bradley - well above the average level. The meeting houses licenses for 1689 to 1730 further corroborate this evidence. By the time of the Barrington Census in 1783, Trowbridge was still renowned for having a high proportion of nonconformists, however from 1760 to around 1810 the growth rate appears to have stabilised, according to the number of chapels constructed in the period. Unfortunately the population information prior to 1801 is too inconsistent to enable a comparison between population increase and chapel provision. The meeting house licenses indicate that the period of most growth was 1820 to 1830, which is further corroborated by the congregational statistics (which appeared to be at its peak in the 1820s) and the physical evidence, where there was a sharp increase in chapel provision between 1810 and 1830. From the historical and physical evidence it is clear that the 1820s, and to a lesser extent the 1830s were a critical period in the increase in religious observance.

The information for Bradford indicates that dissent became common a little later there than in Trowbridge, with it having one of the lowest percentages of nonconformists in the cloth parishes at the time of the Compton Census in 1676. By 1750, however, dissent appears to have greatly increased with the town having the highest number of meeting house certificates applied for in Wiltshire, after Trowbridge. This is further confirmed by the Barrington Census of 1783. The physical evidence from 1760 to 1860

indicated that there was a period of consistency between 1760 and 1820, illustrating perhaps that the initial rise of popularity of nonconformity was waning; however the number of chapels constructed showed another period of growth between 1820 and 1850, corroborated further by the meeting house certificates which also increased between 1820 and 1830. Again, as in Trowbridge, the 1820s appeared to be a significant period of growth in the town, and to a lesser extent the 1830s and 1840s.

Nonconformity in Stroud flourished even later than in Bradford. In the Compton Census the percentage of nonconformity was below 1% and by the time of the Benson Census in the mid-eighteenth century it was still very low at only 2%. This is further corroborated by the physical evidence, which indicates a generally lower number of chapels constructed, which does not increase at any great extent until 1830 to 1840, and between 1850 and 1860. The congregation statistics also indicate that the growth rates in Stroud were later, with the peak of attendance being the 1850s. This is not proportionate with the population size, which appeared to be stabilising in this period after a growth between 1811 and 1831. The 1830s and the 1850s seem to be the periods of most growth in religious observance in Stroud. Again, the fact that the communities in Stroud were more geographically dispersed and less nucleated, unlike Trowbridge and Bradford, could explain the later development of dissent. As the woollen industry became mechanised, and the cloth workers were interacting more regularly in the workplace, dissenting beliefs could spread more easily.

The results for the Stroudwater case studies are less consistent, partly as a result of the less available documentary resources. Uley showed high levels of nonconformity at the time of the Compton Census, whereas the level in Dursley and Cam is surprisingly low in comparison. The congregational community in Cam was beginning to develop by this time, and the population in Dursley – being located easily between the two other settlements – may have been travelling to either Uley or Cam for worship. Dissent in these two locations appears to have increased greatly by the time of the Benson census where the proportion of dissenters increased to 12% and 31% respectively. The physical evidence indicated that although there was a period of growth from 1800 to 1820, it continued at a faster pace between 1820 and 1840, and was dominated by an increase in Methodist chapels. The size of the population appears to have had a greater impact on religious observance in the Stroudwater case studies than elsewhere, as the

population increases between 1811 and 1831 before going into large scale decline after 1831. For these case studies, the period of most religious observance appeared to be 1800 to 1820, which is earlier than in any of the other case studies, however since emigration was so popular option in the 1830s and 1840s it is unsurprising that less people were worshipping at the chapels. However, proportionally to the rest of the population, the number of dissenters was still undoubtedly high, and chapel provision was still increasing to c.1830.

In Chapter 2 it was argued by scholars such as Durkheim (1912), Gilbert (1976), Cohen (1985), Gittens (1986), Craib (1998) that community identities and group solidarity were critical in periods of adjustment, stress and uncertainty, of which religion was a primary method in creating security, belonging and a united sense of identity. When the patterns of the growth and decline in religious observance within the case studies is mapped alongside the specific social and economic contexts – considered in detail in Chapters 4 and 5 - it certainly appears that religious observance was indeed dominant in community identity in uncertain and stressful periods.

In all of the case studies the increase in religious observance witnessed through chapel-building activity, census information, congregational statistics and population information all indicate that the 1820s and 1830s were critical periods in the growth of dissent. The periods between 1800 to 1820 and 1840 to 1860 also witnessed smaller growth periods, like bookends to 1820 to 1840.

Although Trowbridge weathered the years of depression better than elsewhere in Wiltshire, the 1820s – particularly from 1825 – were years of severe distress. The year 1825 saw immensely high poor rates with 4,000 people receiving relief off the parish (Rogers 1994: 62) because unemployment rates in the woollen industry had dropped to a third of their normal amount (Mann 1971: 168). By 1830 the industry in the town was in severe decline as evidenced by the Salisbury Journal report that it was "hardly possible to imagine the extent of the distress" (Mann 1971: 171). The 1830s saw some improvement in the county, especially in Trowbridge, where some factories were extended and new machinery was installed indicating that prosperity was recovering (Rogers 1994: 64). In Bradford half of the woollen manufacturers went out of business between 1816 and 1826, with only five left in business by 1833 (Mann 1971: 161) and during the 1820s it was reported that the Bradford weavers were starving (VCH Wilts 7:

45). The improvement of the 1830s in Bradford was small (Mann 1971: 174). The poverty and distress can be seen in the poor rates which increased from £3,784 in 1816, to £8,483 in 1820, remaining virtually consistent until 1831 when it totalled £8,368 (VCH Wilts 7: 49). By 1841 the industry was severely in decline.

The woollen industry suffered similar problems in Gloucestershire. By 1829, there was extreme destitution - especially in nearby villages - and intense distress (Mann 1971: 171; Rogers 1994: 100). By the late 1830s Stroud was in crisis which lasted until c.1842 (Tann 1967: 57; Perry, 2003: 97). In the Stroudwater case studies the workers of the cloth industry witnessed most distress in the late 1820s and the 1830s with large manufacturers such as Edward Jackson, Edward Sheppard, George Dauncey going bankrupt (Mann 1971: 158; Bebbington 2003: 42). By the time Augustus Miles visited Uley in 1839 more than 500 people had emigrated as a result of the lack of work (Perry 2003: 123). The industry in Dursley had largely failed by 1830 (GRO, D690 xii/5) and although Cam seems to have fared better, unemployment did decline and wage rates were abhorrently low (Snelling 2001: 33).

The increasing popularity of dissent, seen through the documentary resources and in the physical evidence, certainly corroborates the theory that religion became far more important in periods of distress and insecurity. However, merely assessing the figures provides only half of the story. By considering the architectural and spatial changes of chapels that also occurred, this need for security can be better seen, with chapels not only becoming larger, but the expression of religious identity through their structures becoming increasingly apparent.

7.2 Religion and the Expression of Identity

It is clear from the previous section that dissent was playing an increasingly important role in the lives of the working classes, increasing in scale and popularity, witnessed in the documentary and physical evidence. However, the physical evidence of the chapels also illustrates the growing significance of religion within the lives of the members, and the increasing confidence of the working classes. These section will focus on the

change in nonconformist expression from before 1760 to c1860, highlighting four predominant phases of transition.

7.2.1 Phase 1: Pre 1760

Although this research is focused on the period c.1760 to c1860, the period prior to this provides the early context of religious buildings in the area. Religious expression in this period was, for the most part, subtle and unadorned.

This is clearly seen in Trowbridge where all of the early chapels are subtle architecturally and are often placed off the street front, accessed via small passages, such as at Silver Street Chapel, Emmanuel Chapel, and perhaps the first Conigre Chapel, although due to its demolition this is less clear. In Bradford, this same pattern was observed. The chapels were generally built in central locations but were 'hidden' both architecturally and spatially. The first Old Baptist Chapel, Morgans Hill Chapel, and Pippet Street Methodist chapel are again all accessed via small passageways, and masked by buildings on the street frontages. Their architecture (excluding the Old Baptist Chapel which is unknown) was subtle with little elaboration which can not be witnessed clearly on approach. The Grove Chapel is a minor anomaly. Although it lies on the outskirts of the town it is elevated and visible on approach. Its architecture, however, was far more subtle, and could have easily been mistaken for a domestic dwelling.

This pattern of hidden chapels and subtle architecture is also witnessed in Stroud. The Old Chapel in Stroud, Rodborough Tabernacle, and the Water Street Chapel in Dursley, all could easily have been mistaken for domestic dwellings.

In early chapels, wealth and toleration have been commonly considered to be the primary influences of architecture and spatial location. Even after the 1689 Toleration Act dissenters experienced persecution, allegedly building 'hidden' chapels or using simple architecture to become inconspicuous (Briggs 1946: 23; Lindley 1969: 19). Similarly, it has been traditionally argued that a lack of financial resources prevented architectural embellishment from occurring (Lindley 1969: 12; Powell 1980: 2).

The analysis has shown that in this period, yes, the chapels do appear to be more spatially and architecturally subtle, however this research argues that this was not wholly a result of persecution or financial constraints. Chapter 4 (section 4.3.7) has illustrated that toleration was exceptionally high in this area. When considered with reference to the physical evidence, one chapel stands out particularly. Cam Congregational Chapel was prominent in the landscape, and could be seen from long distances. Cam had undoubtedly one of the largest nonconformist congregations in the county at that time, which appears to have been easily accepted in the community (Evans 1982: 35).

Economic prosperity in this period, although fluctuating, was also generally good, contesting the theory that financial constraints were a dominant factor in influencing architectural style and spatial location. The depression of the 1750s was nowhere near the level of distress that the industry faced in the nineteenth century, and was soon resolved. It was a period where clothiers became very wealthy, and wages for the cloth workers were still comparatively high. Clothiers certainly worshipped at the chapels. At Cam Chapel, the congregation contained members of influence, and of high education and social status, with prominent clothier families such as the Purnells, Trotmans and Hicks worshipping there (Snelling 2001: 10). The Rodborough Tabernacle also drew in a wide congregation, many of whom travelled over ten miles to attend (Cook, *pers comm.*: November 2007), and being of Calvinist persuasion it would have been popular with the middling and elite classes.

Therefore, in this particular region, although the chapels do appear to be architecturally and spatially hidden for the most part, it does not appear that toleration and financial constraints were as influential as traditional theories suggest. This desire to be inconspicuous was likely to have been influenced by other reasons, of which one would undoubtedly have been the early Puritanical theology of dissenters. The aspiration by nonconformists to disassociate themselves with the 'popery' of the Established Church through ignoring architectural forms associated with them is evident through the simple, vernacular styles. The Gothic windows of the Cam Congregational Chapel indicate that, in a period where Classical architecture had not been fully absorbed into the nonconformist building tradition, Gothic elements persevered, not because of its

association with Anglican Churches, but because it was a known style for religious buildings.

The plain architecture can therefore be explained in part by Puritanical belief. However, this perhaps does not explain so well the inconspicuous spatial locations of early chapels. Chapel communities were a developing location for social interaction, whereby people of similar working environments or social standing could commune together, much like they would do in an inn. Inns, however, were obvious, they had signs on them and were established enough to have their function familiar to the local population. Social disgruntlement, murmurings of dissatisfaction with the political situation and the economy, and economic frustration would be expected in such a location, and therefore perhaps monitored more closely by infiltrators, turncoats, and informers. Kneale (1999) has explored the role of the nineteenth century public house, and has argued that they had "been associated with disorder for centuries" (Kneale 1999: 334). The buildings came under much scrutiny from magistrates, police and local employers for the opportunity they gave in promoting covert meetings and disreputable behaviour. Even the internal spatial arrangement of alehouses and inns were modified to curtail such activities. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century alehouses were often partitioned, creating small drinking rooms that were harder to monitor by outsiders. From the nineteenth century, the *open bar* became popular, incorporating one large room with a single serving bar, enabling social activities and behaviour to be more public (Kneale 1999: 335).

Early chapels, however, had little to advertise them as communal structures, and therefore this research suggests that they provided ideal locations for social activities that needed to be covert. The popular use of converting or using private houses for early nonconformist worship, as witnessed through the meeting house licenses in Wiltshire (section 6.3.1), could also signify this desire to maintain covert activity. This is not to say pockets of volatile resistance were brewing in every early nonconformist chapel in the region during this period. Just the simple act of isolating themselves from juridical and established familiar society could be interpreted as a symbolic act of resistance to the state, and a form of covertly asserting social, political and economic grievances, however small scale.

7.2.2 Phase 2: 1760-1820

The period between 1760 and 1820 appears to have been a transitional stage in the public display of dissenting religion. The social behaviour of their congregations developed outside the immediate chapel confines, mediated and influenced by economic fluctuations in trade. If the theory that religious buildings express community solidarity and increase in social significance in periods of distress, then the structures of this period would convey these tensions. This transition is evident in the physical landscape.

From 1760 onwards, particularly after c.1790, religious expression became more clearly exhibited, and more easily witnessed in the landscape, although not so boldly as in the next phase (1820-1840). The distinctive octagonal shape of the Acre Street Chapel in Stroud advertised it as a religious structure, yet was only visible in the immediate landscape. The Tabernacle in Trowbridge although more architecturally elaborate, was hidden off the street with 'simple' architecture. The trade, during this period, was recovering from the troubles in the 1750s however the increasing threat of the Yorkshire trade, alongside problems in the export market, consistently raised its ugly head (Mann 1971: 47).

As outlined in Chapters 4 and 5, c.1790 to 1820 was a period of fluctuation in the woollen industry. For the cloth workers, tensions and economic insecurities began to take their toll, as unemployment increased and wage rates were reduced. The increasing incorporation of new machinery such as the scribbling engines and the flying shuttle, particularly in Wiltshire, were met with protest and riot activity. The 1790s, in both counties, saw riots and violent behaviour (Moir 1957; Randall 1991; Perry 2003; Palmer and Neaverson 2005), alongside legal petitioning against obsolete statutes and machinery.

The physical evidence for c.1790 to 1820, through the number of chapels constructed, and their architectural and spatial expression, undoubtedly reflects these increasing tensions. Each of the case studies witnessed a growth in the number of chapels constructed between 1790 and 1820, and those that were built (or rebuilt) are architecturally and spatially more visible than many of their predecessors.

Islington Down Chapel in Trowbridge had overtly Gothic religious architecture in a prominent growing locale, whilst Zion Chapel –although was architecturally more subtle - was central and very visible in the urban landscape. Emmanuel Chapel (rebuilt 1810), although remaining hidden behind street buildings, expressed religious identity through stained glass windows, and classical architecture, which was becoming closely associated with nonconformist building traditions in this period. Coppice Hill Chapel in Bradford is the flagship example of this mounting need for visible solidarity in times of stress, being one of the most architecturally elaborate and spatially visible structures in all of the case studies. This very public display of religious identity was evident to the local community, and the rest of the town. This increase in chapel visibility is also evident in Gloucestershire. The second Dursley Tabernacle had elaborate Gothic architecture, and an elevated central position on a main route through Dursley. Union Chapel in Uley also used Gothic features on a Classical canvas to reflect its religious affiliation, and is again elevated and located within the heart of the working class district. Ebley Chapel in Stroud further reflects this trend, as do the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Dursley and Bethel Chapel in Bradford, although to a slightly lesser extent.

Specific architectural features further illustrate this theory. Rendell (2002) argues that text enables our understanding of the relationship between space and society, and that text has implications on the person who reads it. Text develops meaning when attached to a physical object which creates a deeper understanding of the object or process to which it refers. This is particularly useful if that object or process is ambiguous (Mitchell 2005: 10). In the case of nonconformist structures as a result of their fragmented and late establishment, there was no building tradition in place for chapels, resulting in a variety of architectural forms (Drummond, 1934: 43). Name plaques eliminated any ambiguity of the building function, and this concept was becoming more important to the congregations, their religious identity being more easily and visibly expressed. The period between 1810 and 1835 witnessed the largest increase in name plaques, which had begun to increase from c.1790. For the first time, chapels were advertising their function, in a permanent and obvious way.

The use of stained glass further reflected religious affiliation. Pugin equated Gothic architecture, and consequently stained glass, with Christianity (Harrison 1980: 17),

stating that features such as stained glass windows contributed to the "the sublimity of Christian worship" (Pugin 1969 [1836]: 5). Prior to c.1850 stained glass was rarely used on secular structures, and was synonymous with ecclesiastical buildings. The iconography of religious narrative is rare on nonconformist stained glass, partly as a result of their desire to remove themselves from Anglicanism and perhaps partly as a result of expense, however by incorporating stained glass, their religious affiliation became more lucid.

It is clear that religious expression by dissenters was becoming far more evident in this period, and the buildings provided focal points - both architecturally and spatially - for social interaction and collectivity. This research argues that this increase in social interaction would have promoted group solidarity in this period, and influence group behaviour and activity as a result.

Perry (2003) argued that organisation amongst the cloth workers was rare, due to the scattered nature of the putting out system. This argument ignores the socialisation that occurred through chapel membership, and through attending other social events and functions. This period saw an increase in organised worker combinations. Shearmen had used techniques of strike activity, approaching court and Parliament, and riot activity during the Wiltshire Outrages implying that they were unionised, if not nationally but in federal style unions (Randall 1982). The riots and attacks on property were carefully planned, and historical sources give many examples of combinations being broken and dispersed. Other locations for socialisation did exist; chapels were not the only ones. Bradford saw the development of Liberal and Conservative clubs by the end of the eighteenth century (VCH Wilts 7: 6). Inns and alehouses were popular locations for political meetings, as outlined in Chapter 5, yet these were reserved primarily for men. Chapels, however, were another location for socialisation, aided further by the dissenting role of providing educational facilities, and group activities such as fundraising, which thereby may have impacted on increased participation in protest activity.

For example, during this period within the case studies, chapels were establishing friendly societies such as those at Ebley (VCH Glos 10: 267), and clothing clubs administered by members of the congregation, such as at Randwick (R.H.A 1989: 12). Prayer meetings and bible classes were becoming popular. Increased fundraising

activities for building and enlargement would have also contributed to socialisation. The physical evidence for enlargements and improvements of chapel structures indicate how much building activity was taking place during this period, enhancing cohesiveness and interaction. Enlargement activity was at its highest between 1760 and 1820, with other small scale improvements also being carried out.

The results from the building activity also indicate that Sunday Schools were appearing during this period. Historically, the earliest references to them are at the Water Street Chapel in Dursley in 1715, however it was not until the 1770s and 1780s that more evidence of chapel Sunday schools emerge. In Gloucestershire the Old Tabernacle in Dursley had a Sunday school by 1778, and there was also one in Rodborough by 1784, and one in the Tabernacle in Trowbridge, Wiltshire, by 1785. Chapels such as the Old Meeting in Stroud, and the Old Baptist Chapel in Bradford also have Sunday schools by the turn of the century. Increased literacy enabled the reading of secular, as well as religious literature, and consequently political pamphlets and newspapers were more widely available to the working classes, further enhancing their role in protest movements. This was also influenced by education outside the school system, with the inclusion of adults also becoming more popular during this period. In 1790 the Anglican minister collaborated with the dissenting minister at the Old Meeting in Stroud to establish a book society, to promote reading and literacy (Hoy 1987: 50). Reverend John Burder at the Old Meeting in Stroud (1811-1843) directed more than 40 religious and philanthropic societies, often lecturing on Christian duty (Hawkins Fisher 1994: 253) and in Trowbridge, a dissenting academy was established in 1780 to provide education for dissenters who could not attend Oxford or Cambridge (Rogers 1994: 53).

Religious expression and popularity was clearly increasing between 1790 and 1820, which when considered in conjunction with the social tensions and upheaval in the industry is understandable. Dissenting religious structures were becoming more visible, and elaborate, suggesting that chapel communities were becoming willing to assert their identity in a more overt way. Increasing protest activity considered alongside the role of chapels indicate that membership into a chapel culture certainly aided the developing confidences of the working classes, as traditional theories suggested (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.2).

7.2.3 Phase 3: 1820-1840

The period between 1820 and 1840 showed a continuing increase in the public visibility of chapels that had begun to emerge in the previous phase. Their role in educational and social activity is also significantly amplified during this period. Through the results of the architectural and spatial analysis, congregational statistics, increase in chapel structures and building activity, this research suggests that this period appears to be the one of most visibility of religious expression, and also the period of most protest and group activity within chapel communities. When considered alongside the economic and social context of the period (in which the woollen industry was facing its most severe depression) the research illustrates that affiliation with a dissenting culture was an important tool in increasing group solidarity, and enabling more cohesive social behaviour. The increasing importance as chapels as a physical and visual foci of identity was emerging from 1800, however appeared to reach its peak during this period.

The display of religious expression is clearly obvious in the chapel architecture, seen in the elaborate and ornate structures of Bethesda Chapel and Manvers Street Methodist Chapel in Trowbridge, with central prominent locations. The theme is further reflected in Bradford through Zion Chapel which dwarfs the nearby Grove Chapel through its size, architecture and prominence. In Stroud, John Street Chapel and Bedford Street Chapel express their religious affiliation through ornate architecture and central locations in the commercial heart of the town, whilst in expanding suburbs such as Randwick and Uplands, smaller chapels like Randwick Wesleyan Chapel and Stroud Primitive Methodist Chapel, although less ornate, certainly display religious identity enhanced further by name plaques and stained glass. The use of name plaques in this period was prolific, and in two cases large religious inscriptions further contributed to religious expression in a very obvious way. The use of stained glass to identify religious affiliation was also used on a higher percentage of chapels, such as Manvers Street Methodist Chapel and Randwick Wesleyan Chapel. This is not to say that dissenting congregations were attempting to affiliate themselves with Anglican architectural styles and tools, but realised the association of stained-glass to religious structures, and used it to express their own religious identity.

Randwick Wesleyan Chapel is a valuable case study, being one of the poorest districts of Stroud, as outlined in Chapter 5, section 5.3.4. Poverty in the village was desperate and the weavers were largely dependent on poor relief in the eighteenth century (Perry 2003: 123), and "entirely destructive of cleanliness, decency and morality" (GRO, D4693/13). When William Knee, a Methodist preacher in the Stroud Circuit, arrived in the early nineteenth century, his religious fervour drastically improved the community. The substantial stone chapel (rebuilt in 1824) has large Gothic windows and stone tracery, pediment with date plaque, stained glass, bellcote and clock (since removed), which certainly did not reflect the intense poverty of the community. Lying in a central location within the village, overlooking the Stroud Valleys, it provided a clear focal feature in the community, expressing status, wealth and overt religious identity.

The financial expenditure on chapel structures in this period of depression also indicates that religious expression was of paramount importance, and through fundraising activity (which appears to have increased in this period), further socialisation was almost certainly a product. Considering that chapels were largely funded through subscription and fundraising, to construct elaborate, substantial chapels like Randwick Wesleyan Chapel was no easy task.

Bethesda Chapel in Trowbridge was constructed in 1822, costing £2,100 (VCH Wilts 7: 161), and the two most elaborate chapels in Stroud (John Street Baptist Chapel, 1824, and Bedford Street Chapel, 1836) were both expensive at £2,000 and £3,000 respectively (Wicks N.D.: 6; GRO, D2537 5/1). As Wicks so rightly states "there can hardly have been a more unpromising time for the raising of money for a charitable purpose than the second quarter of the nineteenth century", and he eloquently observes that in order to do this successfully was a symbol of the increased support of religious purposes during harsh periods (N.D. 15). In the first 30 years of the nineteenth century wage rates had reduced by 80% (Hoy 1987: 26) and this further illustrates the level of commitment and dedication that the community had to providing their centre of religious worship, and furthermore providing a structure that expressed status, wealth and religious affiliation.

Bedford Street Chapel in Stroud was constructed in the same year that the Stroud Poor Law Union was constituted, and the workhouse was opened the following year. The structure is very ornate with fluted ionic columns, a Venetian window, a circular stair

tower and masonry elaborations. To provide £3,000 for the construction of such a magnificent place of worship at this time was "beyond human comprehension" (Hoy 1989: 28). Manvers Street Methodist Chapel, another elaborate structure with Grecian architecture, elevated and central, cost over £4,600 to build further illustrating the significance of religious identity. Appendix 3.4 illustrated the sources of finances for the building of this chapel. The money for this venture came from public subscription, gifts, loans and fundraising activities, further demonstrating the importance of dissenting religion to the communities in which it was placed, through the amount that was donated and raised.

There are some less elaborate examples of dissenting chapels in this period, however for the most part they are still clearly religious and hold central and visible locations in the landscape. Staverton Chapel in Trowbridge is one example, as is Cam Wesleyan Chapel, and Dursley's Boulton Lane Chapel. This illustrates that even the comparably 'simple' structures were still publicly visible as religious buildings during this period.

The congregational statistics further illustrate the increased popularity of dissenting religions, particularly in Trowbridge and Bradford, where congregational membership appears to have been at its highest in this period. Although the congregational statistics for Stroud indicate that chapel membership was at its highest in the 1850s, both John Street Chapel and the Old Chapel show increased congregation sizes during this period. At John Street Chapel the congregation rose from 70 in 1827 to 249 in 1838, whereas at the Old Chapel membership was described as 'scanty' in 1810, yet increased to 210 by 1835 (VCH Glos 11: 140). The differences between Wiltshire and Gloucestershire can be explained in part by the level of emigration that took place in the latter county as a result of the depression, far higher than the level in Wiltshire. Emigration from Uley was particularly popular. William Augustus Miles reports how emigration had been greatly promoted in the village through assisted passages paid for by parochial funds sending around 500 people to America, Australia and Canada (Miles 1839: 528-529). The Chapel membership rolls contain many annotations recording the members who emigrated abroad at this time (see, for example GRO, D2537 1/1, and D2626 1/1).

Between 1820 and 1840, it would also appear that the social functions of dissent were at its highest. Educational improvements and political reform movements became a

significant aspect of dissenting culture (Hansen 1994: 137). This research argues that these movements influenced the social activities of the working classes in the wider community, and promoted an increased sense of class consciousness.

Stroud was an eminent centre for reform activity, led by dissenters. Benjamin Parsons, the preacher at Ebley Chapel, was notorious for his political campaigns, leading his congregation – often consisting of around 1200 members, to the forefront of politics. He regularly lectured on the French Revolution, Chartism, the anti-slavery movement and the repeal of Corn Laws, and was an active campaigner for social reform and the improvements for the working classes. The Chartists of Stroud were said to have claimed him as their own (GRO, NC97: 620-624). William Yates of the John Street Baptist Chapel was another dissenting minister who found reform movements close to his heart. He tool a leading role in the anti-slavery movement and lectured on the evils of slavery in the 1820s (Wicks N.D. 11). Chartism was another popular movement amongst the dissenters, and in Trowbridge a Chartist group licensed a building as a 'democratic chapel', although no further evidence of this building could be obtained (Rogers 1994: 66).

Dissenters, led by influential men such as Parsons and Yates, were intrinsic to political affairs in this period. Petitions against slavery, and the repeal of Test and Corporation Acts were common in the 1820s, of which the campaigns were often led by dissenters (Walmsley 1990: 54). In this period 419 petitions were produced in the region against slavery, Corn Laws and others, and although only 35 came specifically from dissenting congregations, many more would certainly have been directed by people with dissenting affiliations, and Walmsley suggests that they were the primary political activists in the area during this period (Walmsley 1990: 626).

Chapels continued to provide socialisation activities through the increasing development of benefit societies, education, and clubs, which became apparent in the previous phase. John Burder of the Old Chapel in Stroud, was continuing his philanthropic work through developing the British and Foreign Bible Society with the Anglican curate John Williams (Walmsley 1990: 45). Benjamin Parsons lectured on animal physiology, mechanics, horticulture, agriculture, geography, music and elocution, further enhanced by the opening of the British School there in 1840. The

chapel by this point also had benefit societies, literary societies, a library and discussion classes (GRO, NC97: 621).

During this period, the majority of building ventures of chapels are Sunday schools, provided for both adult and children alike in many cases, indicating their significance. Emmanuel, Zion, the Conigre, Silver Street and Bethesda in Trowbridge all have schoolrooms built in this period, and the Old Meeting in Stroud added two. Walmsley (1990: 119) reports that for every child attending a day school in Stroud in 1838, seven more were attending a Sunday school. The impact Sunday schools would have had on social behaviour is highly influential, and again the process of uniting to raise funds for such endeavours was also a symbol of increasing group cohesiveness. Other alterations and enlargements also occurred in this period, further indicating that although the depression was having a significant effect on the lives of the working classes, they did not cease to focus on religious activity. One significant example is the introduction of gas lighting into Coppice Hill Chapel in Bradford in 1836 (see Appendix 3.2). One wonders whether this was at all necessary considering the dire economic situation in the town at the time.

The research argues that this heightened level of socialisation, and confidence in identity expression, was also reflected in the protest activity of the period. The 1820s and early 1830s witnessed large-scale protest activity in both counties, which were taking on highly organised forms. Archer (2000) argued that popular protest and riot activity were local politics, and conservative in approach. Thompson's analysis of eighteenth-century food riots illustrated that riot activity was not purely reactionary, but an expression of the desire to preserve traditional customs and values, and their activities were legitimised through popular consensus developed through shared experience and perceptions of their own plight (Thompson 1971). This same approach can be applied to the South West woollen workers. Although many processes were already being undertaken in central locations, such as the finishing processes in fulling mills, increasing mechanisation such as the scribbling machine, carding engine and slubbing billy, and spinning jenny (for the preparatory processes), and milling machinery, gig mills and shear frames (in the finishing trades) meant that larger spaces with more power were required to run them (Palmer and Neaverson 2005: 71). The cloth workers feared the factory, for the change in custom that they were used to.

Having strict working hours, controlled breaks, and more surveillance meant a loss of freedom and a "conscious resistance to the passing of an old way of life" (Thompson 1991: 448). Higher unemployment through trade depression and increased machinery also resulted in lower wages for the traditional craft industries, a second influence to protest and riot activity.

In Wiltshire the activity remained largely violent with mobs attacking mills and clothiers. By 1839 Trowbridge was said to be in a state of almost open rebellion where factories were forced to close, property was attacked and workers marched the streets with firearms (Rogers 1994: 66). The situation in Gloucestershire was different, with more peaceful activity being the dominant form of protest, although rioting did occur in places like Wotton under Edge (Perry 2003: 115), and Uley (Bebbington, 2003: 42). The situation had got so bad by the mid 1830s that military troops had to be stationed in Dursley and Uley (Perry 2003: 116). Although there is no current evidence linking the leaders of these protest movements to dissenters, it is probable that if the Quarter Session accounts were consulted, and leaders or those arrested were identified, some would also be evident in chapel registers. The influence of libraries, lectures, and increased literacy through the Sunday school movement, allowed deeper understanding of political issues, and – considering the size and prominence of the industry in the chosen case studies – many who protested against increasing mechanisation, unemployment and lowered wage rates, had nonconformist affiliations.

Combinations continued, and new union clubs emerged. In Wiltshire in the late 1820s a Union Club modelled on their Yorkshire counterparts was established choosing selective striking as its technique of action. Some strikes lasted over two months in length (Rogers 1994: 100). In 1825, during the first stages of economic panic, the membership to the Weavers Union increased from 400 to 5000 in a matter of days, with subscriptions being paid to finance the sick and infirm, strike action, and legal representation (Moir 1957: 254). An enquiry into secret combinations commissioned by the Government recorded that the majority of members were dissenters, and that the meetings were led with hymns and prayers (GRO, D4693/14)

During this period it is clear that the growing involvement of dissenters into politics and social reform, and the increasing expression or religious identity that was becoming apparent in Phase 2, soared between 1820 and 1840, amplified on a large and more

obvious scale. Increased educational facilities and societies provided by dissenting groups appear to have influenced community behaviour, indicating the significance of nonconformity at this time. Religious identity, and the expression of group solidarity, was exhibited through religious architecture and space to a level not witnessed before.

7.2.4 Phase 4: 1840 to 1860

There appears to have been a transition in the expression of religious identity in the period after 1840. When new chapels were constructed few architectural embellishments occurred, and the structures were remarkably plain in comparison to previous decades.

The simplicity and hidden spatial nature of the Plymouth Brethren rooms in Stroud can be explained through their theological association and their reversal back to Puritanical Christian worship, much like the early plainer chapels of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Primitive Methodist chapels are often plainer structures architecturally so it is no wonder that Sladesbrook Chapel in Bradford (1845) and Zion Chapel in Stroud (1856) are nowhere near as elaborate as Bedford Street Chapel or Manvers Street Methodist Chapel, for example. These two chapels are plainer architecturally, however their religious affiliation is clear through their iconic gable-ended Classical architecture, and name plaques, and their location in prominent locations, directed by the growth of town expansion. However even the denominations that had previously included elaborate designs chose plainer styles in this period. Providence Baptist Chapel in Bradford (1858) was converted from a row of terraced housing, whilst Upper Studley (1850) had little architectural adornment save for a name plaque, and a gable end, distinguishing it from a domestic dwelling. The Quarry Chapel (1852) near Cam also follows this trend.

Trowbridge is an exception, perhaps resulting from its better survival of the depression and relative prosperity in comparison to Bradford and to the Gloucestershire case studies, particularly through its large incorporation of steam power into factories. The Bethel Chapel and the Conigre Chapel were both rebuilt during the 1850s and express the increasing popularity of Gothic revivalism – very elaborate and clearly religious. In Stroud, the Old Chapel was refronted with a detailed Romanesque façade; however this

was funded largely by Samuel Marling (VCH Glos 11: 140) and therefore had less impact on the need for fundraising and subscription from the poorer members of the community.

All of the chapels constructed in this period still clearly expressed their religious function, and still maintained prominent locations within their immediate surroundings, however the level of self-funded public display of religious identity had declined, excluding Trowbridge.

The addition of specific features associated with religious architecture also became more inconsistent than it had in the previous period. The proportion of chapels incorporating permanent name plaques declined in the Stroudwater case studies, perhaps as a result of the increasing use of Gothic Revivalism in this period to express religious affiliation, whilst remaining fairly consistent in Trowbridge. In Bradford and Stroud however, the incorporation of the use of name plaques continued to increase witnessed at Sladesbrook Primitive Methodist Chapel in Bradford, and Zion Primitive Methodist Chapel in Rodborough. Providence Baptist Chapel (Bradford) and the Plymouth Brethren Rooms (Stroud) also identify their function through using inscribed lettering over the entrances. The declining fortunes of the woollen industry in all except Trowbridge could explain the continuing use of plaques, where insecurity and disruption were still considerable influences in the lives of the working classes, reflected in the increasing need to consolidate their religious identities.

Only the Conigre Chapel in Trowbridge added stained-glass windows in this period, with the proportion of this feature declining in all of the other case studies. As Trowbridge was more prosperous during this period, this is perhaps understandable.

Large-scale building activity did take place in this period, particularly in Trowbridge where the most money was spent. The prominent example is the construction of the schoolroom for the Tabernacle in 1840 which cost circa £2,500 (VCH Wilts 7: 162). The evidence collated for expenditure does overall decrease in this period in all case studies, with only relatively minor outlays for small alterations, and addition of organs. The evidence presented in Appendix 3.4 appears to identify reduced spending, save for a few exceptions, and could explain the reduced elaboration of chapel architecture to financial problems.

However, further alterations took place of which their financial expenditure is not known (see Appendix 3.2), indicating that, despite the continuing economic problems (although improving in this period), expenditure on religious projects was still important. Alterations and enlargements continued, particularly through the addition of schoolrooms (see for example, Bethesda and Manvers Street Chapel in Trowbridge, and the Old Chapel and the Primitive Methodist Chapel in Stroud), alterations and additions of galleries (Silver Street Chapel in Trowbridge, and Bedford Street Chapel in Stroud) alongside further smaller additions, particularly dominated by the installation of organs (of which Manvers Street Chapel in Trowbridge, John Street Chapel in Stroud, Randwick Wesleyan Chapel, and Bethel Chapel and Bradford are all examples). Furthermore, membership figures were still high, illustrating that the interest in nonconformity had not declined. This period saw the greatest level of attendance of dissenters in Stroud, and figures were still high throughout all of the case studies, illustrated by the 1851 Religious Census.

It is evident that money was still being spent on the improvement of chapel facilities, and through the construction of new chapels and the size of the congregations it is clear that religious observance was still a significant focus in everyday life. This is further illustrated by the architectural elaboration, save for a few exceptions, and certainly in the prominent locations that the majority of these chapels held, and their visibility in the wider landscape, on busy road sides or in the centre of expanding communities. Religious expression however, was not at the level it had been in the previous two decades.

The social functions of chapel culture were maintained. However, from the evidence collected there appeared to be less involvement in political campaigns and reform movements. Sunday schools continued to be constructed, as listed in Appendix 3.2, indicating that education were still primary goals of nonconformist chapels, and the friendly societies established in the preceding decades were likely to have continued.

The dissenters were still involved in some political and social reform movements although it appears it was to a lesser extent. John Burder, the influential preacher at the Old Chapel in Stroud gave up his position in 1842 due to ill health (Hoy 1987: 31) and there is little evidence to suggest that the succeeding ministers had as much interest in social reform and adult education. Benjamin Parsons of Ebley Chapel died in 1855,

although he carried on his influential reform activities until his death. Many reform movements that had been so prominent within the working classes in the previous decades appeared to have been declining in number and influence. Chartism remained the most popular into the 1840s and meetings were held at the Golden Fleece Inn in Stroud, and then into properties licensed by dissenters for worship. In 1842 a demonstration took place on Rodborough Hill attended by over 5000 people, however after 1842 Chartist activities in Stroud appear to decline. There were a few minor revivals in the 1840s led by dissenting ministers who produced a petition in 1838 for universal suffrage comprising of 3000 signatures (Walmsley 1990: 219-228). Trowbridge remained a centre for Chartist activity into the 1840s (Rogers 1994: 66). When slavery was abolished in 1833 the community of Paganhill erected a monument to the anti-slavery movement in the grounds of Farmhill Park, belonging to Henry Wyatt, clothier of Vatch Mills. The Stroud Anti-Slavery Association continued to campaign into the late 1830s and 1840s to extend the rights of the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act. Throughout the documentary sources, reform activity outside Chartism was rare outside Stroud. Stroud appears to be a significant location in reform movements, perhaps contributed by a higher level of influential ministers and paternalistic employers.

Perhaps surprisingly considering the continuing poverty of the cloth workers, protest activity also declined. There are few references to protest activity of any form after 1838, which is highly unexpected considering the level of activity that took place in the preceding two decades. In the Miles Report of 1839, Samuel Sevill reported that he believed their spirit to have been broken, and that they "submitted so quietly to their fate", adding that their scattered nature prevented further action (Walmsley 1990: 107). The previous section has already shown that the dispersed nature of the putting-out system had little impact on preventing protest activity, however it is clear that something had changed, and that the cloth industry workers had given up their fight.

Preserving the traditional customs of the old woollen trade was no longer a focus of protest activity, again witnessed in the decline of violent (and peaceful) protest activity. There are many possible explanations for this decline. Fifty years of battle and hardship may have taken their toll, as Walmsley suggests, and the cloth workers may have purely given up the battle. By the 1840s and 1850s a new generation of cloth workers were

developing, those who had only ever worked in large loomshops or factories, and consequently the fight for old customs may not have been so important to them. As the power loom began to be incorporated into factories in the 1840s, the size of the domestic trade reduced further and, by the end of this period, was confined to only a few areas, such as the radiating villages around Trowbridge.

Religion unquestionably played a primary role in the lives of the working classes, seen through the continuing introduction of Sunday schools, benefit societies and subscription and fundraising activities. However this phase is dominated by a reduction in protest activity, and ostentatious outward expression of religious identity, although this is not to say religious expression was minimal. Financial constraints do not appear to have been too influential in this decline in religious expression, seen in the extent of building activity that took place within chapel communities. The prosperity of Trowbridge may have certainly contributed to the construction of the two elaborate chapels that were built.

This research argues that as the cloth workers came to accept their new positions in the wool trade, seen in the decline of protest activity, alongside the reduced level of depression and poverty, the need for such overt displays of identity and group expression declined. The crisis was over, and more importantly to the cloth workers, so was the fight. Although dissent remained a significant social and religious focus in the lives of the working classes, the need to express this group cohesiveness and solidarity into the physical landscape was lessened, although not completely lost.

7.3 QUESTIONING TRADITIONAL THEORIES OF DISSENT

In Chapter 1 the two prominent traditional theories regarding the role of dissent were outlined. The first approach argued that religion produced submissiveness, increased morality and thereby resulted in good behaviour and a decline in radicalism. The second suggested that the impact of religion (and particularly dissent) promoted learning, political and social awareness, culminating in increased working class confidence and independence, challenging the existing economic system of deference.

The previous section has demonstrated that religious identity became more significant and apparent during periods of distress and was clearly reflected through the architectural forms and spatial contexts of religious structures. However, useful as this analysis is, it does little to answer the wider questions of the role of dissent without further discussion of its physical and social impact.

7.3.1 The Halévy Thesis: nonconformity and resistance in the South West

There is some reference in the historical evidence that suggests dissent did have a calming effect on the working classes. For instance, in Randwick prior to the construction of the Wesleyan Chapel, William Knee described the population as "entirely destructive of cleanliness, decency and morality" (GRO, D4693/13), and were alleged to have spent the Sabbath in states of drunkenness (Fennemore 1893: 14). However, the advertisement for subscription for the construction of a new chapel in 1824 described them as "clean, neat and industrious" and "equal, if not superior to surrounding parishes", with poor relief declining, and "little crime" (R.H.A 1989: 14). With the construction of a Baptist Church in Stroud, the reports to the Assembly Meetings in 1838 indicated that the spiritual prosperity of the congregation during the years of depression had resulted in a calmer community (Wicks N.D: 15). In Trowbridge the expansion of chapel culture was said to have a significant calming effect on the community.

It is perhaps not surprising that religious doctrine had a soothing effect on the congregations. The emphasis that dissent, and particularly Methodism, put on hard work and frugality, and that diligence and industriousness would contribute to personal salvation would not have been lost on the working classes. Thompson (1991: 451) argued that religiosity made the average worker far more methodical, punctual, reserved and less spontaneous and violent.

However, when the evidence of protest activity in the woollen districts is considered alongside this theory, the argument for religion contributing to submissiveness in the workforce is greatly weakened. The physical and documentary evidence has indicated an increase in dissent, particularly between 1800 and 1840, during a period of increased

violent and peaceful protest activity over the introduction of machinery, the regulation of wages, and the threat of the loss of traditional values, customs and status, in both counties.

What is perhaps more significant is that protest and riotous activity became more frequent, more violent and more extensive from the 1790s onwards, than it did in any period beforehand. Moreover, the *nature* of protest activity changed. The activity in Gloucestershire illustrates this well. Protest activity in Gloucestershire was popular throughout the eighteenth century; however it was dominated by legal activities such as petitioning, and more violent activity was less common. From the 1790s, however, as wages were reduced and there was more threat of unemployment and poverty, violent attacks and organised strike action became more common. For example, in Uley in 1793 the military were called in to disperse the weavers who were trying to pull down clothiers houses (Bebbington 2003: 41), and by 1828 troops were stationed at Cam and Dursley, where weavers who worked under price were stoned by the mob (Moir 1957: 262). The year 1825 saw serious riots across Stroud and the surrounding area triggered by the reducing wage rates, and further exacerbated by the increasing introduction of flying shuttles (Loosely 1993: 4). This type of activity indicates that the rising popularity of dissent did little to quieten the working classes, as Halévy and others suggested.

Furthermore, although Halévy's theory does relate to nonconformity in general, it is specifically focused on Methodism, and particularly its effect on the middle and elite working classes, which prevented leadership in radical activity. The denominational structure of dissent from the physical evidence in Gloucestershire indicates that Methodism was the most popular sect. Although the number of Methodist chapels certainly increased in the Wiltshire case studies in the nineteenth century, there were still only two Methodist chapels in each location by 1850. Conversely, in Gloucestershire, Stroud had six Methodist places of worship by 1860, as did Stroudwater. The increase in violent protest activity, alongside the growth in Methodism during this period, indicates that Methodism and a decline in protest activity were not necessarily synonymous.

In Wiltshire, where the activity was consistently dominated by violent protest, the link between nonconformity and the decline in radical behaviour is also weak. Wiltshire was more Baptist than Gloucestershire. The meeting house certificates illustrated that by 1750 the number of Baptist, Quaker and Presbyterian certificates was virtually equal, however the Baptists appeared to witness a boom in popularity from the certificates between 1790 and 1860, and particularly 1820 to 1840. This is reflected in the physical evidence. Both of the Wiltshire case studies show an increase in the number of Baptist chapels constructed from 1810 onwards with particular growth periods being 1810 to 1830, and 1840 to 1850 (for Trowbridge) and 1830 to 1860 (for Bradford). By the time of the 1851 Religious Census the Particular Baptists were one of the most popular nonconformist denominations, with more places of worship provided for all varieties of Baptists in Wiltshire than Gloucestershire. In Gloucestershire, the growth in Baptist congregations is less noticeable. The Benson Census indicates that by c.1750 the denomination was equal in popularity to the Quakers and Presbyterians, and although the physical evidence indicates it became more favoured than the other two sects as the period progressed, it never had the attractiveness in the Gloucestershire case studies as it had in Wiltshire. Only one Baptist chapel was constructed in Stroud and one in Uley – both in the 1820s. The preference to Baptist worship in the Wiltshire case studies indicates that an increase in protest activity was not solely associated with Methodism.

However, it could also be argued that Methodism and other nonconformist groups contributed to the *decline* in protest activity *after* the mid 1830s. In both counties protest activity against the woollen industry was virtually non-existent after 1834, however dissent had been existent in both counties for over 200 years by this point, and Methodism had arrived around 100 years previously. From the early eighteenth century, bread riots and protest activity against the woollen industry was occurring, and it is difficult to understand how such denominations could be so influential in reducing violent behaviour, yet take so long in having such an effect. Section 7.2.4 has presented further explanations for the decline in protest activity in this period focussed on the acceptance by the working classes of their situation.

Methodism, with particular reference to Gloucestershire where it was more popular, certainly did not appear to prevent protest activity from occurring. However, on a smaller scale, it could be argued that it did have an impact on the *nature* of activity that

occurred. As previously stated, Gloucestershire was more peaceful, dominated by legal strike activity and negotiation with clothiers, and when riot activity did occur it was described to have been more of a "cheerful, boisterous affair" as opposed to a terrifying ordeal (Perry 2003: 115).

This research argues that nonconformity, including Methodism, did not prevent radical behaviour from occurring, in contradiction of the Halévy Thesis. However, the nature of protest activity, at least in Gloucestershire, may have been influenced by Methodism, yet not to the extent that Halévy suggests.

7.3.2 The Clothiers: Paternalism or Control?

Chapter 4 (section 4.4.2) introduced some of the involvement that clothiers in the woollen industry undertook, particularly through the donation of land or buildings, taking prominent roles as deacons or treasurers, and through the promotion of religious education. Section 6.1.5 enhanced this by outlining the financial contributions the clothiers made to chapel projects, and within the wider community, through donations, trust funds, and posthumously through their wills.

However, there is no direct evidence to suggest that these paternalistic ventures were undertaken in order to increase surveillance over their employees. Incorporation into the management and education of Sunday schools would be an obvious method in controlling the working classes, being an influential medium in inculcating middle class ideas of deference and humility (Flinn 1967: 14). Education was considered dangerous by many in the eighteenth century due to its risk in giving the working classes 'ideas above their station' (Evans 1983: 242). However, there is only fleeting reference to clothiers being directly involved with Sunday school education, where, in Trowbridge, the Pitman family were teachers in the Anglican and Baptist Sunday Schools, and in Dursley, some prominent clothiers did threaten unemployment if their workers did not attend Sunday Schools (Evans 1982: 130). They did often fund or contribute to the construction of Sunday schools, which would have enabled their workforce to develop their education, yet it is clear the clothiers had little influence over the curriculum and management of the schools.

Clothiers also played a prominent role in aiding the funding and enlargement of chapel structures, witnessed for example in the efforts of Samuel Marling in Stroud, and Samuel Salter in Trowbridge. Many more worshipped in chapels, as seen in Appendix 1.4. Therefore, it is could be argued that their noteworthy involvement in funding and supporting the chapel communities was a result of religious belief, and to suggest that these activities were used as tools of manipulation in order to make the working classes more submissive and industrious, is too tenuous. Their contributions, in essence, could be a result of both their own religious and paternalistic belief, and a desire to have some control over the social and religious development of their workforce.

The membership of clothiers and their workers in the same chapels may have improved relations between the two groups. Terson (1990) has argued that the nonconformist notion that all men were equal in the sight of God would have been reflected in the relationships and interaction that took place in the chapel. He states that "In the cloth trade there might be considerable divisions between weaver and clothier, but in their small religious groups clothiers and their families were simply fellow Christians to be approached and known as such by other members of the congregation".

However, as tensions in the woollen industry increased it is clear that whatever close relationships that may have existed in the eighteenth century, by the nineteenth century the social divide between the two was clearly evident. John Clark was a liberal clothier and a minister at the Tabernacle in Trowbridge, yet described many of his congregation as a "vulgar low bred people who are often activated by the most selfish and illiberal motives…many take advantage of my being a preacher to impose upon me…some to whom I preach the gospel freely even spoil my work" (Evans 1982: 44). William Temple, who worshipped at the Conigre in Trowbridge, described his weavers as "the most feeble, weak and impotent of all the manufacturers" (Rogers 1984: 95). Edward Sheppard of Uley was reported to have said to his weavers in 1806 "do all you can against me, and I will do the same against you" (Moir 1957: 255).

The workers themselves appear to have had little regard for their masters. William Augustus Miles found that there was "an acrid feeling" amongst workmen towards their masters, worsened by strike activity, severing mutual interest (Miles 1839: 358, 448). He also reports that some masters did try to establish benefit clubs and social societies

for their workers, but soon failed as a result of the increasing distrust of their workers (Miles 1839: 477). He reported that a Mr William Pleyne stated that "the feelings of the poor are very peculiar; they can not imagine that any interference on the part of their superiors can arise from any motives but selfishness, or from some scheme to take advantage of them" (Miles 1839: 449), indicating that the weavers were conscious of possible manipulation by their employers, perhaps ultimately making them more likely to resist control, or at the very least, regard it suspiciously. One weaver who had relocated to Witney, Oxfordshire, reported that "The masters here [Witney] show the kindest feelings to the men, and the men show the same to their masters. This was never the same in Gloucestershire. When a weaver goes before a master in Gloucestershire it is as bad as if he were going before a judge" (Moir 1957: 255).

Therefore, it does seem evident that despite the function of chapels as a location for social interaction, and a place were commonality was enhanced by belief systems, experiences, and ideologies, the hierarchy and social divide between worker and employer was still evident. Perhaps through improving chapel facilities and funding educational activity the clothiers hoped these structures and amenities would attract more of their employees to chapel culture, and maintain the attendance of those already members. By default, if this was successful, then the employees would therefore receive the religious education and ideology the clothiers may have believed to have been so beneficial to attitudes within the workplace. Membership to chapel communities did increase, as seen in the number of chapels that were constructed and through the historical sources, however the riotous and protest activity that took place, particularly in the 1820s and 1830s indicated that religious teaching did not make the working classes less likely to challenge their masters over issues of work, and the level of distrust between the two was certainly heightened by economic distress. It is argued, therefore, that even if the clothiers aimed at greater control of their employees, it did not work!

7.3.3 Religion and working class confidence

In conjunction with the 'top down' theories towards the impact of religion whereby control and manipulation of the working classes by their employers were enhanced by

chapel culture and dissent, the 'bottom up' argument suggests that working class confidence was actually improved by chapel membership, resulting in a higher degree of industrial challenges, better organisation and more effective protest activity, and more covertly a more socially and politically-independent working class.

It is certainly clear from the discussion so far that the working classes of the South West woollen industry were closely associated with combination and early trade union activity. The protest activity became more organised and extensive in the nineteenth century than it had in the eighteenth, seen in larger-scale, more complicated, protest activity (consider, for example, the burial of shuttles by over 9000 weavers in 1825, over three locations, and selective striking). Randall (1982) suggests that although the combinations were not country based or consistent, they were still effective when they did appear, in federal style unions. Journeymen clothworkers in Wiltshire had established unlawful combinations in the eighteenth century, hiring clerks and treasurers to manage their funds, and payments, and even printing their own rules and regulations (Randall 1991: 117). The weavers and shearmen adopted societies such as these in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In June 1802 a lawyer in Warminster commented on the strike activity undertaken by the shearmen, declaring that they were supporting each other through secret combinations. John Jones of Staverton Mill requested the arrest of thirteen men who ran the Trowbridge Shearmen's Union, who had been allegedly in contact with the shearmen of Yorkshire (Rogers 1984: 78). Numerous other societies were established, outlined in Chapter 5 in the historical context of each case study, illustrating that organised action during this period was very common.

Although there is no evidence to directly associate reform activity and protest movements with the chapel structures, membership to dissenting communities would certainly have benefited the congregations' level of organisation, and the knowledge they acquired. It has been argued that the doctrine itself contributed to an increase in radical organised behaviour, particularly the notion that all people were equal before God, replacing the focus on deference and humility to masters (Wykes 1987: 435). It was consistently associated with liberalism and political and social reform, promoting (albeit indirectly) social freedom. Furthermore the chapels were central as locations for social interaction, and were critical in forming social relationships based on shared experiences and perceptions (Lake *et al*. 2001: 2).

Socialisation was enhanced through educational facilities, clubs and social events which all contributed to increased solidarity, cohesiveness and organisation which would have echoed into the wider economic context. Sunday schools emerged from the 1770s onwards, and increased in frequency in the early nineteenth century, until almost all of the chapels in the study area had one attached to them. The education taught to the children in the Sunday schools was extended to adult populations through the introduction of libraries, bible associations, and lectures on a variety of topics, such as those presented by John Burder and Benjamin Parsons outlined in section 7.2.3. Literacy, however, was the primary learning goal, which was paramount, as previously stated, in expanding the wider circulation of political pamphlets and newspapers.

As these sorts of activities were increasing, the expression of religious identity in the wider landscape were also increasing, seen in the elaborations of chapels such as Bedford Street Chapel in Stroud, Coppice Hill Chapel in Bradford, and Manvers Street Methodist Chapel in Trowbridge. The architecture of these chapels reflected not only an increasing desire for physical and obvious religious expression, but also an increase in intellectualism in the design and styles of nonconformist buildings. The elaborate Classical styles reflect knowledge of antiquity, the Grand Tours, and Classical history (Tann 1967), whilst Gothic architecture was associated with medievalism, aristocracy, ecclesiastical wealth and spirituality (Drummond 1934: 75). Even the less elaborate chapels incorporated elements of these two styles, such as Zion Chapel in Trowbridge, and Sladesbrook Primitive Methodist Chapel in Bradford, both reflecting smaller scale expressions of Classicism, whilst the Dursley Tabernacle, Union Chapel in Uley and Islington Down Chapel in Trowbridge reflect 'toned down' versions of Gothic Revival architecture.

The increasing confidence of the working classes influenced by the social cohesion and collectivity that chapel communities enhanced, is not only expressed through overt riot and protest activity, or through architectural forms and styles, but also more covertly through the physical spatial visibility of the chapels. The analysis and discussion so far has illustrated that, for the most part, chapels became more spatially visible within their immediate landscapes, and often in the wider urban landscapes as the nineteenth century progressed. Even when their architectural elaboration was more subtle their locations were prominent and their perimeter boundaries (or lack of them), their elevation and

central locations illustrates this increasing socio-religious observance, and the desire of the working classes to identify themselves collectively in this way in the landscape.

Bethesda Chapel, Zion Chapel and Islington Down Chapel in Trowbridge all illustrate this well, with their prominent street-fronted locations in the centre of the town, or in the expanding urban district in the case of Islington Down Chapel. In Bradford Zion Chapel also illustrates this, dominating visually, not only the subtle Grove Chapel next door, but also the wider landscape of the town itself. Sladesbrook Chapel, again despite having more subtle architecture, lies in a prominent street fronted location in the expanding suburbs of the town. In Stroud, this more covert expression of identity is illustrated in the prominent location of Randwick Wesleyan Chapel, and Stroud Primitive Methodist Chapel. The Wesleyan Chapel in Cam and the Boulton Lane Chapel in Dursley further reflect this growing confidence of the working classes.

The growing confidence of the working classes is reflected in the transition from plain and 'simple' chapel structures in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which as previously stated, were not as influenced by a lack of toleration and financial constraints as traditional theories have argued. Socialisation activities such as fundraising, increased educational facilities and literacy contributed to increased working class confidence, the expression of which is clearly seen in the amplified prominence and visibility of nonconformist structures. This visible increase in community confidence was, in turn, expressed more overtly in the increase in riot and protest activity, alongside inclusion in social and political reform movements.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has sought to offer a detailed and thorough discussion of the role of religion in the South West woollen industry during the transition from domestic to factory production, from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Through using architectural, spatial and documentary analysis, the research has questioned previous theories of the significance and manipulation of dissent, and its effect on the relationships and identities of the industrial classes in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.

The previous chapter has discussed the analysis in detail, illustrating that the impact of dissent was more ambiguous than traditional theories have suggested. It highlighted the need for contextual approaches to the subject, considering the specific social, economic and political situations existent in the locations under study, and avoiding broad generalisations so often incorporated into archaeological studies of identity and community.

The foundations of the study were three research questions which examined the role of religion in various ways. The first was to assess its use as a method of controlling and manipulating the working classes by the clothiers, in order to consider its impact on producing a more deferential working class, drawing on traditional theories of control developed by Marx, and Halévy. The second question assessed the opposing view of scholars such as Durkheim, Gilbert, Beynon and Austrin, and Snell, arguing that, far from religion being a tool of control, it actually contributed to the development of a more socially conscious and radical working class, affecting their confidence in challenging the elite and contributing to their community identity. Finally, the research examined the role of religion in the wider society, and its impact on industrial relationships within and outside the workplace.

Chapter 2 argued that the diversity and continuing renegotiation of religious doctrine between the denominations hindered the development of a united collectivity within the working classes, and subsequently further argued that the relationship between radicalism and dissent was social, rather than religious. The social aspect of dissent was

the focus of the research, although the aspect of faith and belief must not be disregarded, as will be discussed later. This chapter focuses on the three research questions and provides the conclusions to the theoretical framework that were outlined in the first part of the thesis. Furthermore it highlights recommendations for associated research in the future, that would develop and expand the conclusions reached in this study, and illustrates the need for further analysis in this field in order to better understand the industrial communities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

8.1 RESEARCH QUESTION 1

To what extent did the clothiers of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire use nonconformity as a mechanism for controlling the working classes?

Karl Marx (1844) coined the term "religion as the opium of the people" in order to describe its contribution in creating a false contentment and subsequently concealing social inequality and injustices by promoting the notion of fulfilment in the afterlife. This notion was further developed by Elie Halévy (1949) who claimed that this spiritual contentment, particularly through Methodism, created a reduction in revolutionary behaviour amongst the middle and elite working classes, quelling the growth of radicalism and a revolution in Britain. These two theories illustrate how religion produced an acquiescent working class, and further scholars and social commentators such as Andrew Ure (1835) and Thompson (1991) argued that, by promoting the membership into religious communities, alongside the educational facilities that were associated with them, the working classes could be manipulated through the guise of spirituality, with the focus on hard work and humility that was taught by the denominations contributing to their deference.

The research into the role of the clothiers in the chapel communities certainly indicates that this is not definitively the case. Although many clothiers worshipped at the chapels, and were given high status positions as deacons, trustees or treasurers, they were rarely associated with physical and direct interaction with their workforce, particularly in educational movements, save for a few examples. Others, such as the prominent clothiers in Dursley outlined in Chapter 4 (section 4.4.2), required their

workforce to attend chapels for fear of unemployment, however the extent of this is unclear.

The clothiers certainly did appear to be paternalistic in providing finances for the construction of chapels and educational facilities or, more rarely, providing land. This is further reflected in their paternal endeavours outside the religious community through the foundation of charities and trusts, or through bequeathing money on death for the distribution of food and money, alongside frequent contributions to charity schools, and salaries for ministers and teachers. As discussed in Chapter 1 (section 1.3.1) the fine line between paternalism and control is indistinct, and difficult to answer without conjecture. Through making chapels attractive and pleasant locations to be in, and through helping to fund amenities, it could be argued that clothiers were trying to entice their workers to partake in religious activity in the hope of instilling this sense of deference and humility into them, as Hughes in his seminal work *Copperopolis* (2000) also concluded. However, this can not be fully proven. The role of faith and belief needs to be considered, and is discussed in section 8.4.4.

In the wider social context of the woollen industry the effect of chapel-going on radicalism, referenced in the work of Halévy, has also been addressed, in order to determine whether religion, especially dissent, reduced the desire to revolt against authority. Through assessing the development of protest activity in conjunction with the growth of dissent through documentary resources and the physical evidence, it is clear that there is little evidence to suggest that chapel-going prevented protest activity, however it may have influenced the nature of the protest activity that took place. The domination of Methodism in Gloucestershire, in conjunction with its largely peaceful and legal approach to protest may illustrate this, in comparison to the largely violent activity in Wiltshire where Methodism was not so widespread. However, this explanation ignores the chronology of protest activity, in that it took over 100 years for Methodism allegedly to quieten protest activity, as activity of any kind – violent or peaceful – was not reduced until the late 1830s. This idea also ignores the economic context of the locations under study, the distress of which certainly impacted on the level and nature of protest. So, there may be an element of the teachings of dissent affecting protest activity; however the importance of economic distress should not be forgotten, and was definitely not as influential as Halévy suggested.

In conclusion, answering research question 1 is fraught with problems. The cognitive nature of control and manipulation, alongside the indistinct line between paternalism and control make the impact of religion on the deference of the industrial working classes difficult to assess. However, the evidence that clothiers were closely involved in chapel culture certainly indicates that they accepted the benefits of it, albeit through faith, or as a tool for increasing deference, or both. The effect of religion on the working classes with reference to deference to employers is illuminating, and certainly indicates that religious influence may have contributed to the nature of protest activity, but arguably did not reduce it.

8.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 2

To what extent did nonconformity contribute to a community identity in the actions and social interactions of the workforce and their employers?

Craib (1998) illustrated the significance of understanding identities through shared experiences and socialisation, and its effect in aiding our negotiation and renegotiation of the relationship between ourselves and the external world. Durkheim (1912) illustrated the importance of ritual and ceremonial activity in creating group collectivity and solidarity, further explored by scholars such as Gilbert (1976) and Snell (2006) who argued that religion contributed to an increasing community identity amongst its members, enhanced through the feelings of attachment, security and belonging that membership to such a group created through social interaction and shared belief systems. Furthermore, this group collectivity that formed through religious influence contributed to wider social and political behaviour, class consciousness and increasing self and group confidence (for example Bradley, 1978; Cohen, 1985; Wykes, 1987; Beynon and Austrin, 1994).

This research argues that the community identity of the working classes is reflected in the religious landscape in two different ways: overt and covert expressions of socio-religious identity, and that the product of this group solidarity formed through religious affiliation contributed to social behaviour of the working classes, in overt protest activity, and also more day to day symbolic independence from the state and authority.

Overt socio-religious identity within the community is the most visible product of religious expression, considerably altering the nineteenth-century urban landscape. Buildings are commonly regarded as physical expressions of the ideological landscape, reflecting overt statements about the groups and individuals using them (Tann 1967); they are social products determined by the needs of the users, reflecting social ideas, organisation, beliefs and values (King 1980: 1; Parker and Chandler 1993), reflected clearly in the archaeological work of Deetz (1977), Isaac (1988), Leone (1988), Johnson (1993) and Mrozowski et.al (1996).

Chapters 6 and 7 presented and discussed the increasing visibility of nonconformist chapels in the landscape in two forms – architectural and spatial. This evidence shows how increasing prominence in the physical landscape reflected the increasing confidence of the working classes and their expanding physical incorporation into societal and political affairs. With particular reference to the increasing tensions and distress in the woollen industry, the expression of religious identity clearly increases in periods of distress, further recognising that religion was a primary influence in creating security, attachment and belonging in periods of distress.

The influence of religion in protest and reform movements also illustrates its significance in contributing to overt community identities. Chapels were central locations for social interaction through clubs, societies, worship, shared perceptions and values, and educational facilities culminating in increased group cohesiveness (Hansen 1994: 137-138). This collectivity is further reflected in the increase and nature of protest activity, often of a highly-organised and large-scale nature, particularly in Gloucestershire. Strike action, petitioning, negotiation and even large-scale riot/mob activity required skilled organisation and group cohesiveness, which was in part due to the impact of increasing religious observance, witnessed in the growth of the social nature of chapel culture alongside the increase in Sunday schools from the 1790s (and subsequently increased literacy), and clubs or groups.

The community identities constructed and developed through religious affiliation were also apparent in more covert systems of expression. Architectural elaboration is an obvious way in which to express social ideology, however the physical use of space also contributed to this, albeit more subtly. The growing visibility of chapels in the

landscape, from being often relatively 'hidden' to occupying prominent locations with their visibility not hindered by surrounding buildings or perimeters, certainly reflects this increasing self confidence of the dissenters, alongside their desire to advertise their faith and belief. This research argues that the impact of increasing tensions in the woollen industry and the insecurity and need for solidarity it created contributed greatly to this visibility of religious and social expression.

Furthermore, the growth in literacy and knowledge developed through the Sunday school movement, and through adult education facilities, libraries and lectures, culminated in the development of an increase in working-class consciousness. It was not just the children of members of the congregations who attended these Sunday schools, but children of the surrounding community. At Randwick Wesleyan Chapel, for example, William Knee often attempted to motivate the parents of the school attendees to send their children to a place of worship on Sundays. This implies that many of the children did not attend both the school and the chapel or church (R.H.A 1989:21). Some adults who attended the lectures given by Benjamin Parsons were also not members of the chapel itself.

The increase in working-class consciousness, developed through social activities like Sunday schools and adult education, was reflected in the growth of political and social reform movements, such as Chartism, and campaigns against the slavery movement, and the Corn Laws, where dissenters often played leading roles in organisation and motivation.

Religious observance, particularly within nonconformist denominations, certainly influenced community identity on a large scale, which was not only evident within their own chapel communities, but also affected the wider social context through developing working class confidence and consciousness. Figure 8.2a illustrates simply the flow of the negotiation and renegotiation of identities by chapel communities, and their infiltration into the wider community. The resulting effect on class consciousness and behaviour was influenced by the economic and social conditions being experienced by the communities, which further illustrates the need for more specific local and regional studies of identity, and the avoidance of generalisations, as argued by Beaudry (1996: 496)

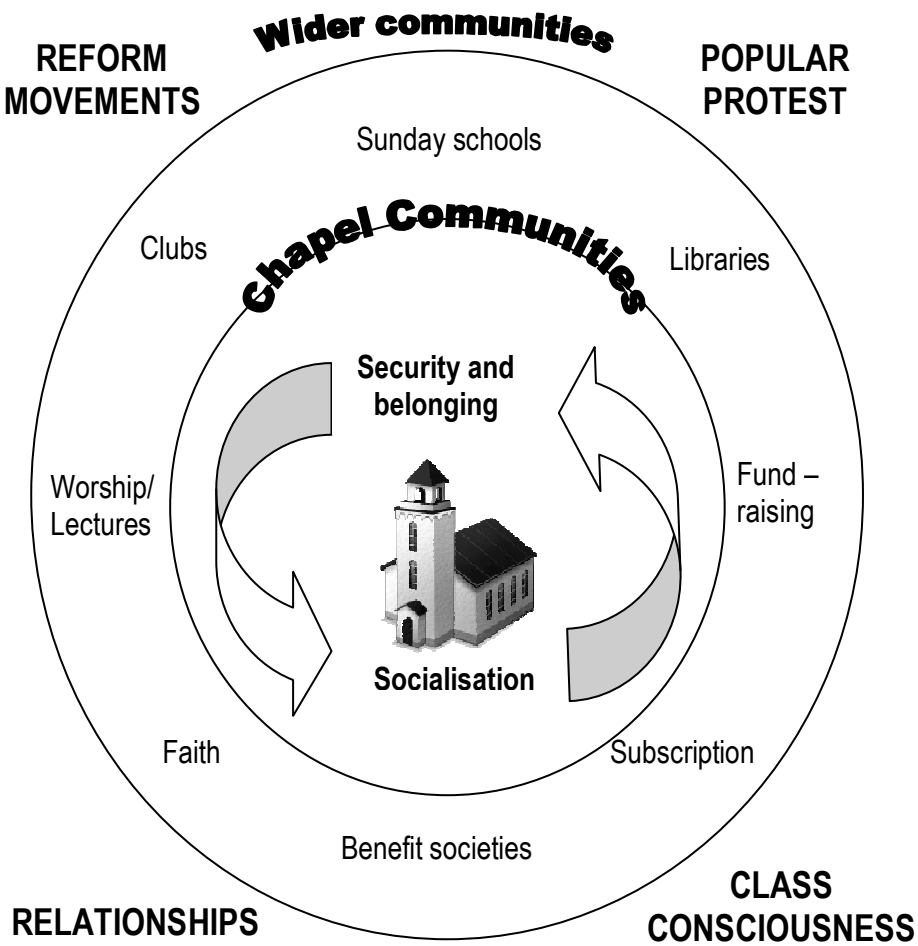


Figure 8.2a: Dissent and its contribution to the negotiation of identities within chapel culture, and into the wider society

This is clearly seen in the economic context of the declining fortunes in the woollen industry which dictated when and how community identities, influenced by religion, were negotiated and expressed. The census information illustrated that dissent and manufacturing were not as closely associated in the early years (seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) as previously argued by scholars such as Moir (1957), Underdown (1985) and Archer (2000). However, as tensions in the woollen industry increased, so did dissent, culminating in a close relationship between urban industrial centres and religion in South West England. The transition after 1840 to a more stable economy, and an acceptance by workers of changed industrial conditions, also correlated with a decline in protest activity of all types. The expression of religious identity in the physical landscape through architecture and spatial visibility also declined. As the level of insecurity and distress declined so did the need for visual and overt symbols of identity expression through chapel structures. Dissenting chapels provided the favoured

customs of tradition and family (Wykes 1987: 339), which was critically important to the conservative traditional cloth workers, who were in fear of losing their customs and status within the workplace in the early nineteenth century. Subsequently, religion, and the specific social context it lies within, should therefore not be considered as separate unrelated entities.

In conclusion, religion and, particularly, dissent had great impact on the community identities of the working classes, within the chapel communities themselves and into the wider society. Collective solidarity enhanced through worship and social activities culminated in large-scale expression of a socio-religious identity in the physical landscape, which also infiltrated into wider social expressions of class consciousness and confidence.

8.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 3

In consequence, how was nonconformity incorporated into the industrial working classes of South West England, and what impact did it have on the relationships between the workforce and their employers?

This question has in part been answered by Question 2, where the wider impact of nonconformity became so closely related to community identities, class consciousness and the wider social context. However, further conclusions can be drawn.

Dissent played a significant role not only within the lives of the members of chapel communities but also into the wider community, through its impact on protest and reform movements, social behaviour and consciousness, as previously discussed. However, dissent further contributed to the disruption of existing power relationships between employer and employee, influenced by the fortunes of the woollen industry.

Products of dissent included greater knowledge and involvement in reform movements through lectures, increased literacy and education. However, further to this, through socialisation and the increase in groups, clubs and societies for the working classes, I argue that dissent provided the working classes with the social tools to effectively challenge and dispute their economic and social conditions, resulting in protest and

riotous activity. In doing this, further tensions between employer and employee developed within the workplace, and within the chapel communities as discussed in Chapter 7 (section 7.3.2). Dissent, in essence, contributed to widening the hierarchical gulf between master and employee, not as argued by Terson (1990), narrowing it.

Ultimately, I argue that over-simplified theories of whether dissent contributed to *control* strategies, or *resistance* strategies are largely redundant. The social product of dissent which is under focus here was specific to its economic and social context, influencing behaviour, attitudes and working relationships. However, the evidence obtained indicates that nonconformity had more influence over resistance strategies, than over those of control.

8.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This research has provided a much needed detailed examination into the role of religion in the industrial South West. However, there are certainly more avenues of study that would further benefit and expand the current research. The areas deemed most important are outlined below, alongside their validity in the current debate, which unfortunately could not be developed further within the parameters and constraints of this research.

8.4.1 The social archaeology of Sunday schools

It is clear from this research that the impact of Sunday schools and education was paramount to the growth of working-class confidence. Sunday school structures provide a vast and valuable resource of their own which could not be included to a great extent within this research.

Further study of this expression of community identity, based on the same theoretical and methodological foundations of this research, would be valuable, focusing again on the expression of identity and confidence through the built and physical landscape. Furthermore, additional detail on the chapel-goers and their specific role within protest and reform movements would supplement the research further.

8.4.2 The use of a greater number and diversity of chapels

Although this research incorporated a large number of chapels, including demolished ones, through pictorial evidence, some phases were under-represented and more examples would have benefited the discussion. For example, the period after 1840 was dominated by the construction of Primitive Methodist chapels, which were renowned for their simple architecture. Consequently a larger sample of chapels, with a wider diversity in denomination would be beneficial to the research, to consolidate the conclusions already obtained. In all periods a wider sample of chapels would benefit the discussion of denominational differences between space and architecture and its impact in to the wider society. The sample used in this research was dominated by Methodist and Baptist Chapels but more examples of other denominations' chapels in each phase of transition would be beneficial.

8.4.3 Incorporating comparative case studies

Following on from above, further comparative case studies would benefit from the theoretical and methodological approaches used in this research. The relationship between religion and specific economic and social constraints affecting the social influence of dissent is paramount in the research, and subsequently further understanding of religion in a wider variety of contexts would be beneficial. This research was influenced by the work of Stephen Hughes (2000) based on the industrial and social archaeology of the copper mining districts of the Swansea valleys. His focus on nonconformity and its impact and meaning in the copper mining communities, influenced this research, and further comparative studies should be undertaken.

One particular contrasting study that would be interesting is the role of nonconformity in the Yorkshire cloth trade. The Yorkshire worsted trade became the most prominent in Britain by the mid-nineteenth century, rapidly overtaking the prosperity of the South West and East Anglian wool trades from the late eighteenth century. The prosperity of the industry created a vastly different social context for the working classes with less depression and distress, of which the role of religion would be of great comparative significance.

A second comparative study would be the role of religion in rural agricultural communities. The traditional system of land ownership, whereby tenants still worked under the direct control and influence of elite landowners, would have greatly altered the relationships of deference and paternalism, in direct comparison to the growth of urban centres where there was no traditional elite. Furthermore, the social and economic contexts would also be vastly difference, affected by factors such as enclosure, de-population, food riots and revolt, and resistance to new agricultural machinery such as the threshing machine (Thompson 1991). The influence of religion in power relationships and community identity would certainly increase our understanding of dissent and nonconformity, yet also the social context of the agricultural revolution - a field of research that has received far less attention in historical archaeology in comparison to industrial communities.

8.4.4 The role of faith and theological influence

This research has focused on the social context and manipulation of dissent, and its impact on community social behaviour and relationships. However, religion is essentially based on one theoretical foundation – faith. It is not the aim of this thesis to reduce the significance of faith and belief. Indeed as Lindley states:

it is easy to forget that these chapels are the expression of one of the greatest revolutionary movements which the world has seen and of a religious experience which was capable of so enlarging the lives of those caught up in it as to transform the humblest of labourers into the greatest of men; preachers, teachers, reformers, writers and searchers after truth (1969: 12)

The role of faith and belief is therefore paramount to the study of religious observance in communities, and further research into the cognitive nature of belief, and its impact on the expression of identity would be beneficial to the study. Throughout the historical records there were constant references to the power of God, and the spirituality of the chapel members. When Thomas Adams wrote to George Whitefield about the state of religion in Rodborough in 1742 he claimed "the people are so ready to hear the Word" (GRO, D4248 13/1), and in 1838 the report given to the Stroud Assembly Meetings stated that in the John Street Baptist Chapel "our congregations have never been better

and we think there never was a deeper interest felt in the spiritual prosperity of our communion" (Wicks N.D: 15). In order to achieve membership to many chapels the person would have to be interviewed by the chapel committee, who would assess their religious fervour and faith in God (see for example WSRO, 2544/1; Wicks N.D: 17).

Therefore, a deeper understanding of the theological impact of religion on the working classes would further expand the study, alongside the current focus on the social influence of it. Halévy suggested that religious fervour was the reason for the decline in radicalism amongst the working classes, and further research into the spirituality of chapel congregations and its physical representation in the landscape would be of primary importance.

8.4.5 Interior architecture and space

The external expression of community identity has been the basis of this research, with primary focus on the impact of dissent in the wider landscape and its influence on community behaviour and negotiation. However, assessment of the interior architecture and spatial arrangement of nonconformist chapels would be valuable in understanding of group identities. The changing nature of chapel interiors, such as the relocation/addition of pulpits, addition of elaboration and embellishments, and the use of space through the realignment of seating, may have contributed again to the group identity, being a further reflection of their religious association, and the meanings embedded in them. The critically important avenue for research, however, is the audience to which this expression was designed for.

Interior architecture was primarily intended for the congregations themselves, and was less often exhibited to visitors and guests. Research into the development and change of chapel interiors would develop a second phase in the understanding of community identity, notably through the manifestation of private, as opposed to public, expressions of worship and identity. The symbols and meanings embedded in internal architecture was intended for a different, insular, audience and consequently would greatly enhance our understanding of the religiosity and group identities of both public and private spaces.

However, such research would require a large sample of nonconformist chapels with predominantly original interiors, which was not available in the case studies in this research. Chapels, and the fixtures and fittings in them, are constantly altered and replaced, which makes it difficult to determine what they may have looked like in different periods, throughout their lives. This may consequently hinder the analysis of meaning and impact of past spatial and architectural arrangements. Chapels are rarely intact in their original state, but through the incorporation of a large sample, each with their own specific original features this understanding of the internal role and expression of dissent would be of great benefit to the research.

8.5 TO SUMMARISE…

The research undertaken is both timely and necessary considering the growing focus on the social archaeology of the industrial revolution. The early twenty-first century is a critical period in the development of thought for the future of industrial archaeology. Michael Nevell (2006) has illustrated the need to place industrial archaeology within the wider social context of traditional archaeological methods, promoting the understanding of the establishment and development of identities of communities through archaeological approaches, and suggesting further directions for research into the role of religious freedom and expression, particularly with reference to social control. Marilyn Palmer (2005b) focused on the need for more understanding of social control and hierarchy in the workplace and the community, expanding this concern further through advocating the necessity for study into the resistance strategies of the working groups. The sense of identity within industrial communities was also a primary focus in her work, with particular reference to leisure activities and the practice of religion.

The South West Archaeological Research Framework (SWARF) was published in 2007 and highlighted the lack of research into modern identities through aspects such as religion, historical mortuary practice, and conflict. Religious identities were significant, especially considering the large amount of standing chapels and churches, many of which are still being used today. SWARF recommended further research in the South West into the archaeology of the material culture of religious identities, and in to

understanding the social change contributed to by religion through surviving structures and documentary resources (Webster 2007: 270, 288-289).

This research is a further contribution to the social archaeology of industrialisation, in its emphasis on the social role of nonconformity and its impact into working class communities in the South West. It has highlighted the importance of religion on the changing social construction and development of urban communities, and the need to focus on specific social and economic contexts to better interpret the physical and documentary evidence. Through building on the valuable work undertaken by Hughes (2000), Lake *et al.* (2001), Palmer and Neaverson (2005) and Snell (2006), the role of religion, and its contribution to community activity, behaviour and identity in the social context of the industrial revolution is far better understood.

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CONGREGATION AND COMMUNITY:

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE AND IDENTITY IN THE SOUTH WEST WOOLLEN INDUSTRY, c.1760 to 1860

Volume 2

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

Susan Claire Strachan MA (Ironbridge Institute)

School of Archaeology and Ancient History
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December 2008

APPENDIX 1.1

ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY

Chapel:
Town: TB / BF / ST / UL / CM / DL

Architectural Elaboration:
Architraves:

Masonry: mouldings, cornicing, string course,

Pillars and pediments: façade / entrance

Other elaborations of note:

Further Additions:

Clock	□				
Bell/cupola	□				
Plaque/lettering	□	Permanent	□	Temporary	□
Stained glass	□	Religious	□	Non religious	□

Other additions (e.g. memorials, dedication plaques, inscriptions etc):

Photographs taken:

Building materials:
Roof:
Masonry:
Other:

Other notes:

APPENDIX 1.2

SPATIAL AND VISIBILITY SURVEY

Chapel:
Town: TB / BF / ST / UL / CM / DL

SPATIAL

Access: (from street/via passageway/enclosed/open etc)

Boundaries: (types of fencing/walls or evidence of perimeters)

Entrance to chapel/drive (hidden/obvious):

VISIBILTY
View from other buildings: **(consider from different angles)**

View to other buildings (ie churches/mills/housing):

Proximity to communal areas/housing (incl parks/housing/shops/markets):

Elevation: Yes □ A little □ No □

Position to road Street fronted □
Pushed back □
Behind other buildings □

Burial ground □
Position and size:

Courtyard □
Position and size:

Other notes:

Photographs Taken

APPENDIX 1.3

DATABASE OF RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS USED IN THE RESEARCH

No.	County	Town	OS ref	Chapel Name	Construction Date	Rebuilt	Denomination(s)	From	Current Use
1	Glos	CM	ST 75709923	Congregational Chapel	1702	n/a	Congregational	1702	Chapel
2	Glos	CM	SO 75020025	Wesleyan Chapel	1825	n/a	Wesleyan Methodists	1825	Chapel
3	Glos	CM	SO 74040084	St Bartholomew's Church	1844-46	n/a	Anglican	1846	Church
4	Glos	CM	ST 73919985	The Quarry URC	1852	n/a	Congregational	1852	Church
5	Glos	CM	ST 75749934	St George's Church	pre1700	n/a	Anglican	pre1700	Church
6	Glos	DL	ST 75709811	St James'Church	pre1700	n/a	Anglican	pre1700	Church
7	Glos	DL	ST 75919773	St Marks'Church	1844	n/a	Anglican	1844	Church
8	Glos	DL	ST 75859820	Water Street Chapel	by 1715	n/a	Presbyterian	1715	Demolished
9	Glos	DL	ST 75350826	First Tabernacle	1764	n/a	Calvinistic Methodist	1764	Demolished
10	Glos	DL	ST 75409825	Second Tabernacle	1808	n/a	Calvinistic Methodist	1808	Chapel
11	Glos	DL	ST 75609819	Methodist Chapel	1802	1864	Wesleyan Methodist	1802	Demolished
12	Glos	DL	ST 75319809	Hill Road Chapel	1821	n/a	Independent Methodist	1821	Commercial
							Calvinistic Methodist	1826	
13	Glos	DL	ST 75659803	Boulton Lane Chapel	1828	n/a	Calvinistic Methodist	1828	Demolished
14	Glos	ST	SO 85140510	John Street Chapel	1824	n/a	Baptist	1824	Chapel
15	Glos	ST	SO 85260513	The Old Chapel	1711	n/a	Presbyterian & Independent	1711	Demolished
							Congregational	by 1811	
16	Glos	ST	SO 85080518	Bedford St Chapel	1835	n/a	Congregational	1835	Chapel

17	Glos	ST	SO 84590400	Rodborough Tabernacle	1750	n/a	Calvinistic Methodist	1750	Chapel
18	Glos	ST	SO 82710491	Ebley Chapel	1797	1880	Independent	1797	Demolished
							Countess of Huntingdon	by1806	
19	Glos	ST	SO 85430514	Acre Street Chapel	1763	n/a	Wesleyan Methodist	1763	Salvation Army
20	Glos	ST	SO 85700515	Primitive Methodist Chapel	1836	n/a	Primitive Methodist	1836	Theatre
21	Glos	ST	SO 85220526	St Laurence's Church	pre1700	1866	Anglican	pre1700	Church
22	Glos	ST	SO 85710497	Holy Trinity Church	1839	n/a	Anglican	1839	Church
23	Glos	ST	SO 84080680	St Paul's Church	1841	n/a	Anglican	1841	Church
24	Glos	ST	SO 83580565	Paganhill Independent Chapel	1835	n/a	Independent	1835	Commericial
25	Glos	ST	SO 85400509	Plymouth Brethren Room	1852	n/a	Plymouth Brethren	1852	Chapel
26	Glos	ST	SO 83110490	St Matthew's Church	1835	n/a	Anglican	1835	Church
27	Glos	ST	SO 84980542	Immaculate Conception Church	1856	n/a	Roman Catholic	1856	Church
28	Glos	ST	SO 84330430	St Mary Magdalene's Church	pre1700	1841	Anglican	pre1700	Church
29	Glos	ST	SO 85590410	Zion Chapel	1856	n/a	Primitive Methodist	1856	Residential
30	Glos	ST	SO 82740680	St John The Baptist's Church	pre1700	n/a	Anglican	pre1700	Church
31	Glos	ST	SO 83090665	Randwick Wesleyan Chapel	1807	1824	Wesleyan Methodist	1807	Residential
32	Glos	ST	SO 82960673	Randwick Primitive Chapel	1836	n/a	Primitive Methodist	1836	Residential
33	Glos	UL	ST 79019835	Bethesda Chapel	1821	n/a	Baptist	1821	Arts Centre
34	Glos	UL	ST 78449812	Union Chapel	1790	n/a	Congregational	1790	Residential
35	Glos	UL	ST 79999841	Holy Cross Church	pre1700	1828	Anglican	pre1700	Church
36	Glos	UL	ST 79129856	St Giles' Church	pre1700	1858	Anglican	pre1700	Church
37	Glos	UL	ST 79579836	Wesleyan Chapel	c1819	n/a	Wesleyan Methodist	c1819	Demolished
38	Wilts	BF	ST 82386140	Bethel Chapel	1790	1800	Independent	1790	Chapel
							Countess of Huntingdon	1824	
39	Wilts	BF	ST 82706112	Methodist Chapel	1818	n/a	Wesleyan Methodist	1818	Derelict

40	Wilts	BF	ST 82616073	Morgans Hill Chapel	1740-41	n/a	Independent	1740	Chapel
							Congregational	1850s	
41	Wilts	BF	ST 82396153	Providence Chapel	1858	n/a	Particular Baptist	1858	Residential
42	Wilts	BF	ST 82506080	Friends Meeting House	1718	n/a	Quaker	1718	Demolished
43	Wilts	BF	ST 82406105	Grove Chapel	1698	n/a	Presbyterian	1698	Chapel
							Unitarian	1739	
							Independent	1815	
44	Wilts	BF	ST 82436107	Zion Chapel	1823	n/a	Independent	1823	Demolished
							Particular Baptist	1842	
45	Wilts	BF	ST 82566075	Old Baptist Church	1689	1797	Particular Baptist	1689	Chapel
46	Wilts	BF	ST 82606107	Pippet Street Chapel	1756	n/a	Wesleyan Methodist	1756	Residential
47	Wilts	BF	ST 82736137	Christ Church	1839	n/a	Anglican	1839	Church
48	Wilts	BF	ST 82406087	Holy Trinity Church	pre1700	n/a	Anglican	pre1700	Church
49	Wilts	BF	ST 82896137	Primitive Methodist Chapel	1845	n/a	Primitive Methodist	1845	Residential
50	Wilts	TB	ST 85735812	Emmanuel Chapel	1754	1810	Particular Baptist	1754	Chapel
51	Wilts	TB	ST 85555819	Tabernacle	1771	1884	Congregational	1771	Chapel
52	Wilts	TB	ST 85425815	Conigre Chapel	1699	1856	Particular Baptist	1699	Demolished
							Unitarian	1736	
53	Wilts	TB	ST 85605771	Bethel Chapel	1828	1850	Strict Baptist	1828	Demolished
54	Wilts	TB	ST 85605897	Manvers Street Chapel	1835	n/a	Wesleyan Methodist	1835	Demolished
55	Wilts	TB	ST 85815848	Islington Down Chapel	1814	n/a	Wesleyan Methodist	1814	Chapel
56	Wilts	TB	ST 85705802	Silver Street Chapel	1723	n/a	Presbyterian	1723	Demolished
							Independent	1827	
							Congregational	19thC	
57	Wilts	TB	ST 84495665	Upper Studley Chapel	1850	n/a	Particular Baptist	1850	Chapel
58	Wilts	TB	ST 85755820	Zion Chapel	1816	n/a	(Particular?) Baptist	1816	Chapel
59	Wilts	TB	ST 85505795	Bethesda Chapel	1822		Particular Baptist	1822	Coffee Shop

60	Wilts	TB	ST 85615805	St James Church	pre1700	n/a	Anglican	pre1700	Church
61	Wilts	TB	ST 84265635	St Johns Church	1852	n/a	Anglican	1852	Church
62	Wilts	TB	ST 85355800	Town Bridge Chapel	1790	n/a	Wesleyan Methodist	1790	Demolished
63	Wilts	TB	ST 85135775	Holy Trinity Church	1838	n/a	Anglican	1838	Church
64	Wilts	STV	ST 85486056	St Paul's Church	pre1700	1826	Anglican	pre1700	Church
65	Wilts	STV	ST 85606080	Methodist Chapel	1824	n/a	Methodist	1824	Empty

KEY

CM = Cam
DL = Dursley
ST = Stroud
BF = Bradford
TB = Trowbridge
STV = Staverton

APPENDIX 1.4

KNOWN CLOTHIER FAMILIES WORSHIPPING IN NONCONFORMIST CHAPELS

Chapel	Families	References
TROWBRIDGE		
Emmanuel	Edgell, Harris, Marshman, Pitman, Purnell, Salter, Selfe, Spender, Stancomb, Yerbury	WSRO 1706/1, 1706/13, 1706/36
Zion	Marshman, Pitman, Purnell, Spender,	WSRO 2695/1
Bethesda	Harris, Long, Naish, Purnell,	WSRO 1537/1
Silver St Chapel	Brown, Chapman, Coles, Cook, King, Long, Shrapnell,	WSRO 1025/1
Conigre Chapel	Houlton, Mortimer, Temple	WSRO 1241/10, 2215/1
BRADFORD		
Friends Meeting House	Bailward, Baskerville, Druce, Grant	Fassnidge, 1988: 96-100, WSRO 3186/2
Grove	Cam, Pitman, Yerbury	VCH Wilts, 7: 43, WSRO 3186/2, Fassnidge, 1988: 55
Morgans Hill	Carpenter, Jotham, Lucas, Pearce, Perry, Sparks	WSRO 3186/1, 3186/2, 3186/17, 3186/42,
STROUD		
Old Chapel	Adey, Arundell, Browning, Clissold, Ellary, Haynes, Marling, Paine, Partridge, Purnell, Tugwell, Webb, Wyatt	GRO D2569 1/1, D2569 2/1, D2537 5/1,
Bedford Street Chapel	Excell, Haines, Harries, Marling, Papps, Parker, Partidge, Purnell, Sparks, Tugwell, Webb, Wyatt	GRO D2537 1/1, D2537 2/1
Rodborough Tabernacle	Apperley, Clissold, Gyde, Grimes, Harris, Marling, Peglar, Stephens	GRO D4248 1/1. D4248 2/1
Ebley Chapel	Beard, Hogg, Parker	GRO D2538 3/6, D3187 1/3/6
Acre Street Chapel	Apperley, Arundell, Clissold, Halliday, Grimes, Peglar, Stephens, Wathen, Watts, Webb	GRO D3187 1/3/6
Randwick Wesleyan	Clissold, Phipps	R.H.A. 1989: 14

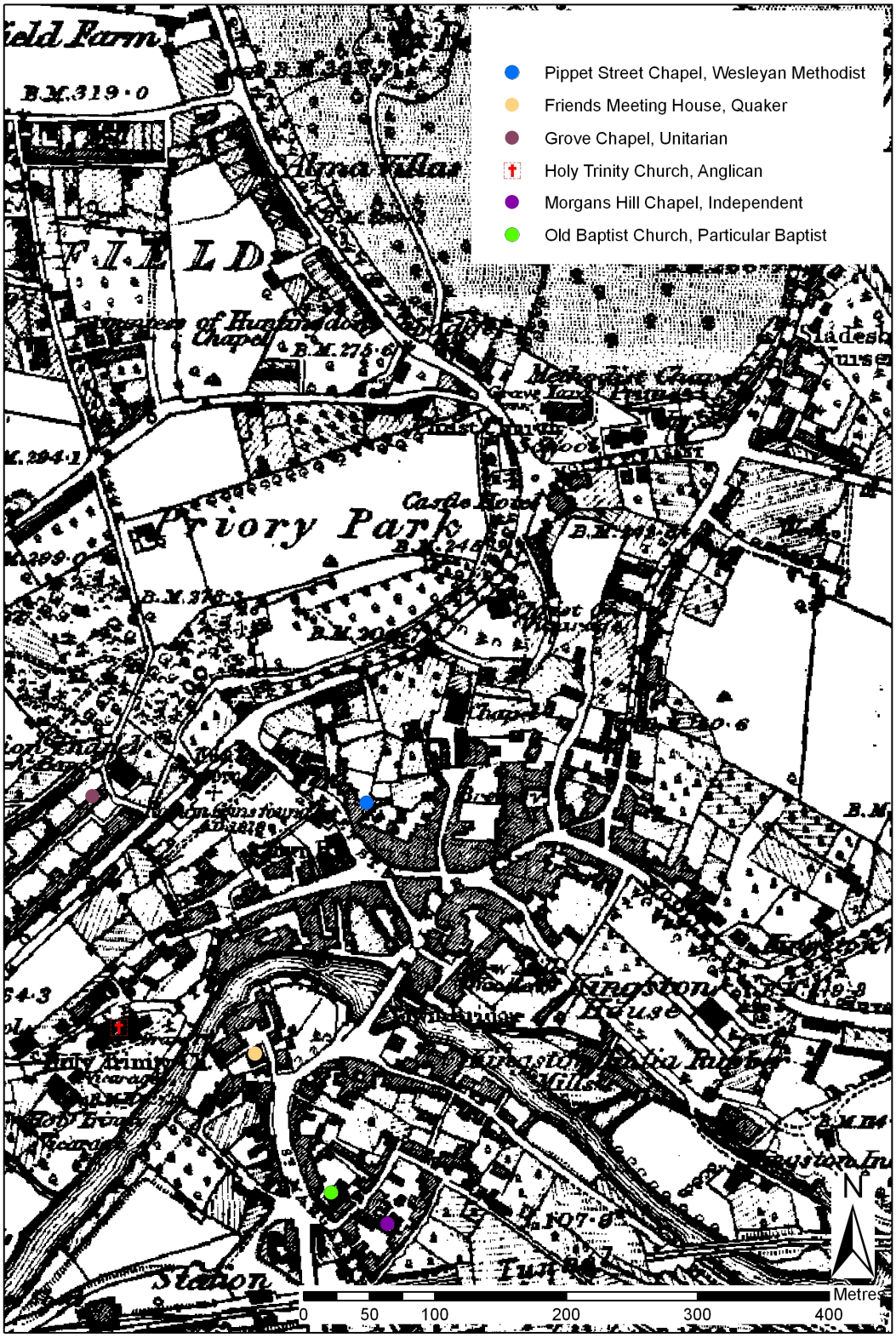
CAM		
Congregational Chapel	Harding, Hicks, Phillimore, Pope, Purnell, Trotman, White,	Snelling, 2001:11; Trotman, 1933: 6; RCHME, 1986: 74
Cam Wesleyan Chapel	Phillimore, Purnell	GRO D3567 2/11
DURSLEY		
Water Street Chapel	Elliot, Pope, Sparry,	Evans, 1982: 41
Wesleyan Chapel	Knight, Long, Purnell, Trotman	GRO D3567 2/11
Tabernacle	Arundell, Howard, Knight	GRO D3567 2/11, D4733/2/1; Evans 1982, 99
ULEY		
Union Chapel	Clutterbuck, Dauncey, Harris, Jackson, Lloyd, Long, Neale,	GRO D2626 2/1, D2626 2/2, D2626 2/3; D3567 2/11; RCHME, 1986: 101
Bethesda	Dangerfield, Dauncey, Hicks, Jackson, Peglar, Sparks	GRO D2626 1/1

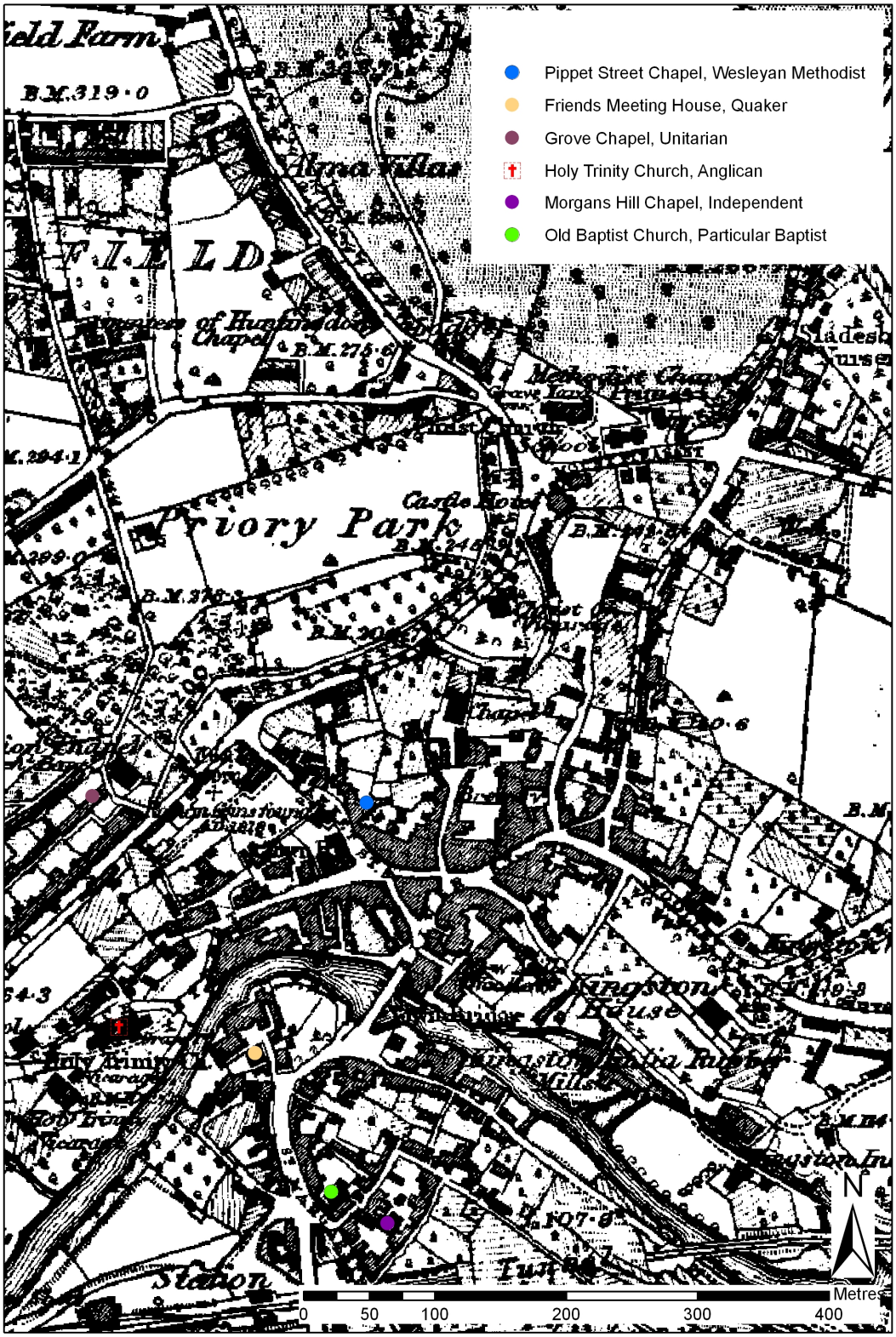
APPENDIX 2

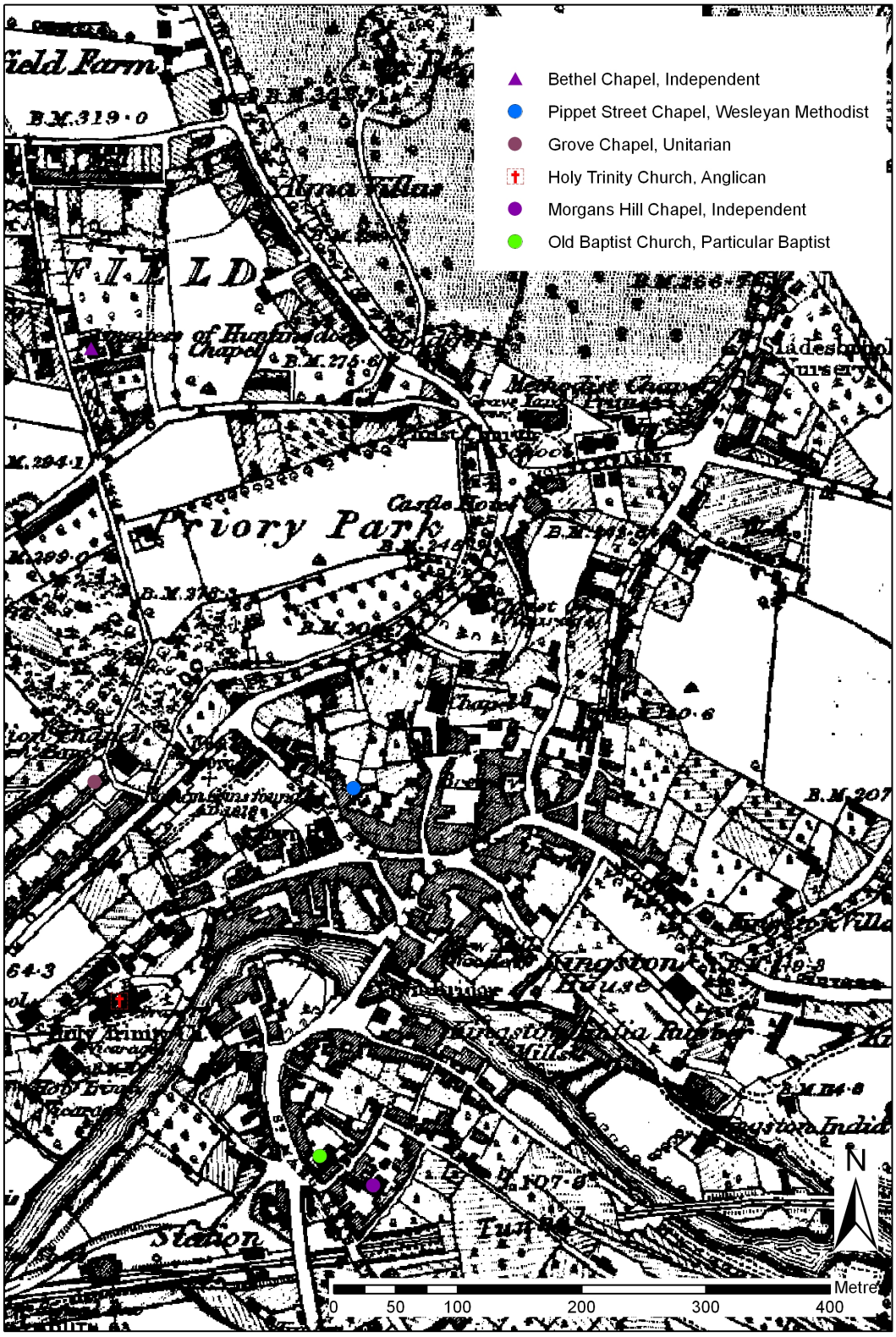
The maps were created using the GIS software *ARCmap*. The first edition OS maps were supplied by EDINA, or by the County Records Offices. These are referenced in the bibliography under 'Ordnance Survey Maps'.

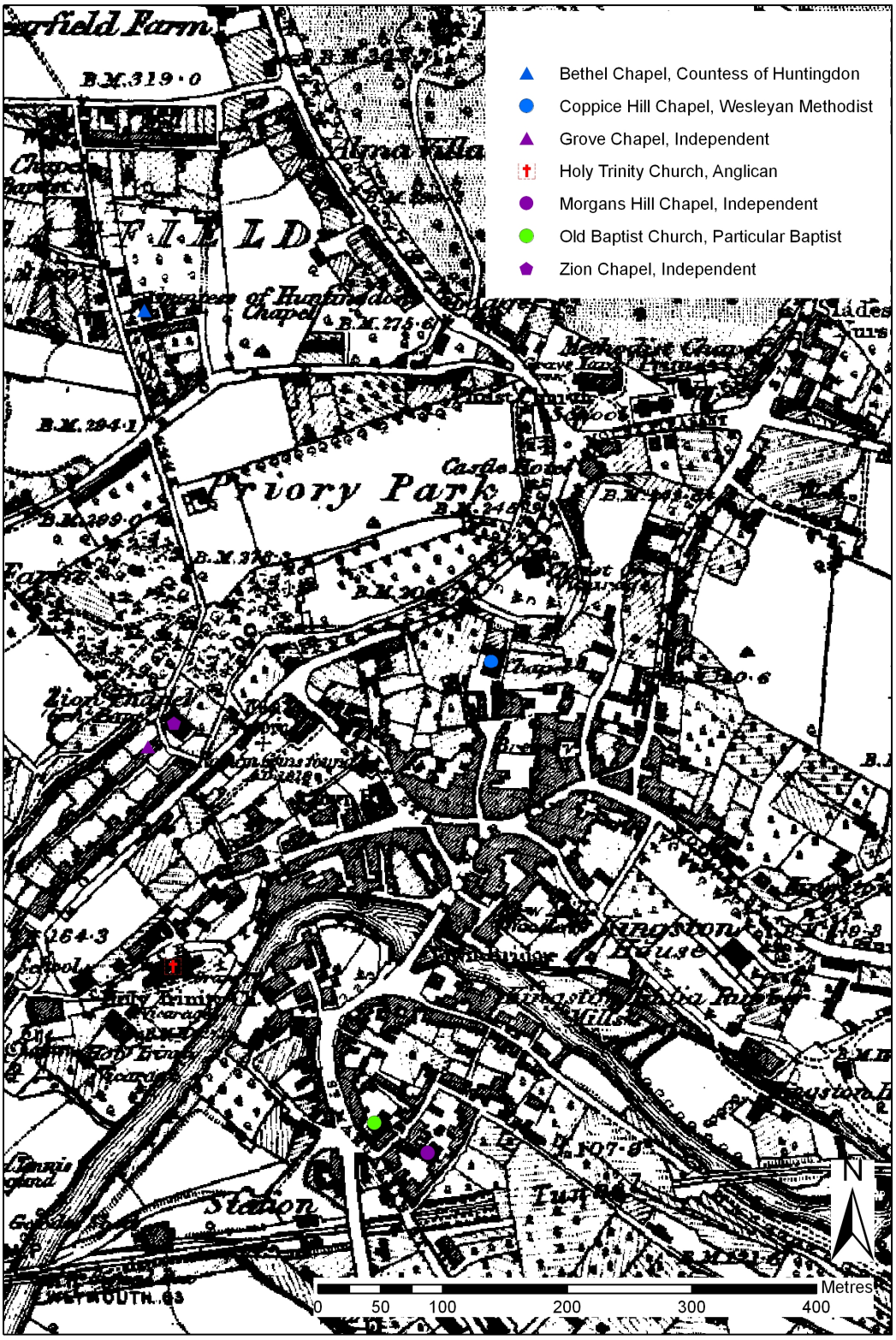
APPENDIX 2.1

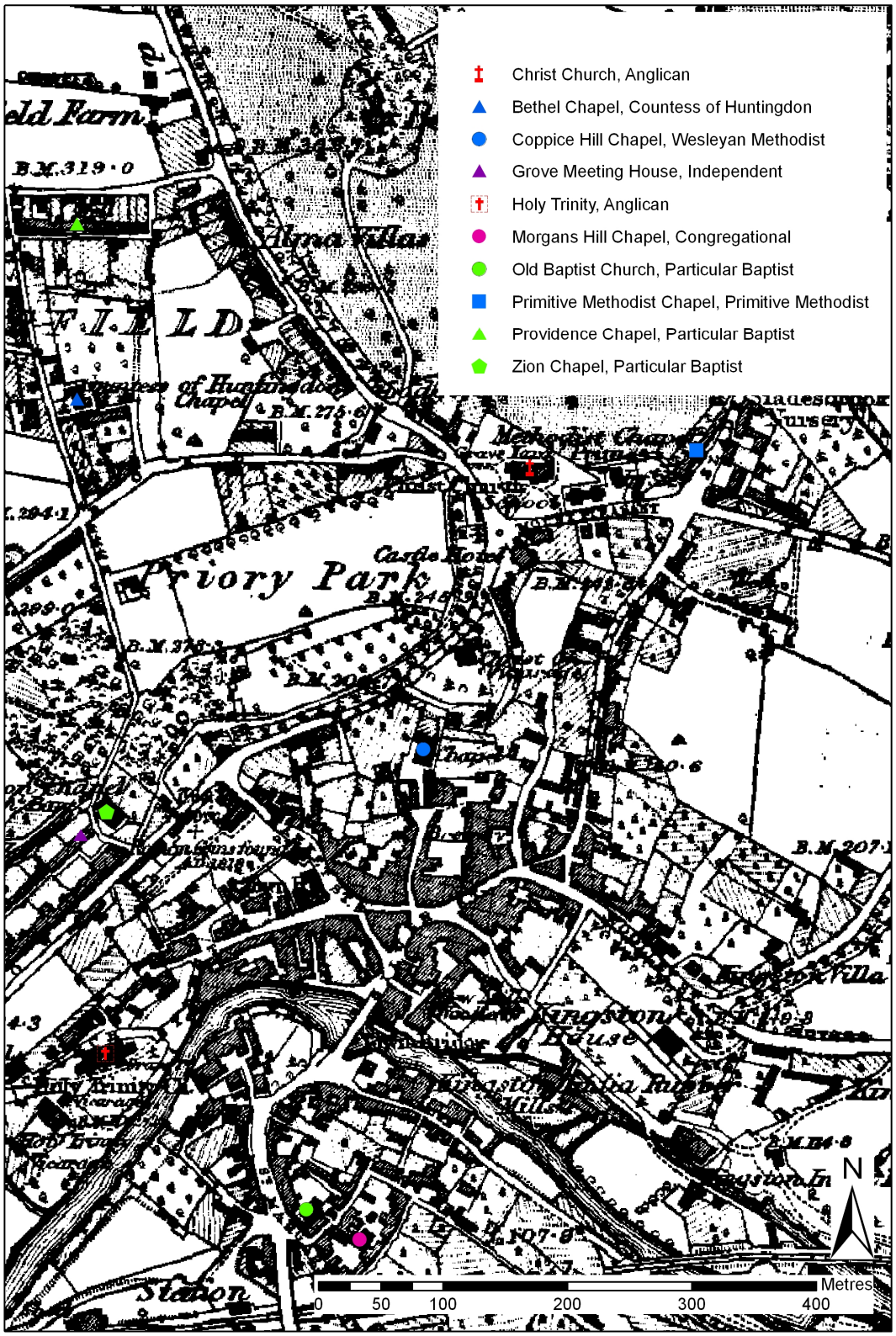
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN BRADFORD, 1760




Pippet Street Chapel, Wesleyan Methodist
Friends Meeting House, Quaker
Grove Chapel, Unitarian
Holy Trinity Church, Anglican
Morgans Hill Chapel, Independent
Old Baptist Church, Particular Baptist
Priory Park
Castle Road
Kingston House
Station
N
Metres
0
50
100
200
300
400

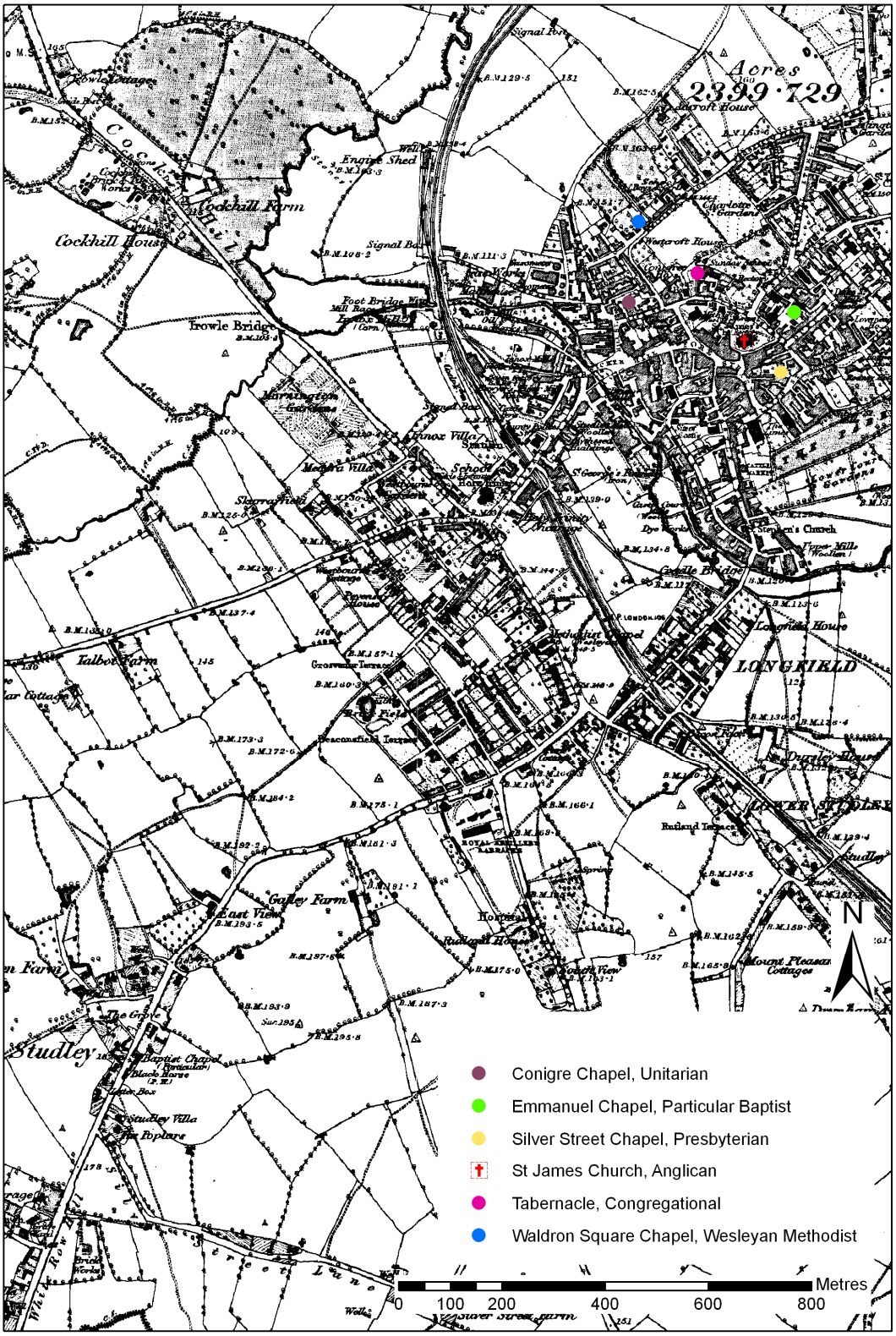

Bethel Chapel, Independent
Pippet Street Chapel, Wesleyan Methodist
Grove Chapel, Unitarian
Holy Trinity Church, Anglican
Morgans Hill Chapel, Independent
Old Baptist Church, Particular Baptist
Priory Park
Station
N
0 50 100 200 300 400
Metre

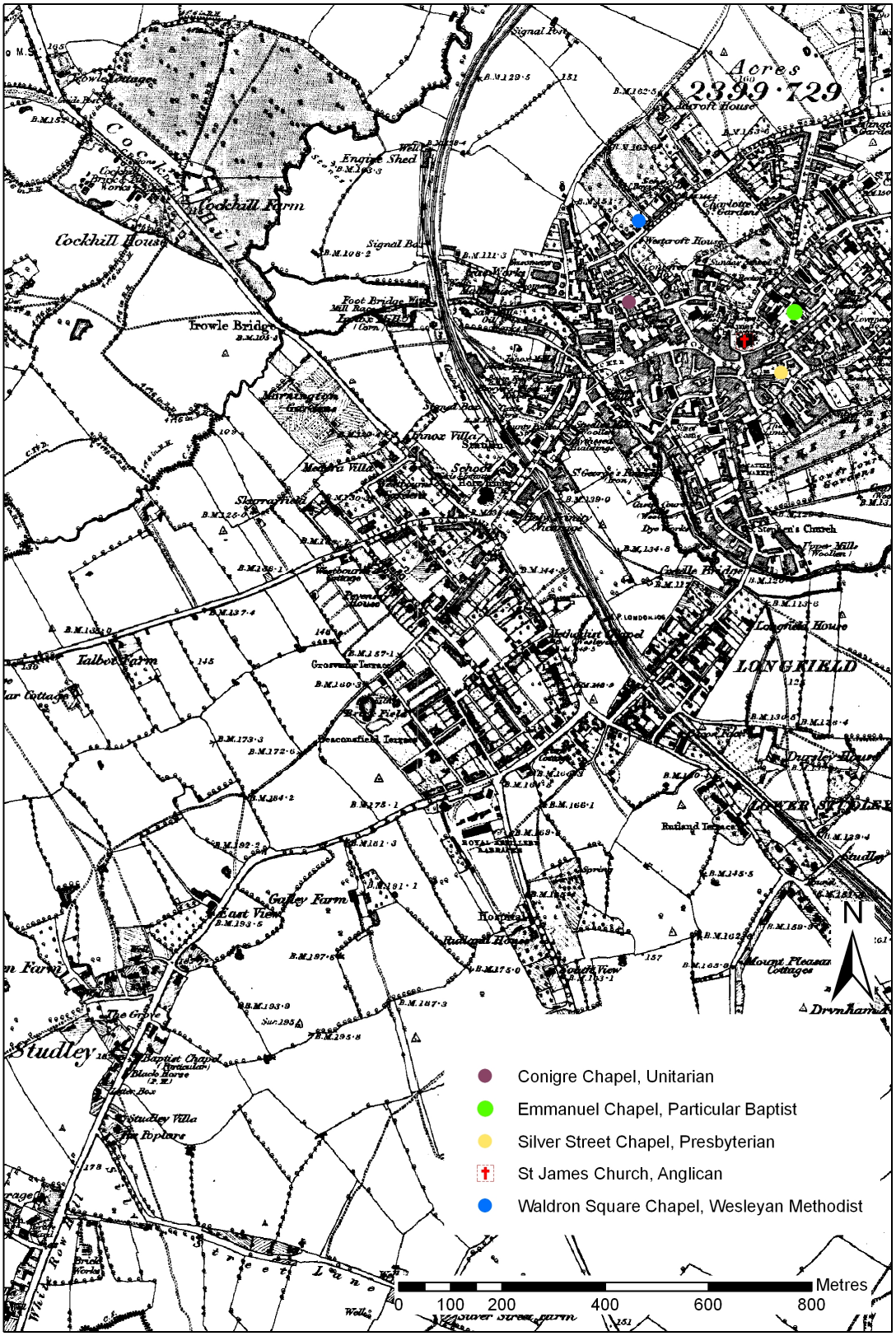

Bethel Chapel, Countess of Huntingdon
Coppice Hill Chapel, Wesleyan Methodist
Grove Chapel, Independent
Holy Trinity Church, Anglican
Morgans Hill Chapel, Independent
Old Baptist Church, Particular Baptist
Zion Chapel, Independent
Priory Park
Station
N
Metres
0
50
100
200
300
400


Christ Church, Anglican
Bethel Chapel, Countess of Huntingdon
Coppice Hill Chapel, Wesleyan Methodist
Grove Meeting House, Independent
Holy Trinity, Anglican
Morgans Hill Chapel, Congregational
Old Baptist Church, Particular Baptist
Primitive Methodist Chapel, Primitive Methodist
Providence Chapel, Particular Baptist
Zion Chapel, Particular Baptist
N
Metres
0
50
100
200
300
400

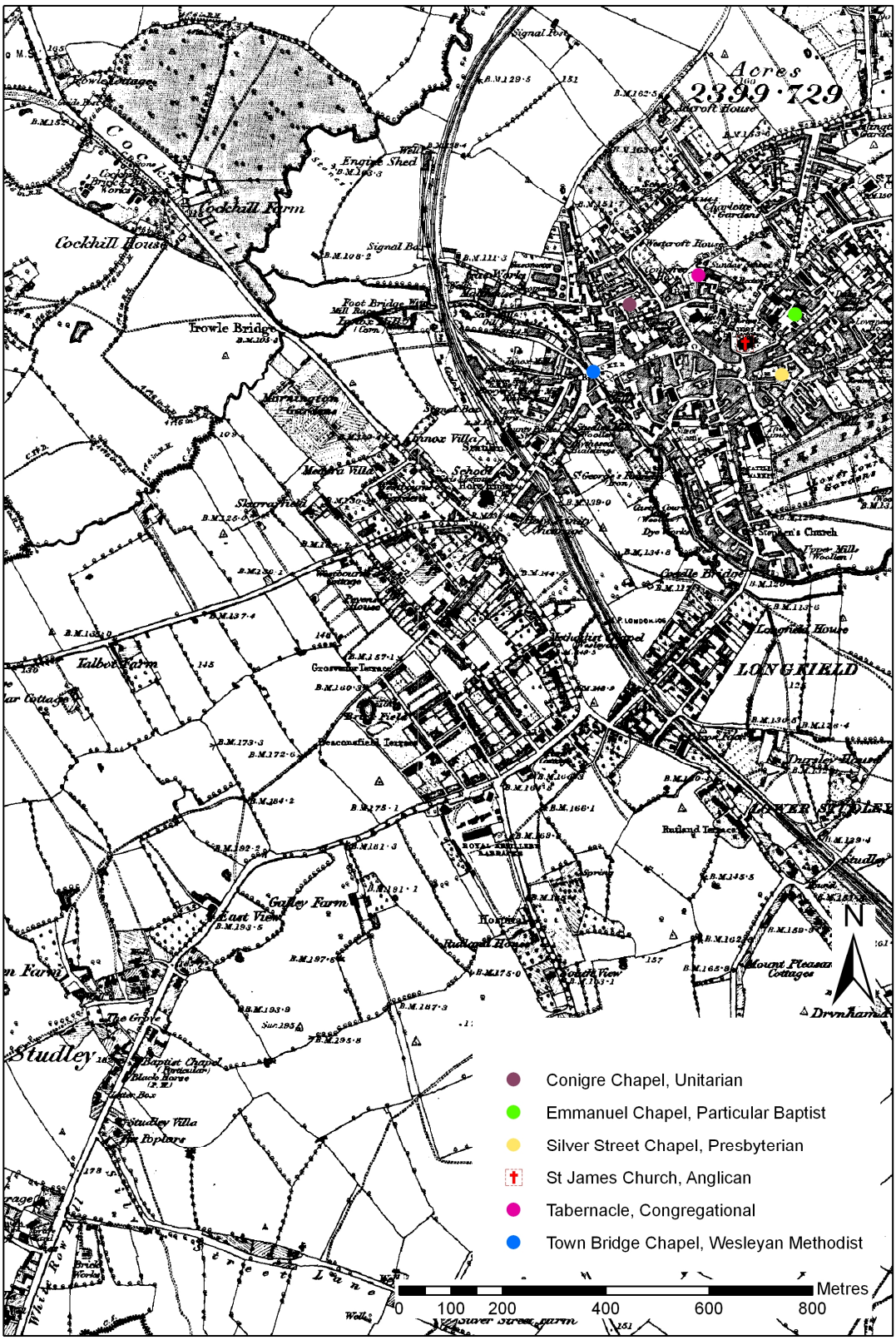
APPENDIX 2.2

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN TROWBRIDGE, 1760




Acres
2399·729
Cockhill Farm
Cockhill House
Trowle Bridge
Engine Shed
Signal Box
Signal Post
Waterloo House
Charlotte Gardens
Marrington Gardens
Medina Villa
Sherrard Villa
Talbot Farm
Grosvenor Terrace
Beaconsfield Terrace
Galley Farm
East View
Hornsea
Richmond House
Richmond Terrace
Longfield House
LONGFIELD
Drayley House
LOWER STUDLEY
Mount Pleasant Cottages
Studley
The Grove
Baptist Chapel
Black Horse
Studley Villa
The Poplars
Street Lane
Silver Street farm
Wells
Bridge Works
Lower Gardens
St Stephen's Church
Methodist Chapel
Dye Works
Flour Mill (Woollen)
Gabelle Hardine
Dracott House
Clothing Factory
Coal Depot
Brick Works
Lime Box
Drynham
N
Conigre Chapel, Unitarian
Emmanuel Chapel, Particular Baptist
Silver Street Chapel, Presbyterian
St James Church, Anglican
Waldron Square Chapel, Wesleyan Methodist
Metres
0
100
200
400
600
800

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN TROWBRIDGE, 1785 to 1810



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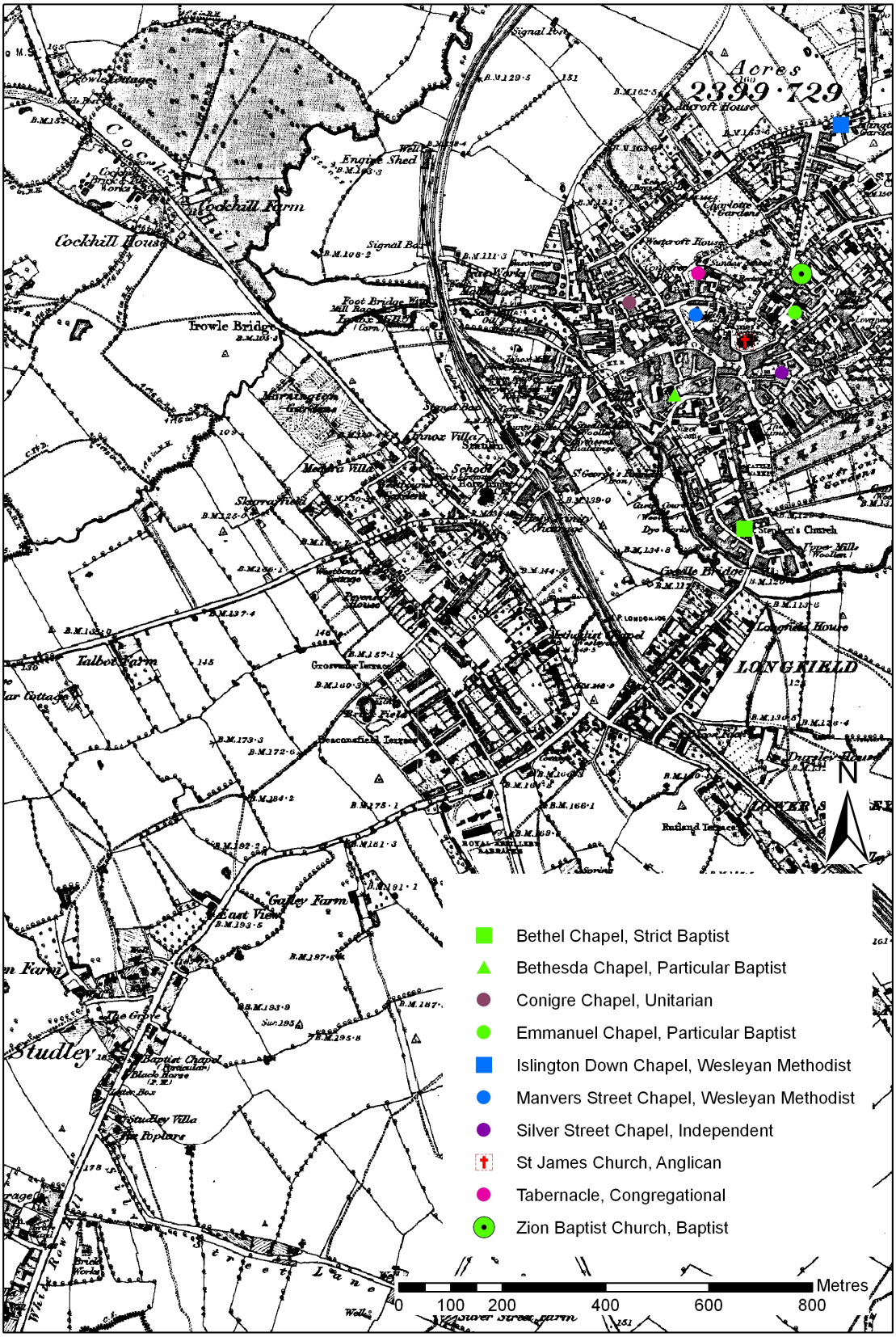

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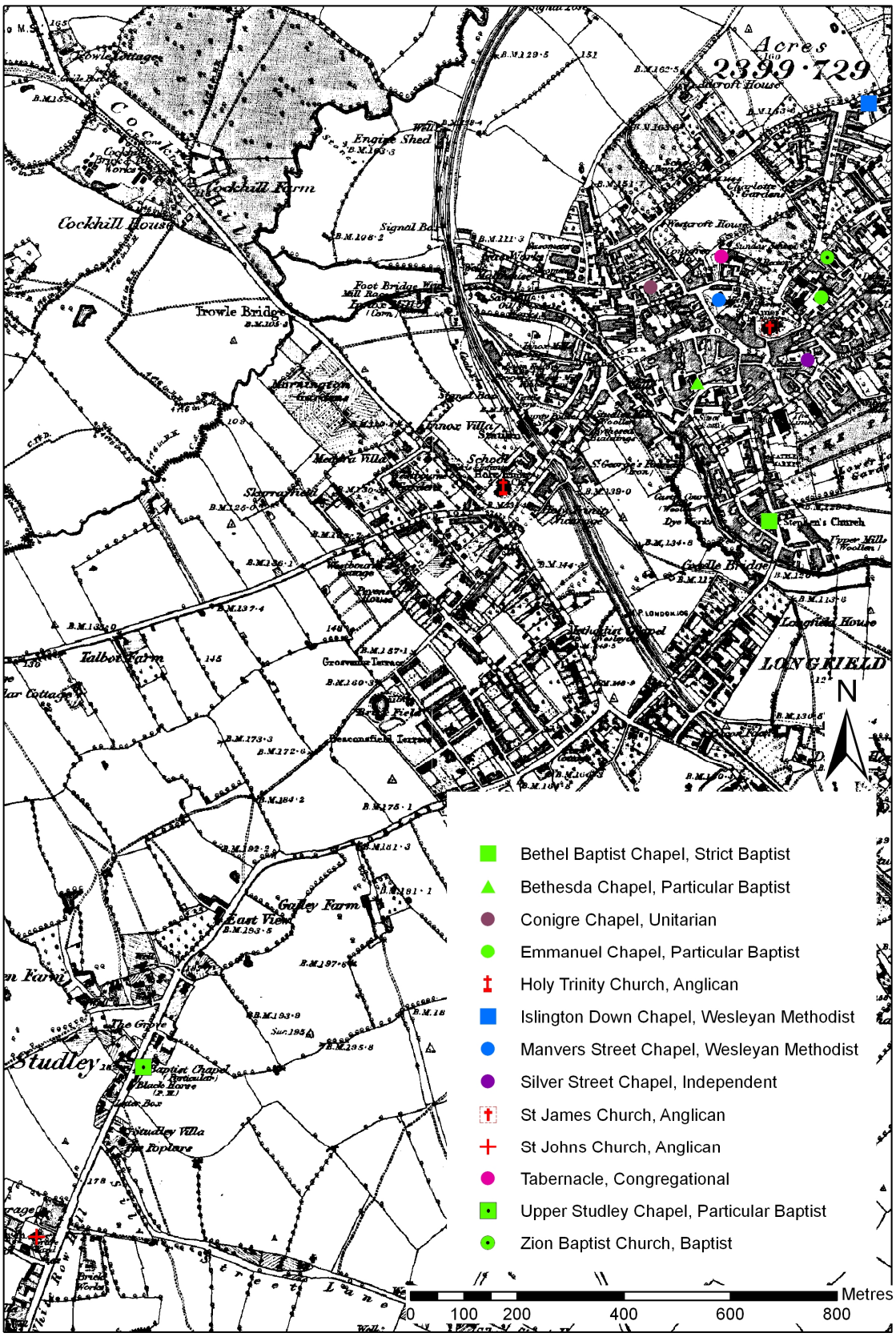
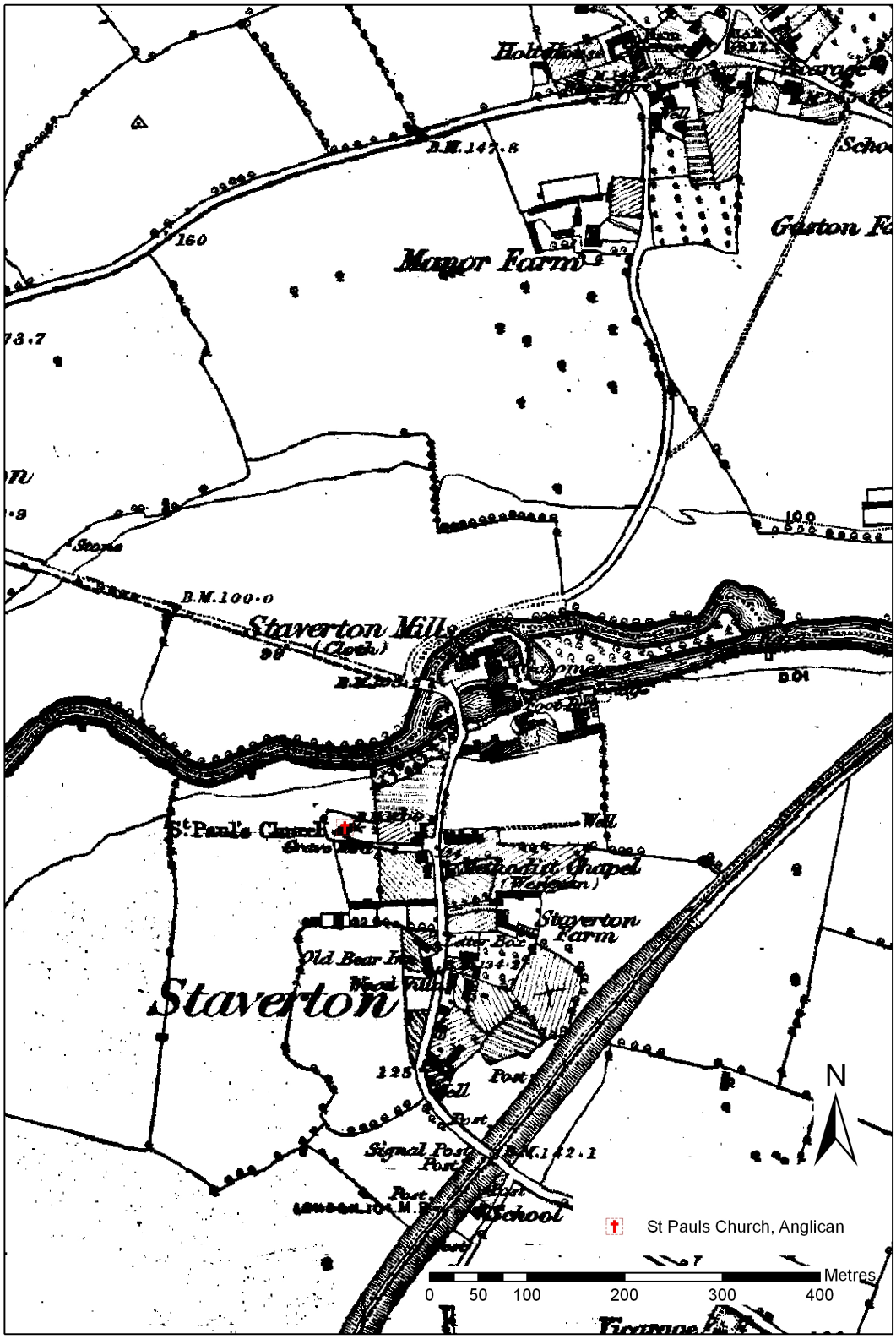
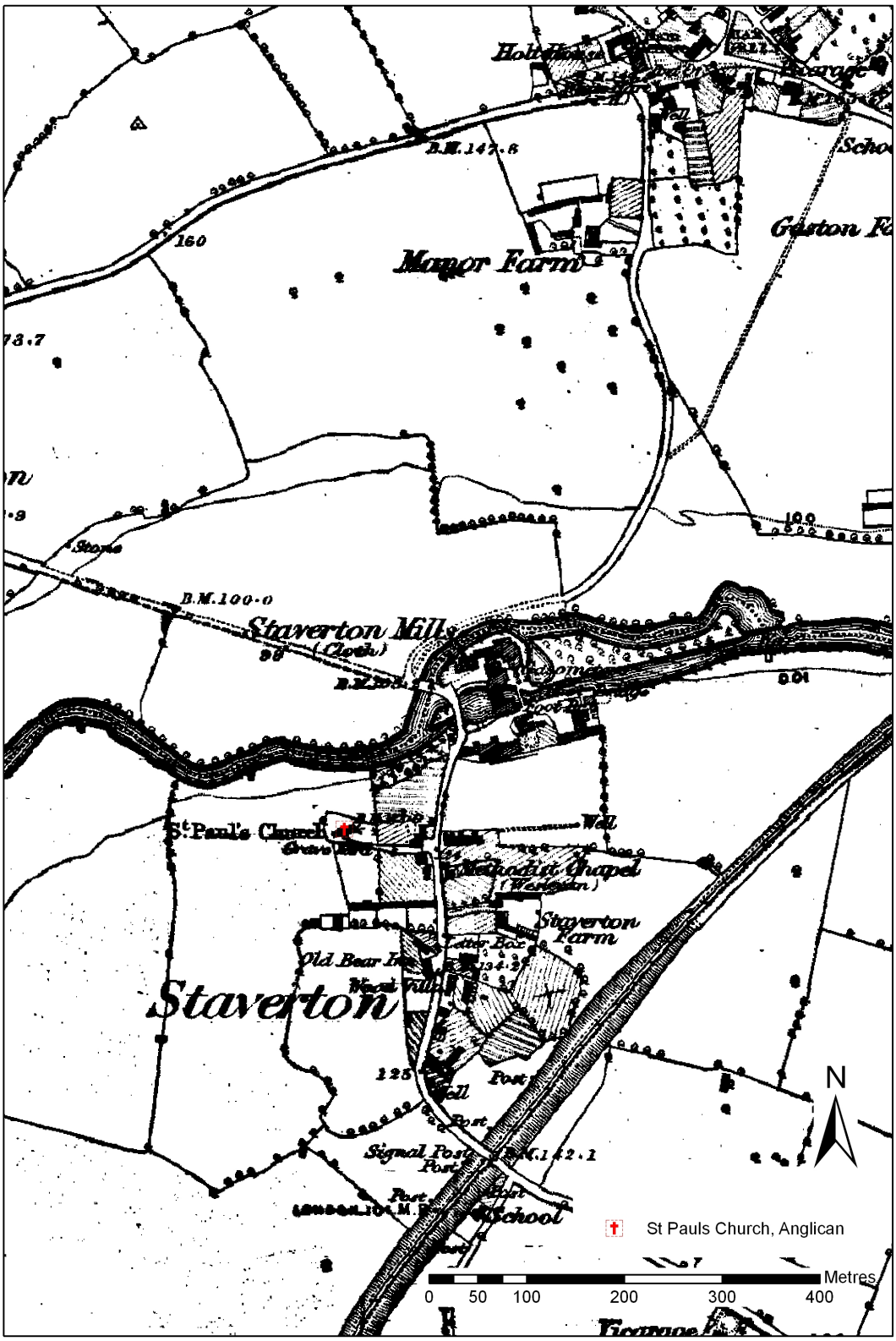
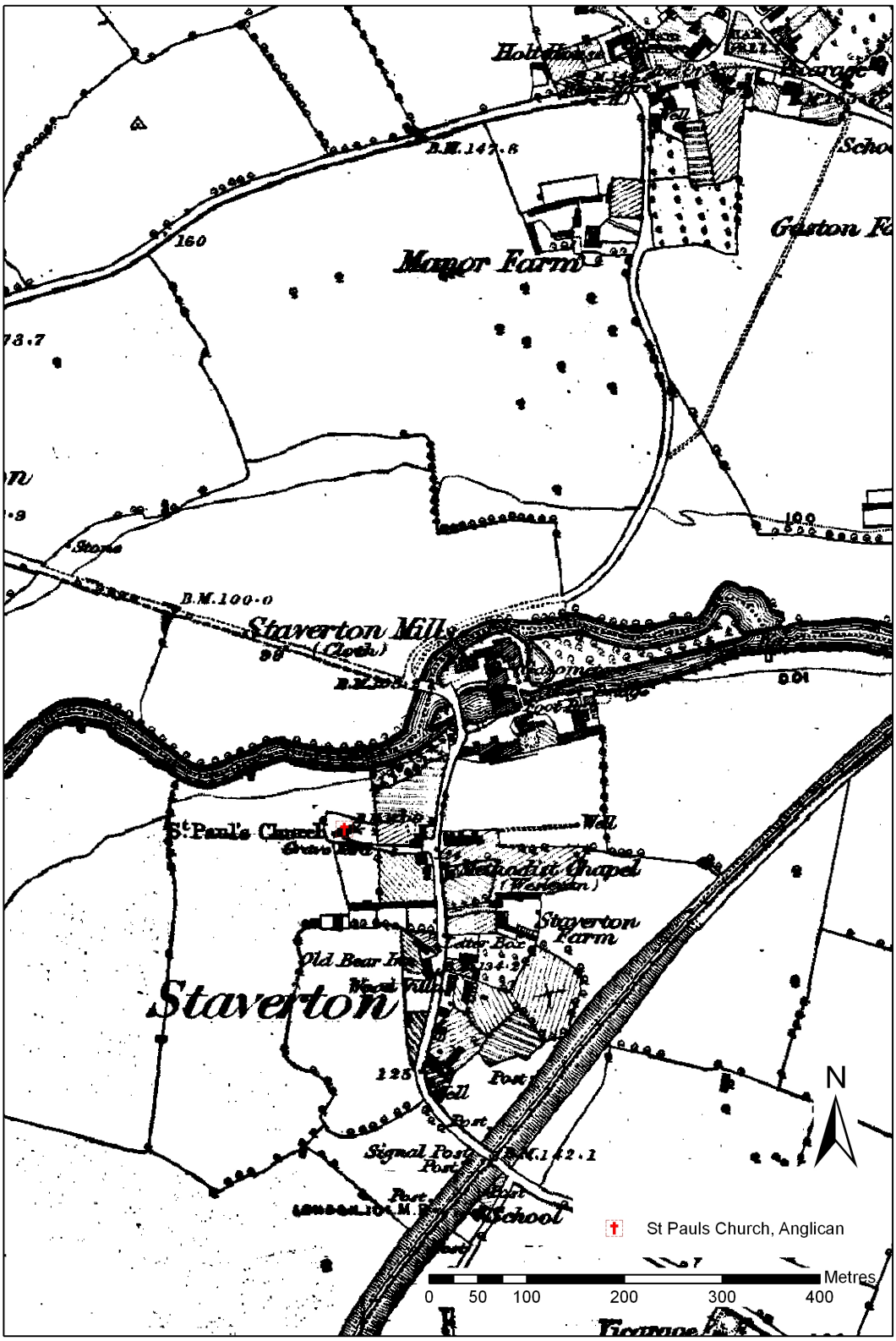


APPENDIX 2.3

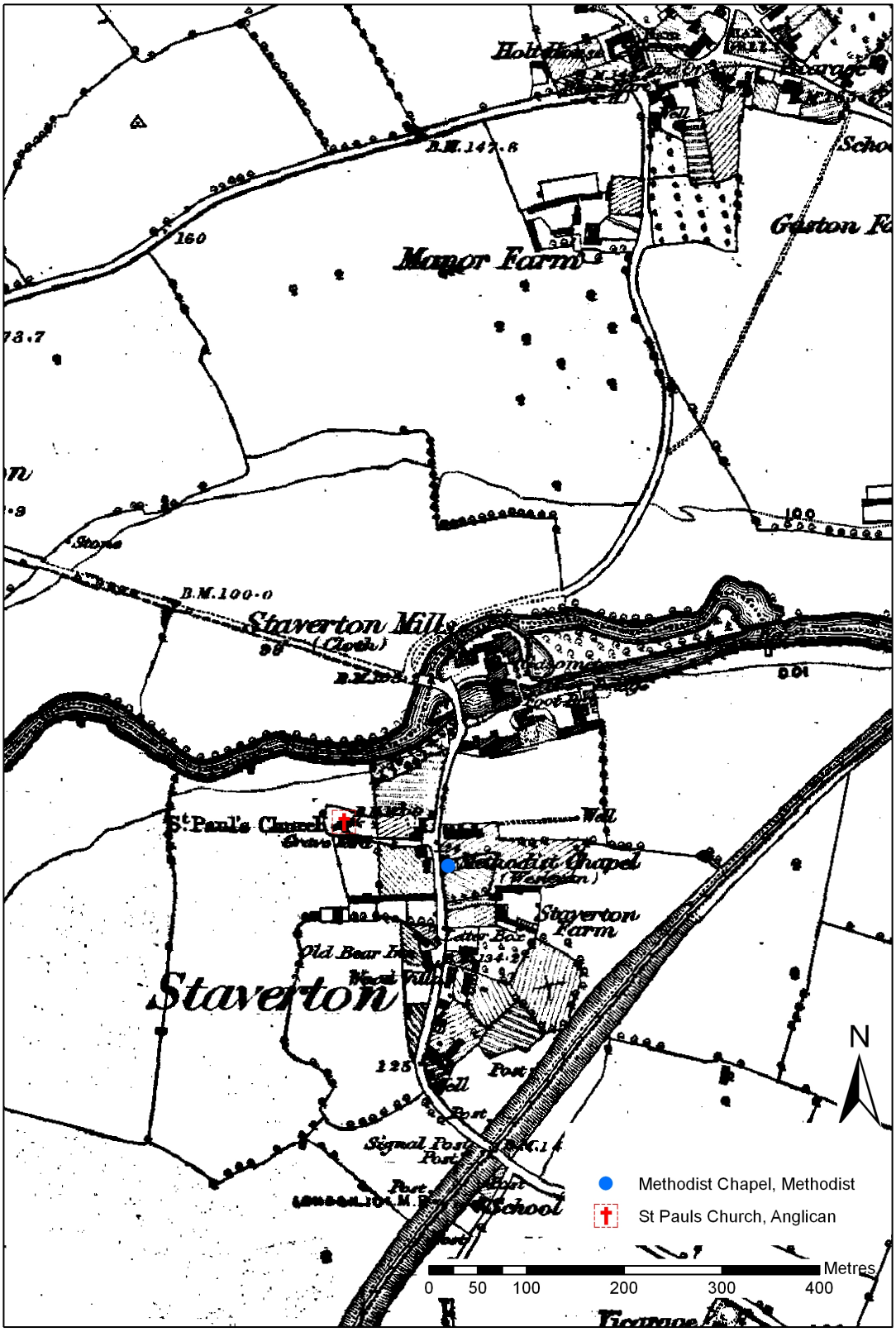
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN STAVERTON, 1760

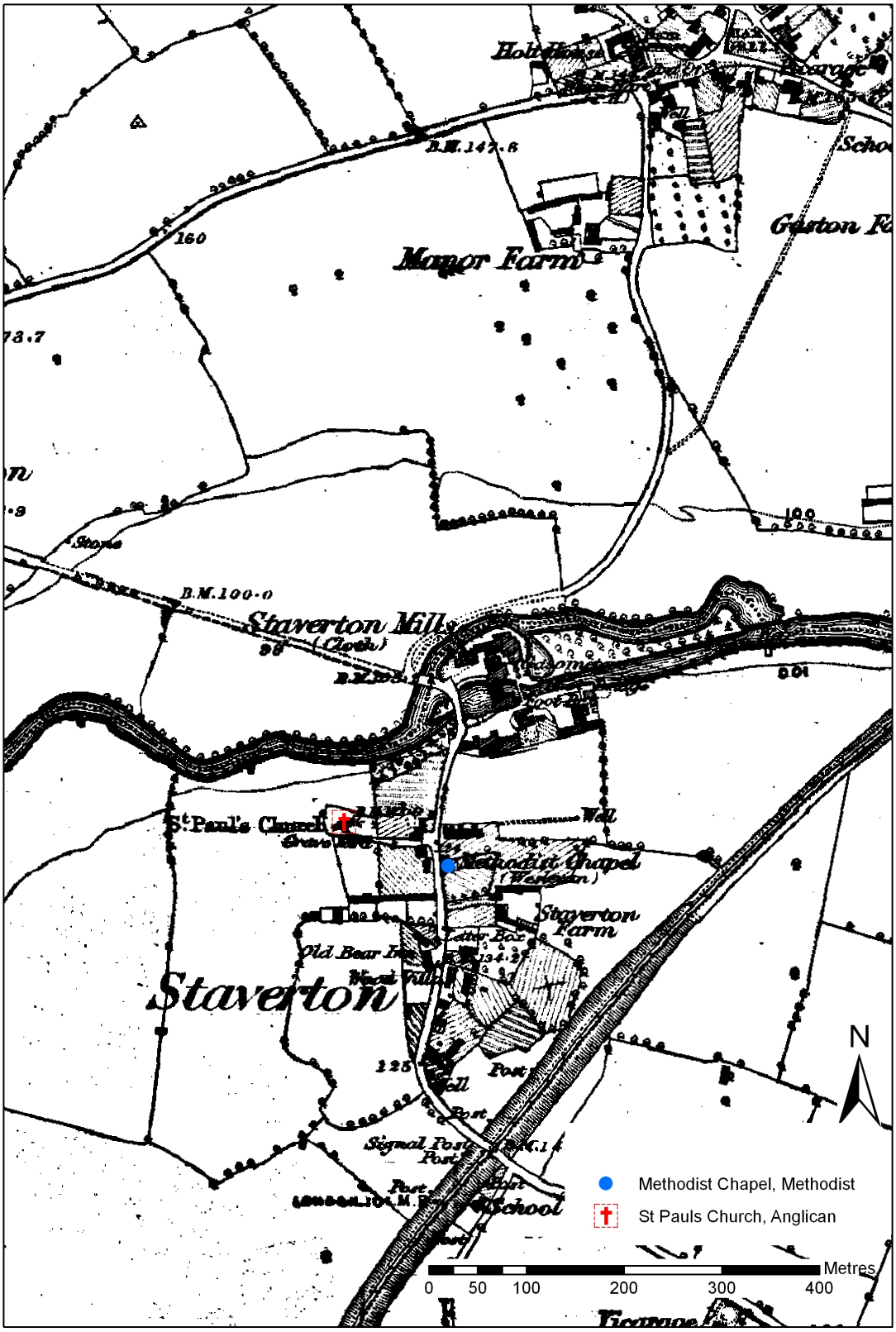



Manor Farm
Staverton Mills
(Cloth)
B.M.100·0
St Paul's Church
Methodist Chapel
(Wesleyan)
Staverton Farm
Old Bear Inn
Staverton
Signal Post
B.M.142·1
School
N
St Pauls Church, Anglican
Metres
0 50 100 200 300 400


Manor Farm
Staverton Mills
(Cloth)
B.M.100·0
St Paul's Church
Methodist Chapel
(Wesleyan)
Staverton Farm
Old Bear Inn
Staverton
Signal Post
School
N
St Pauls Church, Anglican
Metres
0 50 100 200 300 400

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN STAVERTON, 1810 to 1835




Manor Farm
Staverton Mills
(Cloth)
B.M.100·0
St Paul's Church
Methodist Chapel
(Wesleyan)
Staverton Farm
Staverton
Old Bear Inn
Letter Box
Well
Post
Signal Post
School
N
Methodist Chapel, Methodist
St Pauls Church, Anglican
Metres
0
50
100
200
300
400

APPENDIX 2.4

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN STROUD CENTRE, 1760

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN STROUD CENTRE, 1760 to 1785

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN STROUD CENTRE, 1785 to 1810

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN STROUD CENTRE, 1810 to 1835

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN STROUD CENTRE, 1835 to 1860

APPENDIX 2.5

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN RODBOROUGH, 1760


Rodborough Tabernacle, Calvinistic Methodist
St Mary Magdalenes Church, Anglican
Metres
0
100
200
400
600
800
N
Rodborough
St.Mary Magdalen's Church
The Butts
The Lagger
Spillman's Court
Frome Hall
Nursery
Woodhouse
Stringer's Farm
Stringer's Court
Upper Stringer's Farm
Tabernacle Walk
Tabernacle
Rodborough Castle
The Kestrels
Stanfields
RODBOROUGH
RODBOROUGH
Acres
COMMON
Little London
1317·484
King's Court
The Achers
School
Rooksmoor
Rooksgrove
Bagpath House
Rodborough Lodge
Beech Cottage
Hillgrove House
Butter
Montser

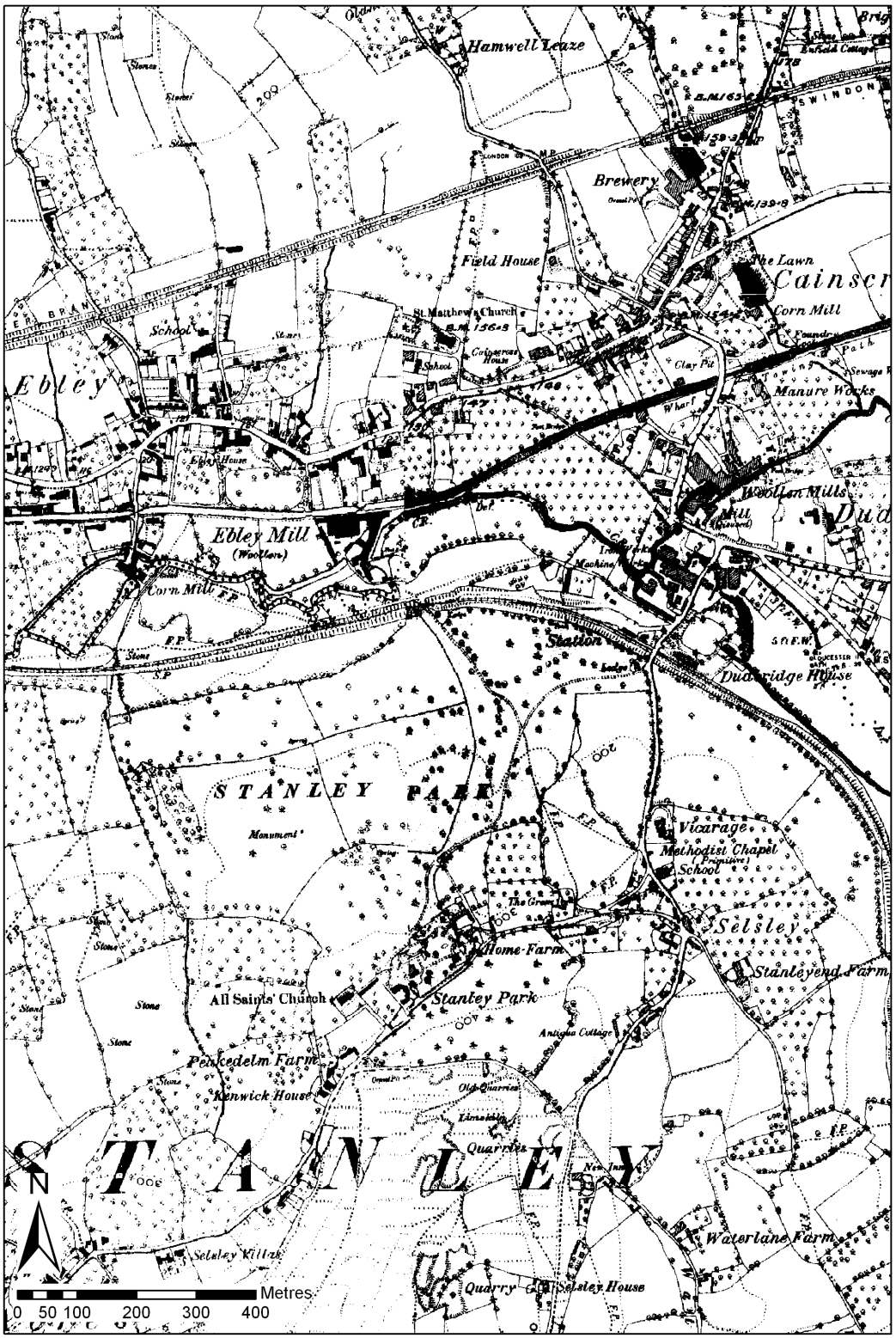
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN RODBOROUGH, 1785 to 1810

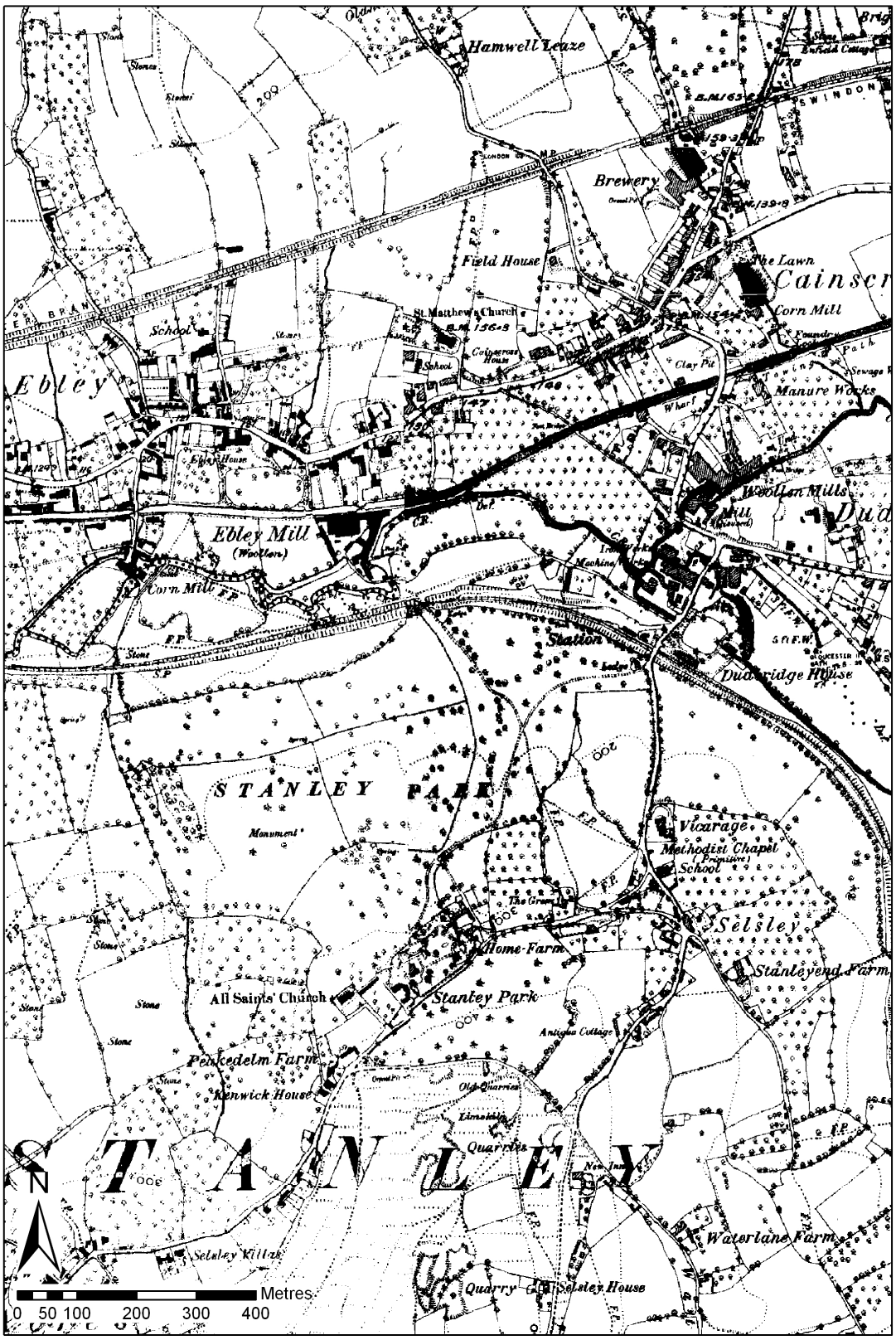
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN RODBOROUGH, 1810 to 1835

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN RODBOROUGH, 1835 to 1860

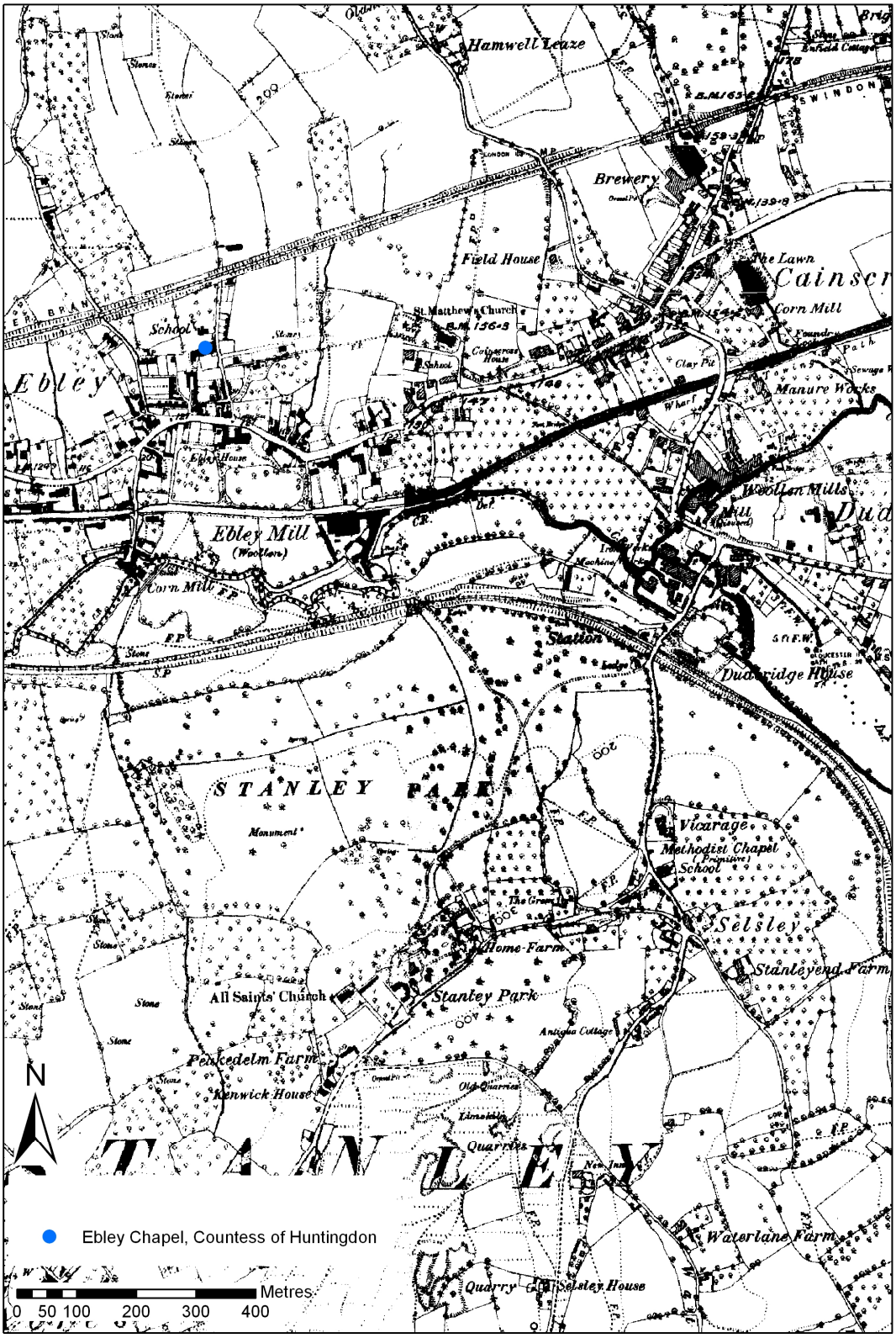
APPENDIX 2.6

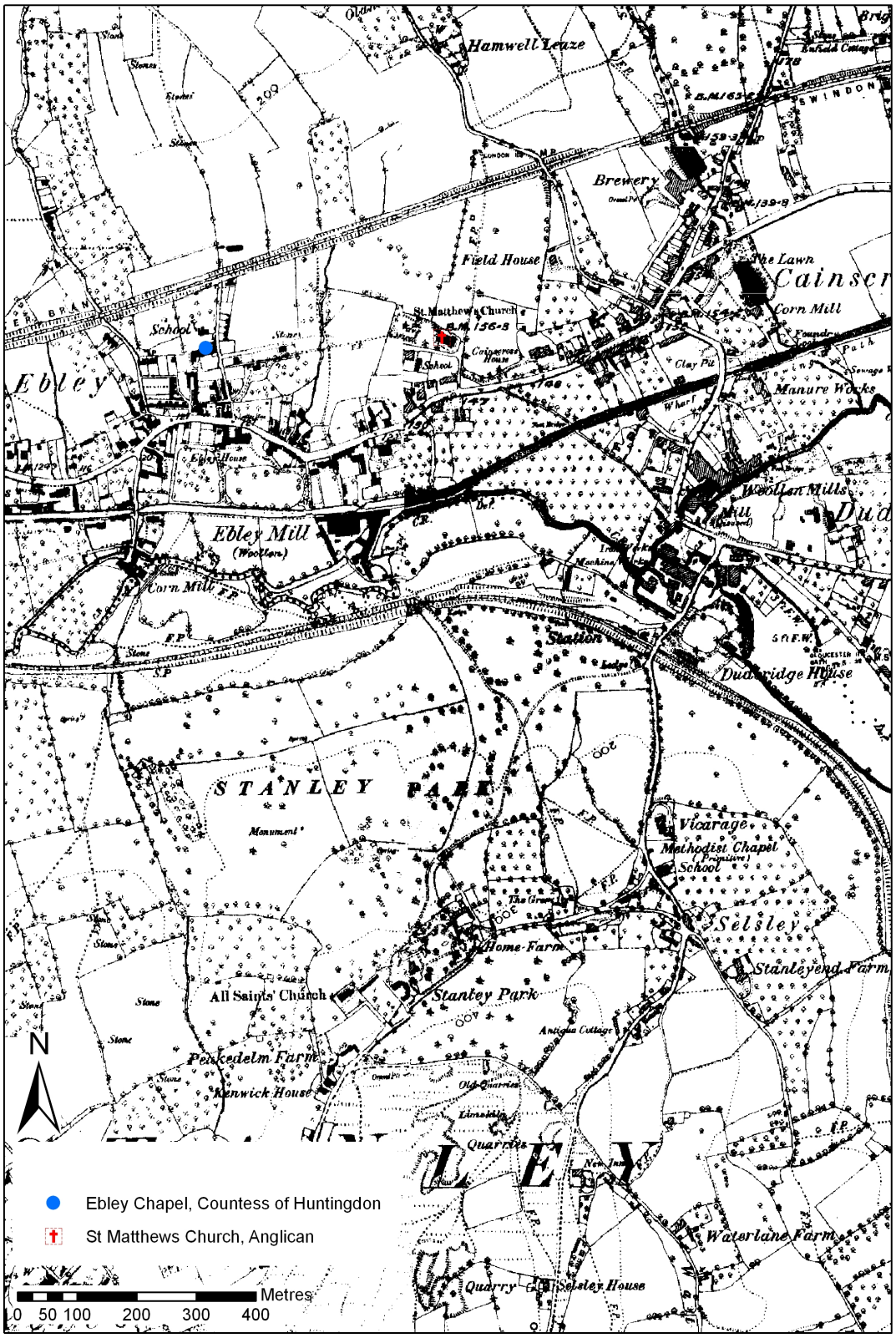
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN EBLEY AND CAINSCROSS, 1760

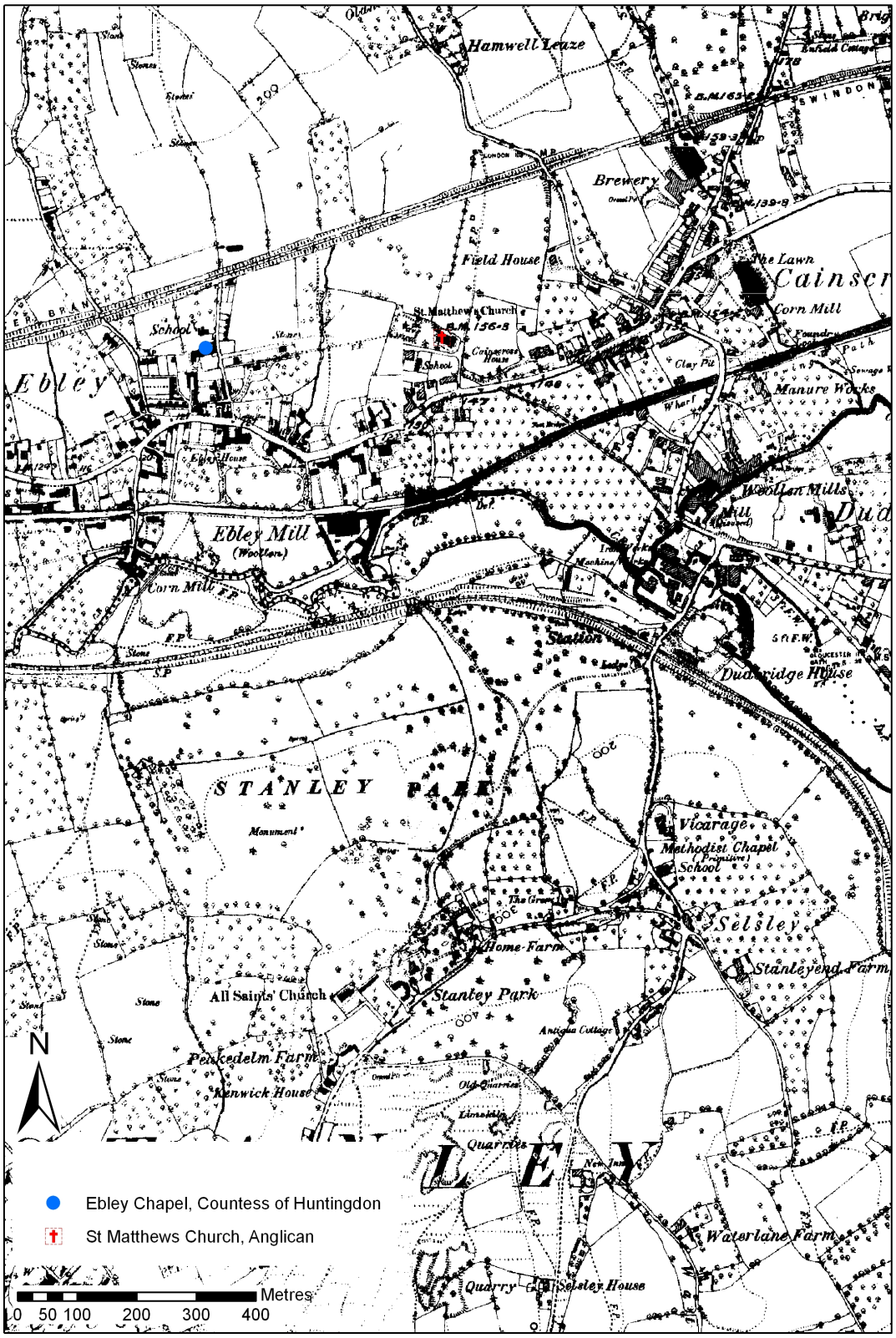



Hamwell Leaze
Brewery
Field House
The Lawn
Corn Mill
St Matthew's Church
School
Ebley
Manure Works
Woollen Mills
Ebley Mill
(Woollens)
Corn Mill
Station
Dudbridge House
STANLEY PARK
Monument
Vicarage
Methodist Chapel
School
Selsley
Home Farm
Stanleyend Farm
All Saints' Church
Stantey Park
Antigua Cottage
Penkedelm Farm
Kenwick House
Old Quarries
Limekiln
Quarries
STANLEY
Waterlane Farm
Selsley Hillfort
Quarry
Selsley House
N
Metres
0 50 100 200 300 400

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN EBLEY AND CAINSCROSS, 1785 to 1810

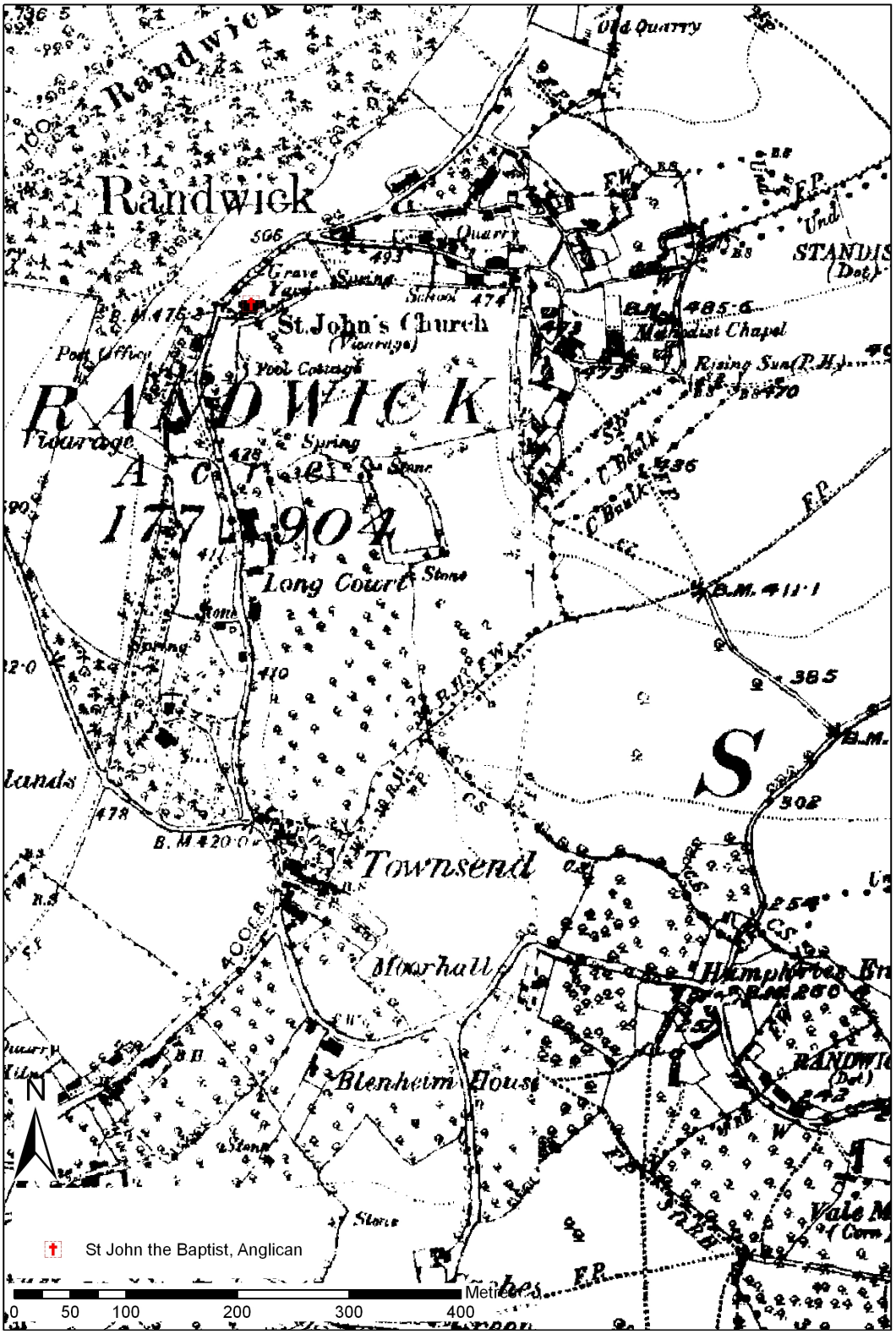



Hamwell Leaze
Brewery
Field House
The Lawn
Corn Mill
St Matthew's Church
School
Ebley
Clay Pit
Manure Works
Woollen Mills
Ebley Mill
(Woollen)
Corn Mill
Station
Dudbridge House
STANLEY PARK
Monument
Vicarage
Methodist Chapel
(Primitive)
School
Selsley
Home Farm
Stanleyend Farm
All Saints' Church
Stantey Park
Antigua Cottage
Peacedelm Farm
Kenwick House
Old Quarries
Quarries
Waterlane Farm
Quarry
Selsley House
N
Ebley Chapel, Countess of Huntingdon
St Matthews Church, Anglican
Metres
0 50 100 200 300 400

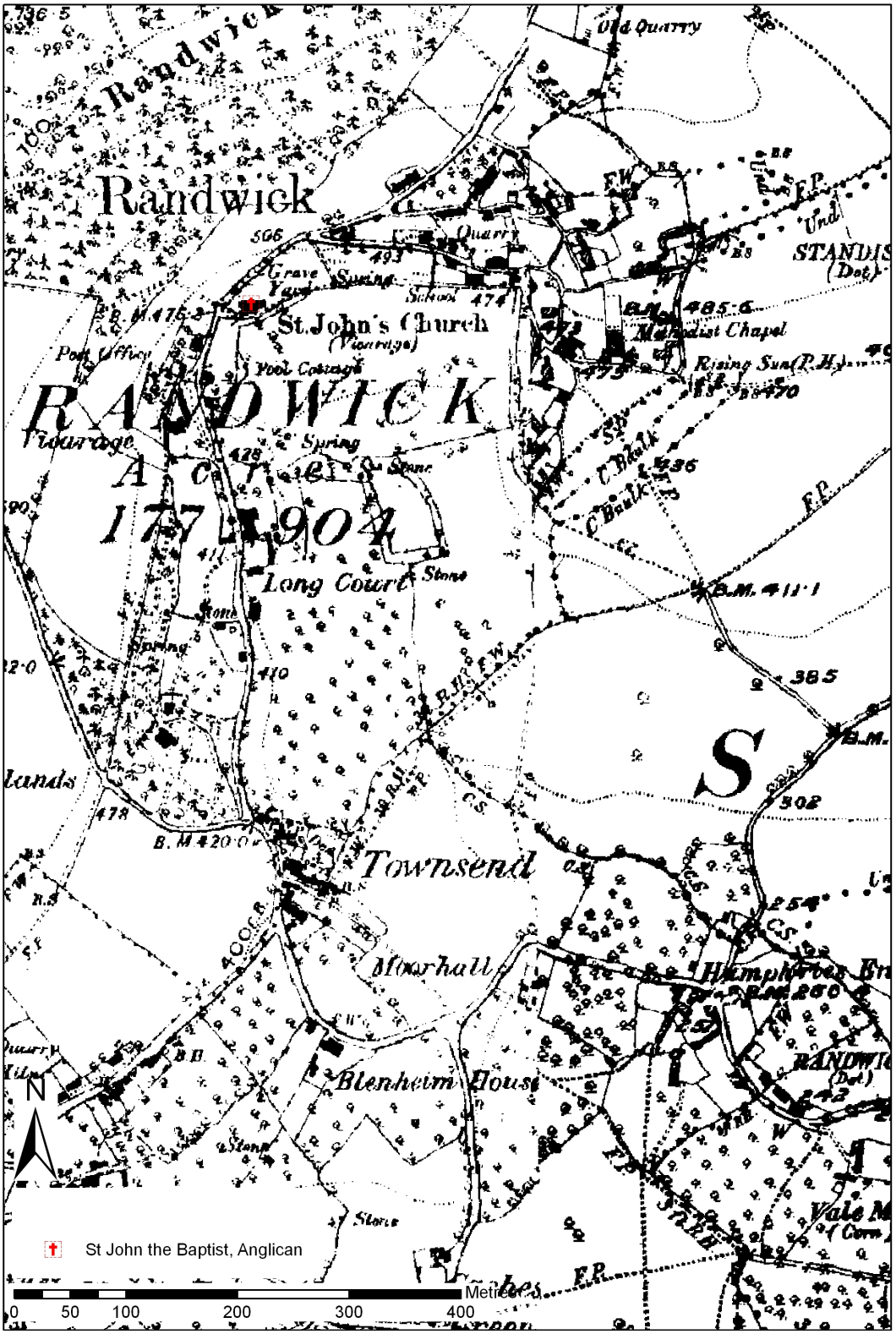

Hamwell Leaze
Brewery
Field House
The Lawn
Corn Mill
St Matthew's Church
School
Ebley
Manure Works
Woollen Mills
Ebley Mill
(Woollen)
Corn Mill
Station
Dudbridge House
STANLEY PARK
Monument
Vicarage
Methodist Chapel
(Primitive)
School
Selsley
Home Farm
Stanleyend Farm
All Saints' Church
Stantey Park
Antigua Cottage
Peacedelm Farm
Kenwick House
Old Quarries
Quarries
Waterlane Farm
Quarry
Selsley House
N
Ebley Chapel, Countess of Huntingdon
St Matthews Church, Anglican
Metres
0 50 100 200 300 400

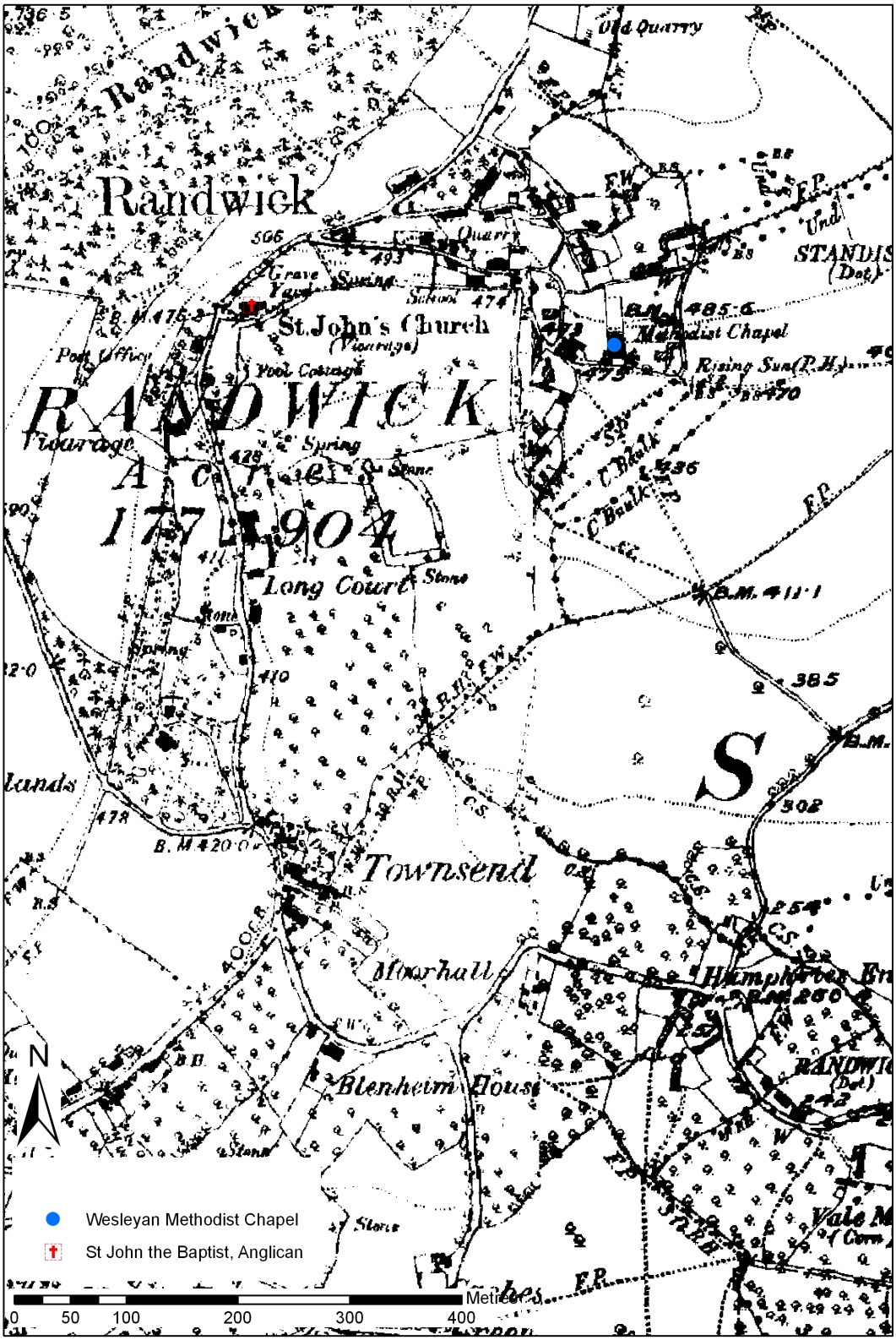
APPENDIX 2.7

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN RANDWICK, 1760

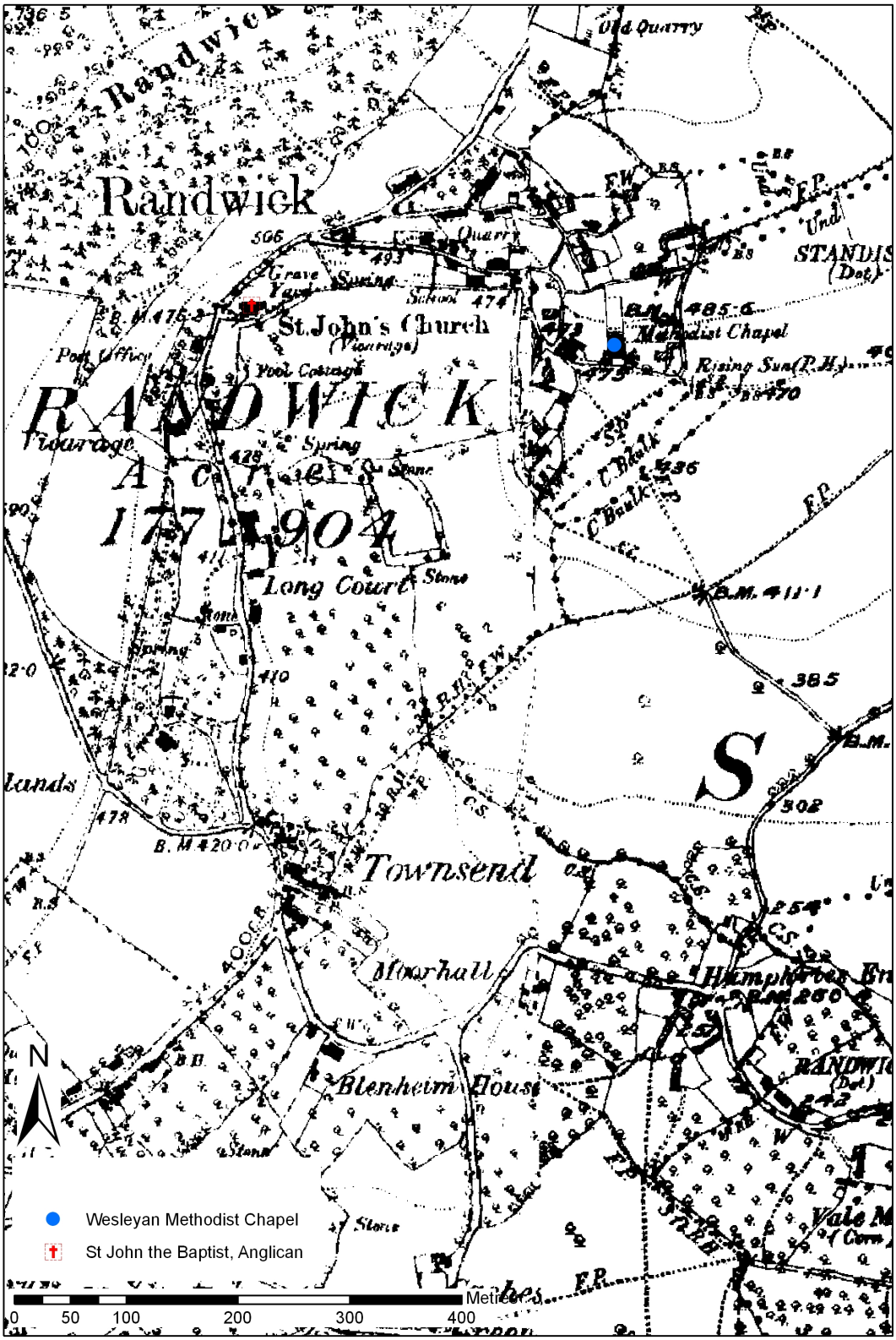


RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN RANDWICK, 1760 to 1785




Randwick
St.John's Church
Wesleyan Methodist Chapel
St John the Baptist, Anglican
Long Court
Townsend
Moorhall
Blenheim House
N
0 50 100 200 300 400
Metres

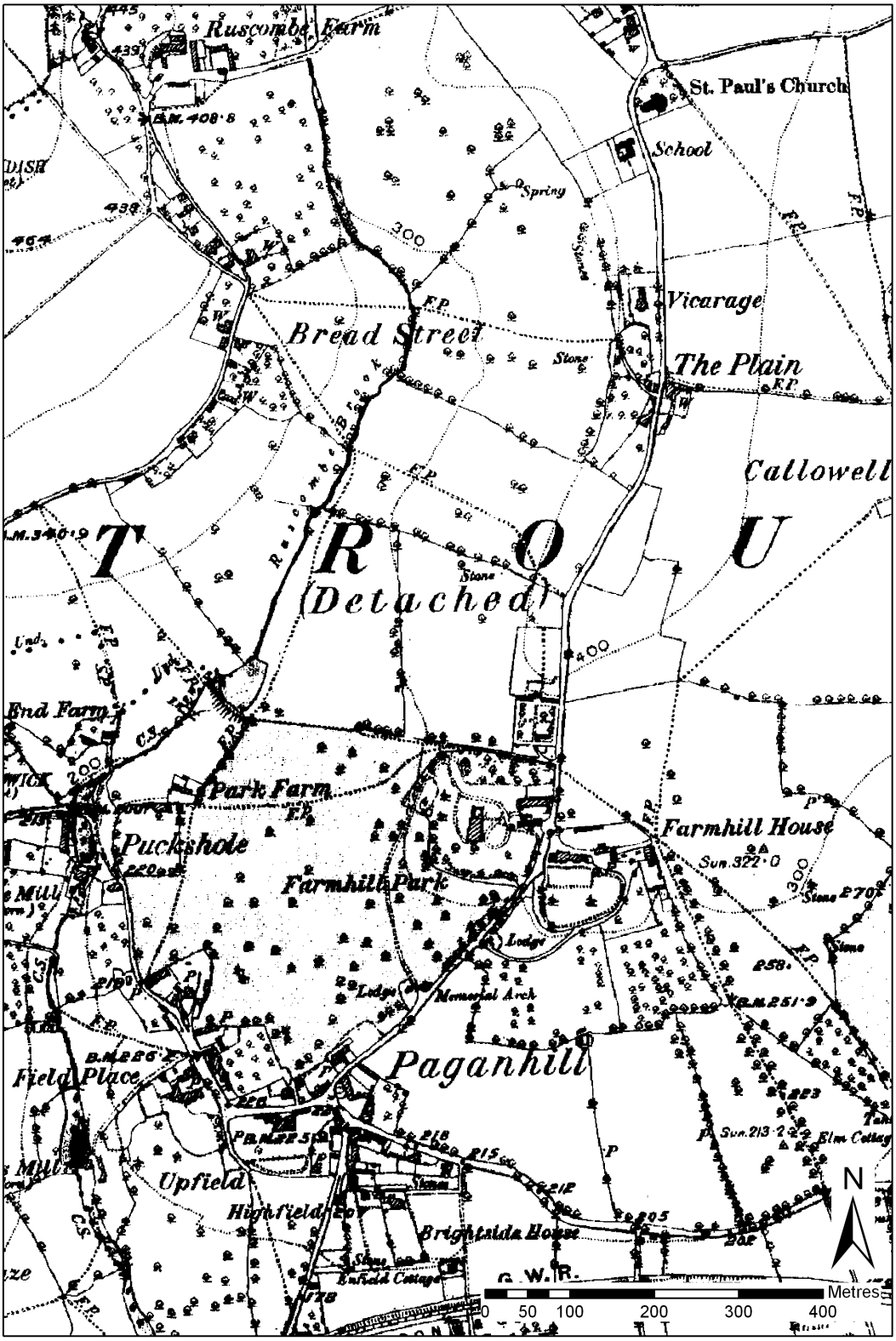
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN RANDWICK, 1810 to 1835



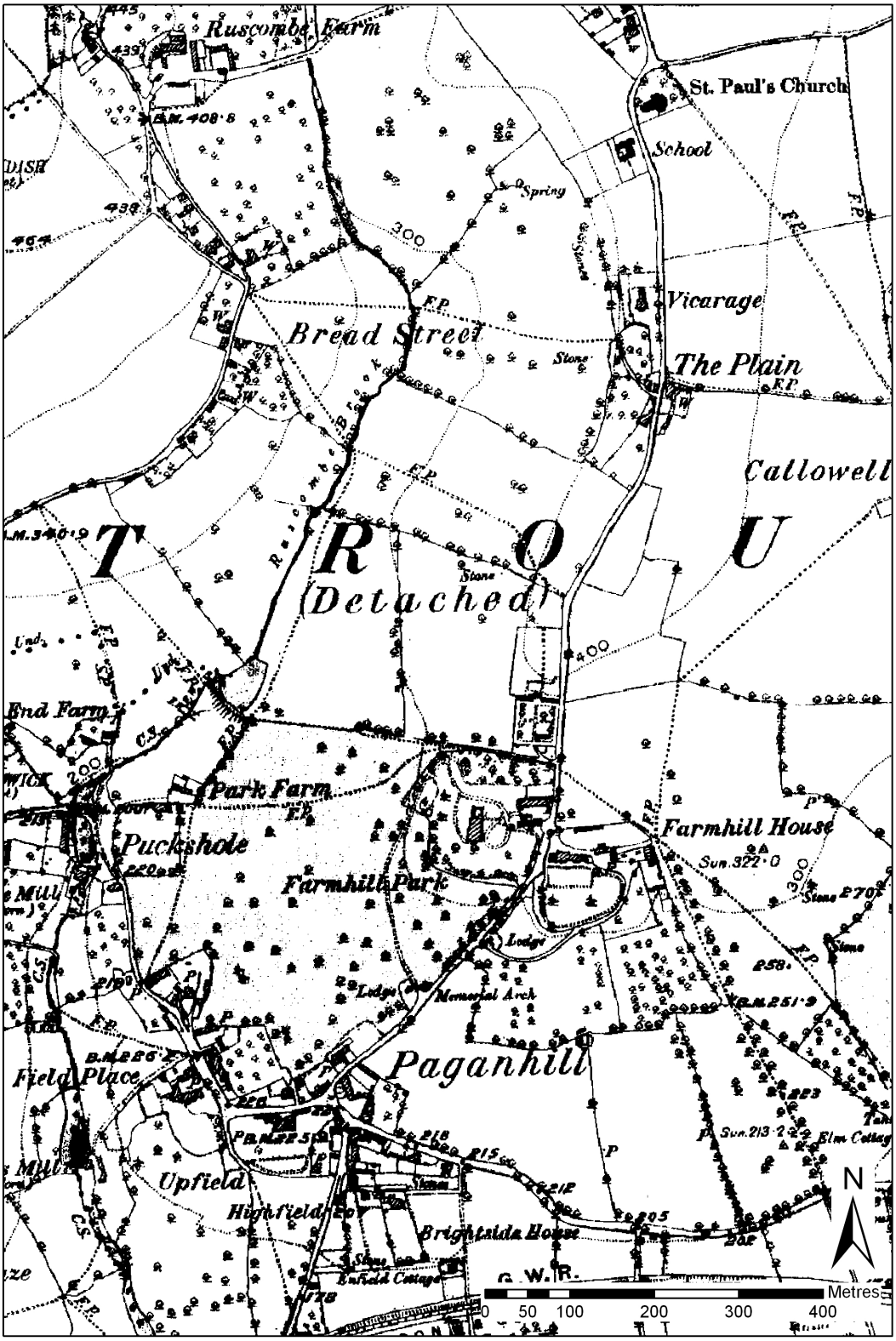
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN RANDWICK, 1835 to 1860

APPENDIX 2.8

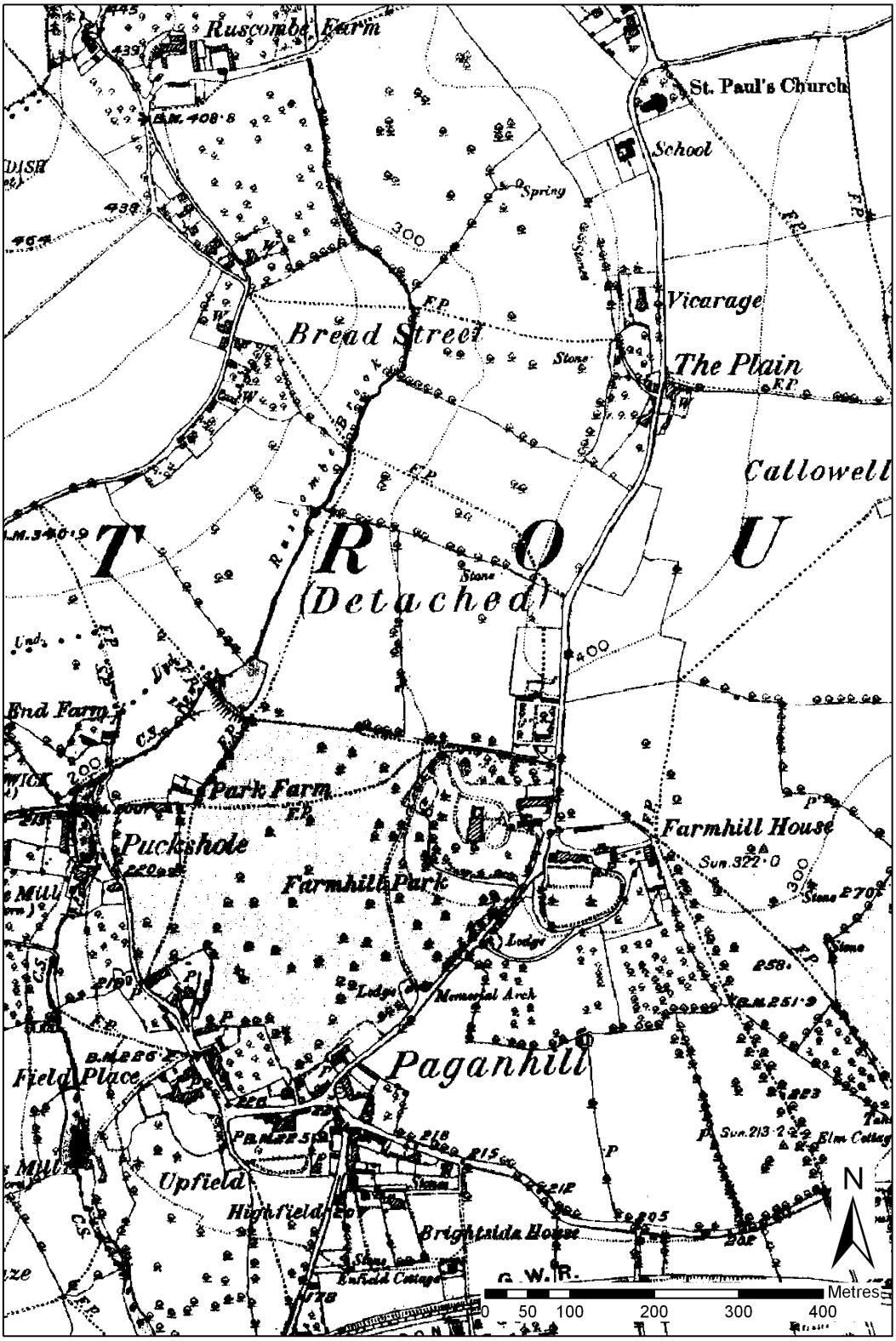
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN PAGANHILL, 1760

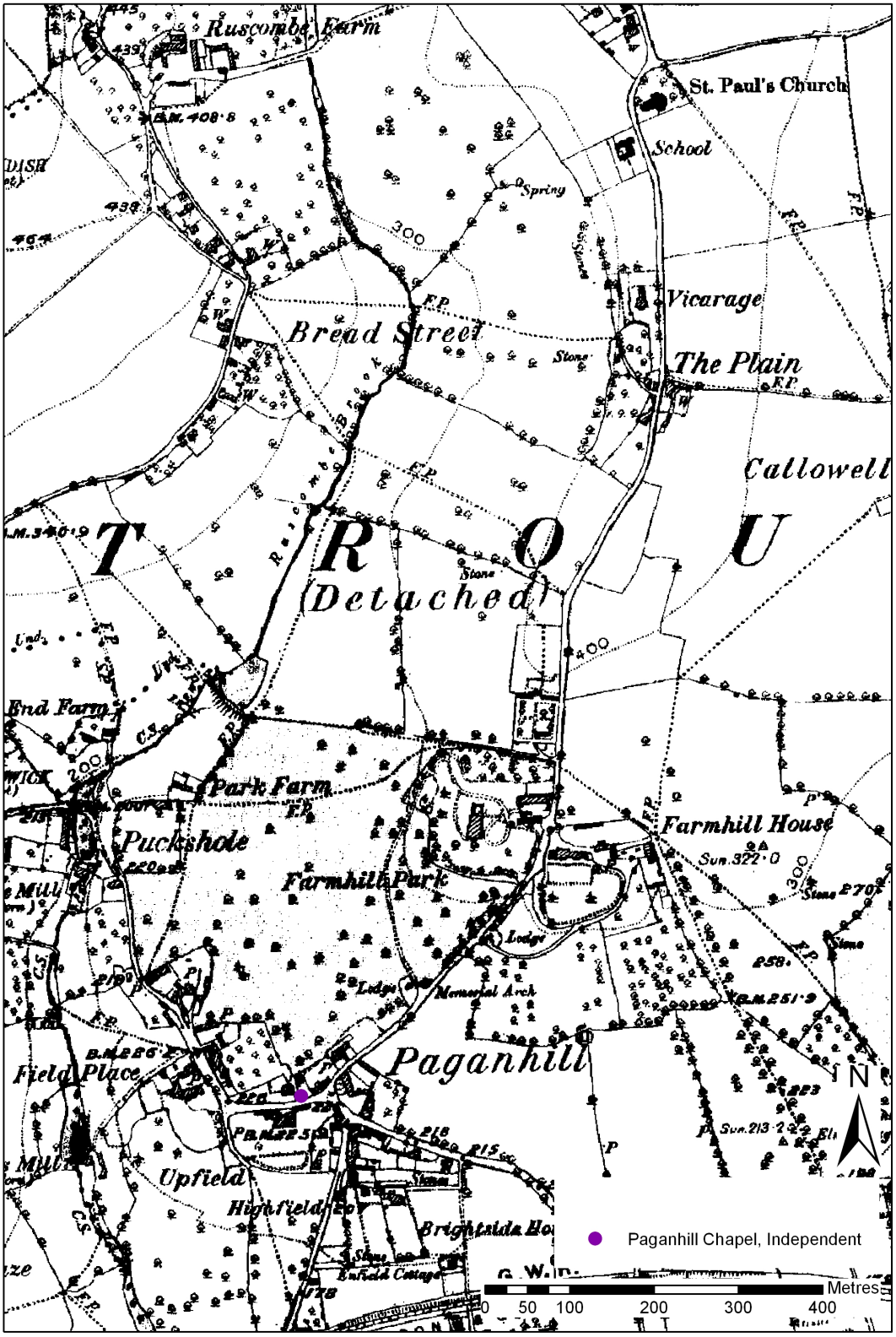


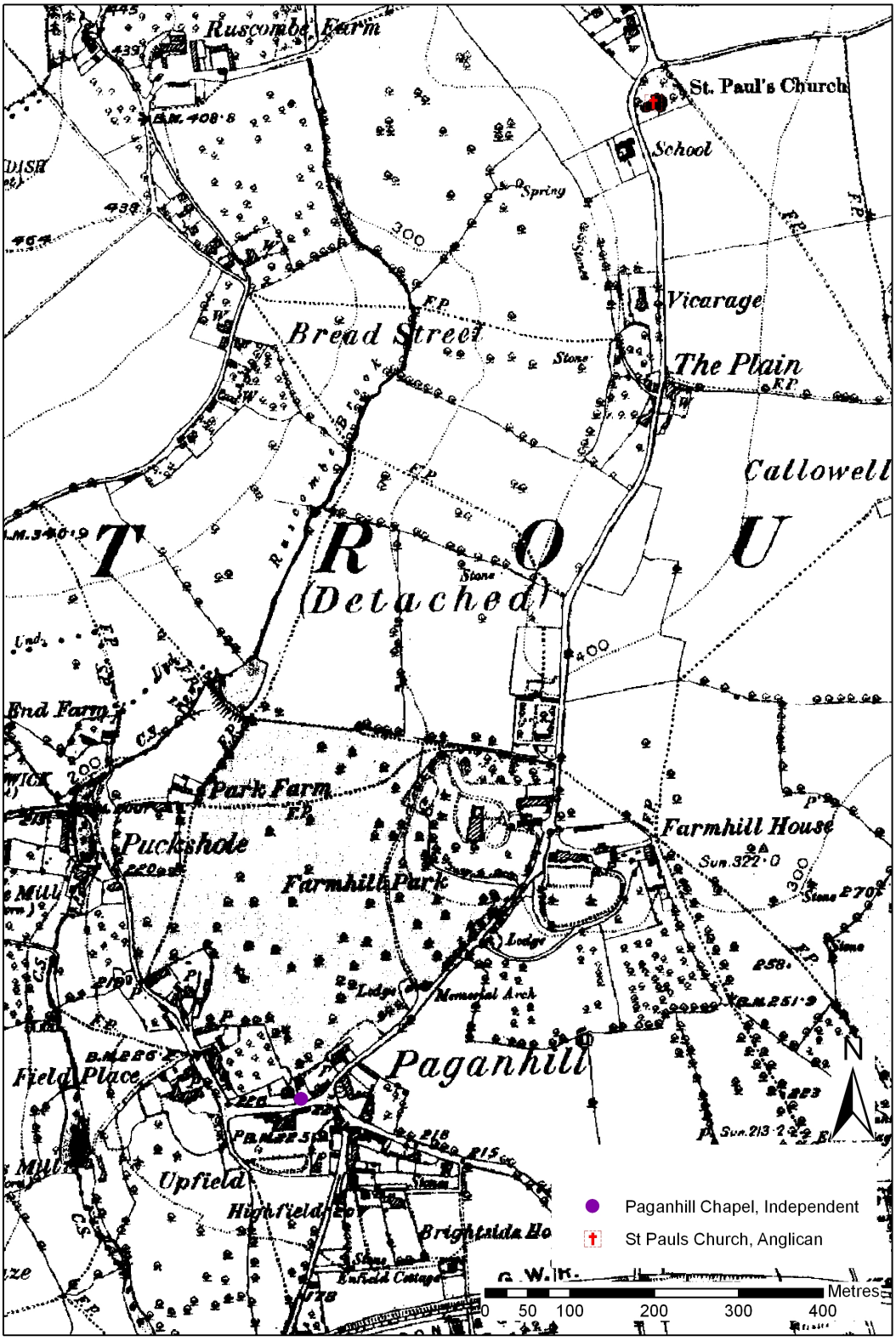
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN PAGANHILL, 1760 to 1785



RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN PAGANHILL, 1785 to 1810

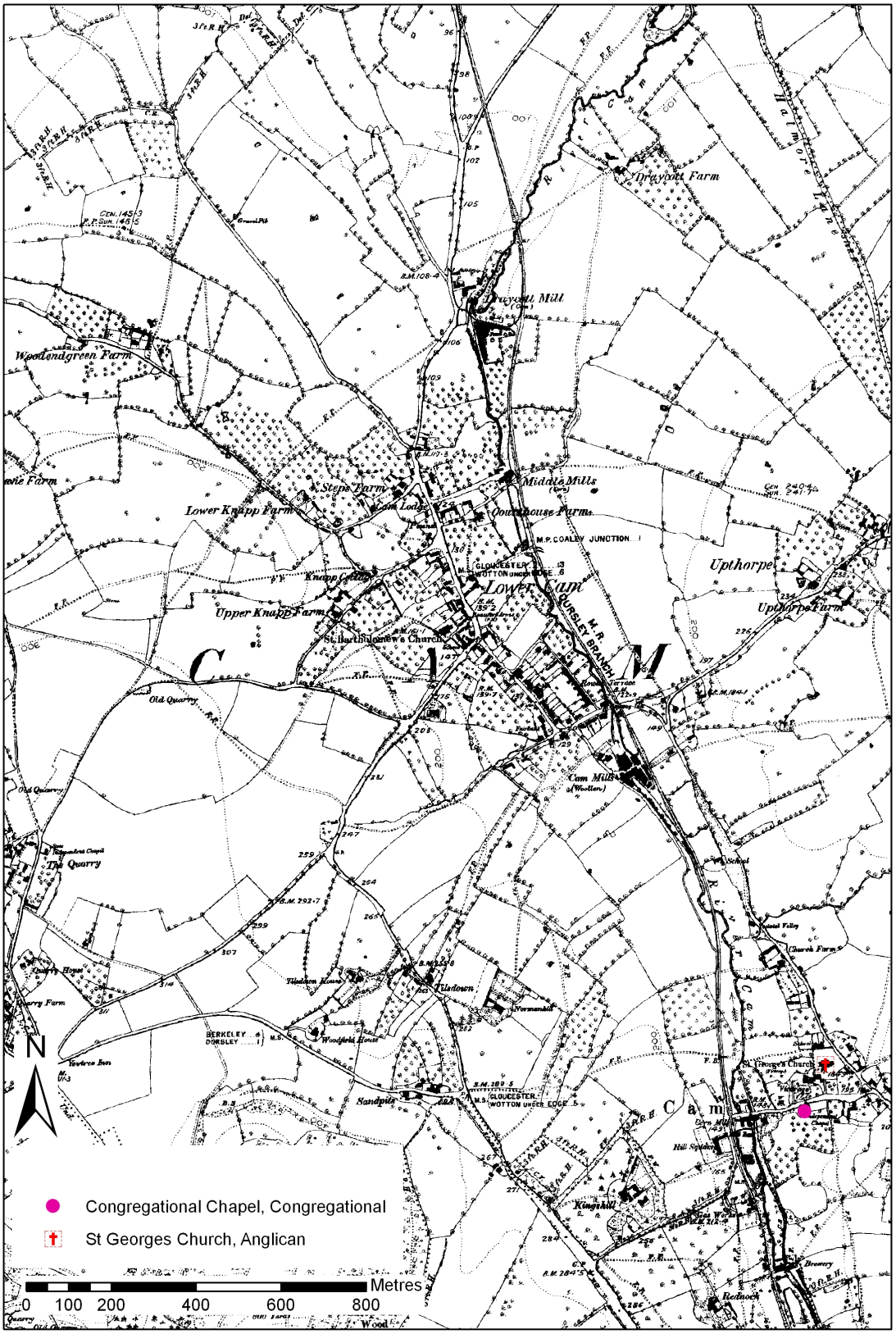



Ruscombe Farm
St. Paul's Church
School
Spring
Vicarage
Bread Street
The Plain
Callowell
T R O U
(Detached)
End Farm
Park Farm
Puckshole
Farmhill Park
Farmhill House
Lodge
Memorial Arch
Paganhill
Field Place
Upfield
Highfield
Brightside
Paganhill Chapel, Independent
N
Metres
0 50 100 200 300 400

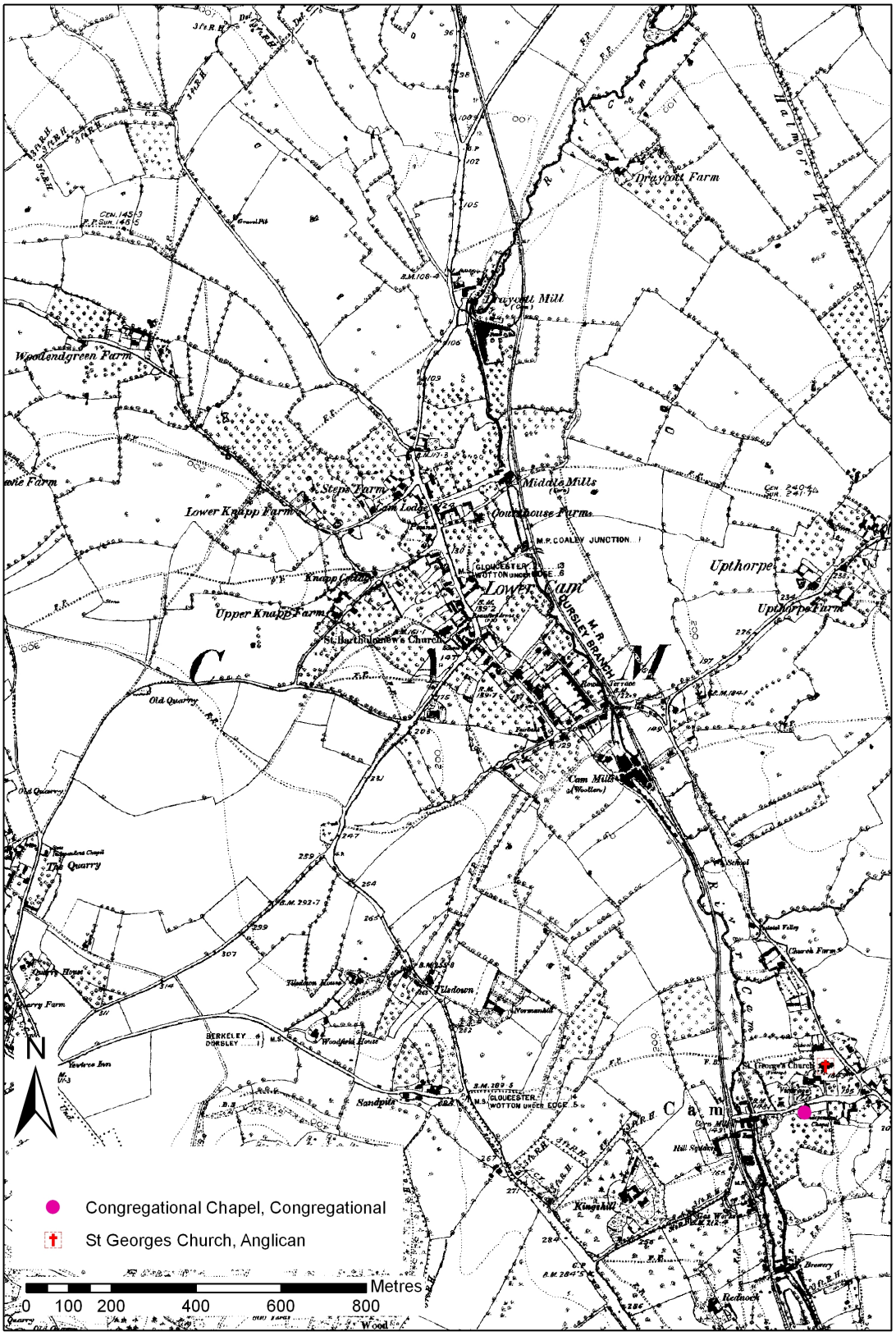

Ruscombe Farm
St. Paul's Church
School
Spring
Vicarage
Bread Street
The Plain
Callowell
T R O U
(Detached)
End Farm
Park Farm
Puckshole
Farmhill Park
Farmhill House
Lodge
Memorial Arch
Paganhill
Field Place
Upfield
Highfield Ho
Brightside Ho
Paganhill Chapel, Independent
St Pauls Church, Anglican
Metres
0 50 100 200 300 400

APPENDIX 2.9

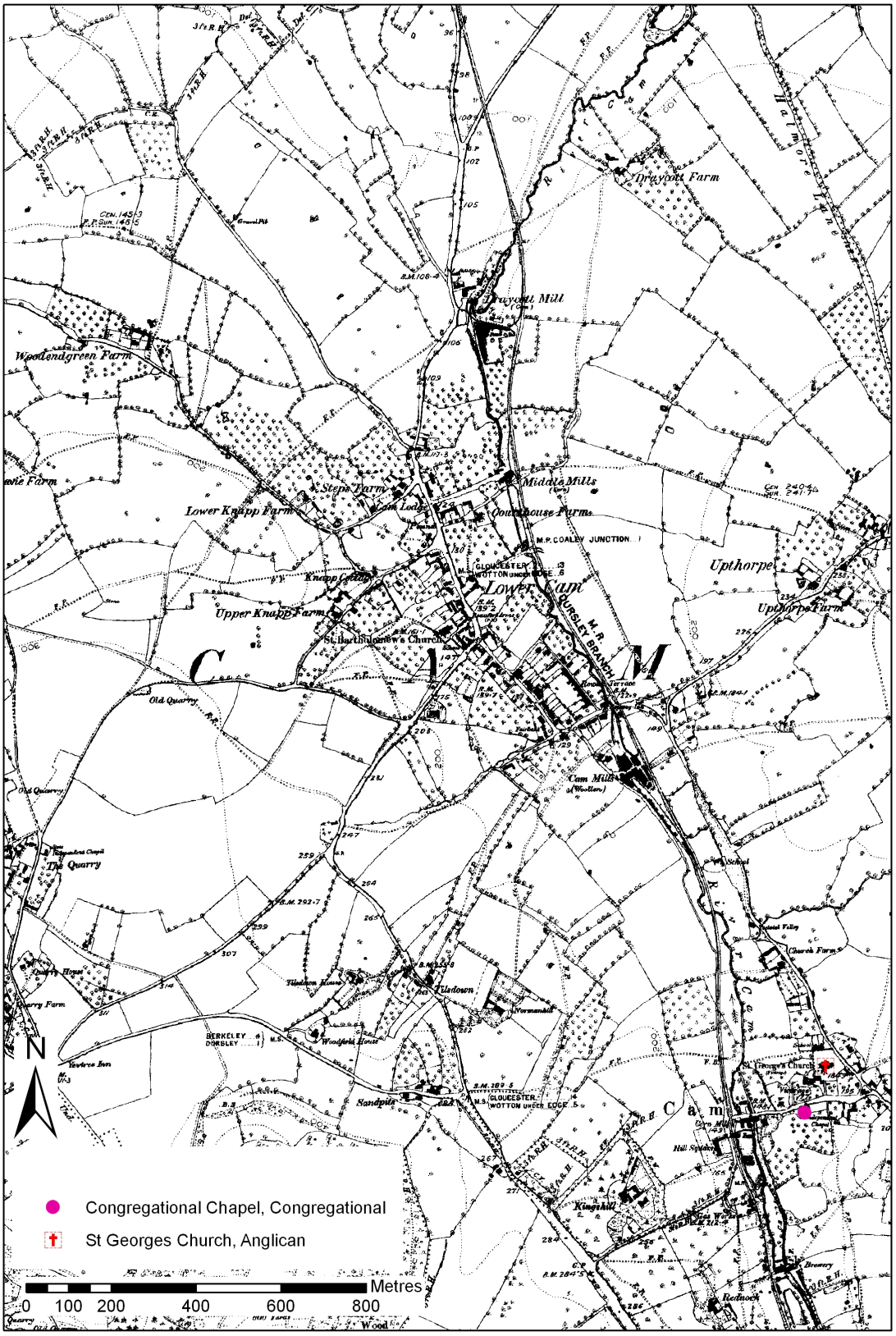
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN CAM, 1760



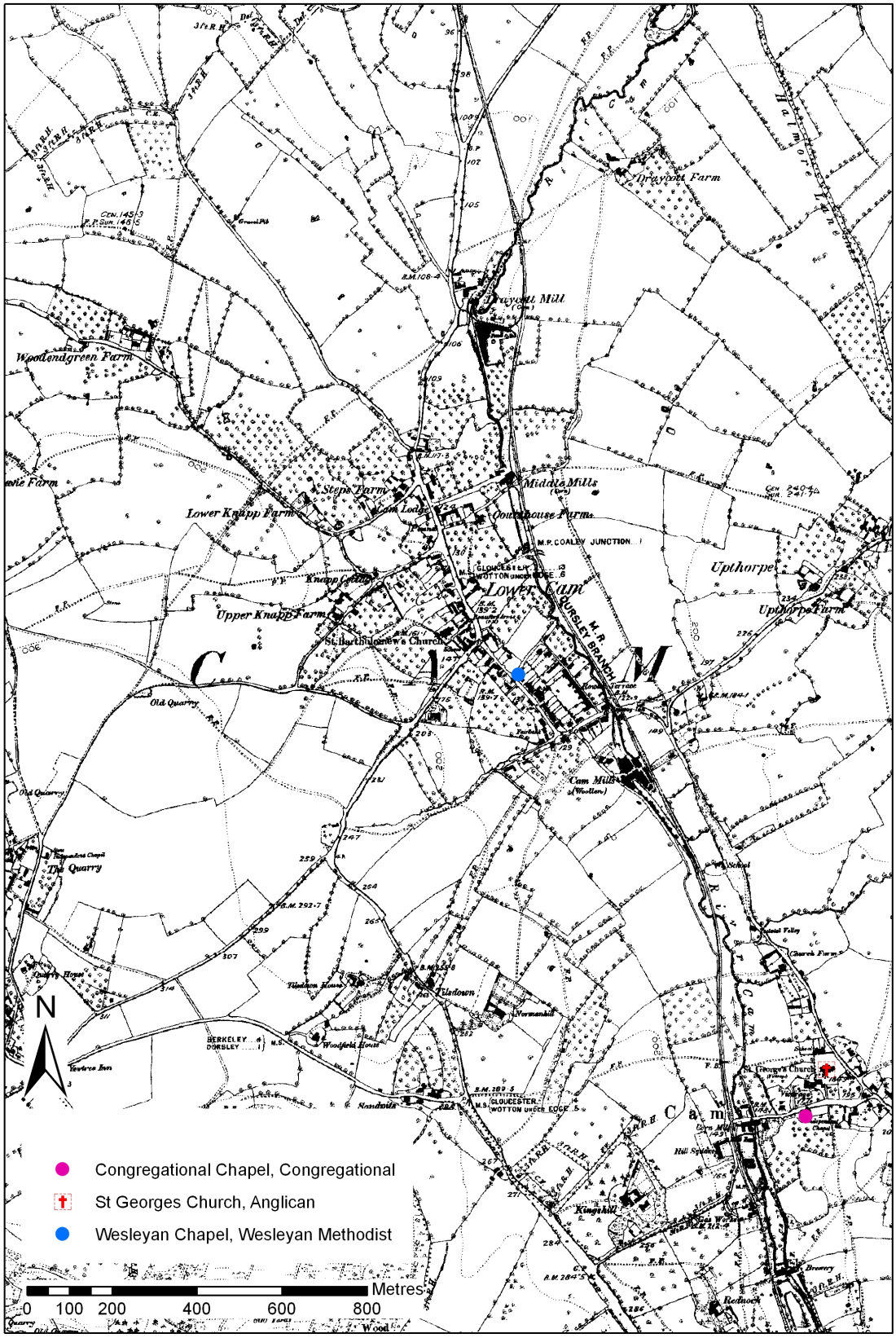
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN CAM, 1760 to 1785



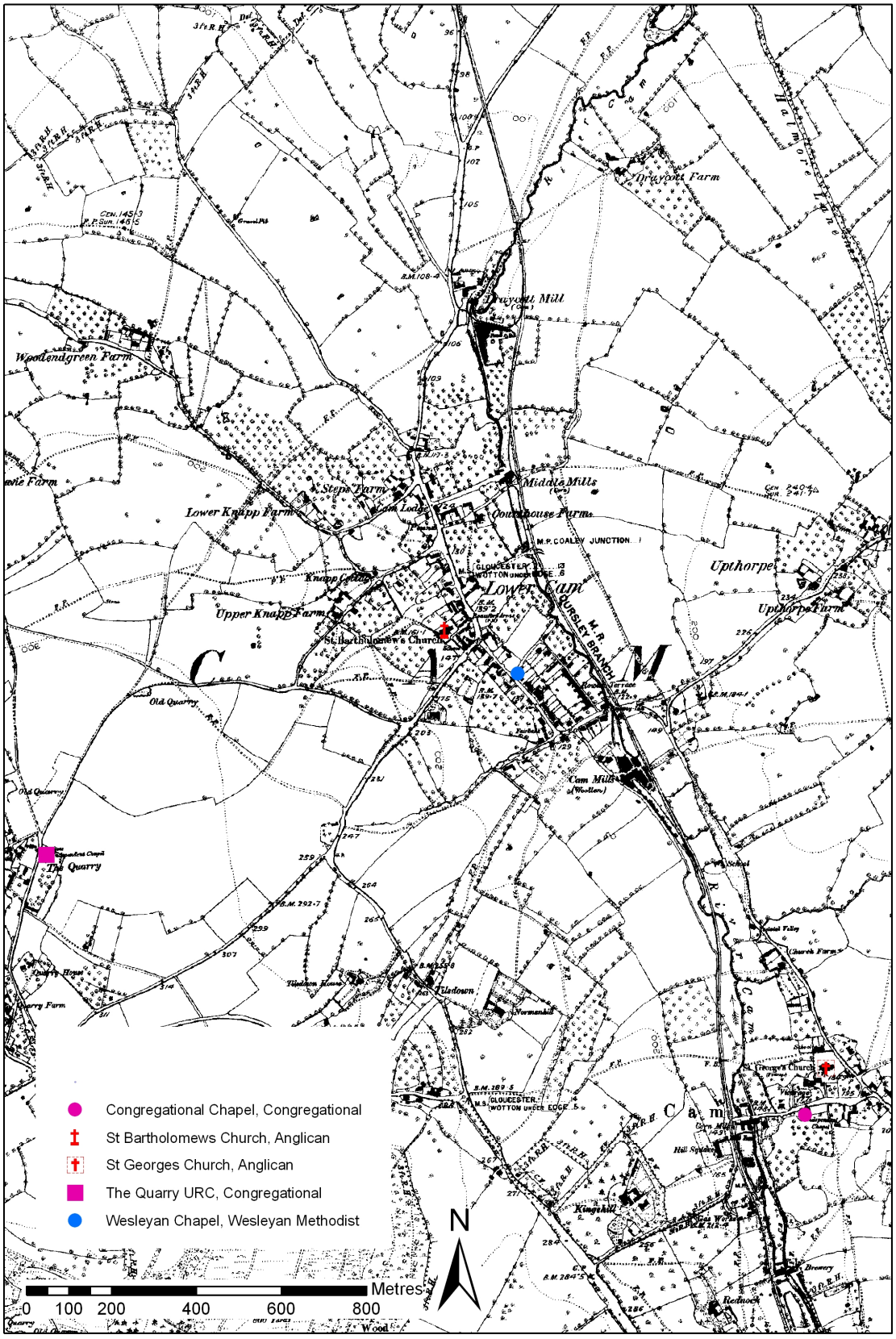
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN CAM, 1785 to 1810



RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN CAM, 1810 to 1835



RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN CAM, 1835 to 1860



APPENDIX 2.10

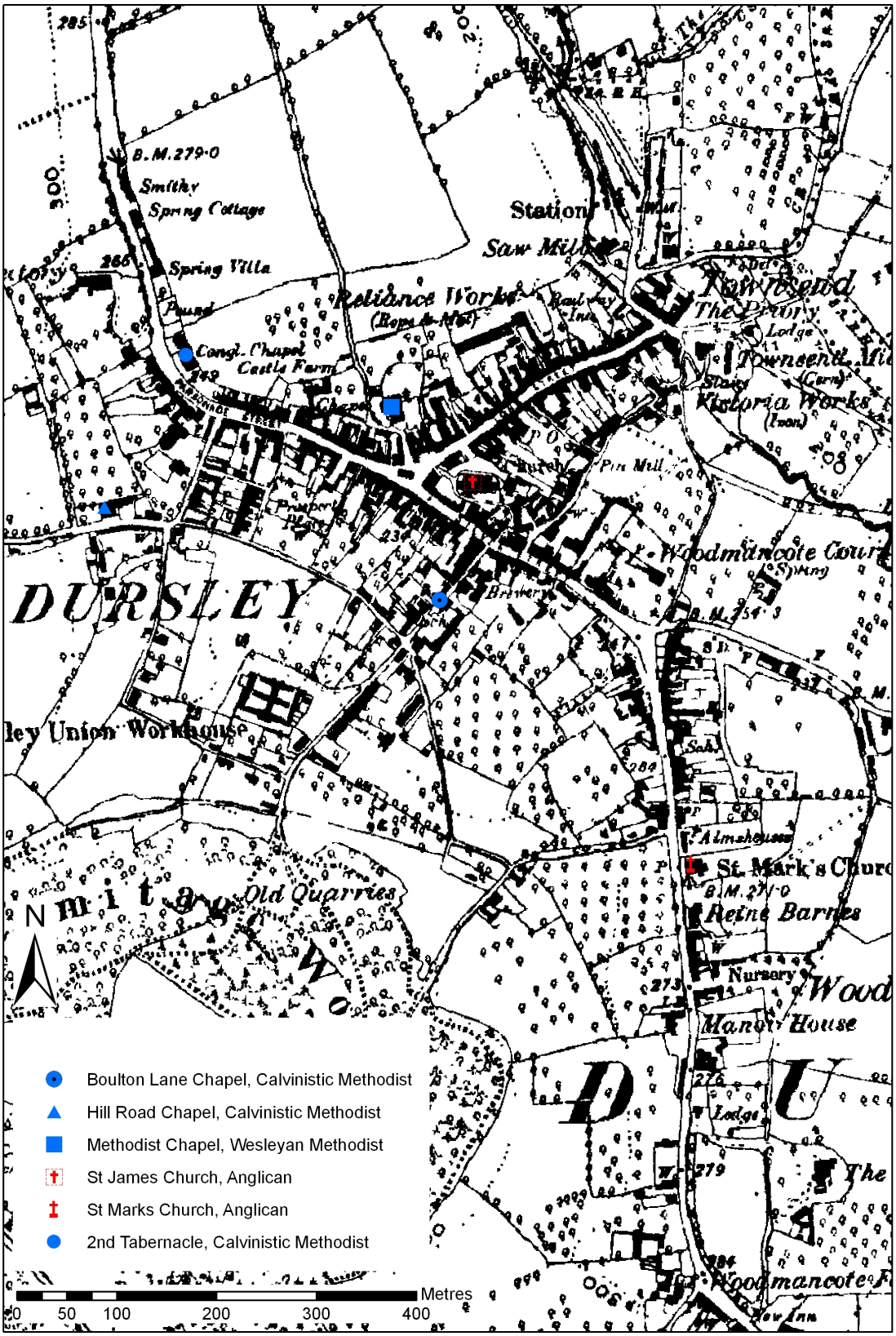
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN DURSLEY, 1760

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN DURSLEY, 1760 to 1785

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN DURSLEY, 1785 to 1810

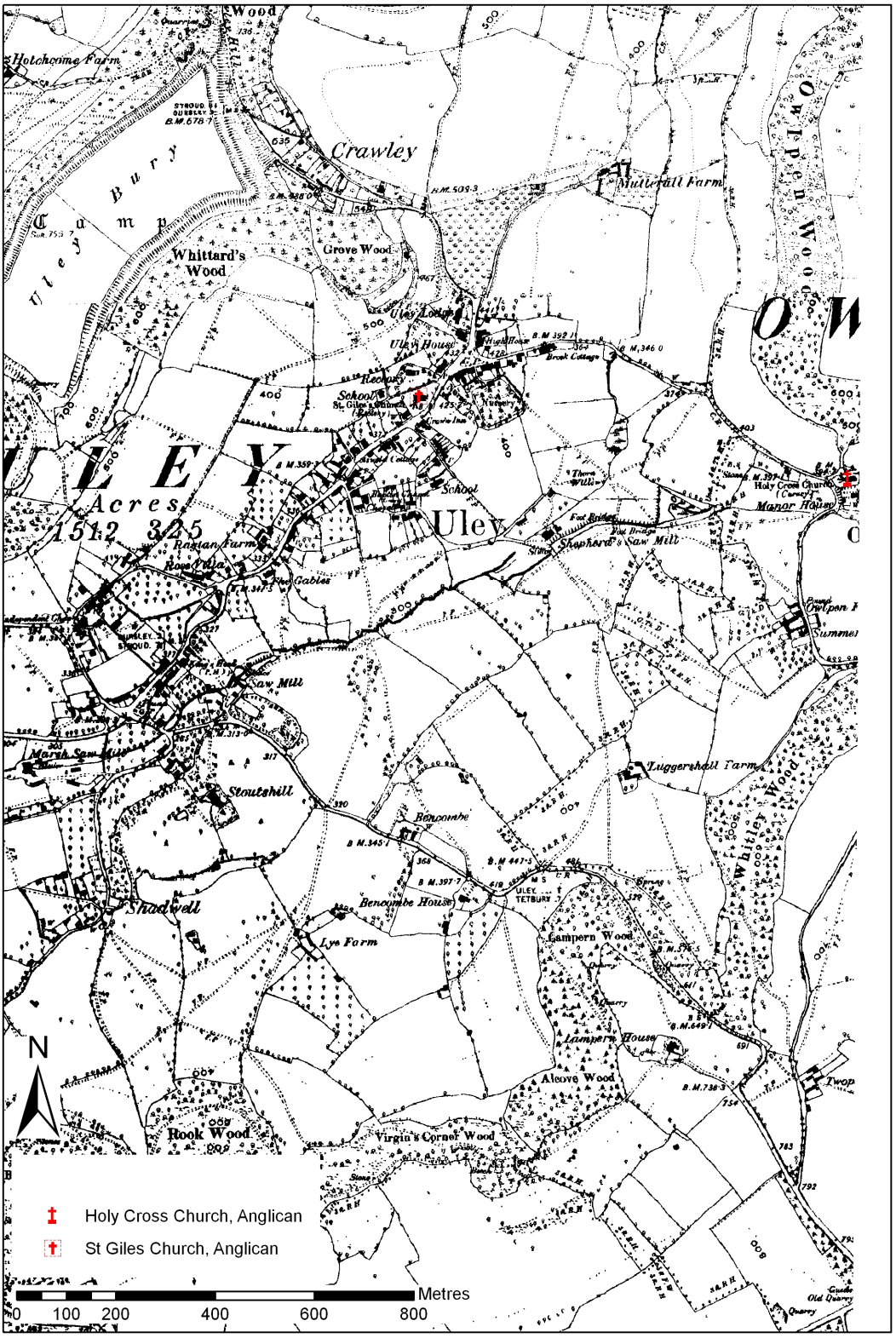

B.M.279·0
Smithy
Spring Cottage
Spring Villa
Station
Saw Mill
Reliance Works
(Rope & Net)
Townsend
The Priory
Lodge
Congl. Chapel
Castle Farm
Chapel
Victoria Works
(Iron)
Pin Mill
Woodmancote Court
(Spring)
DURSLEY
Brewery
B.M.254·3
ley Union Workhouse
Almshouses
St. Mark's Church
B.M.271·0
Old Quarries
Reine Barrys
Nursery
Manor House
Lodge
The
Woodmancote
Boulton Lane Chapel, Calvinistic Methodist
Hill Road Chapel, Calvinistic Methodist
Methodist Chapel, Wesleyan Methodist
St James Church, Anglican
2nd Tabernacle, Calvinistic Methodist
Metres
0 50 100 200 300 400

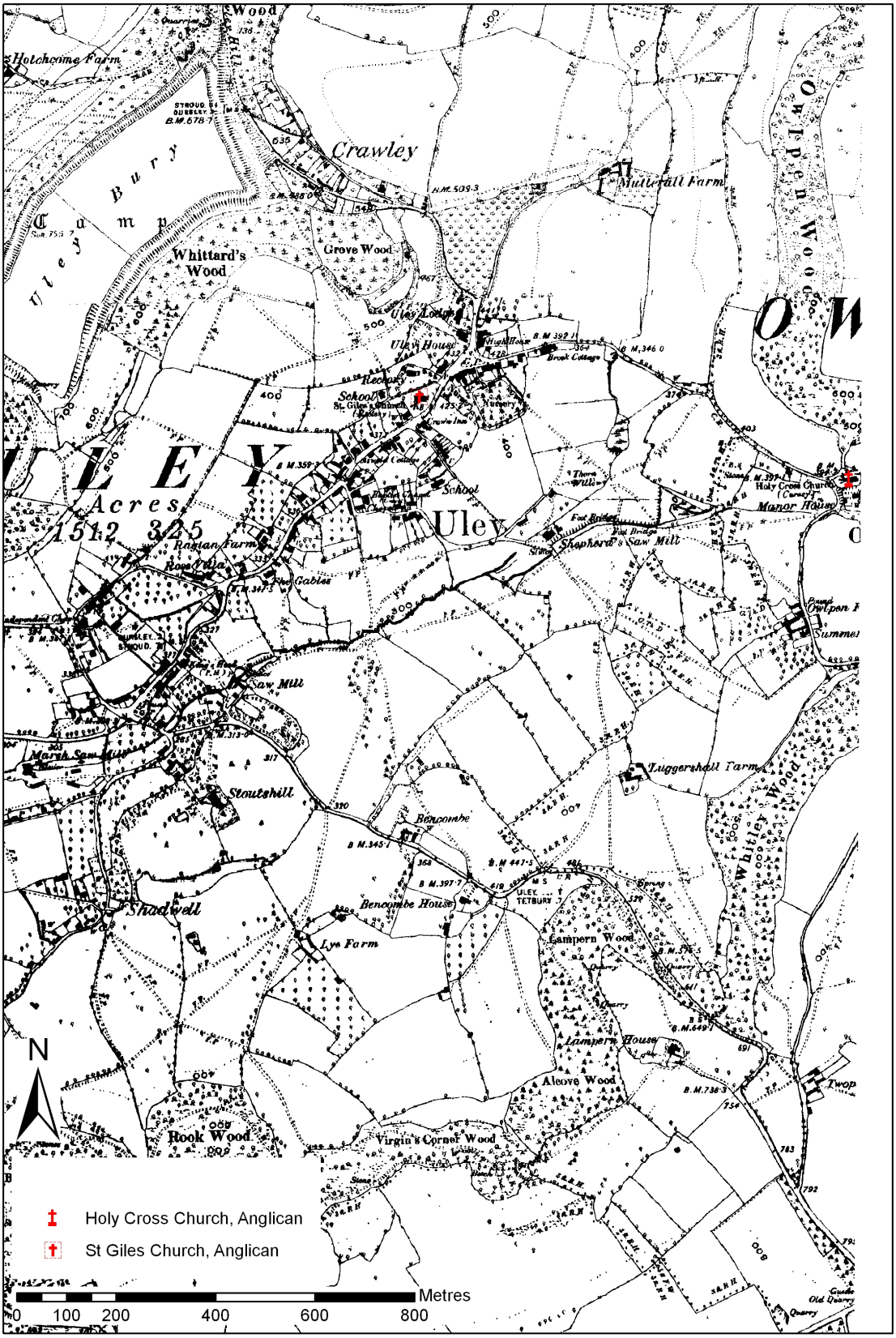
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN DURSLEY, 1835 to 1860



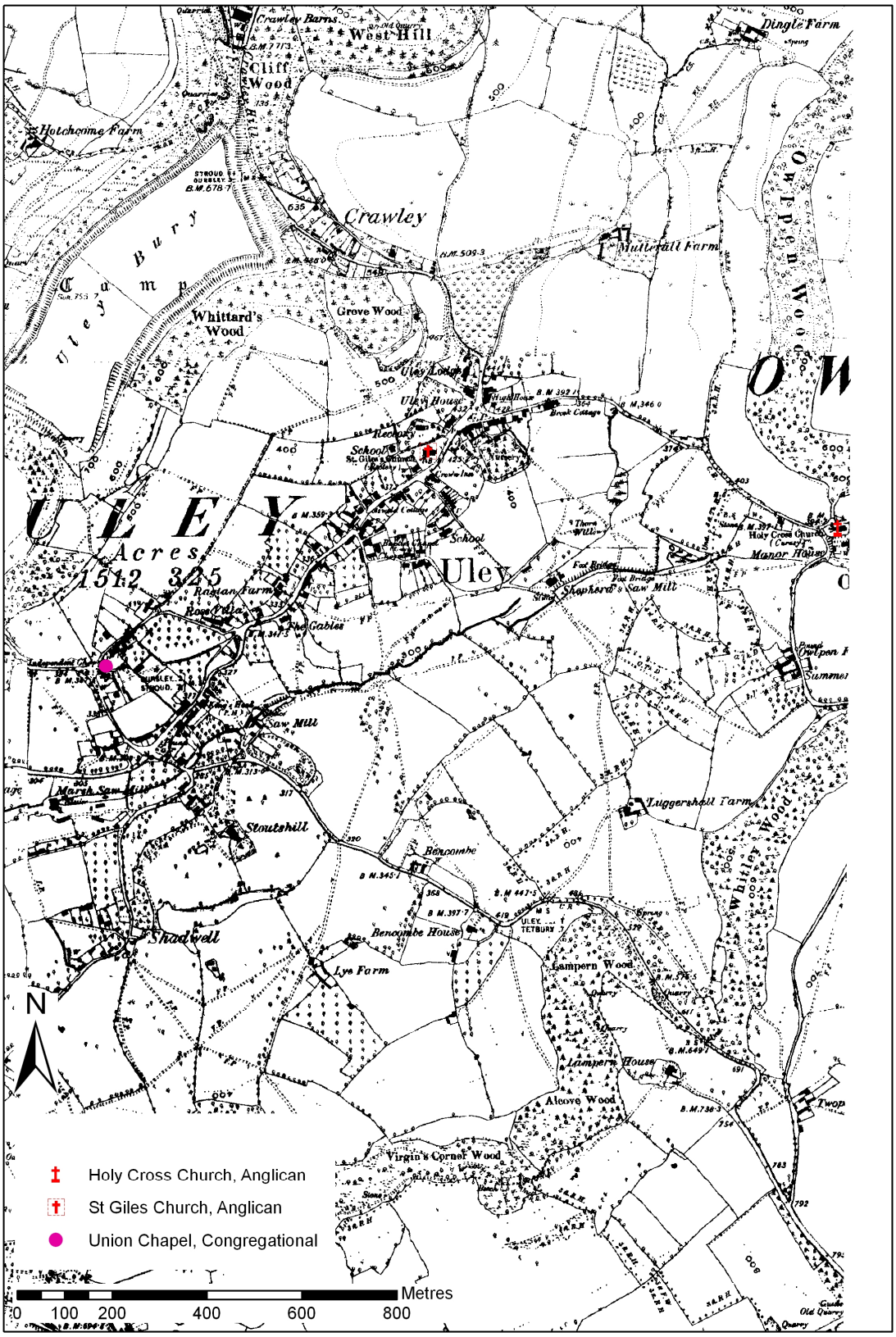
APPENDIX 2.11

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN ULEY, 1760

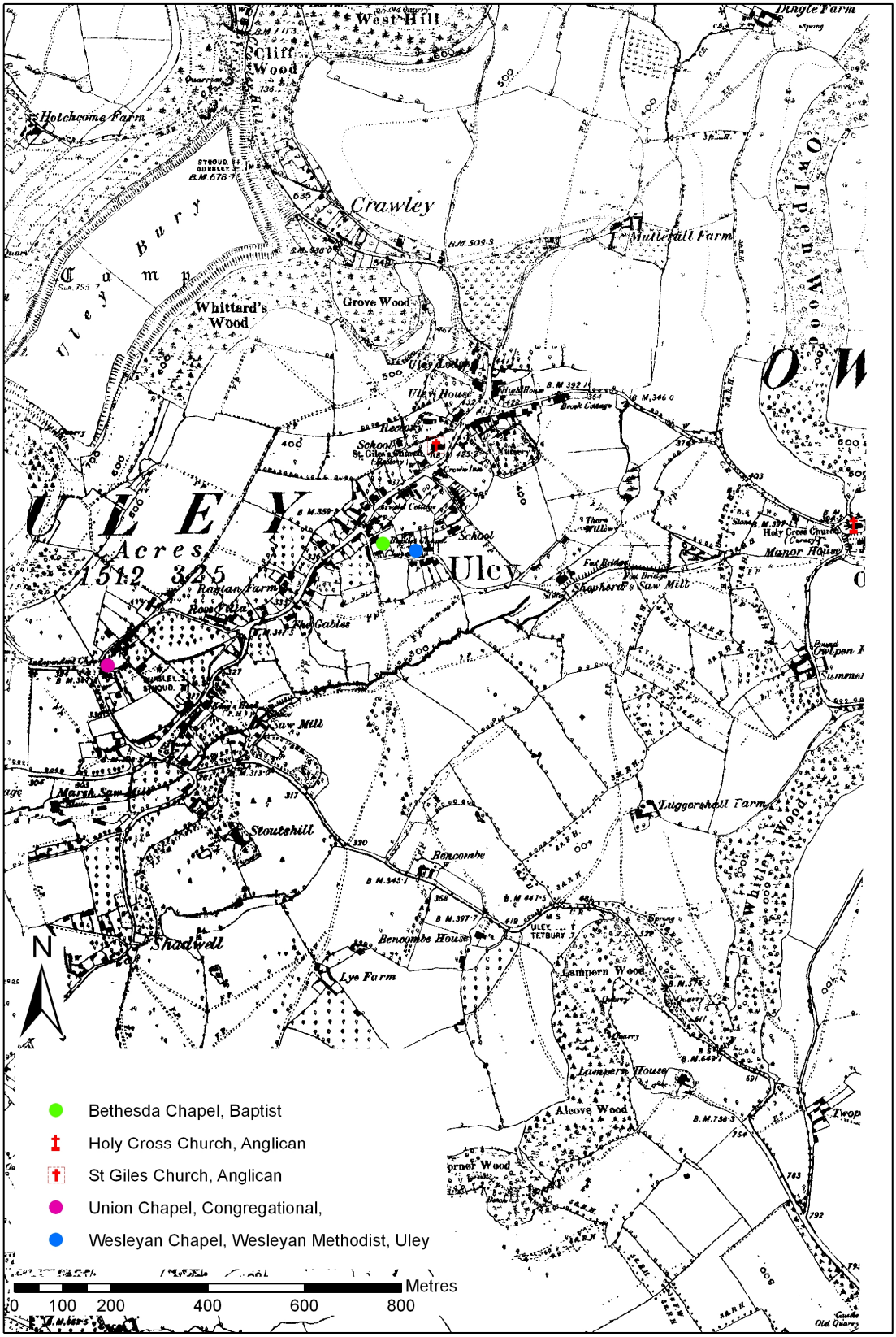



Holy Cross Church, Anglican
St Giles Church, Anglican
Metres
0 100 200 400 600 800
N
Crawley
Whittard's Wood
Grove Wood
Uley Lodge
Uley House
Rectory
School
Uley
Acres
1512 325
Manor House
Shepherd's Saw Mill
Saw Mill
Stoutshill
Shadwell
Benecombe
Benecombe House
Lye Farm
Luggershall Farm
Lampern Wood
Lampern House
Alcove Wood
Rook Wood
Virgin's Corner Wood
Whitley Wood
Holchcome Farm
Multerfall Farm

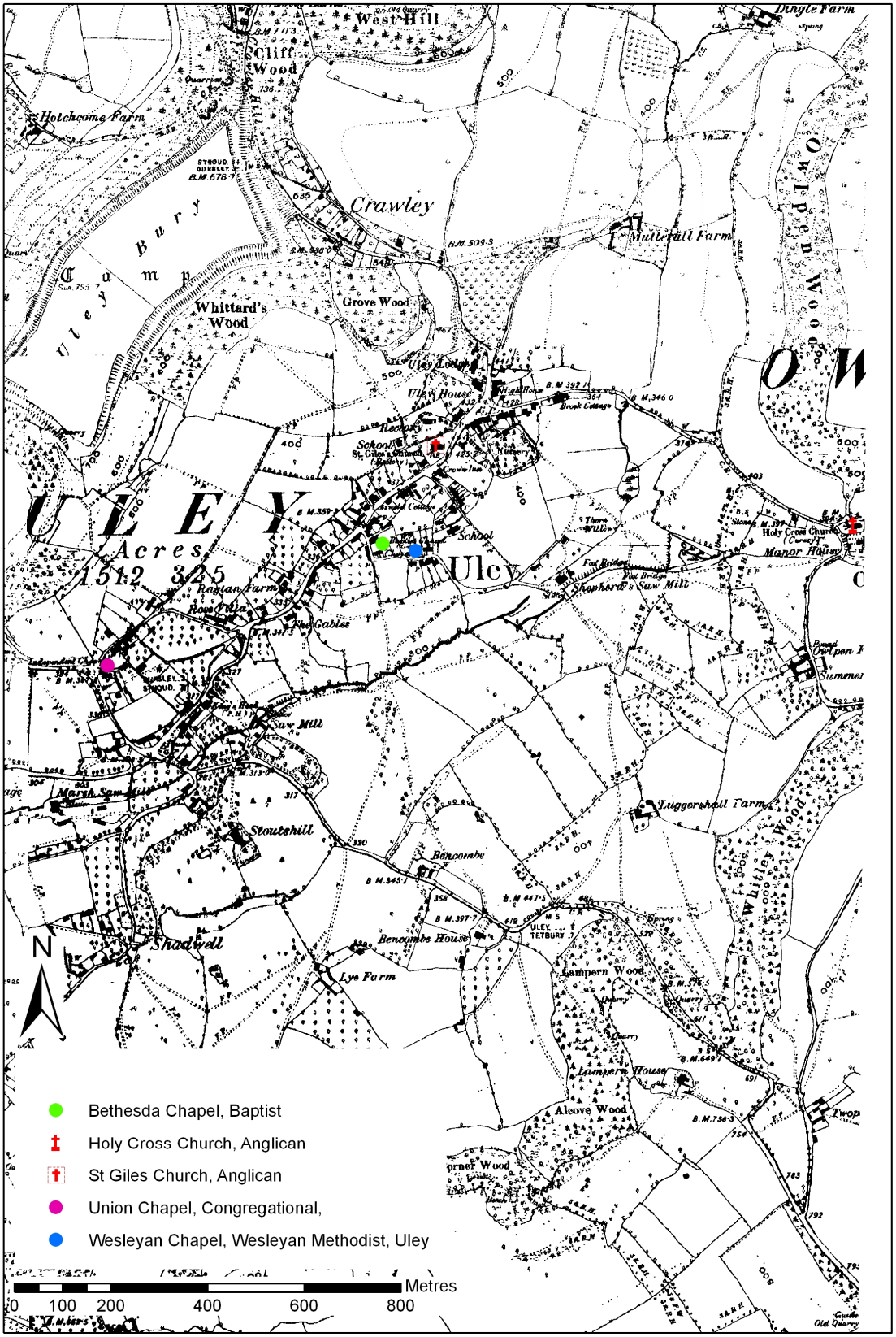
RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN ULEY, 1785 to 1810



RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN ULEY, 1810 to 1835



RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN ULEY, 1835 to 1860



APPENDIX 3.1

THE ARCHITECTURUAL STYLES AND DENOMINATION OF CHAPELS IN THE STUDY AREA

Location	Date	Chapel	Denomination	Architectural Style	Standing/Pictorial evidence
BF	1698	Grove (now Zion)	Presbyterian (1698-1739), Unitarian (1739-1815), Independent (1815-post period)	Simple, vernacular, with later classical elements	Standing
TB	1699	1st Conigre Chapel	Presbyterian (1699-1736), Unitarian (1736- post period)	Simple, classical	Pictorial
CM	1702	Cam Chapel	Congregational	Vernacular, elements of gothic	Standing
DL	1702	Water St Chapel	Presbyterian	Simple, vernacular	Pictorial
ST	1711	Old Chapel	Presbyterian and Independent (1711-c1811), Congregational (1811-post period)	Elements of classical, later Romanesque façade	Pictorial
TB	1723	Silver St Chapel	Presbyterian (1723-1827), Independent (1827-19thc?)	Simple, vernacular	Pictorial
BF	1740	Morgans Hill	Independent (1740-1850s), Congregational (1850s-post period)	Elements of classical	Standing
ST	1750	Rodborough Tabernacle	Calvinistic Methodist	Classical	Standing
BF	1756	Pippet St Chapel	Wesleyan Methodist	Elements of classicism	Standing
ST	1763	Acre St Chapel	Wesleyan Methodist	Octagonal	Standing
TB	1771	1st Tabernacle	Congregational	Classical, elements of gothicism	Pictorial
TB	1790	Town Bridge Chapel	Wesleyan Methodist	Elements of gothicism	Pictorial

UL	1790	Union Chapel	Congregational	Elements of gothicism	Standing
ST	1797	1st Ebley Chapel	Independent (1797-c1806), Countess of Huntingdon (1806-post period)	Classical	Pictorial
BF	1797	2nd Baptist Chapel	Particular Baptist	Gothic and classical elements	Standing
BF	1800	2nd Bethel Chapel	Independent (1790-1824), Countess of Huntingdon (1824-post period)	Simple, vernacular with later classical elements	Standing
DL	1808	2nd Tabernacle	Calvinistic Methodist	Gothic	Standing
TB	1810	2nd Emmanuel Chapel	Particular Baptist	Classical	Standing
TB	1814	Islington Down Chapel	Wesleyan Methodist	Gothic	Standing
TB	1816	Zion Chapel	Baptist	Classical elements	Standing
BF	1818	Coppice Hill Chapel	Wesleyan Methodist	Classical	Standing
DL	1821	Hill Road Chael	Independent (1821-26), Calvinistic Methodist (1826-post period)	Unclear	Standing
UL	1821	Bethesda Chapel	Baptist	Octagonal	Standing
TB	1822	Bethesda Chapel	Baptist	Classical	Pictorial
BF	1823	Zion Chapel	Independent (1823-42), Particular Baptist (1842-post period)	Classical	Pictorial
ST	1824	John St Chapel	Baptist	Classical	Standing
ST	1824	2nd Randwick Chapel	Wesleyan Methodist	Elements of gothicism	Standing
TB	1824	Staverton Chapel	Methodist	Elements of gothicism	Standing
CM	1825	Wesleyan Chapel	Wesleyan Methodist	Classical	Standing
DL	1828	Boulton Ln Chapel	Calvinistic Methodist	Elements of gothicism	Pictorial
ST	1835	Bedford St Chapel	Congregational	Classical	Standing
ST	1835	Paganhill Chapel	Independent	Simple, vernacular	Standing
TB	1835	Manvers St Chapel	Wesleyan Methodist	Classical	Pictorial
ST	1836	Methodist Chapel	Primitive Methodist	Simple, elements of classical	Pictorial
ST	1836	Randwick Primitive	Primitive Methodist	Simple, elements of classical	Standing

		Chapel			
BF	1845	Sladesbrook Chapel	Primitive Methodist	Simple, elements of classical	Standing
TB	1850	2nd Bethel Chapel	Strict Baptist	Gothic	Pictorial
TB	1850	Upper Studley Chapel	Particular Baptist	Vernacular, elements of classical	Standing
CM	1852	The Quarry URC	Congregational	Vernacular, elements of gothicism	Standing
ST	1852	Plymouth Brethren	Plymouth Brethren	Vernacular, elements of classical	Standing
ST	1856	Zion Chapel	Primitive Methodist	Simple, elements of classical	Standing
TB	1856	2nd Conigre Chapel	Unitarian	Gothic	Pictorial
ST	1857	Immaculate Conception	Roman Catholic	Gothic	Standing
BF	1858	Providence Chapel	Particular Baptist	Vernacular, elements of classical	Standing

APPENDIX 3.2

ALTERATION ACTIVITY OF CHAPELS IN THE STUDY AREA

Date	County	Location	Chapel	Building Activity
1760	Wilts	TB	Emmanuel	Vestry added
1784	Wilts	TB	Emmanuel	Enlarged
1785	Wilts	TB	Tabernacle	Gallery added
1790	Glos	CM	Cam Congregational	Doorway added
c1790	Wilts	BF	Bethel	Gallery added
1794	Wilts	TB	Tabernacle	Enlarged
1796	Glos	ST	Acre Street Chapel	Enlarged
1798	Wilts	BF	Morgans Hill	Enlarged
1802	Glos	DL	Wesleyan Chapel	Warehouse rebuilt and extended
1804	Wilts	TB	Tabernacle	Organ installed
1809	Wilts	TB	Emmanuel	Enlarged
1812	Wilts	TB	Emmanuel	Enlarged
1813	Glos	ST	Old Chapel	Enlarged, heightened
1814	Wilts	TB	Town Bridge Chapel	Enlarged, gallery added
1815	Wilts	TB	Tabernacle	Burial ground enlarged
1815	Glos	ST	Old Chapel	Schoolroom built
1818	Glos	CM	Cam Congregational	Interior refitted, galleries added
1819	Wilts	TB	Bethel	Pews replaced
1820s	Wilts	TB	Silver Street Chapel	Enlarged
1821	Wilts	TB	Town Bridge Chapel	Enlarged
1822	Wilts	TB	Emmanuel	Schoolroom built
1823	Glos	ST	Old Chapel	2nd schoolroom built
1825	Wilts	TB	Zion Chapel	Baptistry added

1826-1854	Glos	ST	Ebley Chapel	Restored and rennovated
1827-1837	Wilts	TB	Tabernacle	New side galleries added
1828	Wilts	BF	Bethel	Vestry enlarged
1828	Glos	ST	Old Chapel	Wings added
1828	Glos	ST	Randwick Wesleyan	Chimney installed
1828	Glos	ST	Acre Street Chapel	Vestry built
1828	Glos	ST	Acre Street Chapel	Roof repaired
1828	Wilts	TB	Zion Chapel	Vestry and schoolroom built
Late 1820s	Wilts	TB	Silver Street Chapel	Enlarged, addition of gallery and 2 new windows
1831	Wilts	TB	Conigre	New schoolroom built
1832	Glos	ST	Old Chapel	Schoolroom built in Somers St
1833	Wilts	TB	Conigre	New schoolrooms built
By 1835	Wilts	TB	Silver Street Chapel	Schoolroom and lending library built
1835	Wilts	BF	Morgans Hill	Enlarged, heightened, roof replaced
1835	Wilts	TB	Conigre	Repaired
1835	Wilts	TB	Emmanuel	New schoolroom built
1836	Wilts	BF	Coppice Hill	Gas lighting installed
1837	Glos	ST	John St Baptist	Enlarged
1837	Glos	ST	Rodborough Tabernacle	Enlarged, heightened, interior refitted, gallery built
1838	Glos	CM	Wesleyan Chapel	Enlarged
1840	Wilts	TB	Bethesda	Schoolroom built
1840	Glos	DL	Wesleyan Chapel	Rennovated
1842	Wilts	TB	Tabernacle	New schoolroom built
1844	Wilts	TB	Manvers St Chapel	New organ installed
1844	Glos	ST	Old Chapel	Heightened, refronted, addition of organ

				chamber
1844	Glos	ST	John St Baptist	Organ installed, burial yard purchased, manse built
1846	Wilts	TB	Emmanuel	Enlarged
1846	Wilts	TB	Manvers St Chapel	4 classrooms and a vestry built, further alterations
1847	Glos	ST	Randwick Wesleyan	Bell and organ installed
1849	Wilts	BF	Bethel	Rennovated
1849	Glos	ST	Old Chapel	New organ installed
1850	Wilts	BF	Bethel	New organ installed
1851	Glos	ST	Bedford St Chapel	Rear gallery extended
1854	Glos	ST	Old Chapel	Schoolroom built
1855	Wilts	TB	Silver Street Chapel	Pews replaced, organ built, gallery altered
1858	Glos	ST	Primitive Methodist Chapel	Schoolroom built
1860	Wilts	TB	Manvers St Chapel	Schoolroom built
19th C	Wilts	BF	Old Baptist Chapel	Two original doorways replaced by one
19th C	Wilts	BF	Grove	Two original doorways replaced by one

APPENDIX 3.3

CONGREGATIONAL STATISTICS

TROWBRIDGE

Chapel	Date	Congregation size	Reference
Emmanuel Chapel	1767	73	WSRO 1706/24
	1797	135	WSRO 1706/24
	1810	40	WSRO 1706/24
	1829	up to 700	VCH Wilts, 7:159
	1843	283	WSRO 1706/1
	1847	349	WSRO 1706/1
	1851	418	WSRO 1706/1
	1880	487	WSRO 1706/1
Conigre Chapel	1715	up to 600	VCH Wilts, 7:158
	1833	120 (morning) 250 (evening)	Rowland, 1975: 3
	1890	80	VCH Wilts, 7:158
Bethel Chapel	1829	250	VCH Wilts, 7:161
Manvers Street Chapel	1862	203	VCH Wilts, 7:162
Silver Street Chapel	1715	up to 200	VCH Wilts, 7:159
	1829	450	VCH Wilts, 7:159
	1862	82	VCH Wilts, 7:159
Zion Baptist Chapel	1813	up to 1000	VCH Wilts, 7:160
	1851	64	WSRO 2544/1
	1855	80	WSRO 2544/1
	1865	182	WSRO 2544/1
Bethesda Chapel	1829	400	VCH Wilts, 7:161
Town Bridge Chapel	1789	100	VCH Wilts, 7:162
	1829	500	VCH Wilts, 7:162
Tabernacle	1770	100	DWL 5106.Wi.15
	1829	700	VCH Wilts, 7:161

BRADFORD

Chapel	Date	Congregation size	Reference
Providence Chapel	1871	20	VCH Wilts, 7:37
Grove Chapel	c1720	400	VCH Wilts, 7:33
	1815	hardly any	VCH Wilts, 7:33
Old Baptist Chapel	1715	350	VCH Wilts, 7:34
	1736	50	Oliver, 1989:8
	1739	70	Oliver, 1989:8
	1865	105	Oliver,1989:8
Morgans Hill Chapel	1805	62	VCH Wilts, 7:35
	by 1812	c.130	VCH Wilts, 7:35
Zion Chapel	1861	104	VCH Wilts, 7:34
Bearfield Chapel	1847	7	VCH Wilts, 7:35
	1865	28	VCH Wilts 7:35

STROUD

Chapel	Date	Congregation size	Ref
Old Chapel	1735	100	VCH Glos, 11:140
	1742	52	VCH Glos, 11:140
	1770	26	DWL 5106.Gl.7
	1779	26	GRO D2569 1/1
	1800	109	GRO D2569 1/1
	1810	scanty'	Hoy, 1987:16
	1835	210	VCH Glos, 11:140
	1839	156	Hoy, 1987: 30
	1851	500	VCH Glos, 11:140
Bedford Street Chapel	1842	105	Hoy, 1987:48
	1851	500	VCH Glos, 11:140
Paganhill Chapel	1851	50	VCH Glos, 11:141
Acre Street Chapel	1800	126	GRO D3187 1/3/6
	1804	120	GRO D3187 1/3/6
	1837	124	GRO D3187 1/3/6
	1843	145	GRO D3187 1/3/6
	1851	300 to 400	VCH Glos, 11:141
John Street Chapel	1827	70	Wicks,N.D: 11
	1838	249	Wicks,N.D: 11
	1842	326	Wicks,N.D: 11
	1851	500	VCH Glos, 11:141
Primitive Methodist Chapel	1851	200	VCH Glos, 11:141
Ebley Chapel	1800	10	GRO D3187 1/3/6
	1826	small	VCH Glos, 10: 287
	1851	450 (morning), 520 (evening)	VCH Glos, 10: 287
	1860	122	GRO D2538 4/8
Rodborough	1851	c450	VCH Glos, 11: 232
Randwick Wesleyan Chapel	1832	full'	VCH Glos, 10:229
	1837	52	VCH Glos, 10:229
	1843	37	VCH Glos, 10:229
	1851	100 (morning), 200 (afternoon)	VCH Glos, 10:229
Randwick Primitive Chapel	1851	40	VCH Glos, 10:229

APPENDIX 3.4

FINANCES (WHERE KNOWN) FOR CHAPELS IN THE STUDY AREA

Source of Funding
s = subscription
g = gifts
l = loans
f = fundraising

	Chapel	Date	Activity	Cost	Relative Cost in 1800	Group
Trowbridge	Emmanuel Chapel	1754	construction of chapel	£234 (**s**)	£585	Chapel construction
	Emmanuel Chapel	1766	vestry added	£46 15 3 (**s**)	£87	Chapel enlargement/alteration
	Tabernacle	1771	construction	Unknown (**g**)	unknown	Chapel construction
	Emmanuel Chapel	1784	chapel enlarged	£700 to £800 (**s**)	£1,498	Chapel enlargement/alteration
	Zion Chapel	1816	construction	£1,231 (**s**, **l**)	£1,344	Chapel construction
	Town Bridge Chapel	1821	chapel enlarged	£300	£402	Chapel enlargement/alteration
	Bethesda Chapel	1822	construction	£2,100	£3,050	Chapel construction
	Tabernacle	1827-37	addition of galleries	£946	£1,326	Chapel enlargement/alteration
	Emmanuel Chapel	1835	schoolroom built	£300 (**g**)	£477	Schoolroom construction
	Manvers Street Chapel	1835	construction	over £4600 (**s**,**f**,**l**,**g**)	£7,325	Chapel construction
	Tabernacle	1842	schoolroom built	£2,500 (**g**,**s**)	£3,552	Schoolroom construction
	Emmanuel Chapel	1846	chapel enlarged	Unknown (**g**)	unknown	Chapel enlargement/alteration
	Emmanuel Chapel	1854	new baptistry added	unknown	unknown	Miscellaneous

Bradford	Friends Meeting House	1718	construction	£240	£649	Chapel construction
	Grove Chapel	1729	worth	£500 minimum	£1,251	Miscellaneous
	Morgans Hill Chapel	1740	construction	£300+ (**g**)	£662	Chapel construction
	Old Baptist Chapel	1797	Rebuilt	£900 (**s**,**f**)	£1,434	Chapel construction
	Morgans Hill Chapel	1817	access improvements	£260	£281	Miscellaneous
	Bethel Chapel	1828	vestry enlargement	£54	£74	Chapel enlargement/alteration
	Morgans Hill Chapel	1835	schoolroom built chapel enlarged	c£600 (**s**,**g**,**l**)	£955	Schoolroom construction, Chapel enlargement/alteration
	Morgans Hill Chapel	1846	debt repayment	£85 (**g**,**l**)	£113	Miscellaneous
	Morgans Hill Chapel	1848	repairs and alterations	£80 (**s**)	£116	Chapel enlargement/alteration
	Bethel Chapel	1850	organ installed	£25 (**g**)	£39	Miscellaneous
	Morgans Hill Chapel	1850	schoolroom built	£350 (**s**)	£554	Schoolroom construction
Stroud	The Old Chapel	1813	enlargement	£1,100 (**s**)	£1,011	Chapel enlargement/alteration,
	The Old Chapel	1815-23	2 schoolrooms built	£300	£373	Schoolroom construction
	John Street Chapel	1824	construction	£2,000 (**s**,**f**)	£2,697	Chapel construction
	Bedford Street Chapel	1834	construction	c£3000 (**s**,**g**,**l**,**f**)	£4,610	Chapel construction
	The Old Chapel	1849	organ replaced	£140	£212	Miscellaneous
	Bedford Street Chapel	1850	addition of galleries	£438	£693	Chapel enlargement/alteration
	John Street Chapel	1869	organ replaced	£210 (**s**,**g**)	£278	Miscellaneous

APPENDIX 3.5

STATISTICS OF NONCONFORMITY IN THE COMPTON CENSUS 1676

WILTSHIRE

(with the case studies highlighted in bold, and other prominent cloth towns in grey)

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Deanery	% Nonconfs
Broughton Gifford	400			PT	0
Chalfield Magna	18			PT	0
Chrikton	242			PT	0
Devizes St John				PT	0
Monkton Farleigh				PT	0
Polshott	150			PT	0
Steeple Ashton				PT	0
Willesford	160			PT	0
Whaddon	17			PT	0
Ashley	30			M	0
Bremilham and Norton	40			M	0
Easton Gray	65			M	0
Foxley	46			M	0
Hardenhuish	23			M	0
Haselbury				M	0
Newnton	60			M	0
Norton vide Bremilham	60			M	0
Oakesey	184			M	0
Poole	107			M	0
Euford	379		1	PT	0.26
Christian Malford	339		1	M	0.29
Potterne	994		6	PT	0.6
Fittleton	155		1	PT	0.64
Lavington Episcopi	367		3	PT	0.81
Imber	119		1	PT	0.83
Sennington	207		2	PT	0.96
Russall	201		2	PT	0.99
Garsdon	187		2	M	1.06
Urchfront	1119		13	PT	1.15
Winkfield	163		2	PT	1.21
Sherston Magna	296		4	M	1.33

Patney	72		1	PT	1.37
Alderton	135		2	M	1.46
Keevill	463		7	PT	1.49
Hullavington	129		2	M	1.53
Dantsey	122		2	M	1.61
Cowlston	61		1	PT	1.64
Kemble	177		3	M	1.67
Malmesbury	245		5	M	2
West Keynton	140		3	M	2.09
Eddington	243	1	6	PT	2.4
Castle Combe	252		8	M	3.08
Westport	682	8	22	M	3.12
Yatton Kennell	108		4	M	3.57
Uphaven	223		9	PT	3.88
Hankerton	181	1	8	M	4.21
Langley burrell	150		7	M	4.46
Charlton	101		5	PT	4.72
Leigh de la Mere	60		3	M	4.76
Lavington Forum	476		24	PT	4.8
Bradford	**3105**		**159**	**PT**	**4.87**
Somerford Parva	97		5	M	4.9
Ditcheridge	38		2	M	5
Sopworth	56		3	M	5.08
Melksham	1865		100	PT	5.09
Box	400	1	22	M	5.2
North Wraxall	117		7	M	5.64
Lacocke	633		44	M	6.5
Draycott Cerne	100		7	M	6.54
Nettleton	158		12	M	7.06
Minly	204		16	M	7.27
Colerne	278		22	M	7.33
Seagry	74		6	M	7.5
Chiverell Magna	134		11	PT	7.59
Luckington	130		11	M	7.8
Brinkworth	404		35	M	7.97
Kington St Michael	331		30	M	8.3
Stanton St Quinton	85		8	M	8.6
Marden	159		16	PT	9.14
Littleton Drew	61		7	M	10.29
Bideston St Peter	113		14	M	11.02
Corsham	872		115	M	11.65
Chiverell Parva	51		7	PT	12.07

Devizes St Mary	592		84	PT	12.43
Somerford Magna	52		8	M	13.33
Sutton Benger	147		25	M	14.54
Grittleton	132		24	M	15.38
Chippenham	724		134	M	15.61
Kelwayes	10		2	M	16.67
Hilprington	168		35	PT	17.24
Trowbridge	**763**		**174**	**PT**	**18.57**
North Bradley	100		340	PT	77.27
Bideston St Nich.				M	
Crudewell				M	

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

(with the case studies highlighted in bold, and other prominent cloth towns in grey)

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Deanery	% Nonconfs
St Michaels civitate	299	1	6	GL	2.0
Trinity	256			GL	0.0
Morton Valence	131			GL	0.0
Brokthrop	78			GL	0.0
Longrey	169			GL	0.0
Hemsted	96			GL	0.0
Arlingham	330			GL	0.0
Harscombe	51			GL	0.0
Standish	381			GL	0.0
Hardwick	171			GL	0.0
Winchincomb	55			GL	0.0
Witcomb	96			GL	0.0
Quedgley	130			GL	0.0
Whaddon	75			GL	0.0
Elmore	153			GL	0.0
Fretherne	65			GL	0.0
Wheatenhurst	95			GL	0.0
Saul Tything	40			GL	0.0
Corse	150			GL	0.0
Hartpury	300			GL	0.0
Woselworth	50			DL	0.0
Frampton	249			DL	0.0
Totworth	170			HK	0.0

Dodington	50			HK	0.0
Acton Turville	37			HK	0.0
Cherington	131			ST	0.0
Woodchester	120			ST	0.0
Edgeworth	71			ST	0.0
Cranham	120			ST	0.0
Cowly	106			ST	0.0
Sapperton	195			ST	0.0
Shipton Moyne	150			ST	0.0
Brimpsfield	142			ST	0.0
Muserdon	250			ST	0.0
Winston	70			ST	0.0
Frocester	195			ST	0.0
Cubberly	72			ST	0.0
Stroud	**1000**		**1**	**ST**	**0.1**
North Nibley	583		1	DL	0.2
Kingswood	508		1	DL	0.2
Glymbridge	382		1	DL	0.3
Berkley	1100		3	HK	0.3
Harsfield	263	2	1	GL	0.4
Leonard Stanley	206		1	ST	0.5
Dursley	**800**		**4**	**DL**	**0.5**
Bisley	1200		6	ST	0.5
Wotton under Edge	1713		14	DL	0.8
Hull alias Hill	115		1	DL	0.9
Rodborough	**442**		**4**	**ST**	**0.9**
Stone Chappel	105		1	HK	0.9
Beverstone	100		1	DL	1.0
Stonehouse	379	1	4	ST	1.0
Formerton	134		2	HK	1.5
Cam cum Stinchcombe	**669**		**10**	**DL**	**1.5**
Sandhurst	196		3	GL	1.5
Great Badminton	173	4	3	HK	1.7
St John the Baptist	347		6	GL	1.7
Westonbril	55		1	HK	1.8
Eastington	368		7	ST	1.9
Wickwar	420		8	HK	1.9
Upton St Leonards	325	7	7	GL	2.1
Cowley	260		6	DL	2.3
Lassington	41		1	GL	2.4
Rodmerton	141		4	ST	2.8

St Mary de Load	549		16	GL	2.8
Aving	340		10	ST	2.9
Painswick	1055		32	ST	2.9
Randwick	**339**		**11**	**GL**	**3.1**
St Nicholas	616		24	GL	3.8
St Aldgate	198		8	GL	3.9
Tetbury	191	1	8	ST	4.0
Ashworth	140		6	GL	4.1
Minchinhamton	700		30	ST	4.1
Side	45		2	ST	4.3
St Mary de Grace	110		5	GL	4.4
St Mary de Cript	602		30	GL	4.8
Maismon	150		8	GL	5.1
Churchdown	260	1	16	GL	5.8
Barnwood	117		8	GL	6.4
Pucklechurch	174		12	HK	6.5
Chippin Sodbury	174		12	HK	6.5
St Katharines	206		15	GL	6.8
Newton Bagpath	51		4	HK	7.3
Uley	**300**		**25**	**HK**	**7.7**
Owlpen	**67**		**8**	**HK**	**10.7**
Thornbury	740	1	92	DL	11.0
Frampton Cotterell	192		27	HK	12.3
Westerleigh	170		30	HK	15.0
Rockhampton	78		18	HK	18.8
Nimpsfield	122		33	ST	21.3

APPENDIX 3.6

TABLE SHOWING ABOVE AVERAGE LEVELS OF NONCONFORMITY COMPILED FROM THE COMPTON CENSUS, 1676

WILTSHIRE

(above average levels highlighted in grey, case studies highlighted in bold)

Parish	% Nonconfs	Population		Parish	% Nonconfs	Population
Bradford	**4.87**	**3264**		Langley burrell	4.46	157
Melksham	5.09	1965		Fittleton	0.64	156
Urchfront	1.15	1132		Grittleton	15.38	156
Potterne	0.6	1000		Polshott	0	150
Corsham	11.65	987		Chiverell Magna	7.59	145
Trowbridge	**18.57**	**937**		West Keynton	2.09	143
Chippenham	15.61	858		Luckington	7.8	141
Westport	3.12	690		Alderton	1.46	137
Lacocke	6.5	677		Hullavington	1.53	131
Devizes St Mary	12.43	676		Bideston St Peter	11.02	127
Lavington Forum	4.8	500		Dantsey	1.61	124
Keevill	1.49	470		North Wraxall	5.64	124
North Bradley	77.27	440		Imber	0.83	120
Brinkworth	7.97	439		Yatton Kennell	3.57	112
Box	5.2	423		Poole	0	107
Broughton Gifford	0	400		Draycott Cerue	6.54	107

Euford	0.26	380		Charlton	4.72	106
Lavington Episcopi	0.81	370		Somerford Parva	4.9	102
Kington St Michael	8.3	361		Stanton St Quintin	8.6	93
Christian Malford	0.29	340		Seagry	7.5	80
Sherston Magna	1.33	300		Patney	1.37	73
Colerne	7.33	300		Littleton Drew	10.29	68
Castle Combe	3.08	260		Easton Gray	0	65
Malmesbury	2	250		Leigh de la Mere	4.76	63
Eddington	2.4	249		Cowlston	1.64	62
Chrikton	0	242		Newnton	0	60
Uphaven	3.88	232		Norton vide Bremilham	0	60
Minly	7.27	220		Somerford Magna	13.33	60
Sennington	0.96	209		Sopworth	5.08	59
Russall	0.99	203		Chiverell Parva	12.07	58
Hilprington	17.24	203		Foxley	0	46
Hankerton	4.21	190		Bremilham and Norton	0	40
Garsdon	1.06	189		Ditcheridge	5	40
Oakesey	0	184		Ashley	0	30
Kemble	1.67	180		Hardenhuish	0	23
Marden	9.14	175		Chalfield Magna	0	18
Sutton Benger	14.54	172		Whaddon	0	17
Nettleton	7.06	170		Kelwayes	16.67	12
Winkfield	1.21	165				
Willesford	0	160				

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

(above average levels highlighted in grey, case studies highlighted in bold)

Parish	% Nonconfs	Population		Parish	% Nonconfs	Population
Wotton under Edge	0.8	1727		Great Badminton	1.7	180
Bisley	0.5	1206		Hardwick	0.0	171
Berkley	0.3	1103		Totworth	0.0	170
Painswick	2.9	1087		Longrey	0.0	169
Stroud	**0.1**	**1001**		Maismon	5.1	158
Thornbury	11.0	833		Nimpsfield	21.3	155
Dursley	**0.5**	**804**		Elmore	0.0	153
Minchinhamton	4.1	730		Corse	0.0	150
Cam cum Stinchcombe	**1.5**	**679**		Shipton Moyne	0.0	150
St Nicholas	3.8	640		Ashworth	4.1	146
St Mary de Cript	4.8	632		Rodmerton	2.8	145
North Nibley	0.2	584		Brimpsfield	0.0	142
St Mary de Load	2.8	565		Formerton	1.5	136
Kings Wood	0.2	509		Morton Valence	0.0	131
Rodborough	**0.9**	**446**		Cherington	0.0	131
Wickwar	1.9	428		Quedgley	0.0	130
Stonehouse	1.0	384		Barnwood	6.4	125
Glymbridge	0.3	383		Woodchester	0.0	120
Standish	0.0	381		Cranham	0.0	120
Eastington	1.9	375		Hull alias Hill	0.9	116
St John the Baptist	1.7	353		St Mary de	4.4	115

				Grace		
Aving	2.9	350		Cowly	0.0	106
Randwick	**3.1**	**350**		Stone Chapel	0.9	106
Upton St Leonards	2.1	349		Beverstone	1.0	101
Arlingham	0.0	330		Hemsted	0.0	96
Uley	**7.7**	**325**		Witcomb	0.0	96
St Michaels civitate	2.0	306		Rockhampton	18.8	96
Hartpury	0.0	300		Wheatenhurst	0.0	95
Churchdown	5.8	277		Brokthrop	0.0	78
Harsfield	0.4	266		Whaddon	0.0	75
Cowley	2.3	266		**Owlpen**	**10.7**	**75**
Trinity	0.0	256		Cubberly	0.0	72
Muserdon	0.0	250		Edgeworth	0.0	71
Frampton	0.0	249		Winston	0.0	70
St Katharines	6.8	221		Fretherne	0.0	65
Frampton Cotterell	12.3	219		Westonbril	1.8	56
Leonard Stanley	0.5	207		Winchincomb	0.0	55
St Aldgate	3.9	206		Newton Bagpath	7.3	55
Westerleigh	15.0	200		Harscombe	0.0	51
Sandhurst	1.5	199		Woselworth	0.0	50
Sapperton	0.0	195		Dodington	0.0	50
Frocester	0.0	195		Side	4.3	47
Tetbury	4.0	192		Lassington	2.4	42
Pucklechurch	6.5	186		Saul Tything	0.0	40
Chippin Sodbury	6.5	186		Acton Turville	0.0	37

APPENDIX 3.7

RESULTS OF THE BENSON VISITATION FOR GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1735-51

(with the case studies highlighted in bold, and other prominent cloth towns in grey)

Parish/Chapelry	Population	Deanery	Presbyterians	Independents	Quakers	Anabaptists	Roman Catholics	Absenters
Syde	51	ST	No dissenters included in returns					
Hill	80	DS	No dissenters included in returns					
Ozleworth	80	DS				1.30%		
Nympsfield	100	ST			3%	5%		
Rockhampton	100	DS	2%		2%			
Slimbridge	100	DS	1%					
Edgeworth	106	ST	No dissenters included in returns					
Cherington	110	ST	No dissenters included in returns					
Winstone	110	ST	No dissenters included in returns					
Coberley	120	ST						0.80%
Colesbourne	120	ST	No dissenters included in returns					
Kingscote	134	DS	No dissenters included in returns					
Stone	150	DS	No dissenters included in returns					
Beverstone	150	DS	No dissenters included in returns					
Elkstone	160	ST	No dissenters included in returns					
Shipton Moyne	190	ST	"No return"					
Cowley	200	ST	No dissenters included in returns					
Rodmarton	200	ST	No dissenters included in returns					
Sapperton/Salperton	209	ST						1%
Brimpsfield	250	ST	"No return"					
Frocester	293	ST		0.70%				

Stinchcombe	345	DS	4.30%					some
Newington Bagpath/Owlpen	**354**	**DS**	**2%**		**0.60%**	**0.80%**		
Oldbury on Severn	400	DS	No dissenters included in returns					
Miserden	417	ST	0.20%			1.20%		
Frampton on Severn	450	DS	No dissenters included in returns					
Leonard Stanley	460	ST	0.90%					some
Eastington	600	ST	No dissenters included in returns					
Woodchester	600	ST	0.70%		0.80%	0.30%		
Coaley	600	DS	1.50%		0.20%			
Kingswood	800	DS	12.50%					
Cam	**900**	**DS**		**33%**				
Avening	1000	ST	5%		2%	0.60%		
Stonehouse	1000	ST					0.20%	0.10%
Kings Stanley	1050	ST		1.30%				
Uley	**1160**	**DS**	**6.60%**			**1.60%**		
Horsley	1800	ST	5.60%		8.30%	16.70%		some
North Nibley	1800	DS	0.80%			0.30%		
Thornbury	1800	DS	2.20%		2.80%		0.10%	1.70%
Dursley	**2000**	**DS**	**12.50%**					**some**
Painswick	2256	ST		6.60%	2.20%	0.90%	0.04%	some
Berkeley	2300	DS	0.70%					
Tetbury	3115	ST	7.50%		0.70%	1.20%	0.06%	
Bisley	4000	ST	1.75%		0.10%			
Minchinhampton	4000	ST	1.75		1%	0.40%		
Wotton under Edge	4000	DS	8.80%			1.30%		
Stroud	**5000**	**ST**	**2%**					**some**
Chalford		ST	No dissenters included in returns					

Rodborough		**ST**	**No dissenters included in returns**
Lasborough	2 houses	DS	No dissenters included in returns
Falfield	12 houses	DS	No dissenters included in returns

APPENDIX 3.8

MEETING HOUSE LICENCES IN WILTSHIRE 1676-1750

(with the case studies highlighted in bold, and other prominent cloth towns in grey)

Parish	Denomination					
	Presbyterian	Baptist	Quaker	Independent	Unknown	TOTAL
Trowbridge	**5**	**8**	**1**		**3**	**17**
Bradford	**6**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**3**	**16**
Melksham	6	4			4	11
Chippenham	2		1		5	8
Westport St Mary	1	2			4	7
Castle Combe	1		2		3	6
Corsham	1		2		3	6
Hilperton					6	6
North Bradley		2	1		2	5
Lacock		2			3	5
Colerne	1				3	4
Biddestone		1			3	4
Grittleton		1	2		1	4
Langley Burrell					4	4
Kington St Michael					3	3
South Wraxall					3	3
West Kington			3			3
Keevil		3				3
Devizes	1		2			3
Steeple Ashton		1	1			2
Malmesbury			1		1	2
North Wraxall	1	1				2
Nettleton			1		1	2
Broughton Gifford		1			1	2
Urchfont		1	1			2
Sutton Benger			2			2
Brinkworth	1				1	2
Sherston	1					1
Atworth					1	1
Littleton Drew					1	1

Box			1			1
Upavon					1	1
Potterne					1	1
Russell		1				1
Charlton					1	1
Luckington			1			1
Alderton					1	1
Monkton Farleigh	1					1
TOTAL	**28**	**29**	**26**	**2**	**63**	**148**