

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

HISTORICAL STUDIES

III

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UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTRA-MURAL STUDIES

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HISTORICAL

STUDIES

III

Essays on Local Historical Records  
by the University Extra-Mural Class  
at Gloucester, 1968-9

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Edited by  
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## FOREWORD

In editing this third booklet in the present series of essays by the Local History Class at Gloucester I have become uncomfortably aware of the demands that I have made, as class tutor and editor. The class meets for 24 evenings, of which three or four are taken with lectures or discussions. Not everyone can come to every meeting, and yet in that time the class members, with differing skills and experience, have undertaken detailed historical research, and published the results in this booklet. Their ability and enthusiasm is self-evident. Most of the essays produced here concern new topics of research, and one or two deserve to be known more widely than the distribution of this pamphlet permits. There are also a few subjects where further research will be completed next year.

One of the rewards for the tutor is the satisfaction of seeing his students look beyond the material he can provide, and again this year some members of the class have pursued their studies outside the Records Office - at the Public Record Office or in Gloucester City Library, among private archives and in field-work.

The Extra-Mural Department of the University have once again typed and published the essays, a formidable task for which the Gloucester class is very grateful. The County Council have been equally indulgent in granting permission to use the County Records Office for our studies.

BRIAN S. SMITH

THE TRANSPORTATION OF CRIMINALS FROM GLOUCESTERSHIRE

1718 - 1773

The practice of transporting criminals to the British Colonies overseas developed gradually between the late 16th and the first half of the 19th century, after which, largely as a result of opposition from the colonies, the practice was gradually abandoned.

An Act of Parliament in 1598 stated that dangerous or incorrigible rogues could be sent to the galleys for life or transported to any place beyond the seas assigned for that purpose by the Privy Council. In 1615 the Privy Council ordered that anyone found guilty of any robbery or felony could be sent for service in the East Indies or the American plantations. Between 1615 and 1640, however, only 123 reprieved felons appear to have been transported. During the Civil War the practice almost ceased but it was revived during the Commonwealth period when many Irish prisoners of war were sent to Virginia, Barbados and Jamaica. In November, 1651 soon after the Battle of Worcester, John Clifford of Frampton-on-Severn recorded in a note book that he paid 1s. 6d. for "conveying the Scott's prisoners to Bristol". Were they on their way to transportation?

From 1665 the practice arose whereby if any person convicted of a felony prayed in open court to be transported he could be if the court thought fit. This practice was legalised by an Act of 1670. (31 Car. II c.2.) When these convicts reached the colony to which they had been transported they were assigned to the settler

who made the highest bid for their services. They were, in effect, sold into slavery for the term of their sentence. A transportee who had sufficient money could, after assignment, buy back his freedom, but he could not return to Britain before the expiration of his sentence.

This auctioning of convict labour was similar to the system of Indentured Service by which many of the early emigrants travelled to America. By this system any person over fifteen years of age could bind himself over to a shipping merchant who, in return for giving him a free passage to America, could sell him into servitude in the colonies. The period of servitude varied from two to seven years, the average being four years. The purchaser could hire out or sell an indentured servant and, in some colonies, could whip him. It has been estimated that between sixty and seventy per cent of all the early emigrants to America went out as indentured servants. The shipping merchant made a good profit, for a healthy unskilled man could be sold for as much as £10, a skilled craftsman for up to £25. In 1619 the Common Council of London sent a hundred poor children to Virginia as indentured apprentices.

Bristol was the principal port for emigration to America and in the twenty-five years from 1654 to 1679 about 10,000 emigrants sailed from that port. The Bristol merchants were eager to take either convicts or indentured servants, and were not too scrupulous as to how they obtained them. Minor offenders were terrorised into "pleading transportation" by vague threats that the offence would be treated as a hanging matter and there were rumours of people

being kidnapped for indentured service. When Judge Jefferies, on his circuit of "The Bloody Assizes" in 1685, arrived in Bristol he in turn terrorised the merchants and magistrates at Bristol Assizes. "Kidnapper" he bawled at the Mayor, Sir William Hayman, "Do you see the Keeper of Newgate?" He made him stand in the dock and fined him £1,000 for allowing a boy from the Bridewell to be illegally transported and bound him, with Alderman Lawford and three others, to find sureties of £5,000 each that they would answer at the King's Bench to charges of kidnapping people for servitude overseas. They were not, however, brought to trial.

Convicts and indentured servants sometimes went out on the same ship and were probably sold indiscriminately on arrival. Felix Farley's Bristol Journal of October 26th, 1754, states: "Captain Davis is arrived at Annapolis in Maryland from this port having 50 indentured servants and 69 of the King's seven year passengers." In May, 1757 the owners of the ship Frisby were advertising in The Bristol Intelligencer for men and boys to go as indentured servants to Maryland, while a paragraph in the same paper stated that 40 convicts had been sent aboard the Frisby.

The colonies varied in their attitude to transportation. Sometimes they asked that convicts should be sent. Among the Blathwayt papers in the Gloucestershire Record Office is a memorandum dated 4th June, 1684, which records that the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations had received an address from the island of St. Christopher "praying that for the strengthening and security thereof 300 men Malefactors long since Ordered might accordingly be

transported to that Island." About 1697, however, some of the American states prohibited the landing of convicts and for a time most of them were sent to the West Indies. Pennsylvania prohibited convicts in 1722, Virginia did likewise the following year, but the British government vetoed the acts and continued to send them.

Although many Gloucestershire men must have sailed for the American plantations as indentured servants there appears to be no evidence that any convicts were transported from this county before 1718. Certainly there is no reference to transportation in the existing Quarter Sessions Order Books before that date. In 1718, however, a new Act concerning transportation was passed. By this Act Judges, or the Justices at Quarter Sessions, were empowered actually to pass sentences of transportation for seven years for certain crimes, whether the criminal had pleaded transportation or not. The act also empowered Judges, if they thought fit, to grant reprieves to men or women condemned to death, while recommending the King to show mercy. These recommendations were practically always accepted and the King's pleasure was notified to the Clerk of the Peace for the county by the Secretary of State. The letter sometimes stated the term of transportation which the reprieved criminal was to serve, but often this was left to the Justices to decide at Quarter Sessions. The first reference to transportation in the Gloucestershire Quarter Sessions archives occurs in the Order Book, Trinity Sessions, 1718; and, as it explains the law, is quoted here in full:

"Whereas by an Act of Parliament made in the fourth Year of his

present Magesties Reigne Intitled an Act for the further preventing Robery and other Felonies and for the more effectual Transportation of Felons etc. It is enacted that where any person or persons have been or shall be hereafter convicted of Grand or petty Larceny or any felonious Stealing or taking of Money or Goods or Chattels either from the person or the House of any other, or in any other manner who by the Law Shall be Entitled to the benefit of Clergy and liable only to the penalties of burning in the hand or whipping (except persons convicted for receiving Stolen Goods knowing them to be Stolen) It shall and may be lawfull for the Court before whome they were convicted if they think fitt instead of ordering such offenders to be burnt in the hand or to be whipt to order them to be sent to some of his Magesties Colonies and Plantations in America for the Space of Seven Years and that the said Court shall have power to Convey Transferr and make over Such Offenders by order of Court to the use of any person or persons who shall contract for the performance of Such Transportation to him or them or his & their Assignes for Such terms of Seaven years And whereas John Townsend, alias Townend, Robert Monning Thomas Johnson & Nicholas Workman have severally been convicted of Felony at this Sessions & have thereby incurred the penalties of burning in the hand or whipping This Court Dos therefore persuant to the said Act Convey transfer and make over the said John Townsend ... to Benjamin Heming & his (Assignes) for the said terme of Seaven Years according to the said Act and this Court dos approve of John Heming with the said Benjamin

Heming for securities for transporting them accordingly."

In June 1719, the first party of transportees, eight men and one woman - Mary Parker, convicted of a felony - left the Castle Gaol under the charge of John Heming, Keeper of the Bridewell and were taken by barge down the Severn to King Road, at the mouth of the Bristol Avon, and put aboard a ship bound for the New World. Further evidence that these were the first convicts from Gloucestershire to be transported is provided by the fact that when John Heming sent in his bill of £10. 10s. for conveying them, the Justices quibbled at the charge. At Trinity Sessions, 1719, a committee of three Justices was appointed to consider the charges and the best method of transporting criminals in future. Had convicts been transported from Gloucestershire previously it is likely that a scale charge would already have been fixed. The committee reported at Michaelmas that the charges were reasonable and that John Heming should in future be paid £1. 10s. for each convict taken to Bristol, provided that he paid the cost of maintaining them from the date of their sentence till the time of transportation. About 1740 the charge was increased to £2 a head, shown in the Treasurer's Accounts as "Jayle ffees."

According to Professor A.G.L. Shaw, in *Convicts and the Colonies*, merchants trading with the American colonies in the 17th century were eager to carry convicts free of charge as they could obtain a profitable price for them on arrival. Later, however, they had difficulty in disposing of women and convicts of bad character, and in 1697 the government had to pay £8 for each of 50 women transported.

After the Act of 1718 the government made regular contracts with shipping merchants for transporting convicts from London and the Home counties; first for £3 a head for convicts from London and £5 for those from other parts; after 1727 for £5 for all convicts. Places other than London and the Home counties made their own contracts and Gloucestershire paid £4 for each convict from 1727 to 1773, except on two occasions in 1730 and 1749 when the payment was slightly less.

The Act of 1718 ordered that all the expenses of transporting convicts were to be paid by the place for which the court was held. The expenses so incurred by Gloucestershire are, of course, recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts. e.g., Trinity 1729, "14 Felons ordered for Transportation at the Two last Assizes & Quarter Sessions to some of the Plantations. £56. Os. Od." Such entries provide the most accurate information as to the number of convicts transported. Unfortunately only one account book for the period of transportation to America is extant; that from Trinity 1726 to Michaelmas 1773. Information concerning the number of convicts transported in the remainder of the period could be obtained from the Quarter Sessions Order Books or from the Gloucester Journals. The Treasurer's Accounts record the number of convicts transported and, from 1733 onwards, with few exceptions, their names. The number of transported each year is given below. The figures for any year are reckoned from Easter to Epiphany, inclusive, as transportees recorded at Epiphany were, obviously, transported in the previous year.

1727 .... 11	1743 .... 16	1759 .... 14
1728 .... nil	1744 .... 7	1760 .... 7
1729 .... 22	1745 .... 4	1761 .... 4
1730 .... 16	1746 .... 2	1762 .... 4
1731 .... 10	1747 .... 8	1763 .... 11
1732 .... 9	1748 .... 18	1764 .... 16
1733 .... 19	1749 .... 22	1765 .... 17
1734 .... 3	1750 .... 20	1766 .... 8
1735 .... 10	1751 .... 20	1767 .... 19
1736 .... 17	1752 .... 10	1768 .... 30
1737 .... 9	1753 .... 14	1769 .... 18
1738 .... 24	1754 .... 18	1770 .... 22
1739 .... 9	1755 .... 14	1771 .... 25
1740 .... 22	1756 .... 9	1772 .... 5
1741 .... 32	1757 .... 18	1773 .... 27
1742 .... 21	1758 .... 18	

Total 674. An average of 14 a year.

When a party of convicts was handed over to the contractors - in Gloucestershire the Keeper of the Gaol or the House of Correction and his partner a formal bond was signed and sealed by two of the Justices and the contractor and his partner. By this bond the contractors bound themselves in a sum of money to transport the convicts within three months to "some of his Majestyes Collonyies and Plantations in America and procure an Authentick Certifycate from the Governor or Chiefe Customehouse Officer of the place of their Landing of the said felons (Death and Casualty of the Sea excepted) and shall not suffer the sayd offender# or any of them to returne from the place they are Transported to into any part of Great Britain or Ireland by any willfull neglect or default of them." The contractors usually bound themselves in the sum of £200, but occasionally for £100 and once for as little as £60. The last amount was for one convict only, though the number of convicts covered by the bond seems otherwise not to have had any effect on the amount

of money stipulated on the bond. Half the sum appears to have been handed over to the Justices as security.

Sixty of the transportation bonds remain in the County Records Office and cover most of the convicts transported between 1733 and 1757. They include four other bonds dated respectively, 1727, 1731, 1771 and 1772. The bonds give the names of the "transports", the date and place where sentenced (Assizes or Quarter Sessions); the length of the sentence (life, 14 years or 7 years), and a very brief statement of the crime committed. Only very rarely is any other information given. e.g., "Richard Flaxon, labourer", "Anne Hall, wife of William Hall." Very occasionally the crime is not stated or the statement is ambiguous. e.g., "William Watkins, Richard Smyth and Joseph Deale, severally convicted of burglary and horse stealing" should probably read "burglary or horse stealing." The bonds state that 29 of the transportees were convicted of "a felony", a term covering so wide a variety of crimes as to be almost useless.

The following is an analysis of the crimes committed by the convicts named in the bonds:

Grand Larceny (Goods or money valued above 1s.) .....	200
Larceny .....	2
Petty Larceny (Value less than 1s.) .....	9
Housebreaking (includes 2 also picking pockets) .....	11
Housebreaking and horse stealing .....	4
Horse stealing .....	29
Sheep stealing .....	7
Stealing (Ass 1, Bond 1, Woollen cloth 1, from shop 1) .....	4

Burglary .....	11
Burglary and horse stealing .....	3
Felony .....	29
Highway robbery .....	7
Receiving stolen goods .....	4
Stealing above 40s. in a dwelling house .....	5
1 for each of the following: Killing a fallow deer, Arson, Returning from transportation, Unnatural sex offence, Perjury, Stabbing a mare, Forgery, Stealing grain on a barge .....	8
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	333
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Of the 674 convicts transported the names of 612 are recorded either in the Treasurer's Accounts or the bonds. 536 of these were men, 66 were women. In one case a man and his wife were transported. At least two of the women left husbands behind. Ages were not recorded but at least two boys were transported. In 1741 Joan, Elizabeth and Mary Styles were transported together.

The length of the sentence has been ascertained for 471 of the transportees. 11 were transported for life, 167 for 14 years, 393 for 7 years. All those sentenced for life or 14 years had been condemned to death and reprieved; those transported for 7 years would otherwise have been burnt in the hand or whipped.

Of the eleven convicts transported for life, seven were sentenced for participating in corn riots which were a recurrent feature of the 18th and early 19th centuries. In 1756 the harvest was spoilt by rain and the price of wheat in Gloucester market, which had been between 4s. 6d. and 5s. a bushel earlier in the year, rose to between 7s. and 8s. in November and to between 9s. 6d. and

11s. 6d. in the following April. Professor Hoskins has calculated that the labouring class spent about 90% of its earnings on food and drink, so a rise in the price of bread - then the principal item of food from 4½d. the quartern loaf in the summer to 7½d. in November and 11d. in the spring must, obviously, have caused much hardship. There were riots in many parts of England, including Gloucestershire, particularly in the Forst of Dean where the colliers and country folk stopped and plundered the barges carrying corn down the Wye and Severn to Bristol. Many of the offenders were arrested and tried before a Special Commission held at Newnham in January which dealt comparatively leniently with them by fines, but at the Assizes in March, William Meek, Thomas Woor, and William Morgan were sentenced to death for stealing grain from several vessels on the Wye to the value of £104. 10s. 0d. All three were reprieved but William Meek was transported for life.

Another dearth of corn in the winter of 1766/7, when wheat rose in price to between 9s. and 10s. 11d., caused riots principally in the Stroud area. This time the rioters were more violent and so was the retribution. Mobs, summoned by horns and armed with clubs, roamed the area demanding food, drink and money. At Paganhill they attacked the house of a shopkeeper named Chandler who opened fire and killed one of them. In an effort to break in and get him, the rioters pulled the tiles off the roof but he managed to escape. A house near Minchinhampton was similarly attacked.

Ninety six rioters were brought into the Castle Gaol, including the common hangman and sixteen women. In December they were tried

before a Special Commission of two judges and the nobility and principal gentry of the county. At the usual pre assize service at the cathedral, the Chaplain to the High Sheriff preached on the text, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers ..... the powers that be are ordained of God." (Romans 13, v 1). It was evidently an inspiring sermon for the Commission sentenced 9 rioters to death and 7 more to transportation for seven years; 43 were discharged and 25 given bail to appear at the next Assizes. Chandler, the shopkeeper, charged with unlawfully killing a rioter, "was not only discharged but applauded for his resolution." David Shaw, the principal witness against him was committed to gaol for being concerned in the riot. "It was a most affecting scene on Friday evening to behold the tears and entreaties of the wives and relations of the unhappy rioters who were condemned to die, imploring mercy round the Judges' carriages as their Lordships set off."

Of the nine condemned to death, three were hanged, one pardoned, and five reprieved and sentenced to transportation for life. At the following Assizes David Shaw was also condemned to death but reprieved and transported for life. Another rioter was sentenced to transportation for seven years.

About 1740 it appears to have been relatively easy to return from transportation, but the penalty for doing so was death.

At Gloucestershire Assizes in July, 1740, Thomas and Robert Crew were sentenced to transportation for seven years for grand larceny and a year later Daniel Crew was transported for fourteen

years for receiving stolen goods. In August 1742 Robert and Daniel were sentenced to death for returning from transportation. Robert was reprieved and transported again for fourteen years, but Daniel was hanged at Gloucester. The Journal describes him as being not above thirty years of age and "very illiterate."

In April 1742, John Symonds and Giles Hancock, transported for seven years in the previous July for grand larceny, were hanged at Gloucester for returning from transportation.

In the same month William Curtis was hanged at Bristol for returning from transportation. There is an interesting story attached to this. In April, 1740, only a few months after he had acted as hangman at an execution in Bristol, Curtis was himself condemned to death for stealing goods to the value of £8 from the pack of a Scottish pedlar at Wickwar. He was reprieved and transported for fourteen years. He returned from transportation to Bristol and when passing the gateway of Newgate prison happened to see the pedlar whom he had robbed confined there as an insolvent debtor. He stopped and poured abuse on his unfortunate victim, and, very unwisely, returned to the prison gates each day to insult the pedlar, who eventually denounced him and brought him to the gallows.

Presumably as a result of these and other returns from transportation, by the statute of 16 Geo.2.c 15 (1743) a reward of £20 was offered to anyone who should "discover, apprehend and prosecute" any convict returning from transportation.

In 1772 the demand for convict labour in the colonies was so great, and the price obtained for it so high, that the Government

considered it was no longer necessary to pay the bounty to the shipping merchants. Local authorities, however, continued to pay for a time in Gloucestershire till at least the end of 1773.

Transportation to the American colonies practically ended with the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1775 though even after the war, some convicts were landed illegally as late as August, 1787. Other methods of disposing of the convicts had to be tried, for the prisons were soon filled to overflowing. In 1766 the Government started to send convicts to the hulks, moored in or near the naval dockyards, and set the convicts to hard labour there. Soon the hulks were filled and in 1787 the First Fleet sailed with convicts for Botany Bay.

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SOME TRANSPORTEES FROM GLOUCESTERSHIRE

1815 - 1818

The latest and most authoritative book on transportation is Convicts and the Colonies by Professor A.G.L. Shaw. Of the convicts transported he writes: "Although I have reached a number of conclusions they need to be confirmed (or perhaps refuted) by detailed investigations both of the districts from which the convicts came, and of those where they were sent; for it is only from such studies that the whole truth can emerge, and at the moment these are extremely rare." In the hope that a detailed study of convicts from Gloucestershire might contribute to the emergence of the whole truth, this research was undertaken. It is a continuation of an earlier study which covered the years 1788 to 1814, and embraces the period from Easter Quarter Sessions 1815 to Trinity Quarter Sessions 1818.

During this time 138 men and 3 women -- including 2 men and 1 woman sentenced at the City Assizes -- were conveyed from Gloucester to the hulks to await transportation to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. They left England between August, 1815 and December, 1818; 68 were to serve seven years, 32 fourteen years, and 41 a life sentence.

It has not been possible, as yet, to discover how many of these had previous convictions. Some of the relevant records are missing and where they do exist, it has been difficult to establish which one of two persons bearing the same name was transported. However,

at present, 31 (22%) are known to have appeared in court previously, 6 had been discharged by proclamation or found not guilty, and 10 had been convicted. There has not been time to discover the verdicts in the remaining 14 cases, but 24 others came from outside the county so could have had convictions elsewhere. Of 27 possible first offenders from the neighbourhood of Bristol, 10 are known to have had no other convictions but the remaining 17 may have committed previous offences which were dealt with in Bristol city. If we add together the known and the possible old offenders we have a total of 72 - slightly over 50%. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that between 50% and 22% had made former court appearances.

Here are some of the known old offenders:

Richard Winders of Pucklechurch, aged 17, having previously served a sentence of one calendar month for the theft of a pair of leather breeches worth 5s. was at Epiphany Quarter Session, 1818, convicted of stealing a turkey from Siston Warren. He was sentenced to transportation for seven years. Before leaving the dock he turned to the Chairman of the Magistrates, smiled and said, "I wish thou mightest be sitting there till I come back and then I'll be with thee again." The Gloucester Journal described him as "young in years but old in iniquity." In company with nine other convicts from this county he left England on the "Lord Sidmouth" in September, 1818.

Thomas Caines of Kingswood, a dealer aged 31, was "an old inmate of the gaol, known as the Captain of the Cock Road Gang."

With his son and other members of his family and several other men, he was said to have terrorised travellers passing Kingswood. Indeed "no inhabitant" of that area "felt safe in his bed". Early in October, 1814, police officers clashed with the gang in Bristol but Caines managed to escape. He was eventually captured by a quick-thinking Private in the Bitton Cavalry while carrying away sacks of stolen wheat. At the Summer Assizes 1817 he was sentenced to seven years transportation. In December, 1817 with one other from the county he sailed on the "Neptune for New South Wales.

John Jobbins "a notorious character aged 21 was convicted of stealing a coat, at the Easter Assizes, 1815. Three years earlier he had been charged with sheep stealing and condemned to death. He was reprieved and apparently served two years in prison. In October, 1814 he was taken into custody in Bath "having lately been housebreaking and horsestealing in various parts of the county." While confined in the Beadle's room in the Guildhall, Bath, he took off his coat and burnt it, "so as not to be identified." He was brought to Gloucester and sentenced to seven years transportation. On August 25th, 1815 he sailed on the "Fanny" for Botany Bay.

Luke Riddiford, a 33 year old waterman from Thornbury, was charged - with three other members of his family - with burgling a dwelling-house in Thornbury and stealing 2 sides of bacon, 2 pigs cheeks, one tongue piece, two sweet bones, 1 copper teakettle and about 36 pounds of salt butter in an earthen pan. At the Summer Assizes in August, 1816, his father aged 71 and his brother aged 23 were found not guilty. Luke had previous convictions for assault. He and his

mother - aged 69 - were condemned to death. She - the only member of the family unable to read or write - was executed on September 7th, Luke was reprieved and in April, 1817 left England in the "Lord Eldon" to serve a life sentence in New South Wales. Twelve others from Gloucestershire sailed at the same time.

At the Summer Assizes, August 1816, Richard Griffiths aged 24 a fish carrier of the parish of St. Philip and St. Jacob, Bristol, who could read and write was sentenced to death for breaking into a dwelling house and stealing a waistcoat with silver buttons worth 20s. and other property. He was reprieved and sentenced instead to life transportation. In the early hours of the 26th November, he escaped from the Castle Gaol "and rejoined his old associates" in Bristol. He remained at large until the following April when he was recaptured in Bath where he had fled after breaking into a house in Bristol and stealing silver goods worth £70. He was brought back to Gloucester and charged with being at large while under sentence of transportation. In October, 1817 he and five others convicted at the County Assizes left aboard the "Batavia".

Of the three women transported during this period, two had appeared in court before. At the Summer Assizes, 1813 22 year old Sophia Robins of Lydney, who could not read or write, was sentenced to three months imprisonment for stealing wearing apparel from a house in Lydney. At Michaelmas Sessions, 1814 and Epiphany Sessions, 1815 she was ordered to be discharged. Her fourth appearance in April, 1816 on a charge of stealing three guineas in gold and silver, two gold rings and articles of clothing resulted in a sentence of

transportation for seven years.

Jane Wood was caught stealing two pieces of cotton print from a mercer's shop in Gloucester only a few hours after serving a sentence of two years with hard labour in the Castle Gaol for a similar offence in Cirencester. She too, received a sentence of seven years. Both women sailed on the "Lord Melville" in August, 1816.

The third woman, Charity Hamilton, was a confectioner of the parish of St. Philip and St. Jacob. She was 35 years old and could read and write. At the Easter Sessions, 1817 she was convicted of receiving 350 yards of cloth worth £150 knowing it to be stolen. Thirteen months later - May, 1818 she left England aboard the "Maria". There is no evidence, as yet, to suggest that this was not her first offence.

Poaching offences were common at this time and many affrays took place - a direct product of the Game Laws which, framed by the nobility and gentry and administered by them operated fiercely against the poorer classes. (See The Village Labourer, Vol. 1, p. 184. J.L. & B. Hammond.) Two such affrays, each resulting in a death, sent 13 men into exile from Gloucestershire.

On the night of January 16th, 1816, several young men met at a house near Thornbury. There they swore a solemn oath not to betray one another. Having blacked their faces they set off towards Catgrove, some armed with guns and others with clubs. The night was moonlit and frosty. At about midnight they were discovered by Col. Berkeley's gamekeepers who were attracted there by the sound of a shot. During the

ensuing clash a gamekeeper, William Ingram, was killed and six of his companions wounded. The poachers fled. Col. Berkeley at once engaged the services of a Mr. Vickery of Bow Street and within a few days three men were in custody at Berkeley Castle. Two confessed and soon fourteen men were brought to trial on a charge of murdering or assisting at the murder of William Ingram. All but two were farmers' sons - "young men of decent appearance and respectably connected". Their ages ranged from 19 to 30. Evidence was given that Lord Ducie, Miss Langley and Col. Berkeley whose manors adjoined "having of late been much infested by poachers" employed about thirty men to patrol their estates, "but always without firearms". On the night of the affray they had been armed only with stout sticks.

One of the accused turned King's Evidence and was discharged. Another was released on his own surety of £500 and two others of £250 each to appear at the next assizes. A third, William Adams Broadribb, an attorney-at-law, was sentenced to seven year's transportation for administering an illegal oath. The remaining eleven were condemned to death. Two of these, John Allen, at whose house they had met, and who had a certificate to carry a gun; and John Penny, who had served a six-month's sentence for poaching about two years earlier, were executed. John Penny was said to have exclaimed during the affray "Now till Tom Till's debt be paid." (Tom Till had been killed by a spring gun on Lord Ducie's land some time earlier.) Both denied firing the fatal shot, declaring that, in the confusion it was impossible to say who did. The nine remaining were reprieved and

sentenced to life transportation. On the 21st May, 1816 William Broadribb left Gloucester for the hulks at Woolwich where a month later his late companions joined him. On October 9th they sailed aboard the transport ship "Sir William Bensley".

The second affray took place at Sherborne in November, 1816. Seven men were found at night in enclosed ground "armed with bludgeons and other offensive weapons." The head gamekeeper, declaring that he and his companions were armed, called on them to surrender like gentlemen. A short, sharp fight ensued. One of the poachers, badly beaten about the head, fell to the ground. Three were secured but the rest escaped. Shortly after reaching the gamekeeper's lodge, the injured man expired. The others - Samuel Parker aged 26, Richard Beckley aged 34, and Joseph Wright aged 43, were lodged in the House of Correction at Northleach. In January, 1817 they were each sentenced to seven years. With Luke Riddiford, they left England in the "Lord Eldon".

Much remains to be done, but the findings so far, are shown in tabular form overleaf. A map of Gloucestershire, showing the areas from which the convicts came, is appended.

#### I. WYATT

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CRIMES, OCCUPATIONS AND LITERACY OF CONVICTS TRANSPORTED

FROM GLOUCESTERSHIRE 1815 - 1818

<u>Crimes:</u>	Stealing - wheat etc .....	5
	sheep .....	11
	pigs .....	7
	fowls etc .....	5
	horses .....	12
	woollen cloth .....	5
	wearing apparel .....	8
	from person .....	2
	on highway .....	7
	miscellaneous .....	9
	from dwelling house .....	7
	burglary .....	) 35
	housebreaking .....	
	Fraud .....	3
	Receiving stolen goods .....	8
	Assault .....	4
	Armed to poach .....	3
	Murder while poaching .....	9
	Administering illegal oath .....	1

<u>Occupations:</u>	Apothecary .....	1
	Attorney .....	1
	Blacksmith .....	2
	Butcher .....	1
	Carpenter .....	1
	Chairmaker .....	1
	Clothier .....	1
	Collier .....	3
	Confectioner .....	1
	Dealer .....	2
	Engine maker .....	1
	Farmer .....	2
	Fish carrier .....	3
	Gardener .....	2
	Grocer .....	1
	Hatter .....	1
	Hawker .....	3
	Labourer .....	36 (Inc. 7 ex-service men)
	Mason .....	4
	Navigator .....	4
	Servant .....	1
	Seaman .....	3
	Shoemaker .....	7
	Spinner .....	1
	Waterman .....	7
	Weaver .....	1
	Not known .....	49

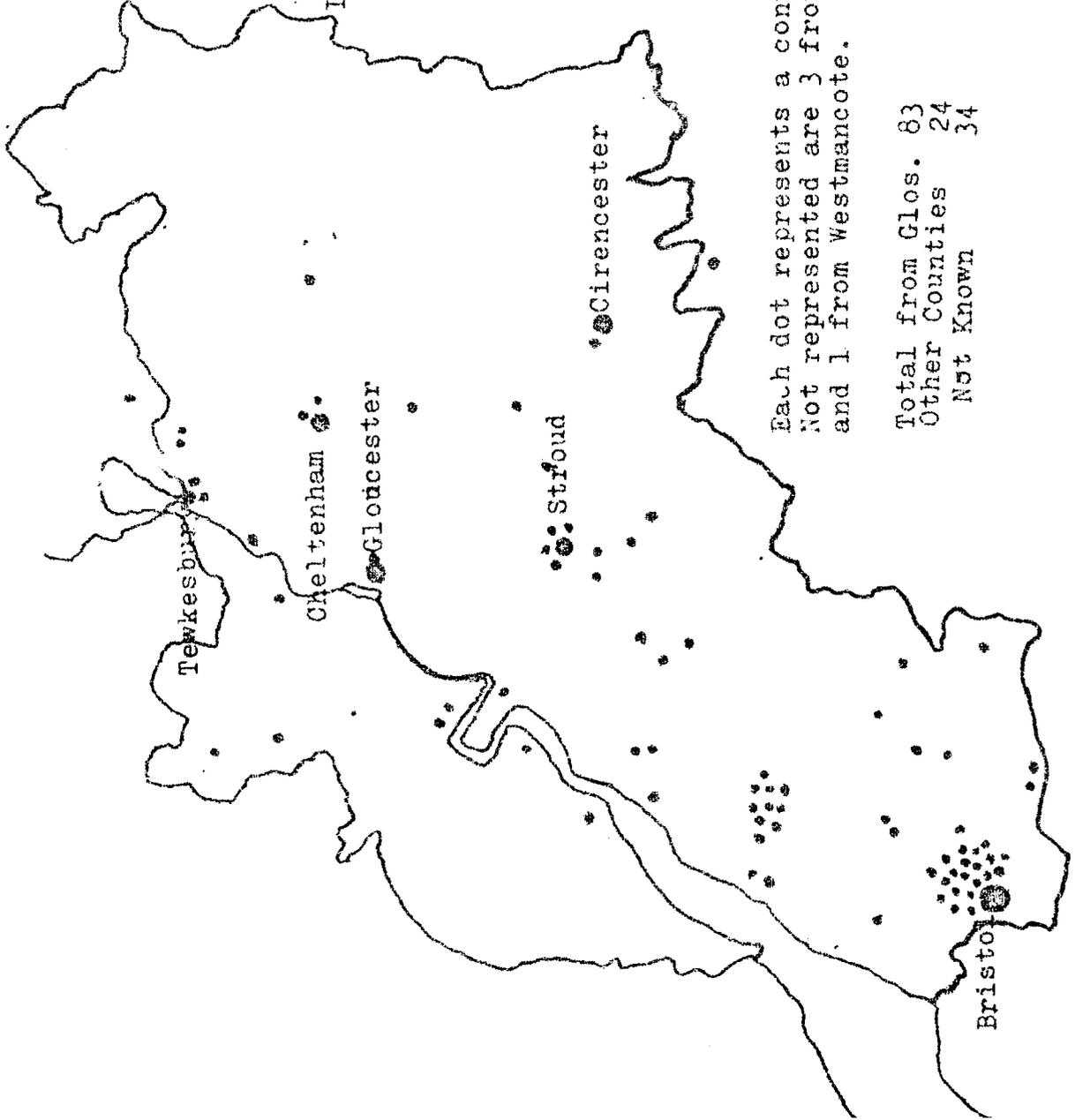
Literacy:

Read and write .....	29
Read and write a little .....	2
Read a little .....	17
Not read .....	26
Not read or write .....	15
Not known .....	52

The youngest transportee was aged 15; the oldest 60.

From other counties:

- Berkshire 1
- Brecon 1
- Essex 1
- Kent 2
- Lancs. 1
- Monmouth. 3
- Oxon. 1
- Shropshire 1
- Somerset 5
- Staffs. 3
- Wilts. 2
- Ireland/London 3



Each dot represents a convict.  
 Not represented are 3 from Bristol City  
 and 1 from Westmancote.

Total from Glos.	63
Other Counties	24
Not Known	34

THE CIDER INDUSTRY IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Although cider has been made in various parts of England, for a very long time, possibly as far back as the Roman occupation, the quantity was small and only sufficient to supply the small localised communities. Pears and apples only a little better than the wild crab-apples that we find in woods and hedge-rows were introduced by the Romans and grown with some degree of cultivation. These conditions continued during the Saxon period, but even until the early part of the fourteenth century, cider had not made any great impact on the drinking habits of the people in any part of the country.

In the grain growing areas the main drink was ale, brewed from malt, but not with hops which helped to preserve it. The West of England had a climate favourable to the cultivation of the vine, and where this was possible wine was made and drunk, Gloucestershire producing more wine than any other county in England.

However during the period between 1250 and 1350 there was a great advance in gardening and a certain amount of selection of the better varieties of pears that had hitherto been of a somewhat wild nature, had taken place.<sup>(1)</sup> Varietal names were used, which indicates that the art of layering or propagation by cuttings was known, but only two varieties of apples were known at this time, the Costard and the Pearmain.

With the development of these better varieties of pears and apples, it was possible to produce a more palatable drink, than that made from the wild crab-apples - which was known as 'verjuice'; and the term 'Cider' is used to differentiate it from verjuice.

Larger quantities of cider were made and Walter of Henley states

that ten quarters of apples and pears will yield about seven tuns of cider.<sup>(2)</sup> This implies that more orchards were being planted and that the trade of cooper was developing in order to supply the casks in which to store such large quantities, a tun measure being 250 gallons.

From the mid-14th century more varieties of apples and pears were available to the orchardist. Chaucer in 1380 mentions the new "perjenete" pear, and Lydgate of about the same period lists the new varieties of apples - The Pomewater, Richardon, Blaundrelle, Queening and Bittersweet. Primarily these varieties would have been used for table purposes and any surplus to this requirement used in the production of cider. Notice was being taken of the varying qualities of the cider made from these different varieties and it is significant that the last named in this list, the Bittersweet, must be the original from which stemmed the "Bittersweet" varieties, that are so important in the production of high quality cider of this day.

There is no doubt that by the 16th century a great deal of work was being done on the improvement of varieties of fruit, to increase their quality and yield and also in the storage of fruit, for John Holder<sup>(3)</sup> of Churcham in Gloucestershire in 1538 bequeathed a fruit house to his son, and a rudge of orchard land to his daughter. The medicinal properties of fruit liquor were appreciated during this period, both for man and beast. Tusser, in his famous poem "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry", writes:

"Be sure of vergis (a gallon at least)  
So good for the Kitchin, so needfull for beast:  
It helpeth thy cattle, so feeble and faint  
If timely such cattle with it though acquaint."<sup>(4)</sup>

As to the method of extracting the juice of crab-apples, a medieval recipe is most helpful:

"Verjuice. Gather crabbes as soon as the kernels turn black, and lay them in a heap to sweat and take them into troughs and crush with beetles. Make a bagge of coarse hair-clothe and fill with crabbes and press and run the liquor into hogsheads". The mention of troughs and beetles (large wooden mallets) would suggest that the horse operated stone mill had not been introduced at this time. It would have been both laborious and tedious to crush large quantities of fruit by this means, but the mention of hogsheads (100 to 120 gallon casks) indicates that it must have been so.

Cider and perry were reported to be common in Kent, Sussex and the West, and taking Gloucestershire as a typical West Country fruit liquor producing county (it was only exceeded by Herefordshire), a closer study of orcharding and the development of the cider industry can be made. The cultivation of fruit orchards had become by the early seventeenth century an art and a serious study by the wealthier land owners. Several books were written extolling the advantages of careful cultivation and planting distances of trees.

Lawson in 1618 propagated his trees by what would now be described as "air layering", but instead of using sphagnum moss and peat, held tightly in place by polythene, he used "a good rank mould and manure, covered with clay and bound round" to encourage rooting from branches so treated.<sup>(5)</sup> These branches were then removed from the parent tree to be planted in their permanent positions. He also proposed planting

trees at least 20 yards apart to allow for expansion, that would take place in the first 40 to 50 years of their life. Three hundred years was considered by him a normal period to bring a tree to its prime. Humbler folk planted their trees as many feet apart and often had a "Little nurcery" in which to raise new trees from pips of apples and pears. From these seedling trees, selection of better varieties was made and these were then increased by vegetative means.

Spring frost, then as now, was one of the greatest hazards to profitable fruit growing, and Gabriel Plattes in 1639 used a "quaint little device for guarding his fruit trees from harmful spring frosts: an earthen pot "like a little still" was filled with half a peck of small coal (at the cost of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d.) lighted and covered with a tile, with wet hay laid on it, and one of these was hung by a cord in each fruit tree, to "give an aire all night".<sup>(6)</sup>

Orchards and cider were beginning to play a greater part in the broader economy of land use. George Wyrall of English Bicknor leased various parcels of land in 1636 to people living in the vicinity for periods of 21 years. Each tenant in addition to paying a fixed cash rent had to plant and graft a set number of crab stocks on the ingoing, or to plant and graft a given number in each year of tenancy.<sup>(7)</sup>

(Seeing that it would take about 20 years for these trees to become profitable, George Wyrall stood to gain considerably from this deal, if the tenancy was terminated at the end of the 21 year period). The Church had not been slow to appreciate the value of fruit and cider, and it is recorded that the vicar of Hasfield in 1627 claimed fruit

as tythe.<sup>(8)</sup> Lord Scudamore a seventeenth century land owner of Holme Lacy in Herefordshire was appointed ambassador to the Court of Louis XIII in Paris in 1635, While in France he began to collect the Norman varieties of apples then available and on his return to England, used them to improve the English varieties. These improved varieties were soon dispensed over the West Country cider growing areas, and it was due to his work that the cider industry took a great step forward. The variety Red Streak or "red strake" was the apple that made Hereford cider unequalled in Britain.

In Gloucestershire other fruit growers were selecting and improving varieties. The White Styre was the boast of the Forest district, producing a cider so rich and strong that it was often valued equally with foreign wine. The Hagloe or Etloe crab from the hamlet near Awre produced a powerful and highly flavoured liquor. Cider and perry were by now becoming so important to the economy of Gloucestershire with large quantities being shipped down the Severn to Bristol for transport by sea to London that the method of crushing the fruit with trough and beetle, prior to pressing, proved inadequate for the task. It must have been somewhere about the mid-seventeenth century that the first stone crushing mill was produced, for John Holder (II) of Taynton in 1656 bequeathed his cider mill to his son Robert.<sup>(9)</sup>

Orchards at this time were of only a few acres, planted around the farmstead in order that the fruit should be close at hand for crushing. Fruit growers were beginning to develop a scientific approach to fruit growing - selecting the more suitable soils and planting on

south and south-eastern slopes to gain some protection from the north winds. The volume of cider produced in Gloucestershire alone each year ran into many thousands of gallons and the agricultural economics of the western part of the county was closely centred on cider and perry production.

To produce such vast quantities of liquor, the horse operated mill was made in great numbers. Hard wearing stone, resistant to the action of fruit acid, was found close at hand in the Forest of Dean in the conglomerate mass. The round mill trough and its runner stone were fashioned in the quarry, and it was at this point that the purchaser would become the owner. He then had to transport it to the farm and have it set up by a mill-right before it could be put into use. The price paid was based on the number of gallons that the trough held or, as was more general, a guinea per foot diameter. Mills varied in size from four feet diameter which could be operated by hand up to 12 feet in diameter and worked by two and sometimes three horses. The more general size was eight feet and operated by one horse. Owing to the difficulty of finding a single piece of stone to make large mills in one piece, plus the difficulty of transporting such a heavy and unwieldy object, the mill trough was made in two, three or four sections then matched up and fitted by the mill-right on the farm.

From the County Records Office there is ample evidence, during the eighteenth century of new orchards being planted, new mills installed and the many trials and tribulations of the cidarist taking

place. In 1700 John Holder (III) of Taynton built a cider house and mill, and the mill and uprights of the press can still be seen at Taynton House. A great tempest blew down 200 trees belonging to him in 1703, a tempest that ravaged the whole of Northern Europe.<sup>(10)</sup> In an Arlingham terrier of 1727 there is mention of the vicar having a tythe of apples and cider.<sup>(11)</sup> This only applied to cultivated apples or pears and the liquor made from them. Cider made from 'musc' apples, (those growing in the hedgerows or woods) did not attract this tythe unless sold, the maker of any cider from this source paying only 2d. per hogshead or 1d. per barrel to the vicar.

The Treasury, being short of money after the Seven Years War, looked about for means of replenishing the coffers. Lord Bute seeing that a good source of revenue could be obtained from cider and perry, imposed a tax on cider in 1763. This was assessed at source no matter whether the producers intended to sell or not. Cottagers or farmers were visited by the excise men and every cask barrel and hogshead 'gauged'. Public feeling was strongly against such a tax and was expressed in many ways. In Cheltenham, a youth dressed in mourning read the official document giving notice of the 'Tax' while the church bells tolled as though for a funeral. One grower was so incensed that he dug up his apple trees, rather than have the excise men visit him. In the Forest of Dean, the miners threatened to take all "Gaugers" that they set eyes on to the lower regions of the mines until the tax was repealed, and the Bristol Journal in July of 1763 refers to at least one man being detained in this manner. This

abomination was repealed in 1766, when the West Countrymen celebrated the occasion with carnivals and great bonfires. Lord Bute was committed to the flames under the effigy of a jack-boot - a rural allusion to his name.

Samuel Rudder produced his New History of Gloucestershire in 1779 and comments on the merits of the Gloucestershire cider and the vast quantities of apples produced. He states that in 1763 (the year of the Cider Tax) that crops of apples were so plentiful that great quantities were suffered to rot, for want of casks to put the cider in. The question may well be asked "Was it the want of casks, or the reluctance of growers to make cider and pay the tax?". Even so the price for styre-cider was high - 15 guineas the hogshead and later advancing to 20 guineas. In commenting on the parishes which produced cider or perry he covers the whole of the Vale of Berkeley, from Olveston to Hempsted and from Gloucester westwards to Dymock and Preston on the Herefordshire border. The Herefordshire system of planting orchards with widely spaced trees was adopted in Gloucestershire, and the stirring of the soil about the roots, in the fallow season was a system of cultivation which appealed to Rudder.

William Marshall, writing ten years later in his Rural Economy of Gloucestershire states that with the extension of canals and other waterways for transport, the production of liquor for sale began to increase. He however deplored the fact that all the old fruits which raised the fame of the liquors of this county were either

lost or so much on the decline that they were irrecoverable. The stire apple and the Hagloe crab made the best vintage cider at this time, with sixty guineas per hogshead (110 gallons) being offered to a Mr. Bellamy of Ross-on-Wye. This appears to be the hey-day of cider-making in Gloucestershire; whether it was due to the decline in the cider-varieties or to the more rapid, mechanical means of crushing apples, farm house cider never again held the acclaim for quality as it did in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Rudge in 1807 has a number of interesting things to say about cider.<sup>(12)</sup> On the longevity of fruit trees - apples will be at the point of perfection at 50 years producing ten to fifteen bushels of apples and will continue to bear to 100 years or more. A pear tree will live much longer, and one at Minsterworth was reputed to be 300 years old, which in one particular year produced 340 gallons of perry. In the low lying Severn Vale, late spring frost was a hazard to fruit growing. On the night of 25th May, 1802, Rudge remarks on a frost which cut off a most promising blossom. The line of devastation was precisely marked to an elevation of 35 feet. Above this line no blossom was touched.

In order to speed up the process of crushing the fruit, the hand mill was introduced about 1800. This consisted of two wooden rollers into which short iron spikes were inserted an inch or two apart over the whole surface. As the rollers were rotated by a hand wheel and gearing, the fruit was fed from above, and passing between

the rotating cylinders became roughly pulped by the action of the iron spikes. This pulp then passed between two close set stone rollers and fell into a trough in a finely ground state, from this it was passed to the press. By this means two or three hogsheads could be made per day instead of the one to one and a half by the older horse mill. Mechanical mills were produced in Somerset, Devon and Gloucestershire, many of "Workmans" mills made at Slimbridge being still in use. At one time a number were converted from hand operation to a gear system, operated by a horse, and later still by oil or petrol engine.

A number of orchards were replanted during or soon after the Napoleonic wars, and remnants of perry orchards planted at this time can still be seen in Gloucestershire. For various reasons the interest in cider fruit production declined towards the end of the 19th century, and it was not until Long Ashton Fruit Research Station created a fresh interest in the industry that further planting of cider orchards took place in the years following the First World War. A number of Gloucestershire farmers planted orchards in the 1920s and installed power operated mills and presses, in the hope that there would be an increase in cider sales through public houses.

These conditions applied, with satisfactory benefits to the farmers until after the Second World War, when more and more public houses, hitherto in the hands of small brewing concerns were taken over by the large brewing companies. These large companies preferred

to obtain their supplies of cider from the large commercial cider companies, who imported much of their fruit from France, with the consequent result that the small farm producers were put out of business. Many of these orchards, planted in the 1920s which should now be reaching their prime are being neglected, or in some cases being grubbed to grow more economic crops. The three or four leading commercial cider companies are attempting to get growers interested once more in the production of cider fruit, but it is a question of keen economics whether they are successful or not. As we drink our glass of richly coloured, fizzy substitute which is poured from bottles decorated with rosy red apples, brilliant woodpeckers or besmoked yokels, we can muse on what the rich, vintages of years ago must have been like.

S.F. BALDOCK

1. G. Henslow, Uses of British Plants, pp. 62-4
2. E. Lamond ed., Walter of Henley's Book of Husbandry (Royal Historical Society), p. 79.
3. Glos. R.O., D.1371
4. T. Tusser, Five Hundred Good Points of Husbandry, (1557)
5. W. Lawson, The Husbandman's Fruitful Orchard, (1618)
6. G. Plattes, Discovery of Infinite Treasure, (1639).
7. Glos. R.O., D33/207 - 10.
8. Victoria County History of Gloucestershire, Vol. VIII, p. 288.
9. Glos. R.O., D1371
10. Glos. R.O., D1371
11. Glos. R.O., D18/618 - 20
12. T. Rudge, General View of the Agriculture of Gloucestershire, (1807)

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE STROUDWATER CANAL

Stroud is situated on the River Frome on the banks of which are many mills, mostly connected with the clothing manufacture.

It is approximately 8 miles from Gloucester and much the same distance from Framilode where the Frome runs into the River Severn, so that coal coming from the Forest of Dean and other materials coming from ports in the Bristol Channel came to Framilode or Gloucester and then were carried inland by pack horse or wheeled traffic over low lying roads which were notoriously impassable in winter.

In 1727 a scheme was suggested to make the River Frome navigable, but fierce arguments broke out, and petitions were raised chiefly by the mill owners and the clothiers. They were against the scheme as they thought they would lose water from their mill ponds and their mills would be standing idle, especially in the summer time when the water was low. However in 1730 an Act of Parliament was passed in favour of the scheme, but it was never completed.

In 1740 Richard Cambridge of Whitminster House, an amateur boat builder, poet and gentleman, who had a pleasure barge designed like a Venetian gondola built for navigating the Severn, obtained permission from his neighbours to make the lower part of the Frome navigable at his own expence. He transported both the Prince of Wales when he came to dine with him on the "Severn Gondola", in 1750 and also stone for building operations at Whitminster.

In 1755 John Dallaway of Brimscombe revived interest in the

possibility of a navigation and in the early part of that year he raised a small subscription to finance a new survey of the river by Thomas Yeomans. The latter worked out a scheme which would cost about £8,145, but suggested £10,000 to cover extra expenses. On August 13th, 1756 a meeting was called at the George Inn, Stroud to appoint new Commissioners in the place of some 160 who had died since the Act of 1730. Only 10 Commissioners were present and as these were insufficient the meeting was adjourned until 3rd September. Again few Commissioners attended and then they could not agree so that five successive meetings were held without any business transacted.

The idea was to deepen and widen the Frome to allow trows and other boats of up to 70 tons burden to be hauled up to Fromebridge, while smaller boats of half size would be able to pass up the Stonehouse branch of the Frome to Wallbridge above Stroud. Each of the fourteen mills which were on its banks were to be bypassed with a lock from the mill pond into a new cut which would lead into the river again a short distance below the mill dam. In this way only a lockful of water from the mills supply would be taken for each vessel. The locks must therefore have been pound locks, and even this slight loss of water would be compensated for by a two acre reservoir dug in a field at Wallbridge.

Yet another scheme was proposed by Messrs. Kemmett, Wynde, Pynnock and Bridge, to undertake the work at their own expense without locks, by shifting the cargoes into boxes at every mill into other boats by means of a crane. This plan for container cargoes was

accepted and a second Act of Parliament was passed. Work began on 4th August, 1758 with the same powers as were given to the Commissioners of the 1730 Act, subject to forfeiture if work was not finished by Lady Day, 1761.

In April of that year, the undertakers realized their work would not be finished in time and asked for an extension of time from 2 years to 8 years, but by August they ran short of money, work halted, and they tried to sell some of their machinery. The Frome was actually used, where the work had been done. Purnell and Co. the owners of Framilode and Fromebridge mills, although very much against the scheme, seemed to have benefited from the Kemmett's work, for they were using it in 1775. The undertakers continued to work boats up the Frome as far as Bonds Mill until spring, 1763 when the undertaking was abandoned and trade on the Frome ceased.

In 1774, seven years after the rights of the undertakers had expired, William Dallaway son of John Dallaway had the Frome re-surveyed by the same Thomas Yeomans who had surveyed it in 1755, and he suggested a new cut to run along side the Frome and thus avoid any interference with the mill dams. The Commissioners met, appointed new men in place of those who had died and sought permission to make a canal as far as Wallbridge. Messrs. Priday and Dadford made a survey and estimated the cost at £16,750 but subscribers were asked to promise £20,000 in £100 shares, just in case there were extra expenses.

On the 2nd February, a committee met at Framilode at 9.00a.m.

to see the tide come up the Severn and select a suitable place for the first tide lock. Most of the line of the canal had been staked out as far as the Bristol Road, the land measured and negotiations opened for purchase, and an advertisement inserted in the Gloucester Journal invited tenders for digging. The clay was examined to test its firmness for brick making, rough ashlar, seasoned oak and green elm were sought for locks and Thomas Bartlett, newly appointed mason, searched for suitable stone at Gatcombe and Tintern.

On the 23rd February 1775 John Priday was appointed Engineer and Surveyor at a salary of £100 per year. He promised to devote a quarter of his time to the work, and he was instructed to start cutting right away. He ordered planks for barrow-ways and special spades and giving instructions to John Greaves and Robert Perry who were to be in charge of the cutters, the work began late March 1775.

On March 8th a Mr. Yates gave permission for the cutters to move onto his land including a piece of pasture, known as "Carters Close" at Framilode. Arkell the tenant did not object to the work commencing so on April 4th John Greaves and his gang moved onto Carters Close and by the 19th April had cut all but the last twelve yards. Then a protest was received from William Purnell of Framilode Mill, Purnell stated he had leased Carters Close and it had only been sublet to Arkell. The Committee, knowing his opposition to the canal, was convinced he had bought the land in secret, to stop the work. Purnell and other millowners who had opposed the canal held a meeting on 10th July, 1775, and in consequence, Purnell issued a writ

against the Canal Co. for trespass, digging the turf and destroying the herbage on his land.

The case was heard on 4th August and tried before a special jury at Gloucester Assizes, the decision being that the committee had exceeded the powers of the 1730 Act. A week later, after frantic discussions, the committee ordered all work to be left except Framilode Lock which would be damaged by frost unless finished before winter; when this was done all men were stood off, and work was at a standstill. On 24th August a special general meeting of subscribers decided to obtain a fresh Act of Parliament to authorize a canal, but Purnell was not easily persuaded to let them cut into his land, and he obtained 50 guineas for a small piece of land.

Work restarted, but still things did not go smoothly for the Commissioners were always interfering in the work of the Engineer. In May he was given notice, and Edward Lingard was appointed in his place in July. Lingard fetched navvies from as far as Warwickshire and Leicestershire, so that by September, a hundred men were working in four gangs between the Severn and the Bristol Road. The section was completed and the first load of coal was landed at Bristol Road Wharf on 17th December 1755.

Lingard's work proved unsatisfactory and he was dismissed on November 5th 1777, a Thomas Freen being appointed in his place. He also failed to give satisfaction and was dismissed three months later. After that Benjamin Grazebrook, the clerk supervised the rest of the work.

By February 1778 the canal was opened as far as Chippenham Platt, and work commenced on the next section up to Ryford. This was completed in January 1779, by which time the committee had only £830 left out of the £20,000 originally subscribed. A further £10,000 was raised later, and some of the subscribers agreed to lend another £2,000 to finish the work. The final length was completed in July 1779 and on the 21st July the first boat to travel the length of the canal was the Committee's own barge, built specially for the official opening.

R.A. TAYLOR

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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GLOUCESTERSHIRE INNS

In 1393 Richard III had compelled publicans to exhibit inn signs and, at that time, if a new brew was offered for sale an ale garland was hung out to indicate a need for the services of the ale taster. This gentleman was chosen annually in the Court Leet of the Manor, or by the civic authority. By an Act of 1552 (5 and 6 Edward VI c 25) the Justices of the Peace were authorised to license at their discretion, persons in each county or borough who alone were to exercise the trade of keeping an alehouse. Originally these licences were granted at any time by two Justices of the Peace meeting together for this purpose. In 1729 (2 George II c 28) Brewster Sessions were instituted. These were held each September for the granting of licences. Conditions of holding licences were left to the discretion of the local Justices - they usually followed the pattern set out in a Royal Proclamation of 1618 ordering, for instance, closure during Divine Service on Sundays.

At these Sessions the publicans were obliged to deposit £10 as a recognisance for good behaviour and a further recognisance of £10 from a fellow citizen. Perusal of the ale house recognisance for Painswick in 1755 shows that in most cases the publicans stood surety for each other.

The Blathwayt papers (D1799. X12. X.13) contain presentments to William Blathwayt during the years 1734-41, and there are several relating to the local ale houses. Selling ale without licence was the commonest complaint - in 1734 Reuben Moreman was fined 20/- for

selling beer and ale without a licence, and if he refused to pay, goods were to be taken in default. A more serious view was taken of William Burnett's refusal to pay a fine for selling spirituous liquors without licence - he was committed on January 30th 1740 to the House of Correction at Lawfords Gate to "endure hard labour for the space of two months and before discharge to be stripped naked from the middle upwards and be whipped until his body be bloody." The publicans were not always the sinners for in 1740 Jonathan Brinkworth had to send for the Petty Constable to have John Price ejected from his house for "several outrages".

The Quarter Session presentments for 1733-40 show some of the local restrictions imposed on publicans. The most common complaint was the selling of ale in Divine Service, or suffering drunkenness on the premises on the Sabbath. In Dursley the publican of the "Princes Head" was returned "for that he suffered card playing in his said house at unreasonable hours and doth still continue that and like and illegal practices notwithstanding he has been frequently reprehended and forbidden by us." Skittle alleys and gaming on the premises were also forbidden. These presentments were most commonly made by the Petty Constable, who probably suffered much in the execution of his duties of measuring the standards and suppressing disorders. On January 13th 1736 such a sufferer presented "Walter Huntley for keeping a disorderly house and for aiding and assisting the vile persons harbouring in his House to beat and abuse me in the execution of my office."

The records of Thomas Kemble, High Sheriff in 1753 contain a set of bills relative to his expenses at the Bell Inn, Gloucester and the Talbot (now the Dog Inn) at Over during the Assizes of that year and show clearly the prices prevalent at that time.

The Talbot at Over

March 31st, 1753

Wine and casks	17. 00
Beer ale cyder etc.	2. 2. 6
Horses and Hay	3. 0.
	<hr/>
	£3. 2. 6.
	<hr/>

March 31st - April 6th, 1753

12 Mens eating and liquor at 2/6/day for 6 days	9. 0. 0.
Hay for 9 horses for 5 nights	1. 2. 6.
Hay for 3 horses on the 5th	1. 6.
3 Mens eating and liquor the 6th	2. 6.
	<hr/>
	£10. 6. 6.
	<hr/>

At the Bell Inn on the night of March 31st the Sheriff incurred the following expenses during a dinner -

A Hundred Gentlemen eating	15. 0. 0.
Ten Servants suppers	5. 0.
Beer	10. 0.

At the same time he purchased five dozen of wine at a cost of £6. 0. 0. - two were gifts to the Judges, two were sent to Over and one went to the Marshal and Clerk of the Assizes.

I had hoped to show the distribution of inns in Gloucestershire in the mid 18th century but unfortunately there are only records available for the Hundred of Bisley and the area around Chipping Sodbury. In 1740 Chipping Sodbury - then a flourishing market that had eighteen licensed houses, while in 1755 the parish of Painswick had fourteen inns and alehouses.

A. BAILEY

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NOTES ON THE CHEPSTOW AND DISTRICT TURNPIKE TRUST

The Trust was set up in 1758 and lasted until 1871. It was given birth by an Act of 1758 "for the repair of certain roads in Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire" for 21 years from 1st May, 1758. The roads covered a large area of Monmouthshire, extending from Chepstow Bridge to St. Arvans and via Devandon and through Raglan, Abergavenny and Brecon. Another provided a link between Crick and New Passage. In Gloucestershire the road comprised a route more or less following the existing road from Chepstow Bridge to Hawkins Pill just north of Newnham (evidently the turnpike road from Hawkins Pill to Gloucester was set up under an Act of 1726), and the road from Tutshill Crossroads down to the Old Passage ferry at Beachley.

The Act divided this area into seven divisions, of which the first division (Chepstow Division) included the Gloucestershire section and also that part of the Monmouthshire section from Chepstow Bridge to Magor. A vast number of trustees were appointed by the Act, including many local notables and also the Clerk of the Peace of Monmouthshire, the Mayor and Corporation of Gloucester City and the Mayors, Recorders and Town Clerks of Monmouth and Newport. The Trustees or any 9 of them were to meet at the Town Hall, Usk on the 30th April, 1758 and might divide themselves into groups of not less than five, each group to deal with a respective division. The trustees were authorised to set up gates, turnpikes and toll houses and to charge tolls.

No tolls were to be collected within eight miles of a previous collection on the same day and on the same road and no toll was to be

collected on the return journey on the same day at the same point. The cost of obtaining and passing the Act was to be equally shared amongst the seven divisions and thereafter each division was to be financially independent. Penalties were provided for by-passing the gates by cutting across fields, or for passing tickets to other people, or for removing a horse from a carriage and putting it on again on the other side of the gate!

Trustees were to appoint Clerks, Treasurers, Receivers, Collectors and Surveyors and these officers were to be "allowed salaries". Any Receiver, Collector or Surveyor who failed to render proper accounts was to be committed to jail, there to remain without bail until he had rendered proper accounts and made the necessary payment. Surveyors were authorised to dig gravel, sand, stones etc. without payment but must "level the holes". They could dig in private land provided it was not and had not ever been cultivated, and was not park or paddock. But compensation had to be paid in the case of private land. Trustees were authorised to acquire land, and where owners failed to treat within 20 days of notice, the Justices had power to fix compensation and accommodation works. Trustees were authorised to sell the old road when a diversion had been constructed.

The first meeting of the Chepstow Trustees took place on 2nd May, 1758 and at a subsequent meeting they appointed a Clerk at £10 p.a., a Treasurer or Receiver and three Surveyors in Monmouthshire and one in Gloucestershire. Labourers were to be paid, in Monmouthshire 10d. per day and in Gloucestershire 1/- per day. Surveyors

should not exceed 9/- per week and the trustees agreed to borrow £2,000. It was initially resolved that one-third of the money received by the Treasurer should be paid to Robert Boyes (Gent.) for the reparation of the road in Gloucestershire: one-third to Valentine Morris Esq., and one-third to John Williams (Gent.) for the Monmouthshire roads. (These were later appointed Surveyors "without salary".)

Various turnpike gates were to be erected including one at Crossway Green (north west of Chepstow), one at Tutshill and one at the top of Beachley Green "in the road leading from Chepstow Bridge to Beachley". Turnpike houses were to be "10' in the clear in breadth, 16' in length and 7' in height" and the cost was limited to £20 each.

The accounts and minutes reveal the following entries:-

For mending 136 yds. of road by agreement	£9. 7s. 0d.
For raising 434 cart loads of stone on Gallows Hill @ 3d. per load	£5. 0s. 6d.
Labour on 83½ perches of finished road @ 3/6	£14. 12s. 3d.
For making 281 perches of road in Parish of Tyddenham	£85. 7s. 8d.
To Mr. Morris for 3 wheelbarrows	18s. 0d.
Building the house at Crossway Green as per bill of William Morgan	£26. 17s. 0d.

#### 1759

The allowable cost of each turnpike house was now increased to £30 and toll gatherers were appointed for the various gates at 5/- per week. The loan of a further £7,000 was authorised. The trustees resolved to remove the old cross "without the gate in Chepstow" (being an obstruction to carriages), the stone to be used for mile stones. It was further resolved to obtain 40,000 toll tickets, 10,000 for each section.

The trustees compounded with one William John, a lime burner, "for all carriages and horses going to and coming from his lime kiln" for £8 p.a. "But if he charge more than 5/- per dozen for his lime this shall be void".

Two months later the trustees ordered that "whereas a composition was agreed with certain persons on 12th April, 1759, which hath since been found prejudicial to the interest of the turnpikes, it is now resolved to cease and determine them".

A gate or chain was to be erected between Lydney and Newnham and 60 lbs. of candles were to be equally distributed between the several toll gatherers within the district. Prosecution was to be commenced on David Jones the younger of Tyddenham "for not doing his duty on the high road within the said parish".

Amongst the 1759 accounts were the following items:-

Paid Francis Pritchard, meeting in the road, for 2 skins of parchment for leases	14s. Od.
Paid William John for 22 barrels of lime towards altering the Turnpike House	9s. 2d.

#### 1761

Information received that several persons had placed gates near the several turnpike gates in order to evade the same. They were ordered to appear at the next meeting to compound their tolls.

The Treasurer's salary was fixed at £15 p.a. "for his trouble of receiving the money and keeping his accounts".

#### 1762

Lamps to be set up at the turnpike houses. The Clerk was to publish a notice that all farmers would be obliged to do their duty

(upon pain of being fined) "that is to say furnish one team and two able-bodied men for every £50 p.a. for rent".

1764

The Clerk authorised to advertise officially for letting of the several turnpike gates

1770 Act

Additional roads in Wales and Herefordshire thus extending as far west as Aberystwyth. Period of validity extended by 21 years beyond the end of the first 21 years (i.e. to 1800).

Area now divided into 9 divisions, the first division comprising the Chepstow area again. This virtually became a separate trust for the 24 miles (approximately) each side of Chepstow Bridge.

The Royal Family exempt from tolls, also local people going to Church, Chapel or funerals.

Surveyors to publish lists of persons "liable to do statute work" and any found to be idle or negligent shall be "turned off" by the Surveyor and shall be liable for further duty "as if they had not come at all".

1776

Double tolls to be charged for all wains, waggons, carts etc. with wheels less than 6" wide, as permitted by the Turnpike Act.

1778

A turnpike gate or chain or bar to be set up between Lydney and Newnham at Ruddle.

1800 Act

Tolls now stated as follows:-

Horse	1d.
Horse and cart carrying lime	2d.
Horse and cart or carriage	3d.
Horse and timber waggon between 1st November and 1st March	double toll
Horse laden or going to be laden with charcoal	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Oxen	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Calves, sheep etc.	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.

These rates applied in 7 of the 9 divisions and in the Chepstow and New Passage divisions the tolls were 50% higher. Double tolls were to be charged on Sundays and as in earlier Acts, tolls might be levied by distress e.g. a horse could be sold and the "over plus" returned to the owner "on demand".

Trustees authorised to erect fences and ditches on common land to prevent avoidance of tolls, and penalties were provided for persons passing over ground adjoining gates and for owners permitting them to do so.

Again the Royal Family was exempt from tolls, also carts carrying stones for the road, or hay or straw "to be laid up in the houses, outhouses, barns, or used in the parish served by the road". Free passage for persons attending Church or Chapel or funerals or for the mails and soldiers.

Chaining of wheels prohibited on hills where the fall is less than 3" in a yard, or through Chepstow. Fine 6/- to 10/-. Notices forbidding this practice were to be placed at the top of each hill. Every waggon to trail a roller behind one wheel on "ascending any

hill". Fine for default 5/- to 10/-.

Lamps to be erected at gates. Fines for damaging 20/- to 40/-.

Field gates to open inwards.

Owners of adjoining land were to be given six days notice to remove soil etc. already scraped off the road, the trustees or the surveyor providing workmen to fill the carts. Land owners exempt from this duty during harvest.

The trustees could decide what proportion of the statute work was to be done on the turnpike roads with a maximum of four days p.a. and may compound with parishes for statute labour.

#### 1820

Tenders received for lowering the road at Newnham Hill by 'taking off part of the top and raising the bottom". Tender of James Westcot accepted for £441 18s. 9d. in September. Contractor instructed to complete the work in November! He was paid an extra £21 for building the wall at Newnham Church and subsequently an extra £50 for his losses incurred on the work. William Howard of Woodchester was appointed surveyor to superintend this work and was paid £1 11s. 6d. per day for journeys and expenses, each journey not to exceed two days.

#### 1821

Weighing engine to be erected at Tutshill Gate and extra tolls charged.

#### 1822

First reference to a Chairman in the Minutes who thereafter signed the Minutes. Previously all trustees attending the meeting

had evidently signed the Minutes at the time. Tolls increased to 2d. for a horse laden or unladen and 6d. for every horse drawing a coach etc., but if carrying timber between 1st November and 1st March - 1/--. The trustees considered whether to appoint a general surveyor for the whole district but decided that "funds were not equal to it".

1823

The wall to protect the Churchyard bank at Newnham had fallen into the road and another contractor was later paid £45 for rebuilding it.

1824

Valentine Parsons appointed general surveyor at £150 p.a. He was later paid £200 for repairs to Blakeney Hill. In this year a theodolite was obtained for the surveyor.

1830

Scheme approved for new line of Blakeney Hill.

1835

Surveyor to prepare scheme for Sandford Hill with gradient of  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " to the yard. Tenders received amounted to £830, £1,050, £1,340, £2,700, £2,750. The last two being submitted by Richard Davies Junior and Richard Davies Senior of Abergavenny. It was later decided to accept a different tender at £900. A scheme had been prepared previously by William Metcalfe, a consulting engineer of Monmouth, for a new road to by-pass the old alignment at Sandford. Mr. Metcalfe stated that the filling would be 30' deep "which will enable horses to trot up without stopping a coach and to come down the hill without tying a wheel". His estimate being £1,164 and this would have produced an

alignment and gradient approximate to that which was built in 1965 at a cost of about £80,000.

1837

Scheme for Nibley Hill prepared by William Metcalfe. William Metcalfe produced a scheme for regading the road at Viney Hill and he was obviously concerned about the crossroads here and suggested pulling up the turnpike road so as to make a bridge over the wide roads, which he said would have a headroom of 16', and proposed that slip roads could be built connecting the side road with the turnpike road. Agreed at £750 - maximum gradient of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  to the yard.

1838

General dissatisfaction with the surveyor, Richard Allum of Shipton-on-Stour, appointed at £140 p.a.

Gas lamps erected at two of the gates.

1839

Surveyor had employed his own son as a "Superintendent Surveyor". Trustees resolved that he should be paid only as a labourer.

1840

The tenant of three of the gates in the Chepstow area (Green Dragon, Beachley and Chepstow Bridge) asked to be relieved owing to his losses as a result of the "decrease in travelling". The trustees decided that they were unable to do this.

Appointment of surveyor again advertised. Twenty-nine applications and Thomas Holland of Gloucester appointed at £120 p.a.

1841

Surveyors soon opened a quarry near Chepstow and advertised stone for sale.

1845

Trustees decided to erect finger posts.

1846

Appeal to Thomas Fulljames the County Surveyor of Gloucestershire regarding the dangerous turn at the Gloucestershire end of Chepstow Bridge. There had been several accidents and one man had been killed there.

1848

Trustees resolved that men need not work on Good Friday or Christmas Day but were to be paid as if they had.

1850

County Surveyor called in to survey and report on the bridge being built by the Railway Company to carry the Beachley/Tutshill road, since the trustees considered that this was going to be too narrow.

Mr. Fulljames reported "I found the bridge nearly completed on the day of my survey 6th November, 1850, and the centering struck". He commented that the parapet would not be to a height of 4' as was required by Section 50 of 8 Victoria Cap. 20 and that the minimum width between parapets would be only 19' 10" i.e. 2" less than the Act required, and that this would be reduced still further when the coping stones were laid. But since Chepstow Bridge had only a width of 14' between kerb stones he recommended no action by the trustees against the Railway Company.

Collection of Tolls

In the early years of the turnpike trust tolls were collected by appointed toll gatherers, paid from 3/- to 5/- per week. but after 1765 the gates were let by auction and the rentals shown on the schedule below were noted.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Turnpike Gates</u>			
	<u>Tutshill Crossroads</u> (at Chepstow Bridge from 1837-1848)	<u>Beachley</u> £	<u>Lydney</u> £	<u>Newnham</u> £
1765	50	35	-	-
1801	117	*	122	105
1803	181	51	110	90
1806	181	51	142	102
1809	207	63	130	106
1812	-	-	154	130
1816	184	86	152	140
1819	220	86	134	120
1821	230	72	176	120
1824	302	75	-	170
1827	300	156	190	172
1829	300	102	192	174
1832	310	110	254	218
1835	405	170	245	205
1837	Chepstow Bridge - 416	124	262	180
1840	382	142	258	214
1843	320	130	235	170
1846	300	75	220	150
1850	Tutshill - 442	106	280	227

\* toll keeper appointed to collect.

R.R. CHAPLAIN

Sources

Glos. R.O., D428 Minutes, accounts, plans and other records of Chepstow Turnpike Trust, 1758 - 1871

THE TURNPIKE ROADS FROM GLOUCESTER TO  
CHELTENHAM AND TEWKESBURY

In 1756 an Act, which was valid for 21 years, was passed which gave permission for a trust to be formed to repair and improve the roads leading from Gloucester towards Cheltenham and Tewkesbury. The money for this purpose was put forward by the trustees, who recouped their investment from the tolls charged to the users of the roads.

The materials used for maintaining the roads were limestone (usually from Chosen Hill), slag and Chepstow or Bristol stone. Limestone, unfortunately, had the effect of slaking under wear and slag was damaging to horses' hooves, and to their riders if they had the misfortune to fall off, so the Bristol and Chepstow stone would have become preferable. From the trust's accounts it was certainly used in 1787-8, and in 1801 the trustees resolved to place an advertisement in the Gloucester Journal for 500 tons of Bristol or Chepstow stone, required at 5/- per ton, to be delivered at Gloucester Quay within one month.

The tolls payable depended on the number of horses or other animals travelling on the road. Under the Act of 1778 (which enlarged the term and powers of the previous Act), these were charged at 1d. each, except when they were drawing a carriage, when they were charged at 3d. Cattle were charged at 10d. per score, and calves, pigs and sheep at 5d. per score. As on most other turnpike roads, wide wheeled waggons were generally charged less than those with narrow wheels, as the latter tended to cut into the road surface, while the wide wheels compressed the road and made it firmer. There were also certain

exemptions from toll, including the local movement of animals and farm waggons, and waggons carrying road building materials. Under the Act, these materials could be cut from Churchdown Hill or any waste ground by the parish surveyors, providing that they remade any damage done.

The tolls were collected at turnpikes which were originally operated by the trustees themselves, but were later auctioned for periods of three years at a time. The turnpike keeper then lived on the produce of the tolls and paid the trustees the sum for which it had been auctioned, in the form of an annual rent. The turnpike for the Tewkesbury road was at Kingsholm and that for the Cheltenham road was at Wotton.

#### The Cheltenham Road

The Gloucester to Cheltenham road, at this time ran from the end of Gallows Lane (now called Denmark Road) at Wotton, to Staverton Bridge, following roughly the line of the present A 40. At Staverton Bridge it turned northwards and followed the line of the present B 4063 to its junction with the road from Coombe Hill to Cheltenham, at a place then known as Bedlam. Later on, this route from Staverton was duplicated when an Act of 1809 gave permission for another turnpike trust to construct a more direct road into the town. A further alteration occurred in 1821, when Thomas Holland undertook to build a new road from St. Margaret's Hospital to the junction at Wotton, for the sum of £570. Previously the road had taken a line behind the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, where it formed a hollow way, the course

of which can still be seen today.

The minutes of the meetings of the trustees from which most of the information on the two roads was obtained, date from 1st June, 1778, the first meeting after the Act of that year. In 1779 it was recorded that the treasurer of the Cheltenham road was ordered to pay £10 to James Waite for 2,000 tiles and their haulage to the new turnpike house being built at Wotton, and in 1786 a Mr. Cooke was requested to make an estimate for the complete repair of the road between the Blacksmith's shop at Bedlam and Wotton post. This was to be laid with a bed of stone from Chosen Hill and covered with such hard materials as were necessary. Another report, just over a week later, declared that the trustees required the sum of £2,000 to be advanced to them at 5% interest to put the road into perfect repair. This was in connection with a road from Cheltenham to Frogmill via Dowdeswell, being built as part of a new route to London to avoid the steep hills at Crickley and Chatcombe.

idea

Some/of the road conditions prevailing at that time can be gained from William Marshall's Rural Economy of Gloucestershire. In it he writes:

'The roads of the vale are shamefully kept. The Parish roads mostly lie in their natural flat state, with the ditches on either side of them full of water to the brim. The toll roads are raised (generally much too high) but even on the sides of these I have seen full ditches. It would, in principle, be

equally wise to set a sugar loaf in water, by way of preserving it, as to suffer water to stand on the sides of roads, whose foundations are of an earthy nature. For so long as they remain in immediate contact with water, they never can acquire the requisite degree of firmness. The foundation is ever a quagmire; and the super-structure, if not made unnecessarily strong, is always liable to be pressed into it. Hence the deep, ditch-like ruts which are commonly seen in roads of this description. The road between Gloucester and Cheltenham (now become one of the most public roads in the island) is scarcely fit for the meanest of their Majesties' subjects to travel on, - and pay for; and is much less suitable for their Majesties themselves, and their amiable family, to trust their own persons upon.'

William Marshall's book was published in 1789, the year after the visit of George III to Cheltenham. Following this famous event, the subsequent growth of the town into a fashionable resort gave the road even greater importance, although the condition of the road could not have improved much, for in 1809 the Postmaster General temporarily withdrew the mail coaches from this route, and in 1811, in a letter to the trustees of the new road between Staverton and Cheltenham, he threatened to do it again or to take legal action to enforce the road's repair. In 1817, however, there is evidence of some progress being made, as it is recorded in the minute book that all bridges, drains and watercourses on the road between Gloucester and Bedlam were

to be surveyed and that the Justices of the Peace were to be consulted on the ruinous state of the bridges at Wotton, Elmbridge, Brickington (now Brickhampton), Staverton and Uckington. The following year the trustees accepted a tender of £397 for rebuilding the bridge at Brickhampton. This was to be made with three arches to correspond with the bridge carrying the newly completed Gloucester and Cheltenham horse Railway. In 1826 also, improvements were planned, as it was stated that the sum of £2,000 was required for widening and altering the road in various places, widening the bridges and making a footPath.

In 1787 the trustees ordered a weighing engine to be erected near the turnpike house at Wotton. This was allowed under an Act of 1741, so that all waggons carrying an overweight load could be charged extra. A difficulty arose over this in 1808 when it was reported that carriages carrying timber had wheels so far apart that they could not be weighed.

In 1793 a lamp was provided at the turnpike and an allowance of 18s. per year for oil was made to the keeper, and eighteen months later an order was made that he should be paid 13s. per week to compensate for the fact that the mail coach, which had started running that year, did not have to pay any toll.

A problem occurred in 1800 over the leasing of the tolls. The new turnpike keeper, George Boyce of Churchdown, was unable to pay his annual rent and after several threats of legal action, he and his surety resigned from their contract, owing £155 9s. Od. After this, the turnpike was only let for one year at a time with three months

rent being paid in advance. The Tewkesbury road soon followed suit.

A proposal was made in 1808 to construct a new and more direct road from Staverton Bridge to Cheltenham. A committee was set up to study the plans and after it had reported, a vote was taken which resulted in the scheme being rejected. It was then taken up by another trust, who had an Act granted to them in 1809, and the road was built some time after the completion of the horse railway in 1811, although the Cheltenham and Tewkesbury Trust continued to administer the old road to Bedlam. Their area of responsibility was slightly enlarged, however, in 1811 when they took over part of the road through Wotton.

There is evidence of people avoiding toll gates, in 1821, when the trustees ordered a chain to be set across Pound Lane leading out of the Cheltenham road into the Cirencester road, and again in 1834, when the toll bar that had been erected at Bedlam the year before, was removed to a position on the Gloucester side of a lane leading into the turnpike road.

In 1822, due to the realignment of the approach into Gloucester of both the Tewkesbury and the Cheltenham roads, the sites of the turnpikes and weighing machines were to be changed. The new position at Kingsholm was to be at or near the pound and that at Wotton was to be near the foot of the hill. The trustees accepted a tender of £168 from a Mr. Hutchinson to erect two new double weighing machines, and one of £409 from John Baylis for building the new machine houses, turnpike houses and turnpike gates.

In 1824 the machine house at Wotton was let separately for a year to George Newmarch for £50, and the following year the machine houses at both Kingsholm and Wotton were let for £40, but in 1826 there was a representation made to the trustees that the produce of the weighing machines alone was not enough to meet their expenses, so it was resolved that from January 1827 both machines were to be let to the Gloucester and Cheltenham Railway Company who undertook to look after and manage them at their own expense and to send an annual account of the penalties they received and pay such penalties into the funds of the trust. This arrangement continued until 1834. Incidentally, George Newmarch was associated with the Gloucester and Cheltenham Railway and in 1811, his brother Charles was clerk both to this company and to the trustees of the new road.

The first half of the 19th century saw the development of the steam carriage and the establishment of a number of public services throughout the country. Gloucester was no exception. In 1831 Sir Charles Dance opened a service between Gloucester and Cheltenham, using a carriage designed by the Cornish engineer Goldsworthy Gurney. An article published in the Worcester Herald of 3rd March, 1831 read:

'The steam carriage commenced running between Cheltenham and Gloucester on Monday last and has since continued to perform the journey regularly, starting punctually from the Commissioner's Yard, Cheltenham at 10 and 2 o'clock, and leaving the Spread Eagle, Gloucester at 12 and 4. The carriage contains altogether twelve persons and has been filled with passengers, including

a great many ladies. All the passengers who have travelled by it seem much pleased and agree that the motion is remarkably smooth, regular and agreeable. It runs the distance in about fifty minutes, and we are happy to add that no accident has occurred of any description.'

The enterprise was begun on 21st February and although apparently quite a success, the turnpike trustees took violent exception to it, probably fearing that it would drive away the horse-drawn traffic and would damage the road surface, due to its weight. In the minutes of their meeting held on 25th June 1831, they declared that the carriage was a public nuisance and they resolved that if the service had not ceased by 6th August, they would commence a legal action against the operators. On the 22nd June, however, the vehicle encountered a large quantity of loose stones and rocks strewn over the road near Staverton Bridge, apparently placed there by the trustees, and on its third journey the rear axle was broken. This appeared to be the finish of the service, for in a report made to the trustees on 6th August it was stated that it had been discontinued.

#### The Tewkesbury Road

As far as administration was concerned, the road was divided into two parts. From Gloucester to Norton Mill, the road was administered by the Cheltenham and Tewkesbury Trust, and north of Norton Mill it came under the Tewkesbury Trust. At the time of the first Tewkesbury Trust Act in 1756, the two usual routes to Tewkesbury were a lower road via Wainload and Lower Lode, and the road via Norton,

Coombe Hill, and Deerhurst Walton. Due to the riverside route's vulnerability to flooding, the second route became more important and Bryant's map of 1824 shows that by then the lower road had been abandoned altogether. This road was originally turnpiked in 1726 and the other road north of Norton Mill was turnpiked in 1764.

Before 1823, when Worcester Street was built (at a cost of £1140) the road at Tewkesbury was via Hare Lane to Kingsholm, where the lower road branched off (Sandhurst Lane). Apart from 20th century realignments, and those mentioned below, the high road between Kingsholm and Coombe Hill takes the same route as it did in 1777. In 1836 there was a slight realignment at Norton. This straightened out an angular route across low ground south of Norton Church, which can still be traced. Just after the road crosses the River Chelt and Leigh Brook, it went slightly north of the present route (which was in use by 1815), until it met the Leigh Church road along which it turned to meet the present route.

At Coombe Hill, before 1815, the road turned left down the road leading to the canal and after about a hundred yards turned right to rejoin the present road by Walton Grange Farm. At one time, certainly before 1777, the road south of Coombe Hill went below the ridge, on which the present road runs, past Evington House.

Before 1794 the road turned left in Deerhurst Walton, and then turned right into the minor road running parallel to the present road. After it crossed the Haw Bridge road, the B4213, it crossed the A38 at the summit of Salter's Hill. From here the course of the old road

is uncertain, although possibly it went through Southwick at some time, to rejoin the A38 near Holm Hospital, but by 1824 the road had taken its present alignment. In 1777 the road went past the west side of the Gupshill Inn, south of Tewkesbury, although by 1824 it was rerouted to the east of the Inn. The old route can still be seen.

The turnpike house at the Tewkesbury end of the road was at Holm. In 1830 it was at the Lower Lode Lane junction, but by 1839 had been moved to its present site opposite Holm Hospital. Latch pikes, minor pikes, were erected at various times at Longford Lane and at Tredington near the Odessa Inn. The original turnpike house at the Gloucester end had a weighing engine installed in 1791, which was replaced in 1800. This was erected by a William Jarrett who was paid £35, on condition that he kept it in repair for seven years. The new turnpike, built in 1822, was a few hundred yards north of the old one, and can be seen today. Other visible remains of the turnpike road are the milestones. Four have survived, one at Longford (which has lost its plate), one at Twigworth and two at Norton. These milestones (or their predecessors) were erected in 1789.

The tolls charged by the two trusts seem to have been the same, except for a short time when the Tewkesbury Trust lagged behind in an increase of tolls. In 1818 the Tewkesbury Trust charged the following

tolls:	For every horse, mule etc. drawing a carriage .....	6d	
	For every horse, mule, etc. not drawing .....	2d	
	Droves of oxen, cows or neat cattle .....	10d	per score
	Droves of calves, hogs, sheep or lambs .....	5d	"

On Sundays the charge was increased by half

(The Gloucester pike charged double). The tolls at the Kingsholm turnpike were the same as those for the Cheltenham road. In 1807 the trusts were not only on different levels as far as tolls were concerned, there was also a difference in the actual road level where the trusts met at Norton! The Cheltenham and Tewkesbury Trust had to send a proposal to the Tewkesbury Trust to rectify this situation.

An indication of the relative volume of traffic on the two roads administered by the trust is given by an entry in the minute book in November 1825, when it was resolved that any surplus money arising on the Cheltenham road would be applied to the repair of the Tewkesbury road. A study of the rents paid on the two turnpikes also shows how the Cheltenham road gained in importance over the Tewkesbury road.

	<u>Tewkesbury Road</u>	<u>Cheltenham Road</u>
1778	£154	£162
1791	£284	£340
1804	£492	£370
1810	£635	£566
1825	£865	£1,590
1833	£815	£1,325
1834/36	£775	£1,385

No record of the trust's minutes exists after 1842, but presumably the trust continued in operation until their duties were taken over by local government in 1863.

B.J. ROBERTS  
J.F. BAYES

THE POOR -

AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE STOW-ON-THE-WOLD GUARDIANS'

MINUTE BOOK JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1836

In 1836 the population of Stow-on-the-Wold was scattered among twenty-four small villages, Bourton-on-the Water which was significantly larger and the little town of Stow-on-the-Wold, but there were twenty-eight civil parishes. The Union was divided into two districts with populations of 4481 and 4358 centred on Stow and Bourton respectively, but the Guardians' weekly meeting was regularly held at the White Hart, Stow. Some parishes were very small, four had populations of less than a hundred in 1851 and in three of them the population declined during the first half of the nineteenth century although there was a marked increase in the Union as a whole.

The first minute book of the Stow Guardians presents a record of their unflagging and businesslike effort to establish a new administrative order, subject to the statutory guidance of the Commissioners for the Poor Law. Behind the definite entries recording the meetings there must have been considerable discussion and preparation as decisions were taken quickly and acted upon effectively, but much remains hidden or only hinted at.

The apparently full lists of cases do not reveal the total number of people receiving relief. These lists were kept by the two Relieving Officers and even at the outset the Guardians did not record the numbers they were dealing with. Nor can the fluctuation in the numbers on relief be estimated by comparing the weekly records in the Minute Book, as there was no great reduction at the time of year when

employment was more readily come by. In fact more cases were being considered as it became more possible to discontinue relief, even if temporarily. On 11th August there was an abnormally long list of forty-nine cases and on 30th June there were thirty-seven of which five were discontinued because the recipients had secured work. The other longest lists included forty-eight, forty and thirty-nine cases, two in April and one in October. Out of forty-eight, ten cases were dismissed or discontinued and in October the benefits of seasonal work were clearly ending. Most of the weekly lists were appreciably shorter and all were concerned with those cases which were thought to need review for various reasons, new cases and irregular assistance. The majority of cases had been granted relief "until further orders" and so were not recorded until their circumstances changed: they were the inescapable responsibility of their respective parishes. New cases were carefully analysed and the total family was listed. Those already known or being assisted were often mentioned under the name of the head of the family only so there is no means of knowing exactly how many people the varying amounts of relief were to support, although there was some regularity about the provision made. Some indication of the size of the problem is given on 6th October when the first record was made of the number of loaves provided during the preceding week. The list shows orders for eighteen loaves, but altogether five hundred and eighty-nine were supplied and this is only a little higher than for the next three weeks. Moreover the established pattern was for considerably more to be

provided in cash than in kind. Nevertheless there is valuable information to be found in the weekly record of pauper cases which was discontinued early in October, 1836 when the system of keeping the books was changed.

The lists illustrate the sections of society most at risk, the infirm and elderly, the family with several young children especially when the main breadwinner fell ill, the chronic sick, the orphan, the illegitimate child and his mother and the widow with dependent children, the blind, the crippled, the weakminded and the deranged. The largest single group was made up of the chronic sick and those who were more seriously ill. For instance on 28th April sixteen out of forty-eight cases were sick and the following week there were nineteen out of thirty-six. Even in late August when the effects of summer weather and better prospects of employment at harvest time must have eased matters there were eight listed as "no better" and ten others involving one or more sick folk out of a total list of thirty cases.

The causes of sickness are seldom recorded. Although it is never mentioned undernourishment must have been a major factor in many cases judging by the relief granted and the nature of some of the disabilities which are mentioned, lameness of legs and arms, inflammation, rheumatism (2), consumption (1), scrofula (1) and cancer. Apart from this, accidents occurred, a few broken limbs, someone was ~~k~~icked by a horse, another fell from a ladder and a third was injured by a threshing machine. The Medical Officers reported that they had

attended five confinements in the first three months. The chronic ailments did not result in many deaths, some weeks none were recorded and usually not more than one. The area was fortunate to have plentiful supplies of clean water.

Women were more liable to become chargeable for various reasons, in particular their wages were very much lower than those of men. 5s. a week was well above the usual wage recorded, most frequently it was 3s., as against 8s. for men in full employment. The woman's wage was an essential supplement, but when the man fell ill, even if the wife was able to continue work the family needed relief as in the case of a family of seven, which was "in distress" as the father (78) was old and lame since the previous harvest. His wife earned 3s. and they had two boys at home (15 and 9) who had no recorded earnings, as well as three daughters away in service (18, 14, 13).

Apart from this the women seemed to find it rather more difficult to find work. This was more apparent after harvest when they had been able to find temporary work and were the first to be stood off. On 8th September three women were in this position, then the next week two women, two men and three families came on to the parish for the same reason. Dependent children added to the women's burdens when they were left singlehanded, either due to widowhood, a husband in prison or transported or who had "absconded". One with an illegitimate brood of four had received six loaves a week before she was found dead. Perhaps she had starved. Then the grandmother accepted the responsibility and she was allowed four loaves and 4s.

but this was raised to 5s. The able bodied but unsupported women with children were taken into the temporary workhouse first in October, 1836, as there was work for them there. No distinctions were made between the relief for women with bastards and legitimate children. However, one woman was treated differently. Her young children were ill and so she could not earn their living as usual by keeping her little school open. She was allowed 5s. and not offered any bread, which would appear relatively generous and saved her from the indignity of relief in kind.

Old people were not allowed the equivalent of a pension due to age. If they were able to work it was expected of them. A couple of 70 and 72 received relief again after harvest. In another case a man of 72 had been working on the roads earning 4s. a week but both he and his wife had fallen ill. Yet others of 74 and 71 were helped with two loaves as they did not earn enough to support themselves. Temporary relief was allowed for a week to a woman of 73 while parish work was found for her. Those in their sixties became unemployed more frequently than younger people and women in their fifties were in a similar position. The applicants for relief after the harvest illustrate this problem, but there were some younger people in the same plight.

There were more who could not support themselves and there seem to have been a fairly high proportion of single elderly and infirm people. Of the thirty-one cases dealt with on 14th April at least twelve fell into this category, and on 28th April among six widows

there were two whose ages were given as 72 and 52. The Guardians were impressed by one old lady of 77 who had been living on charity and the proceeds from the sale of her furniture before applying for relief. She was living with her sister-in-law who was infirm and already on the parish. Help was granted "until further orders". In two other cases old women were moved to live with others needing care. The Guardians had to put pressure on them, in one instance they temporarily cut off relief.

Children were also expected to work for wages as early as possible. The youngest recorded was a 7 year old girl at harvest, but this was exceptional. The Relieving Officer considered two of 8 and 10 should have been at work in August. Two other boys of 9 and 7 were at school in Moreton. Boys of 10 were recorded as earning nothing whereas below this, the age was given without comment. A boy of 10 earned 1s. 6d. in late July, another of 9 earned 1s., as did a girl of 12. Boys of 11 to 14 earned 2s. a week, and a 14 year old was exceptional earning 3s. 1s. 6d or 2s. was not considered sufficient to maintain a self-supporting child and so limited help was allowed. An orphan left his master and was reported to have said he had "no need to do such work". His relief was discontinued. A girl of 13 had earned nothing for a year due to ill health, but there is less evidence of girls' employment below this age when they were old enough to go away into service. Several children lived with their grandmothers. There was an illegitimate child with his mother who was in service, another was boarded out by the parish as his mother was not able to keep him with her.

There were at least three people maintained as lunatics, two in the Gloucester Asylum and one at a private institution in Lower Slaughter. Four others were sent to Gloucester Infirmary. The occasional references to the weakminded probably do not reflect the incidence of this burden as they were more likely to be permanently chargeable.

The amount of relief granted would have barely kept body and soul together, for instance a quarter loaf and 1s. 6d or 1s. was quite common and appeared to be the usual allowance to a single person dependent on relief. A family of seven, including five young children was reported to have "nothing to eat" and that the mother could "earn nothing". They had been tided over with four loaves and were granted 4s. and eight loaves: this was the full allowance but the total value of their relief was just less than 8s. a week. Such cases were expensive however carefully the relief was assessed as it was liable to continue for some weeks. For instance, twelve loaves, and 4s. and twelve loaves were ordered for two families one week. Limited relief was allowed in aid of inadequate wages. Two men (30 and 18) were earning 5s. a week in late July and were helped. In August a man was relieved as he had not been able to find more remunerative work. This ran counter to official policy and the declared purpose of the Stow Guardians but it appeared the most practicable in the circumstances. Relief was reduced promptly when people found work, even if it was not enough to support them independently. At the end of August two women's allowances were cut substantially for this reason,

although the work was seasonal. On 30th June there were 3 other cases, including a widow with two children who earned 4s. between them, as she had found some work, her relief was reduced by 1s. 6d to three loaves only. The total value of relief amounted to less than the recipient would normally earn, as in the case of a family of four which included two children (5 and 3) and parents (31 and 30) who were both sick. Their income had been 8s. and the relief allowed was 4s. and four loaves which was the equivalent of 6s. altogether. Few were granted relief more generously, and only when there was some special circumstance to justify it.

Medical relief was the next most frequent provision, but only a minority of cases required it and not all those applying were granted their requests. A confinement attended by a Medical Officer cost 10s. 6d and was not allowed without careful consideration. There were four applications in July, of these two were allowed, one was refused and the fourth allowed only as a loan. Earlier, a woman (49) already reported to be very ill was only allowed attendance as a loan as her husband was "dissolute". The Relieving Officer suggested this way of helping her without encouraging the husband to continue in the evil ways which had brought them to destitution even though he was earning 8s. a week. In July the Guardians decided that unless it was otherwise stated this form of relief would only be allowed as a loan, thus tightening up their provision.

The Medical Officers' main duty was attending the very sick and for them they frequently ordered 2lbs. mutton, and much more rarely

ale or porter in addition. In three months the doctors prescribed medicine on a hundred and fifty-two occasions. Nursing and "necessaries" were sometimes accepted as essential expenses on the doctors' recommendation. In May a sick person was allowed 7s. for constant attendance as well as mutton for at least two weeks, which was an unusually expensive case, but less costly cases were not very rare. On one occasion the Guardians refused to allow the recommended medical relief. The most expensive and most urgent matter which required and received prompt attention was an outbreak of smallpox at Evenlode and Chastleton (in the Shipston Union). There were eight cases, four in each village and the two Unions divided the cost of £11. 1s. 1d between them. On 11th August vaccinations were ordered to prevent the infection spreading, those affected were compulsorily removed to an isolated house taken over for the purpose in Broadwell. The trouble was all over before the end of September.

A limited amount of miscellaneous help was given to provide rent, washing, clothes, especially shoes and shirts (about 2/3d). One week several successful claims were made for children's shoes at Wick Rissington, but the authorities were not to be caught a second week running. £1 was allowed for an orphan's clothing and for another £1. 5s. 0d. spread over ten weeks, as well as 1s. 6d. maintenance. Funeral expenses were sometimes paid. In one instance a shroud was provided and not the recommended expenses. The Union had a contract with Blizzard of Stow, one of the two partners who later secured the contract for building the workhouse, for the supply

of elm coffins "without letters" at 4s. 6d., 7s. and 12s. according to size for different age groups.

The standard reasons for refusing relief were that applicants failed to present themselves at Stow before the Guardians if they were capable of attending, and that the means of the whole family were considered sufficient to support those in need. The week the temporary workhouse was opened three people failed to put in an appearance and their cases were dismissed. A man of 74 was refused help and his sons were required to support him. The means and whereabouts of the relatives were recorded even when relief was allowed. Once the sick appeared to be "better able to work" relief was discontinued and no mention was made of their having found or returned to work, whereas this reason was given in some cases. Some the Guardians suspected were not entirely genuine, were undesirable or did not help themselves sufficiently. These received limited or no relief. The Guardians appear harsh and censorious in dealing with these people but they were not likely to be considered generally unjust by the majority who tried to earn their living and survive on depressed wages. A claim for 10d. for washing was refused and "very right" was the marginal comment. The same week a woman appealed unsuccessfully for additional relief as she could not "live on 1s. 9d. and one loaf". A family's relief was disallowed on the grounds that the wife was "now supposed to be reaping". An unemployed man just home from prison was only provided with relief as a loan and another who returned home after unexplained absence was given no relief

although his wife was sick and they had no money; instead he was to be brought before the magistrates for leaving his family unsupported. A drunken man (65) was refused help.

It is quite apparent that the people of the villages which made up the Stow Union depended very largely on agricultural work for their livelihood but there were too many for the available employment. A man of 30 and another of 18 each earned 5s. doing intermittent work in July when another man fully employed earned 9s. the same week. Work on the roads (parish employment) was even less well paid at 3s. and 4s. and with this there was no relief given. A family of nine illustrates underemployment for the young men and low wages for women and boys: the father (60) was sick, the mother (46) earned 3s., their daughters (24 and 15) earned 5s. and 3s., and their sons (22, 20, 11) earned 5s., 4s. and 2s. The two youngest (9 and 6) were not at work. Almost a third of the cases considered on 29th September were due to underemployment and two more were due to low wages. Most weeks the Guardians were presented with such problems.

At harvest time nearly everyone was out in the fields. A fortunate family had earned £1 one week. A woman's relief was discontinued as she earned "sufficient for her support" by looking after children. There are frequent references to harvesting, reaping, leasing (gleaning) in August but by mid-September significant unemployment was reappearing.

Other specified agricultural work was haymaking, bean cutting and hoeing, but "field work" was the general term. The other frequent

employment was "service". The area was well supplied with gentlemen's houses. This work took some away from home and they were not expected to contribute to needy relatives. Besides this, one went to work on the railway, there was a weaver (80) with defective sight, a slater and plasterer (63), a tailor, two silk winders (classified as "light work"). This does not represent the range of crafts of the area but rather indicates the greater security of those employed in other than agricultural work, except for cloth manufacture which had all but come to an end there.

The search for work or escape from insoluble problems took a few away from home particularly in the summer. Two went to America, seven absconded, but one came home within the week and another within a fortnight. Two young men of Great Barrington left to find work but they too were home by the next week, presumably they had explained their departure as those who had "absconded" were guilty of a punishable offence. Five others were sent to prison and two transported. A woman of 72 was removed some distance to live with her daughter who agreed to look after her. There was correspondence with the Poor Law Commissioners about the possible migration of four families, two from Lower Swell, and two from Evenlode, but there is no evidence of what came of this though the Commissioners sent forms (for two families) to be completed, which would then be forwarded to their agent in Manchester.

However, few who became chargeable to the poor rate had strayed outside the area of the Union and only six had gone more than ten

miles away. The exception was an elderly couple who were removed back to Westcote from Uttoxeter where they had earned their living by cleaning a dissenting chapel. Two of their children lived in London and another lived with his large family in Westcote. There was a similar number of people with their place of settlement outside the Union but only three were from a distance, Middlesex, Chilcombe (Hants) and a child travelling from Cambridge to Wales. A pregnant woman was helped but referred to the Magistrates for removal. Within the Union there were significantly more who did not live in the parishes to which they belonged, but generally they were allowed to stay where they were. The general picture is of considerable stability in spite of the absence of prospects, although it is important to remember that those who moved successfully would not be recorded in the Guardians' Minutes nor would those living away from their home village with an established claim to relief.

The Guardians appear capable and experienced men judging by their minutes and they were convinced of the need to make the new Poor Law effective at least in so far as it could limit the expense of the poor rate. They were very prompt to assess the financial result of the first three months of the new system. The comparison between the average expenditure for the three years before Lady Day 1835 which had been £4691 a year, giving a quarterly average of £1172 15s. Od., with the quarterly average from March to June, 1836, which amounted to £598 0s. 5½d., was extremely gratifying. They recognised that this was unduly low as various salaries had not been

paid. The following quarter's expenses amounted to £748 3s. 8d. and even though the initial expenditure on a temporary workhouse would push up costs still further they decided to adopt this expedient rather than wait until their permanent establishment was built. A dietary was drawn up which differed a little from that recommended by the Commissioners as the Guardians judged it was "well suited to the habits of the poorer classes in this District".

The attitude to the poor was paternal and authoritarian. The Chairman Rev. Witts was a J.P. and two other J.Ps were ex-officio Guardians so there was no difficulty in referring cases to the Magistrates. There was an unwritten assumption that the requirements of the poor were different from the rest of society. Even the humble Relieving Officers were paid £52 p.a. and the combined post of Clerk to the Guardians and Master of the Workhouse carried a salary of £120 p.a. The Guardians had an unenviable task in trying to maintain a distinction between the employed and those on relief, and they endeavoured to be impartial. Every now and then it is possible to detect sympathy for those who were particularly afflicted and who could be helped without going against their general rule. A family of seven, subject to a removal order, was treated with consideration as the father was in the final stages of cancer. The order was suspended, and though one was only a seven month old baby 5s. 6d. and seven loaves were given as well as 3s. 8d for necessaries,  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint of porter and 3lbs. mutton. The relief continued until they were removed after the funeral, also provided, nor were they hurried off

immediately. However the decrepit old tinker who lived in a tent and earned 2s. 6d or 3s. making skewers and roasting jacks was sent away empty handed, an attitude towards gypsies which has not totally disappeared today.

E.A. CHRISTMAS