

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

HISTORICAL

STUDIES

IV

Essays on Local Historical Records
by the University Extra-Mural Class
at Gloucester, 1969-70

Edited by
Brian S. Smith

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FOREWORD

The essays presented this year by the Records Class working in the County Records Office in Gloucester are all of considerable interest. It is a pity that with the limitations imposed by evening class conditions none can be claimed to be complete, as the writers themselves complain. Indeed one important study is not included this year to enable further research to be carried out. The justification for publishing work in this state is of course that the class disperses and the very real achievements and knowledge acquired each winter would in most cases be lost entirely.

Among these present essays the catalogue of Gloucestershire windmills will probably never be complete but the number of windmills already discovered in Gloucestershire may come as a surprise to industrial archaeologists, and the few examples of surviving remains are more than might be expected. The other industrial study reveals some of the personal differences of the Mushet family, unknown to their biographer F.M. Osborn in his Story of the Mushets (1952). Mr. Bick hints at the further research to be undertaken there, as does Mrs. Wyatt in concluding her lively story of the notorious Cock Road Gang of Kingswood. The work on the history of the Cathedral Library was undertaken partly as a contribution to the catalogue of the Library being prepared by the Dean and Chapter's Librarian, and may therefore eventually achieve a wider circulation. 'Farming in Oxenhall' is also incomplete, although the paper does summarise the work of several students over the years, and I regret that the collection of land usage and tenurial maps cannot be reproduced as well.

I am most grateful to all the class members for their enthusiasm and industry, which exceeds the not inconsiderable demands I make of them. Over the years their achievements in Gloucestershire historical research have been noteworthy, and this collection of papers proves the 1969-70 season to have been a vintage one. Our gratitude goes also to the County Council for permission to meet in the Records Office, and to the Extra-Mural Department for publishing this booklet.

BRIAN S. SMITH

WINDMILLS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE

This study is by no means a complete historical record of Gloucestershire windmills and is, in fact, little more than a list of mill sites, and field names which imply the presence of a windmill at some time. A great deal of further investigation remains to be done, which time did not permit. Both field-work and more records research will be needed to discover the history of the individual sites, including their exact location, the number of mills built or rebuilt on each site, their type of construction, and whether any visible remains exist.

Some of the sources used in this study, together with abbreviations are given below. Ordnance Survey map grid references are given, where identifiable, after the place-name.

- C.G. Map dated 1624 in G.S. Blakeway, The City of Gloucester
I.T. Map of Gloucestershire by Isaac Taylor, 1777.
A.B. Map of Gloucestershire by A. Bryant, 1824.
O.S. 1" O.S. Map 1st edition, 1830.
V.C.H. Victoria County History Vols. VI and VIII.
P.N.G. Place-names of Gloucestershire.
G.R.O. Gloucestershire Records Office Gazetteer of O.S. 25" map series, c.1880.
I.A. Industrial Archaeology of the Bristol Region by Angus Buchanan and Neil Cossons.
A.S.M. Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Gloucester by L.E.W. Fullbrook-Leggatt.
G.C.R. Gloucester Corporation Records Vol. II
B.G. Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.

Almondsbury (ST 608839)

Windmill.

Sources: I.T. 1777; A.B. 1824; O.S. 1830.

Arlingham (SO 715108)

Windmill Hill

Sources: P.N.G. (inclosure award 1802); G.R.O. 1880

Ashchurch

Windmill Furlong, Pamington 1427. Miller recorded in
Pamington in 1529.
Source: V.C.H.

Awre

Reference to lease of pasture called Windmill Hill near
Box Farm, 1650'
Source: G.C.R.

Barnwood (SO 8418)

Windmill
Source: I.T. 1777

Windmill Field. Name preserved in street-name, Windmill
Parade, south of Wotton.
Source: P.N.G. 1356.

Berkeley

See Wanswell

Bishop's Cleeve (SO 968265)

A deed of 1366 has a reference to land next to a windmill.
In 1299 the Bishop of Worcester's manor contained a watermill
and a windmill, but by the late 15th century they were said to be
worth nothing. The windmill was probably the one at Southam
which gave its name to one of the open fields. It was
disused by 1884, although some buildings were still standing.
Sources: I.T. 1777; O.S. 1830; V.C.H.

Brimpsfield (SO 933114)

Windmill.
Sources: A.B. 1824; O.S. 1830.

Bristol (ST 602742 approx.)

Windmill.
Sources: road map, Bristol to Banbury, by John Ogilby,
1675; I.T. 1777.

See also Clifton, Cotham

Bushley (SO 865350)

Windmill Tump.
Source: modern 1" O.S. map.

Cam (ST 739998)

Windmill
Source: O.S. 1830

Chipping Sodbury (ST 732835 approx.)

Windmill
Source: I.T. 1777

Churcham (SO 770196 approx.)

Windmill Hill Wood recorded 1607, where a former windmill is mentioned in 1765.
Source: Records of Gloucester Dean and Chapter, 1765.
G.R.O. D936

Clifton (ST 566733)

A tower mill, part of which still survives. It was used as a snuff mill in the 18th century, but was burned down in 1777. It was converted to a camera obscura in 1829.
Sources: I.T. 1777; I.A.

Cotham (ST 576745 approx.)

Windmill used for grinding snuff for W.D. and H.O. Wills, circa 1830.
Sources: I.T. 1777; I.A.

Duntisbourne Abbots (SO 968078)

Windmill, described on Isaac Taylor's map as 'Old Windmill'
Sources: I.T. 1777; O.S. 1830

Elberton (ST 612884 approx.)

Windmill
Source: I.T. 1777

Elmore (SO 7814, SO 789159)

2 windmills.
Source: C.G. 1624
Windmill Hill
Sources: G.R.O. 1380; modern 1" O.S. map.

Falfield (ST 684928)

Tower mill. Converted to residence, now derelict. One of the mill-stones now the front door step.
Source: I.A.; N. Cossens, Industrial Monuments in the Mendip, South Cotswold and Bristol Region (1967)

Forthampton

Tewkesbury Abbey owned two windmills in 1291. A windmill mentioned in 1636 was probably the one worked by John Alcock in 1649 and 1672. In 1859 Alcock's mill was $\frac{1}{4}$ mile E.S.E. of Alcock's Farm, and its base was later called the Round House. A windmill stood on Mill Hill, S.W. of the village, in 1752. Rent was paid for a windmill in Swinley in 1538 and more than one miller was recorded there in 1545. Before 1677, a windmill stood on a tump east of Swinley Court.
Source: V.C.H.

Frampton Cotterell (ST 673814)

Tower mill described on 1st. edition O.S. map was 'Brokeridge Mill'. The remains of the tower stand adjacent to a cottage.
Sources: A.B. 1824; O.S. 1830; I.A.

Gloucester 1. (SO 831183)

The site of this post mill is probably near the bowling green in Brunswick Road.
Sources: map by John Speed, 1610; B.G. vol. LI (plan of Gloucester by M. Merian of Frankfurt 1650).

Gloucester 2. (SO 832185)

This windmill was situated between Queen Street and the Cross, before 1455.
Source: A.S.M.

Gloucester 3. (SO 8317)

Windmill.
Source: C.G. 1624

See also: Wotton

Hasfield

The windmill was mentioned with the manor in 1654. It stood on Barrow Hill and gave its name to one of the open fields on the N.E. slopes.
Source: V.C.H.

Kenbury (ST 5579)

Windmill
Sources: shown in an engraving by Kip in The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire by Sir Robert Atkyns, 1712; I.T. 1777

Hucclecote

Windmill Field
Source: G.C.R. 1715, 1736.

Kemble (SU 0098 approx., ST 986977)

There might have been two windmills here, although as

Ogillvy's map is rather vague, he probably refers to the same site as the later map. Ogillvy describes it as 'Kemble Windmill' and on the 1st edition O.S. map it is shown as 'Kemble Mill'.

Sources: road map, Bristol to Banbury, by John Ogillvy, 1675; O.S. 1830.

Kingscote (ST 811967)

The G.R.O. Gazetteer refers to Windmill Lane, but the same map (O.S. 1880) also shows 'Old Windmill', with the same map reference as the earlier maps. The modern 1" O.S. map marks a building at this reference which is possibly the actual mill site.

Sources: A.B. 1824; O.S. 1830; G.R.O. 1880

Longborough (SP 171296 approx.)

Windmill

Source: road map, Salisbury to Campden, by John Ogillvy, 1675.

Longney (SO 770125 approx.)

References to a windmill occur in 1291, 1326 and 1523/4. It was possibly sited on the west of the hill 700 yards east of the church.

Sources: Taxatio Ecclesiastica; Landbook sive Registrum de Wincheloumba; An Original History of the City of Gloucester by T.D. Fosbrooke; the Gloucestershire Collection.

Lower Swell

Windmill built circa 1800 to pump water to Stow-on-the-Wold. It was later replaced by a horse-mill.

Source: V.C.H.

Marshfield

A deed of 1734 in the Glos. R.O. refers to Windmill Leaze adjacent to Park Piece.

Mickleton 1. (SP 164439 approx.)

A map of Mickleton dated 1698, shows Windmill-leaso and Windmill-lease meadow.

Source: estate map

Mickleton 2 (SP 1545)

Windmill

Source: I.T. 1777

Minchinhampton (SO 861011)

Windmill Place

Source: G.R.O. 1880.

Mitchealdean (SO 660187)

Windmill also Windman Hill

Sources: P.N.G. (tithe award 1839); G.R.O. 1880

Newnham (SO 6912)

Windmill Hill, situated on a spur S.W. of Hyde.

Source: tithe award 1839.

Norton

Windmill Hill

Source: P.N.G. 1589

Oddington (SF 212255)

Windmill marked on Bryant's map as 'Ruins of Oddington Mill' and on the 1st edition O.S. map as 'Oddington Mill'. It gave its name to Millway Field, 1584, it was rebuilt in 1813 and had ceased working by 1884. Part of the building remained in 1960 and it is shown on the modern 1" map as a disused windmill.

Sources: A.B. 1824; O.S. 1830; V.C.H.

Old Sodbury

Windmill Field

Source: P.N.G. (Inquisitiones Post Mortem 1633).

Windmill House

Source: P.N.G. (map 1830)

Olveston (ST 613872)

An entry in Inquisitiones Post Mortem for 1327, makes reference to a pasture called la Grenemore in which there was a water mill and a windmill, worth 13s. 4d. per annum. The map reference given below is for the windmill shown by Bryant and the 1st edition O.S. map. The modern 1" O.S. map marks a building at this reference which might be the actual mill site.

Sources: A.B. 1824; O.S. 1830.

Rodmarton (ST 933973)

Windmill Hill. Shown on modern O.S. map as 'Windmill Tump'.

Source: G.R.O. 1880

Sandhurst (SO 8324)

Windmill

Source: C.G. 1624

Siddington (SU 042996)

Windmill

Sources: A.B. 1824; O.S. 1830

Southam

See Bishop's Cleeve

Staunton

In 1579 there is a reference to Windmill Field 'wherein stands the walls of an old windmill'. This is probably the one described as ruinous in an entry in Inquisitiones Post Mortem, dated 1342.

Source: B.G. vol. VII (deed of 1579)

Stoke Orchard (SO 921277 approx.)

Windmill noted in 1811 but not traced after 1824.

Sources: A.B. 1824; V.C.H.

Stratton (SP 018035 approx.)

Windmill, Windmill Way.

Source: inclosure map, 1770

Tewkesbury (SO 887318 approx.)

In 1291, the abbot received rent from a windmill in Tewkesbury. This was probably on the same site as the windmill which was held with the abbey's water-mills in the 16th century and later. In 1747, an old wooden windmill was demolished on Windmill Hill, south of Holm Bridge (Swilgate Bridge) and was replaced with a brick building. In the Hill Garden, close by, another brick windmill had been built in 1742. One of these two was converted into a house and was mentioned in 1774. One of these was also probably the one recorded by Isaac Taylor. A map of 1825 marked a windmill opposite the workhouse. Possibly in the same area, was the windmill which was held at farm from the Earls of Gloucester in 1296 and 1327, said to be worth nothing in 1337 because it had broken down; it was recorded at its former value in 1349 and 1359. A map of Tewkesbury, dated 1792, shows Windmill Acre (map ref. SO 889330)

Sources: I.T. 1777; V.C.H.

Thames Head

Published in The Thames and Severn Canal by Humphrey Household, is a sketch of 1790 showing a six-sailed windpump.

Tidenham (ST 537949)

The remains of this windmill still exist. It is marked on Bryant's map as 'Old Windmill' and on the 1st edition O.S. map as 'Folly Mill'.

Sources: I.T. 1777; A.B. 1825; O.S. 1830.

Tirley

There was a windmill in Tirley in 1287 and a millward was recorded in 1358. In 1632 there was a windmill in the Throckmortons' manor, and around 1734, a windmill stood on the windmill knoll, which has given its name to Tirley Knowle. A tradition also exists of a windmill standing in front of the house called Red Castle. A millwright was living in Tirley in 1658.

Tuffley (SO 8214)

Windmill

Source: C.G. 1624

Twynning

Windmill Hill Close

Source: survey of land belonging to William Lord Craven, 1769

Walton Cardiff

Windmill, 1315; Mill Acre, 1419; Windmill Hurst furlong, 1590.

Source: V.C.H.

Wanswell

A reference to windmill in Windmill Field, mid 13th century.

Source: The Berkeley Manuscripts vol. III

Warmley (ST 667727)

Tower mill. It was part of a spelter works built in the 18th century and was used for crushing ore. The shell of the mill still exists.

Source: I.A.

Westbury-on-Severn

Windmill Hill Field at Rodley, in late 16th and early 17th century.

Source: tithe award.

Woolstone

Name millward recorded in 1327; place-name Millham in 1479; windmill, 1616.

Source: V.C.H.

Wotton

Reference to Windmill Field between Wotton Pitch and Kingsholm road occurs in 1356 and 1453, and Windmill Furlong in 1542 and 1604. In 1453, the field is described as being opposite St. Margarets Hospital and extending from the Kingsholm road to Portway. (Probably London Road or Denmark Road). Further references to Windmill Field occur in 1653 and 1707. In 1721, it was described as a common field.

Sources: A.S.M.; G.C.R.

B.J. Roberts

A YOUTH AT OXFORD AS ILLUSTRATED

BY THE DUCIE CORRESPONDENCE

The bundle of letters consists of three to Richard Ducie while at school at Newport in Shropshire, and the remainder while he was at Queen's College, Oxford. Drafts of his replies to many of the letters are written on the unused space on the letters, and sometimes on other scraps of paper, and altogether give a fairly wide picture of the life of a young man at Oxford. The letters cover the period 1661 to 1669.

Richard's grandfather, Sir Robert Ducie (b.1575), was Sheriff of London in 1620 and Lord Mayor in 1631. He was an immensely wealthy man, and although he lost more than £80,000 as a result of being banker to Charles I, he is said to have died worth £400,000. Richard's father, Robert, was Sir Robert's fourth son, and had his estate at Little Aston in Staffordshire. He died when Richard was a young boy, and Richard's mother then married Thomas Joliffe, of Coston Hall, Worcestershire. The first three letters are from Richard's mother to him at school in Shropshire, but she died in 1663, when Richard was about 14 years old. Richard's elder brother Robert died in 1664, and Richard and his sister Elizabeth, a year or two his senior, were left in the care of their uncle, Sir William Ducie, 3rd Bt., Viscount Downe. Sir William was created a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II, and his wife Frances, was a member of the Seymour family.

The evidence of the letters is that both Sir William and his wife took their responsibilities seriously. Lady Frances is obviously very fond of Richard, but Sir William is rather pompous and much given to moralising. No doubt Richard's behaviour often warranted the long lectures he received from his uncle. Aunt Frances sends him gifts, and when he needs favours from Sir William, it is to Aunt Frances she writes first, so that she will present his case to Sir William. When he had been suffering from toothache she sent him a cure for his pain: "There is a gum called carrane, which spread on plasters and applied to the temple and behind the ears, is your Aunt Garret's infallible cure - it is troublesome pain - constant washing the mouth, temples and behind the ears with cold water every morning is the best remedy I know."

At first Richard and his sister were very close, but after her marriage to Edward Moreton, relations became strained, as her husband made several attempts to encroach on Richard's estate at Little Aston. He complained to his uncle, "Brother Moreton's intentions, now as they have ever been, are to get as much from me as he can." The reply is: "Anything fixed to the house, either with nail, screw, pins of iron and wood or mortar ... such are your fee simple." Also: "Write to Mr. Moreton or your sister

that you wonder at their dealings." He did write to his sister: "I am much troubled to hear that your husband should now renew his former unlawful dealings with me. I am sorry to find your husband's friendship to me to be nothing else but seeking his own advantage."

A major problem that emerges from the study of these letters is the considerable difficulty encountered in forwarding letters and packages, especially to places other than the main cities. Many of the letters contain instructions on how to send replies, and some examples are quoted. "Write by way of London, directing your letters to My Lady Seymour's in St. Martin's Lane, and writing upon the outside to be sent to Tortworth by the Gloucestershire carrier, who lies at the Three Cups in St. John's Street." "Write to my lodging next door to the Lady Garret's in Kinge's Street in Coven Gardens." The above were in letters from Sir William, and Richard advises his tenant at Little Aston: "If you please you may send every month letters by John Finch, carrier, who calls at the Welsh Harp at Wolverhampton." Aunt Frances writes: "I have sent you a pot of venison, red deer, the first killed this year. The carrier is paid for the carriage of your basket."

Letters were written on thick vellum-like paper, which was then folded and sealed, and the address and other instructions written on the outside of the letter. Naturally this part of the letter became stained, and the ink faded, but one letter is very clearly addressed. It is from Richard's sister

To Mr. Richard Ducie Att
Sir Will: Ducie his house
Tortworth near
Wootton-Underedge
With care and speed
Deliver Hast Hast
pd 3d.

The precariousness of the post provided Richard with a very ready excuse on numerous occasions when chided by his uncle for not replying promptly to letters.

The transfer of money presented a far more complicated problem than correspondence. There were no banks such as we know, and the letter carriers were not to be trusted with the delivery of money. As Richard's guardian, it was necessary for Sir William to forward sums of £20 at intervals for his "quartridge" at Oxford, and this was a quite complicated affair. It was necessary to arrange for the transfer of the money between a trusted banker or accountant in one town, usually London, and his representative

in Oxford. In one letter Sir William explains that he could either pay the money in London, upon receiving word from Richard that he had received the money in Oxford; or, he could pay the money first to a merchant in London, and when the Oxford representative of this merchant was notified of the payment, then he would pay the money to Richard. Again, some of these representatives appear to have been rather dilatory in paying out the money, probably making a small profit by this delay. In one letter Richard asks that his money be paid according to a note or receipt from a manciple (a college servant), "whom I have thus formerly used, and require him to pay me the full sum upon sight, for he is somewhat backward in paying it." Even this cumbersome system was only effective between established centres, and when Sir William was in the country, he had problems: "I know not how to send £20 to you but by a messenger on purpose, which is somewhat hazardous, therefore I will send my man with two horses to Oxford to conduct you to Tortworth - he shall bring part of the money with him to you and the rest you shall receive at Tortworth." When Richard has to confess to having a number of accounts outstanding at the time he is to leave Oxford, his uncle advises him: "£100 to settle all bills, is a large amount. Find a substantial citizen of Oxford who has dealings and correspondence with London. Get him to give you a note in the form hereinlosed under his hand for £50 at a time. It is an inconvenience and vexation you cause me."

In the early 17th century, drunkenness, licentiousness and idleness were common at Oxford. When Laud, then Bishop of London, was elected Chancellor in 1630, he reformed the statutes of the university, having them adopted in 1636. The average age of undergraduates was about sixteen, and the tutor was expected to be guardian as well as instructor. Most of Sir William's letters contain some reference to Richard's behaviour, either upbraiding him or warning him against the temptations which surround him. When Richard went to visit his sister in Staffordshire his uncle advises him to put into practice the method of studying arithmetic and the Latin tongue which he had recommended, and to avoid vain and idle company by keeping at work, "without which you can never reap any benefit by your studies, which if you be truculent and disorderly will be a burden to you, and irksome and tedious, but being temperate and fastidious will be delightful." In a second letter at this time, his uncle advises: "I advise you to be sober and abstemious, and to take some pleasant Latin author with you to pursue in the mornings and other leisurely times, that you may not forget what you have learnt at Oxford, but to improve your knowledge in the Latin tongue."

Sir William seems to have had a number of contacts, who were only too ready to report any of Richard's shortcomings to him.

"I have heard from Oxford, by several hands," he writes, "that you spend too much time and money in taverns and alehouses, in inferior company," and also that Richard has been drinking or was drunk when he visited his Aunt Seymour, "who was much scandalised thereat. Persons of honour and quality take it much to heart to hear such things of their relatives." Richard refutes such an accusation and says that when he visited his aunt, he was in the company of "a Master of Arts of our House, whose civility and sobriety is sufficiently known to the whole college." Usually Richard's replies to his uncle's accusations are extremely apologetic and courteous, no doubt due to his uncle's position as head of the family and holder of the pursestrings, and also to his social position. On one occasion however, Richard replies with some spirit, when confessing to outstanding debts, that although some were a result of lack of care, some of the money was spent for clothes "in some sort like my equals, which could not be supplied from my allowance." Sir William's concern cannot be dismissed as mere moralising, since Aunt Frances also writes that "Your older brother and your cousin should be your warning, not your pattern ... their too late repentance could not recover what their youthful extravagancies lost them in shortening their days by their infirmarencies, and making what little time they had miserable by continual languishing sickness while they lived."

Whenever Richard wanted any favours, he wrote to Aunt Frances to intercede on his behalf with her husband. When he wanted a horse, he wrote to her asking for Sir William to send him a horse, "for I am told that to ride abroad in an afternoon would be good for my health." She obviously presented the case well, since Sir William replied that he was in favour of Richard having a horse, but because of the "cheatings at Smithfield", it would be better for Richard to buy one at Oxford, and with his usual careful advice adds, "but at a low cost at first, since you have not yet a man of your own, but must trust him with ostlers", and also "If used for exercise and fresh air towards preservation of your health, but let it not be a means to draw you into riotous and drinking company." Later Richard, now a little older and feeling his status rather below that due to his rank, reminds his uncle of his remarks about not having his horse properly cared for until he has a man of his own, and requests "you would please give me leave to keep a man, and a brace of geldings, as some others of my quality here do." Sir William's reply was that now that Richard was near to the end of his stay at Oxford, it would be better to wait until he had taken control of his own estate, and had to account only to himself for the pending of his money.

What may have inspired Richard to this request for a man of his own, is a series of letters concerning the presentation of a piece of plate to the college, as "others of like rank did", and

for which his uncle was to send the money. The amount settled on was around £10, £8 for the plate and £2 for wine and some "extraordinary's" at the presentation ceremony. Most detailed instructions were sent by Sir William, concerning the coat of arms and inscription for the plate. When Richard's tutor suggests a gift of money towards a new building rather than the usual gift of plate, Sir William is adamant, "The plate will preserve your memory and be much more for your credit in the college," and "If you give money any other way it would not be known you had given any, as any other Gentlemen Commoners."

Towards the end of his stay at Oxford, and prompted by Aunt Frances, Richard was able to please his uncle by sending accounts of the visits of various notables to the University. Aunt Frances asked why he had given no account of the visit of the Prince of Tuscany, who had also been entertained by his aunt and uncle at Charlton. The Prince was the son of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by whom Sir William had been entertained abroad for three months, and was heir to the Medici "which you have heard your uncle so often mention." Richard replies that he had delayed in forwarding his account until he had obtained a copy of the Orator's speech, which was the sole entertainment that the Prince would accept, although the Vice-Chancellor had offered him the use of the King's Lodging, and as usual to such persons, a banquet. One Bird, a stonecutter, presented him with a piece of marble, stained through, "which for the rarity he accepted and rewarded him with six pieces." Sir William was delighted by the copy of the speech, and a further copy was sent to Sir John Finch, the King's Resident at Florence, who "repaid to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Prince's father. After he had perused it, he sent it to Rome, to the Pope and the Jesuits, of both whom the author had great recommendation. This has done honour to the University and the English nation." Again Richard reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury had resigned his Chancellorship of the University, and he later sent a copy of a letter of thanks from the University to the Archbishop, for his "most magnificent Theatre and Print House, which he has built here at his own charge and endowed with £100 per annum to preserve it in repair and to promote printing." He had intended to forward a copy of the Orator's speech at the dedication, "but some that heard it, making bad constructions of some things that he said, he has resolved not to let anyone see it, lest his meaning should be construed as reflecting upon some persons with whom he intends not to quarrel."

In 1669, Richard has to leave Oxford, to which he has now become very attached. Sir William writes "you have stayed at the University now 3 years, and if you should stay any longer without taking your degree it would be a great disappointment to you."

There is a considerable proportion of the correspondence now concerning the settling of debts, and Richard appears unwilling to confess to their extent. In fact, he tries to persuade his uncle to allow him to stay on for another year. "I have great cause to fear that if I should live in London (where I could not have the opportunity of riding) I should much endanger my health, and that is a precious jewel" and he even tries to convince his uncle that he might get an honorary degree when the new Chancellor arrives at the University. Sir William is not to be fooled by this, for he has never heard of "a degree of grace being given to someone resident at the University", and in any case as Richard is now of age, he wishes to hand over to him "the responsibilities of his estate." Once more Richard appeals to Aunt Frances, to order him a suit of clothes "according to the fashion, so that I appear in a garb fit to be owned by Sir William. Do not tell uncle because of other bills I have to present to him." Aunt Frances agrees to this but advises Richard to make a clean breast of his debts, and to make out accounts to the farthing, and then "you may begin one clear bound as the saying is." When Richard does forward his account it is for £100, and then later he admits to a further £3 owing to his tutor, and £1. 4s. for his horse and stable.

The letters give some idea of life at Oxford and an insight into the problems of communications and the transfer of money from one place to another. A notable omission is that there is no mention of politics, in view of his grandfather's connections with Charles I and his father's and especially his uncle's with Charles II. Perhaps this was due especially to the insecurity of the mail, and the lessons learned during the bitter political struggles during the period of the Commonwealth and the years to the Restoration, in 1660.

References:

1. Family Background notes - Burke's Peerage.
2. Oxford History of England, The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660
Godfrey Davis.

All other references are contained in the letters themselves.

K. Powell

THE LIBRARY OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

1629 - 1871

The earliest reference to the present Library is in a letter from the Bishop to the clergy of the diocese asking for their support, by the gift of books, or encouragement to their parishioners to donate books, to found a new library. (1) The books were to be left with Mr. Langley, Schoolmaster or Mr Simon Wrench second porter, son of Mr. Prebendary Wrench. The account books of this period, which have been used for this study, have no reference to the Library, and the first mention of books occurs in 1636, the sum of fourteen shillings was expended on book binding. (2) These books could have been either Library or Quire books.

The library owes a great debt to Thomas Pury, who assisted by Captain Flemmings and others, founded a Library "at great expense" in the year 1648(3). In 1656, during the Commonwealth, this library was settled on the Mayor and Burgesses of Gloucester, and after 1660 was returned to the Cathedral. The Library possesses a volume recording these gifts which includes a copy of Raleigh's History of the World, and extracts from this are to be found in Records of Gloucester Cathedral Vol. 11. The years 1662-4 saw the gifts of several books to the library, which are unnamed in the account books which merely have entries - "for carriage of the books Mr. Baker gave to the Library - ten shillings" in 1662; "to Jeffries the Oxford Carrier for carriage of Mr. Sheldon's books, £1.7.0.", and "spent at the reception of Joshua Stephens his books for the Library - one shilling," both in 1663. In 1663 the first of the Library catalogues was made by Mr. Cole who recorded the gifts to the Library and wrote descriptions on the several Classes for the sum of ten shillings (4). During this period the sum of £1.17.0. was expended on "chairs for the Library", for what purpose is not clear.

The account books contrive to record payments for carriage of books and by 1671 it was considered necessary to appoint a Library Keeper at a salary of two pounds per annum (5). This person was responsible for the cleaning, heating of the Library. Entries occur for binding books in 1673, Mr. Jordan was paid 7s. 6d. for binding one volume, in addition to ninepence to the Stow carrier for carriage of two books from Mr. Barkesdale and the purchase of an old gown and surplice to "lye in the Library for the use of strange preachers". (6) In 1675 the servant who brought Mr. Taylor's "Great Exemplar" was paid 2s. 6d., and in 1676 the Library Keeper's name is recorded as "Mr. Barkesdale". Four years later Walter Allard became Library Keeper, and in 1682 a second Library Keeper Whittington was appointed, each man

receiving £2 p.a. (7) In 1685 Walter Allard became Under Librarian the post of Librarian being held by Mr. Thacke. Walter Allard also looked after King Edwards Lodge. (8) The years 1709-14 saw the purchase of several books usually from Mr. Burgis who also supplied Quire and fast books, (9) and in 1714 the first book to be particularised "Mr. Palmer for the binding and carriage of Sir Robert Atkyns his book", The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire, cost fifteen shillings (10). In 1723 a lock and keep for the Library cost £1 15s. Od. (11) In 1727 more chairs were purchased at a cost of six shillings and Mr. Hine was paid a bill of £5 8s. Od. for "books, binding for three years". (12)

The Library was awarded an annual grant of £10 in 1731, and this continued until 1763. In 1736 Daniel Newcombe became Dean, to be succeeded in 1758 by Josiah Tucker. (13) This grant probably reflected the interests of Daniel Newcombe as many of the book purchases during this period were made by the Dean during visits to London. There is an additional volume of accounts for the Library during this period, which shows that the grant was not spent annually but more sporadically. In 1735, during a visit to London several books were purchased, including Locke's Works in three volumes, Barnetts' History of the Reformation, together with Temple's Works a first subscription to Whistler's Josephus. In 1737, during another London visit, the Dean included Camdens Britannia for three pounds and Tracts against Popery among his purchases for the Library. In 1740, the grant having accumulated a Universal History in five Folio Volumes at a cost of £11 2s. 6d. Saundersons Elements of Algebra, £1 1s. Od. and two tons of coal at 19s. 8d. were purchased. The latter purchase was occasioned by the installation of a chimney and grate in the Library, at a cost of £6 8s. 8d. (15) In 1757 the grant was used to purchase volumes of classical authors, such as Plutarch, Homer, and Tacitus.

In 1743 the Library was moved and refitted and the account books show a payment of five guineas in 1744 "to Mr. John Newton for his extraordinary trouble in removing the Library". (16) In 1747 sixteen volumes were added to the Library, including Strabinius' Geographia, and in 1750 considerable work was done in the Library at a total cost of £6 10s. 3d. (17)

In spite of the curtailment of the grant in 1763, books were still regularly added. In the years 1760-69 a subscription of five guineas yearly was paid to Dr. Rennicott for collating Hebrew Manuscripts, and as a result of his labours a Hebrew Bible was purchased in 1773 (18). In 1769 the Library was refitted, by order of the Dean, at a cost of £14 4s. 5d. and Isaac Taylor's map of Gloucestershire cost the Cathedral half a guinea. (19) The purchase of the first volumes of Boyce's Church Musick in addition to Henry's History and Campbell's two volume Survey of

Great Britain was made in 1774. (20) In 1779 Samuel Rudder was paid £2 12s. 6d. for a copy of his History of Gloucestershire. (21)

By 1788 it had become necessary to number and recatalogue the Library and the Librarian was paid £5 5s. 0d. for his trouble in placing the books in the Library and making a Catalogue. (22) In the following years theological volumes are prominent together with a first volume of Bigland's Collections on the history of Gloucestershire, and in 1796 John J. Hough was paid a bill of £6 13s 6d. for binding several volumes in rough calf, (23) and in the next few years there are several entries relating to repairing and rebinding books by Hough. (24) In 1804 the Archdeacon Thomas Rudge was paid sixteen shillings for his History of Gloucestershire and in 1805 the Dean and Chapter subscribed two guineas to Mr. Davis in London for Celtic Researches. (25) In 1806 a book of sermons was purchased, but apart from a print of the Cathedral bought in 1809 and the Dean's purchase of a picture of Gloucester Cathedral for £1 0s. 0d. in 1810, no new books are recorded by name until 1824. Repair work was undertaken in the Library during these years, and a record in 1823 "to Mr. Hough the balance of his bill on the Library Account £12 8s. 6d." suggests that books were still being added to the Library. (26)

In 1826 the Library was whitewashed and plastered at a cost of £2 13s. 0d. and in 1827 considerable repair work and improvements were undertaken. (27) By 1829 the Library was carpetted. (28) By 1833 it had become necessary for Mr. Hough to arrange and make a catalogue of books in the Library and a printing bill of £7 1s. 0d. was incurred among the expenses. (29) In 1834 Dulange's Glossary cost twelve guineas. The books show that the binding and book buying continued; a second copy of Rudder's History of Gloucester cost three guineas this time, and in 1844 two maps of Gloucester by Cawston cost £5 7s. 0d. In 1847 wire lattices were inserted in all Library windows at a cost of £8 14s. 11d. (30)

In 1849 extensive repairs occurred, (31) including a bill of £10 5s. 10d. for altering the stove. This was followed in 1852-5 by a considerable bookbinding programme, until in 1859 the sum of £143 was paid to Omash of Oxford for books. (32) These purchases were followed by the addition of new bookcases in 1860 (33), and a bill for binding books of £46 13s. 6d. in 1861 (34). After these items the 12s. 6d. for Annals of the Three Choirs, 14s. 1d. for Crockford's Clerical Dictionary and £1 1s. 0d. for Harris' Manual of Monumental Brasses seem small in comparison. In 1870 a further portion of Bigland's Collections cost 6s. 0d. and the twelfth account book ends in 1871 with no records of spending in the Library other than the £4 salary of the Canon Librarian and a similar salary to his assistant.

A. Bailey

Purchase Prices of Individual Books

<u>Year</u>		<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1714	Binding and carriage of Sir Robert Atkyns his books		15	0
1737	2 vols Camden's Brittannia	3	0	0
1760	Dr. Boyces' Church Musick	6	6	0
1769	Subscription to Mr. Taylor for map of Gloucestershire		10	6
	Judge Barrington's books on Antient Statutes		18	0
1770	Dr. Boyce' subscription for 2 vols. Church Musick	3	3	0
1774	2 vols. Henry's History	1	1	0
	2 vols. Campbells Survey of Great Britain	2	3	0
	Dr. Boyce for 2 vols. of Church Musick	3	4	8
1779	Mr. Rudder for one copy of his History of Gloucestershire	2	12	6
1780	Subscriptions for Mr. Boyce's Church Musick	3	3	0
1787	Bigland's Collections		12	6
1794	Certain numbers of Bigland's Collections	2	4	6
1804	Rudge - compressed History of Gloucester- shire. 2 vols.		16	0
1834	Dulange's Glossary	12	12	0
1842	Rev. Wood for "Rudders Gloucestershire"	3	3	0
1844	Mr. Causton for 2 copies of his map of the City of Gloucester	5	7	0
1861	Harris' Manual of Monumental Brasses	1	1	0
1865	Arnott Annals of the Three Choirs		12	6
1868	Crockford's Clerical Dictionary		14	1
1870	Portion of Bigland's History		6	0
	Antiquarian Memorials of Hereford Cathedral	1	10	0
	Gloucestershire Directory	1	0	0

References

- (1) Records of Gloucester Cathedral, Vol.11. p.156.
- (2) Glos. R.O., D 936 A1/2 p.36.
- (3) S. Rudder, History of Gloucestershire (1779), p.178.
- (4) D 936 A1/2 p.258. p.302/8.
- (5) D 936 A1/3 p.206.
- (6) D 936 A1/3 p.258.
- (7) D 936 A1/3 p.449.
- (8) D 936 A1/4.
- (9) D 936 A1/5.
- (10) D 936 A1/5 p.261.
- (11) D 936 A1/6 p. 47.
- (12) D 936 A1/6 p.110.
- (13) I. Kirby Diocesan Records Vol. 1.
- (14) Gloucester Cathedral Library, Librarians accounts 1731/65.
- (15) Librarian's accounts.
- (16) D 936 A1/6 p.384.
- (17) D 936 A1/7 p. 25.
- (18) D 936 A1/8 p.303. 357.
- (19) D 936 A1/8 p.229-31.
- (20) D 936 A1/8 p.321-2.
- (21) D 936 A1/8 p.415.
- (22) D 936 A1/9 p. 41.
- (23) D 936 A1/9 p.284.
- (24) D 936 A1/9 p.315, 347, 379, 405, 432.
- (25) D 936 A1/9 p.511, 537.
- (26) D 936 A1/10 p.391.
- (27) D 936 A1/10 p.471-508.
- (28) D 936 A1/10 p.583.
- (29) D 936 A1/11.
- (30) D 936 A1/11.
- (31) D 936 A1/12 p. 24-34.
- (32) D 936 A1/12 p.365.
- (33) D 936 A1/12 p.372.
- (34) D 936 A1/12 p.400.

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NOTES ON THE GLOUCESTER & HEREFORD

TURNPIKE TRUST

The first act for repairing and widening the roads from the City of Gloucester to the City of Hereford was passed in 1726. It was renewed in 1747, 1760, 1769 and 1812.

The extent of the trust in Gloucestershire covered by the 1726 act was as follows:

Gloucester - Huntley - Longhope - The Lea

Highnam Pool - Newent

Highnam Pool - Hawkins Pill (Grid.Ref. S0697127)

Maisemore Bridge - Kingstanding (Grid Ref. S0799261)

Hawkins Pill is about half a mile the Gloucester side from Newnham. Kingstanding was about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile north of Hartpury.

In 1769 the following were added to the trust:

Mitcheldean - Guns Mills (Abenhall) - Flaxley - Hawkins Pill

Mitcheldean - Stenders Hill (Puddlebrook)

Mitcheldean - The Lea

Mitcheldean - The Lea Line

Elton - Littledean

"The parishes of Pauntley, Oxenhall, Dymock and Donnington by Dinichill to the turnpike road leading to the town of Ledbury."

From the minutes of the Commissioners of the trust it can be seen that the meetings were usually held at licensed premises. These included the Bell Inn and Kings Head in Gloucester, the Dog (sometimes known as the Talbott) at Over, the Crown Inn at Lea, the Upper Horseshoe at Newent, the White Horse Inn at Mitcheldean, the White Hart Inn at Huntley, and the Starr at Maisemore.

Also in the minutes is a reference to the Over turnpike being cut down. The turnpike at Lea was also attacked as can be read in minutes from the Quarter Sessions in 1731. "Wednesday July the 28th. 1731 between 11 and 12 at night, came to the Lea turnpike in the County of Gloucester to the number of 20 persons or more, with horses and arms, which they fired off several times. Charging all that were in bed to keep there and forbid any of them to look out of their windows upon pain of death and there cut down and destroy'd the gate erected upon the road And swore if any more was erected they would then come again

and cut that down also, and out down burn or destroy the house or houses thereto adjoining, by which means the keepers are so terrified, that they will not ask, nor demand any toll, but the travellers pass free."

These attackers are thought to have been free miners of the Forest of Dean who objected to paying tolls when bringing their coal to Gloucester from the Forest. The Gloucester Journal although not mentioning these particular incidents, does report unrest around that time in the Forest, one of the leaders of such unrest being arrested and tried from the result of these disturbances.

From maps of either Gloucestershire or the Forest of Dean and early Ordnance Survey maps the following Turnpike sites have been noted:

Lea Line (S0669211); 1878/9	Elton Turn (S0703139); 1830
Over (S0817196); 1824	Flaxley (S0691151); 1830
Huntley (S0714193); 1824 (S0718194); 1830	Mitcheldean Lower 'Pike (S0665183); 1878/9
Highleadon (S0764237); 1830	Mitcheldean Upper 'Pike (S0663189); 1878/9
Newent (S0727259); 1830	Stenders (S0658183); 1830, 1845, 1878/9
Maisemore (S0818211); 1830	Littledean (S0674139); 1830

In the first book of minutes of the commissioners, there is enclosed a letter which reads:

"Persuant to your advertisement I take the liberty to propose to make you an instrument for 80 guineas capable of weighing any loaded carriage from 3 - 4 tons with a building to cover the whole machinery and a scale capable of enduring the office of the whole road (though a carriage of 5 or 6 tons should go over it) to be performed in a substantial and workmanlike manner and kept in repair for two guineas a year for ten years, or not, at your pleasure when the work is completed, am gentlemen

Your most obedient
humble servant
J^o Wyatt

Over August 16
1755

The commissioners agreed to let Wyatt put up the engine by October the 30th, and to keep it in repair for 4 years at only one guinea a year.

Stone used for the road, in the first twenty years or so of the trusts existence anyway, came from Corse Hill, Rudford, Highnam, Minsterworth and Woolridge Common.

Before the 1820's the route from Huntley to the Lea via Dursley was more southerly than it is today past Huntley Church (SO718194 via SO714192 to SO709195), hence the change in Huntley turnpike's position noted earlier. Another change of route is ~~that~~ around the 1820's the present route from Maisemore to Hartpury came into use to avoid the Woolridge Hill route, marked on the modern Ordnance Survey as between 1 in 7 and 1 in 5. In Hartpury a signpost still calls this route the Over old road.

Main References

Gloucester & Hereford Turnpike Trust Acts	D204/4 & D23/X9
First Book of G & H Minutes	D204/2/2
Quarter Sessions Minutes	QS/D1731, ff13,14
Gloucester Journals of 1731	Gloucester Library
Isaac Taylor's Map of Gloucestershire, 1777	
Bryant's Map of Gloucestershire, 1824	
Greenwood's Map of Gloucestershire, 1826	
First Edition 1" Ordnance Survey Map, 1830	
Atkinson's Map of the Forest of Dean, 1845	
6" Ordnance Survey Maps approx. 1880's	

J.F. Bayes

THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE POACHER

1734 - 1862

In 1755 Richard Burn, D.C.L. completed The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer, a comprehensive summary of eighteenth century law written for the guidance of those officials and so popular that it ran into many editions. The nineteenth edition, published in 1800, devotes more than a hundred pages to the Game Laws and it is significant that Dr Burn felt it necessary to justify these most unpopular laws.

He first expounded the maxim that as those wild creatures classified as game move from place to place, from one person's property to another's, they cannot belong to any particular landowner: therefore they must belong to the king and the king can grant the right to hunt and kill them to whomsoever he pleases. Burn then gave three reasons for the Game Laws: first, the preservation of the species; secondly, "the recreation and amusement of persons of quality"; thirdly, "to prevent persons of inferior rank from squandering that time which their station in life requireth to be more profitably spent." Law abiding people of all classes considered it no crime to break the Game Laws. A parson, Thomas Woodward of Kempley, in 1762 was fined £5 because he "did keep and use a certain Dog called a Greyhound to kill and destroy the Game." Most of the men involved in the notorious Berkeley poaching affray in 1816 were respectable young farmers and an attorney administered the illegal oath of secrecy they took before setting out. One of the poachers in the Lashborough affray in 1835 is described in the gaol register as "Gentleman." The records show that poaching was not confined to the poor labourer in search of meat for his pot: yeomen and artisans poached for sport and excitement, while, in addition, professional poachers took game to sell in the towns or sent it to London. Meanwhile the mass of the common people sympathised with the poacher and eulogised his exploits in folk-lore and song.

The most obvious reason for the unpopularity of the Game Laws is that they protected the interests of only a small privileged minority - the wealthy landowners - and it was they who, as members of both Houses of Parliament, made the laws and who, as magistrates, administered them. If the Reverend Charles Coxwell of Ablington was typical, parsons who were magistrates consulted the local landowners before sentencing a poacher.

From 1670 to 1831, the only people allowed to kill game, even on their own land, or even to have it in their possession or to keep guns, dogs or snares for taking it were persons who owned land or held it in their wife's right to the annual value

of £100 or more; holders of a lease on land of the annual value of £150 for life or a period of ninety-nine years or more; the son and heir apparent of an Esquire or person of higher degree; the owner of a forest, park, chase, or warren; the registered gamekeeper to a lord or lady of a manor.

Among the records studied for this survey were eighteen documents concerning poaching from the papers of Giles Gardner, J.P. dating from 1738 to 1754, and consisting of information laid and warrants issued to arrest or search the premises of suspected poachers or to levy fines by distress, and fifteen returns made by magistrates to the Clerk of the Peace notifying summary convictions for offences against the Game Laws between 1760 and 1781.

In these two series of documents 39 poachers are named and the occupations of 30 given. Only 10 of them could be classed as labourers; 5 were clothworkers, 10 artisans of various kinds, 3 were yeomen. One was a parson and one "called himself a gamekeeper" at Nonsuch, Wilts. Most of the poachers were after hares or rabbits, though 5 were accused of shooting pigeons. Pheasants are not mentioned in these documents and partridges only once. Of 25 poachers mentioned before 1755, eleven had guns and it is surprising to find three labourers possessing guns at this early date.

Drafts of returns made by the Clerk of the Peace to the Home Secretary between 1817 and 1862 of the number of convictions for offences against the Game Laws show that the Cotswolds were the principal centre of poaching, almost all the poachers before 1843 being sent to the Houses of Correction at Northleach or Horsley. By 1843, however, either poaching had increased in the Forest of Dean or - and possibly more likely - the Forest poachers were being caught. The poaching of deer had gone on from time immemorial in the Forest but is not reviewed in this article as the crime and the laws relating to it are very different. By 1817 the poaching of pheasants had become common, though hares or rabbits were still the poachers' usual prey. Poachers were most active in winter about two-thirds of all offences being committed from October to March, though poachers were also quite busy in June.

The table at the end of this article shows the number of convictions for offences against the Game Laws given in the returns made by the Clerk of the Peace. There is no record of any returns from 1830 to 1843, the period when poaching appears to have been most prevalent in Gloucestershire. To fill this gap partially the Calendars of Prisoners in the Penitentiary and Houses of Correction have been searched for the years 1832 and 1835. The returns made by the Clerk of the Peace are not entirely

trustworthy and may well be an understatement, for until 1848 Justices were not compelled to notify him of summary convictions.

Nationwide, towards the end of the eighteenth century and in the first four decades of the nineteenth there was a great increase not only in the number of poaching offences but in the violence with which they were associated, and the increased severity of the Game Laws was no deterrent to either. There were reasons for this. Enclosures of land and the growing affluence of landowners encouraged them to preserve such game as pheasants in increasingly large numbers. The Industrial Revolution resulted in a great increase in the number of wealthy industrialists and merchants who, not owning land, were unable to obtain game legally but could afford to pay handsomely for any procured by illegal methods. Improved roads and coach services enabled poached game to be more easily conveyed to London and other cities. It is significant that the Northleach area on the coach route to London was the principal centre of poaching in Gloucestershire. The economic depression after the Napoleonic Wars brought unemployment or near-starvation wages to the labouring classes both industrial and agricultural, and the growing opportunity to alleviate their distress by poaching proved too great a temptation for many. Poachers were operating in gangs and were often armed with guns or bludgeons.

In his charge to the Grand Jury at Gloucestershire Lent Assizes, 1835, Mr. Justice Coleridge called poaching "the characteristic crime of this as of other counties, though I am gratified to perceive the crime is not so bad in this as in other counties to which my attention has been called." He added, "I do not presume to question the policy of the Game Laws, but I wish to observe that there is a great temptation held out by those gentlemen preserving a large quantity of game, as well as by those ready to purchase it for their tables - a temptation so strong to labouring men, you can hardly expect that the law will not be violated."

About 1786 the magistrates in Gloucestershire and elsewhere embarked on a policy of closing down some of the many alehouses, suppressing village feasts and revels and generally discouraging the rude sports and pastimes of the poorer class. The government encouraged this policy by the publication in 1787 of His Majesty's Proclamation for the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue, and for Preventing and Punishing of Vice, Profaneness and Immorality. Though these sports and revels were often disorderly and generally associated with drunkenness and licentiousness, they provided an outlet for high spirits and their suppression may have encouraged the more adventurous to turn to poaching as an alternative outlet.

Landowners countered the increasing depredations of poachers by employing large numbers of under-keepers and using man-traps and spring-guns. To what extent these were used in Gloucestershire it is impossible to say. Man-traps were probably in common use. Powell Snell was "reluctantly" using them to protect the deer at Guiting Grange in 1795, and the Rev. W.G. Maxwell was using them in Harbour Wood, Twynning, in 1834 when James Print and Samuel Fowler were sentenced to three months imprisonment for stealing one. Spring-guns were used by Lord Ducie and probably by Colonel Berkeley about 1815. They were declared illegal in 1827.

On November 28th, 1815, Thomas Till was killed by a spring-gun on Lord Ducie's estate. His death was deeply resented by many young men of the district. Led by John Allen, a young man of Moreton, very popular because of his great strength and prowess as an athlete, they planned a protest raid on the game preserves of the district on the night of 18th January, 1816, the day of National Thanksgiving for the end of the Napoleonic Wars. More than twenty, mostly respectable farmers, met at Allen's house and swore an oath of secrecy administered by William Broadribb, a local attorney. With blackened faces and chalked hats they set off, the farmers carrying guns, the labourers sticks. At Catgrove, on the Berkeley estate, they met about ten keepers armed only with sticks and a fight began. The exact truth of what happened will never be known, but shots were fired - the first probably by accident - and gamekeeper William Ingram was killed and six of his companions injured. When the poachers made off one was heard to say "Now Tom Till's debt is paid."

Colonel Berkeley organised a force of constables and retainers who, assisted by Mr. Vickery of Bow Street, with considerable violence and illegality rounded up twelve of the poachers; others fled the country. Allen was arrested at his home by Colonel Berkeley who, armed with a heavy cudgel, struck him twice to the ground. When William Greenaway, Allen's servant, remonstrated, Colonel Berkeley felled him too. Greenaway, terrified and offered rewards by Colonel Berkeley, turned King's Evidence and was chief witness at Gloucester Assizes when eleven of the poachers were sentenced to death for the murder of William Ingram. Allen and John Penny - who, according to Greenaway, had fired the fatal shot - were hanged, the other nine were transported for life. William Broadribb, the attorney, was transported for seven years for administering an illegal oath. At his trial he said that Greenaway had given false evidence and had confessed to him that he had fired the shot that killed the keeper.

One of the earliest and most tragic poaching affrays occurred

at Sherborne in 1798. On the night of 2nd October, John Ayliffe, a notorious poacher from Northleach set out with two companions for Sherborne Park. There they were discovered by William Jewell and two more under-keepers. The poachers were unarmed but Jewell and his companions carried clubs and, furthermore, had been drinking. They saw the poachers near the park wall, one in the road, two in a field of stubble. They first attacked the man in the road, breaking one of his legs and the kneecap on the other. The other two poachers came to assist their companion; one suffered a broken arm and fractured ribs, the other a broken thigh. Inflamed by rage and drink, the keepers then beat all three poachers as they lay on the ground, killing two and leaving the other with little hope of recovery. Two of the keepers fled the country. Jewell was arrested on a charge of murder, found guilty at Gloucester Assizes and hanged on March 18th, 1799.

The most interesting affray was at Turkdean in 1827 for at the subsequent trial the evidence showed the character of the poachers, their methods of work, and the reluctance of juries to record a verdict of Guilty when poachers engaged in a fatal encounter were charged with murder. The words from 'The Lincolnshire Poacher' spring inevitably to mind: "For we can whistle and fight my boys, and jump up anywhere."

On the night of 26th November, 1827, Jacob and Job Perry set off to poach with Richard Whithorne and William Smith of Hawling. They had a terrier with them and carried three nets and nine short poles, rather thicker than a man's thumb. These were for setting up the nets but could be used in a fight. Those that Whithorne carried had been specially fitted with an iron socket and spike. They had already taken four hares when they reached a wheatfield on the slope of a hill at Turkdean. At the foot of the hill was a covert to which Jacob Perry and Smith took the dog, hoping to start some hares which would run up the hill to where Job Perry and Whithorne were setting the nets. The keepers were out that night: Robert Cook of Hazleton, head-keeper to Harry Waller, Esq., with Edmund Strong of Turkdean, Robert Rounce who lodged at Northleach, and George and Stephen Curtis, were crouching under the wall by the covert. As Jacob Perry and Smith came through the covert to the wall of the wheatfield they spotted the keepers and ran back, the keepers in pursuit. Cook caught one who surrendered quietly and stood still; the other offered more resistance but eventually surrendered too. The evidence at the trial was, naturally, conflicting but it appears that Perry was roughly handled and called out that his arm was being broken. One of the keepers told the man ill-treating Perry to desist as he had surrendered. Perry hallooed for help and the keeper told him he would "cut his bloody brains out" if

he shouted again. Evidence, denied by the keepers, suggested that they were eager for a fight and shouted to the poachers, "Tell the rest of them to come on." The poachers on the top of the hill heard the hallooes. Job Perry stayed where he was with the hares, but Whithorne, armed with one of his lethal poles, ran to assist his mates. Fighting broke out and the poachers won; the five keepers were all badly beaten up and left lying on the ground as the poachers left for home, Whithorne boasting, "We have let them know we are damned good boys." Early next morning Whithorne and Jacob Perry took the hares into Cheltenham to sell - possibly to a tailor named Gibberson. On their way back they called at The King's Arms in Prestbury where the ostler heard them speaking of game and Perry thumped his fist on the table and said "he shouldn't be satisfied till he had had another good fight."

Meanwhile the keepers made their way to Hazleton. Strong appeared to be the most badly injured and had to be supported by two others. Rounce made his way alone. Their wounds were attended to by a surgeon at about one in the morning. Rounce, despite three severe wounds in the head, walked back to his lodgings in Northleach. The surgeon saw him next day but Rounce was very irritable and would not submit to proper examination. His condition deteriorated and he died on 16th December, twenty days after the affray. The four poachers were arrested on a charge of murder and appear to have been genuinely sorry about Rounce's death. Jacob Perry immediately confessed to his part in the affair though warned not to do so. Job Perry turned King's Evidence. For the defence it was stated that the keepers had not apprised the poachers of their authority and had exceeded the proper bounds of it by ill-treating the poachers whom they arrested, and that inefficient medical attention had been a contributory cause of Rounce's death. The trial took eleven hours and the jury took two hours to reach a verdict. The prosecutor for the crown had warned them that "with the Game Laws, however unpopular, they had nothing to do." Nevertheless they returned a verdict of Not Guilty for all three poachers. The verdict was received with great surprise by everyone, including the accused who, said the Judge, had had "a most extraordinary escape."

The jury showed similar reluctance at the trial of Benjamin Robbins for the murder of William Creed, assistant gamekeeper at Kingscote and Newington Bagpath on the night of 25th February, 1831. Creed and his brother Thomas attempted to arrest Robbins and another poacher at Barne Hill Covert. Thomas was struck so heavily with the butt of a gun that the stock broke and he was struck again several times as he lay on the ground. When he rose he found his brother lying insensible. He got him to his

feet and though he collapsed twice made him walk seventy to a hundred yards. He then dragged him for another twenty before going for help. A horse was obtained and William Creed was taken to a house where, several hours later, he was attended by a surgeon. A week later a physician was called in and Creed was trepanned but he died on 16th March. A charge of Wilful Murder was made against Robbins and an unknown person. At the Assizes the jury returned a verdict of Manslaughter but as it was not a unanimous decision they were sent back for further deliberations after which a verdict of Not Guilty was recorded. Robbins was then tried for being on enclosed ground in the night, armed with a gun, and having violently assaulted Thomas Creed while in the lawful discharge of his duty. He was found guilty and sentenced to transportation for seven years.

One of the last affrays took place at Lasborough on 6th February, 1835. That morning William Evans, gamekeeper to the Hon. A. Moreton, received information that poachers were in Boldown Wood. He went to investigate and was joined by six others when he heard gunfire in Gorse Cover (Goss Covert?), a preserve for pheasants. His party were unarmed except one carrying a stick. In the road by the covert they saw several men. Evans approached and seized one of them who struggled with him. A shout was given and more poachers emerged from the covert, at least six of them carrying guns. The keeper's party, outnumbered by twenty-two to seven, deserted Evans who was knocked to the ground several times by sticks and stones and eventually rendered unconscious and badly wounded in the temple by the muzzle of a gun jabbed at him by one of the poachers, who, by strange coincidence bore the same name - William Evans. The poachers then made off leaving the keeper lying in a pool of blood.

Sixteen of the poachers were rounded up and stood trial at the next Assizes: William Evans the poacher for maliciously wounding William Evans the gamekeeper, the others for maliciously aiding and abetting him. Evans, a wood-sawyer, and ten others came from Sherston, Wiltshire, six miles south of Lasborough, and one came from Luckington, near Sherston. They included a gardener, a blacksmith, eight labourers and one described as a plumber and recruit from the 95th Regiment. Also in the party were James Cole of Rodborough and George Bowyer, labourer, of Iron Acton. They were a tough crowd; four of them had been in gaol before, two for trespass, two for assault. The behaviour of five of them when in gaol awaiting trial was described as "Bad", and of six others as "Indifferent". With them were Samuel Monks, aged twenty-two, a grocer of Stapleton, and Charles Milsome, aged twenty-four, described as "Gentleman" of Stapleton. Their behaviour in gaol was "Orderly". All but one of the prisoners were found guilty and sentenced to death but reprieved. William Evans and James

Cole were transported for life. Four - Michael Morris, James Neale, Henry Gomm and Richard Bishop - were transported for fourteen years, and five - Nathaniel and Abraham Evans, James Rice, James Isles, and William Berry - for seven years. The other four were imprisoned for a year.

There was an exceptionally long calendar at that Assizes and, of 167 accused for trial, 31 were charged with offences either against or connected with the Game Laws. James Joy, Samuel Tocknell and Edward Jordan were severally convicted for poaching at Withington, Bisley and Berkeley respectively, and transported for seven years. Five poachers were sentenced to a year's imprisonment, one to nine months, two to six months.

It was in the period 1790 to 1840 that the war between preservers and poachers of game was at its height. In Gloucestershire the war was probably not as widespread as in some other counties of southern England. Nevertheless it had its casualties. Ten lives were lost - three on the gallows and seven killed in action. The number of wounded will never be known and it has not been possible in this session to count all the prisoners of war, but at least twenty-nine were transported and a few more poachers fled the country; the number gaoled must run well into four figures.

<u>Return</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Summarily Convicted</u>	<u>Indicted</u>	<u>Total</u>
Gaol	1807	Confined in Houses of Correction for offences against Game Laws. Does not include those who paid fines.		
Calendars	1808			23
"	1809			
"	1810			
Q/CR 10/2	1814	20	-	20
"	1815	17	-	17
"	1816	23	-	23 *
"	1817	4	13	17
"	1818	8	2	10
"	1819	10	5	15
Q/CR 10/3	1820	15	4	19
"	1821	24	3	27
"	1822	29	-	29
"	1823	27	8	35
"	1824	11	2	13
"	1825	17	3	20
"	1826	20	2	22
Q/CR 10/4	1827	22	-	22
"	1828	29	6	35
"	1829	28	4	32
"	1830	30	-	30 **
Gaol	1832	-	-	46
Calendars				
"	1835	Includes 15 persons convicted of assaults arising from Game Laws, 11 of whom were transported.		89
Q/CR 10/5	1843			77
Q/CR 10/9	1857			49
"	1858			42
"	1859			45
"	1860			43
"	1861			44
"	1862			63

* Q/CR 10/1 states that the number of people confined in the Houses of Correction from 17/5/1816 to 12/3/1817 was 37.

** Gaol Calendars show that 7 persons were confined in the Penitentiary and 59 in the Houses of Correction in 1830 for offences under the Game Laws - a total of 66.

Sources:

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J. Wyatt

FARMING IN OXENHALL

1775 - 1912

Much is said in farming circles of the radical changes which are taking place in the industry these days. During the last two centuries there has been a gradual evolution of the farming scene as we know it which must have seemed as revolutionary to the farmers of those days as modern trends do to the farmers of today.

The parish of Oxenhall is in north-west Gloucestershire. It is a typical parish of those in the area, situated just to the north of Newent about 10 miles from Gloucester. Its homesteads are scattered all over the parish, there being no nucleated settlement, even the church standing isolated. In this part of Gloucestershire the enclosure of the open fields took place quite early, but a few strips remained in 1775 and tracts of woodland still covered about a quarter of the area of the parish, which the landowner largely kept for his own use. It is a parish of 1,887 acres which had a small coalfield, and a 17th century iron works at 'The Furnace'. Agriculture was, and still is, the most important occupation in the parish.

The owners of the estate in the late eighteenth century were the Foleys of Stoke Edith in Herefordshire. In 1775 they ordered a survey of their estates to be taken. The land in Oxenhall was a relatively small part of their extensive holdings but they owned all the land in the parish except for two farms. The first, Oxenhall Court, belonged to an absentee landlord, Maynard Colchester of Westbury on Severn, and the second, Marshall's Farm, belonged to Mr. George Clarke. Together with this Survey the tithe apportionment map of 1842 and sale particulars of 1912 (when the whole estate, then in possession of the Foleys' descendants, the Onslows, was sold) were examined.

These three documents, covering almost a century and a half provided evidence which could be easily plotted and subsequently compared, particularly the three major aspects of these three various surveys, land utilisation, the size of fields and the extent of the farms.

The survey of 1755 however was inadequate in the first respect. There was no evidence of land usage save for the sometimes useful field names. But names such as Bare Gains, The Harps, Bannut Tree Field, Little Soeshill, The Dean, Great Hectorn, Moat Field, Sawpit Field and Mine Pit, whilst being very interesting, do not provide much scope for the deduction of their probable usage. From the scanty evidence available there appeared a picture of a parish with a large number of orchards and the rest divided almost

equally between arable fields and pasture.

The orchards were not situated in any particular area although the majority of them were in the north east. The larger ones were situated away from the farmhouses but every farmer had at least one area laid to orchard to supply himself with cider. Wherever these orchards were in the parish they were invariably on south-east facing slopes, the ideal position according to William Marshall in his Rural Economy of Gloucestershire.

The orchards were of value both as fruit growing areas and as pasture, although, no doubt the latter was detrimental to the former. This duality could explain the large number of orchards and the decreased number of pasture fields in 1842. Moreover there is no doubt that orchards were a profitable venture. For if there was any surplus to the requirements of the household the fruit, or the finished product found a ready market. The smallholders and labourers of this area found this fruit to be a very profitable sideline without there being too much work involved. But there was a great seasonal variation in the price that the cider would fetch. In 1784, for example, a 110 gallon hogshead of cider fetched fourteen shillings. Two years later in a very bad season the same hogshead would fetch five guineas.

This seasonal fluctuation in price may in part account for the prominence of orchards in 1842 when there were 38 orchards which covered a much greater acreage than the 27 orchards that existed in 1775, or in 1912 when there were 19. By the twentieth century the apple had lost its position of economic prominence in this area because these orchards are to be found only on small parcels of land adjacent to the labourers' cottages. From the large number of 'Pear Tree Meadows' in the parish it would suggest that perry was also produced quite widely at one time.

Apart from these orchards and the extensive woods which were largely kept in hand by the owner or his largest tenants there are a large number of arable fields which diminish in number as time passes particularly in the late nineteenth century. This it would appear is in line with national trends. Another trend which is also to be found on a national level is the definite movement in increasing the size of the fields. On average six 1775 fields made one 1912 field and yet there were more fields in 1842 on the Foley estate (349) than either in 1775 when there were 321 or 210 in the whole parish in 1912. Although these fields grew in size the number of fields remained fairly constant for each of the surviving farms. Thus the farmer could still grow the same combination of crops and provide the same number of meadows for his animals. New fields extended to the natural boundaries, or encroached a little further into the common and woodland. In

the northern area in particular the woodland was encroached upon by the smallholders of Shaw Common. But all these expansions and extensions of land came about in a very rational manner and the parcels of land that existed in 1912 must have been as economically sized as they could be for that period.

By 1912 even the encroachments on Shaw Common had been amalgamated into the larger farms. This process of enlargement would seem to be an almost constant feature of the countryside as we can still see it happening today. This trend towards larger units was fostered by the landowners. This beneficial and enlightened policy is also to be seen in the farmhouses on the estate. Many of them, such as Hilter Farm, Pella, Greenways and Winters Farm were rebuilt in the early nineteenth century. This had its obvious advantages for both owners and tenants who also both benefit from the trend to expand the farms. The farms in this parish are invariably found in the centre of their land. This has obvious advantages for the farmer but is surprisingly little seen. It is one of the most marked changes to be seen in Oxenhall over this century and a half. The fields and land of the various farms have changed hands so that instead of the land being widely distributed over the parish, blocks of land appear circling the homesteads. This is a rational and extremely beneficial trend for all concerned.

The coming of the canal and railway obviously made a few changes to the agricultural scene, but as the trains did not stop here the effect is restricted to the definite boundary that it provides. The farmers on either side of the line sensibly exchanged their lands to make their farms into blocks.

The farms of Oxenhall were large even by today's standards. Of the twenty three farms in 1775, three of them were over one hundred acres, Winter's Farm, Hilter's Farm and Pella. In 1842 the number of farms had been reduced to sixteen and most of them had reached one hundred acres, and the holdings of the largest land holder, William Cummings, amounted to two hundred and fifteen acres. In 1912 the number of farms was twelve all about the same size. It is rather interesting that George Goulding was a tenant or co-tenant of three of these farms and Robert Savidge of two. So that the number of farms under separate management was nine.

This gradual combination of farms is the most marked feature of this area in the century and a half between 1775 and 1912. Not only do farms amalgamate to form larger units but farms are exchanged or altered to bring them into the confines of a more definite area. This trend is quite pronounced and reflects the economic and social trends of the country at large.

J. Pearson

THE COCK ROAD GANG

Bitton lies about six miles to the east of Bristol, close to the River Avon which forms the Gloucestershire-Somerset border. In the eighteenth century it was a large parish covering an area of approximately eleven square miles. In 1801 it had a total population of 4,992 which rose to 7,171 in 1821. Within this parish were Bitton Hamlet, Hanham, Oldland, and what in 1821 became the parish of Kingswood. It was bounded by St. George's parish on the west and Warmley on the east. Its southern boundary stretched from the outskirts of Bristol to the Somerset border and its northern boundary was Kingswood Forest. Coalmining was its main industry. Large tracts of unenclosed land encouraged squatters and others to settle there. On rising ground between Warmley and Bitton lay Cock Road, a centre of criminal activity. From its highest point highwaymen and other miscreants are said to have watched their victims approach.

Many of the inhabitants of Bitton indulged in crime, petty and otherwise, but one family - Caines - became particularly notorious, possibly because they were identifiable as a family. Of the six sons of Benjamin and Ann Caines, two were hanged and the rest transported. Their two daughters each cohabited with three men, all of whom were transported - one of them twice. At least three of their grandsons were transported and one hanged.

Other names occur constantly in the gaol calendars: Brain(e), Britton, Bryant, Fry, I(s)les, Ward, Webb, and Wilmot. It has not been possible to establish what relationship - if any - they bore to one another, but it is certain that, between 1770 and 1797, marriages took place between members of families bearing these names. For instance: Abraham Fry and Lydia Caines (mother of Benjamin Caines mentioned above); Giles Wilmot and Betty Britton; William Webb and Dinah Brain; Morris Britton and Sarah Bryant; Moses Iles and Dorothy Britton; William Bryant and Hester Ward; Sampson Bryant and Susannah Fry; Richard Britton and Nancy Bryant; Thomas Britton and Mary Wilmot.

Bitton's criminals did not appear to operate as a tightly-knit gang but as small loosely-connected groups. Collectively they became known as the Cockroad Gang and, as such, terrorised the neighbourhood and extorted protection money which was collected annually at Lansdown Fair. Their activities were not confined to Bitton as the following account will show. Although there were many criminals in the neighbouring parishes of St. Philip & St. Jacob, and St. George, who quite frequently were concerned in crimes in and about Bitton, they are included only when they were directly connected with others from Bitton.

The year 1781 is, as yet, as far as one can go back with

certainty. In that year John Read and John Ward, condemned to death for housebreaking, were executed at Gloucester on 30th March, and buried at Bitton on 1st April. They were colliers and were described as "part of a desperate gang that has long infested the country."

On 1st September, 1783 James Bryant was executed for sheep-stealing. Four weeks later, Benjamin Webb and George Ward were committed to gaol at Tewkesbury charged with stealing and killing two lambs belonging to Mr. Isaac Lewis of Bitton, who offered a reward of £20 for their apprehension. When caught they were found to be in possession of two stolen horses. Towards the end of October they were removed to Gloucester to stand trial. Late the following January the Keeper of the Gaol found them about to discard their leg-irons which they had almost sawn through. Various lock-picking implements were taken from them and they were again secured by the application of several fetters known as "The Widow's Arms." In March they were hanged and on 28th of that month buried at Bitton. Joseph Fry and Samuel Ward, executed in April 1786, brought up to ten the number of criminals from Bitton hanged within a period of three years. Not all were executed at Gloucester. In that same month George Fry was condemned for burglary but later reprieved.

In April, 1795 two bailiff's men making a seizure for rent at a house in Kingswood were surrounded by angry colliers who put them down a nearby pit. They were kept there some hours, then pulled up and regaled with gingerbread and gin before being immured once more. When released after twenty-four hours incarceration the colliers demanded six shillings for their "lodgings" and made them take an oath not to trouble them again. That same year the Chamberlain of the city of Bristol offered fifty guineas reward for the apprehension of rioters from Kingswood who in attempting to stop the supply of coals and other provisions to Bristol committed highway robberies. Edward Peacock (alias Peake), Richard Hobbs, Henry Lewis, Jacob Porter, Moses Isles, William Fry, and George Thompson were among those involved.

At Monmouth Assizes in March 1799, George Caines and Francis Britton were sentenced to one year's imprisonment for uttering counterfeit coin. When arrested at Pontypool they were in possession of a number of forged guineas and were well-mounted on stolen horses. They were said to belong to a gang of swindlers who had for a long time frequented country fairs under pretence of horse-dealing, and also as hawkers and pedlars.

On Friday, 10th May 1799, Abraham Isles (alias Scramhanded Jemmy, alias Twink) and Abraham Scull, both of Bitton, and Robert Webb of Chippenham, Wiltshire, stole three horses at Pensford in Somerset. On reaching the Turnpike house at Chelwood, Isles

asked the tollkeeper for change for a shilling, thereby causing her to go indoors to a bureau. Webb and Scull swiftly followed and at pistol point robbed her of £5. Meanwhile Isles sat quietly on his horse at the tollgate and the tollkeeper, not realising his complicity, ran out and asked for his assistance. He assured her that he would try and catch them and rode off in apparent pursuit. Later that day, all three broke into the Inn at Paulton and stole £15 worth of goods. Not content, they broke into other premises and stole another horse and a saddle. The following morning Abraham Isles was arrested at Bitton, while still in bed, and taken to the Bridewell at Shepton Mallet. Some of the stolen goods were found under his pillow and one of the horses was found in his pantry. Although in the house when Isles was apprehended, Scull managed to escape. Webb was seen some days later at Monmouth Fair, but whether they were caught or not is not known.

Shortly before one o'clock on Friday, 25th April, 1800 Richard Haynes aged thirty-four was hanged at Bristol. As was frequently the custom, an account of his life was printed and offered for sale at a penny per copy. One pamphlet survives and from it the following details are drawn. Richard Haynes, known as Dick Boy, was born at Oldland Green, the son of a collier with whom in his early years he worked in the pit. At thirteen he was apprenticed to a hatter but after a time, during a quarrel, he assaulted his master and absconded. Although an accomplished thief from the age of seven - one of his early exploits was stealing food from an oven by making a hole from the outside and then carefully refilling it - it was not until he was adult that he was first committed to prison. However, "through the interest of many friends" he was acquitted of the charge of stealing provisions and clothing from a house at Beach, near Lansdown. In partnership with a childhood friend named Carey he committed many other robberies. On one occasion they were both committed to Gloucester gaol but again their friends bribed the victim not to proceed with the charge. A Mr. Crach, robbed near Downend, tried to resist but Dick Boy threatened him with a pistol and when this misfired hit him with the butt end. Mr. Crach was found dead the next day. Haynes and Carey roamed the country, apparently undetected, until they were apprehended for a highway robbery and tried at Taunton. Carey was hanged and Haynes, who was once more acquitted, removed his friend's body from its grave and carried it to Oldland to bury it there. Learning that Carey had confessed to the murder of Mr. Crach, Dick Boy declared that had he known earlier he would have thrown the body into the river!

Always managing to avoid arrest he continued his depredations until caught robbing a man on Westminster Bridge, for which he

was sent to Botany Bay. Three or four years later he escaped in a fishing boat having thrown its other occupant overboard, and after various adventures returned to Oldland with a young wife, supposedly daughter of a German nobleman, but actually a native of Westerleigh. She later committed a robbery in London and was hanged. While in London, Dick Boy - strong and powerfully built - became a boxer, indulging in theft whenever the opportunity presented itself. Finally, he was arrested in Bristol for shooting at a police officer who apprehended him on suspicion of stealing a silver tankard. This time there was no escape. He was condemned to death. The Ordinary of Newgate who visited him in his last hours said "he always found Richard Haynes to be mild, gentle, and easy to be led, once convinced of the truth of any argument." Before receiving the Sacrament, Haynes declared that he bore no ill-feeling against anyone. At about midday he began his last journey - to the gallows on St. Michael's Hill. One is inclined to doubt the accuracy of some of the foregoing but, nevertheless, the basic points are true.

At Bath, in July 1804, four men were taken into custody charged with stealing more than £400 worth of super-fine cloth from premises at Freshford. Among them was Francis Gaines - George's brother - an oyster and cider seller aged twenty-three. Two accomplices, Thomas Batt and Charles Fuller (alias The Squire) escaped. The robbery was carried out in style. Having supped in Bath at about ten in the evening they made their way to Bathwick where at eleven o'clock they broke open a stable and stole a horse and cart. At midnight they reached Freshford, loaded the cloth on to the cart and returned to Bath where, at about half-past two, they parted having stored their booty in a coach-house behind Pulteney Street, hired for that purpose by The Squire under an assumed name. Francis Gaines, having confessed his part in the affair, was hanged at Ilchester two months later.

On December 17th, 1808 seventeen years old George Groves was committed to Lawford's Gate House of Correction for stealing a quantity of leather breeches and other articles from William Snellgrove of Keynsham. Some of the goods were found in his possession and the rest in his home at Bitton. It is not known what sentence he received but in June, 1809 he was arrested at Chepstow Wool Fair where he had combined gingerbread selling with a little pocket-picking. Six years later, described as the leader of a notorious gang, he was again in custody but was not convicted. No more is known until August, 1820 when he was apprehended at Lansdown Fair but rescued by some of his "fellow freebooters." The Gloucester Journal reported on 4th September, 1820: "Bristol Fair commenced on Friday - The light-fingered corps have a strong detachment in the fair. CAPTAIN GROVES is absent on the SICK LIST -

we wish we could add that he is SICK OF HIS TRADE." Finally, in January, 1822, he was tried at Derby Sessions for picking pockets and was sentenced to seven years' transportation.

Sampson Fry - half brother of Benjamin Caines - and Samuel Cooke were gaoled for one month for an assault in January, 1809. It is said that Sampson Fry was eventually transported. In May the same year, William Bryant, aged nineteen, and his brother Samuel were accused of breaking into William Batman's house at Bitton and stealing linen, silver buckles and other articles.

The Kingswood Association for the suppression of a society of thieves was formed in 1811. Its aim was to give proof that, although many of the criminals in the area were known, few dared give evidence against them without risking life and property. Whether it was the result of this Association's efforts or increased vigilance on the part of the constables, is difficult to say - possibly there were other factors - but certainly from then on the number of offenders committed to prison from that area increased. New names appeared but almost always in company with some of the old familiar ones.

In 1812, Samuel Bryant then aged twenty and Samuel Britton aged seventeen, were sentenced to two years imprisonment and fined one shilling each for stealing wheat at Mangotsfield. Joseph Bryant, aged forty, was sentenced to two years imprisonment for attempted house-breaking. Dennis Bryant, aged twenty-three, was committed to prison for setting fire to a hayrick. Two years later he was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation for stealing a bed from the house of Stephen Britton. Robert Cribb, aged twenty, originally committed for breaking into a butcher's "killing shop" and stealing carcasses with Thomas Cribb, aged twenty-four, was also sentenced to transportation for fourteen years for horse-stealing.

Buring 1813 there was a steady procession of Bitton criminals to and from the County gaol. James Hathway, who committed a number of highway robberies near Bath was apprehended at Warmlay "in the vicinity of Cockroad." William Powe, Henry Willis, Ambrose Willis, Samuel Brain, John Fry, Hannah Jones, Sarah Lacey and Hester Britton were charged with wounding Charles Bull and Moses Batt, constables of Bitton, and attempting to rescue William Lacey from them after apprehension for a felony, namely - stealing bread from Mary Townsend's house at Oldland. No Bill was found against William Lacey or any of the men, but the three women were imprisoned for six weeks.

Among the many inmates of the gaol at this time were Timothy Bush, Thomas Wilmot and Joseph Willis, who were condemned for

horse-stealing but later reprieved and transported for life. At least ten others from Bitton were committed to prison that year but not convicted. A meeting to establish a Bible Association, in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society, was held in Kingswood on January 31st, 1814. The Gloucester Journal commented: "Such an institution was peculiarly wanted in a district which notwithstanding the various efforts made to improve it, still remains so uncivilized....." At the Lent Assizes that year, Ann Powell, aged twenty-five, was condemned but later reprieved for stealing from the house of E. Frankcomb at Bitton, and her husband Joseph was sentenced to seven years' transportation for receiving the stolen goods.

After a seeming lull the Gloucester Journal reported: 10th October, 1814. - "COCK ROAD GANG OF MARAUDERS -

Information having been given to the Magistrates that a gang of desperadoes infested the above neighbourhood, to such a degree that no inhabitant felt safe in his bed and no traveller could, without danger, pass the Kingswood road, on Sunday evening last a strong party of police officers from Bristol were despatched in order to take them into custody. The gang had, however, been apprized of their approach, and a desperate conflict ensued..." The police officers retreated with their wounded but returned in greater force, well armed, early next day. Seven men and two women were taken into custody and committed to Lawford's Gate Bridewell. Others were later apprehended including Thomas Caines, aged thirty, and his brother George, aged thirty-seven. "George - previously convicted in 1799 at Pontypool - was captured at Torbay. All were committed to await trial at the next Assizes. Elizabeth Caines (alias Bush) - sister of George and Thomas - was committed to Ilchester gaol to stand trial for stealing six pigs from a butcher in Bath. The pigs had been found locked up in her parlour six months previously and a warrant was issued against her 'but could not be executed with safety, from the strength of the gang."

In January, 1815, Moses Owen and James Cribb, two more of "the gang that committed such depredations in the neighbourhood of Bristol last summer [who] belong to that sink of iniquity COCKROAD" were apprehended at Liverpool, "through the spirited exertions of Mr. Palmer of Keynsham." Mr. Palmer was one of almost a dozen people who had had horses stolen, whose value was put at over £700. Moses Owen was executed at Lancaster on April 22nd and James Cribb sentenced to transportation for life.

At the Lent Assizes 1815, George Caines was accused of shooting at Benjamin Curtis and beating him with the butt end of the gun with intent to kill, while attempting to rescue from

the Constables a prisoner named Isaac Cox (alias Lewis) apprehended for stealing a horse and four pigs. He was condemned to death but reprieved and transported for life.

Thomas Caines, aged twenty, Henry Willis, and Sampson Fry, aged nineteen, also concerned in the attempted rescue of Isaac Cox, were each sentenced to two years' imprisonment for violently assaulting Constables Moses Batt and Charles Bull in the execution of their duty. Thomas Caines, aged thirty, James Hodges, Samuel Leonard, Hannah Pratt, Ann Smith (alias Friday) and Hannah Powell (alias Cribb) were also charged with assaulting Moses Batt and Charles Bull while attempting to rescue Isaac Cribb from them. Thomas Caines received two years' and James Hodges one years' imprisonment. The rest were acquitted. Benjamin Caines Jr. and John White did not appear to answer to a similar charge but were acquitted at the next Assizes. Isaac Cribb, a fish carrier, was sentenced to seven years' transportation at Somerset Assizes but got no further than the Hulks at Portsmouth. Whether he escaped or was released is not certain although escape is most likely. At the Lent Assizes in Gloucester 1819, at the age of thirty, he was again sentenced to seven years' transportation - for stealing four sacks of potatoes from Thomas Needs, a horse-dealer of Bitton.

In all, no less than twenty-five criminals from Bitton were in Gloucester gaol in 1815. Throughout 1816 and 1817 the pattern was much the same. George Britton and William Baker were condemned for highway robbery. Both were reprieved and George sailed for Botany Bay ten months later. William probably languished in the Hulks. Samuel Brain (alias Black) served twelve months imprisonment for stealing poultry, but his accomplice, Francis Britton, was discharged by proclamation. Thomas Alberry (alias Maggs) was acquitted of stealing his stepfather's life savings. James Baker, Joseph Parker (alias Evans), Joseph Bryant and Isaac Ballard were charged with breaking into Thomas Pratten's house. Henry and Ambrose Willis were charged with attempting to rescue Thomas Pratten from Constable Charles Bull. (One detects here a little dissension among thieves). Giles Wilmot, George Wilmot, Thomas Sweet, Edward Peacock, and Richard and Henry Moreton were charged with housebreaking. Benjamin Cribb was accused of stealing hay.

John and Joseph Ettle were acquitted of stealing two ducks. Henry Phipps received seven years' transportation for stealing clothing from a dwellinghouse and Sampson Cooke was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years for stealing a hay knife valued at two shillings. Thirty-one years-old Thomas Caines, "Captain of the Cockroad Gang" was caught by a Private in the Bitton Cavalry in the act of taking away several sacks of wheat just stolen from an Inn at Cold Ashton. He had not long been released after serving the two-year sentence imposed in 1815. The gallant Private

received promotion: Caines was sent to Botany Bay for seven years.

In August 1817, Benjamin Caines Jr. aged twenty-three (youngest son of Benjamin and Ann) stood trial for burgling, with others, the dwellinghouse of Sarah Prigg at Bitton. Sarah Prigg, an elderly woman, said that on February 1st she had retired to bed leaving her nephew, James Evans, to follow. Some time later she was awakened by three masked men entering her room. Crying "Murder!" she jumped out of bed but was knocked down by one of the intruders who demanded her money. She declared that she had none but uttering "dreadful imprecations" they seized her pockets which were lying at the foot of the bed, emptied them, and left. After waiting about half an hour she went downstairs to find that the house had been rifled.

Her nephew said that he went to bed shortly after his aunt. Disturbed by a noise, he got up but before he reached the stairhead he was confronted by three men - one brandishing a sword and another a pistol - who threatened to kill him if he "wagged". Although pushed onto his bed and covered with a quilt he managed, by lifting one corner, to recognize in the moonlight one of the intruders who stood at the window and removed his mask. Henry Wilmot claimed that he kept watch while the burglary was carried out and was to have met the others later to receive his share, but was apprehended before he could do so. James Bryant, "a fellow of most forbidding aspect" testified "in most unblushing manner" that he and Wilmot attended a club supper that night. Wilmot went home at 10.30 p.m. and at about midnight he, and a man named Monk, joined Wilmot there and stayed until two or three in the morning when all three went to steal turnips because they were hungry!

The Judge, passing sentence of death on Benjamin Caines, said that he had seriously considered ordering execution to take place before the usual lapse of time and to have the body hung in chains "as an example to the rest of his infamous gang." On Saturday, September 6th, 1817 Benjamin, in company with another offender, was hanged. He received the Holy Sacrament in the Prison Chapel before going to the scaffold where he behaved with resignation and fortitude. His body was given to his family for interment. One of his brothers took the body to Bitton, travelling through the night, and according to custom it was put on view in his father's parlour. A small charge was laid to defray the funeral expenses.

Benjamin was interred in the same grave as his brother Francis who was executed in 1804. (It is said that when he attended Francis's funeral - at the age of ten - he sat on a wall

and whistled throughout.) "A numerous concourse of his acquaintances attended the procession from Cuck-road (near two miles); the pall was supported by six females dressed in white The minister preached a very impressive sermon to Caines' associates from 'Let him that stole, steal no more', [received with solemn attention by the congregation.] The body was afterwards committed to the grave by candlelight....." Henry Wilmot and James Bryant apparently went free.

One might suppose that the events of the last three years, culminating in yet another execution, would have had a deterrent effect on the inhabitants of the Cuckroad area, but crime continued unabated. During the following four years, sixteen men and one woman were sentenced to transportation and one woman was hanged for poisoning her husband.

In April 1821 John Horwood was executed for the murder of Eliza Balsum of Hanham - a girl he had tried unsuccessfully to court. Among the witnesses at his trial were Thomas Barnes, and William, Joseph and Hannah Fry, "whose heads" observed the Judge, "have already been before the public." Familiar names continued to figure in the gaol calendars - Bryant, Britton, etc., and, occasionally, Caines.

On the evening of 27th November, 1824 the Tennis Court, a public house near Warmley, was filled with its usual company. Isaac Gorden, whose job it was to impound horses found trespassing on his master's land, was there. So also, were James Caines (son of Elizabeth Caines alias Bush; grandson of Benjamin, Senior) Mark Whiting, Francis Britton and their friends. A week before, Isaac Gorden had impounded Francis Britton's horse, and this became the cause of a quarrel during which Caines pelted Gorden with bits of tobacco pipe and Robert England, a friend of Caines, declared that Gorden deserved a good hiding. Eventually Gorden left the Tennis Court, intending to go home, but shortly afterwards he was knocked to the ground. He returned to the Tennis Court and left only when the rest had gone. An hour later he was found dead from a blow on the back of the head and two stab wounds in the forehead.

Twenty witnesses were examined and finally seven were charged with murder. Thomas Wilmot aged nineteen, who had assaulted Gorden the first time he left the Tennis Court, was discharged. Francis Britton aged forty, Isaac Britton aged eighteen, Samuel Peacock and Robert England were found not guilty. Mark Whiting and James Caines were condemned to death. A knife found near the victim's body was proved to belong to Robert England and to have been in his possession on the day of the murder, but this evidence appears to have been disregarded. Caines and Whiting were

convicted on the evidence that footprints found in soft earth near an uprooted clothes-post - said to have been used to inflict the fatal wound - were Caine's and seat-prints found in earth near the spot where the victim was found were said to match exactly the patched trousers worn by Whiting. James Caines and Mark Whiting were executed on 11th April, 1825. On the following day James Caines's younger brother Francis, and Samuel Needs, both aged seventeen, were committed to prison for highway robbery.

Reporting these events the Gloucester Journal commented: "The name of Caines has for years been notorious in this county and the majority of them have either been hanged or transported. It would seem as if the severe visitation of the law could have no effect in checking the propensity to crime which pervades this depraved family..." Francis Caines had four years previously been sentenced to one month in prison and to be once privately whipped for stealing poultry.

This was not quite the last of the Caines family. In November, 1828, Thomas Gaines - brother of Francis and James - was sentenced to transportation for seven years for stealing a spade worth two shillings. His two other appearances in court had been in company with Robert England (implicated in the Warmley murder) but on each occasion both were found not guilty.

Looking back over the events of these years one gains the impression that, at least on some occasions, with the Caines family it was a case of "give a dog a bad name...." The foregoing does not pretend to be a complete account of crime in the Cockroad area during those years: there are many gaps. One hopes, in time, to fill some of them and to discover more about the social and other conditions which engendered such a criminal society.

I. Wyatt

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A GRAND TOUR BY W.H. HYETT OF PAINSWICK

The extracts which follow are taken verbatim from the letters of W.H. Hyett of Painswick to his mother while he was touring Europe. William Henry Hyett, was the eldest son of the Rev. H. Cay and Frances Adams, being born at Shrewsbury on 2nd September, 1795. He succeeded to Benjamin Hyett's estates in 1810, and in 1813 assumed the name and arms of Hyett. He went to Westminster School, and was a Gentleman Commoner at Christ Church for two years.

He believed in self education, and as soon as Europe opened in 1815 travelled extensively. He was on the field of Waterloo before the burial of the dead was completed, and in Valenciennes before it had been evacuated by General Rapp. He stayed three months in Paris during the occupation by allied armies.

In 1817 he left home for a more extended tour and spent summer in Switzerland, autumn in Italy and winter in Rome; in the following year he travelled through Western Calabria by Reggio to Sicily, passed the summer at Sienna and again wintered in Rome. In 1819 he went by Eastern Calabria to Otranto, Jorfu and Albania, where he visited Ali Pasha, spent two months at Athens, visited the Plains of Troy and swam across the Hellespont from Sestos to Abydos, not following the short course taken by Lord Byron but the longer one attributed by tradition to Leander. This feat he accomplished in 1 hour 50 minutes. On leaving the Dardanelles he went by way of Constantinople, the Black Sea and the Danube to Vienna.

July 6th, 1815

Antwerp Cathedral - "little disfigured by the miserable superstition of the people". "The organ is very fine and the chanting fine but the effect much spoiled by half-a-dozen scraping fiddles which accompany the organ."

"I wish that we could get out of this shoal of Englishmen. We learn no French and see nothing of the people."

"There is a fascinating manner about the peasants which it is impossible to describe. Their women very pretty - brunettes with sparkling black eyes which they roll about without much mercy."

Borghenop Zoom - Citadel built by Bonaparte - 3,000 wounded from Battle of Waterloo. "We passed a large unfinished building in which lay the poor wounded French upon straw to the number of 800 together in two rooms - officers and soldiers all together. I walked through one and never was so shocked in my life."

July 13th, 1815

"We have seen Waterloo. The road passes through an immense forest, through which the wounded were obliged to return - and every step bears traces of their sufferings - hundreds of helmets and caps lie scattered by the roadside, the only memorials of their death. The earth is scarcely raised enough to point out the place - every body where it expired is covered with a very little mound - so little that now and then an arm or a leg was seen stretched above ground where dogs or cats have scratched them up."

July 16th, 1815, Brussels

"Though the modern beauties abound in this place there are very few remains of antique grandeur - no fine Cathedrals or Palaces - no Gateways or Fortifications - everything of antiquity which is now visible consists in narrow dirty streets and small paltry houses - the inhabitants are dirty - and there is not much distinction of rank. The women are all the same type of beauty - short with black eyes, with a good deal of expression but no figure. The men are fat and shabby looking - few at all handsome and none commanding".

July 19th, 1815

Brussels

"On Monday evening we went to the Comedie Francaise to hear Catalaine sing - it is impossible to describe the effect of her voice. It is something beyond pleasure. She really shivers with ecstasy. She sang God Save the King in compliment to some English Officers who called for it rather vociferously. An Englishman must sometimes blush a little for the bluntness of his countrymen - their enthusiasm was their only excuse."

July 30th, 1815,

"..... and proceeded to Valenciennes. We had expected to find the siege carried on with some vigour but the town had hoisted the white flag for two days and the troops were withdrawn from before the walls. We should like to have seen a bombardment - but we were very glad to find it at an end".

Valenciennes

"We entered the town and found the Bourbon flag flying from every window, and the streets crowded by disappointed French officers and soldiers. The inhabitants seem (but seem in France does not prove!) to be in favour of Louis, but the military were

certainly attached to Bonaparte. The town had not suffered much from the bombardment".

"I had heard of the number of beggars on the continent but could not have considered it possible that there should be so many. At every place we stopped ten or a dozen regularly arranged themselves in rows at the hotel door and all supplicate in the same key. On every rising ground the children follow the carriage and persecute the travellers till they get something".

"On the 1st August, 1815, entered Paris. And as I believe first impressions be pretty correct, I shall relate mine now without waiting till we have seen more of the great city. The ancient part of the City is excessively disgusting in every point of view, but the modern surpasses anything I could have considered - the profusion of magnificence in the Thuilleries and their gardens in the Louvre and the Place de Louis XV is unrivalled".

"L'Hopital des Invalides was the first Gothic building the inside of which we inspected. It is an institution similar to those of Greenwich and Chelsea and is made to contain about 6,000 disabled soldiers, and seemed in every respect to answer its end. The ornamental parts of this building are superb. There was a beautiful dome but is considerably spoiled on the exterior by being gilt - the inside is most magnificent, very much after the style of the Radcliffe library in Oxford, but on a far grander scale. There are some pictures in the roof which have a good effect, but they are at too great distance to be valued for their merits. There are six chapels attached to this dome and all beautiful. The only fault that the most difficult critic might find with the building is that it is too tawdry and tinseld".

"The Palais de Louvre was our next labour - to get through such an immense collection is an excessive labour. To explain the contents of this wonderful palace it would take a year - all the best Roman sculpture is here preserved and perhaps half the remaining productions of the best painting in all ages are collected here. To describe these it would require knowledge and time infinite, neither which I have for such an unprofitable undertaking. The gallery itself appropriate to the painting, magnificent in size and furniture - and built on purpose so that every end as to light and position for pictures has been studied to the greatest advantage".

"The instances and confidence in the English particularly are numerous and remarkable. The Banker here when I was introduced to him without a letter of credit offered and even pressed upon me what money I wanted".

May 24th, 1817, Paris

"I forgot whether I gave you an account of our quadrille at Abbeville. We danced with the landlady, three daughters and fat cook to the great amusement of a French fiddler and two English country bumpkins.... Now you must know the landlady served as a soldier under General without her sex being discovered. She stands 6' 2" high, has a black beard, and with her daughters we danced!!! How like the resemblance was between them and their mother, I will not presume to say; let it suffice we thought them sufficiently pretty and had as much pleasure in dancing a quadrille with them as if they had been so many beauties."

"The English are very much hated. I entered a coffee room where three minutes before a Frenchman had declared that he would tear off the head of any Englishman who thought he had more liberty than himself, and every opportunity of quarrelling with Englishmen is caught at with the greatest quickness. I cannot guess why unless they are jealous of our superior liberality, riches and honour."

July 29th, 1817, Geneva

"Geneva is by far the pleasantest place I ever was in. There are balls and parties without end, and the best society English or French that you can wish to meet with. I am very happy where I am and shall not be completely overwhelmed if I am obliged to remain here all the winter, though I confess my Italian expedition will be given up with the greatest reluctance. This evening I visited Ferney, the chateaux of Voltaire. There is nothing very remarkable in itself, except his picture which is reckoned widely like. His chamber is shown in the exact state that he left it at his death, except that the Austrians in 1814 have cut the curtains in half and left the upper part hanging. Mont Blanc from his terrace was most remarkable at the evening's sunset. He stands frowning at the distance of sixty miles in the East. The Jura mountains skirt the West about ten miles in our rear.... The sun had set behind the Jura and charmed the valley below and the lesser hills, but the sovereign of the Alps with his glittering diadem of snow will shine with a brightness which is only equalled by the colour of the richest clouds in the evening."

"We shall go to Chamonix the beginning of next week and hope to have fine weather. I understand every house, even those of the lowest peasants, are filled by English parties of pleasure. I shall have some grouse shooting here I hope soon, we mean to consecrate the Alps in the presence of ourselves, our dogs and our guns on the Regent's birthday."

October 15th, 1817, Geneva

"I am very happy to hear you were able to go so often to the concerts and that Sally came off to such advantage on her first appearances. I would have given anything for a bird to carry me into your new room at Gloucester, and wonder how she performed. I thought of her every day; while you were hearing the Messiah, I was sailing on by far the most beautiful lake in Switzerland. It is very ungrateful of her when I was all the time occupied in thinking of her that she has not sent me a very long account of the music meeting [Three Choirs Festival]. Who were her partners? Whowas there? For every woman thinks that important information to communicate. Who are the next Stewards Mary's letter contains a great deal more about Barton Fair than the Music Meeting!"

November 17th, 1817, Florence

'At last I am in Italy in passing the Simplon it was clear and bright as one could wish it. I was disappointed in the scenery, though however the descent into Italy in parts is very marked, passing through rocks for some distance almost perpendicular on either side, and bursting suddenly from these savage mountains upon rich Italian vineyards. The passage of the Simplon as a work of man's hand and head is beyond conception wonderful; it takes a day to pass it, and eight horses to mount The road is nowhere steep and no obstacle has even turned the engineer 500 yards out of his way, that is to say he has cut through rocks and thrown bridges over chasms sooner than give any more than a very easy and gradual gentle inclination throughout."

"On the lake stands Isola Bella, the sound of the name would tell you if the sense did not that it is the beautiful island. The Prince Charles or rather St. Charles Borromeo (though wonderful to relate he was both) has built a palace on this island and made out of a ragged, shapeless rock those gardens whose beauty has given it the name which it so deservedly possesses. The palace stands upon the brink of the lake and the whole of the island - about four or five hundred foot square is occupied by the gardens and resemble at a distance a pyramid on the sides of which are a series of terraces to the number eight or ten, one above the other, all shaded by orange and lemon trees, interspersed with innumerable marble statues, under the terraces are greenhouses, add all the parterres are watered by artificial fountains."

"But to give you an account of everything we saw between there and Geneva in serious and proper way would be to write as Mr. Eustace has done before me four volumes of four hundred pages each."

by the "Tell Clifton we were drawn by oxen harnessed
which was travelling classically
Nor Alps, Nor Appenines can keep us out,
Nor fortified redoubt."

and that I am at this moment sitting in an inn more noisy than the King's Head at an election and looking out of the window on the classically romantic Arno, which is ten times more muddy and dirty than Severn at spring tide."

December 2nd, 1817, Rome

"I had not arrived a moment before I started for the Capitol, the ancient Forum, the Colosseum, etc. I mention all these places that you may amuse yourself some Christmas evening in looking over the Piranesi beautiful prints of all these remains of sylvan antiquity and imagining yourselves with me."

"As for health I am perhaps better than I was. The pain in my side is gone but I have caught another cough, which hangs on me uncomfortably. However as my travelling for the winter is at an end, I shall dare say get rid of all inconvenient and troublesome symptoms."

"I was extremely grateful to Sally for her excellent account of the impression which the death of Princess Charlotte made on the English people. Independent of every private and personal feeling for the misfortunes of the Royal family this must have thrown a general gloom over the whole nation and indeed I fear with too much cost. I am almost afraid to anticipate the mischievous consequences which may result from a quick succession of monarchy."

February 19th, 1818, Rome

"Will you send me the exact size of your little chesstable, that is of the square of the chess-board? I pick up at every place I go to, at least every remarkable place, bits of marble, and mean to have them cut into small squares, all about $1\frac{3}{4}$ " square, have them polished and inlaid. There is a great variety of different dark coloured marbles, as well as white and light yellow, which will make a very pretty chessboard, and especially when one remembers that this bit was found in Cicero's theatre, that in Horace's Villa, and a third the Colosseum. I think this rather a pretty idea and I mean to make you a present of it. You must be very particular about size. I shall bring the pieces home loose. They will take scarcely any room and have them very easily inlaid in England."

March 7th, 1818, Rome

"The time is past that Phillpotts ought to have sent me my letter of credit and I have received no letter or intimation of any sort, and am in a sad state of anxiety. I have been obliged to live on some little of Walter's money and his is come to an end, therefore I am reduced to the necessity, if it does not arrive within the week, of drawing a bill upon Child in London. I wish you would let Child have £200 or £250 and desire Phillpotts in case I am obliged to draw it to pay you the moment it is drawn. Whether Phillpotts did not receive my letter, has forgot me, or his letter has miscarried, I cannot conceive. But nothing should have induced me to make this request to you but being absolutely left without a farthing. Do not let a day pass without giving Child advice, for in case my bill is protested, I shall pass for a swindler here."

"I have given up all intention of leaving Italy this summer on account of economy. I shall live at Siena, a small town between this and Florence, in an Italian family and work at the language, though I am proficient already in reading, having finished my translation of Dante's chief tome "The Inferno", which is reckoned the most difficult in the language, and is almost as long as Paradise Lost, a pretty laborious undertaking for an idle man like oneself, considering I have at the same time produced lighter and more trivial studies."

March 31st, 1818, Naples

"Safe and sound under the nose of Vesuvius; she has not yet honoured my arrival by even a whiff of smoke. But the calm precedes the storm, and I hope for a magnificent eruption before I quit Naples. We had a very narrow escape on the road of being dashed to atoms - coming down a hill some of the harness of a blind horse broke. He took fright. The Postillion could not stop him. The horses were precipitated over the parapet of a bridge to the rocky bed of a dry mountain stream, some 15 or 20 feet high. The Postillion fell first on the grassy bank on the side of the stream and was I hope not much hurt though a great deal frightened. They carried him back to the Post House we had left, and I shall soon receive a letter to hear how he is. One of the horses was almost dashed to pieces, though he was not dead, and they would not kill him. The other was very little injured. The carriage was stopped by the parapet and every connection between it and the horses was broke in the moment that they fell. The carriage was not even upset. Two capsizes in a month are one man's share. However I am very thankful for my escape, and if it ever is to happen again, I would compromise for divided ribs, once out of such falls."

April 7th, 1818, Naples

"The poor Postillion is dead. He died the next day from some internal condition. I am sure I ought to be thankful; the narrow escapes which I have had lately have been too marked to pass without a good deal of reflection."

"I went yesterday to Pompeii, a Roman city covered by the lava of Vesuvius about 70 years after the birth of Christ, and lately excavated. Everything, when it was first discovered, was as it was left by the Romans, though within these few years it has suffered a great deal from the air. That is the paintings and inscriptions which were perfect and copied when first opened are crumbling fast to dust. However, houses, streets, theatres and tombs still remain like an uninhabited modern town, and there is an air of desolation and magnificence of melancholy and grandeur which produce an indescribable effect; one almost expects to find a ghost of some ancient Roman flit round the corners of his own house. At one of the gates of the city were found the skeletons of several men and women trying to escape. At the door of one man's home, he was found with the key and a purse of money in his hand. In a dark cell amongst some houses that are supposed a kind of barracks, two men were found ironed and in the stocks. In one shop was found a half finished statue, and the tools of a sculptor, in another a quantity of oil jars all arranged in a row. Over several doors we could read the owner's name, written in red paint, and in one place there is a very distinct inscription in red paint intimating that on such a day there would be an exhibition of gladiators and hunting the wild beasts, and awnings over the top of the amphitheatre. In another the corn mills and ovens in which they baked the bread are left quite perfect."

"I think the quantity of English here is still greater than at Rome for besides those who have left Rome, and sailed on in the shoal of travellers, there is a colony of English residents who live exactly as the inhabitants of Cheltenham or any other English watering place upon balls and promenades."

April 18th, 1818, Naples

"I have been to the summit of Vesuvius, and though there was no eruption, I was more struck than by anything I have ever seen" "As usual descending I got a fall. My mule upset me, fairly threw me off his back, and hurt my back a little. In every other respect I am very well and mean to start next week for Sicily. I eat strawberries and figs today of this year's growth in the open air. I suspect you won't have them for some time yet."

April 27th, 1818, Naples

"You would be astonished to see me now. The Bible says that wise is the father that knoweth his own son, or something like it, but it would be more odd still to find the mother that did not, which would be almost your case if you was to meet me, in my grey trousers and black neckcloth, and brown face, and military great coat, and long wild hair, but before our six weeks is over, I expect to be a perfect mulatto and savage."

May 3rd, 1818, Cosenza

"I am now in the capital of Calabria, without doubt the wildest country I have ever seen. The Alps and Northern Appenines are not to be compared to the mountains that surround us, and the inhabitants barbarous and uncivilised to the greatest degree. Everybody travels with an escort, sometimes of 15 armed men, for fear of bandits, of whom there are not a few. We however have not encountered any although we have only taken an escort twice, and never more than 5 men, and are now under the special care of the Commandant of the district, and has promised us orders for escorts, whenever they are the least necessary. We had letters to him from the Commandant-in-Chief of the army at Naples, and he has been beyond every expectation kind and civil. He has billeted us upon one of the richest inhabitants, asked us to dine today, and will probably see us part of our road tomorrow."

"The heat is so excessive that I soon shall be unable to travel in the middle of the day but be obliged to take what the Italians call a siesta, or I believe the Spanish, for I do not think it is strict Italian, it means however a nap in the middle of the day."

"I suppose that the Cricket Club, if they still exist, are just thinking of beginning to play. I should like very much to be of their party, for I am at present most terribly homesick. I was not sorry to leave Naples just before all my countrymen are starting for old England. I should have envied them most bitterly and perhaps have joined someone who was to post all the way without stopping and astonished you in person instead of a letter, but I am afraid that must be yet awhile. Another long year and then for the "blue hills that I have loved so well." I shall expect to find my sisters married and John preaching."

"I have assumed moustaches and a military air, which would entertain some of my Gloucester friends, but shall doff my lion's skin when I return amongst inhabitants of a fashionable country."

May 14th, 1818, Messina

"In Messina there is not much to be seen and therefore not much to be said. In 1783 it was overwhelmed by an earthquake, and rebuilt in a cleaner and more regular fashion than most other towns, chiefly of cane and wood, to prevent in some degree the horrid death which its inhabitants might be in danger of from any future earthquake, for very few years lapse without feeling a slight one."

"I hope our tour in Sicily will be as prosperous and interesting as that in Calabria which is just over, and that we may be driven back to Naples in as short a time as wind and weather will allow. Yesterday we crossed the straits again to Reggio, almost the southernmost point of Italy and back again. Whether the appearance of Scylla and Charybdis, formerly so terrible to the ancients, is changed by some internal commotion, or worn away by the continual rolling of waters, whether the ancients were very great exaggerators and very bad sailors, while we are very good ones, I cannot pretend to decide, but even to my inexperienced eye as a sailor, the whirlpool of Charybdis is not so tremendous as the passage of London Bridge and the rocks of Scylla are not as dangerous as those of Newnham. So much for the description you will find in the Twelfth Book of Pope's *Odyssee*, and in the 3rd of Dryden's *Virgil*."

"We were very near however encountering a danger of a more serious kind. We saw a custom house boat pursuing a smuggler and would needs see the fun, and kept pretty close to the latter. The moment the smugglers landed on the beach, three or four soldiers jumped out from the hiding place, and shot at the smugglers, their balls whizzed about in the water, but luckily took no effect, either on us or them. They then put off again, and serried by a fire from the other boat, and then surrendered, and we proceeded unmolested on our voyage. We are terribly behind in English news, and know no more what is going on in London than in Pekin."

June 30th, 1818

"Yesterday we heard that Parliament was dissolved and at Naples I picked up a flying report that Frederick Berkeley had offered himself for Gloucester. Extraordinary as it is, I am not at all astonished at it. I always saw a very little encouragement would draw him into offering himself. It was a very bold step for any man but doubly so for one who bears the name of Berkeley, and who has not one farthing to support a contested election. I

fear for these reasons he will not succeed. I am certain that his principles as far as they relate to public affairs are much more straightforward and honest than his brother, which people will scarcely be inclined to credit. It must be all over by this time and I sadly fear, let him gain the election or not, both he and Webb will ruin themselves."

July 9th, 1818 (Siena)

"As to any mention that may have been made of my name as a candidate, I cannot think it flattering or an honour as money seems to be the only requisite and my personal ambition is not to be considered an appendage to my fortune - not but I confess in any way I should have been proud of being unable by a vote in the House of Commons to have opposed a system of administration which must inevitably reduce the country to ruin."

July 31st, 1818

"Study prospers, Siena is cool and delightful and my cottage answers every need. It costs me nine dollars a month, neatly furnished, bed linen and table linen all into the bargain. I have my dinner sent me from a neighbouring hotel at about 1s. 10d. a day and my bottle of wine, which costs exactly 2½d, and is excellent withall, not unlike cyder, and when I sit at my little vine covered window eating my fowl or boiled beef, I often think of your song about "gilded roof" and "simple is the food I eat" but about this same hermit's fare, you need not talk in England, your Gloucestershire squires do not know what a magnificent dinner a man may have for two shillings a day in this part of the world, and philosopher as I think myself, I cannot stand being laughed at."

"Poor Berkeley. I remember the last Gloucester meeting but one, he said to me "misfortunes come not as single spies, but in battalions." It is true with respect to himself. His brother's election lost, his own trial to be lost, and the Berkeley Canal carried in spite of every effort of his 'thro Sharpness Point, very much injuring the whole of his estate, perfectly spoiling one of the prettiest places I ever saw."

October 15th, 1818

"My Grecian plans are not yet fixed. They depend entirely on the plague [in Athens]. I have written to our Consuls at Leghorn and Naples and expect an answer every day. They can answer every question. You may be sure I shall not go further if there is any danger, for how much soever I might be inclined to

brave the plague, I shall not have courage to undergo sixty days quarantine in a Lazaretto. I hope however these frightful reports are not true. Indeed I do not believe they are. However my intention is this - to go to Sir Thomas Maitland at Corfu, and if I find Greece impracticable to coast along the shore of Dalmatia by Spalatro, Pola and Trieste to Venice where there are some of the finest remains of Antiquity in the world."

February 21st, 1819, Barletta

"Our Grecian expedition begins to look a little probable; we sail today for Corfu the most perilous part of the journey is past - the district of Calabria and Apulia between this and Naples is so infested by brigands that the country may almost be said to be in a state of rebellion. A few days before we past, a major, a sergeant, two corporals and some dragoons were killed in an engagement with a band of these bandits. However we escaped and sail in a vessel they call a Trabacola, named the Maria of Barletta, and hope to arrive at Corfu in three or four days. Yesterday we passed over the field of battle of ancient Cannae."

March 17th, 1819, Corfu

"I have been enjoying lately some very singular sites - Ali Pacha, the despot of all the provinces of Albania and the most celebrated parts of ancient Greece, has been encamped on the opposite coast in order to carry some negotiations with Sir Thomas Maitland, the Governor of these Islands. I have been present at his Court and Levee, have smoked and drank coffee, and been to a wild boar hunt with his horse called Pacha and a Vizier. About a week ago he was expected and Sir Thomas went over to meet him with his suite and our English band. As he came winding down the rocky mountain in his Palankeen with 2,000 soldiers in the Turkish and Albanian costume, the band struck up the march in Bluebeard. He was sumptuously dressed and has one of the finest, most venerable countenances I ever saw, notwithstanding the atrocious character which it conceals. We were presented to him, he ordered us jupes and coffee after the Eastern custom, sitting on his ottoman crosslegged, was astonished to hear we were going to visit his country, and could not at all understand our objects."

"We who had guns chose to try to shoot, not knowing there was to be a magnificent feast in the boats, which though I did not partake of, I arrived at the top of the rooks above just in time to see finished. It was all served in gilt and silver plate, about forty covers, and with all this magnificence, the Pacha eat with his fingers and then passed the dishes to all the party, who

did the like it consisted chiefly of rice boiled in oil, a lamb roasted whole with a certain quantity of garlick and cakes of honey."

June 20th, 1819, Constantinople

"About a fortnight ago we left Athens and after visiting Troy we were nearly lost at the entrance of the Dardanelles, our vessel running aground in a tremendous storm. About an hour after sunset we were endeavouring to enter the mouth of the Hellespont on the European side and it was so calm that we made no way against the current. In a moment however a thunder and lightning storm came on, with a hurricane so violent that with all our sails but the foresail already down, we were carried at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour directly upon the Asiatic shore. It was so dark that our only knowledge of the direction of the shore was from the lightning, the sea beat over us and we must have been beat to pieces in less than half-an-hour. The Captain said we were lost, my Italian servant knelt down and said his prayers, and I undressed myself to swim ashore with a rope. The wind however followed the thunder clouds, turned in an opposite direction, and beat the vessel off, I suppose I have seldom had a narrower escape and am very thankful for it. We stayed the day after at the town of the Dardanelles and I swam across the Hellespont from Sestos to Abydos. Constantinople is by far the most beautiful place I ever saw but we mean to leave it on our way to Vienna in four or five days."

December 8th, 1819

"I shall probably go by Ostend and Ramsgate, though the uncertainty of the packet there almost tempts me to try Calais, which is perhaps a day and a half longer. I shall travel with all haste as I believe Lord Stewart, the Ambassador, means to give me dispatches for Lord Castlereagh."

B. TAYLOR

DARKHILL IRONWORKS AND THE MUSHET FAMILY

In the Forest of Dean, the name of Mushet will always be associated with the coal and iron trades, but previous to this connection it had been well known in Scotland, after the discovery by David Mushet (1772-1847) of the black band ironstone, which formed the basis of the Scottish iron industry. Mushet also wrote various scientific papers and was well versed in metallurgy. In 1810 he moved south, to Coleford with his wife and children of which there were eventually six - Margaret, Henrietta, William, Agnes, David and Robert.

Once settled, Mushet became active as a partner in a blast furnace at Whitecliff but the venture resulted in a large financial loss. Other similar trials followed in which he was frequently involved, but were so uniformly unsuccessful as to lead him to the eventual though erroneous conclusion that the Forest geography would forever prevent profitable development of an iron industry. By 1830, big ironworks had been formed at Cinderford, Parkend and elsewhere, and were soon extended. Mushet again involved himself in iron making and was later in possession of an iron furnace at Darkhill, between Coleford and Parkend, and joined by tramroad to the Severn at Lydney.

During the period under review (1844-7), the family was unhappily worn down by feud and litigation. Of the sons, only Robert was to make a name in the world. Indeed, his fame eventually equalled if not exceeded, that of his father in metallurgical circles and both became the subject of a biography 'The Story of the Mushets'. By 1844 the family home had moved to Monmouth and Mushet was running his works at Darkhill together with two coal levels nearby, known as Shutcastle and Darkhill. He also had an iron level at Oakwood Mill, some one and a half miles away. The ironworks, which were in a pretty ruinous state, included a steam engine with a 60 inch cylinder for blowing, and a furnace of about 1,000 cubic feet capacity 'much worn and wasted'. There were however, schemes for improvement including overhauling the engine and building a new blast furnace 45 feet high and 4,000 cubic feet volume. Two new boilers and two air heating stoves for the hot blast, a weighing machine and other additions were also planned. Most, if not all, of these developments were sooner or later effected.

In order to establish the sons, Agnes Mushet pressed her husband strongly to settle £1,000 on each, but by June, 1845 only William had received this amount. David was then described as an artist living at 5 Oxford Place, Cheltenham and supported largely by his wife. He later dabbled in engineering and commerce. At this time the father had already conveyed to the three sons his

Darkhill coal and iron works but shortage of cash inhibited business. He claimed that David and Robert had received property worth £10,000 and would give no more - a valuation, by the way, which seems excessive in view of the dilapidated state of the works and his earlier pessimistic opinions of ironmaking in the region.

This conveyance turned out to be a great source of trouble. Robert alone had the necessary technical experience; David was satisfied to be associated only so long as some quick financial return might be expected, whilst William did not wish to be involved in running the concern at any price. Attempts were made to raise further capital from Thomas Greatrex the banker, using Darkhill as security and to this end, Robert proposed the formation of the 'Darkhill Iron Co.', the profits to be equally divided between the brothers with himself in sole management. The father was prepared to offer advice and to grant a twenty-one year lease of his Oakwood iron mine.

There had however, been collusion between William and David senior, to gain the former a half share in Darkhill instead of an equal third. At the time he was apart from his wife, and living with a woman in Cheltenham. Agnes was concerned and spent much effort composing interminably long letters to Powles the family solicitor, regarding his reprehensible conduct and the oppressed Robert, at the same time imploring him to say nothing about her interjection 'in this extraordinary case'.

The collusion led nowhere and in November 1845, William consented to lease one-third share to his brothers and to give them control of Darkhill, but he withdrew after a family row. Then followed a vituperative attack from David, stigmatising him as a bigamist and 'a debauched profligate' and threatening to expose him. He was also furious with his father for 'bestowing his offerings on vice'.

Darkhill however, continued in work but with David complaining of his father's interference with the management. Robert now attempted an arrangement with William but should terms be refused, he wished to wash his hands of the whole concern, giving his share to David. But William agreed and leased to his brothers as from 1st January 1846 for twenty one years. The enterprise seems then to have traded for a time as 'Robert Mushet & Co.', but was badly in debt and now very heavily mortgaged to Crawshay Bailey & Greatrex, the bankers.

In May, 1846 Robert leased the Easter mine to supply the works with iron ore. Three months later he had fallen out with David, who had for some time been claiming that he lacked knowledge

and experience, and insisting that the blast furnace should come under Mr. Walkinshaw, a capable and perhaps even indispensable workman, who had come with the family from Scotland in 1810. Surprisingly at so critical a time when the new blowing in - a rather tricky process - was due to take place (8th August) Robert was residing in Cheltenham at 5, Northwick Terrace, from whence he attempted to direct operations. At the same moment he was also considering whether to accept an invitation from Sir Thomas Lethbridge to inspect a haematite mine in West Somerset, with a view to making use of the ores at Darkhill. The visit was almost certainly made and samples of ore were later tried, though the cost of transport must have been a serious obstacle. (The Somerset mines were eventually developed on a large scale and a full sized railway laid down.)

Robert Mushet eventually returned to Darkhill and on 23rd. November 1846 was corresponding from Coleford with his father about technicalities of iron production and advising him of creditors pressing for deliveries and payments. Things were in fact, in a very serious state. By December, there was insufficient cash to pay the men and David, who had been dragging his feet for months, was now demanding that the works should be put under the hammer. Her husband having positively refused further help, Agnes tried all possible means of raising loans or credit and again corresponded with Powles, pointing out 'the penniless condition of my dear Robert', and hinting that Greatrex might be able to ward off the crash. She secretly enclosed a copy of a letter which Robert had written to the latter in which it was stated that he was 'wholly unassisted by Mr. Walkinshaw and no pains are spared by him and my brother to frustrate and nullify all my labours'. He also wrote that the furnace would produce forty tons of good forge iron per week and thought that the works could make £4,000 annually with iron at eighty shillings per ton at Lydney. The proposed sale was welcomed as a release 'from my present state of worse than Egyptian bondage.' Old David Mushet died at Monmouth on 7th June 1847, with Robert and his mother still struggling to keep Darkhill at work, until a sale could be arranged, - 'the strongest possible inducement to a purchaser'.

The auction took place on 13th July at the Bell Inn, Gloucester, being advertised as follows.

'The newly erected and valuable BLAST FURNACE for the smelting of Iron, called DARK HILL FURNACE, with the engines, machinery, apparatus and other appurtenances
ALSO, the two very desirable COAL MINES, GALES or LEVELS of COAL, called 'DARK HILL & SHUTCASTLE COLLIERIES'

The whole was offered in a single lot, as two thirds freehold, the remaining part being held by lease from William Mushet. But in spite of Robert's efforts, no acceptable offers were forthcoming and he was obliged to carry on as before.

Further difficulties arose from his father's will; this was of considerable complexity and had been frequently altered and amended. In essentials, after sundry bequests, the residue of the estate was divided, four ninths to William, three ninths to Robert and two ninths to David. With the aim of eventual sale, trustees were appointed to run various unbequeathed mineral properties, the proceeds of which were to pay off numerous debts and legacies. The final remaining assets were to be divided between the sons. The trustees were friends of the deceased; Alexander Gibbon of Staunton, Charles Frederick Cliffe of Gloucester and his son-in-law, Rev. George Roberts (husband of Henrietta). Several collieries were amongst the property to be administered, including Bicslade, Howlers Slade Deep Engine and Old Furnace. Gibbon however, for some reason would have nothing to do with the trusteeship, a refusal which troubled Mrs. Mushet greatly as she lacked faith in the other two trustees. Indeed, Rev. George Roberts was already trying to evict Robert and his wife and child from their house and was disputing his management of the estate. He had done well out of the family and if further reason for doubt was wanted, Mrs. Mushet had only to recall how she, with several friends, had financed him through university whilst he was involved in a clandestine affair with Henrietta. As another insult, the poor woman's intentions were later misconstrued by the friends as buying the girl a husband!

Meanwhile, David Mushet instituted chancery proceedings concerning administration of his late father's estate, and to get authority for the trustees to carry on the works and to appoint a manager. By September 1847 he had agreed with Robert to dissolve their partnership and was personally administering the estate with the intention of paying off the whole of various debts to a total value not exceeding £4,800. Further, he promised to use his best endeavours to appoint Robert as manager. Various other conditions were specified concerning the moiety of the old partnership and other matters.

The story has not been studied beyond this point but the foregoing amply demonstrates the scale of worries and difficulties facing Robert Mushet in the early years of his career. Such problems, largely of a domestic nature, are not uncommon and their existence in this instance may serve as a caution against assessing the results of a man's efforts solely in terms of technical and commercial success.

D.E. BICK

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