

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

HISTORICAL STUDIES

VI

1974-1975



UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

DEPARTMENT OF EXTRA-MURAL STUDIES

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

HISTORICAL

STUDIES

VI

Essays on Local Historical Records  
by the University Extra-Mural Classes  
at Gloucester, 1972-3, 1973-4

Edited by  
Brian S. Smith

1974-1975

## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	1
Saxon Parishes of Gloucestershire	by A. Bailey 2
Occupations and Physique in 1608	by J.W. Wyatt 9
Constables' Accounts of Welford on Avon	by F. Storr 16
Poor Law Studies: Chipping Campden	by J. James 23
Chedworth	by M. Powell 32
Bitton	by J.W. Wyatt 35
Horsley House of Correction	by E.J. Hart 50
Farm Buildings about 1800	by R.K. Howes 55
Joseph Pitt and Pittville	by R.K. Howes 58
Electoral Corruption at Gloucester in 1880	by S. Smith 61
19th Century Village Schools	by F.E.Z. & R.J. Nelmes 66

.....

## PREFACE

Every winter, it seems, restrictions arising from industrial disputes have resulted in evening classes being cancelled, courses postponed, dates altered at short notice, and the continuity of work being disrupted. No volume of research essays could be produced in 1972-3, and in 1973-4 some members were unable to complete their studies. This volume, therefore, represents the work of two sessions, and I am very grateful to the contributors for providing so much material under difficult circumstances.

The purpose of the course is to introduce the class into the methods of historical research, and the selection and presentation of the material discovered. We always try to work on 'new' topics, and therefore the publication of the research is a most important element in the programme. For the class members it is the chief reward for so much hard work, and I know that they would wish me to thank the staff of the Extra-Mural Department for making this possible.

Brian S. Smith

SAXON PARISHES OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE

by A. Bailey

The first recorded Saxon invasion of Gloucestershire occurred in 577 when the West Saxons by their victory at Dyrham consolidated their westward expansion with the capture of Bath, Cirencester and Gloucester. The northern invasion was probably more insidious, but in 628 the Mercian King Penda defeated Cynegils of Wessex at Cirencester and the county came under Mercian overlordship. The people of the Hwicce who dwelt in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and the western part of Warwickshire from this time are considered to be of mixed West Saxon and Mercian descent.

By 664 Christianity had become the dominant religion of the country, and the first Mercian bishopric was established at Lichfield in 669. The Bishopric of Worcester was established by 680. The early church in Gloucestershire was influenced both by the Roman tradition of Theodore and also by Celtic Christianity, via the great abbeys of Malmesbury and Glastonbury and the early Mercian bishops. Of the four priests introduced into the diocese by Penda, Penda's Christian son, two were Irish; and three of the early Mercian bishops were of Irish extraction or education. In the year of the foundation of the Worcestershire diocese the earliest Gloucestershire church to be established was founded by Malmesbury Abbey at Tetbury. (1). The early spread of Christianity was from the bishop's familia and this extended to serving the population from monasteries, or minister churches of collegiate canons. Churches serving individual parishes or estates were established later, often starting as chapelries or field stations to the minister churches. Early minister churches were usually wooden and, as at Berkeley, no traces survive today of the original church. The two earliest stone churches of Gloucestershire are the famous minster church at Deerhurst and the church at Somerford Keynes founded by Aldhelm of Malmesbury Abbey. A monastic church was founded at Gloucester in 681 and by 730 there were abbeys at Worcester, Gloucester, Bath, Evesham and Pershore and monastic churches at Withington, Tetbury, Westbury-on-Trym and Yate. Monasteries were often double houses ruled over by an abbess. The ninth century ravages of the Danes lead to a decline in monastic Christianity; in Gloucestershire the area to suffer plundering raids was that surrounding the Severn river. In the quiet uplands around the Coln and Churn valleys there were built at this time several churches in stone; churches such as at Daglingworth, Coln Rogers, Bibury, and Ampney Crucis which shew evidence of their Saxon origins today.

By 850 there is documentary evidence for churches at Tidenham, Twynning, Beckford, Bishops Cleeve, Blockley Cheltenham, Daylesford, Winchcombe, Hawling, Tetbury and Yate; architectural evidence establishes the existence of churches at Somerford Keynes and Deerhurst, and there were monasteries at Gloucester and Tewkesbury and Cirencester. There are later charters relating to Berkeley, Bibury, Sodbury, and these churches were probably also established by this date. There must also have been churches at Lydney and Bourton on the Water where churches have been built on sites known to have Roman origins. Fairford one of the early

villages to suffer Saxon occupation must also have had a church by this period. The minster church at Standish must also have existed by this date and the early Frocester church may have been in existence as a chapel. (2). There is no evidence for an early church at Thornbury but it is the most likely site for an early church in the south. It also seems unlikely that the royal manor of Pucklechurch was without a chapel.

From this period onwards there must have been steady erosion of the large parishes as estate lords established private churches and chapels to the minster churches were established, until by 1000 the parish system as we know it today was well established. In many cases it is impossible to allocate accurate boundaries on existing evidence. It seems unlikely that the Berkeley hundred by 1000 had only one church, or that Withington and Gloucester served such a large area, but I have no documentary evidence to enable me to be more accurate, and in the Cirencester area I cannot establish the parish boundaries accurately.

In the more detailed analysis that follows (Finberg No.) refers to the charter number in H. Finberg, The Early Charters of the West Midlands (1972).

#### Brightwells Barrow

Bibury church has Saxon architecture and is mentioned in a Charter (Finberg No.87) and had a priest recorded in 1086. Fairford, with its Saxon cemetery, must have had an early church and a priest in 1086. By 1086 churches had been established at Southrop and Quenington.

#### Crowthorne & Minety

Somerford Keynes has been established as the earliest church of an area which is rich in churches with Saxon architecture. Early minster churches were probably Cirencester (Finberg No.169), and outside the Hundred boundary Malmesbury and Cricklade. By 1000 there were churches at Stratton, Duntisbourne Rouse, Daglingworth, Driffield, South Cerney, the Ampneys and Siddington. Bagendon church is not considered authentic Saxon.

#### Longtree

The earliest church was Tetta's minster (Finberg No.2), founded in 681. Minchinhampton had a priest in 1086, and it is suggested that this church with a sister church at Avening belonged to Beotric. Woodchester is known to have had a priest by 896, and by 1000 churches were established at Rodmarton and Lasborough.

#### Bisley

Bisley is recorded as having two priests in 1086, the parish included the present day Chalford, Stroud, Thrupp, Edgeworth. Winstone and Miserden are considered to be Saxon churches. Winstone was originally a chapelry of Miserden. Painswick was a separate parish by 1086.

### Rapsgate

Brimpsfield is one of two churches in the hundred to have a priest mentioned in 1086, the other is Side. U. Daubney says that Cobberley had a Saxon cross (3), it may have been a field station or have had a chapel by 1000. The original minster church must have been Withington.

### Bradley

Contains the important minster at Withington (Finberg No.5), established by 700. Shipton Oliffe, the sheep farm to the minster had a church and priest by 1086, and churches had been established at Salperton, Hazelton and Hampnett. There are no records of early churches at Northleach and Eastington. Verey suggests that the church at Notgrove is built on a Saxon foundation. Coln Rogers is a Saxon church.

### Lower Slaughter

V.C.H. Gloucestershire Vol.VI should be consulted. There were prehistoric and Roman settlements at Slaughter and there was probably an early church. A Domesday priest is recorded for Little Barrington, and Little Rissington may have been a chapelry by 1000.

### Upper Slaughter

The minster church was at Daylesford (Finberg No.13) c.727. By 1086 there were also churches at Swell and Broadwell. At Lower Swell there is a sacred spring and there was probably an early chapel.

### Upper Kiftsgate

Bleckley minster was established by 855 (Finberg No.76). Clifford Chambers and Mickleton on the White Way to the ford at Stratford were early parishes. Mickleton is mentioned in a late charter of 1005 (Finberg No.148). Willersley, Weston Sub Edge and Weston on Avon had priests in 1086. Lasborough had an ancient chapel dedicated to St. Edmund, and Ebrington has a dedication to St. Eadburg which may denote early churches.

### Lower Kiftsgate

The most important church was the Abbey church at Winchcombe founded in 811 (Finberg No.56). The parish of Hawling originally included the present parishes of Roel and Sudeley (Finberg No.189). The neighbouring parishes of Guiting Power and Temple Guiting had priests at Domesday and were probably chapels to Hawling.

### Tibblestone

The minster church of the hundred was at Beckford (Finberg No.52), by 1086 there was a church at Ashton Underhill, this was a chapel to Beckford.

### Upper Tewkesbury

Ecclesiastically Great Washbourn was attached to Beckford, and Alderton to Winchcombe.



### Lower Tewkesbury

Includes the minster church at Twyning (Finberg No.22) and the Abbey at Tewkesbury. The history is fully documented in Vol.VIII of the V.C.H.

### Deerhurst

Is also discussed in Vol.VIII of V.C.H. It contains the famous Saxon church and chapel at Deerhurst. The hundred of Westminster was also in the Deerhurst parish.

### Cleeve

Has the minster church of Bishops Cleeve (Finberg No.30).

### Cheltenham

The minster of the hundred was at Cheltenham (Finberg No.52). Charlton Kings was a chapelry to Cheltenham, probably established by 1000 and Prestbury with Sevenhampton attached had a church by 1086 (Finberg No.88).

### Upper Dudstone & Kings Barton

By the year 1000 there were three churches in Gloucester, and the town had become a Saxon garrison town. Brockworth had a priest mentioned in Domesday book. There is no documentary evidence of these churches, but there must have been peripheral field chapels by 1000.

### Middle Dudstone & Kings Barton

Is again centred on Gloucester. The church at Harescombe has Saxon remains and probably extended its parish bounds into Brookthorpe and Whaddon. Brookthorpe undoubtedly had a church by 1000 (V.C.H. Vol.II).

### Upper Whitstone

Standish was a minster church (V.C.H. Vol.X) and much more of the hundred was under this church. Arlingham was in Berkeley Hernesse and although Fretherne was a thirteenth century chapel it was probably originally independent. (V.C.H. Vol.X).

### Lower Whitstone

Includes the Saxon chapel of Leonard Stanley and a minster church sited on the present Frocester/Coaley parish boundary (4). Nympsfield was also attached, as was Eastington.

Although there was probably a Saxon settlement at Frampton on Severn Domesday book only records a priest at Whitminster at Domesday.

### Upper Berkeley

No trace remains of Berkeley minster (Finberg No.83), and it has been suggested that it was the only early church, however pre-conquest sculpture at Beverstone and remains of a cross from Wotton under Edge suggest that peripheral field chapels had been established.



### Lower Thornbury

I have found no documentary evidence of a church at Thornbury, however, the dedication to St. Arilda and the fact that a market had been established by 1086, suggests that there must have been an early church here.

Rockhampton has a dedication to St. Oswald, and Oldbury on Severn to St. Arilda and there were probably chapels here by 1100.

### Upper Grumbald's Ash

There was an early church at Yate (Finberg No.37). Hawkesbury had a college in 680 and by 984 a Benedictine monastery had been established there.

Great Badminton had a Domesday priest and it has been suggested that there was a nunnery at Boxwell and Lighterton destroyed by the Danes (Rudder P.305).

### Lower Grumbald's Ash

There was a private church at Sodbury and the dedication of Little Sodbury is St. Adeline, and it is suggested that Old Sodbury is a Saxon site. Evidence for the existence of a church is provided in Finberg No.25, mentioning that Earbald held Sodbury with a reversion to the church at Worcester when the holder was not in priestly orders.

Tormarton had a priest in the Domesday survey.

### Upper Thornbury

Is represented by the parish of Marshfield, a priest is mentioned in the Domesday survey.

### Pucklechurch

Pucklechurch was a Saxon royal residence (Finberg No.96), and probably had a church. Rudder mentions that it had three churches, one dedicated to St. Cuthbert, so this may have been the early church. All the other parishes in the hundred were in the manor of Pucklechurch.

### Upper Langley & Swinehead

Bitton has a church with Saxon architecture and a priest was mentioned in the Domesday survey. Oldland, Hanham Abbots and Kingswood were probably attached. Cold Ashton went with Doynton and should be included in the Pucklechurch manor.

### Barton Regis

Includes Bristol, to which Mangotsfield should be attached. Clifton was in the manor of Westbury.

### Lower Berkeley

Filton and Almondsbury probably owed allegiance to the monastery at Westbury.

### Lower Langley & Swinehead

Alveston and Olveston had Domesday priests, as did Littleton on Severn.

### Henbury

The earliest church of the region must have been at Westbury on Trym, but a 1093 charter mentions a church at Henbury as well.

By 1086 Stoke Gifford had a priest.

### Westminster & Berkeley Detached

Corse, Hasfield and Tirley belonged to the manor at Deerhurst. Ashleworth was an ecclesiastical manor, with, I suspect, a chapel by 1000.

### Lower Dudstone & King's Barton

There is a Romano-British figure in the churchyard at Churcham, and Highnam was included with Churcham and probably Bulley.

By 1100 there was a church at Hartpury (Finberg No.27). The present church contains herringbone masonry. Originally the parishes were probably served from St. Peter's at Gloucester.

Highleadon and Rudford have early Norman churches.

### Botloe

Before 1060 there was a church at Newent, a chapel at Taynton and Pauntley (V.C.H. Vol.II p.105). Dymock has records of a priest in 1086, Redmarley D'Abitot and Staunton were associated with the Worcestershire minster at Longdon.

### Duchy of Lancaster

Tibberton church which has herringbone masonry is rejected by Taylor. The parish had a right of common in Huntley and the Forest and I think there was an early church at Tibberton. Bulley was a chapelry to Churcham.

### Westbury

The original minster was at Westbury. Newnham and Little Dean became chapels to Westbury (Rudder p.402). Newnham has a dedication to St. Ethelbert.

### St. Briavels

Includes the Forest of Dean. By 1100 there was a church at Ruardean a chapelry to the minster at Ross.

Staunton is an Anglo-Saxon settlement and the church contains herringbone masonry.

St. Briavels and Hewelsfield were originally chapels to Lydney (Rudder p.530); they both have Norman churches. St. Briavel is a Celtic Saint.

### Bledisloe

By 1086 there was a church at Awre in addition to the church at Lydney.

### Westbury Detached

Contains the well known minster of Tidenham (Finberg No.7).

### Bibliography

- N. Chadwick (Ed) Celt and Saxon, 1964
- M. Deansley Pre-Conquest Church in England, 1961
- H.P.R. Finberg Early Charters of West Midlands, 1972
- H.R. Loyn Anglo Saxon England,  
the Norman Conquest, 1962
- F. Stenton Anglo Saxon England, 3rd ed. 1971
- C.S. Taylor Anglo Saxon Architecture, 1961
- D. Verey Gloucestershire  
(Buildings of England series), 1970

### References

- (1) W. Birch Cartularium Saxonicum, 93
- (2) St. Clair  
Baddeley Avening Church Trans. B.G.A.S.. Vol.55
- (3) U. Daubney Ancient Cotswold Churches, 1921
- (4) I. Gray (1963) Some Early Records of Frocester  
Trans. B.G.A.S. Vol 82

OCCUPATION AND PHYSIQUE, 1608.

by J.N. Wyatt

Men and Armour in Gloucestershire, 1608 contains a list of 'all the able and sufficient men in body fitt for his Ma'ties service in the warrs ... viewed by the Right honourable Henry Lord Barkley Lord Lieutenant ... in the month of September, 1608.'

The list was compiled parish by parish and hundred by hundred by John Smyth, Lord Berkeley's steward, presumably from information supplied by the High Constable of each hundred who, in turn, would have been supplied with information by the petty constable of each parish or tithing. It is of great interest to local historians because against the name of most of the men listed is recorded his occupation and also some indication of his age and physique. This brief study was undertaken to ascertain whether any useful information could be obtained about the relative physique of the men in the various divisions of the county - hill, vale and forest - in town or country, or according to occupation or social class.

First it was necessary to determine whether a uniform system of classification into age groups and the various categories of physique was used throughout the whole country or whether different standards of classification were applied in different hundreds. In this preliminary investigation the returns from three hundreds have been studied and analysed: Longtree, Bisley and Whitstone. These were chosen because they adjoin each other and together comprise that part of the county principally engaged in the woollen industry. Whitstone, however, differs from the other two in that it lies in the vale whereas the others are on the Cotswolds.

To classify men according to age is a simple operation and one would expect a considerable uniformity in the percentage of men in each age group from hundred to hundred. Table 1 shows the number of men, and the percentage of the total, in each age group in the three hundreds, and it is immediately noticeable that there are wide differences between the hundreds.

All the physically fit men between the ages of sixteen and sixty were listed and they were divided into three groups which were very loosely defined:

- 'The figure (1) sheweth the age of that man to bee about Twenty'
- 'The figure (2) ..... about fforty'
- 'The figure (3) ..... to be between fyfty and threescore'

In Longtree Hundred only 28% of the men listed were put into Age Group 1, whereas in Bisley and Whitstone Hundreds 49% were placed into that group. There may well have been differences in the proportion of younger men from hundred to hundred just as there are differences in age group proportions in different areas of the country today.

Table 1.

NUMBER OF MEN AND PERCENTAGE IN EACH AGE GROUP

	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Longtree	227	28	547	69	23	3	797
Bisley	291	49	262	44	38	6	591
Whitstone	514	49	503	48	38	4	1055

(Percentage to nearest whole number)

Establishment of a new industry in one area would attract a disproportionate number of young people; the decline of an older industry would result in younger people moving from the area in search of employment, leaving behind a disproportionate number of the elderly. But such a wide variation in age grouping as is apparently shown in two areas so similar as the hundreds of Bisley and Longtree can only be explained by assuming a difference in interpretation of any instructions given.

Groups 1 and 2 together include the men between the ages of 16 and 50 years, a span of 34 years. If that is equally divided Group 1 would include men from 16 to 33 years of age; Group 2 men from 34 to 50 years old. There are no statistics concerning the birth rate, mortality rate or expectation of life for this or much later periods in history. We do not know whether population was rising, falling or stable. Obviously the percentage of men unfit for military service would rise in the older age groups as disease and accidents took their toll. It is probable that in Bisley and Whitstone Hundreds the dividing line between Age Groups 1 and 2 was drawn at about 30 to 34 years of age; in Longtree Hundred at about 25 years.

Certainly as far as these three hundreds were concerned, no conclusions concerning age groups can be drawn except that few men above 50 years of age were considered fit for military service. But what standard of fitness was required? How many men survived 50 years of life? We do not know.

The men were classified in four grades according to their physique:

'The L're (p) showeth the man to bee of the tallest stature fitt to make a pykeman'

'The L're (m) ..... of a middle stature fitt to make a musketyer'

'The L'res (ca) ... of a lower stature fitt to serve with a Calyver'

The L'res (py) .... of the meanest stature fitt for a pyoner, or of little other use.'

Only the stature or height of the men is mentioned but some regard must have been given to the strength of the men because of the requirement of the arms they were to wield. The pikeman had to be big and strong for his pike was sixteen to eighteen feet

long with a sturdy shaft. It was not wielded like a lance; the butt was pressed into the ground and the staff held at an angle pointing towards the enemy to present a hedge of iron spikes against a cavalry attack. It had to be held firmly so that it was not easily brushed aside to leave a gap in the hedge through which the cavalry could penetrate. The musket, too, was a heavy weapon; too heavy to be held like a modern rifle when fired. The barrel was four and a half feet long and, in firing position, was rested on a forked staff stuck in the ground in front of the musketeer. The weight of musket, staff, powder holders and shot was a considerable burden. The caliver was a lighter firearm which could be fired without a rest but its shot could not pierce the armour still worn by soldiers of the time. The pioneers were the baggage men and labourers of the army; unarmed and not expected to engage in battle. The letters (tr) placed after a man's name showed that he was a trained soldier. No pioneer in the three hundreds was certified as being trained.

Table 2 shows the number of men, and the percentage of the total, placed in each physical grade. The last column attempts to show the average grading in each hundred. The grading was obtained by awarding 4 points to a pikeman, 3 to a musketeer, 2 to a man bearing a caliver, 1 to a pioneer. A trained statistician would, no doubt, devise a better method, but the one used will facilitate comparison between the grading in each hundred. The figures for Bisley Hundred include 119 men whose age was not recorded. This accounts for the apparent discrepancy in the number of men in that hundred recorded in Table 1 and in Table 2.

Table 2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEN IN EACH GRADE

	p		m		ca		py		Total	Average Phy- sique
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Longtree	60	7.5	214	26.9	490	61.5	33	4.1	797	2.38
Bisley	133	18.7	167	23.5	382	53.8	28	3.9	710	2.57
Whitstone	158	15.2	157	15.1	661	63.3	66	6.3	1042	2.39

(Percentages to nearest last figure)

Again, there is a wide variation in the percentage of men placed in each grade. In Longtree Hundred only 7.5% of men are classed to be suitable for pikemen; in Whitstone 15.2% and in Bisley 18.7%. There may well have been local variations in physique but such a wide difference between two adjacent and similar hundreds suggest that different standards of classification were used in each hundred. Obviously the height of the men was not measured.

It is obvious, too, that in all three hundreds the men graded (m), of 'middle stature', were actually of above average height for more than fifty percent were not as tall as they were.

The various grades should therefore be interpreted as (p), the tallest, (m) above average height, (ca) average or below, (py) of poor physique. Below these were the men unfit for service who were not recorded. It is unlikely that many of these were so graded because of lack of inches but more likely because of deformity, disease or injury - the halt, maimed, and blind and, no doubt, the mentally deficient.

In Table 3 the number of men, and the percentage, in each grade and in each group are recorded. (Percentages, except for the totals, are not given for grades in Age Group 3 as numbers are not sufficient to make this worthwhile). The one significant fact emerging from the Table is that in all three hundreds the physique of the men in Age Group 2 (about 30 to 50 years of age) was better than that of the younger men (16 to 30 years). This is particularly noticeable in Longtree Hundred where the two groups were divided at a lower age. In more modern times each generation has tended to be rather taller than the preceding one. It appears probable that this was not so when Men and Armour was compiled. The figures, too, cast doubt on the belief that in those days men matured at an earlier age and were fully grown at sixteen years of age.

Table 3

<u>NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEN IN EACH GRADE IN EACH HUNDRED</u>											
	p		m		ca		py		Total	Average Physique	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			
<u>Age Group 1</u>											
Longtree	5	2.2	38	16.7	183	80.6	1	0.4	227	2.21	
Bisley	58	19.9	52	17.9	177	60.8	4	1.4	291	2.56	
Whitstone	54	10.7	57	11.3	382	75.6	12	2.4	505	2.30	
<b>Total</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>11.4</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>14.4</b>	<b>742</b>	<b>72.5</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>1023</b>	<b>2.36</b>	
<u>Age Group 2</u>											
Longtree	53	9.7	170	31.1	295	53.9	29	5.3	547	2.45	
Bisley	50	19.1	76	29.0	122	46.6	14	5.3	262	2.62	
Whitstone	99	19.8	95	19.0	265	53.1	40	8.0	499	2.51	
<b>Total</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>15.4</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>26.1</b>	<b>682</b>	<b>52.1</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>1308</b>	<b>2.51</b>	
<u>Age Group 3</u>											
Longtree	2	-	6	-	12	-	3	-	23		
Bisley	12	-	4	-	15	-	7	-	38		
Whitstone	5	-	5	-	14	-	14	-	38		
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>19.2</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15.2</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>41.4</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24.2</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>2.29</b>	

(All decimals to nearest last figure).



As the standards for assessing physique varied from hundred to hundred Men and Armour cannot be used as a basis for the comparison of physique in different areas of the county. The only comparisons which may be made are between the physique of men of various occupations or classes within each hundred, as these were assessed by the same standard. This has been done for eight occupational groups within each hundred and the result is shown in Table 4. Time did not allow for analysis of every trade or occupation, and some occupations were grouped together in order to get a number sufficient to have any significance. Even so the number of gentlemen - only 20 - is, perhaps, too small to be really representative.

The figure showing average physique of each occupational group has been calculated by the same method used in Tables 2 and 3. The groups are arranged in order according to physique.

Table 4

PHYSIQUE OF DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupational Group & Hundred	No. of Men in each Grade				Total No. Men	Average Physique
	p	m	ca	py		
<b>1. <u>Gentlemen</u></b>						
Longtree	1	3	1	0	5	3.00
Bisley	4	0	1	0	5	3.60
Whitstone	3	1	6	0	10	2.70
Total	8	4	8	0	20	3.00
<b>2. <u>Yeoman</u></b>						
Longtree	3	4	6	0	13	2.77
Bisley	15	16	22	2	55	2.80
Whitstone	12	25	14	0	51	2.96
Total	30	45	42	2	119	2.87
<b>3. <u>Clothiers</u></b>						
Longtree	7	12	10	1	30	2.83
Bisley	6	2	3	0	11	3.27
Whitstone	3	8	14	1	26	2.50
Total	16	22	27	2	67	2.78
<b>4. <u>Tailors &amp; Shoemakers</u></b>						
Longtree	5	17	18	1	41	2.63
Bisley	6	7	14	0	27	2.70
Whitstone	5	4	33	0	42	2.33
Total	16	28	65	1	110	2.54

continued ..

Table 4 continued

PHYSIQUE OF DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupational Group & Hundred	No. of Men in each Grade				Total No. Men	Average Physique
	p	m	ca	py		
<b>5. <u>Husbandmen</u></b>						
Longtree	12	34	86	5	137	2.39
Bisley	33	37	56	8	124	2.69
Whitstone	47	33	128	11	219	2.53
Total	92	94	270	24	480	2.53
<b>6. <u>Smiths,</u> <u>Masons,</u> <u>Carpenters,</u> <u>Tilers,</u> <u>Slatters &amp;</u> <u>Joiners</u></b>						
Longtree	1	12	30	1	44	2.30
Bisley	7	12	23	1	43	2.58
Whitstone	6	6	31	4	47	2.30
Total	14	30	84	6	134	2.39
<b>7. <u>Weavers</u></b>						
Longtree	5	40	156	8	209	2.20
Bisley	19	26	98	5	148	2.40
Whitstone	35	33	142	16	226	2.38
Total	59	99	396	29	583	2.32
<b>8. <u>Labourers</u></b>						
Longtree	1	6	28	7	42	2.02
Bisley	2	9	23	3	37	2.27
Whitstone	15	9	89	17	130	2.17
Total	18	24	140	27	209	2.16

(Decimals to nearest last figure)

The investigation shows what might well have been anticipated: physique varied in accordance with the wealth and prosperity of the various occupational classes; the gentlemen, clothiers and yeomen being high in the list, the labourers at the bottom. The weavers, as one might expect, are near the bottom, for the clothing trade always suffered from periods of depression when malnutrition would have a harmful effect on the health of the weavers. The comparatively high rating of the tailors and shoemakers is somewhat surprising for these are occupations which would attract men of poor physique and could be undertaken by cripples. It must be remembered, however, that cripples and other men unfit for military service are not listed in Men and Armour. Regrettably, John Smyth, who spent so much of his time searching the records of previous generations, did not realise how much more valuable Men and Armour would have been to future generations had he listed the men unfit for military service as well as the fit.

There is a considerable degree of agreement in the order in which the physique of the various occupational groups is placed in each of the three hundreds as shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Occupation	Order in each Hundred		
	Longtree	Bisley	Whitstone
1. Gentlemen	1	1	2
2. Yeomen	3	3	1
3. Clothiers	2	2	4
4. Tailors & Shoemakers	4	4	6
5. Husbandmen	5	5	3
6. Smiths, Masons, Etc.	6	6	7
7. Weavers	7	7	5
8. Labourers	8	8	8

As a source of information concerning health and physique in the early 17th Century, Men & Armour is somewhat disappointing. Nevertheless it might be worthwhile to extend this pilot study of occupation and physique to other hundreds and for all occupations employing more than a hundred men in the whole county. It might well indicate the relative prosperity and standard of living of the various trades and occupations, for this pilot study shows that there was a relationship between physique and social class in 1608 as there is in this century when medical examination of wartime recruits for the armed forces showed that boys from the public schools and universities had a much higher standard of physique than those from working class homes.

THE PETTY CONSTABLE'S ACCOUNTS OF WELFORD ON AVON, 1687-1735

by F. Storr

'The Justices will set us by the heels  
If we do not as we should  
Which if we perform the townsmen will storm  
some of them hang's if the could.'

Thus wrote a Surrey petty constable in the reign of Charles I and the burden was still the same for the petty constable of Welford on Avon at the end of the century.

The parish was the smallest administrative unit of government and the petty constable was appointed to see that the laws were kept, law breakers brought to justice, taxes collected and a great variety of duties carried out. Many a parish has among its records a list of the duties of its constable and without fail they end with words similar to these "He must do all other things belonging to the office of the constable".

He was responsible to the High Constable of the hundred and to the Justices of the Peace.

Michael Dalton in his handbook and guide for Justices of the Peace, The County Justice, first published in 1617 but going into many editions throughout the 17th century, says that the man who held the office of constable should have three things; "Honesty to execute his office truly, without malice, affection or partiality; Knowledge to understand what he ought to do and Ability, as well as substance or estate as in body, that he may intend and execute his office diligently."

The constable was chosen for a year's term from the more substantial of the parish yeomen and received no payment but he charged expenses incurred in the carrying out of his duties. Daniel Defoe writing of Parochial Tyranny in 1727 says "The imposition of the office is an insupportable hardship, it takes up a man's time that his own affairs are frequently wholly neglected yet there is neither profit nor pleasure there in but an inconceivable fatigue."

The constable was responsible for raising money to cover his expenses by levy of a rate and payment for writing this levy appears regularly in the Welford constable's accounts year by year.

    Paid ffor righting a levy                   £0. 0. 6.

In 1706 the constable was able to close his accounts thus:-

    Disbursed                                   £6. 11. 10.  
    Received by a levy                       £6. 14. 0.  
    Spend at the pasing these  
    accountes                                 £0. 2. 2.

    and so all the mony is gone.

but this was unusual for Will Millard, constable 1696-7 enabled his successor to begin his accounts:-

    Reseved of Will Millard the sum of   £1. 11. 0.

but in 1734 the entries began pd to the old constable out of pocket 0. 8. 6. The constable had to report on his activities regularly in the form of presentments to the Justice of the Peace 'of Things belonging to their office' and these had to be written out also and there appear these regular entries:-

Payd for a bill of presentment	0. 0. 6.
1690 Item Payed to Humphrey Wiggin ffor presentments in my time of Constables wirke	0. 2. 0.

The laws that the constable had to enforce were numerous and if he did not do it, then he was punished as Dalton states "If the constables shall neglect to levy severall forfeitures of Alehouse keepers, etc suffering tipping in their houses or for their measure of ale or beer or neglect to inform the justices of the faults such constable shall forfeit forty shillings or be committed to the common goale. If he fails to execute the Justices warrant for the correction of drunkenness then the constable would be fined 10s." Dalton leaves him in no doubt about how to 'know a drunken man' when he says 'where the same legs which carry a man into the house cannot bring him out again it is a sufficient sign of drunkenness.'

The Justices had to grant permission to keep a common ale house and the constable was responsible for seeing only licensed ale houses sold ale.

Item paid to Thomas Howes for going to Stow about the alle howses and with Tyso to the Justice	0. 2. 8.
1715 Charges for going to Camden to return the Ale housekeepers	0. 3. 0.

A common ale house keeper could not refuse to lodge someone if requested by the constable and the Welford constable frequently lodged passengers or travellers with Thomas Tysoe or Francis Shaw entering the charges in his accounts, four peñce a day being the legal charge.

The Overseers of the Poor were responsible for the poor of the parish but the constable was responsible for all those passing through with a pass or letter of request when financial help was given to travellers and passengers to crippled and lame, to soldiers and seamen, to dumb and blind and for folk who had suffered loss from fire or sea, women and children especially pregnant women.

These passes or letters of request issued by a Justice stated why the traveller needed to travel and why he was destitute and needed help and asked the constables of every parish through which they passed 'to helpe him with lodgin in convenient time' and then to see him on his way to his home parish.

1695 ffor sending a great bellied woman with a horse and reliefe	0. 2. 0.
1697 Charges and lodgin pasinjares Charges sendin them to the next parish	0. 1. 6. 0. 1. 0.

The quarter session order books repeatedly state the expenses allowed for sending these people on their way. "From Lady Day to Michaelmas only fourpence a mile and from Michaelmas to Lady Day six pence per mile for every single horse which shall carry any vagrant to the place the said vagrant is ordered to be conducted and four pence per day for each vagrants maintenance." If for some reason they could not be hurried on their way the costs mounted

1697. Charges Aprill the 19 to a pore man and his wife and children the woman was sick and was not able to travell for the space of three days lay on the parish 0. 2. 6.

An order of the Gloucester Quarter Session states "that when any vagrant or beggar be brought to any Justice of the Peace of this County by any constable it be recommended to the said Justice that he do carefully and diligently examine the said vagabond and his pass, testimonial or letter of request. And in any case he find ffraud therein or the said vagabond or beggar to be such a person as ought to be punished." Hence the entry found at intervals in Welford's accounts

Payd to a man and ffore chillde with a fulse pass loging at Shawes and wiping him and sending him away. 0. 9. 0.

3s of that would be paid to the person who did the whipping. Sessions were held by the Justices "to heare and determine trespasses against the publicke peace etc and offences by statute" and the constable had to produce a warrant in which he made the accusation of the offence. To take offenders to the justice and to write the warrant all cost money and were therefore recorded in the accounts

1694 Payed at Stratford taking Joseph Holtom and Rich: More to the Justices 0. 1. 6.  
Pd ffor hores and men and our charge taking Rich: ffreman to Gloucester 1. 8. 8.  
1697 Payed ffor a warrand ffor the widow Brumby 0. 0. 6.

We never learn from the accounts the reason for these warrants but occasionally the punishment is recorded

1709 pd ffor going to the Justice with Mary Court and Elizabeth Hains and for men to take them in 0. 5. 0.  
pd ffor wiping them 0. 2. 6.

In 1729 the parish must have allowed the repairs to the whipping post lapse because there are consecutive entries:-

the wiping post 0. 4. 6.  
charge wiping Wm Haines by Justice order 0. 3. 0.

There are regular entries for repairs to the stocks too though no entries regarding their use. Most repair bills are small but in 1704 major repairs must have been carried out.

for the timber, iorn work and making of the stox 0. 17. 9.

It was a statutory requirement that the stocks were kept in repair. As the stocks or the pillory were frequent punishment for bakers giving short weight loaves, maybe they were put into action in Welford when an order from the quarter sessions led to a rather different item of expense in the accounts in 1710

This court taking into serious consideration that the poor people are much oppressed by the smallness of the household bread which is to be made according to the assize of Bread set forth in the Statute made in the 5th year of Henry 2nd which was to be in proportion to the price of wheat by which statute as also by the 52nd of Henry 1st it was ordained that a bushell should contain 8 gallons and every gallon 8 pounds Troy weight and severall other good laws have been made for regulating weights and measures .. .. and yet not withstanding these good laws the common measure for grane in most places in this county is two gallons in the bushell above the standard which the occasion that the poor are defrauded in every loaf of bread one part in five by reason the baker buys an unlawfull bushell that contains 10 gallons and assizes his bread by a less bushell that contains only eight gallons by which means he sells eight gallons to the poor for the same price that he gives for 10 so that in every bushell a fifth part is lost to the buyer for remedy whereof it is ordered by this court that the severall constables of the towns and parishes within this county do persuant to the said statute make diligent search within their severall towns and parishes after all unlawful measures contrary to the said standard and examine the same and such as they find defective and contrary to the said standard do seize and break and do also present the names of all such persons as do make use of such unlawfull measures to the next general quarter sessions of the peace to the intent that they may be punished for the same according to the severall statutes and that in case any of these constables do refuse or neglect to do their duty herein that they be prosecuted for such their neglect and contempt.

Thus there appears in the Welford accounts the following items in 1710

pd ffor Breud Wates	0.	2.	2.
pd ffor a pare of scales to way bred	0.	4.	0.
pd ffor a pouter pint ffor ale	0.	1.	2.
pd ffor the act	0.	0.	6.

This last for having the order written out to be posted in a public place. The outlay was repeated in:-

1730	pd for an act for the size of bred	0.	1.	0.
	pd William Izod for weight	0.	5.	11½
and 1735	pd fore a scale and bem for the bred wates	0.	3.	5.

Catching an offender involved the constable in raising a Hue and Cry once or twice each year, as in:-

1691	ffor caring to huyes and cries to Hinton	0.	0.	4.
	ffor caring a huye and crie to Barton	0.	0.	4.



Dalton describes a hue and cry as a "pursuit of one who hath committed a felony by the highway, for if the party robbed or any in the company of one murdered or robbed come to the constable of the next town and require him to raise Hue and Cry or to pursue the offender, describing him and shewing (as near as he can) which way he is gone, the constable ought forthwith to call upon the parish for aid in seeking the felon and if he be not found there then to give the next constable warning and he the next until the offender be apprehended or at least persued thus to the sea side." Hence each entry in the accounts always names the next parish to which the Hue and Cry is carried and it was the legal obligation of any parishoner to aid the constable when he asked for it.

The setting of the watch when necessary was also the constable's responsibility. In his New Law Dictionary Jacob says this of the Watch "Watching is properly for the apprehending of rogues in the night as warding is for the day and for default of watch and ward a Township may be punished". Their function was "To arrest strangers suspected and make a hue and cry after them and justify detaining them till the morning".

Welford only paid for the watch on nights that it was likely to be necessary or when there was someone to guard. Hence an almost annual entry is the payment to the watch on the town's Wake night of 1s. but the entry for 1689 reads:

Spend on the wach at our Wake when the tumult was the solders	O.	2.	O.
1721 For bread and cheese for the watchers	O.	1.	O.
For cole and candle	O.	1.	O.
1730 Paid for ale at the Wake that the Watch had	O.	4.	O.

One wonders how well they kept watch that night.

Collecting the various rates and taxes was the constable's responsibility. Bridge money, quarter rates, poll tax, land tax, window tax, the tax on entries into the parish registers and trophy money were all collected and taken to the High Constable in 'Moreton Hinmarch' or Camden.

Dalton stated that "Justices may tax every inhabitant in a city, town or parish (within their limits) to such reasonable sum of money as by their discretion they shall think convenient as well as for repairing of the bridges as also for the making and repairing of any highwayes lying next adjoyning to the end of any such bridge distant from either ends of the bridge by the space of three hundred foote." Hence the annual entry of which this is an example

1697 Payed the Bridge Money to the High Constable	O.	17.	O.
Payed in horse hiare and my charge caring the bridge money to the high constable	O.	3.	6.

Poll tax is a tax imposed, sometimes on the heads of all indifferently and others according to their degree - on a duke £100, marquis £80, knight £30, Esquire £10 and every common man 1s.

1694 Pd in hores hiare and our charge	
going to Moreton about the Pole bill	0. 10. 6.
pd Mr Mills and Tho. Bromly caring	
in the sesments ffor the pole	0. 7. 0.

Land tax on the yearly value of land varied between 1s, 2s, 3s, or 4s in the pound.

1694 Pd in hores hiar and our charge at	
Camden about the Land Tax	0. 9. 0.
1697 Charges May the 17th to Thomas	
Bromly going to Moreton Hinmarch	
with a warrant consarning the Land Tax	0. 3. 5.

Window Tax was a duty charged on the occupiers or inhabitants of houses, not the landlords, and was 6s for houses having ten windows but under twenty, 10s when they had twenty but not more than thirty and 20s for thirty or more. Cottages not having £5 a year land to them were exempt.

1715 Pd the colectors of the window tax	
for caring in the sesments and	
makeing them and a warrant	0. 5. 0.

The tax on every entry in the registers was by degree £50 for a Duke down to 2s for a common man.

1694 Payed to Mr Herbit and Tho. Bromly	
when they went in to Camden to get	
the act conscarening marig, buril	
and crising	0. 6. 0.
1695 ffor going to Stow with the buriall	
money and wrighting the accounts	0. 5. 0.

"Trophy money" signifies money yearly raised and collected in several counties of England towards providing Harness and maintenance for the militia explains Jacob.

Dalton states that "there shall be a general muster of the militia once a year and then not to continue above four days without special direction". The Foot or Musqueteers were to have a musket three foot in the barrel, the bore whereof to bear a bullet of 12-14 to the pound. A collar of Bandaleers and a sword and to carry with them powder and ball of each half a pound. It was the constable who had to organise this annual muster and be responsible for the armes, of the trained band as they were called.

1697 has a typical variety of entries in the 'soldier's account'

Payed ffor seting ffoureth the Tran Band asffolloeth	
Payed 6 soulders to dayes pay a pece at	
2s 6d a day the sume of	1. 10. 0.
payed ffor powder and bullet	0. 2. 0.
payed ffor mending to muskets	0. 2. 6.
payed ffor scowering ffoure muskets	0. 2. 0.
payed ffor hiare of a picke	0. 1. 0.
payed to the muster master	0. 6. 0.
payed ffor writing the levy	0. 0. 6.
payed in horse hiare and my charge and	
mony spend on the soulders	0. 10. 0.
payed ffor writing this account	0. 0. 6.

His levy raised £2. 18s. so Will. Millard had also money in hand for his 'soldiers account' when he handed over to his successor.

Separate Fieldsmen's account exist for Welford for 2 years 1727 and 1737, but the constable was usually responsible for the parish's pasture gates as almost annual entries indicate.

1689	Payed Isark Campden ffore making and hanging the paster gate	0. 1. 4.
	Payed ffore thimbolles ffore the same gate	0. 0. 6.
	Payed ffore wood ffore the same gate	0. 1. 0.

The constable travelled extensively in his year of office making journeys all over the county and into Warwickshire usually hiring a horse for the occasion, but a series of unusual entries in 1730 show that sometimes a waggon was used, and the roads of the day were not always kind.

	Paid for mending and hier of a whele	0. 7. 0.
	Paid for caring home the whele	0. 5. 0.
	Paid to a man for Draw Ing us out	0. 5. 0.

The constable had to take an oath of office and every account begins

	Pd for takeing my oath	0. 1. 0.
--	------------------------	----------

Very rarely does a national event affect the accounts but in 1715 the entry reads:-

	Charges taking the abjuration oath att Camden	0. 6. 0.
--	--	----------

explained by Jacob as the oath 'where a man bound himself not to own any regal authority in the person called the pretender, nor ever to pay him any obedience'.

One national event remembered annually was November 5th though the records show that at first the celebrations were in the hands of the Churchwardens and from 1695 to 1725 entries like this occur in their accounts:-

	Given the ringers on gunpowder treason	0. 5. 0.
--	--	----------

but the style of keeping the occasion obviously changes and naturally it becomes the responsibility of the constable when from 1732 gunpowder is used.

1734	Pd for one pound of gunpowder the 5th November	0. 1. 9.
------	---	----------

The question Why? What Happened? repeatedly invades the mind of anyone reading the accounts of Welford's constables over the years 1687 - 1735 and each time it remains unanswered and yet the accounts, never intended to do more than record the expenses of the constable, do give a glimpse of parish life of the early eighteenth century.

#### Bibliography

- G.R.O. P 353 CO 1/1 Constables Accounts 1687 - 1735  
G.R.O. C.W. 1/1, 2/1, 2/2 Churchwarden's Accounts  
G.R.O. Q/S03  
Michael Dalton The County Justice (London 1643 edition)  
Giles Jacob A New Law Dictionary (London 1744 edition)

POOR LAW DOCUMENTS OF CHIPPING CAMPDEN

by J. James

In 1662, the Act of Settlement was passed by the Restoration Parliament. This Act gave the Overseers of the Poor the right to remove by Justice's Warrant, any "person or persons coming so to settle themselves as aforesaid in any tenement under a yearly value of Ten Pounds", if they judged that the intruders were "likely to become chargeable to the Parish."

The effect of this clause was to make it difficult for a poor person to seek work outside his own parish, that is to say, outside the parish in which he was legally settled.

In a rural parish, such as Chipping Campden, a newcomer would not escape the notice of the Overseers, and since the yearly value of labourers' cottages was around £3 on average, the £10 rule meant that virtually every intruder was eligible for removal. Moreover, the law stated that removal orders based on the £10 qualification had to be issued within forty days. This gave the intruder little time to prove himself capable of earning a living wage.

The first question that arises from a consideration of the 500 or so documents relating to the migration of the Poor at Chipping Campden in the years between 1693 and 1834, concerns the amount of movement that actually took place. When the law made it so hard for poor people to seek work beyond their parish of settlement, how is it that so much evidence of movement survives?

The documents as a whole indicate a situation much less restrictive than the rigorous application of the law would have produced. Of the total number, about a fifth are settlement certificates. For many years, before the Act of 1662, it had become a common practice to issue passes to people seeking work outside their parish of settlement. Thus, a man could go and help with the harvest in an adjoining parish when he was short of work in his own. Such an arrangement might save his own parish the cost of supporting him, and, provided the adjoining parish had an assurance that his own parish would accept responsibility for any charge on the rates he might incur, no objection would be raised to his coming. These unofficial passes were the forerunners of the settlement certificates authorised by an Act of 1693. The 101 settlement certificates in the Chipping Campden collection are the guarantees which enabled people to move around with a degree of freedom. Not that they moved very far. A survey of parishes mentioned in all the documents showed that all but half a dozen were within 20 miles of Chipping Campden.

If the overseers considered that someone not legally settled in the parish was about to become a charge on the parish rates, or if such a person actually applied for relief, he could be removed to his parish of legal settlement; but the law required that before this happened an examination had to take place in the presence of the overseers and two local justices. In the Campden collection examinations have survived, and individually are more interesting than either removal orders or the settlement certificates because they contain some account of the poor

folk of the period, people whose lives would otherwise have no record at all. To one examination there is attached a letter written by a soldier stationed in Gibraltar whose wife and children have become a burden to the rates at Campden (1). It is worth quoting in full as an unusual example of an uneducated man's style of composition:

"Sir,

Respecting of my wife and family which is in Campden at present, I have to inform you. When I enlisted at Abinton in Berkshire, I was born in the parish of Nethrop near Banbury, County of Oxford. But I Samuel Tracey by birth I was christened in that Banbury Church. I never bound prentice to any trade or yet a servant so as to claim any parish. But my father's Samuel Tracey. My father's brother which is living in the world's, William Tracey. I was married to Catherine Cowley that was my wife's name. I was married in Athlone in the County of Ros Common in Irland and have 2 children namely Susannah 3 years of age, Marey about 7 months. I have nothing more to say at present, I remain your fried

Samuel Tracey."

The letter in the hand of Samuel Tracey, was signed and dated 8th February 1831, it establishes that Samuel Tracey's wife and children had no legal settlement in Campden. No removal order survives to say what became of them. Samuel Tracey himself had no settlement of his own ("I never bound prentice to any trade or yet a servant so as to claim any parish."). Nor is the settlement of his father given, the implication being that he was dead. The reference to "my father's brother" may have been a suggestion that William Tracey could provide further information about the settlement in the absence of the father. The corresponding removal order may have been lost; otherwise, its absence would prove that the overseers could not decide where to send the family of Samuel Tracey and finally accepted the responsibility for them. Other examinations in the collection were taken down by a clerk and their grammar and syntax are consequently more accurate: the hand of the examinee only appears at the end, usually as a cross, though in about a quarter, a signature appears. The possible explanation for this fairly high proportion of written signatures, among people who might be expected to be illiterate is that for one reason or another they had learned to write their own names. It certainly does not mean that a quarter of the examinees were literate.

Most of the documents appear on printed forms: particulars of each case are written in ink within the spaces provided. This made it easy to extract the essential information for the purpose of the study. The details include, firstly, some account of the subject or subjects of the documents: Christian names and surname, sometimes the occupation; wife's name and the names and ages of dependent children. The children's ages are most often given as approximations, showing that it did not matter greatly to the overseers, whose main concern was the number of mouths that might have to be filled. The form also states the subjects' parish of legal settlement, the date and the signatures of the presiding justices. Occasionally interesting information is written on the back of the form. On January 29th, 1781 a certain

Richard Ballinger was "apprehended in the parish of Saint Giles-in-the-fields, Middlesex, as a rogue and a vagabond, viz. there wandering and lodging in the open air." In an examination on the same day, he claimed a settlement at Chipping Campden and was duly removed thence. On the back of the removal order that accompanied him is a list of the districts through which he passed, showing how the local constables were charged with the job of conveying him from stage to stage in the journey. Ballinger was classed as a vagrant: the six separate messages he collected on his warrant all follow a stereotyped form:

"To the Constable of \_\_\_\_\_ in the said County.  
Convey the within named vagrant to \_\_\_\_\_ in the County of \_\_\_\_\_.  
Given under my hand this \_\_\_\_\_ Day, February 1781."

The route he took closely followed the course of the River Thames: Colnbrook, Maidenhead, Henley, Abingdon, Shippon (Berks), Lechlade and Campden. Each appended message was dated, so we know that the journey of about 100 miles took about a fortnight. Incidentally Richard Ballinger's family is well represented in the documents. In May 1781. Richard was again examined. His father, William Ballinger, whose settlement certificate, issued in 1746, shows that he, William, was settled at Charlton Kings. We know from documents relating to his daughter Mary, whose case will be mentioned later that he never gained a settlement in Campden. Richard's parish of settlement was established as Mickleton, one of the parishes bordering Campden; and on May 24th, 1781 a removal order was issued in his name. Just why Richard was sent to Campden rather than Mickleton is not clear. But the case shows how the law aided the Overseers in their efforts to serve the financial interest of the parish. Later amendments to the Poor Law recognised that the insecurity suffered by people like the Ballingers could not be tolerated by society and in the latter part of the eighteenth century a more humane approach to the problem of the poor begins to show itself. An Act of 1782 reduced the discretionary powers of the overseers and in 1795, it became illegal to remove poor people merely on the grounds that they "were likely to become chargeable". From then on, the emphasis of law shows a gradual change for the better.

In addition to the listing of the particulars in removal orders and settlement certificates, the details of the examinations were noted. Although most of the examinations are in manuscript rather than on printed forms, they follow a standard pattern. The interest of the parish in the examinee was limited to a certain range of facts: the name of the examinee is given, and details of wife and family if any; again children are carefully listed in descending order of age. The examinee states his or her parish of legal settlement and also the condition through which settlement was gained. The text of a typical case runs thus:-

"The examination of Jane Gould now residing in Chipping Campden in the Co. of Gloucestershire taken upon oath before we two of his Majesty's Justice of the Peace in and for the said County. 15th April 1803.

"Who saith that she was born at South Littleton in the County of Worcestershire, the place of her father's

settlement. That about two years ago last Michaelmas, she was hired at Evesham Mop by Henry Biddle of Broome in the parish of Bideford, in the County of Warwickshire, farmer, from Michaelmas to Michaelmas at the wages of four guineas; that she received her full wages and that she has not since done anything to gain a settlement elsewhere - and the examinant saith that she is now big with child.

The Mark of J. Gould  
X.

Settlement in a parish could be gained in a number of ways. Before some interpretation of the Chipping Campden documents is attempted, a word about this is relevant. Children inherited their fathers' settlement until they reached the age of seven when they could gain a settlement of their own. Women gained a settlement by marriage. A widow retained the settlement of her husband until she qualified for a settlement of her own or else married again. The Act of 1693 defined other means of gaining a settlement: the serving of an apprenticeship; being hired as a servant for one year; subscribing for a year to the parish rates; holding a parish office. Hence the significance of Samuel Tracey's testimony "I never bound prentice to any trade or yet a servant so as to claim any parish." The remaining important qualification for settlement has already been mentioned in the negative terminology adopted by the 1662 Act. The clause which stated that anyone could be removed if he could not rent a £10 tenement, implied that renting of property of £10 upwards was a qualification for settlement. A certain Isaac Snow in an examination dated 19th July, 1782 said that he rented a farm at Bourton-on-the-Hill for four years at an annual rent of £170 per annum. On these grounds his settlement was deemed to be at Bourton and a removal order was issued. One would like to know more about the circumstances that brought a farmer of substance into Campden as a pauper.

Turning to the interpretation of the material contained in the documents: the first point to make, and most important, is that the collection is not complete. The documents that survive do not tell the whole story of the overseers' efforts to get rid of undesirables - for that is how most overseers seem to have regarded most paupers. 170 removal orders and 175 examinations were counted but only 60 removal orders could be "matched" with the examinations from which they arose. Assuming that most if not all, examinations resulted in removal orders, 110 removal orders lack corresponding examinations and 80 examinations lack their corresponding removal orders: a total shortage of over 190 documents. In this matter the Campden collection does not differ from many others that survive up and down the country. But the absence of so much material seriously limits the scope for analysis. It would be of little use therefore to compare the numbers of removal orders from one year to the next with the view to assess, for example, fluctuations in the local economic climate. Even so, there remain several lines of enquiry. The composition of families as they are listed on removal orders referring both to removals from Campden and those from other parishes into Campden were analysed with the following results:-



Families that include children	...	...	96
Single Men	...	...	46
Single women or widows	...	...	60
Widows with children	...	...	7

The group containing adults and children are clearly the commonest subject of removal orders. Parish authorities would naturally be reluctant to accept the whole families, particularly those with young children for whereas a single man with the will to work stood a good chance of being self supporting, a man with several dependants would find it harder. Further, the parish would be less indulgent to the large family, knowing that if circumstances turned out badly, the burden on the rates would be greater. Evidence of the inhumanity of the Poor Laws emerges from a consideration of the cases involving single women, several of whom were stated to be pregnant. Parishes were particularly anxious to remove prospective unmarried mothers, since in law, up to the time of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 (4 & 5 Will 4 c76), a bastard child was the responsibility of the parish in which it was born. So the overseers would have scant sympathy for the condition of any "single woman, big with child" whose settlement was not within their own parish. Instead every effort would be made to hustle her off. The way in which the law favoured the rate payers rather than the poor themselves meant that the plight of the mother-to-be could be desperate. In 1810, a removal order was issued at Campden for "Hannah Abbots, single woman being pregant". Her parish of settlement was stated as Birmingham; the order is one of only six that refer to parishes more than ten miles away from Chipping Campden. The journey to Birmingham was an arduous, not to say expensive one at the beginning of last century. The woman would have been accompanied by an overseer or his representative for part of the way. Depending on her condition at the time, she might have needed some conveyance other than a horse. Altogether a costly undertaking. If she had possessed a settlement certificate, all the removal costs could have been reclaimed from Birmingham, but the settlement certificates are missing from 1797 onwards, so we cannot know on whom the cost of this removal finally fell. However, other evidence shows that parishes accepted considerable removal costs rather than permit the birth of an illegitimate child within their boundaries.

Some idea of the actual cost of conveying a woman to her own parish is given in Dorothy Marshall's book The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century. This account is taken from the earlier part of the period being discussed but, bearing in mind that the journey was about the same distance as Hannah Abbots', and that during the first half of the eighteenth century parishes commonly maintained a poor person on a weekly allowance of between two and three shillings it does illustrate the point.

"An account which was spent abt. Clarah Bramph<sup>t</sup>. settlement in Whitehav<sup>n</sup>. (2).

2 Horses to Graithw <sup>t</sup>	1. 6.
" " " Whitehaven	7. 6.
To Ad. Walker for her entertainment	1. 6.
To Jane Godfrey	0. 6.
Spent in our journey to Whitehaven	8. 9.
An horse 3 times to Graithw <sup>t</sup>	1. 6.

cont..

Expenses and repairing saddles	1. 5.
Expenses to Carlise	11. 10.
For conveying her to Whitehaven	9. 10.
Entertainment for man and horse	1. 15. 10.
	<hr/>
	£3. 19. 8."
	<hr/>

Sometimes, the parish to which a pauper was removed would appeal against the order. An order issued at Campden in November 1830 for the removal of William Merryman his wife and six children has attached to it the record of the decision given at the Gloucester Quarter Sessions of January 1831 (3). The inhabitants of Cofton Hackett in Worcestershire, no doubt alarmed at the prospect of eight extra mouths to feed, had appealed against the order. The record of the appeal reads:

"It is ordered by this Court that the inhabitants of the said Parish of Cofton do pay the Inhabitants of the said Parish of Chipping Campden the Sum of forty shillings for the costs which they have been put into in appearing here now at this Session to support the said order of Removal.

By the Court, Edw<sup>d</sup> Bloxsome"

Two of the justices at the hearing were Doctors of Divinity. One wonders about their attitudes to the fate of William Merryman and his family, delivered by their decision to the care of a parish unwilling to accept responsibility for them. Such appeals consumed much of the time at Quarter Sessions, and not a little of the parish rate too. Add to the cost of litigation, sundry expenses of the overseers, particularly the money spent on "refreshments" whenever they met to conduct their business and it becomes obvious that the proportion of the total rate available for the relief of the poor was less than it ought to have been. Even so, Chipping Campden cared for its poor as well as most parishes. In the first half of the eighteenth century a yearly sum of about £200 was actually spent on relief. This rose to £800 after 1750 and to £900 in the seventies. By 1800 it was £1000 a year. A single levy of the rate brought in £80 throughout the period, so the number of levies per year rose from three to fourteen during the century (4). Reckoning about £7 as the annual cost of maintaining one poor person in food and clothing for a year, a single levy of the rate would maintain the equivalent of a dozen people for that period. And this amount was raised in a community numbering about 1500 people (5).

The hardening of attitudes towards poverty reflected in the poor laws of the later 17th century and early 18th century contrasts strongly with the paternalistic spirit of the Elizabethan Poor Law. By the eighteenth century it was the commonly held view that poverty was the result of wilful improvidence and so the poor laws gradually changed their emphasis. Where once they had aimed to serve the poor, now they came to serve the financial interests of the parish, and the narrow outlook of a parish based administration. Thus, the rise that took place over the period in the number of appeals against removal orders supports the impression even more than the inhumanity contained in the references to unmarried expectant mothers that the main object of the parish overseers was to keep out as many poor people as possible.

The Campden documents show that the support that parishes gave to the legal profession did stop at appeals against unfavourable decisions in the courts. Among the removal orders there is evidence to show the Campden overseers took professional advice over a questionable claim to settlement:

"Corrielius Smith is possessed of a small cottage (which was lately given to him in and by the last Will and Testament of Anne Smith, deceased, for the remainder of a term of 2000 years. Subject to a charge of 3/4d per annum. Situate in the parish of Chipping Camden in the County of Gloucestershire wherein the said Smith, his wife and family now dwell. The said Cornelius Smith for many years before he was possessed of the said cottage had and now hath a certifacte from the parish of Ilmington, though has often been relieved by the parish of Chipping Camden. But the money was always repaid by the officers of Ilmington."

NB. The Cottage above mentioned is not computed to be reasonably worth more than about £25 to be sold.

Query: Does Smith, being possessed of the above cottage gain him a settlement in Campden or can the Officers of Chipping Campden remove him by Virtue of the Above Certificate or how would you advise the parish of Campden to Act under the circumstances?

Answer: If Cornelius Smith has resided 40 days in the above mentioned cottage which was devised to him by his Aunt for the rem'r of a long term not yet expired, I am most clearly of the opinion that he has gained a settlement in Campden notwithstanding he carries a certificate from Ilmington. It is true that he is not within the words of Stat:9 and 10 W.3 c.11, but the residence on a man's own Estate has been considered by the Court of King's Bench as a stronger case than the casual acquired by renting £10 p.a. The settlement in this arises by Construction on Stat. 13 and 14 Car.2 c.12 not from the words of that Act but on the principle that a person residing on his own Estate cannot be removed. The value of the cottage is totally immaterial, the case of a Devise not being within Stat.9 Geo.1 which extends only to purchase for a pecuniary consideration. The consequence of this opinion is that the parish of Campden cannot remove the paupers to Ilmington by virtue of the Certificate but are bound to maintain them.

Wm. Selwyn 23rd April  
1768  
Boswell Court, Carey  
Street

The fluency of the language is in striking contrast to the stilted clichés which fill most of the examination records. But no doubt the inhabitants of Camden paid the price for it. Turning now to the dating of the Campden removal orders, one notices immediately that it is very irregular. There seem to have been long periods when few orders were issued; and then suddenly several orders are issued on a single date or within a few weeks of one another. For the 32 years between 1708 and 1740 only nine orders survive. There are eight orders for 1741 alone. For one month in 1781, ten orders survive, while there is a complete gap between 1790 and 1796 even though this last period was particularly hard for the poor. If the price of corn is taken as a rough index of the cost of living, a rise in corn prices of 34 shillings, (from 58s to 92s per quarter) could be

expected to lead to a rise in the number of people forced to apply for parish relief. Such a rise would lead to a rise in issues of removal orders which would be further increased by the overseers' efforts to reduce for the sake of economy, the number of paupers already in receipt of relief. Also an Act of 1795 (35 Geo.III c.101) ordered that "no person shall be removed until he has actually become chargeable to the parish he inhabits." Anticipating this restriction, the overseers could be expected to remove all whom they considered likely to become chargeable before the new Act put an end to their wide discretionary powers. All this strongly suggests that orders were issued during the 1790's and are lost.

But further reference to the price of corn may explain the jump in the number of removal orders issued in 1741 and 1781. Figures published in the Gloucester Journals of the time show that in 1740 and 1780 the price of corn took a sudden leap:-

Price of corn per bushel at Gloucester Market (6)

1738	3-9	to	4-4	1779	4-6	to	5-0
1739	3-10 $\frac{1}{2}$	to	4-6	1780	4-8 $\frac{1}{2}$	to	5-2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1740	6-3	to	7-3	1781	6-3 $\frac{1}{2}$	to	6-8
1741	7-3 $\frac{1}{2}$	to	8-3	1782	7-3	to	8-1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Figures for the country as a whole show that local prices reflected the general trend. Between 1735 and 1740, the price of corn rose 80% and in 1781 it was 30% higher than in 1780, and continuing to rise steeply over the whole year until the 1782 price was 82% above the 1780 level. If we assume that the high prices originate in shortages on the supply side attributable to bad harvests, they may help to explain the further fact that in October 1781, no less than ten removal orders were issued at Chipping Campden. Over the period 1708-1834 the average for a whole year was less than two. Farm labour was commonly recruited at the Mop Fairs held around Michaelmas. Labourers were hired for the year so that in October, in a rural parish like Campden, many men would complete their contracts. If times were good and the economy buoyant, demand for labour would be enough to take up all the available supply, but in times of bad harvests, farmers would have to economise and a pool of unemployed would result. Then the overseers, anticipating a rise in applications for parish relief, would be anxious to remove anyone who was unemployed and lacking a local settlement.

Evidence of this kind, together with that of the harshness of the law, indicates how precarious was the existence of the poor in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A series of bad harvests could reduce them not only to abject poverty but could lead to expulsion from the surroundings in which they had lived all their lives. The Ballinger family has already been mentioned in another context. We cannot tell whether they were particularly improvident or just victims of more than their share of misfortune. William Ballinger had a daughter Mary who in her examination of July 4th 1775 stated that her father was legally settled in Charlton Kings. He had come to Campden 30 years before; since then, he had done nothing to gain a settlement in Campden. The settlement certificates show that William Ballinger was admitted to Campden in 1746. It is significant that he lived

in the parish so long without gaining a settlement. Mary Ballinger was born in Campden but since she in turn had done nothing to gain a settlement of her own, she inherited that of her father. In July 1775 she was sent away to Charlton Kings.

To conclude, this collection of documents is a relic of an age in which government was far less centralised than it is today. The collection illustrates the real meaning of the word "parochial" as applied to men's attitudes, and it provides evidence of a distortion of values encouraged by the parochial system - and in providing such evidence it helps to demonstrate why it was that the parish system of poor relief had eventually to be swept away before the Welfare State as we know it could be born.

#### Sources

Glos. R.O., P.81 OV3/1 Settlement Certificates  
Glos. R.O., P.81 OV3/2 Removal Orders (from Campden to other  
parishes)  
Glos. R.O., P.81 OV3/3 Removal Orders (from other parishes to  
Campden)  
Glos. R.O., P.81 OV3/4 Examinations

#### References

1. Glos. R.O., P.81 OV3/4
2. Dorothy Marshall "The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century" (1969) P.171
3. Glos. R.O., P.81 OV3/2
4. C. Whitfield "A History of Chipping Campden" (1958) P.155
5. Sir R. Atkyns "The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire" (1712) P.321
6. All figures from "Gloucester Journals" were kindly supplied by Mr. J. Wyatt.

THE POOR OF CHEDWORTH 1762 - 1769

by M. Powell

Overseers were appointed at Easter and Michaelmas for a six month period of service. As one reads the Account Book the variety of styles of account is very obvious. Some Overseers would detail each payment to the last farthing, whilst others would merely state name, date and amount of money paid out. As Overseers were 'people' it must be that their response to and judgement of an appeal for assistance would vary; some would naturally be more sympathetic than others in their attitudes, it would be easier for the pauper to speak of his material needs to some Overseers than to others. One could surmise that some would be more ready to give assistance than others. There are accounts within some six month periods of a heavy paying out, such as during March 1769, so it could be that either there were serious economic factors governing, or the Overseer was more kindly disposed.

An account was kept of the giving of poor relief exactly to the last penny, and the books balanced monthly. Some people were relieved on a regular basis each week, and received the same amount each time. However, some were given more than others so obviously each case was judged individually. The money was raised by the rating of landowners and householders, who were rated as to their properties' value. This was the main source of income. A very minute but interesting source came at the event of a pauper's death; if there were no dependents, by the sale of his goods. There are a few entries showing this, but there was one of note. A certain Jane Belcher died after receiving a total of £2. 8. 1. from the parish, which was detailed over a period of about three months as - wood purchased for her fire - the attendance on her of Sarah Williams - and a weekly sum of 2/- for her maintenance.- When her goods were sold they raised £2. 18. 6d - so the parish benefited by 10s. 5d.

It is possible to build up a picture and put names to the people of the village through examining the Accounts Book. For example, one learns that there was a sort of 'Home Help' service - the parish paying someone to regularly care for another person. Ann Agge (or Egg) looked after Mary Clemens for at least twenty three years, while she herself received Parish relief. There are regular accounts of the village midwife performing her duties around the village - Mrs. Hendries was followed by Mrs. Jane Sherman, who was succeeded by Mrs. Sly. They not only cared for the women of the village, but we read of the account of a tinker and his wife, who were supported by the parish from March to October 1793, then after Jane Sherman had attended the wife at the birth of her child, there was no further record. So it seems that the parish would care for a passing stranger while they were in need, but possibly for no longer. There was also an account of a man taken ill on the side of the road in March, 1789, he was given 2/6 and cared for overnight at the cost of 1/-, and then presumably sent on his way.

Paupers' funerals often appear in the records, so one is able to glean knowledge, not only of the unfortunate one who had died, but also names of who had made the coffin, who had made the shroud

and who had tolled the bell. It would seem that John Taylor was succeeded by his son Richard, for the accounts name them as the carpenters from 1762-1784. The cloth merchant and seamstress not only produced the shrouds, they provided clothes for the children of the poor. Little mysteries emerge such as in 1762 Philip Glover provided cloth for Sarah Glover to sew shrouds, but by 1775 Mary Taylor was his seamstress, so where was Sarah? Had she died or retired? And who was Mary? a relative of the Taylors' who made the coffins? It could have been quite a little family concern! That the children of the poor were clothed as necessary from the poor relief fund is detailed in various parts of the Account Book, for example in 1784 the children of Mary Robins, a widow were given: 2 Hankerchiefs 1/-, 2 Aprons 2/-, Strip & Tipatt 1/9, Frock, coat & making 4/6, 2 Shirts 4/11, buttons and thread and making 1/2.

It is sometimes interesting to see the variance in the spelling, often suggesting the way the local people would speak, words appear written down in the way they would be spoken as in the account of the attention of a certain Henry Newman recieved in September, 1787. The account reads thus:-

'laid out for Henry Newman at Gloucester

a Blanckut	4.	6.
a shirt	4.	6.
a waskut	5.	0.
a pear of stockings	1.	0.
for soap and wood	1.	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ .
for Cleansing him	4.	0.'

There appears to be quite a rapid turnover of doctors for six names are recorded in the Account Book between 1778 and 1791, and their fees were always quite high, often as much as £5. 5s. 0d per consultation, especially when they had to deal with contagious cases. There was a smallpox outbreak between March and May 1788 and there are accounts of Charles Robins, for one days' work attending the smallpox 1/- and Joseph Wilson, paid 2/1 for white-washing the smallpox house. It is interesting to note that here and in another entry concerning the repairing of a Church House, the ordinary working man's wage was low in comparison with his outgoings. For example - in February/March 1783 Giles Bridges submitted his account and the entry of the Overseer was as follows -

'Paid Giles Bridges four days work	6.	0.
Do four Bushels of lime	3.	4.
Do for stones, and carriage	4.	0.
Do for glaziers bill	16.	8.'

So it seems for a days labour he was only paid 1/6, while a pair of shoes at that time cost 2/9, so he would need to work for two days in order to buy one pair of shoes.

The accounts reveal various everyday details such as that wood was regularly 'Cleaved and hauled' by various persons, for distribution to the poor. Cheese and bread were bought. Ale was drunk at a funeral. House rents were paid. A guinea was paid every year to 'the Infirmary'. A letter from Gloucester cost 8d. One can feel sorry for poor Sarah Tilling for there was 'a journey to Cirencester with Sarah Tilling, she being a brooding, 1. 6. Paid for her oath 1/-. Paid for a warrant to take the man 1/-. The Accounts Book teems with the life and deaths of the poor.



It would seem that the job of the Overseer of the Poor was to provide the basic essentials which were lacking, while at the same time not being over-generous because he would have to consider the necessity of not spending more money than was available at any one time. There was a movement in the latter part of the 18th Century to abolish the Poor Law. Those against it, many of them of the clergy, saw the pathetic dependence of the pauper on the Overseer, so would have preferred a system of private contributions. Whilst those for it, many of them from the upper classes, thought that not enough people would remember to care for the poor. But, to the pauper, in the ultimate, all he would care about was whether he was cold and hungry, or whether he was not cold and hungry.

#### Bibliography

J. Townsend, 'A Dissertation on the Poor Law.'

T. Ruggles, 'History of the Poor'

Glos. R.O., P77a OV2

THE POOR LAW RECORDS OF BITTON, 1771 - 1830

by J.W. Wyatt

Volume V of Gloucestershire Historical Studies contained a general review of the Overseers' Accounts from 1771 to 1821. Such an article tends to emphasise the more interesting entries in the accounts, just as a newspaper emphasises the more interesting happenings of the day rather than giving a balanced account of the normal life of the populace. To rectify any distortion in the picture given of the administration of the old poor laws in Bitton, this article presents a detailed analysis of the Overseers' Accounts for two periods: the three years 1771-74, and two years 1828-30.

The analysis is not as complete or methodical as could be desired. It fails to show the cost to the parish of the births and maintenance of illegitimate children. The presentation of the accounts precluded this. Entries relating to the support of families stricken by small-pox sometimes give the combined cost of maintenance and 'necessaries', and other ambiguities occasionally occur. To understand the analysis fully the notes on each individual heading which follow it should be read. The writer must also admit to making a small margin of error in sorting out and totalling the individual entries in the account books. Such errors and ambiguities, however, are not sufficient to make any significant distortion of the analysis or the conclusions to be drawn from it.

The accounts give a fairly clear picture of the Workhouse, where the children were maintained and set to work until 1790, but little information can be gleaned from them as to the administration of the Poor House for adults: no mention is made of any master or supervisor; of food being bought for the inmates; only occasionally of coal being provided. As far as one can gather from the accounts the inmates, or families of inmates, were given a weekly allowance of money and lived in the Workhouse rent free, buying their own provisions and looking after themselves or helping each other, though in some years at least a woman was paid 2s.0d. a week 'for looking after the poor.'

In the earlier period, 1771-74, there was possibly more than one Poor House for references are made to 'the Poor House', 'the Little House at Upton' and 'the house at Westdover'. From 1828 to 1830 reference is made only to 'the Poor House'. This must have been a large building: an entry in September, 1827, reads 'For sweeping Nine Chimneys at the Poor House 3s.0d.' Occasional references are made to the purchase of equipment, saucepans, balances, etc., for it. The buying of coal for individual persons stated to be in the Poor House supports the supposition that each family lived and provided for itself separately. As there were at least nine fireplaces the Poor House was big enough for this. When a person entered the Poor House any property he owned was made over to the parish.

TABLE A. ANALYSIS OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE

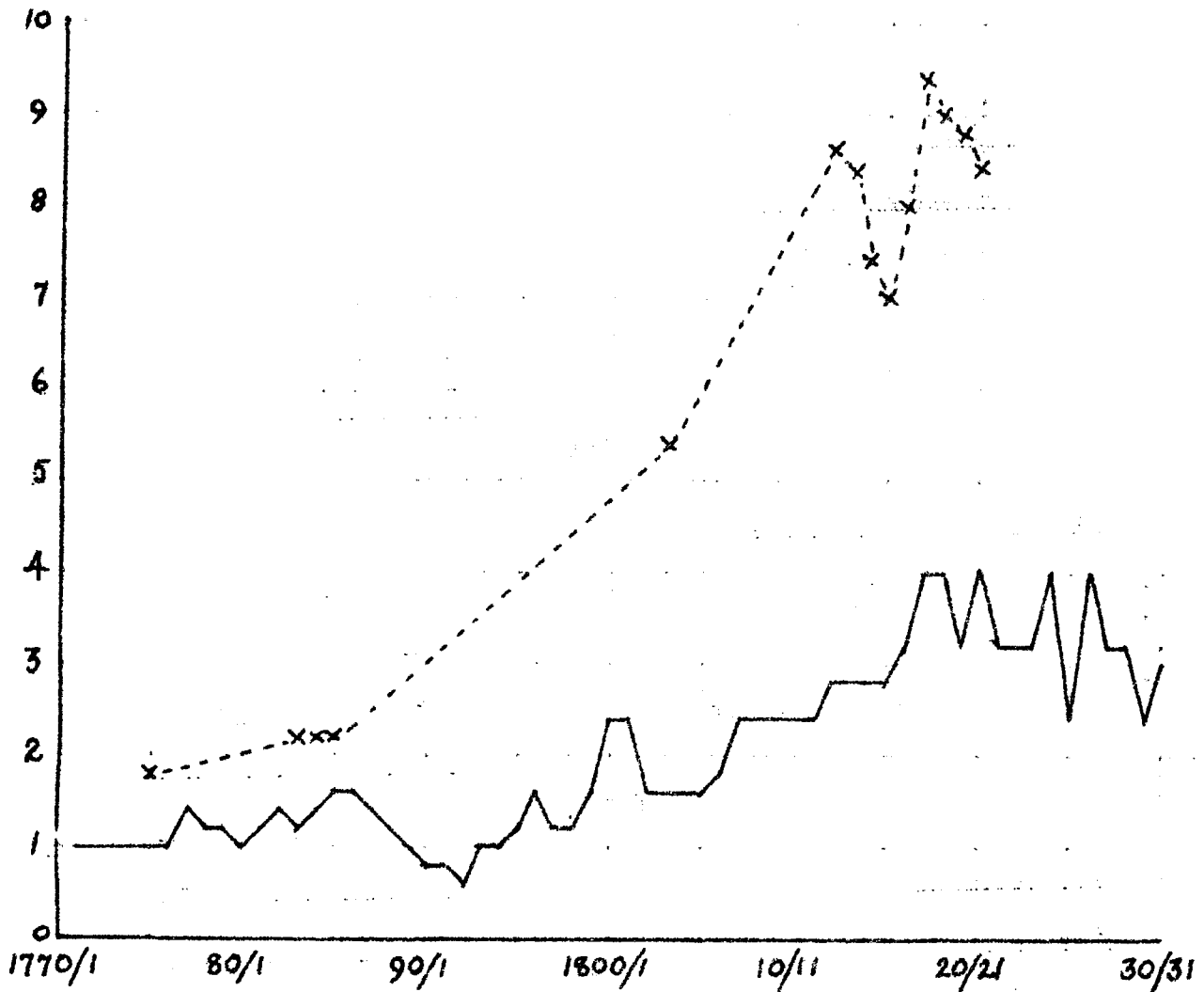
<u>A. ADMINISTRATION &amp; LAW ENFORCEMENT</u>	<u>1771-1774</u>			<u>1828-1830</u>		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1. Parish Meetings	9	10	4½	1	0	0
2. Salary: Acting Overseer	22	19	0	100	0	0
3. Stationery & Postage	1	9	8	6	3	11½
4. Maintenance Parish Property	10	4	1	43	5	3
5. Rent. Workhouse & Poor House	34	14	6	-	-	-
6. Legal Expenses General	19	13	8	35	3	9½
7. " " Bastardy	12	16	11	20	3	3
8. " " Settlement & Removal	11	13	8	25	11	6
9. Inquests, etc.	-	-	-	26	4	9
Total	<u>123</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10½</u>	<u>257</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>
 <u>B. COUNTY RATE</u>	 <u>16</u>	 <u>4</u>	 <u>0</u>	 <u>317</u>	 <u>17</u>	 <u>4</u>
 <u>C. CASH PAYMENTS TO POOR</u>						
1. Weekly List	366	17	6	1006	8	3
2. Casual Payments	105	9	7	198	1	11
3. For Labour	-	-	-	5	14	2
4. To Vagrants	-	-	-	2	5	7½
5. For Children in Workhouse	96	8	2	-	-	-
Total	<u>568</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1212</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11½</u>
 <u>D. HELP TO POOR IN KIND</u>						
1. Clothes & Shoes	20	16	8	19	9	7¼
2. Bedding & Blankets	3	17	1½	1	10	8
3. Coal	-	-	-	1	19	11
4. Coal for Workhouse & Poor House	20	4	6		6	10
5. Rent, Rates & House Repairs	13	5	3	3	0	8
6. Club Money	-	-	-	8	11	1
Total	<u>58</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6½</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>9¼</u>
 <u>E. APPRENTICESHIPS</u>	 <u>4</u>	 <u>12</u>	 <u>2</u>	 <u>-</u>	 <u>-</u>	 <u>-</u>
 <u>F. FUNERALS</u>	 <u>16</u>	 <u>10</u>	 <u>10</u>	 <u>16</u>	 <u>18</u>	 <u>6</u>
 <u>G. MEDICAL</u>						
1. Doctor	32	14	3	29	11	6
2. Nursing	6	3	2½	2	4	6
3. Soap & Medicine		1	3	1	11	3½
4. Hospitals	3	7	6	141	16	6
Total	<u>42</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2½</u>	<u>175</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9½</u>
 <u>H. ERRORS</u>	 <u>16</u>	 <u>2</u>		 <u>1</u>	 <u>17</u>	 <u>10</u>
 TOTAL EXPENDITURE	 <u>830</u>	 <u>10</u>	 <u>0½</u>	 <u>2016</u>	 <u>18</u>	 <u>8½</u>

TABLE B. AVERAGE YEARLY EXPENDITURE

A. <u>ADMINISTRATION &amp; LAW ENFORCEMENT</u>	<u>1771-1774</u>			<u>1828-1830</u>		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1. Parish Meetings	3	3	5½	10	0	0
2. Salary. Acting Overseer	7	13	0	50	0	0
3. Stationery & Postage		9	10½	3	2	0
4. Maintenance Parish Property	3	8	0½	21	12	7½
5. Rent Workhouse & Poor House	11	11	6	-	-	-
6. Legal Expenses General	6	11	2½	17	11	10½
7. " " Bastardy	4	5	8	10	1	7½
8. " " Settlement & Removal	3	17	10	12	15	9
9. " " Inquests, etc.	-	-	-	13	2	4½
Total	<u>41</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7½</u>	<u>128</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>
 B. <u>COUNTY RATE</u>	 <u>5</u>	 <u>8</u>	 <u>0</u>	 <u>158</u>	 <u>18</u>	 <u>8</u>
 C. <u>CASH PAYMENTS TO POOR</u>	 					
1. Weekly List (inc. Children in Workhouse)	154	8	7	503	4	1½
2. Casual Payments	35	3	2	99	0	11½
3. For Labour	-	-	-	2	17	1
4. To Vagrants	-	-	-	1	2	9¾
Total	<u>189</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>606</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11¾</u>
 D. <u>HELP TO POOR IN KIND</u>	 					
1. Clothing & Shoes	6	18	10½	9	14	9½
2. Bedding & Blankets	1	5	8½	15	4	
3. Coal	-	-	-	19	11½	
4. Coal for Workhouse & Poor House	6	14	10	3	5	
5. Rent, Rates & House Repairs	4	8	5	1	10	4
6. Club Money	-	-	-	4	5	6½
Total	<u>19</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4½</u>
 E. <u>APPRENTICESHIPS</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
 F. <u>FUNERALS</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>
 G. <u>MEDICAL</u>	 					
1. Doctor	10	18	1	14	15	9
2. Nursing	2	1	1	1	2	3
3. Soap & Medicine			5	15	7¾	
4. Hospitals	1	2	6	70	18	3
Total	<u>14</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10¾</u>
 H. <u>ERRORS</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4½</u>		<u>18</u>	<u>11</u>	
 TOTAL EXPENDITURE	<u>276</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1008</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>

RATE IN £ LEVIED AT BITTON  
 (BASED ON ASSESSMENT IN 1770/1. UNITS OF 2s.6d)

AMOUNT RAISED BY POOR RATES IN ENGLAND & WALES - - X - X - X - - -  
 (YEARS MARKED X ONLY. UNITS OF £1 MILL)



A.1. Parish Meetings 1771-74. Held at an inn - sometimes if not always, at the White Hart - at the usual charge of 5s.0d., though sometimes less. 1828-30 Held in the schoolroom at no charge. The £1 spent was for beer on Turnover Day, March 25th, when the parish officers for the year were appointed and the Weekly List of poor persons to receive regular relief was approved. In some years the accounts state that the beer was for the poor.

A.4. Repair & Maintenance of Parish Property.

1771-74 £3. 14s. spent on hedging and cleaning the ditch around the Poor Tynning; 7s. 7d. for glazing a church window; 15s. 9d. for 'sorting out the Turns' - whatever they were - and sending them to Bristol for repair. The remainder was spent on thatching and repairs at the Poor House.

1828-30 Includes a part charge of £26. 18s. 8d. for surveying and mapping the parish. £100 had previously been paid for this in February 1828. The Poor House was thatched for £5. 7s. 9d., windows repaired, stones hauled to it and rubbish and earth hauled away. The 'privy' was cleaned out for 3s. 0d. and as this operation does not appear to have been carried out very frequently the sixpennyworth of beer provided was, no doubt, welcomed.

A.5. Rent of Workhouse & Poor House

1771-74 A yearly rent of £11 was paid for the Workhouse, or 'Pin House' as it was called, where the pauper children lived and worked. Four year's 'Lords Rent' at 2s. 0d. a year was paid for the Poor House and Charles Whittuck was paid 12s. 0d. rent for the 'Little House at Upton' in 1771/2 and 14s 6d. in 1772/3.

1828-30 The Workhouse had been converted into three tenements, - still standing today - in 1790, and in this period the children lived in the Poor House for which no rent was paid. The Little House at Upton was not mentioned.

A.6. Legal Expenses General This includes the expenses incurred in making and levying the rates; fees paid to magistrates for signing rates and warrants; solicitors' fees; the constable's expenses, and the travelling expenses of the acting overseer and constable, witnesses in court cases, etc. Travelling expenses bore heavily on parishes, like Bitton, far from the county town.

1828-30 Includes £4 for expenses in going to Shrewsbury to arrest Solomon Fry for deserting his family. Joseph Williams was lent £3 'to be returned if he gains his suit'. Mr Wasborough, a lawyer, was paid £3 for 'making a deed from William Green to the overseer'. Green was in receipt of parish relief at the time because of illness and was, presumably, making over his property to the parish.

Solomon Short, a lunatic of Bitton, escaped from Gloucester Asylum. His subsequent arrest and return to Gloucester cost £5 6s. 8d. The constable of Winterbourne was paid £1 3s. for arresting him and bringing him to Bitton; Naish Bush was paid 8d. for making three staples and chaining him in the Poor House; George Bush received 3s. 0d. for attending him during the night, and he and George Haskins were paid £4 for taking him back to Gloucester. The 17s. 0d. paid for a new window in the Poor House is probably connected with Solomon's stay there.

A.7. Legal Expenses Bastardy This includes the cost of taking unmarried, pregnant girls before the magistrates to 'swear the father'; apprehension of putative fathers; etc.

1771-74 John Tyler refused to obey a bastardy order concerning a child born to Betty Tyler. He had been ordered by the magistrate to pay £1 10s. for the 'lying in' and 1s. Od. a week for the child's maintenance. Betty was to pay 6d. a week unless she looked after the child herself. Tyler's arrest and subsequent trial at Gloucester Quarter Sessions for contempt cost Bitton £5 15s. 2d., mostly in travelling expenses. He was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and fined 1s. Od.

1828-30 The expenses include £11 16s. 3d. spent on the apprehension of Robert Newbury and his forced marriage to the girl he had made pregnant. The accounts record:

'Paid James Bailey and Self going to Pontypool to apprehend Robert Newbury for Bastardy	£3 13s. 9d.
Do. for a licence	£3 3s. Od.
Lent him by order of the parishioners	£1 0s. Od.
Do. fee to Mr Elicombe for Marrying them	£1 6s. Od.
Do. for a Ring	8s. Od.
Do. To our Expences going to Pontypool and bringing Robert Newbury to Upton and Overseers fee their	£2 5s. 6d.'

Forced marriages such as this were not uncommon; pressure was always brought to bear on the putative father and sometimes on the mother. In 1830, just after the end of our period, Sarah Morgan gave birth to an illegitimate child and, under a magistrate's order was sent to Dyrham, her place of settlement, but returned to Bitton. An entry for 14th June, 1830, records payment of 5s. Od. to the Constable for 'Apprehending Sarah Morgan and keeping her in hold until Married.'

A.8. Settlement & Removal In addition to the cost of removing paupers to their place of settlement, this includes the cost of obtaining removal orders from the magistrate and of making enquiries concerning the place of settlement of persons chargeable, or likely to become chargeable, to the parish. An entry for 1825/6 records payment of 1s. Od. for 'Examining Register at St James', Bath, to discover if Widow Bright was married and found she was not'. Disputes between parishes were settled by appeal to Quarter Sessions and involved heavy expenditure particularly if parishes were in different and distant counties.

1771-74 Appeal to Quarter Sessions in 1771/2 concerning a dispute between Bitton and the neighbouring parish of St George's about the settlement of Hannah Newman cost Bitton £8 18s. 2d. including 'Counsellor Vernon his Fee' of £1 1s. Od.; 'My Expences with Mr Bridges, Saml Fox and Hannah Newman to and from Gloucester' £4 7s. 4d.; and £2 2s. Od. for a post-chaise and driver'.

1828-30 Expenses in 1828/9 were slight - £2 3s. 5½d. and include a curious entry: 'Ann Brollings from Devises by Order of Removal, paid her towards buying a Bed to go Back and Settle their' 10s. Od.

In 1829/30 expenses were much heavier and the following persons were removed at the costs given for each:

James Morris and family to Hereford	£4	4s	8½d.
Abigail Neat to Bath		17s	8d
'Dolan's wife' to Ireland		12s	0d
Thomas Mager and family to West Wycombe	£6	4s	0d
Elijah Chambers to Salperton	£5	1s	1d
Abraham Cook to Winterbourne		6s	10d
'Whitcum's wife' to Exeter	£3	1s	3d
Elizabeth Gray to Lincombe	£1	18s	2d

In addition 12s 0d was advanced to Edward Moss to take himself, his wife and family to Abergavenny, and a removal order was made for Thomas Mannington. There was no disputed settlement in this period.

All paupers not settled in Bitton were not removed; people from Oxford and Tidenham remained in Bitton but were supported by their parishes. Similarly the Overseer of Bitton supported parishioners living in Bath, Bedminster, Oldland, Newport, etc.

#### A.9 Inquests etc.

1771-74 Nil

1828-30 In 1828 an inquest was held on Margaret, wife of Arthur Roberts, feltmaker of Bitton, who was afterwards charged with her murder and tried at Gloucester Assizes. In a fit of jealousy for which there was no justification he beat his wife, blacked both her eyes, covered her face with blood and half strangled her. She died two days later and the surgeon who made a post-mortem examination attributed death to throat injuries. The principal witness at the trial was the next-door neighbour William Short who said that Mrs Roberts 'was a very simple woman: she used to go to Sunday School to learn to read, and I don't think her husband liked her so well for that; she never troubled herself about other people's business, and told but little of her own except when her husband was ill-using her.' Roberts was found not guilty of murder but guilty of manslaughter and received the incredibly light sentence of eighteen months hard labour. The sentence is even more surprising in that at the same assizes two men were condemned to death, and subsequently hanged, for a highway robbery: death was recorded against 27 others for house-breaking or thefts; 2 were transported for 14 years - a woman for receiving stolen clothing, a man for stealing a gun and a pig; and 20 others were sentenced to 7 years transportation.

The inquest and trial cost £22 12s 9d. The surgeon who performed the autopsy received £1 1s 0d. and a further £4 4s 0d for court attendance; counsel for the prosecution was paid £10. A pint of gin at the 'laying out' of Mrs Roberts after the autopsy cost 1s 8d. Included in the expense of the trial is £3 10s 0d. paid to 'Mr Bradley at the inn, Gloucester, during Wm Short's wife Lying In,' and 6s 0d paid to Edith Jeffery for looking after her in Gloucester. William Short was the principal witness at the trial and, presumably, his wife, who attended Margaret Roberts before her death, went with him to Gloucester to give corroboratory evidence but was prevented from doing so by giving birth to a child in Gloucester.

Inquests were also held in 1829/30, at a total cost of £3 12s 0d., on Martha Green aged three years, burnt to death when her clothing caught fire; on Robert Hall; and on 'Alexander, a Navigator.'



B. The County Rate, usually called Bridge Money or Sessions Money. This paid for the maintenance of the County bridges at Chepstow, Over, Bitton and Keynsham; the gaol and houses of correction; the courts of Quarter Sessions and Assizes; salaries of county officials; transportation of criminals; removal of vagrants to their place of settlement; maintenance of the families of embodied militiamen. In the second half of the 18th century the removal of vagrants in peace-time, and the maintenance of militiamen's families in war-time were the principal items of expenditure. Expenditure on the latter was also heavy during the Napoleonic Wars. From the later years of the 18th century onwards the principal item of expenditure was lawyers' fees for the prosecution of criminals. The County Rate soared in consequence of the building of the new gaol and four houses of correction (1785-88); the Shire Hall (1813-20); the new Over Bridge (1826-9) and the first County Lunatic Asylum (opened 1823).

The County Rate varied considerably from year to year; Bitton paid £221 in 1828/9; £96 in the following year.

### C. Cash Payments to the Poor

1. The Weekly List of paupers who would need permanent relief throughout the year was drawn up and approved at the parish meeting at the beginning of each financial year and included all who were too aged or infirm to work, widows and orphans, cripples, the insane, and illegitimate children. In the earlier period the list of such persons, together with the amount which the overseer was authorised to pay to each, was recorded in the overseer's account book and each weekly payment was individually recorded. The list does not, however, state why relief was necessary, i.e. old age, infirmity, illegitimate child, or other reason. In 1828-30 the list was not written in the account book and, instead of recording each individual payment, the overseer made one inclusive entry each month. E.g. 'Weekly Pay £35 16s 6d.'

C.2. Casual Payments These were made to persons not on the weekly list and, therefore, expected to need only temporary relief: the sick, injured, or unemployed; wives deserted by husbands; and also mothers of illegitimate children during the period of 'lying in'. Occasionally extra casual payments were made to people who were on the Weekly List but were 'in distress'.

1771-74 £105 9s 7d. This includes £3 16s 6d - possibly a little more - for 'lying in' expenses at the birth of illegitimate children. The £20 2s 6d included for the maintenance of illegitimate children should, perhaps, have been added to the figure for the Weekly List but as the payments are recorded as being paid to someone's 'bastard' one cannot tell whether the child was on the Weekly List or not. Supporting families 'in the small pox' cost at least £10 19s 0d. Part of this sum was payment for 'necessaries' and should be included under the heading of 'Help in Kind', but one cannot determine what proportion. Possibly the same applies to the expenses for 'lying in'. At least 10 families were stricken with small pox in the period and were receiving parish relief for a considerable time. Usually, though not always, the reason why relief was necessary is stated - most often illness or injury - but no mention is made in this period of any relief being given because of unemployment. If any relief was given for this purpose it formed an insignificant proportion of the total casual payments.

1828-30 In this period relief was given to a small number of men recorded as being unemployed: three in 1828/9, eight in 1829/30. One cannot state categorically that these were the only men in receipt of relief because of unemployment but it can be stated with certainty that relief of the unemployed was a very small charge on the rates. About the end of January, 1830, casual payments totalling £3 14s 6d were made to 19 'excavators', one presumes that they were working on the Avon and Gloucestershire Railway from Mangotsfield to Bitton, then in course of construction, and rendered temporarily unemployed by the severe frost and heavy snow which occurred at this time.

C.3. Payments for Labour 1829/30 These payments pose a problem. They include payment of £1 3s. 8d to three boys for breaking stones and to seven men or boys 'for labour'. This labour could have been on the roads or at the Poor House or other parish property. Usually, however, labour of that kind was specifically recorded as such. Among the seven men or boys was Thomas Gibbs who had been in receipt of parish relief because of unemployment. The Overseer's accounts record that William Tyler paid the Overseer 3s 6d for Thomas Gibbs's labour. The accounts also record that Daniel Burnell paid 6s 0d and William Builder paid £1 14s 0d for the labour of Charles Strong who was 'on the parish' for long periods because of illness and unemployment. These entries suggest that the 'roundsman' or some similar method of hiring out pauper labour was to a very limited extent in operation in Bitton though the system was not in such general use in Gloucestershire as it was in many of the counties of Southern England.

C.4. Payments to Vagrants 1771-74 - No payments.

1828-30 Eighty-two small payments varying from 1d to 1s 0d made to people 'on the road', and four larger payments of from 1s 8½d to 3s 6d to families un-named so, presumably, strangers to Bitton, who were in distress in the Poor House.

C.5. For Children in the Workhouse 1771-74

At this period pauper children were not living with the adult paupers in the Poor House but were lodged and also employed in a separate workhouse where Ann Weston was paid 1s 8d per child per week for their maintenance. As the Workhouse was frequently referred to as the Pin House, the children were, presumably, making pins. During the period William Farley paid the Overseer £60 14s 9d for 'the children's work' so that the charge on the rates for the children's maintenance was only £35 13s 5d. There was an average of 7 to 8 children in the Workhouse throughout the period.

About 1790 the Pin House was converted into three tenements - which are still inhabited - and after that date the pauper children were lodged in the Poor House. There is no evidence that they were put to work after 1790.

D. Clothing & Bedding The greater part - if not all - of the clothing was provided for the children in the Workhouse, or, in the later period, in the Poor House. The cost includes the purchase of cloth for making into clothes and also shoe repairs. The names of the persons for whom clothing or bedding was bought were recorded but no indication was given as to whether the person

was in one of the institutions or not. Usually, however, several children were fitted out with clothing at the same time; thus it may be inferred that they were in one of the institutions. Included in the total are a number of small charges for washing beds in the Poor House.

### D.3. Coal for Workhouse & Poor House

1771-74 All the coal provided was for the Workhouse. The total cost includes £2 11s 6d spent on coal for William Farley who employed the children there. The coal provided for him could have been for heating the workshop or for use in the pin manufacture.

1828-30 Some of the coal provided was stated to be 'for the Children at the Poor House.' Possibly all of it was.

### D.5. Rent, Rates & House Repairs

1771-74 Widow Brooks's house rent of £2 a year was paid throughout the period and other smaller payments of rent were made. House repairs cost £2 4s 9d. Hannah Collings's house was thatched for 10s 7d. Judith Brain's chimney was swept for 6d. No assistance to poor persons for the payment of rates was given in this period.

1828-30 Simon Hopes's rent for a year, £1 10s 0d., was paid, so were several other rents totalling £2 11s 6d. Nothing was paid towards house repairs. A total of 9s 2d in small sums varying from 3d to 1s 4d was expended to help poor persons pay their rates.

### D.6. Club Money

1828-30 There were Friendly Societies or Sickness Clubs at four of Bitton's five inns and the subscriptions of several men were paid in order to prevent them from falling into arrears and losing possible benefits, thus becoming a greater burden on the rates. Two shillings was also paid to enable one or more men to attend the annual Club Dinner.

### E. Apprenticeships

1771-74 One boy was apprenticed; Richard Lear, aged 12 years, to Aaron Webb, cordwainer of Tormarton, until he attained the age of 24 years. A premium of £2 was paid and the indentures cost 6s 5d. Molly Battman was fitted out with clothes to go into domestic service at a cost of 15s 7d. One shilling was spent on getting another girl to service. In 1773/4 £1 9s 2d was spent on the following items of clothing for Betty Joy, who was going into service: stuff for a gown, 5s 9d; for lining and making it, 2s 4d; shoes, 3s 6d; cloth for a coat and making it, 5s 6d; stockings, 1s 2d; a shift, 3s 5d; caps, 1s 6d; second-hand stays, 4s 0d; for repairing them with leather and buckram, 2s 0d.

1828-30 No payments for this purpose.

### F. Funerals 1771-4

There were 21 funerals in this period. The usual expenditure on the funeral of an adult was 16s 6d; a child's funeral cost a little less. The funeral of Mary Packer, a stranger who was taken ill and died when travelling through

Bitton on a 'pass' to her place of settlement, cost £1. 0s 10d.

1828-30 The total number of funerals cannot be ascertained from the accounts. There were eight in the year 1829/30 and these cost £8 15s 6d. Expenditure on funerals in 1828/9 was £8 3s 0d. so there were probably 15 or 16 funerals in total. Usually £1 was paid 'towards the funeral' of an adult, though £1 13s 0d was spent on the funeral of Mary Chilcott. Usually, perhaps always, the bellringers tolled a knell and bearers were provided for the funeral.

#### G. Medical

1. Doctor It appears that application for the services of the parish doctor had to be made through the Overseer.

1771-74 Expenditure on the doctor was not itemised but recorded as 'To Mr Palmer his Bill, £8 17s 0d' etc.

1828-30 Dr. Watts was paid a salary of £14 a year plus a fee of 10s 6d for attendance at childbirth. If he attended at the birth of an illegitimate child the fee was usually recovered from the putative father.

G.2. Nursing Small sums paid to various women for attendance on sick persons.

1771-74 Ann Pierce was paid 12s 0d for curing Robert Gunning's leg. Ann Joy - herself in receipt of parish relief - was paid 1s 0d a week for eight weeks for tending Joseph Harding. A woman was paid 10s 0d for caring for 'Brown's family in the small pox'. Small sums were paid for washing the clothes of sick persons.

1828-30 This includes 2s 10d for the regular shaving of a sick man over a long period.

#### G.3. Soap & Medicine

1771-74 'Salve for Judith Braine, 10½d' gin for a boy in the workhouse, 4½d.

1828-30 Includes 6s 0d for a strait waistcoat - presumably for Solomon Short. £1 5s 0d was spent, a shilling at a time, on soap for 'Strong's boys'.

#### G.4. Hospitals

1771-74 The only payments were £3 'causion' money deposited with Bath Hospital when a patient from Bitton was admitted, and 7s 6d spent by the overseer in taking him to hospital and visiting him. 'Causion' or 'caution money' appears to have been a deposit to cover possible damage or other expense incurred by the patient and was usually refunded when the patient left hospital.

1828-30 Payments were made to four hospitals.

To Bristol Infirmary, £1 5s 6d this consisting of £1 deposited when Henry Warn was admitted and 5s 6d for horse-hire to take him there.

To Bath Hospital, £21 19s 0d. A yearly subscription to the hospital of £2 2s 0d was paid 1828/9, plus arrears of subscriptions for the previous eight years, making a total subscription of £18 18s 0d. In addition £3 'caution money' was deposited with the hospital when a patient, Charles Cary, was admitted, though this was refunded later in the year. Taking Cary to hospital cost 1s 0d.

To Gloucester Asylum, £60, for Solomon Short who was a patient there at a weekly cost to Bitton of 12s Od. This was the First County Mental Asylum at Wotton, Gloucester, which had been opened in 1823.

To Dr. Bompas, £58 12s Od for the maintenance and treatment of J. Lewis who was a patient in his private lunatic asylum at Bristol from 24th June 1827 to 28th March 1829.

H. Errors made by the writer in transcribing and analysing the entries in the accounts.

	<u>1771-74</u>			<u>1828-30</u>		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1. Payments by putative fathers for the maintenance of illegitimate children and cost of the mother's lying-in (including doctor)	2	19	6	80	1	8
2. From Overseers of other parishes	2	10	0	23	0	0
3. For labour	-	-	-	2	3	6
4. For work of children in Workhouse	60	14	9	-	-	-
5. From husbands for money advanced to their wives	-	-	-		18	6
6. 'Caution money' returned by hospitals	-	-	-	3	0	0
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	66	4	3	109	3	8

To ascertain the actual charge on the rates the following deductions should be made. The total of Weekly and Casual Payments should be reduced by the amounts recovered from other parishes; from husbands; and from putative fathers, less £1 1s Od which was paid to the doctor for attendance at illegitimate childbirths. (It was not possible to ascertain what portion should be deducted from the Weekly or from the Casual Payments.) The amount received for labour should be deducted from that paid for labour. The cost of maintaining children in the Workhouse should be reduced by the amount received for their work. The cost of the doctor should be reduced by £1 1s Od paid by putative fathers for his attendance at childbirths. The caution money returned by hospitals should be deducted from the expenditure on hospitals. The various totals should be correspondingly reduced.

To show the actual cost to the ratepayers, therefore, the Analysis of Total Expenditure should be amended as shown below:

<u>C. Cash Payments to the Poor</u>	<u>1771-74</u>			<u>1828-30</u>		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1. Weekly List	466	17	7	1101	11	0
2. Casual Payments	-	-	-	3	10	8
3. For Labour	-	-	-	2	5	7½
4. To Vagrants (No amendment)	35	13	5	-	-	-
5. For Children in Workhouse	-	-	-	-	-	-
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total	502	11	0	1107	7	3½

G. Medical

1. Doctor	32	14	3	28	10	6
4. Hospitals	3	7	6	138	17	6
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	42	6	2½	171	2	9½
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total Expenditure (From Rates)	764	5	9½	1907	15	0¼

Conclusions So that expenditure in the two periods may be compared, Table B gives an analysis of the average yearly expenditure in each. In order that like may be compared with like, the cost of maintaining children in the Workhouse during the first period has been added to expenditure on the Weekly List as the maintenance of pauper children is included under that heading in the second period.

The most obvious difference in expenditure in the two periods is the great increase - by 364% - in the second. This increase was by no means peculiar to Bitton, in fact the percentage increase in Bitton appears to have been considerably less than that in the nation as a whole. It is difficult to obtain statistics concerning national expenditure on poor relief for each year in the period under review but a comparison of the amount of money levied in England and Wales for this purpose in 1776 and in 1817 - the year when national expenditure on the poor reached its highest peak - shows an increase of 541%. The corresponding figure for Bitton is 400%.

The great increase in expenditure on the relief of the poor from about 1795 to 1817 and beyond, and the consequent rise in the Poor Rates, are usually attributed to the Speenhamland system of poor relief and the economic depression following the Napoleonic wars. It is often forgotten that much of the increase was due to the rise in population which approximately doubled in England and Wales between 1771 and 1831. The population of Bitton in 1771 cannot be ascertained. According to the first census it was 1,094 in 1801; twenty years later, in 1831, it had more than doubled and was 2,258. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that it approximately trebled in the fifty nine years between 1771 and 1830.

In comparing expenditure in the two periods allowance must be made not only for the rise in population but for an increase in the cost of living. The average price of wheat from 1771 to 1774 was 51s 11d a quarter; from 1828 to 1830 it was 63s 8d., an increase of 22%. Calculation made from the Schumpeter-Gilroy and the Gayer, Rostow and Schwartz statistics in the Abstract of British Historical Statistics show that the price of consumer goods including cereals, was about 9% higher from 1828 to 1830 than from 1771 to 1774.

If allowance is made for the increase in population and in the cost of consumer goods, the real expenditure on poor relief in Bitton per head of population was little higher in the second period than in the first; indeed if one considers only the amount spent in direct help to the poor in cash or in kind it was probably a little less.

The increase in expenditure by the Overseer was not evenly divided under the various sub-headings: the cost of Administration and Law Enforcement, and of Cash Payments to the Poor, increased, like Total Expenditure, about three and a half times; Help to the Poor in Kind and expenditure on Apprenticeships actually decreased. Expenditure on Funerals increased very little, so did the cost of Medical services except for the dramatic rise in expenditure on Hospitals, mainly as a result of the provision of mental hospitals. The most dramatic rise was in the County Rate, for reasons previously stated.

The most interesting fact brought to light by the analysis is under the heading of Cash Payments to the Poor. In the first period, 1771-74, 81% of this was paid on the Weekly List, that is to those in need of relief because of infancy, old age, widowhood or permanent disability; only 19% went in casual payments to the temporarily sick, injured or unemployed. From 1828 to 1830, a period usually associated with economic depression and unemployment, 83% of cash payments to those on the Weekly List, only 17% in casual payments. Unemployment was not a serious problem to the parish officers of Bitton.

The accounts indicate that during the first period the Overseers administered the Poor Law humanely and with a certain amount of generosity and there is reason to believe that the magistrates, who had supervisory authority, supported them in this policy. In the year 1773/4 the Overseer charged 9d for 'Hors and expenses to Mr Creswick to Answer Frances Strongs Complaint.' Mr Creswick was a magistrate, Strong was in receipt of parish relief. It is significant that following the complaint Strong's relief was increased by a shilling a week. Judged by modern standards the life of the pauper was wretched but the disparity between the standard of living of the indigent and that of the working population was probably less than it is today for the pauper had to be kept at subsistence level and the labourer's wage was little above that.

In the period 1828 to 1830 provision for the poor was less generous. Expenditure on help to the poor in kind, such as provision of bedding, clothing, etc., was less than in the first period, despite the rise in population. Medical care was not given so generously except in so far as parliamentary legislation had enforced the provision of mental hospitals. From 1820 to 1828 the Overseers had not paid the annual subscription to Bath Hospital, and though the population of the parish had probably trebled the amount paid to the parish doctor had not doubled. If one assumes that the number of paupers had increased threefold like the total population, and that the cost of living had increased by 9%, cash payments to the poor were on a slightly less generous scale.

One can sympathise with the parish officers of Bitton who were faced with a very difficult problem, for the amount of rateable property had not increased at nearly the same rate as the population. Before 1810 rates in Bitton were levied at 6d in the £, and in any year as many 6d rates were levied as were necessary to cover parish expenditure. From 1810 rates were levied at 1s 0d in the £, as and when necessary. In 1818 all properties were re-assessed, the assessment of almost every property being exactly doubled. A shilling rate in 1830 was, therefore, the equivalent of four sixpenny rates in 1771. Now four sixpenny rates in 1771 brought in £202 9s 8d; in 1830 a shilling rate brought in £280 0s 6½d. The rateable value of Bitton had increased by only 38% whereas the population had certainly more than doubled and had almost certainly trebled. Under these circumstances it was only to be expected that the parish officers should have economised on the provision of the 'fringe' benefits available to the poor.

It would be interesting to know how far the rateable value of the nation as a whole had kept pace with the rise in population between 1795 and 1830. The amount of money raised by the Poor

Rates in England and Wales during certain years in the period can be ascertained from Appendix A of the Report of the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns, Report V.1822. (Taken from The English Poor Law 1780-1930, Michael E. Rose. David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1971.) This is shown in the graph, Table 3. Statistics regarding the rateable value of the nation, if extant, are not readily available.

It would also be interesting to know what proportion of the increased national expenditure was paid on Weekly Lists to those incapable of supporting themselves because of infancy, old age, widowhood, or permanent physical disability, and what proportion in Casual Payments to those in temporary need because of sickness, injury or unemployment. As the accounts of most parishes, like Bitton, distinguished between these two kinds of payment, it should be possible to ascertain these proportions for a large number of diverse parishes, even if not for the whole nation.

If not already done, research into these two questions might help to explain the breakdown of the old Poor Law. In Bitton the old system was ceasing to maintain the poor at as high a standard of life as it had done fifty years previously though the factors to which failure of the system is usually attributed, Speenhamland and a high level of unemployment, were not operative there. It would be absurd to draw conclusions about the national system of poor relief from a study of one parish, though in some respects Bitton was a microcosm of the nation, for with its coal mines, brass works and other manufactures, it was half industrial and half agricultural, and its population had increased rapidly. The Poor Law was failing in Bitton because the rates were not bringing in sufficient revenue to relieve the poverty in this increased population. How true was this of the nation as a whole? Had a system of poor relief supported solely by rates on property ceased to be a viable proposition once industry and commerce had replaced property as the principal source of wealth and provided a livelihood for a vastly increased population?

#### Sources

- Glos. R.O.            Poor Books, Bitton, 1771-1831  
                          (On temporary loan from Vicar of Bitton)
- Glos. City Library    Gloucester Journals
- B.R. Mitchell &    Cambridge, 1962.  
Phyllis Deane        Abstracts of British Historical Statistics
- M.E. Rose            The English Poor Law 1780-1930  
                          Newton Abbot, 1971.



THE BUILDING OF HORSLEY HOUSE OF CORRECTION &  
ITS HISTORY UNTIL 1844

by E.J. Hart

In 1785, the Gloucester Justices, under the guidance of Sir George Paul, obtained a local act enabling them to rebuild their County Gaol and Houses of Correction. A commission was set up under the chairmanship of the Duke of Beaufort in that same year.

There were to be four Houses of Correction in the County, at Horsley, Littledean, Northleach and Lawford's Gate, Bristol. At Horsley, it was decided that the institution should be built on a piece of land adjoining the churchyard and belonging to Henry Stephens. In October 1785, Sir George Paul reported that he had approached Mr. Stephens who intended to present as much land as might be necessary to the County, and the Commission decided that a record of his public-spirited act should be published in the Gloucester Journal, and that also an inscription recording the donation should be placed in the House of Correction.

Mr. William Blackburn was appointed Surveyor and furnished an estimate of £2,850 for the building which was to accommodate forty six prisoners. He was allowed a commission of 5 per cent and in addition £300 for incidental and travelling expenses until the work was finished. He was required to attend not less than four times in each year or twelve times in the progress of the work. Blackburne's total estimate for the House of Correction at Horsley, Littledean and Northleach came to £7,075, and in November 1786, a contract was signed with Gabriel Rogers the Younger, of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, Surrey, whose estimate for the three buildings came to £6,930 - just £145 less than Blackburne's estimate. Gabriel Rogers provided securities comprising £1,000 on his own behalf and £500 each on behalf of Mr. Gabriel Rogers the Elder and Mr. John Fentiman, a bricklayer, also from Surrey.

Separate estimates for all the various types of building work were obtained mainly from local craftsmen, and it appears that the cheapest was always chosen, even if it involved only a few pence. It was agreed that the roof should be made of Bangor slates, but as Mr. Rogers agreed not to be responsible for slating, the amount was deducted from his contract. Mr. Rogers was to be responsible for paying the craftsmen.

The work progressed, but in January 1789, it was reported that Gabriel Rogers had gone bankrupt. He had sustained a loss of £1,305 on the contract, and his securities were ordered to pay this amount, or to finish the building. John Fentiman offered to complete the work for the sum of £1,000 over and above the sum remaining on the contract. It was agreed to accept this and to sue Rogers for his £1,000. In actual fact Rogers was imprisoned in January 1792 and offered £200 in July to settle his debt, which was accepted.

In January 1790, Mr. Blackburne was asked to submit plans for a copper roof to cover the internal courts, the estimate for this being £224. In July of that year, Mr. Blackburne withdrew from the business suffering from a paralytic complaint, and died

in September of the following year. Mr. William Hobson, the executor, and brother-in-law, and moreover a builder, offered to complete the business. In September 1791, Mr. Fentiman reported a loss of £2,000 but he was not recompensed, as it was decided that he had done work over and above that specified in the contract.

In the event the work took over six years instead of the three originally estimated and the Justices of Horsley met on the 20th October, 1792, to open the prison officially. An interesting feature of the opening of the House of correction was the agreement to hold Petty Sessions in the Sessions room. This continued until 1801, when the custom lapsed. However, in Sir George Paul's General Report of 1808, the rules regarding the holding of the Sessions were revised, and it was agreed that they should be held in the Sessions Room at specified times for auditing prison accounts, appointing overseers, appointing visiting Justices and licensing public houses.

The first analysis of the number of prisoners, reason for imprisonment, and length of stay is given in the General Report of 1808. The offences were all minor, the largest group of prisoners being that imprisoned for breach of contract of service, followed by those convicted of petty theft and those convicted of offences under special statutes concerning employments in the woollen trade. The average length of stay was ten weeks and two days. However, the statistics include a group of women confined for twelve months for bastardy, and so the average stay was obviously shorter. The greatest number imprisoned at any one time was thirty seven. Sir George Paul commented in his report on the fact that crime increased as the price of food rose.

Apart from the 1808 report, there appears to be no other actual statistical breakdown of prisoners. From the 1825 register of prisoners, we see that there were one thousand, four hundred and fifty four prisoners in the four years 1825-9. The main offences seem to be leaving a master's service, and leaving a wife and children chargeable to the parish. Other offences include being a rogue and a vagabond, prostitution, rioting, disobeying an order of bastardy, larceny, assault and trespass. For all offences, a short period of hard labour seems to be the norm. There were also a number of debtors. Quite a number of young offenders were committed, but as the class of the prisoner was noted in the register of prisoners, the separation of the various types of prisoners could be enforced.

In the 1830s we see an increase in the number of prisoners, particularly in 1831 and 1832. The habit seems to have grown up in this period of offering a fine as an alternative to a period of imprisonment and hard labour. An additional case which is seen at this time is riding on a waggon without holding on to the horses' reins. Another is running away from the Workhouse, and sometimes this is aggravated by a theft from the Workhouse. Prisoners awaiting trial at the Gloucester Sessions and Assizes for serious offences such as rape, threats to kill, and serious assault were also held at Horsley. From 1840 onwards, there appears to be an increase in cases of food stealing, such as apples, potatoes and turnips, and also more cases of poaching. From 1840-44, one thousand five hundred and seventy five prisoners were admitted and the average length of sentence was between one and two months, usually with hard labour.

Records giving an insight into the running of Horsley House of Correction show the importance attached to the prisoners being set to work, and their general welfare including diet, health, and religious education. Prominent among the entries in the Visiting Justices Journal are those of Sir George Paul. In February 1792, he directed that a broad loom should be installed, and in April that a loom for narrow cloth be purchased. Lengths of cloth were to be sold and the money obtained divided among the prisoners and the County and the Governor. In the following year he suggested that money paid to the prisoners be saved for them, to be given to them on their release, or to be used to buy extra bread during those times when they were not working. When not employed at the loom, the prisoners did domestic and garden chores, and dyeing. Women with suckling children to look after were given light duties.

In January 1822 it was decided to contract with Pann of Greenwich for a mill to be set up, operated by an external tread wheel, the size of which was to be proportionate to the number of prisoners. The mill was set to work in December of the same year, and it was soon reported that oatmeal for the prisoners' diet was being ground at the mill, and this was proving an economy. However, in February 1832, the first signs of discontent were seen among the prisoners. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the prisoners at the wheel refused to work saying that they were tired. The men were questioned and two judged to be the instigators were put into solitary confinement. In the following month it was reported by the Governor that the men were talking and noisy on the wheel. Seven were ordered to be locked up and the remaining eleven to continue on the wheel for an hour for punishment. One man, Edward Savage, refused. According to the Governor, he always seemed 'to be spokesman on every occasion', and he was put in the dark cell from a quarter to five until bedtime.

In April, the visiting magistrate, Rev. M. Hawker, thought that the men looked rather heated working on the wheel and ordered that they should change places after going round twice on the wheel instead of after every fourth round. In May the prisoners at the tread wheel were insolent again and again reprimanded by the Governor, and in July, several of them complained of feeling too ill to work. The surgeon was called, and certified them all fit to work. Despite these difficulties, in August, the Magistrates agreed that a tread wheel for female prisoners be set up. In the later records of 1840 onwards, the influence of the surgeon in deciding the fitness of prisoners to work is more often seen, and it is quite often reported that he took a prisoner off the wheel. On the other hand, in November 1842, it is reported that he ordered George Cooper on the wheel as he had put on 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  lb in weight in one month, and was getting 'very stout'.

The importance of giving the prisoners a religious education is commented upon on several occasions. In March 1792, Sir George Paul attended the Good Friday Service at the institution and wrote that the prisoners were 'not attentive and respectful enough' and that they were to be 'taught and then punished'. In October 1802, after the Chaplain had been taken ill in the previous month, Sir George wrote that a service should not be dispensed with, and that a clergyman should be obtained, even if

it involved temporary expense. In December 1804, Sir George reported that the Chaplain had not performed Divine Service on the Sunday, and six months later he visited him, to find him ill in bed with gout. In December 1815, on a visit by one of the magistrates, a prisoner was actually found reading a New Testament, and in October 1817 it was recommended that more Bibles and Testaments be made available. These were subsequently provided by the Chaplain.

Particular attention was paid to the prisoners' diet. It was believed that a good diet, including meat, was essential to ensure that the prisoners were healthy enough to work. In the General Report of 1808, Sir George Paul reported that the prisoners were given one and a half pounds of bread, one and a half ounces of oatmeal to be made into gruel for breakfast, and a quarter of an ounce of salt every day, and in addition on Sunday, twelve ounces of meat with the bone, comprising a pound in all. The broth from the meat was to be kept to the following day. One pound of potatoes was served a week, together with vegetables from the garden. An extra quarter of an ounce of salt was given on Sunday. Sir George Paul was sympathetic to women feeding their babies and was concerned that they should receive an adequate diet. In December 1799, it was ordered that one shilling a week extra should be levied from the Parishes of two women with children for extra food. Previously he had ordered that a penny a day and an extra loaf a week be given to a woman with a suckling child.

He also showed concern for debtors who were often worse off than other criminals, being ineligible for the County allowance, and in October 1796, ordered that they be paid more, so that they could buy more bread. Periodically, visiting magistrates reported that the bread was not well baked enough, and on occasions prisoners made complaints about the food, but despite these instances, in March 1822, a lower dietary standard was ordered as it was said to be the equivalent of that served in the penitentiary at Gloucester where the prisoners were committed for a longer stay.

Emphasis was placed on cleanliness both of the House of Correction and of the prisoners. The visiting Magistrate usually spoke very highly of the state of the building and of its inmates. However, after the appointment of a new Keeper in April 1795, Sir George Paul found the cells dirty and suggested that the Keeper had not read the rules! In August of the same year, he again found the building dirty, especially the bathroom and was incensed when the men cleaning it insisted that it was 'as clean as his former house'.

In 1802, Sir George Paul found the prison 'was dusty and dirty and littered in every corner ...'. The Keeper made the excuse that the prison had been crowded, but this was not accepted, the magistrate maintaining that half the prisoners should work while the other half should sweep and clean. The prison was reported to be in need of a whitewash and moreover short of brooms and mops. However, later, Sir George reported that it had been whitewashed and was now clean. No further complaints are noted until June 1822 when Henry Campbell, magistrate, complained that the prisoners had worn their shirts from four to five weeks and their stockings from seven to eight weeks. He therefore accused the Governor of neglect.

The Surgeon was required to visit the House of Correction and to keep a record of his visits. In 1801, when the numbers of prisoners had risen, Sir George Paul suggested that the Surgeon visit weekly. One occasion, a prisoner or prisoner's baby died, a coroner's inquest was held at the House of Correction. In April 1821, the Surgeon is reported to have been in attendance at the whipping of prisoners, and again in May 1842. In one case in 1843 he stopped a whipping while six lashes were still to be given.

In 1841, a spare room was made into an infirmary for sick prisoners; occasionally the Surgeon bled a prisoner and now and then was called on to deal with a prisoner who was mentally disturbed. Reasons for death include in January 1821 'by the visitation of God', and in July 1841 'of a fever', and in June and August 1842 'of typhus fever' and 'dropsy' respectively. In November 1842, the Turnkey himself requested leave of absence because of his disturbed mental state. This request was granted.

As previously noted, the prisoners were provided with religious books, although many could not read. However, in April 1843, it is reported that the Governor actually taught some prisoners writing. One prisoner, Mark Wheeler, was taught to write in 'large and small' writing.

Escapes from the House of Correction were always fully investigated. In July 1794, the Turnkey was sacked for opening the prison doors too early in the morning and allowing two prisoners to escape and in July 1805, the locks were changed after they had been successfully picked. However, until 1808 only six escapes were made. In 1819, another escape is recorded in which the prisoner broke the shutter of his cell with the iron bar with which they were meant to be closed, and in 1821, another Turnkey was sacked after a prisoner had escaped from him while he was drunk. In 1841, after a deserter escaped, it was found that every lock in the institution could be picked with a nail.

From reading the records, one obtains the impression of a well ordered House of Correction, carefully supervised by the magistrates and with a concern for the prisoners' welfare. Of course, the House of Correction no longer exists today and the minor offender of any age is usually dealt with by the magistrates in such a way that he is kept in the community if this is at all possible rather than being deprived of his liberty. These methods include the probation order, the suspended sentence, fining, binding over, and more recently, community service orders. The social reports which are presented to the courts today were unknown in Sir George's day and one wonders what he and the other magistrates who instigated the then exemplary House of Correction at Horsley would have thought of our approach to today's minor offenders.

#### Bibliography

S & B Webb, English Prisons Under Local Governments

Glos. R.O., Q/AG7

Q/GH 1/1; 2/1; 2/2; 8/1; 10/1; 10/2; 10/3.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FARM BUILDINGS  
IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

by R.K. Howes

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the 'Agrarian Revolution' was in full swing. Its best known feature was the enclosure movement. Another aspect was the development of farm buildings. These can be studied for Gloucestershire at this period in estate surveys carried out by Thomas Fulljames. He was a surveyor, whose home was at Hasfield Court, and who often served as an enclosure commissioner. In 1802 he carried out a survey at Toddington of the estate of Charles Hanbury Tracy, whose lands lay partly on the Cotswold Hills, and partly in the Vale. In the same year he made a survey at Forthampton and Swinley of the estate of James Yorke, Bishop of Ely. He made another survey in 1808, of the estate at Elmore of Sir William Berkeley Guise. Both the latter estates were in the Vale.

Each survey examines the estate farm by farm, giving details first of the farmhouse and other farm buildings, and then of the fields, stating whether they were arable, pasture or meadow and so on. The present account deals only with the farmhouses and buildings.

All the farmhouses seem to have been situated within compact farms; and they all appear to have been old. This was stated of most of those at Toddington. They were not therefore newly built following the allotment of land in compact farms at the time of enclosure. Indeed the Toddington estate was not fully enclosed, some farms having their land in the open fields. Some of the out-buildings, such as barns, stables, stalls and sheds, however, were described as new, and had often been put up at the tenant's expense. The only new farmhouse listed was that of Joseph Guilding at Elmore, stated to have been put up about 1779.

There were a number of labourers' cottages on all three estates. Some were let by the landowner, and others sub-let by a farmer. Some farmers rented more than one farm, and the unneeded farmhouse was sub-let to labourers.

The farmhouse contained both living rooms and rooms used for the farmer's work. In every house the main room was the kitchen, and sometimes there was a back kitchen as well. Many farmhouses boasted a parlour or a sitting room or even two such rooms, a sign of increasing comfort. Nowhere was a room described as a hall (in earlier times the main room of a farmhouse), though the parlour in one house had been converted from the hall. There were usually several bedchambers. Over them in Toddington and Forthampton were garretts. These were not mentioned in Elmore, where the farmhouses were presumably two storey.

The work rooms always included a dairy. There was nearly always a cheese chamber in one of the upper storeys. A pantry was usual, though few were mentioned in Toddington. There was normally a brewhouse, either in the farmhouse or in an out-building.

The most common outbuildings were stables and barns. Sometimes, besides a carthorse stable, there was a hackney stable for riding horses. There was often more than one barn. Threshing floors were of stone, oak or earth. Stalls for the oxen which still pulled ploughs and carts, some of them furnished with pump and trough or cistern, existed in all three areas at about one third of the farms. The survey recommended in some places that they should be provided. Similarly there were open sheds for tying up and foddering beef cattle in winter at about half the farms, and the survey often recommended their provision (the number in the tables refers to ranges of sheds). Buildings that occur almost everywhere were a cart house (or wain house or waggon lodge) and pig sties or cots.

Other outbuildings varied from area to area. A cowhouse for dairy cattle was usual at Forthampton but not elsewhere. A few farms had a special calves' stage or house or pen. Many farms had a granary or corn chamber, usually an upper chamber in an outbuilding. A woolroom was mentioned at one farm in Toddington and one in Forthampton.

There was a drinkhouse at nearly every farm in Forthampton, usually in addition to a brewhouse and a cyder millhouse, but only one at Elmore and none at Toddington. A cyder millhouse was usual at both Forthampton and Elmore (in the former area it was called simply a millhouse), but there was none at Toddington. These buildings belong to the Vale, where the surveys of the fields show a number of orchards. Three or four farms had also a cyder cellar or cyder house. More unusual outbuildings included a malthouse with kiln, cisterns and drying rooms at a Toddington farm, and a dovehouse in Forthampton.

Two farmhouses were also public houses. These were the Red Lion Farm and Inn at Toddington and the Lower Load Public House at Forthampton. Each farmhouse had the usual rooms, including a brewhouse. The Red Lion was attached to a fair sized farm of 82 acres, and had the customary outbuildings, including two barns. The only way in which the house differed from normal was in having an extra sitting room. The Lower Load Public House had only 12 acres of land, and the tenant depended on the money he received from tolls for the passage or ferry over the Severn (which were lessening because every passenger had also to pay at the turnpike at Tewkesbury, which had not been the case till about two years previously). The house had been adapted to serve as a public house, having bar, back parlour and bedrooms with closets, besides additional lodging rooms over the brewhouse.

The building materials show the differences between the three areas which one would expect. The Toddington farms on the Cotswold Hills had stone and tiled farmhouses and buildings, while farms in the Vale had brick, timber, lath and plaster buildings, usually with thatched roofs. At Forthampton the buildings were mostly brick and tiled. One farmhouse had a wooden chimney piece in the parlour; the survey said it was very dangerous and should be replaced by stone. At Elmore brick and timber were the usual materials, and the brick was often said to be in panels or nogged. Roofs were both thatched and tiled. Wattle, or wattle and daub, was still used in some farmhouses and outbuildings in all three areas.

Sources

Survey of Toddington,  
Gloucestershire Record Office D2153/Av 16

Survey of Forthampton,  
Gloucestershire Record Office D134/F 11

Survey of Elmore,  
Gloucestershire Record Office D326/E 96



JOSEPH PITT AND PITTVILLE

by R.K. Howes

Cheltenham has been described by David Verey in The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire as "a planned town, a garden city, which was something completely new in England." The planning was accomplished not by any public authority, but by speculators who bought estates and developed them. One of these was Joseph Pitt. His career has been described in other books. The documents studied in this essay illustrate how the planned appearance of Cheltenham was achieved. These documents are only a few from a large collection.

Joseph Pitt was a successful lawyer in Cirencester. He became M.P. for the rotten borough of Cricklade in 1812. His interest in Cheltenham began about 1800. At this time Cheltenham was growing rapidly as a spa town following the visit of King George III in 1788.

Pitt bought plots of freehold and copyhold land amounting to about 30 acres. His most important purchase was the inappropriate rectory, which he bought from the Earl of Essex. This gave him the right to the great and small tithes and about 85 acres of glebe land. He had to pay procurations to the bishop and arch-deacon of Gloucester, and to pay for repairs to the parish church. From the Earl of Essex he also bought about 25 acres of land.

In 1801, on the petition of Pitt and others, an Inclosure Act was passed for Cheltenham. The award of allotments was made in 1806. Pitt received about 250 acres in 25 allotments, a great part of it being in lieu of tithes. One of the largest allotments for tithes was in the Marsh and Wyman's Brook Field. Next to it in Whadden Field was a large allotment for glebe land. This was the area where Pitt was to develop Pittville, named after himself.

Pittville however did not take shape till some years after the inclosure award. Pitt's first development was the Royal Crescent. It was the earliest of Cheltenham's Georgian terraces, and was described in 1834 by Henry Davies in A Stranger's Guide to Cheltenham as "for many years almost the only place of fashionable residence". The land on which it was built, Church Meadow, was one of the allotments to Pitt in lieu of his glebe land. Pitt employed a distinguished architect to draw up plans for it, Charles Harcourt Masters, who had designed what is now called the Holburne Museum in Bath. Arrangements were made with builders in 1805, and a letter of 1807 notes that the roofs of the houses were almost on.

Pitt's procedure was first to have plans made by an architect, and then to sell building lots to a number of builders. These were all small men, described as a mason, a bricklayer, a plasterer or simply as builders. None of them was wealthy, and Pitt lent them the purchase money on the mortgage of the building plot. For example Morris Hale bought a plot for £126, which he

was to pay with interest over 12 years. The builders contracted to adhere to the architect's plans; as regards the pavements, rails and road at the front, they were to abide by the decision of the majority of the proprietors. One of these small builders, William Hands, a plasterer, got into difficulties in repaying his loan. He owned some other houses, which he mortgaged to Pitt. After a few years he was obliged to sell some of these. The last reference to Hands was when he and his wife were evicted by Pitt from The Lower George in the High Street in 1832. Hands was evidently illiterate, for he signed documents by making a mark.

Building in Pittville seems to have started about 1825. In that year the foundation stone of the pump room was laid, the architect being John Forbes. About 100 acres of building lots were bought by the more speculating inhabitants - as Henry Davies calls them. The financial crisis of 1825 halted development, and of 600 houses intended only 100 were built. However, Pitt pressed ahead with the pump room, which was opened in 1830, and in the following years many more houses were built.

Plots of land at Pittville were sold either to builders or to people wishing to build their own house. Pitt kept the planning of the estate under his own control. He occasionally employed an architect, whose task it was to see that all houses conformed to the general design. At first it was Forbes, then someone called Stokes, and in 1835 Henry Spering Merrett was appointed. Merrett was to be paid by a commission of 5% on building plots or houses which he sold. A later contract gave him a salary of £75 a year, together with a commission of 2½%. The second contract set out the architect's obligations. He was "to use his best exertions and Interest in the Sale of Land"; to make surveys and plans; "to make all designs for Rows of Buildings", and to see that they were built "in accordance to the design and general Stipulations"; and to see to all designs for villas, taking care "that they be such as will in no way affect the General good appearance of the Estate". The original contract had required Merrett to submit all new designs and improvements either to Pitt himself or to his agent J.G. Strachan. A rough draft of the original contract had also a clause stipulating a minimum cost for houses, but the amount was not filled in.

The documents concerning Merrett have been preserved because he soon fell into dispute with Pitt. Strachan became ill and died in 1836, and Merrett wished to take his place. Pitt said that he was felt to be unfit for the post. When another man was appointed, Merrett became angry and discharged himself from the post of architect. Afterwards he claimed that Pitt owed him money; the case went to court, and Pitt appears to have won.

The affairs of Cheltenham had been since 1786 regulated by a body of improvement commissioners. In 1839 they endeavoured to extend their powers to Pittville and the other new estates. Pitt and the proprietors of houses in Pittville objected. They said that the Improvement Bill proposed to provide only lighting, and yet to charge the whole rate for lighting, paving and watching. They complained further that the effect of the Bill would be to make the pleasure grounds, drives and walks of Pittville public. These had hitherto been open only to the owners of houses in Pittville, who paid a ground rent for the privilege, and to those

who paid an annual subscription. In a statement on behalf of the proprietors Pitt claimed to have spent £40,000 on the development of Pittville. The Bill was defeated in the House of Commons.

Pitt died in or just before 1843. Some of his property in Cheltenham was sold in order to pay his creditors, one of whom was his son Joseph Pitt. The particulars of sale show how far the development of Pittville had advanced. Most of the property was building land and not houses. Some of the land - in the area marked out to be Clarence Square, for example - was still under crops, and purchasers had to pay the tenants the value of the crops. All houses built had to be in accordance with the general plan of Pittville. Houses in Wellington Square were to have the same appearance as Wellesley House (now Wellesley Court Hotel). On the south west side of Clarence Square there were to be no more than five houses, of an appearance to be approved by the owner of Pittville Pump Room (at the time Joseph Pitt the younger); they were to have a facade of ashlar or of brick covered with Parker's or Roman cement. A minimum value for the new houses was also stipulated. In Evesham Road it was to be not less than £700; between Pittville lake and the pump room (where no houses seem in fact to have been built) it was to be not less than £800.

Where houses were for sale they were described; for example, Wellesley House had a water closet on the ground floor, but no bathroom. Purchasers of building plots or houses would enjoy "the privileges of Pittville", that is the right to use the drives, walks and pleasure gardens, for which they were to pay an annual contribution to the owner of Pittville Pump Room. The contribution from the owner of Wellesley House was £1. 15. Od., and from those of plots in Evesham Road £3. 10. Od.

By 1843 Pittville had become one of the most attractive parts of Cheltenham. The fourth edition of Davies's Guide speaks of the excellent houses in Pittville Lawn, including several detached houses all different from each other, and says that they were "occupied by families of ample, independent fortune". John Goding, in his History of Cheltenham, about 1853, is full of praise for Pitt. He says that Pitt's Inclosure Act had produced effects never contemplated: the most valuable property had been erected, including 505 houses on glebe land. He estimated the cost of laying out Pittville Spa and Gardens at half a million sterling.

#### Sources

Printed Henry Davies, A Stranger's Guide through Cheltenham, 2nd edition 1834, 4th edition 1843.

A New Guide to Cheltenham, published by John Lee, about 1840.

John Goding, History of Cheltenham about 1853.

Documents Gloucestershire Record Office D 1388:

abstract of Pitt's title to Pittville; accounts in the case of Pitt and Hands; correspondence in the case of Pitt v. Merrett; documents relating to the Cheltenham Improvement Bill, 1839; particulars of sale in the case of Pitt v. Pitt, 1843.

Gloucestershire Record Office D444/Z1: inclosure award for Cheltenham, 1806.

ELECTORAL CORRUPTION AT GLOUCESTER IN 1880

by S. Smith

In the opinion of the Gloucester Journal of the 9<sup>th</sup> November 1880 "Secret voting does not prevent bribery". Bribery, at election time, had been rife throughout the country; in Gloucester it was rampant.

On the last day of the enquiry into the Gloucester Election Petition 1881, Mr. John Bridge Aspinall Q.C. commented on the people of Gloucester: "A large number of them have had to make disclosures which must have been very disagreeable to them, and the remainder of them to have heard disclosures made which prove the existence in their midst, although they may not have been aware of it, of a state of things which they think probably not creditable to their city, which, therefore, must have grieved them very much, but still, throughout the city, in every quarter there has been nothing but courtesy shown to the Commissioners. With regard to what I may call the guilty portion of the constituency they are at least entitled to one merit, and that is the merit of candour, because, even from the first I think I may say, without fear of contradiction, the whole of the people, on both political sides, who have been implicated in bribery both high and low, have shown very great candour.

They did not wait until they found it was impossible to do otherwise, and it would not have been so creditable to them if we had been obliged to say that only from the moment when they found that nothing could be concealed had they been candid. That is not the fact, because we think they have been candid from the beginning, and judging from what we can see from the proceedings of other Commissions, it does not appear to us that there is any city in which corrupt practices have taken place where, upon the arrival of the Commission the people, both of the richer classes, and of the poorer classes, who have been concerned in the bribery, have been so frank and so honest in telling the whole story about their own misdeeds. Therefore, to that extent we can give credit to the corrupt portion of the constituency of Gloucester."

The candidates for the City of Gloucester at the election of the 1 April 1880 were:-

Thomas Robinson of Longford Park, aged 53. He was a corn merchant, a member of the Town Council 1857-68, and was mayor in 1865, 1866, 1872, and 1874. He was made a justice of the peace in 1857, and was knighted at Windsor in 1894. His nomination as a Liberal was put forward by William Edwin Price, known as Major Price, the son of William Philip Price.

Charles James Monk, also a Liberal, was proposed by Sir William Francis Guise Bt. and William Philip Price. Monk was the only son of the Rt. Rev. Henry Monk, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. He was 56, and lived at Eversleigh House in Wiltshire. He was chancellor of the diocese of Bristol 1855 and Gloucester 1859. He resigned both these posts in 1884. He was a director of the Severn Canal Company and a Justice of the Peace.

William Killigrew Wait, Conservative, was proposed by Issac Slater and Charles Henry Clutterbuck. He was a native of Bristol, a merchant of that City, and Mayor in 1869. He was a justice of the peace in 1870. He was 54.

Benjamin St. John Ackers, the second Conservative, was proposed by the same gentleman as his colleague. He was a country gentleman, residing at Prinknash Park, about seven miles from Gloucester.

Apart from Mr. Ackers all candidates had previous experience of parliamentary elections in Gloucester. Robinson was unsuccessful in the by-election of 1873, did not stand in 1874, topped the poll in 1880, but was unseated on petition. Then in 1885 he was re-elected, also in 1886 and 1892. Charles James Monk first represented Gloucester in 1859, but this election, on petition was declared void and it was not until 1865 that Monk again became M.P. for Gloucester. He was re-elected in 1874 and 1880. After that he did not contest the seat again until 1892, when he stood as Liberal Unionist and was defeated by his former running mate., Robinson. But in 1895 Robinson was not a candidate, and Monk once more became M.P. for Gloucester. William Killigrew Wait was first elected M.P. for Gloucester at the by-election of 1873, and again in 1874. He contested the seat in 1880 and 1885, but was defeated each time. The election of 1880 seems to be the first and last appearance of Benjamin St. John Ackers on the political battlefield.

After the Conservatives petitioned against Mr. Robinson at the 1880 election and he lost his seat, Mr. Baron Pollock and Mr. Justice Hawkins, who heard the petition, reported to the Speaker of the House that they, "are not satisfied that the abandonment of the case against Mr. Monk was not the result of an arrangement made with a view to withdrawing from them the evidence of the extensive corrupt practices which there is reason to believe had taken place at that election". As a result the full Commission was appointed.

"Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith" appointed John Bridge Aspinall Q.C., William Robert McConnell, barrister, and Francis William Raikes, barrister, to act as Commissioners at the enquiry.

After preliminary investigation by the Commissioners' secretary, the Commission began taking evidence on the 11 October 1880, and ceased on 10 January 1881, a total of thirty six days. The Commissioners' report was completed on the 22 March 1881

While pursuing their enquiries the Commissioners named 1,159 voters who received bribes, though 1,916 admitted being bribed, and it was estimated that there was a further 840, making a total of 2,756. The actual bribing was done by 222 persons, this number included those acting for both political parties. On the Conservative side, those who broke the law by being employed and paid by the party and also voting numbered 23, and of the Liberals 81. The number of witnesses called approximated 2,460.

The purpose of the bribery was as much to get the voters to the poll, as to ensure they voted for the party who bribed them.

Many received bribes from both sides and then voted as they saw fit. "To get people to the poll", was an ordinary expression used in Gloucester to denote bribery.

The places where bribery took place were called "sugar shops" and the man who doled out the bribe was "the man in the moon". A brick would be taken out the wall between two rooms, and the "man in the moon" would sit concealed in the inner room. Someone in the outer room would check the voter's name on the voters' list, and would give each one a slip of paper, which he would pass through the hole in the wall and receive, in return, his bribe. Mr. Punch published a cartoon, depicting this type of bribery "in our free and glorious elections".

There were six known Liberal sugar shops and seventeen Conservative. The Liberals exercised more care in disbursing their money, having the better organisation. The Conservatives started handing out bribes haphazardly the night before the poll. Those supporters who did the actual bribing expected to be reimbursed by the candidates after the election was over and done with.

Prominent man on both sides, John Pitchford, Town Councillor, A.G. Jones J.P. (Liberals), R. Potter, T. Taynton and P. Cooke (Conservatives), tried hard to stop the petition, realising an enquiry would reveal the state of corruption throughout Gloucester. The Liberals would not agree to a compromise as it meant losing one of their M.P.s. An interesting side note is that while the detailed investigation into the national election was taking place, the municipal elections fell due. All the members of the City Corporation who were deeply involved in bribery were returned as Councillors.

The Liberal Party organisation was much better than the Conservative. An association called the Liberal Hundred had been formed. The aims were to promote the political interests and to guide the policy of the Liberal Party, to ensure the efficient registration of Liberal voters and to arrange for the consideration and discussion of questions affecting the policy of the Liberal Party in general.

Henry Mousell, head of the firm of Mousell Bros., a Town Councillor, and a very excitable gentleman, made up his mind the Liberals should be elected and supplied an initial £1,300 for bribery. He thought the Liberal Party would approve his action if they won the election, but as a result of the enquiry he felt he would be lucky if he recovered 10s. in the £. He disbursed large sums of money in sovereigns and half sovereigns to various members of the Liberal Committee for the purpose of bribery, but he did not ask for any account to be kept, so that he could see how his money was being spent. At the enquiry the following question was put to him: "Assuming the population of Gloucester is corrupt, you must be a perfect God-send to them". He replied "I have been a very great fool". In all he disbursed sums much in excess of his original £1,300.

It was the contention of the Liberal organisers that they wished to fight a clean election. When they had done this in 1873 they had lost. According to the Gloucester Journal of 16 October 1880 the Liberals, knowing how corrupt the Tories were

sure to be felt compelled to resort to corruption both in the 1874 and the 1880 elections. In fairness to Mr. Monk it should be stated that he wished his election campaign to be conducted as a separate entity, but, because of the formation of the Liberal Hundred it was impossible to keep the campaigns of the two candidates separate. The only move that could be made to protect Monk was to appoint George Lewis as his expenses agent, under instructions not to disburse any monies unless authorised to do so by either Guise, Lucy or Price, three of his close friends.

As against this, Jabez Franklin, Conservative, giving evidence maintained that in 1874 the Liberals stole a march on the Tories by commencing bribery early, at the rate of £1 per vote.

"As I was going down to Sherbourne Street room some men were waiting who said 'Hullo master, you are late. They have been at it these hours'. I said, 'Oh have they?' They said, 'Yes, what is the figure today?' I said, 'Well, half a sovereign'. 'Oh', they said, 'we can go across to the corner shop and get a quid". Therefore, Franklin began bribing the day before the election in 1880, and set up a sugar shop in his own house. He was somewhat overwhelmed by the numbers who turned up.

"At last they did come, rather thick, like a pack of hounds, and I was obliged to shut the doors and go to cover." Jabez Franklin admitted to bribing 500 at £1 a piece. An anonymous and confiding Conservative of Clifton Bristol, advanced £1,500 and never asked for it back. (Mr. Wait, Conservative candidate, lived at Clifton.)

The Commissioners did not excuse Mr. Wait, who had previous experience of bribery in 1874, but tended to absolve Mr. Ackers, because of his lack of experience, and refusal to repay those who had bribed on his behalf. They probed deeply into the question of the great discrepancy between the published accounts of each candidate and the actual amount expended on his behalf. Differences of as much as £2,000 were revealed, and this probably did not reveal the whole. Another line the Commissioners pursued was the names of those bribed and those who did the bribing.

The evidence taken was, in many ways, repetitive. The Gloucester Journal hoped the barrister members of the Commission would bring the enquiry to a speedy close, as they received only five guineas a day, and after the end of the Christmas vacation would resume their normal, and far more lucrative work. Apart from failing to see what useful purpose the enquiry could serve the Journal, on behalf of the people of Gloucester, was much worried about the cost of the whole thing. An estimate in the Journal on the 2 October 1880 was that each day cost £100. The enquiry lasted 36 days, making an estimated cost of £3,600. At that time a penny rate in Gloucester produced about £450. From this it will be seen that the equivalent of an eightpenny rate would be needed to cover the cost of the Commission.

As a result of the findings of the Commission no writ was issued for the holding of a by-election to replace Mr. Robinson who had been deprived of his seat, and from then on Gloucester returned only one member to Parliament instead of two as formerly.

Nearly all the men prominent in organising bribery, and being party to corruption were men of eminent standing the the public life of Gloucester. A last quotation from the Gloucester Journal sums up the whole attitude of the period:

"Many men of exalted position who would resent any imputation upon their probity, take to illegal practices at election times, as naturall as ducks take to water".

#### Sources

Gloucester Election Petition 1881

W.R. Williams, Parliamentary History of Gloucestershire

B.S. Smith &

E. Ralph, A History of Bristol & Gloucestershire

Gloucester Journal October 1880 to January 1881



NINETEENTH CENTURY VILLAGE SCHOOLS

by F.E.Z. & R.J. Nelmes

Four west of Severn schools were studied:-

1) Tirley Church of England, (2) Staunton Church of England, 3) Forthampton and (4) Redmarley d'Abitot. Having studied the Log Books of above named schools it is possible to visualise something of village life and the way in which schools were conducted after the introduction of universal education.

An extract from The Revised Code of Regulations for 1875 determines the use of Log Books:

Art. 36

"The Principal Teacher must make at least once a week in the Log Book, an entry which will specify ordinary progress, visits of managers and other facts concerning the School and its Teachers, such as dates of withdrawals, commencements of duty, cautions, illnesses etc., which require to be referred to at a future time, or may other wise deserve to be recorded."

Art. 39 states that the Log Book should include "A summary of the Inspector's Report after his annual visit".

Art. 40 states "The Inspector will call for the Log Books at every visit and report whether they have been properly kept". 1

FORTHAMPTON

In 1818 there were said to be 30 children attending a Sunday School, and between 40 and 50 attending two or three charity schools wholly supported by Mrs. Yorke. In 1883 Joseph Yorke supported a day and Sunday school with 60 children. He built a new school which was in union with the National Society in 1837. He retained ownership of the building, and said in 1849 that the school was under his control. By 1846 there were over a hundred children, with some of them drawn from other parishes, and subscriptions and school pence. Attendance had fallen to 40 by 1889. The school, a tall single storey building of brick, was closed in 1931, and in 1966 the children went to school in Tewkesbury.<sup>2</sup>

TIRLEY

In 1816 there was a dissenting Sunday School there, but in 1818 there was said to be no school at all in the Parish. Presumably any children attending school then went as in 1826 to the day school at Hasfield for both parishes. By 1833 there was a Church of England school in Tirley with an attendance of 40 on weekdays and 55 on Sundays. It was supported by an Endowment producing £5. a year, by subscription and by annual sermon. The children were taught by a man and his wife. In 1842 a part of

1. Gloucestershire Record Office 5334/1
2. Victoria County History, Vol.8, P.208.

the glebe was conveyed for the site of a new National School, which was built in the same year. The Capital sum of the endowment helped to pay for the building. In 1846 there were 56 children in the school apart from those who went on Sundays only, but only two Dame Schools still survived. The new National School was built of the same sort of stone as the Church, and included a teacher's house. A classroom was added in 1896. Average attendance was 43 in 1863, when fees of 1d. and 1½d. were paid, 58 in 1897 and 36 in 1938. By 1964 it was a 'controlled' school with an attendance of 60.<sup>1</sup>

#### STAUNTON

School erected by subscription in 1862, with residence for mistress, at cost of about £700, it will hold about 80 children, average attendance 66. The site was given by Sir E.A.H. Lechmere, Bart. Miss Alice Rose, mistress.<sup>2</sup>

#### REDMARLEY D'ABITOT

National School (mixed) erected in 1860 for 130 children, average attendance 78. Miss Eileen Merrick, mistress.<sup>3</sup>

These four schools are similar in that they all had a wide catchment area which necessitated the making of long journeys by many pupils.

The log books studied were all compiled between 1850 and 1890 prior to the advent of metalled roads. Several references to "Shoe Clubs" imply the difficulties of obtaining suitable footwear; therefore inclement weather accounted for many absentees. Flooded roads, severe storms and heavy snowfalls also prevented children reaching school.

The following recorded facts bear evidence of repeated cases of truancy and closure of school for long periods: meets of the local hunts; mops and fairs at Gloucester, Ledbury and Tewkesbury; driving game for shooting parties; gathering wood after a gale; assisting with harvesting of fruit, corn and vegetables; epidemics of mumps, influenza and scarlet fever.

In the nineteenth century schools were also used as village halls, consequently there were many official closures to enable the building to be prepared for concerts, club meetings, rent collections, distribution of charity money and all social functions.

It is very obvious that the length of the term was determined by the head teacher, and that the holidays usually coincided with agricultural pursuits. As far as can be ascertained schools were expected to open approximately 400 sessions annually. "April 13th 1873. Wet day, bad attendance, school closed. The Master can well afford to do this for a few days, or even a week, inasmuch as the School has now opened 347 times already this year."<sup>4</sup> Inadequate artificial lighting caused early closure, thereby enabling children to reach home in daylight, so avoiding absenteeism on these grounds.

1. Victoria County History, Vol.8, P.104
2. Kelly's Directory of Worcester, (1888) P.181
3. Ibid. P.172
4. Gloucestershire Record Office S265/1

The introduction of 'School Pence' in 1875 served a dual purpose. Primarily to supplement school funds, secondly to encourage better attendance parents were encouraged to pay a month in advance.

Charges were:-

"1st Child in family	8d.
Other children	4d.
Weekly - 1st Child	2½d.
Other children	1½d."

This entry is followed by the remark "Nearly all the children brought a month's money in advance, so I hope to have more regular attendance".<sup>1</sup>

The attendance registers were treated as a legal document, and an error in marking was almost criminal and could result in dismissal of the head teacher. It was the duty of the incumbent and Her Majesty's Inspectorate (H.M.I.) to examine the register at each visit. Many log book entries bear testimony of mistakes discovered and teachers being duly admonished. As a result of a visit of H.M.I. to Redmarley School in July 1872, the registers were found to be inaccurate and the Government grant reduced by one tenth with a threat of the loss of the whole. One senses the relief felt by the head teacher when registers were returned from H.M.I. "(without note or comment) so I conclude they are perfectly accurate, which is a real unadulterated consolation".<sup>2</sup>

The first recorded date of the visit of an attendance officer is in the log book of Tirley School, 6th October 1882.<sup>3</sup> Subsequent visits were irregular and presumably considered unimportant. Of the four log books studied this is the only reference to an attendance officer mentioned.

In order to maintain academic standards an H.M.I. regularly visited schools and gave an annual examination followed by a report. There are numerous entries relating to such visits. The government grant and teachers' salaries depended on a favourable report. The following extracts testify to the importance of this.

"1876. September 2nd. Received this day from Education Department the Report of H.M.I.

The Infants appear to have been utterly neglected, their attainment in Reading, Writing and Number are almost nil - and for Object lessons and Form and Colour there is not even apparatus. Under the standards, Reading is fair except in the first, writing fair on slates, moderate on paper, Spelling and Arithmetic imperfect, more than half present failing in these subjects. The girls' needlework is fairly good, and boys know a little grammar, but of Geography hardly anything is known. As a whole the attainment reflects discredit on Mr. Durston. Discipline pretty fair. Not even a paid monitor to assist. A box of Form and Colour, Object Cards, Infant Gallery and more clothes pegs are needed, and a second door should be made so as

1. Gloucestershire Record Office S265/1
2. Ditto
3. Ditto 5334/1
4. Ditto S265/1

to provide a proper separate approach to the Offices, which seem imperfectly drained. One tenth deducted from Grant for faults of instruction; Grant under Article 19 (B)1 must also be withheld. That under Article 19 (A)3 has been allowed with hesitation. J. Watkins name removed from Register of Pupil Teachers serving in the school."

Teachers were expected to adhere to a rather rigid timetable which had to be approved by the H.M.I. Great emphasis was placed on religious education, especially the catechism, with special regard to the Duties. The vicar paid frequent visits to the school and expounded on "their journey through life". An extract from a diocesan Report says "The private prayers taught seem rather long for home use".<sup>1</sup>

Church was attended with great regularity. Needlework was an important part of the curriculum, usually taught by a visiting mistress, often four times weekly. The master had to compile a list of object lessons suitable for a year's work. Many long lists of these are recorded. This is an extract of some for Infants:-

#### March 1888

Lead pencils, carriage wheels, silk, matches, the dog, the elephant, the duck, paper, snow, chalk, oranges and iron."<sup>2</sup>

Many songs and poems were taught and often performed for visiting celebrities, e.g. 'The Village Blacksmith', 'Bruce and the Spider', 'The Lost Child', 'Goodnight and Good Morning'.<sup>3</sup> A few references to the teaching of arithmetic are recorded.

One pupil's book belonging to Joseph White of Maisemore (who was later apprenticed to James Morris, grocer of Gloucester, for the sum of £49) shows the type of problem taught. "What sum did the gentleman receive in dowry with his wife, whose fortune was her wedding suit? Her petticoat having two rows of furbelows, each furbelow having eighty-seven quills, each quill twenty-one guineas. - Answer £3,836. 14s." This problem was laboriously calculated with numerous rows of beautifully formed figures. One wonders if it helped in calculating his grocery bills in later years.

In 1882 is the first recorded school visit to the Royal Porcelain works at Worcester, also the first annual Prize Distribution. A concert in the school had raised £4. 17s. 6d. and sixty-eight books were purchased for prizes.

In each school there was one qualified teacher (who resided in the adjoining School House) assisted by either a monitor or a pupil teacher dependent on the number of pupils. As noted before, salaries were paid by results. An appointment of a head teacher at Redmarley D'Abitot in July 1874 gives these details:-

1. Gloucestershire Record Office S 265/1
2. Ditto S 334/1
3. Ditto

"Salary £50 per year, plus whole of school pence, plus half the Government Grant, but to pay a Sewing Mistress at two shillings and sixpence a week. (123 on Registers)."<sup>1</sup>

Universal education being introduced in the nineteenth century caused many problems to arise. It appears that working class parents did not consider it necessary to send their children to school regularly, but preferred them to work at home to supplement their meagre income. One teacher comments "It is somewhat singular to notice how seldom parents think of the duty of keeping children regularly at school."<sup>2</sup>

The impression gained from the study is of the almost insurmountable task undertaken by teachers. The educating of unwilling pupils without the co-operation of parents, and at the same time maintaining academic standards required by H.M.I.s.

1. Gloucestershire Record Office S 265/1
2. Ditto S 146/1.