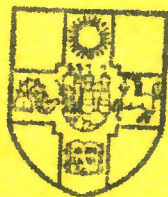


GLOUCESTERSHIRE
HISTORICAL STUDIES

VII

1976



UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL
DEPARTMENT OF EXTRA-MURAL STUDIES

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

HISTORICAL

STUDIES

VII

Essays on Local Historical Records
by the University Extra-Mural Class at
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Edited by
Brian S. Smith

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PREFACE

Quite by chance this year's studies form a collection of contrasts - town and country, slave and speculator, magistrate and lawbreakers. All the contributors, and indeed those whose work remains unfinished and unpublished, deserve praise for the quality of their research and readiness to share their knowledge. We have learnt not only of the excitement of research and discovery, but also the difficulty of selection and the discipline of publication. As a class, therefore, we are grateful both to the University for publishing our work and to the Gloucestershire County Council for making the Record Office and its archives available for this practical course of historical research.

Perhaps an editor should not single out one particular contribution, but the first essay on 'Trades and occupations ... in 1608' has two noteworthy features. Its author, Mr. J.W. Wyatt, an active member of the W.E.A., has been a keen and valued member of the class since 1960, annually producing first-class research of wide interest. His choice of topic for 1974/5 would, one feels, have delighted that great W.E.A. pioneer and teacher, Professor R.H. Tawney. As an expert local historian, Mr. Wyatt challenges some of the conclusions reached by Professor Tawney as a national economic historian writing on the same subject 40 years ago.

Brian S. Smith

TRADES & OCCUPATIONS IN

GLOUCESTER, TEWKESBURY AND CIRENCESTER IN 1608

from MEN & ARMOUR FOR GLOUCESTERSHIRE by John Smyth

Men & Armour for Gloucestershire, 1608 is a list of the men of the county between the ages of twenty and sixty, able and fit to serve in the militia, and reviewed by Henry, Lord Berkeley, Lord Lieutenant of the county, in September 1608. It also states, in most instances, the man's occupation; gives some indication of his age and stature, and states whether he is a trained soldier. It was compiled by John Smyth of North Nibley, Steward of the Hundred of Berkeley.

In the tables below, relating to the three principal towns in the county at that time, the men engaged in each of more than a hundred trades and occupations have been counted and the various occupations grouped into industries or related trades. The tables are part of an analysis of the returns for the whole county, not yet completed. A similar analysis by A.J. and R.H. Tawney was published in an article in Economic History Review in 1934 (2). They wrote as economic - not local- historians and the work has some minor defects which may be better discussed when this analysis has been completed.

When considering the tables it must be remembered that they do not include the whole labour force. No women are included, neither are men unfit for military service or under the age of twenty years. Furthermore, as Men & Armour is stated to be a list of the men reviewed by Lord Berkeley it does not include men who, because of temporary illness or incapacity, were unable to be present, or those who wilfully neglected to attend. The number of men in the last category is not likely to have been high, for the penalty was a fine of 40s. or ten days imprisonment (3), though Smyth himself states that many in Berkeley Hundred failed to appear (4). These groups of men must together have comprised a considerable proportion of the male work force. In addition a large number of the men were not assigned to any particular industry but classified as labourers or given no occupation. These comprised approximately 16% of the men listed in Gloucester, 22% of those listed in Tewkesbury and Cirencester.

As a result of these omissions some obvious improbabilities appear in the tables. Richard Baker, bellfounder in Gloucester, had, apparently, no assistants; the 8 brewers in the city had only 3. It seems improbable that tanning can have been carried out single handed, but the 12 tanners in Gloucester are accredited with only 5 assistants - 4 of them servants to one employer - and the 12 tanners in Tewkesbury with only one. The 2 pinmakers in Gloucester probably employed only women and children. Employees of the other master craftsmen must have been among the men omitted from the list or those given no occupation or classed as labourers.

The system of classification was not uniform in the three towns. In Gloucester only 1.2% of the men were classed as labourers; in Cirencester 12.3%, in Tewkesbury 18.2%. On the

other hand, whereas in Gloucester the occupation of 14.7% of the men was not stated, in Cirencester the percentage was 9.4 and in Tewkesbury only 3.5. Probably most of the men whose occupation was not given in Gloucester would have been classed as labourers in Tewkesbury.

It was somewhat surprising to find that in Gloucester, the county town, only 35 more men were listed than in Tewkesbury. However, Barton Liberty, Barton Street, and Southgate Street, beyond the city walls, which formed part of the city as an economic, though not an administrative unit, were listed separately. Seventy-seven men were listed in these areas and a separate analysis is shown below. As no definite occupation was noted for 53 of them their omission from the tables for Gloucester makes little difference except to the total.

The industries and commerce of all three towns were similar. There were farmers in all three, more in Gloucester than in the other two: 2 in the West Ward, 6 in the North and 12 in the East Ward. The towns were inhabited mainly by small shopkeepers and tradesmen engaged in supplying the needs of the local populace chiefly in food, drink and clothing. The most important manufacture was that of textiles, particularly woollen cloth in Cirencester, where it employed almost 18% of the men, and in Gloucester where it employed almost 11%. The weaving of silk employed 10 men in Gloucester, and some felt-making was also carried on there and in Tewkesbury. There were few weavers in Tewkesbury which, with 5 dyers, 1 tucker and 5 shearmen, was more concerned with the finishing of cloth, probably for shipment down river to Bristol and eventual export.

There were 4 millers in Tewkesbury, none in Cirencester or Gloucester, though there were 5 in the immediate vicinity of the latter town. Brewing, 11 men, and malt-making, 13 men were important in Gloucester. In Tewkesbury, where only 1 brewer was recorded, 14 men were engaged in making malt. One brewer, apparently employing no assistant, would not have used all the malt made in Tewkesbury so much of this, too, was probably shipped down the river. Furthermore, 12 coopers were employed in Tewkesbury against 5 in Gloucester. This, too, suggests shipment of some commodity. Only one man in all three towns was described as a merchant: he lived in Tewkesbury.

Four innkeepers employing 6 servants were recorded in Gloucester; in Cirencester 3 innkeepers and 9 servants; in Tewkesbury 3 innkeepers with 18 servants, 13 of whom are described as tipplers or tapsters. The comparatively large number of men employed in innkeeping strengthens the supposition that Tewkesbury may have been a more important commercial centre than Gloucester; so also does the fact that more men there were employed in transport by land than in Gloucester.

The 29 mercers and 13 drapers in Gloucester are evidence of the city's greater importance as a shopping centre than Tewkesbury, where there were 12 and 3 respectively. With the exception of the area around Bristol, Gloucester probably held a monopoly in high-class goods for only there were furriers or goldsmiths recorded. The apparent large number of tailors, 20 in Gloucester and 27 in Tewkesbury, was actually ~~few~~ more than adequate to cater for the needs of the townsfolk. One man in every 24 listed in Gloucester was a tailor, one in 17 in Tewkesbury, and one in 25 in Cirencester, but these ratios,

except for Tewkesbury, were little higher than those in rural hundreds. For this present analysis about two thirds of the whole county has so far been covered, and in the whole of that area one man in every 27 listed was a tailor, for there was one or more in almost every village. They supplied the needs of the working-class country folk; only the wealthy or yeoman class bought clothes in the towns. The high proportion of tailors in the borough of Tewkesbury was balanced by the exceptionally low proportion in the remainder of Tewkesbury Hundred where there was only one tailor to every 45 men listed.

Tanning and the preparation of leather were important in Gloucester, employing 21 men, and in Tewkesbury, where 14 men were so employed. Shoemaking employed 28 men in Gloucester, 29 in Tewkesbury, and 25 in Cirencester. This trade was concentrated in the towns more than tailoring was, for whereas of the towns and villages for the which the lists have so far been analysed 179 had one or more tailors, only 68 had a shoemaker. In Gloucester one man in 16 was a shoemaker, in Tewkesbury one in 15, in Cirencester one in 14; in the whole area so far covered one man in 53. Probably two thirds of the footwear manufactured in the three towns was sold to the country people in the surrounding villages.

Glove-making gave employment to 11 men in Gloucester, 18 in Tewkesbury, and 10 in Cirencester, and probably to a larger number of women in all three towns. In times when trade was prospering there must have been ample employment for Gloucester women in spinning, glove-making, and pin-making, and for Cirencester women in spinning and glove-making. There was probably less employment for women in Tewkesbury.

There were very few professional men in the three towns. The absence of schoolmasters, with the exception of one in Tewkesbury, is not surprising for many schoolmasters at that time were clerks in holy orders and consequently exempt from militia service. Tewkesbury had a surgeon and another lived just outside the borough at Panington, but the townsfolk of Gloucester and Cirencester relied for medical attention on the apothecaries, barbers, or wise-women for no surgeon or physician lived in or near either town. In 1605 the Mayor of Gloucester ordered an old apothecary who acted as municipal surgeon to perform an autopsy on the body of a man suspected to be a victim of plague. In 1636 two women were sent to inspect the corpse of another suspected victim and to make a diagnosis (5). Three musicians were listed in Gloucester and two in Cirencester. As early as 1451 the council in Gloucester employed four public musicians. They were paid £2 a year for their liveries and services in playing in the main streets of the city at four in the morning and on various civic occasions (6).

The presence of only one lawyer in Gloucester 'John Hitchman, gent. Attorney at Lawe', is surprising, for Gloucester was the seat of both city and county quarter sessions and assizes and of the diocesan consistory court. It may be noted that he was classified as 'gent' so possibly there were other lawyers amongst the 12 gentlemen recorded in the city. An apparitor, a court official, was living near the city at Highnam. There may have been lawyers among the gentlemen recorded in Tewkesbury and Cirencester. The scriveners listed, one in each of these towns, may have been notaries, persons publicly authorised to draw up or attest contracts. Two stationers are recorded in Gloucester

but there was probably only one for 'Toby Longford, Stationer, 1m' was listed in South Ward, and 'Toby Longford 1m tr' in the East Ward, both of similar age and physique.

More surprising than the apparent scarcity of lawyers in the three towns is the absence from the lists of any city, town, county or central government officials except one sergeant in Gloucester and one bailiff in Cirencester. The sergeant in Gloucester was, presumably, one of the 4 sergeants-at-mace authorised by the charter granted by Richard III in 1483. The governor of the county gaol at Gloucester Castle may have been listed as a gentleman; so, too, may the Town Clerk and the collector of customs, for Gloucester was an official port. But no mention is made of turnkeys at the gaol or of officers in the Houses of Correction in Gloucester, Tewkesbury, or Cirencester. No collector of tolls in the markets of the three towns is recorded. Perhaps the sergeant performed this task in Gloucester. There is no mention of a beadle in any of the town or city parishes, of porters at the city gates, of custodians at the Booth Hall or Tolsey, or of workhouse masters. There were two bailiffs, a 'high' and a 'low' at Tewkesbury. They supervised the markets and quays, administered the assizes of bread and ale and were responsible for the town accounts and the holding of the town court (7). Neither is recorded in Men & Armour. Perhaps they, too, were given the status of gentlemen, but the lesser officials would not have been. Possibly some of these offices were part-time occupations. The question, however, arises: were they deliberately omitted? Were they exempt from militia service?

Surprising, too, is the absence from the list for Gloucester of sailors, boatmen, or any kind of workers on the the river or quay, for Gloucester had been made a port by the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1580 and the first Custom House had been built at the King's Quay in the same year (8). At Tewkesbury 23 mariners and 4 trowmen were listed and many seafaring men were recorded on the riverside below Gloucester. At Minsterworth were 25 sailors and 5 shipwrights and 1 servant. There were many more sailors and shipwrights lower down the river. Why were none listed in the port of Gloucester?

There are two possible answers, the first and most obvious being that there were, indeed, no sailors living in the city. A few miles above Gloucester the Severn divides, the eastern branch flowing by Gloucester quay, the western through Maisemore and by-passing the city. The branches join again immediately below the city. For ships not wishing to berth at Gloucester the western branch was both shorter and more convenient for by taking it they avoided a U-bend which must have been difficult for sailing boats to negotiate. There is evidence that through-shipment did, in fact, take that route. By a charter of Edward III, 1334-5, Gloucester was granted the right to levy tolls for seven years on goods coming to the town by the Severn, and the privilege was renewed for a further seven years in 1345 (9). In the period around 1608 Gloucester claimed the right to levy tolls on cargoes passing by the city; a right apparently dating from a Star Chamber decree of 1505. The receipts were supposed to pay for the repair of Over Bridge and the tolls were collected there (10). Over Bridge spans the western branch of the river; the collection of tolls there shows that through-shipment used that branch. That being so, sailors would find it more convenient to have their homes at Elmore or Minsterworth.

The second possibility is that because Gloucester was a port sailors there were liable to impressment into the Royal Navy and were, consequently, exempt from militia service, whereas sailors in Tewkesbury and Severnside villages, which were not ports, were not exempt. If so, a further complication arises. By the Charter of 1483, the whole of the Hundreds of Dudstone and Kings Barton - which included Elmore - were incorporated with the city of Gloucester into what was known as the 'Inshire' and entirely separated for legal and administrative purposes from the remainder of Gloucestershire until 1672 (11). During that period were Elmore and the other villages of Dudstone and Kings Barton included in the port of Gloucester? There is no evidence that the question was ever asked.

Careful scrutiny of Men & Armour arouses other questions. For example, the list for Berkeley includes no household or other servants or retainers to Lord Berkeley. Similarly no servants or retainers to Lord Chandos at Sudeley Castle are recorded. Were they exempt from militia service but bound instead to serve in their Lord's personal forces? It was a vexed question which never appears to have been satisfactorily resolved. Lindsay Boynton, in The Elizabethan Militia, 1558-1638 has much to say on this subject. He states also that 'originally, musters embraced all men from the age of 16 to 60 under the rank of baron - nobles and their households, along with certain other exempt groups being privileged not to attend.' (12). With the exception of the clergy, he does not state which groups were exempt. Furthermore, if 16 was the lower age limit for militia service why did John Smyth himself state that Men & Armour refers to men between 20 and 60? (13). Had the regulations altered for the muster in 1608? For military considerations it appears foolish to muster men between 50 and 60 - quite an advanced age for those days - and to exempt lusty young men of 18 to 20 years. Was it because the Lord-Lieutenant was working from lists compiled by the constables and high constables four years previously? To find the answers, or rather to try to find them, it will be necessary to go back to original sources, the laws and government orders relating to the musters of 1608.

Men & Armour is a unique and valuable record of the times but much research is necessary before its true value can be assessed.

John W. Wyatt

TABLES

1. <u>AGRICULTURE, HORTICULTURE & FISHING</u>	Glo.	Tew.	Cir.
Yeomen	3	7	2
Husbandmen	17	1	6
Shepherds	-	-	3
Gardeners	-	2	3
Fishermen	-	2	-
	Total	20	12
	%	4.08	2.63
		14	4.01

2. <u>FOOD & DRINK.</u> <u>Manufacture & Sale</u>		Glo.	Tew.	Cir.
a.	MILLING. Millers	-	4	-
b.	BREWING. Brewers	8	1	1
	" Servants	3	-	-
	Maltmakers	13	14	-
c.	Bakers	16	10	6
	" Servants	-	-	1
	Butchers	14	20	19
	Butchers Servants	3	-	-
	Cooks	-	1	-
	Fishmongers	1	1	-
	Salters	3	2	-
	Victuallers	1	-	1
	Vintners	2	2	1
	" Servants	1	-	4
d.	INNKEEPING. Innkeepers	4	3	3
	" Servants	5	-	-
	Chamberlains	-	2	2
	Ostlers	-	3	5
	Tapsters	-	2	2
	Tipplers	-	11	-
Total		75	76	45
%		15.3	16.7	12.89

3. <u>TEXTILES.</u> <u>Manufacture & Allied Trades</u>				
a.	WOOLLEN. Clothiers	4	-	5
	" Servants	-	-	7
	Clothworkers	-	1	-
	Weavers	29	8	42
	" Servants	-	-	2
	Fustian Weavers	2	-	-
	Dyers	1	3	1
	Wool dyers	-	2	-
	Tuckers	-	1	1
	Shearmen	2	5	-
b.	OTHER TEXTILES & FABRICS.			
	Silkweavers	10	-	-
	Feltmakers	2	5	-
c.	ANCILLARY TRADES. Cardmakers	2	-	4
	Cardboardmakers	1	-	-
Total		53	25	62
%		10.81	5.49	17.76

4. <u>CLOTHING.</u> <u>Manufacture &/or Sale</u>				
	Drapers	13	3	4
	Woollen Drapers	-	1	-
	Haberdashers	4	5	-
	Mercers	29	12	9
	" Servants	14	-	1
	Furriers	2	-	-
	Garter Makers Servant	1	-	-
	Glovers	11	18	9
	" Servants	-	-	1
	Hatters	1	-	2
	Tailors	20	27	13
	" Servants	-	-	1
Total		95	66	40
%		19.38	14.5	11.46

5. <u>LEATHER. Manufacture or Use of</u>	Glo.	Tew.	Cir.
Tanners	12	12	2
" Sons	4	-	-
" Servants	4	-	1
Curriers	4	11	1
Tewgorers	-	1	-
Shoemakers	3	28	20
" Sons	-	4	-
" Servants	11	1	5
Cordwainers	17	-	4
" Servants	7	-	-
Cobblers	2	1	-
Solemakers	1	-	-
Saddlers	10	2	5
" Servants	1	-	1
Collarmakers	-	-	1
	Total	63	46
	%	12.85	10.1
			36
			10.31
<hr/>			
6. <u>METALWORK</u>			
Bellfounders	1	-	-
Braziers	1	-	1
Cutlers	5	5	2
Farriers	2	-	1
Goldsmiths	2	-	-
Metalmen	3	-	-
Pewterers	5	2	-
" Servants	1	2	-
Pinmakers (Pinners)	2	-	-
Plumbers	-	-	1
Smiths	9	12	8
" Servants	-	-	1
Wire Drawers	5	-	-
" " Servants	1	-	-
	Total	37	21
	%	7.55	4.61
			14
			4.01
<hr/>			
7. <u>SHIPPING</u>			
Mariners	-	23	-
Trewmen	-	4	-
	Total	-	27
	%	-	5.93
			-
<hr/>			
8. <u>WOODWORK</u>			
Sawyers	3	-	2
Carpenters	5	7	3
Joiners	3	7	6
Turners	2	1	-
Coopers	5	12	3
Wheelwrights (Wheelers)	-	-	2
Carvers	-	-	1
	Total	18	27
	%	3.67	5.93
			17
			4.87

9. <u>BUILDING</u> (other than woodwork)	Glo.	Tew.	Cir.
Masons	3	2	6
Paviours	-	-	1
Slaters	-	2	2
Tilers	1	1	1
Lattice makers	2	-	-
Glaziers	2	2	2
" Servants	-	-	1
Pargeters	1	-	-
Painters	1	-	-
Total	10	7	13
%	2.04	1.53	3.72

10. <u>TRANSPORT</u> (Land)			
Carriers	1	3	2
" Servants	-	-	1
Carmen	-	4	-
Carters	-	-	3
Hauliers	1	-	-
Total	2	7	6
%	0.4	1.53	1.71

11. <u>MISCELLANEOUS TRADES</u>			
Bedders	2	-	-
Bookbinders	-	-	1
Bottlemakers	-	2	-
Bowyers	1	1	-
Fletchers	1	1	-
Hivemakers	2	-	1
Loiterer	-	-	1
Papermen	-	3	-
Parchment makers	-	1	-
Ropemakers (Ropers)	-	1	-
Saltpetremen	-	1	-
Seveger	-	1	-
Torn maker (Lathemaker)	-	1	-
Total	6	12	3
%	1.22	2.62	0.85

12. <u>OFFICIALS</u>			
Sergeant	1	-	-
Bailiff	-	-	1
Total	1	-	1
%	0.02	-	0.28

13. <u>PROFESSIONAL</u>			
Apothecaries	3	-	1
" Servants	1	-	-
Surgeons	-	1	-
Barbers	3	1	2
Attorneys-at-Law	1	-	-
Scriveners	-	1	1
Stationers	2	1	-
Schoolmasters	-	1	-
Ushers	-	-	1
Musicians	3	-	2

13. continued.. PROFESSIONAL		Glo.	Tew.	Cir.
	Total	13	5	7
	%	2.65	1.01	2.00
<hr/>				
14.	<u>MERCHANTS & DEALERS</u>			
	Merchants	-	1	-
	Chandlers	1	3	3
	Chapmen	-	2	-
	Horse Coursers	-	1	-
	Pedlars	-	1	1
	" Servants	-	1	-
<hr/>				
15.	<u>GENTLEMEN</u>	Total	12	15
		%	2.44	3.29
<hr/>				
16.	<u>SERVANTS TO GENTLEMEN</u>	Total	6	1
		%	1.22	0.21
<hr/>				
17.	<u>NOT STATED</u>		60	15
	Servants to N/S		12	1
		Total	72	16
		%	14.69	3.51
<hr/>				
18.	<u>LABOURERS</u>		6	83
		%	1.22	18.24
<hr/>				
GRAND TOTAL		490	455	349

IMMEDIATE SUBURBS OF GLOUCESTER (Barton Liberty & Southgate Street; Barton Street)

1.	<u>AGRICULTURE</u> etc.		
	Yeomen	1	
	Gardener	1	
2.	<u>BREWER</u>	1	
3a.	<u>WEAVERS</u>	2	
	Broadweavers	2	
4.	<u>CLOTHING</u>		
	Glovers	1	
	" Servants	1	
	Tailors	3	
	" Servants	1	
5.	<u>SHOEMAKERS</u>	1	
6.	<u>SMITHS</u>	3	
9.	<u>PAVIOUR</u>	1	
11.	<u>ROPER</u>	1	
	" Apprentice	1	
14.	<u>CHANDLERS</u>	1	
15.	<u>GENTLEMEN</u>	2	
16.	<u>SERVANTS TO GENTLEMEN</u>	1	
17.	<u>NOT STATED</u>	49	
	Servants to N/S	3	
18.	<u>LABOURERS</u>	1	
		Total	77

GLOSSARY

Reference to the Oxford English Dictionary and consideration of the words in their context suggests the following as the most probable meanings.

- Bedder or Bedor - Probably maker of beds or upholsterer but could be one who litters cattle.
- Bowyer - Maker of bows.
- Cardmaker, Cardboard maker - Probably makers of the wire brushes used for carding wool i.e. separating and straightening the fibres before spinning.
- Chamberlain - Servant at inn. Masculine form of Chambermaid.
- Chapman - Pedlar.
- Collarmaker - Probably maker of horse collars.
- Cordwainer - Showmaker.
- Fletcher - Maker of arrows.
- Fustian - A thick twilled short napped cloth, usually dyed dark.
- Horse courser - Horse dealer.
- Loiterer - Beggar, idler.
- Pargeter - Plasterer.
- Saltpetreman - Appointed to find and supply saltpetre for gun-powder under a government monopoly.
- Scrivener - A number of meanings:
1. Professional penman or clerk
 2. A notary
 3. One who supplied those who wanted to raise money on security.
- Seveger or seivger - Probably corruption of seveyer; a sieve
- Tewgorer - One who "taws" or softens leather. maker/
- Tippler - Another term for tapster.

A.J. and R.H. Tawney classify cardmaker and cardboard-maker as workers in paper and cardboard, and chamberlain as officials. They classify sevegers or seivgers as agricultural workers but offer no explanation of the word. Tewgorers, (1) bedders, and tornmakers they classify as unidentified occupations.

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HUNTLEY Field and Place-Names

Huntley is situated on the A40 road approximately half way between Ross-on-Wyë and Gloucester. It is mentioned in Domesday Book as 'Huntelei' and had a probable population of just over 50 people. Later spellings include 'Hunteleia' and 'Hunteslega'. The English Place Name Society give its meaning as the 'Huntsman's Forest Clearing'. The village had grown gradually until the late 18th century when there was a sharp increase in population to about 550 people followed by a decline until the recent estates of houses increased the population level to about 700.

The principal landmarks are the church, which was established by the 11th century and rebuilt except for the tower in 1863, Huntley Court and Manor, the latter built in 1862. Huntley Court was the principal property in 1719 when it was sold by the Duke of Kent to Edmund Probyn of Newland.

There have been a number of pubs in Huntley although many have only existed for a few years. The 1717 survey shows Peter Haynes as the tenant of the 'White Hart' which was situated on the main A40 road opposite the present pub - the Red Lion. In 1743 a 14-year lease was made to John Uzzell, Innkeeper, by Edward Probyn but the fate of this inn after c.1750 is uncertain. In 1732 a lease was signed for the property 'previously called or known by the name of the George Inn but now the Red Lion' which referred to an inn called the 'Crown now pulled down' which had stood in the orchard adjoining the Red Lion. Evidently the Crown or George had existed in competition to the White Hart for some years. The meeting of title-paying landholders was held in the Red Lion in 1883 to agree to purchase tithes from the Rev. John Probyn for £250. A 19th century advertisement card for the Red Lion offers 'choice old wines and spirits, home brewed beers: Well aired beds : good stabling : lock up Coach Houses etc: neat Fly and Post horses to let'.

The 1903 Licensing Act lists a beerhouse called the 'Yew Tree' in addition to the Red Lion. Local information suggests that this was probably situated on the corner of Hamlen Close and North Street. The 1851 census shows the 'Masons Arms' and lists the occupier as a Master Mason and Innkeeper. This pub or beerhouse was on the common but no other reference to it has come to hand.

There is a mention of a mill at Huntley in 1300 which was called 'Stinderforthemilne'. Huntley Mill is shown on the 1717 map situated due south of the Court House on the southern parish boundary (S071-7187.1840) and Charles Jones was the tenant. By 1841 the mill seems to have gone out of use and the land is shown as containing only a cottage and garden.

Wood End Farm was let to John Cox in 1717 and is probably named from the 'end of Huntley Wood' although 'end' can also mean 'a hamlet'. The Estate sale particulars of 1883 quote 'a model farm homestead recently erected on the most approved principals at great cost'. The original Wood End seems to

have been the principal farm in 1717 followed by North End Farm which was tenanted by Edmund Humphries. By 1841 Little Northend Farm appeared as a separate enterprise. In 1763 a lease shows the two farms let together as 'the two farms called by the names of Northend or Adams'. Modern maps show two areas of coppice or woodland in this area as Great Adam's wood and Little Adam's wood.

Hinders Farm, formed between 1717 and 1841 is shown on the early Ordnance Survey maps as Inders and elsewhere as Enders. Yew Tree Farm must have come into being after the inclosure of Huntley Common in 1857 but was a sizable concern by 1883. It included a large part of what had been Huntley Common and an area called the 'Billies' or 'Billes'. Deep Filling Farm also came to prominence in the mid 19th century and was noted for its cider production. Following the leasing of land in the 17th century by John Bird this farm was known as Birds Farm. This is now called Coppice Farm and adjoins Birdwood Coppice - this coppice is named from Birdwood which existed in 1250.

Street names such as 'Frog Lane' and 'North Street' appear to be of recent origin (Ordnance Survey 1923). It seems that the streets were identified by their destination and there are references to 'Tibberton Lane' and the 'Newent Road' and 'Ross Road' on the 18th century map of the village.

The 1717 survey of the parish gives a large number of field-names and shows that the village did not extend to Huntley Hill but that the cultivated land and pasture fields ended at the Longhope Road with the exception of 8 encroachments on the Hill. By 1841 many cottages each with a few small patches of hill pasture and orchard existed on Huntley Hill and their numbers had increased further by 1883. Most of these cottages have now disappeared and the Hill is again woodland with small pastures on the slopes.

Huntley Common covered the whole area within the present main road, North Street and Tibberton Lane and extended to Birdwood. On the edge of the common were fields called 'the Baths', nearby on the Newent Road was 'the Plashes' and between them lay 'Pool House' immediately behind the Red Lion. These names all refer to a number of ponds or pools which were present in the area until at least the mid 19th century. The inclosure award for Huntley Common makes reference to arrangements for keeping clean the two ponds on what is now the recreation area. A report made in 1794 by George Turner, a local farmer, says that Huntley Common was 'a considerable tract now of little use, which might by inclosure be rendered very valuable to the proprietors and the nation', however the common was not inclosed until 1857.

Many fields were named after their occupiers or former occupiers, like Annettes Meadow, Gwilliams Mead, Gingers Dole, Cliffords Orchard, Church Field, Philpots Lease, John Winters Free and Hopkins Close. Three fields are called Sinder Hill. There are many areas locally where cinder from the iron workings in the Forest of Dean have been found but no record

of this exists for Huntley. Other fields were named for their quality as meadow or pasture or for their usage i.e. Butter-walls Close, Little & Great Sow Mead Closes, Great Honey Pare (or Pear) Hill, Pease Stubble, Gorsty Hay and Vatches Stubble. Three large fields called the Haies were probably once one large field which may have been common property. A Dole is a share of the common land and occurs several times: Red Dole, Gingers Dole, Bakers Dole, Day Dole, and The Doles Free. More unusual field names include Cat Brain Close and Little Copped Hall. Cat Brain as part of a field-name in the Cotswolds is normally associated with quarrying activities and although this could be true in Huntley there are no visible signs that this was the case. Copped means peaked to form a dome and the fields which bear this name are situated on a small round hill. Little & Great Mill Pond Meadows were by the Mill on the southern parish boundary. A second Millpond Meadow was situated near Woodend Farm along side the stream which served the Mill. Mons Hill is also shown on the 1717 map but although Mons is the Latin for 'mountain' it would seem unlikely that the villagers were aware of this meaning.

A survey dated approximately 1805 also lists Starve Crow, Paul & Nanny and Isle of Wight but there is, unfortunately, no map with this survey and it is not possible to identify these fields. The 1841 tithe map was disappointing in that it listed the fields by numbers and not names as many maps do. However, deeds held by the Gloucester Record Office have verified many of the field-names and helped to establish the position of both fields and buildings.

The character of the village has changed in recent years since the two new housing estates have been built and at first sight there seems to be little of historic interest remaining. However closer examination of buildings, lanes and fields reveals much that has survived despite the changing environment.

J.M. Eastwood

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HUMANITY, A WEST INDIAN NEGRO SLAVE, 1758-1818

One of the most frustrating problems for the historian concerned with slavery is the lack of evidence about individual slaves. As with the deprived in any community, slaves were unable to provide written information about themselves, and their owners or overseers only recorded facts which would be useful for their own purposes, giving the minimum of detail. Slave lists were not compiled with any regularity in this period and as the individuals listed usually only had one name - and that often a common one - it is difficult to identify a slave from one list to another. Again, although individual slaves may be mentioned in the plantation accounts if, for example, they were paid for extra work, this was usually an isolated fact and for accounting purposes the sum was the important detail, not the exact identity of the slave involved, nor the precise reason for the entry. The historian can therefore often compile useful statistics from this material, but cannot usually build up a picture of an individual life. The papers relating to the Codrington family's West Indian estates, deposited in the Gloucestershire Records Office and recently catalogued do, however, provide a refreshing exception to this generalisation. In the records relating to the island of Barbuda there are frequent references to a slave with an unusual name and a responsible job - which make it possible to identify him reliably - over the period 1782-1818.

The slave concerned was called Humanity and for the whole of this period (from the date when he was first mentioned, in 1782, to the time of his death in 1818) he seems to have been one of the regular sailors on the island of Barbuda, usually captain of the principal sloop. He is first noted in 1782 as the captain of the sloop 'Forager', and responsible for apprehending a runaway slave called Jetway in St. John's, Antigua. (1). He was suitably rewarded with the sum of £10. Unfortunately he is not mentioned in the slave list for Barbuda compiled in 1785, when only two sailors are listed. (2). It may be that only the slaves actually present on the island were recorded and Humanity and his crew may have been at sea or based on Antigua at the time. This omission is the more unfortunate as this particular list is especially informative, giving interesting comments on the slaves' characters and showing some family relationships. However, in the accounts after this - and in subsequent slave lists - Humanity is mentioned (3).

He appears usually to have had a crew of six to eight negro or coloured sailors. Their principal work was to transport goods between Barbuda and Antigua, and the importance of this cannot be over-estimated. Barbuda relied entirely on Antigua. For the few white men concerned with running the island for the Codringtons, Antigua was the only means of access to the outside world. This applied both to postal communications and to trade. Cargoes from Barbuda included timber, lime, salt, turtles, livestock and various crops raised there. They were either sent to the Codrington sugar

estates on Antigua or for sale there, and included in these would be the produce which the negroes wanted to have sold in the markets. On the return journey they brought necessities for Barbuda - flour, rum, nails, tools and all the miscellaneous supplies needed for an isolated community. They also transported passengers. Negroes went from Barbuda to Antigua for medical attention or to perform some special task. They were also sometimes sent, as a punishment, to work on one of the family's sugar plantations. The Codrington attorneys came occasionally from Antigua to inspect the island and sometimes there were visitors who came ostensibly for health reasons, but more probably for game.

This was the sailors' normal, routine work and the fact that the same slave was kept in such a responsible position for more than thirty years must indicate a very high degree of competence and trustworthiness. Humanity must have been a sailor and navigator of considerable skill, as the twenty-five mile journey from Barbuda to Antigua is considered treacherous by sea even today. Barbuda itself is low-lying and almost entirely surrounded by dangerous rocks (4), and while Antigua has safe harbours the approach to them is not easy. But what made journeys even more hazardous was the weather, especially in the hurricane period. These difficulties frequently caused wrecks off the Barbudan coast and it can probably be assumed that Humanity and his crew would be used to help in the rescue of crew, passengers and cargo. It was not uncommon for wrecks to occur some way off shore which made rescue even more of a hazard (5). In the 18th century there were other dangers too. There were often hostile ships on the look-out for loot or more legitimate attack, and an encounter with such a ship must have been one of the biggest adventures in Humanity's life.

In 1796, on a journey from Barbuda to Antigua in the 'Kennet', Humanity mistook a schooner privateer for the ship of an English naval officer who was due to visit Barbuda for health reasons. He realised his mistake too late; the 'Kennet' was captured and her crew might have been taken to the French island of Guadeloupe. Fortunately however, the privateer was intercepted by an English ship, H.M.S. 'L'Aimable', and Humanity and five other slaves were removed and taken on board (6). A record of 28 September 1796 shows the amount - £800 - paid for the salvage of Humanity, Will, Primus, Jacob, Othello and Simon (7).

Another incident in 1813 also caused expense when the sloop 'Barbuda', carrying wine from a ship wrecked on Barbuda for sale at Antigua, and possibly captained by Humanity, was taken in custody by H.M. Brig 'Spider' (8). Although the sloop was eventually acquitted of evading the customs it was two years before the case was heard and lawyers' fees came to £183. 4s. 8d (9). While in the custody of the 'Spider' the 'Barbuda' sank in a gale in St. John's harbour and although it was raised to the surface and repaired (10) the sloop can hardly have been improved by the accident. This incident reveals not only the dangers caused by the weather but also the vulnerability of the craft involved.

Humanity may not have been captaining the 'Barbuda' at the time of this misadventure but he was concerned with the transport of sugar from the Codrington estates to ocean shipping, which seems to have involved the two bigger vessels belonging to Barbuda for some of their time in the early 19th century (11). This kept one of them so fully engaged that in the first quarter of 1813 the principal sloop only visited Barbuda itself once (12).

Whenever the sloops were working all the sailors were paid a regular weekly allowance of 4s. 1½d., and Humanity and the principal sailors of the other vessels were paid 8s. 3d. In addition they were paid if they worked on a Sunday or at night. Medical care was provided and so was some sort of uniform. This consisted of jackets (sometimes mentioned as being blue), shirts and trousers (13).

Humanity himself seems throughout the period - though not always regularly - to have been given special treatment. He was given a great coat costing £2 9s. 6d. in February 1795, and in November two check shirts costing 14s 3d. each, and two pairs of duck trousers (14). He was well looked after when he was unable to work for medical reasons. He was paid his regular sum of 8s. 3d. a week when he was ill for six weeks in 1798 (15), and in 1805. was given special care when he seems to have been seriously ill. On 2 August 1805, four yards of flannel costing £1 12s. 0d. were provided for him and on 17 November there is an entry of £8 2s. 0d. for "three dozen wine given to Humanity when sick" (16). He seems, too, to have been given his weekly allowance when the crew was not paid for some reason, (17) presumably because the sloop was laid up. Slaves were usually given special provisions at Christmas and the accounts show this to have been usual for Barbuda and for special gifts to be given to the principal slaves. Humanity seems to have been given such presents and to have received them more frequently than other slaves of similar standing on the island. Half a barrel of pork costing between three and four pounds was the most normal gift but there were others (18). In June 1796 a whole barrel of pork costing £8 5s 0d. was provided for Humanity and 'the new negroes' (19), and in December 1805 he was given a barrel of flour (£4 10s. 0d.)(20), and in February 1808 another barrel of flour was bought for the Captain of the 'Barbuda'(21), presumably Humanity. There are occasional money payments in lieu of the pork (22) or for some other specific purpose. On 12 November 1795, for example, he was paid £1 13s. 0d. "for a parcell of old rope picked up at sea" (23).

Unfortunately, after the special treatment recorded as being given to Humanity in 1805 there is little further direct evidence of his activities, though as he was still listed as the first sailor in the list of 1814 one must assume he continued his work. We do, however, have the date of his death. A list of slaves was made in 1818 and Humanity as usual heads the list of sailors and is described as male, black, aged 60. In the margin in red ink was noted "Died the 28th April 1818"(24). There is no record of his funeral in the accounts although in a previous year a sailor's funeral was listed in the expenses (25).

We have therefore, so far, a description covering some thirty years in the life of a highly valued slave. His job gave him responsibility over other men's lives and over valuable cargoes, and a chance to exercise considerable maritime skills in varied and sometimes dangerous situations. As captain of a sloop, even though a slave, he had great opportunities for disloyal activities. The records, however, show no sign of his ever having taken advantage of his position in this way and there is every indication of complete loyalty. The facts do show he was highly thought of by his owners or their employees, but we do not know how he was regarded by other slaves, nor whether he ever longed for independence for himself or any family he may have had. We do not know how he acquired his unusual name, nor how he came to Barbuda in the first place. We have a useful number of interesting biographical details, but it would be fascinating to know what kind of person he really was. Though these records provide more information than most on an individual slave, there is still a great deal left unsaid.(26).

Margaret Tweedy

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1. A54 Dec 9th 1782
2. E.17
3. E.g. in 1805, 1814, 1818 E17.
4. Maps P17 and also one on display at Dodrington.
5. E.g. a letter from J. James, dated 25 Nov 1813, refers to a wreck being a mile and a half off the shore. C24.
6. C16. Letter from S. Athill to Christopher Codrington, 20 Sept 1796.
7. A6/11 Sept 28, 1796.
8. C23. Letter from L. Hodge to C. Codrington, 26 Aug 1813.
9. A56/8
10. C23. Letter from L. Hodge to C. Codrington, 10 Sept 1815.
11. C16. Letter from S. Athill to C. Codrington, 7 June 1799.
12. C24. Letter from J. James to C. Codrington, April 1809.
13. C24. Letter from J. James to C. Codrington, 30 Apr 1813
14. E.g. A 56/4 1807, 1808, 1809, 1811, 1813, 1814.
15. A 6/10.
16. A 6/13 June 12th.
17. A 56/4.
18. E.g. A6/9. In the accounts for the fourth quarter Humanity was paid each week, but not the crew.
19. E.g. A6/4, A6/5, A6/6, A6/7.
20. A6/11.
21. A56/4.
22. A56/4.
23. E.g. A6/12. 23. A6/10. 24. E17. 25. A56/4 1812.
26. The writer has not yet finished reading these records so more may still come to light about Humanity.

JOSEPH PITT, LANDOWNER

Joseph Pitt was one of the speculators in land who developed Cheltenham in the early 19th century. He gave his name to the Pittville Spa and estate. Pitt never lived in Cheltenham. He began life as a solicitor in Cirencester, and as he prospered he bought land, till he was able to set himself up as a country gentleman. Besides the estate which he bought in Cheltenham in 1800, Pitt owned property in many parts of south Gloucestershire and north Wiltshire.

Pitt bought his first estate in 1791 at Minety, then in Gloucestershire, but now in Wiltshire. In partnership with Robert and William Croome, cheesefactors of Cirencester, he bought the manor of Minety from Lord Rivers for £21,000. The three partners became joint lords of the manor, though by 1801 Pitt was sole lord. The estate was managed by a steward, sometimes George Bevir, who later bought Pitt's solicitor's practice in Cirencester, and sometimes Joseph Mullings, who was Pitt's own solicitor. The steward had to collect rents and hold the manorial courts. The court rolls show that a court baron and court halimot was held each year for the registration of land transfers. Once there was a court leet and view of frankpledge, which appointed a constable, tithingmen, haywards and a bailiff, and made rules about the impounding of stray animals; this happened shortly after the inclosure award had been made. Occasionally Pitt himself presided at the court baron.

There were many small freeholders and copyholders in the village; over 50 people received allotments when the land was inclosed. The copyholders paid rent to Pitt as lord of the manor, as did those who held land by fee farm or lease or at quitrent; but these rents were very small, usually two or three shillings a year, and altogether Pitt received only about £7 a year from them. He also received heriots and reliefs when copyhold tenures were transferred. About a third of the copyholders farmed their own land, a third let it out, and a third did both. Pitt's land was both freehold and copyhold, and he let it to tenants normally on a yearly basis. It comprised a block of about 160 acres already enclosed, and some 60 acres in the open fields.

As soon as he acquired the manor of Minety Pitt began to consult about inclosing the open fields. Besides being a proprietor himself, he was also solicitor for the other proprietors, and banker to the commissioners. A notice of the intention to seek an Inclosure Act was put on the church door in 1791, but was torn down. Perhaps the move was unpopular, for it was not until 1811 that the Act was passed. The petition for it had to be signed by the proprietors of the greater part of the land, and Pitt and his clerk made many journeys to get their consents. About six refused. All these facts emerge from a detailed account of Pitt's expenses as solicitor. There were complications, and Pitt had discussions with one of the commissioners, Robert Wright Hall of Gloucester, about additional clauses to be inserted in the Bill. George White, M.P. sponsored the Bill in the House of Commons. Pitt travelled to London, where he spent 12 days to see the Bill

through the committee of the House, and his costs came to 37 guineas for coach travel and another £60 for coffee house expenses. He had to be in London another 12 days when the Bill went through the House of Lords.

When the Act was at last passed it named Robert Wright Hall and John Edmonds of Whelford in Gloucestershire as commissioners. Pitt attended them at their first meeting at the Fleece Inn, Cirencester, in 1811. There they received claims from the proprietors, and went on to have a survey made and a map. The commissioners completed the inclosure award in 1813. It included provisions about brooks and ditches; probably these were the complications discussed when the Bill was being prepared for Parliament. The countryside at Minety is flat, and crossed by many streams, which form the headwaters of the river Thames. Samuel Rudder wrote in his New History of Gloucestershire in 1779, "Should business or curiosity lead a stranger into this country, I advise him to make his visit in the summer, least he be either drowned, or stifled in the mire; for here the Swillbrook overflows its banks, and fills the road (through which travellers must pass) with water from three to eight feet in depth, and notwithstanding some have lost their lives, and many others are endangered every year, there is no order taken to carry off the water nor to raise the road; so insensible from habit are these people to inconvenience and danger." A number of accounts for making hedges and ditches survive among the documents; and the traveller today will note the deep ditches at either side of the roads. The cost of this work was more than £250. The other expenses included a fee of £220 paid to George White, and Pitt's charges for his work as solicitor, which come to about £600. The total was just over £1,100, and was shared among the proprietors by a rate made in proportion to their assessment for the land tax. The proprietors were asked to pay their rate to the bank of Pitt and Croome at Cirencester.

Pitt received allotments of 52 acres for his rights as lord of the manor, and another 64 acres for his land in the open fields. He also received about 30 acres for land in the open fields which he bought from four or five other proprietors. His share in the rate to cover the cost of inclosure came to about £600, the same as he had charged for his expenses as solicitor. A valuation for the poor rate of 1814 (which is difficult to compare with other documents because it lists Pitt's lands differently) indicates the increase in value brought by inclosure, since it values 168 acres already inclosed at £244 and 115 acres of allotments in the common at £100. The work of inclosure went on very slowly, and was still incomplete when Pitt died in 1842.

During his period of ownership Pitt enlarged his estate at Minety, but not greatly. When the tithe apportionment was made in 1839, Pitt owned 370 acres let to six tenants. After he died, and his property was advertised for sale, his estate at Minety was described as 396 acres of freehold and copyhold land. It comprised a farm (Pitt's original inclosed land) let to a yearly tenant for £220 a year; another farm (mainly inclosure allotments) let for £201 a year; a small holding

let for £14 8s 0d a year; and undivided sixth part of certain lands let for £4 a year; and the reversion in fee of a farm held on lease for one life at 2s 6d a year. These rents, together with £7 0s 1d paid by the copyholders, came to £456 10s 7d. a year. The estate passed to Pitt's mortgages for £12,820.

In 1807 Pitt acquired an estate at the neighbouring village of Eastcourt, mainly in the parish of Crudwell, and partly in that of Hankerton. Whereas Minety was an investment, Eastcourt became Pitt's home and country seat for the rest of his life. The estate there had belonged to Giles Earle. His family sprang from a Bristol sea captain who settled there about 1650, and some of them had been M.Ps. for Malmesbury. Giles Earle went to live at the estate in Yorkshire brought him by his wife. Pitt bought from him about 650 acres of land, both freehold and leasehold. He paid £24,860 for the freehold and £3,120 for the leasehold. With the estate went the title of lord of the manor of Cloteley cum Hankerton.

Eastcourt House was mentioned by John Britton in the volume on Wiltshire in The Beauties of England published in 1814. He called it a respectable old mansion. The house, which is still there, had been built by its first Earle owner in the 17th century. One of the Earles added a new dining room, staircase and kitchen in 1776. After Pitt died a description and inventory were made. These gave an impression of old fashioned 18th century elegance. The dining room contained two mahogany tables and 18 mahogany chairs. The drawing room was furnished with 12 elbow chairs and a large sofa to correspond. Pitt was said by Edith Humphris in her book, At Cheltenham Spa, to have been an amateur of art who collected pictures. But there is no mention of any in the inventory. The library, with only two bookcases, does not seem to indicate an owner of scholarly tastes. A gentleman's business room seems more appropriate to Pitt. The house moreover was the centre of a working farm, for its cellar was equipped for brewing (there were 200 gallons of ale and 80 gallons of table beer in stock), and adjoining the house was a farmyard with pigsties.

Some of the land Pitt bought at Eastcourt was still uninclosed. As at Minety he set about organising inclosure. An award was made for Hankerton in 1809. Though an Inclosure Act for Crudwell was passed in 1816, the award was not made till 1841. Eight people received allotments, Pitt being assigned 329 acres, together with 55 acres held on lease.

Pitt enlarged his estate at Eastcourt, as may be seen from the land tax assessments, and by comparing a map made of Giles Earle's estate in 1805 with one made for Pitt in 1839. On the latter were displayed the arms of the Pitt family to which belonged the two prime ministers, though it is doubtful whether Joseph Pitt was related to them. The tithe apportionments for Crudwell and Hankerton of 1840 and 1841 show that Pitt owned about 1,225 acres, by then all freehold land. This land was divided into five large farms and seven smaller holdings, besides which were 17 cottages. Rentals of 1841 and 1842 show these tenants paying altogether about £2,250 a year to Pitt. When the Eastcourt estate passed to Pitt's mortgages it was valued at £19,000.

A country estate was not the peak of Pitt's ambition. In 1812 he sold his solicitor's practice to George Bevir for £10,000 and entered Parliament as member for Cricklade. Pitt owned many houses in the borough, enabling him to influence voters. He also controlled the election of the members for Malmesbury, and for a time influenced elections at Wootton Bassett. However Pitt's parliamentary interests must be the subject of another essay. Pitt owned other land in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, though Minety and Eastcourt were his chief estates. His varied ventures did not prosper, for he died in 1842 owing debts of about £150,000. The interest on these debts was estimated to cost about £6,000 a year, while the income from land investments came to only £4,000 a year. The reason for this sad state of affairs was probably that Pittville had not flourished so well as Pitt had hoped. All his property was mortgaged. One of the principal mortgagees was Joseph Mullings, and in the course of a long chancery case it was to him, and not to Joseph Pitt's family, that the Minety and Eastcourt estates passed.

Russell Howes

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THE WORK OF THE MAGISTRATE FRANCIS EDWARD WITTS
FROM HIS DIARIES 1815-1823

Francis Edward Witts was born in 1783 and died in 1854. After an Oxford education, he became rector of Upper Slaughter in 1808, succeeding his uncle, the Reverend Ferdinando Tracy Travell. It was common practice at that time for Church of England clergymen to be prominent among the ranks of magistrates. Other magistrates were generally noblemen or landed gentry, with a few exceptions from the commercial or manufacturing class.

The magistrate had criminal jurisdiction over offences ranging from the smallest misdemeanor to serious crimes for which transportation was the sentence. The constable would bring to him (sometimes to his own parlour) suspected vagrants, paupers, poachers, thieves, deserters, the mothers of bastard children, people guilty of assaults or threatened murder, drunkards, rioters and anyone else who had fallen foul of the law. If the case fell within his jurisdiction to act alone the magistrate had such remedies as fining, placing in the stocks, whipping, binding over with securities to appear at the Quarter Sessions or Assizes, committal to the House of Correction, or to set free with a vagrant pass. In addition, the magistrate was concerned with local administration, including rating, maintenance of the highways, questions of poor relief and licensing. Attendance at Quarter Sessions also fell to his lot, where he would meet with other magistrates and discuss matters of public administration concerning the whole county, as well as hearing criminal proceedings and appeals.

Mr. Witts was a keen diarist and in addition to his legal notes, kept a detailed diary of his social events. However, it is with his legal diaries that we are concerned here. He sat as a magistrate, mainly at Stow-on-the-Wold at the Petty Sessions. There he sat sometimes with one other magistrate, but sometimes with six or seven. In the three years 1817-1820, he mentions in the region of fifty sessions at Stow as opposed to thirty at Northleach Bridewell, and this trend continued over the years. At Northleach Bridewell Petty Sessions, a larger bench of magistrates sat - usually about eight or ten. In addition he heard occasional cases at home, and now and then travelled to Naunton or Lower Slaughter to hear a case.

The largest group of cases heard fell under the Poor Law Settlement Acts. Between 1817 and 1820 fifty five examinations of settlement were taken, usually followed by a removal order, and between 1820 and 1823, thirty two cases. This group of cases was followed by those involving both pauperism and immoral conduct such as the making of affiliation orders or the committal of the mother of a bastard child to the House of Correction. However the number of these cases is far less than those in the previous group. There were twenty two between 1817 and 1820 and eighteen between 1820 and 1823. These cases were followed by a complete miscellany of offences with larceny, assault, cases involving disorderly behaviour, and the committal of rogues and vagabonds high on the list.

There are numerous examples of the making of removal orders in the diaries. Perhaps the harshest was heard at Northleach on April 27th, 1821, concerning Merach Lock, Mary Lock, Lucas, Adam, Eve, Sarah, Temperance and Joanna.

"The overseer of Halling brought up two gipsies, casual poor in their parish in order to their being examined to their settlement. Merach Lock the husband swore that he was born under an oak on Halling down as he had heard from his mother, being an illegitimate child and knowing nothing of his father: also that he was recently married to his wife Mary with whom he had cohabited twenty years, having by her six children. It seems that the Parish of Halling has little or no chance of proving him settled elsewhere. On examining the woman, she swore all the children to be Merach Lock's - Lucas and Adam being born like their father in the Parish of Halling - Eve at Cold Ashton - Sarah at Brimsfield - Temperance at Hawkesbury - Joanna at Cranham."

The law was strictly interpreted and removal orders were made in respect of the last four children, sending them to their respective birth places. The orders were upheld following an appeal by the parishes of Hawkesbury and Cranham at the Trinity Quarter Sessions of 1821, which Mr. Witts himself attended.

The function of the removal order in ridding the parish of a lunatic - no doubt a burden on the rates as were the children in the previous case - is seen in a report concerning Solomon Harris, dated 31 October 1817. An order was made to move him to Lower Guiting from Naunton. The pauper being a lunatic, the order was founded on the examination of sundry witnesses who could trace the history of the pauper from infancy; he followed his father's settlement.

The magistrates delved into the past in order to come to their decisions even if this meant sending someone miles away to a place where he had lived long before. In the case of Thomas Moorman in 17 August 1818. Thomas Moorman was moved with his wife from Wick Rissington to Cirencester as he had rented a tenancy there twenty seven years before and paid two rates, although in actual fact he had only lived there for six months.

Many of the orders were made on single pregnant girls, obviously a charge on the rates, such as Elizabeth Sperrick, a 'single woman big with child', who in August 1817 was moved from Great Barrington to Church Handborough in the County of Oxford. Many cases of immoral conduct are cited in the diaries, most of them concerning the mothers of illegitimate children and the making of affiliation orders regarding such offspring. On the 28 February 1817, a case was heard regarding Martha Saunders, a married woman 'brought to bed of twins'. 'Her husband Saunders, a private in the 16th Regiment of foot, not having had access to her, he having been abroad for two years, as appears from a certificate from his Commanding Officer'. Martha Saunders refused to filiate the twins and was committed to Northleach Bridewell as a lewd woman, for one year. The twins were sent with her.

Sometimes in such cases, Mr. Witts shows his personal disapproval, as in the case, in 1818, of a servant girl affiliating her baby to her master, which he describes as 'a confession of fornication and a habit of life contra bonos mores.' Similarly on 3 June 1819, in the case concerning Elizabeth Smith, aged fifteen and a half, the father of whose child was her uncle and master, he speaks of 'a most gross and profligate affair.', and on 20 April 1820 describes one Alice Turner, who had produced three illegitimate children as 'an abandoned woman and worthless'. On 17 May 1821, Mr. Witts committed one Rebecca Betteridge to Northleach Bridewell for six months - 'being a very profligate girl and much fornication prevalent in the Parish'. One wonders how he felt when in the same month he had before him one Mary Webb, to filiate her child, whom he describes as 'late our cook'.

However, Mr. Witts was not the only clergyman to have trouble with his domestic staff. Among the many and varied cases of larceny is the case of Mary Baradell, heard on 8 October 1821. She was the servant of the Reverend T. Talbot, Rector of Hawling, and was charged with stealing articles of his property. Her defence was that she was given the property in her master's 'Bacchanalian hours'. She was committed for trial at the Quarter Sessions.

Some larceny cases referred to Quarter Sessions warranted severe penalties, such as seven years transportation inflicted on Geoffrey Wright from Oddington on 8 April 1818 for stealing linen. The same penalty was given to Moses Gardner on 13 April 1818 for timber stealing. On the other hand a boy of thirteen, Henry Beazley, of Lower Swell, who had stolen a chine of bacon out of his master's cellar, was ordered by the magistrates to have a whipping. This case was heard on 19 October 1818.

An amusing case among those concerning disorderly conduct was one in which Mr. Witts himself actually went to the spot where two men were fighting. The case is dated 19 October 1818. 'Being informed that a challenge had taken place and a battle begun in the Parish of Upper Slaughter between Charles Meecham of Lower Slaughter and W. Golding of Upper Slaughter, proceeded to the spot and found the combatants engaged; placed them immediately in charge of the constables and then bound the parties by recognizance to keep the peace towards each other and all the King's liege subjects for the space of one year.'

The Stow Fairs attracted a large number of persons who were brought before Mr. Witts as rogues and vagabonds or vagrants. On 30 July 1821 one Lambert was committed to Northleach Bridewell as a rogue and a vagabond. He had been exhibiting two bears at Stow with two foreign companions. One bear had broken loose, and was recaptured with difficulty. The diary reports that 'his whole body except his face and neck and palms was covered with a warty blackish excrescence, like scales, which rubbed off and were renewed annually'.

On 6 June of the same year the members of Charles Davies' family were committed as vagrants. Davies was described as

'a drunken tinker, who travels through the County, encamping under hedges, etc. They were found drunk and quarrelling at Halford Bridge. Black eyes, unseemly scratches and scattered garments were the order of the day.'

Another interesting case, dated 7 July 1818 resulted in two actors being passed as vagrants to Birmingham and London respectively -

'On the complaint of Mr. Gilbert of Bledington that Thomas Goddard, Edward Cassidy and others, Comedians, were acting plays at Bledington I issued a warrant for their apprehension, who being brought up could show no legal authority and were accordingly committed by me as rogues and vagabonds for seven days to Northleach Bridewell.

The dispute as to the acting of these persons is connected with feuds in the parish between two parties, one supporting, the other opposing Mr. Jones, the curate of Bledington and supposed to hold Calvinistic doctrines.'

Possibly the most amusing vagrant case concerns William Chip on 26 May 1820. This unfortunate man called to beg at Witts' door, and Mr. Witts committed him to Northleach Bridewell for 7 days!

The magistrates spent quite a considerable time on various aspects of the licensing laws. Throughout the diary, Mr. Witts is quite liberal with his judgement on peoples' characters, but in these particular cases is quite emphatically righteous. On 10 September 1819, for example, he refused a licence on the grounds that

'The House is likely to attract the idle and improvident from all the villages around. The duty of Magistrates is as much as possible to contract the number of public houses as adverse to good principles and industry.'

When the magistrates met at Northleach Bridewell, any matters pertinent to that establishment were discussed as well as the ordinary business. Mr. Witts himself was a visiting magistrate for a time. Throughout the diaries, matters relating to staffing, accounts, provisions and the keeping of the Bridewell rules are discussed, and also the setting up of a corn mill, which was agreed by the magistrates in March 1820.

The diaries have many references to local parish administration. Highways, rating, censuses, turnpike rents, militia meetings and auditing of the accounts are all mentioned. Sometimes the magistrate would make an order for boys and girls from the parish to be apprenticed or more often to hear appeals for relief from paupers. In July 1816, for example, a widow, Ann Clifford of Oddington who was aged seventy, applied for relief as she could not get work. The overseer was directed to maintain her at the rate of three shillings a week until she could find work. On 30 December 1818 Mr. Witts held that a grandfather was liable to maintain his three grandchildren, all under nine years of age, to the tune of half-a-crown a week, as their father was unable to work to support them.

Turning to his duties at Quarter Sessions, we find that Mr. Witts attended regularly during the period studied. The magistrates would meet at the King's Head Inn at 10 o'clock and then proceed to the Booth Hall. The Sessions usually lasted between three and six days. The general county administration was heard at the King's Head. This included the appointing of jurors and fining those who did not attend, the appointing of constables, appeals against removal orders, matters concerning

public works such as highway, rating, the employment and relief of paupers and appeals from Magistrates courts about bastardy orders. The public court of justice was then held, usually the following day at the Booth Hall and subsequently at the new Shire Hall where the first court was held at Michaelmas 1816. At this court, criminal cases were heard, referred from Petty Sessions and in some cases the felons were transported. Also appeals against conviction in the magistrates court were heard. Expenses were paid to those prosecuting and to court officials and there was then an adjournment after which debtors' cases were heard. These Quarter Sessions provided a valuable opportunity for magistrates from all over the County to meet and discuss their work.

From the diaries it can be seen how conscientious and hard working Mr. Witts was. The very volume of work covered was considerable and his accounts of it are meticulously kept. One can only admire a man who devoted such a large part of his life to voluntary public service. S. and B. Webb describe the magistrate as 'not merely honest, but absolutely distinguished for integrity and personal honour.' Certainly from reading the diaries one can see that Mr. Witts' strong moral character and attention to legal detail make this statement no exaggeration.

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SWING RIOTS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE

In 1830 there began a wave of rioting by agricultural labourers which lasted for two years. Beginning in Kent, it swept north to the midlands, and to the east and south-west, affecting twenty-two counties. The machine-breaking and rick-burning which characterised this outbreak was often preceded by a letter to the intended victim signed 'Swing' or 'Captain Swing' - hence the name 'Swing Riots'. There had been uprisings before, but those in 1830-2 were marked by an intensity of feeling which caused considerable alarm throughout the country.

The causes of the unrest were many. J.L. and B. Hammond in The Village Labourer, and E.J. Hobsbawn and G. Rude in Captain Swing have identified and analysed these, but a brief summary may be useful here:

Low wages, unemployment, loss of status, inclosure of common land, all contributed to make the farm labourer's position untenable. When he was hired by the year and ate 'as family' he was sure of enough to eat. This custom had all but died. Labourers were more often hired for a specific job, or by the hour. Inclosure meant that he could no longer keep a few fowls, a pig, or possibly a cow. The Speenhamland system, devised by a group of Berkshire magistrates in 1795, whereby a labourer's wages were brought up to subsistence level by a subsidy from the poor rate, though well-intentioned, meant that there was now little distinction between himself and a pauper. In addition, farming methods were changing: threshing, when done by hand, had offered employment during the winter months - November to February - but mechanization was taking place and winter employment was reduced. Recent bad winters increased the labourers' fear of starvation and in desperation they directed their anger at the most tangible enemy - the threshing machine.

In Gloucestershire, the rumblings of discontent gathered into a storm which burst on the morning of 26 November 1830. Of short duration, nevertheless it caused a great deal of alarm within the county. Special constables were sworn in, horse patrols were formed, and much excitement was generated. Several incidents took place almost simultaneously.

At Tetbury, a crowd of labourers began to form behind a threshing machine being returned to its owner in Wiltshire. As soon as it was over the county border - just outside Newton which was then in Wiltshire, - they surrounded the machine and having broken it to pieces, set it alight. Satisfied that it could no longer be used they marched into Newton where they tried to gain support but without success. (Many labourers at Newton had small allotments and had, therefore, less reason for discontent) Turning back, the mob made its way towards Beverstone, demanding money and beer from inhabitants along the road. Although some were armed with sticks, stone-hammers, and pick-axes, they made no attempt to attack a group of magistrates who barred the way. The magistrates pleaded with them, asking those who had work to return to it, and promising employment for

those without, but the men, saying that they wished the magistrates no harm, went on with the declared intention of breaking machines. At Beverstone, they entered Jacob Hayward's yard and broke a threshing machine, and two other machines valued at £50.

From Beverstone, they went to Chavenage where they visited four farms, searching out and destroying any machinery they could find. By this time, darkness had fallen, so they made for Trouble House an inn on Tetbury Common. While refreshing themselves with bread and cheese and beer, they discussed their next move. Some, no doubt exhilarated after a successful expedition, declared that the next objective should be the breaking down of the Common wall. However, the inn was surrounded by a troop of soldiers and special constables, directed by Mr. Kingscote, one of the magistrates who had earlier pleaded with the mob, and about twenty-six were arrested. They were taken into custody at Horsley where they were searched. £4.11s. was found on Thomas Bishop and £4. 2s.6d. on Samuel Seal - obviously collected during the day.

Meanwhile at Fairford, at about 9 o'clock on the same day, John Savory, a machine-maker, saw a crowd of about a hundred labourers about to enter his yard, armed with sticks and hammers. With ten others, all armed with sticks, he went out to confront the mob, and when asked what he intended to do, said that he meant to defend his property. The crowd shouted that they would break the machines, whereupon the answer came back, 'Then we'll make a fight for it.' The mob rushed into the yard and a few blows were struck, but it was not the labourers' intention to hurt people, only to destroy as many machines as they could. This they did with great thoroughness. Having broken a threshing machine, they then went into the foundry and broke all the machine-making equipment they could find. The total damage was assessed at £85. Apart from the machines, the only casualty was Isaac Boulton who suffered a cut head, inflicted by one of the machine maker's men. Though unarmed, he was later named as the leader of the attack.

On 29 November a number of labourers entered a rickyard belonging to the Rev. Mr. Cresswell at Bibury. Lord Sherborne, accompanied by two other magistrates, tried to persuade them to go away but although 'very civil' they refused and expressed their determination to break every machine in the parish. Carefully lifting a barn door off its hooks, they set about their task with vigour. Later, 'a strong civil force' collected by Lord Sherborne arrested fifteen who were taken to the county gaol.

Similar incidents took place at Quenington, Coln Rogers, Coln St. Aldwyn, Horsley, and Eastleach Turville, and at Southrop 'a gallant field of horsemen' mustered by the Hon. Mr. Moreton made a charge on the rioters and captured twenty-one. The rest dispersed. More rioters, under the escort of a troop of Lancers stationed at Fairford were brought in during the next few days. In the same week, there were rick and barn fires at Deerhurst, Dumbleton, and Winchcomb, believed to have been started deliberately, although it was reported that the labourers there gave valuable assistance in quelling the fires, and at Redmarley a threshing-machine was destroyed.

That there was some justification for this local unrest is borne out by the following extracts from the Gloucester Journal for 4 and 11 December 1830: the first an editorial, the second a letter from a local farmer.

'That the condition of the labouring poor in many of the agricultural districts has for a long time been most deplorable is unfortunately not to be denied. Where the practice of eking out their scanty wages by allowances from the poor-rates has prevailed, the demoralising effects of such a system have been severely felt; and the independent spirit of the English labourer, founded upon the fair compensation for honest industry, has given way to feelings of discontent and recklessness, the unhappy working of which has been too ruinously experienced in some of the counties near the metropolis. We have reason to believe however that this objectionable plan has not been adopted in this county, and therefore the less excuse exists for the recent infringements of the laws

The unfortunate condition of the peasantry in general we most sincerely commiserate, but ... we must protest most strenuously against those measures of intimidation and coercion, which evil advisers have induced them to adopt

In addition to this brief advice to the unfortunate and misguided peasantry, we would address an observation to the landowners of the country. It must be obvious to them, that the present system of things cannot continue, and their own interest demands a speedy remedy for the prevailing complaint. When submission to the law has been fully enforced, we trust that an enquiry into the grievances of the labouring classes, with a view to their redress will be generally instituted; and if the Government will grant Reform in Parliament and reduction in taxation, and the landlord a permanent abatement of rent, we may fully indulge the hope of seeing in the subjects of this realm a happy, contented, and united People.'

'That the present outrages must be put down by the strong arm of the law, no man can doubt, but in our judgements let us remember mercy Let us endeavour to forget their failings in their woe, for distress, believe me, far greater than you will perhaps credit, has been the bitter lot of too many of them

At parting, let me entreat you to receive these poor deluded men, when they return to their labours, without reproach; and let us all recollect that he alone who is without fault, is entitled to cast the first stone.

I am your friend and well wisher,

A Gloucestershire Farmer.' "December 6, 1830."

The rioters stood trial at Gloucestershire Quarter Sessions which opened on 4 January 1831. There were 169 prisoners awaiting trial of whom 86 were charged with machine-breaking and rioting. Throughout the previous week, visitors had been flocking into the city. The police force had been strengthened by a large number of pensioners and others sworn in as special constables. However this appears to have been largely hysteria, since the prisoners behaved with exemplary conduct and there were no outside disturbances. In an atmosphere of great excitement the trial began.

Usually only a small number of magistrates attended but on this occasion there were few absentees. Among the magistrates present were the Duke of Beaufort, the Marquis of Worcester, Earl Bathurst, Lord Sherborne, Sir William Hicks, and most of the county nobility. The hearings lasted three days, and occupied two courts sitting simultaneously. The Rev. Dr. Cooke, Chairman of the Bench, before whom most of the hearings took place, made a lengthy speech to the Grand Jury, in which he said that he could not pretend that distress did not exist, but he believed that it had been greatly exaggerated by 'designing persons.' All were feeling the pressures of the times. There was no justification for violence. He believed that there were agents spreading dissension among the 'ignorant and unwary'. Reading and writing were too often taught 'without the moral culture which at all times should accompany education'. Speaking of the penalties for machine-breaking he reminded them that it was sufficient only for the prisoners to have been at the scene, without actual participation, for them to be liable to the severest penalties, since the seeming innocent, having incited others to violence, often kept in the background to escape punishment.

Counsel for the prosecution addressed the jury in similar terms, remarking that the county should be congratulated on its ability to deal with the present situation, whereas other counties had appointed A Special Commission to deal with the rioters. The magistrates present had acted with 'promptitude of resolution' combined with compassion to subdue the insubordination of 'misguided and ignorant men'. Thorough enquiry led him to believe that there was insufficient distress to justify the action that the prisoners before them had taken. And if their principle (of machine-breaking) were carried to its logical conclusion would it not lead to the breakdown of society? The jury would, he was sure, strive to prevent this, by their action this day. He intended to offer an outline only of each case - to guide but not to influence - but those who had taken a leading part in the incidents would be indicated.

The trial was somewhat one-sided since there was no defending Counsel, and even if there had been, Counsel were barred from addressing the jury in defence of machine-breaking. Evidence for the prosecution having been given, the men were asked if they had anything to say in their own defence, but with one exception declined. Character witnesses were called, then the presiding magistrate summed up the evidence. After a few minutes deliberation the jury returned their verdict, sometimes recommending mercy. In the case of the participants in the Bibury riot they asked that mercy be shown towards them 'for their civility to Lord Sherborne'.

This was the pattern of the hearings. Several men faced more than one charge. Only one man, Thomas Bishop, spoke in his own defence saying that a farmer's son had helped in the destruction of his father's threshing-machine and had promised the mob beer and money, but this was strenuously denied.

Of the 86 tried, only 5 were acquitted. Seven were sentenced to 14 years transportation (7 years on each of two counts), 20 to 7 years transportation. Gaol sentences ranging from 3 years to 6 months were imposed on 25 men, and 29 were

discharged on entering into their own recognizance of £20 each to keep the peace and to appear to receive judgement whenever called upon. As far as can be discovered, only one had appeared in court before - ten years earlier on a charge of rape, which was not substantiated - and all were of good character.

About a fortnight after the trial, 24 of those sentenced to transportation were sent to the Hulks of Gosport, and on 2 February, sailed in the 'Eliza' for Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in company with 200 more Swing rioters from other counties. They landed at Hobart on 31 May. Of the remaining three, Elizabeth Parker - the only woman involved - was reprieved, but sentenced to transportation for life two years later on a charge of larceny. It is not certain what happened to the other two.

So, as quickly as it had blown up, the storm of agricultural discontent in Gloucestershire died away. Transportation was a heavy price to pay for protest against poverty. That there was distress no one could deny; opinion differed only on the degree of deprivation suffered. The farmer who wrote at length in the Gloucester Journal had no doubt and one feels he would know.

What might be called a tailpiece to the affair occurred in July 1831. Isaac and John Frederick Hayward, nephews of Jacob Hayward, of Beverstone obviously felt that a good way of recompensing their uncle for the loss of his threshing-machine would be to claim the £50 reward offered for the apprehension of rioters. Perhaps they were too greedy. They wrote to the Treasury naming six rioters, including Elizabeth Parker, whom they described as principal ringleaders, and whose conviction had been brought about by their evidence, asking for a reward of £50 each! The Treasury replied, '.... having had under consideration your several applications of the 7th January, the 25th April, and the 11th Ulto ... (you are advised that) this is not such a case as will entitle you to the rewards'.

Irene Wyatt

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E.J. Hobsbawm & G. Rude. Captain Swing Lawrence & Wishart, 1969

19TH CENTURY CHOLERA EPIDEMICS IN GLOUCESTER

In the early 19th century cholera, in epidemic form, spread from Asia into Russia, across Europe and reached England on 26 July 1831. Gloucester suffered three epidemics in 1832, 1849 and 1854, escaping a further epidemic in 1866. The history of these local epidemics; and of the measures to counteract them show the advances in public health over the century.

The first epidemic, which involved 366 people and caused 123 deaths raged in the city from 12 July to 14 September. At that time the city had no sewerage system, all refuse and sewage flowed in open ditches, thence to streams and in Gloucester the River Severn. Although the Gloucester Water Company, supplying water from Robinswood Hill had been established in 1760, the Severn was still a source and in the first epidemic cases were around the Severn in the Island, Quay, Leatherbottle lane, Dockham and Littleworth.

The Gloucester Journal of 14 July reported "cholera morbus has made its appearance." The first victim was a Mary Lloyd, aged 26, and although she survived her child and Maria Jones who nursed them both died of the disease. By the end of the first week eighty four cases had been notified and eleven had died.

Before the epidemic had reached Gloucester the local Board of Health had applied to the Governors of Gloucester Infirmary for permission to use the Infirmary burial ground in the event of an epidemic. However, alarmed by the number of interments the Governors speedily rescinded their permission. When by 9 August they had received no reply to their request that the Board provide alternative facilities, they notified that all interments except for Infirmary cases, would cease on 11 August (1). By this time 164 cases had occurred with 43 deaths. It became obvious that a new isolated burial ground would be necessary and a site was chosen behind the New Inn at Longford, on the old Workhouse Farm; the victims being buried in a communal pit.

Little was known of the method of spread of the disease; it was appreciated that it was most prevalent in areas of poor housing, poor water supply and overcrowding. Preventative measures included whitewashing the house where the victim had died, burying the body within twentyfour hours of death, and burning articles of clothing and bedding. The medical men of the city were hard-pressed during the epidemic, and were accused of seeking excessive remuneration, and in some cases of poisoning patients. The Journal was at pains to refute these allegations.

Practical matters to alleviate the epidemic included the purchase of a house in Barton Street for nursing cases and the setting up of a cholera charitable fund to give relief to the families of those afflicted; to which the City M.P. subscribed £100. The total amount of relief was not to exceed 20 shillings, and was given at the discretion of a clergyman or medical gentleman. In later years this fund became the Gloucester Benevolent Fund.

By 18 August there was no diminution' of the cholera; 'the ravages are still confined to the lower orders, the intemperate, uncleanly, and those inhabiting close squalid dwellings; the greater majority in Leatherbottle Lane and Sherbourne St.' The total number of cases was now 227; Worcester had 127 cases, Tewkesbury 29 and Bristol 583.

On Wednesday 22 August the Mayor convened a meeting of the inhabitants of the city to be held at the Tolsey. The meeting passed seven resolutions which included an appeal for funds, and for convalescent homes and recommended preventative measures to the Board of Health and Overseers of the Poor. By 1 September the epidemic was clearly abating and by 22 September had disappeared having caused the deaths of one in three victims.

The city set aside 11 October as a day of thanksgiving; when, except for those owned by Friends, all shops shut. A total of £91. 2s. 3d. was collected for the cholera charitable fund.

In 1847 cholera was nationally prevalent and in November of that year the Sanitary Committee met at the instigation of some of the more prominent of the city's medical men to discuss measures to improve the cleanliness of the city (2). It was stated that 'all the evils arising from a total want of a system of sewage' existed in the city. The city was still surrounded by stagnant ditches, and in those localities where the epidemic had raged in 1832 were reported as in the same 'disgraceful state as existed sixteen years previously'. It was suggested that houses of the poor, lodging houses etc. should be visited to advise on purification. A sub committee was appointed, and, in a burst of enthusiasm, the committee on the following day inspected and reported on the watercourses of Little Meadow St., St. Catherines Meadow and Leatherbottle Lane.

Further meetings recommended beside the cleansing and covering of ditches that baths and wash houses should be established. The committee also recommended that a complete system of sewerage was needed together with a constant high pressure supply of water. The paving of streets and courts were also recommended, and an Inspector of Nuisances was appointed. A prize competition was announced for the best plan, with sections and levels for the complete drainage of the city. In December, in his seventh report, the Inspector complained of the state of the parishes of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael and St. Mary Lode.

By 1848 general measures for public health had improved considerably and a Board of Health had been established at national level. In this year John Snow published his famous paper on cholera; arriving at his conclusions at the same time as Dr. William Budd of Bristol, a physician to the Royal Infirmary (3). It was now recognised that the disease was caused by a living organism, that water spread was important and that excreta contamination of water was important. The theory of an airborne spread was not however ruled out by this knowledge.

Cleansing of ditches and general covering continued through 1848 and it was not until 9 May 1849 that one of the Union Medical Officers reported seven cases, two fatal, confined to a yard called Levy's Yard immediately adjacent to the Island. Although drainage was deemed adequate it was pointed out that the only supply of water came from the Severn, which was highly charged with offensive matter from adjacent privies. It was proposed that the 1832 burial ground should be used again, as the adjoining land was unoccupied.

Unfortunately the sanitary committee minutes book finishes at this point and the only sources for the epidemic are the Gloucester Journal and the city gaol records. The county gaol suffered badly in the epidemic but the relevant records are no longer extant.

On 12 May the Journal reported the first fatal cases at Levy's yard and two at Wheatleaf Yard, Thomas Evans and Elizabeth Haines. The latter had been cohabiting with Evans, a boatman, and the couple were reported as 'of intemperate habits'. They had attended the funeral of Wilks, another boatman and the first cholera victim, had become intoxicated and 'remained so for several days'.

A Journal advertisement of this period drew attention to a 'patent self acting effluvian trap' for sewers or drains: It was said to prevent the escape of noxious vapours. In June, as the weather grew warmer, the epidemic flourished, there were as many as 20 cases in the county gaol. In all cases the water supply to the dwellings was from the river. To help combat the gaol epidemic there was a wholesale discharge of prisoners from the county gaol; all prisoners whose sentences would expire by 14 July were released.

Plans were formulated for the erection of a hospital in the garden of the Union workhouse 'between the building and the path leading to the goods stack of the S.W.R.'; the building was to be 60 feet by 16 feet and have two wards. These plans were later abandoned, after the visit of a government inspector.

The epidemic raged throughout July, and disappeared in early August, there having been 213 cases, and 92 deaths, a higher mortality than in the previous epidemic. The asylum visitors in their annual report could however congratulate themselves, 'although the pestilence so fearfully desolated some other similar establishments ... and some persons fell victims in the immediate vicinity of the asylum not a single case occurred in the asylum.'

The surgeon's journal for the city gaol provides a picture of current cholera therapy. On 4 June a prisoner named Clark developed diarrhoea and vomiting. He was treated with a mustard poultice to the stomach, castor oil, and turpentine rubs. All the prisoners were issued with tobacco and the diet was upgraded to fresh cooked meat and rice instead of soup. The patient recovered, but on 26 June another prisoner, Bennett developed the disease. He also was immediately ordered a rice diet, and mustard poultices to the stomach. In addition he was allowed a cup of tea and a glass of hot brandy with cayenne pepper.

In the evening he took arrowroot and sago. On the following day beef tea, barley water were prescribed together with another mustard poultice. However, over the day his condition deteriorated rapidly and in his evening report the surgeon noted that a quart of brandy had been consumed that day by the prisoner and his attendants. He died that night, the inquest and burial were finished by dawn.

The next epidemic occurred in 1854, by which time considerable improvement had been made with respect to water supplies and sanitation in the city. In the early months of the year negotiation for the purchase of the Gloucester Waterworks Company, established in 1740, were at an advanced stage.

In March Alderman Waller, referring to the probable approach of Cholera, suggested to the Board of Health that a medical officer should be appointed. His colleague Mr. Clutterbuck felt that the expense was unjustified; 'the medical gentlemen of the city are always ready to volunteer their services whenever required'. Mr. Brown commented that 'if they did not get on with the sewerage scheme cholera was a certainty'. However, in spite of cholera in Cardiff in April, in Stroud in July, cholera did not arrive in Gloucester until September when the epidemic started in the county gaol.

The epidemic was of a milder nature, and of shorter duration than its predecessors - the total numbers and deaths were not recorded. The pages of the Journal were enlivened by a public wrangle between medical practitioners over the treatment of a lady who ultimately died. Negligence was alleged, and the argument continued through two meetings of the Board of Health to be followed by dissension between the medical members about the accurate diagnosis of the disease; it was suggested that asiatic cholera was being reported where cases were merely those of ordinary diarrhoea or 'English cholera'. By mid November the epidemic was over, besides the gaol. Lower Quay St., Anim St., Union st. were the areas chiefly affected.

This was the last year a major epidemic came to Gloucester, although in 1866 there was a serious national outbreak involving both London and Bristol. By this time the Public Health Acts of 1848 and 1849 and the Local Government Act of 1858 had produced public sewerage works, and public water companies thus eliminating the main sources of contamination and epidemics.

A. Bailey

(1) Church collections October 13 1832 for Cholera Fund

Gloucester Cathedral	£14. 8. 0.	St. Aldate	£ 2. 3. 6.
St. Nicholas	7.10. 0.	Spa Church	22.18. 6.
St. Michael	11. 0. 8.	Independent	4. 3. 0.
St. Mary de Crypt	11. 2. 1.	Chapel	
St. John Baptist	6.10. 3.	Baptist Church	1. 7. 0.
St. Mary de Lode	7.15. 3.	Lady Hurty	2. 4. 0.
		Chapel	

Medical Men Instigating Sanitary Improvements in 1847

T.C. Buchanan
G.W. Charleton
Alfred Clarke
Charles Clutterbuck
Ambrose Cookson
Paris Thomas Dick, M.D.
Thomas Evans, M.D.
R. Fletcher, Sen., Consulting Surgeon Glos. County Hospital
W.H. Fletcher
Peter Goulette, Surgeon
J.P. Hearne, Surgeon
S. Heath
Thomas Hickes
W.M. Meyler,
H.W. Ramsey
J.W. Turner
W.W. Williams
John W. Wilton
Alfred J. Wood.

(2) Cases reported in 1849 Epidemic

Wilkes, Levy's yard
Thos. Evans)
Elizabeth Haines) W heatsheaf yard
Patrick Winters, lodging house keeper in Island
James Sheen, Columbia Street
Maria Bowle, Union Street
Richard Driver & wife, of Littleworte
Elisabeth Hawkins, Black Dog Yard
Matthew Burton, Union Street
Charles Coles, Sweetbriar Street
John Bragg)
William Bartlett) Ponthers place

(3) Deaths in Cholera Epidemic of 1849, tabulated by parish.

(May 7 - August 2)

St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, Holy Trinity, St. Mary de Lode;
Hamlets of Kingsholm & Longford 52 deaths

St. John Baptist, including whole of parish of St. John,
Union Street, Columbia Street, Brothers Place and Black Dog
Yard 30 deaths

South-Hamlet 9 deaths 3 city, 6 country

Kingsholm 1 - taking place in parish of Sandhurst.

SOURCES

Gloucester Journal, 1832, 1849, 1854, 1866

Gloucester City Lib., Glos Colln, 5191, H.J. Taylor,
MS notes relating to cholera epidemic in 1832

Glos. R.O., GCR 1592, City Gaol Surgeon's journal, 1825-37

GCR 1595, City Gaol Surgeon's Journal, 1848-54

GCR 1589, City Gaol Govenor's journal, 1846-52

GCR 1536, Sanitary Committee minutes, 1847-49

GCR 1539, Board of Health minutes, 1849-54

GCR 1540, Board of Health minutes, 1859-73

GCR 1544, Board of Health Committee minutes, 1863-67

Annual Report of Gloucester Lunatic Asylum, 1849

Glos. R.O., HS/B10 Infirmary weekly board minutes, 1832

D. Large & F. Round, Public Health in Mid-Victorian Bristol
(1974).

A VICTORIAN BUILDER IN PAINSWICK

Daniel and Henry Thomas Spring, father and son, lived in Painswick, Glos. during the reign of Queen Victoria. They carried out an extensive building practice, doing general repairs, funerals, carpentry, stonework and church alterations and repairs both in Painswick and surrounding area, and as far away as Newent and Oxenhall, Rudford and Bishops Cleeve.

The family lived at Whitehall and Fairview both pleasant houses still standing in Painswick. There is evidence that Henry Spring had done alterations to Fairview as there is a fine marble mantelpiece in the main bedroom with the date 1879 and his initials carved on it. Mr. D. Spring was parish clerk and sexton under Rev. Strong; in that capacity he had to provide wine and sacrament for the Communion, and arrange for the cleaning of the Church including the care and washing of the Church linen. His son, however, was a very keen member and preacher, of the Primitive Methodist Church, which had an active branch in Painswick. He was also insurance agent for the Sun, Fire and Life Assurance Co.

From the Spring account books one can see the cost of a pauper, medium and expensive funeral. Paupers were buried at a cost of £1. 7s. 6d. for 10, an account of a medium one for Mr. Clarke cost £3. 3s. 0d. which included an elm coffin trimmed with Britannia Furniture and 6 yds. flannel. They also did high class funerals, one such was the funeral of Mrs. Roebuck, which cost over £70. A total of four different coffins were made, each to fit one inside the others - a shell, one of beech, one of oak and finally one of lead. In the procession were the undertaker, coffinmakers and the hearse was pulled by four horses dressed in plumes. More horses with plumes pulled the carriages which contained the mourners and servants of the late Mrs. Roebuck. Crepe hatbands, gloves, silk hatbands, scarves and cloaks all had to be provided for the mourners, servants and clergy and parish clerk. Mr. Spring makes a special note that the best silk pall was to be used.

Amongst his church work he worked away from Painswick village, but in 1847 he was engaged on alteration to Painswick church, which included a new gallery with elm floor, panelling with new tops to pews - book rests and rails also fixing up Capt. Cox's pew. Other church restoration work included the Slad chapel, in 1830 (£261), Sheepscombe Chapel (£61) and organ (£70), and a wall round Newent cemetery built of stone he hauled from Postlip Quarry near Winchcombe to Newent at a cost of £1. 7s. 0d. per lugg. Repairs to Oxenhall church tower comprised putting up scaffolding and taking down the top of spire, repairing stonework and building buttresses and quoins, and building the side wall. In his notebook Mr. Spring states that when digging for the buttress of the tower, under the foundations he came upon the skeleton of a full grown man, about 4' below the surface. The foundation of the outside of the buttress was 3' down, the foundation of the original buttress was about 4' 6" down.

The firm carried out a deal of local building work, alterations, and new dwellings in Painswick, and also repairs and alterations to properties in surrounding towns. Around 1845 a lot of jobs include the installation of water closets, which cost around £20 each. He carried out a great variety of jobs, recorded in his account books. Among these he erected the platform for the hustings in the Parliamentary elections at Stroud. He made a wheelbarrow for a local labourer for the cost of 10s. 6d. and repaired a handloom for a weaver for 7s. 6d. He contracted for carpentry for the railway bridge at Tewkesbury, built a new house at Dry Knapps at Painswick which cost £347 for the outside stonework, and painted and glazed a doll's house for 14s. 6d.

The family carried out a great deal of work for Mr. Charles Baker, a surveyor of some note who lived in Painswick and did a lot of work in the Stroud area. Some general building work was done for him in 1832, which appears to have taken a long time to pay for. Three amounts were paid by cheque on account, and a hay rick was credited to him to the value of £21 in the end to clear the debt.

The family also carried out valuations of properties and households, upon the owners' requests. From these inventories it is possible to obtain a view into the contents and value of a Victorian household. Amongst the household furniture valued was that belonging to Rev. Way and included a rosewood table at £1, a piano at £10, an half tester bed and hangings at 15s. A farm valuation in 1860 included the value of 20 fleeces of wool at £10. 10s. Od., 2 wheel trap at £8. 10s. Od. and 4 milking cows at £36. 6s. 6d. also a 16 ton hayrick at £48.

When studying his gross turnover and profits over three years, Mr. Spring does not appear to be making much of a living. He had a few bad debts' which appear to take several years to clear if at all. His profits in 1840 were £35. 2s. 9d., in 1841 £65. 3s. 4d. and in 1842 £38. 18s. 3d. which only gives a total average profit of £46, 1s. 6d. per year. He appears to have been a good employer and when his workmen were employed away at outside jobs, say at Newent, there are entries in his books of payments to the wives and families remaining in Painswick.

J. Simmons

SOURCES

Glos. R.O., D1858, account books and specifications of Daniel and Henry Spring of Painswick, builders.