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WESTGATE STREET, GLOUCESTER IN 1455

The layout of the streets of modern Gloucester follows very largely that of the historic city - a pattern of Saxon streets, now often lanes, - super-imposed on those of a Roman outline.

But to what extent could it be hoped to trace a continuous line of ownership of anything like a modern site back to that of even medieval times? Of actual buildings themselves, except of course for churches, practically nothing remains. Gloucester has devoted itself, with an enthusiasm worthy of a better cause, to the wholesale destruction of any buildings that might have given us an idea of what the city looked like during its historic past. To guide visitors to what remains of historic Gloucester, it is necessary to know where to go to search it out. The city's oldest inhabited house is a 16th century timber-framed building huddled against the ancient St. Mary's Gate entrance to the precincts of the Cathedral. A few other timber-framed houses in the vicinity of Westgate Street remain to show us what Gloucester looked like in the time of the Plantagenets and Tudors. Many other timber-framed houses are still standing in this street, but are hidden behind the stucco-covered fronts that fashion decreed a couple of centuries or so ago.

The City's archives contain many records showing, through the centuries, the properties on its rolls, and on those of the religious foundations who at one time owned so much of Gloucester, as they did of the country generally.

Probably the best-known survey of property in Gloucester in medieval times is the "Rental of the houses in Gloucester - A.D. 1455." A parchment some 30 feet long, and 14½ inches wide, it was largely the work of Robert Cole, an Austin Canon from the Priory of Llanthony Secunda, which is just outside the old city walls, on the S.W. side. This roll corrected drafts of earlier rentals. In many parts of the rental the two columns represent the two sides of the street, e.g. Southgate Street. In the centre between the columns, from time to time Cole gives sketches of the churches, wells, the pillory and other landmarks found in the middle of the street.

It was decided to start by making a plan showing, from the Cross outwards, the holdings on either side of the street, as shown in the 1455 Rental. An Ordnance Survey map of about 1880 was used to give the outlines of the streets, which in many respects have changed very little. Cole shows who was paying landgavel, or tax. He also says who was the occupant in 1455, and often its former occupants in the reigns of Edward II, Edward I, and Henry III.

To make such a plan was not always as straightforward as might be supposed. Tenements in Westgate Street were described as being in the Mercery, or in the Butchery. The

former ran down the northern side of the street, the latter on the south. A large building ran down the centre of the street, and the northern and southern sides are also parts of the Mercery and Butchery respectively. To decide whether or not a building in the Butchery was part of this central building was not always easy. This building has long ceased to exist.

The position of a certain church, still standing on its ancestral site, often made it possible to orientate oneself, though one might have to make allowance for the churchyard, which often ran along the street, but has long been built over. Buildings now standing on such a site will of course have no mention on a Roll dating as far back as that of 1455. It was refreshing to find a tenement described so clearly as being "at the southern and eastern corner of Scrud Lane", or "at the northern and western corner of Gorlone". The position of other tenements could then be determined in relation to which side of the above-mentioned buildings they stood.

Such a plan having been completed, showing hopefully the position in the four main streets, it remained to trace specific sites, forward from 1455, or backwards from the present day.

When 39 Westgate Street came on the market, towards the end of 1976, a look at the 1455 Rental showed the site as being "on the west side corner of Bull Lane, wherein John Doggett dwells". Payment of landgavel, at 7½d., was the responsibility of the Prior of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

There is a record of an earlier transaction in 1338, showing a "release from Agnes, widow of John Ireland, goldsmith to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, of her rights in a tenement in Gloucester, between the tenement of Roger Heued, and the tenement lately held by John of Chedworth at the corner of Gorlone."

Messrs. Bruton Knowles, who were concerned in the disposal of the property, said that they themselves had no deeds or leases, that would help to trace ownership or occupancy of the property. They were however able to provide the name of the firm of solicitors in London which was able to provide details of deeds going back in an unbroken line to 1752. At this date the property was shown as still being on the Rental of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew.

A search of other rentals of that institution, working backwards from 1743, shows that a rental of £3 was paid by Winstone Moore, in that year, as it had been since 1737. From the last year, to 1727, the same rental had been paid by Thomas Moore, and from 1721 to 1726 by Walter Winstone. From that year back to 1664, the same rental was paid either by Thomas Hamme (1664), by his sons William (d.1671), and Samuel (d.1678), the latter's widow, and then jointly by William Hamme and John Commins, till 1698.

In 1655 the rent of £3 was paid to the burgesses and mayor for the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, by Richard Pury. The rental for 1642 shows the lessee to have been a Walter Stafforde, butcher, at the same rental. In March 1609 a lease to the same Walter Stafforde butcher, shows him to have paid a rental of 40/s. per annum.

The period of 1609 to 1455 remains to be investigated.

P. Smith

HUNTLEY 1551-1801

A STUDY IN POPULATION GROWTH

Introduction

The research into the population of Huntley started in 1975. Its purpose is to establish and compare trends of this small Gloucestershire parish with surveys on parishes in other parts of the country.

This paper represents a summary of one part of the study in hand, and is restricted largely to the analysis of the population growth prior to the regular ten-year census which started in 1801.

Before any real analytical work can be undertaken it is necessary to establish the base population at various dates. This presents a number of difficulties. One is forced, for example, to consider births, marriages and burials before arriving at any trends. If these details are inaccurate, they will influence the findings, and the very nature of their inaccuracy will tend to support the resulting population trend. It is, however, difficult to treat population trend in isolation. Births, marriages and deaths are an integral part of the trend and it would be impossible to exclude these details completely.

Some statistics which have been used to enhance the basic facts have been derived from other parts of the study which are not discussed in this paper. The temptation to use these details further has been resisted.

Under-registration, although found to be a problem, does not appear to be significant except between 1661 and 1678. During this period the rector did not keep proper records (1). Details in the registers were found to be very basic in some cases, and in constructing the population figures some assumptions have had to be made.

Certain formula suggested by eminent local historians have been used in the study and are believed to have shortcomings. Any criticism made or implied relates solely to their application to the data available for Huntley.

As with any small population minor variations in trends can distort the true picture and indicate dramatic fluctuations in population movement. It is, therefore, important to remember that these variations need to be considered in the light of the small populations on which they are based. At first sight, it may seem strange that the estimated populations quoted later seem to suggest a precise and accurate count of the population. The apparent accuracy results from the method used to produce the estimate. In the

first instance, the base figure is derived from a count of people actually known to have been resident in the parish. A percentage was then applied to this figure to allow for under registration.

It may have seemed logical to "round-off" the result, but this would have introduced a further subjective assessment, and it was, therefore, considered better to leave the estimate as the known base figure plus the percentage which was applied.

The analysis has been based on a number of records which are available. The prime sources of reference have been the parish registers which exist from 1661 and the overseer's accounts which are available over a similar period. These records have been supplemented by the Probyn estate papers, land tax returns and hearth tax return. While the registers are a primary source for establishing births, marriages and burials, the other records mentioned help establish residency.

There is limited information available for earlier years and data has largely been drawn from a study carried out by Dr. Alicia Percival (2).

Population Prior to 1661

The first published statistics relating to the population of Huntley appear in the Domesday Survey of 1086, when a total of eleven men were recorded. Of this number four were villeins, six were cottars and one was a serf. Hoskins (3) suggests that the average number of people per household was probably about five at the time the Survey took place. If serfs are excluded, the total population of Huntley was probably about fifty in number. On the assumption that each recorded man, except the serf, was married, it is possible that there were about twenty-five children in the village, if we make some allowance for the possibility of one or two widows, widowers and people not married. Based on this assumption, there were just over two children per family. This would have allowed for a growth rate of about 0.65% or an increase of one person every three years. J.C. Russell, quoted by Hoskins (3) felt that a multiplier of 3.5 would give a more realistic population figure, but this would indicate a total of only thirty-six inhabitants. If the total number of people who were married was in the same ratio as that given above, there would have been twelve children with an average of less than two per family which would not have been sufficient to maintain even a stable population.

There would not appear to be any other details of population until those quoted in Bishop Hooper's visitation of 1551. The purpose of the visitation was primarily concerned with the attitude and knowledge of the clergy rather than the size of the population. However, this survey does include details of communicants, but these can only be taken as approximations (2). Using an assumption suggested by Hoskins (4) that 40% of the population at this time were

aged 15 years or less, the 120 recorded communicants would indicate that there were about 200 people resident in the village.

Twelve years later another investigation took place by command of the Privy Council. This survey addressed a number of questions including the number of households in each parish. It would seem unlikely that there was any dramatic change in Huntley's population since the Bishop Hooper investigation so that it is probably safe to estimate the average size of a household at five, at this time.

It was another 40 years before any further attempt was made to collect population statistics. A survey in 1603 was commissioned by Archbishop Whitgift and was a further attempt to establish the number of communicants in each parish (2). As its prime purpose was to measure the strength of the Anglican church, it may be seen as being more accurate than the investigation carried out by Bishop Hooper. However, there is also the danger that the figures may have been inflated in some parishes in order to impress the newly arrived King James from Scotland. This survey revealed that the number of communicants was thirty more than the previous count in 1551. Using the formula suggested above, the population may have risen to about two hundred and fifty. This increase represents an annual growth rate of 0.48% which would not seem to be unrealistic for Huntley.

The final study of the population before the parish registers became available was in 1650 when Parliament ordered an enquiry into the type of incumbant and the number of families in each parish (2). This Parliamentary enquiry showed fifty families. If the average family size had remained at about five the population may have remained reasonably stable for a period of almost 50 years.

Circumstances dictate the limit of analysis which is possible on the available data for this period. These limitations not only restrict the analysis but, as illustrated, force the introduction of certain assumptions in order to allow any form of comparison between earlier and later periods. As can be seen below the use of ratios to calculate population trends can be far from satisfactory. Any further attempt to interpret the available data would only add to the speculation and would further encourage spurious accuracy.

Period 1661-1800

The population after 1660 can be assessed more accurately than for earlier years because the parish registers are available for analysis. However, parish registers still present certain limitations because of under-registration and migration.

There are several methods available to produce population estimates, and these are discussed so that the reader may assess the accuracy of the techniques which can be used. The apparent rate of population increase using each method can be seen in Appendix A.

Hoskins (5) suggests that the average number of baptisms over a ten-year period multiplied by a factor of 30 will give a reasonable estimate of the size of the population. The use of this factor assumes a constant birth rate of about thirty-three per thousand. Although under-registration is a problem other factors will also influence the results obtained including the proportion of the female population, and also the proportion who are married. Although it is generally assumed that approximately 50% of the population will be women there are indications that at various times there was an adverse sex ratio in Huntley (Appendix D) in favour of the male population.

A method suggested by Dr. D.E.C. Eversley (6), produces wide fluctuations in population from one decade to another. The unrealistic results are probably caused by applying the formula to a small population. If the formula is modified to incorporate an assumed birth-rate it predicts a population similar to that obtained using the Hoskins method.

Although the formula given below appears more scientific in its approach, it suffers similar limitations to other methods. In the first instance it depends on the accuracy of the parish registers and secondly it employs an assumed birth-rate. While the use of the assumed birth-rate has certain advantages over the Hoskins formula, which uses a constant rate, the result does depend on the accuracy of the assumption. In this study, the assumed rate has been derived from other studies. One disappointing feature of the formula (as modified) is that it prevents any comparison being made with other birth-rate statistics which may be available.

The formula suggested by Eversley is:-

$$\frac{1000 \times \text{Average Baptism}}{\text{Birth-rate}}$$

Dr. Eversley suggests a method to estimate the birth-rate but in this study an assumed birth-rate has been substituted for the calculated rate.

Dr. Brownlee, quoted in Tate (7), noted that the death-rate throughout the 17th and early 18th centuries was a constant thirty-two per thousand, and, in consequence, suggested that the average number of deaths could be multiplied by 31 to arrive at a population. (In this study burials have been assumed to be the same as deaths). This approach, as applied, ignores three important factors:-

- (a) the possibility of epidemic or plague.
- (b) the generally accepted factor that death-rate showed a slow but progressive decline for the country as a whole.
- (c) under-registration.

This method, like those above, prevents any comparison with other statistics because of the assumed death-rates. The calculations used in this study try to make some allowance for the declining death-rate, but the relevance to Huntley is questionable.

It has also been suggested that estimates can be based on the number of marriages which took place. In Huntley, the number of marriages in any one period was small and any attempt to apply a ratio produces wide fluctuations which tends to indicate that the method is not suitable for small parishes.

All the methods discussed above rely on ratios being applied to entries found in the parish registers. A comparison between the first three can be seen in Appendix B. As mentioned earlier, Hoskins and Eversley show a similar picture, and both reveal an underlying trend which shows an increasing population. The increase with the Hoskins method is a little steeper than that found using the Eversley method. Brownlee, on the other hand, produces a very different picture. During the first half of the period, population is seen to increase although during the latter period, the growth rate is not maintained. There are also more fluctuations than by the other methods. The estimated population in 1801 using the burial figures suggests that population would have only been two thirds of the figure found in the 1801 census.

Perhaps the biggest disadvantage with any of the above methods from a demographic point of view is that any further analysis must likewise employ estimates and ratios to determine other factors. It is, therefore, desirable to seek alternative methods of analysis which will allow comparisons with other data.

One such method is known as "net change". This technique requires a known population at a specific date; usually the 1801 census figure. It is then necessary to work backwards in time by subtracting the number of births and adding the number of burials to the census figure. The resultant population estimate for Huntley is completely unrealistic (Appendix A) showing less than fifty people in the Parish before 1741.

The method used extensively in this study uses data available from the parish registers and other records. The presence of each person at specific dates was noted, where possible from baptism to burial. In order to arrive at a feasible population figure even this method requires a number of assumptions to be made, the two principle being:-

- (a) unless there is evidence to the contrary a person is assumed to be resident in the parish between successive recorded dates.
- (b) children are assumed resident in the village until the average age of marriage (viz. 17th century, 26 for men and 25 for women, and during the 18th century, 28 for men and 26 for women) providing there is evidence that at least one parent was also resident in the parish during this period.

There are obvious possibilities for inaccuracies with this method but it is suggested that any degree of over-counting will be balanced by other factors, including migration. The assumption that children will be resident until the average

age of marriage should not unduly influence the final result; even without this assumption the result would have only been about 10% less than the suggested figure. Migration also presents a problem as residence has only been credited up until the last entry found in the records, although it is recognised that in many cases the person or family could have left the village some years later.

The result of the "physical" count of people is shown graphically in Appendix B and also in tabular form in Appendix D. The result has been "refined" to compensate for under-registration, by comparing the count with Atkyns's estimate of 1712 and Rudder's estimate of 1779. It is estimated that the figure for 1799 is approximately 7% below the actual figure, while the estimates for 1711 and 1781 were respectively 12% and 9% below the figures given by Atkyns and Rudder. Using these figures as a crude assessment of under-registration, it is possible to arrive at an estimate for Huntley's population by extrapolation from these percentages.

Despite the limitations of the data and method of analysis there are nevertheless certain advantages with this approach.

1. It uses factual evidence of residence.
2. It makes allowances for migration.
3. It is not restricted to one source of data.
4. Assumptions made, and the basis of calculations are known.
5. It permits further analysis.
6. It allows comparisons to be made with other studies.

The results of all the methods are compared in Appendix B which also illustrates the maximum and minimum population figures derived from the employment of ratios. It is interesting to note that the difference between the maximum and minimum figures becomes greater towards 1801. It has already been noted that Hoskins and Eversley methods produce similar figures; with the exception of 1731 they always give the maximum figure.

If the estimated "head-count" were to be superimposed on Chart 1, there would be only three points on the graph where this method produces figures outside the limits suggested by other methods, otherwise this method produces a similar trend to that based on formula given by Hoskins or Eversley.

Characteristics of the Population Trend

Although the available data before 1671 is probably unreliable, it does tend to indicate that Huntley experienced an increase in population during the second half of the 16th century, whereafter it remained reasonably stable for about 50 years before showing a decline. The parish registers are not available before 1661 and for the first 20 years are likely to include a number of inaccuracies. It is quite possible that the figures quoted for this period are less accurate than those for later periods. The figure for 1671

has been inflated by 46% to compensate for this error. This percentage has been derived from a straight line extrapolation from the 1681 figure which is, itself, 17% above the figure found by counting the inhabitants as explained above.

Population continued to rise until about 1721 when the trend was reversed and in the next 20 years the population fell by about 85; a drop in population of 30%. In 1741 population started to climb again and by 1761 had reached about 264. The next 30 years saw a period of apparent stagnation before a further increase is seen. This latter increase continued through to the early years of the 19th century.

Space does not permit a full explanation of all the factors which affected the population during this period. There are signs that migration played a significant part in the formation of the population, however other factors did influence the parish. The baptism rate declined after 1700 and did not regain its former level until 1731. There was another period of an unusually low baptism rate between 1751 and 1760. The burial rate, in contrast to baptism, shows a steady decline throughout the whole of the study period. The only unusual characteristic is that alternate decades, starting with 1681-90 and finishing with 1741-50, show higher burial rates than the intervening decades.

The Period from 1721 until 1750

The sharp decline in population after 1721 has already been mentioned. There are a number of factors which could have contributed.

Under-registration, although a possibility is not considered a serious problem. The rector, who was installed in 1726, appears to have taken a considerable interest in the parish registers, and under-registration of any significance is though unlikely. Although there are known to be some inaccuracies during the incumbancy of his predecessor, no serious omissions have been found. One of the factors which cannot be ascertained is whether baptisms in the village became "unfashionable" for some reason, however a study of the figures allows this theory to be dismissed with reasonable confidence. The number of baptisms remains constant at an average of 6.4 per year between 1711 and 1740 before showing an increase.

The effect on the population of applying the "net change" approach (baptisms minus burials) is illustrated in Appendix C. There was obviously a decline between 1721 and 1730 due to an excess of burials over baptisms. The death-rate between 1721-30 was at one of its peaks and the baptism rate was just beginning to recover after reaching its lowest point in 1721.

Although the burial rate was high there is no evidence of any epidemic during this period. Smallpox was known to be present in Taynton, about 2 miles away, in 1715 although no cases are recorded in Huntley until 1754. Infant mortality

was at its lowest between 1691 and 1700 after which the trend reversed and reached a rate of 153 per thousand between 1721 and 1730. There was some improvement during the next ten years although it still remained high. After 1741 infant mortality reached an all time high of 157 per thousand.

For a period of about 25 years after 1710 male births exceeded females by over 20%. This factor undoubtedly influenced the structure of the population some ten to fifteen years later when we find a similar surplus of men in the population as a whole. This may have contributed to the migratory trends and provided a more stable situation which allowed the population to increase after 1741.

During the period 69 marriages took place in the parish but only 19 couples remained in the village after their marriage. This introduced nine people into the village but of the remaining 100 people who married, 48 former residents left the parish. The effect of migration associated with marriage is illustrated in Appendix C. Two final factors need to be considered. Migration, for reasons other than marriage, may have been influential. It would have only been necessary for three families to leave the village over a 20 year period to produce the population indicated. The other factor which may possibly have played its part was the change in property ownership as Sir Edmund Probyn progressively increased his land holding in the parish.

It is unfortunate that it has not been possible to establish, with any degree of certainty, the reasons for the decline in population, and one can only suggest a combination of factors, namely a probable decline in birth-rate coupled with an increased death-rate and migration to adjacent parishes.

Conclusion

The analysis of population trend obscures a number of other interesting facts about births, migration and death. In concluding it is worth looking briefly at some information which is available and contributes to the structure of the population.

Nearly 10% of recorded baptisms relate to children whose parents resided outside the parish boundary. In 1790 two baptisms took place where place of residence was stated to be Jamaica. After 1720 illegitimate births showed an increase, however this could have been the result of more accurate recording by the rector.

It is believed that migration had a significant influence on the development of Huntley's population. About 60% of couples who were married in Huntley left after marriage. The number of parishioners leaving the parish after marriage was even higher than this figure. Although further work needs to be undertaken to fully understand the impact of migratory trends this degree of movement would not appear to be unusual. The rate of infant mortality was unusually high for the parish between 1720 and 1760. No comparisons have been made with

other studies so it is not known whether this period is unusual in national terms. Life expectancy at birth was 29 years for boys and 25 for girls. Of those surviving to the 11-15 age group, life expectancy increased to 47 for men and 49 for women. Of all burials about 12% were from people not normally resident in the parish. About 10% of burials of parishioners were recorded as being infants. However, other analysis suggests that this figure is low and a figure nearer 25% may be more realistic. It is also noted that male babies were more likely to die in infancy than females.

The estimate of population before 1671 unfortunately has many limitations. It is, nevertheless, interesting that there may have been a decline in population during the first half of the 17th century, although it seems unlikely that it will be possible to establish this fact. The use of ratios for later periods, after the parish registers become available, raises many questions about the accuracy of the various methods. It is felt that the "head count" method produces a more accurate result although it must be acknowledged that both Hoskins and Eversley produce similar results.

The results of the study from 1086 until 1801 are shown in Appendix E.

Obviously, an analysis of population trend reveals limited information about the social and demographic structure of Huntley. However, it forms a vital basis for further work and is a major step in completing the study. It is now possible to develop other facts which have emerged.

JOHN A. EASTWOOD

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2. Percival, "Gloucester Village Populations" Local Population Studies, No.8 (Spring 1972).
3. W.G. Hoskins, Local History in England (1972), p.167.
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Other Sources Used During The Study

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POPULATION ESTIMATES
- COMPARISON OF VARIOUS METHODS

YEAR	METHOD					
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
1671	141	154	174	(13)	118	172
1681	156	168	115	2	157	184
1691	186	197	186	3	169	196
1701	210	220	146	26	183	210
1711	240	248	220	35	211	240
1721	189	193	177	41	253	286
1731	198	199	279	17	216	242
1741	189	186	133	37	179	199
1751	249	243	174	64	223	245
1761	279	268	140	112	242	264
1771	210	198	140	137	246	266
1781	282	261	155	181	249	266
1791	378	344	183	249	247	264
1801	348	314	161	313		313

METHODS USED:

- (a) Hoskins - Average Baptisms x 30.
- (b) Eversley - Average Baptisms and Assumed Birth Rate.
- (c) Brownlee - Average Burials x 31.
- (d) Net Change - Subtract births; add burials from 1801 census. (13) indicates negative result.
- (e) Estimate based on analysis of parish registers
- (f) As (c) with allowance for under-registration - 1801 figure is taken from census.

COMPARISON OF POPULATION ESTIMATES

CHART 1 EMPLOYMENT OF RATIOS

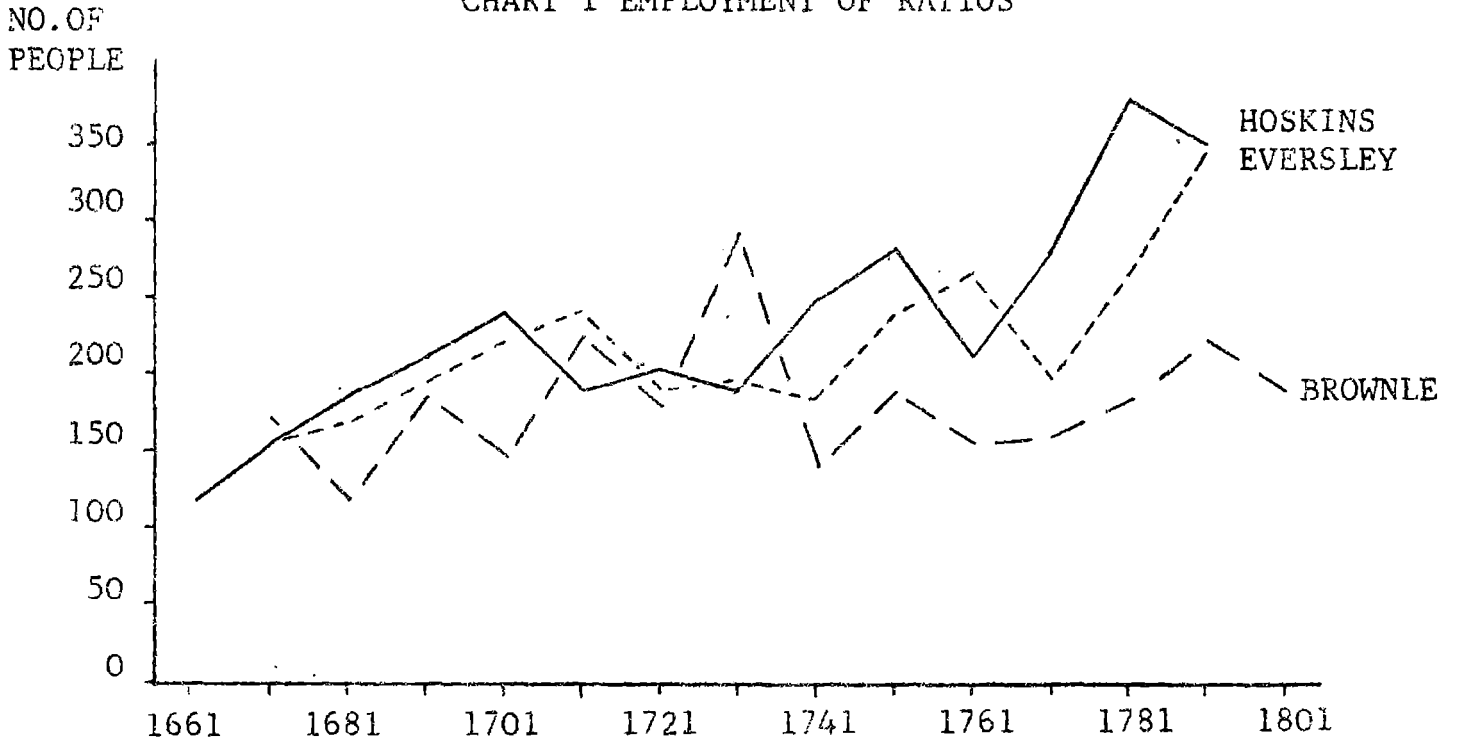
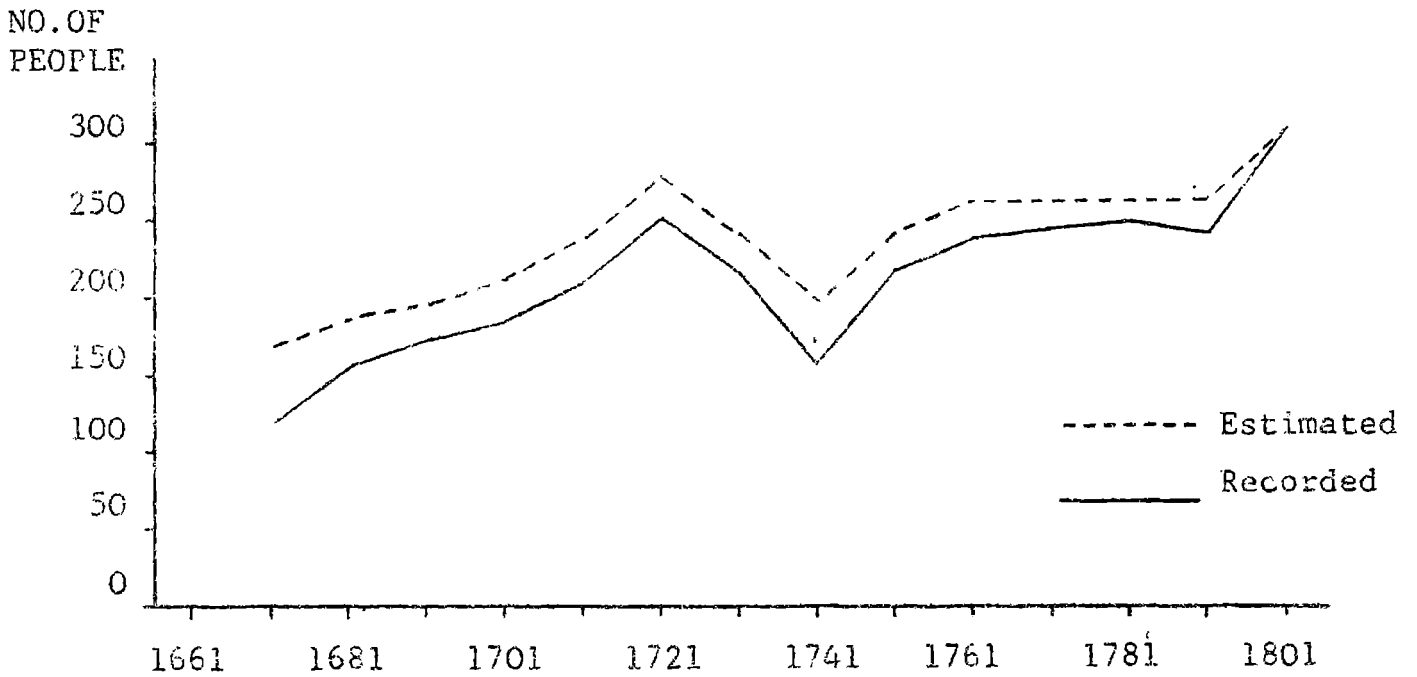
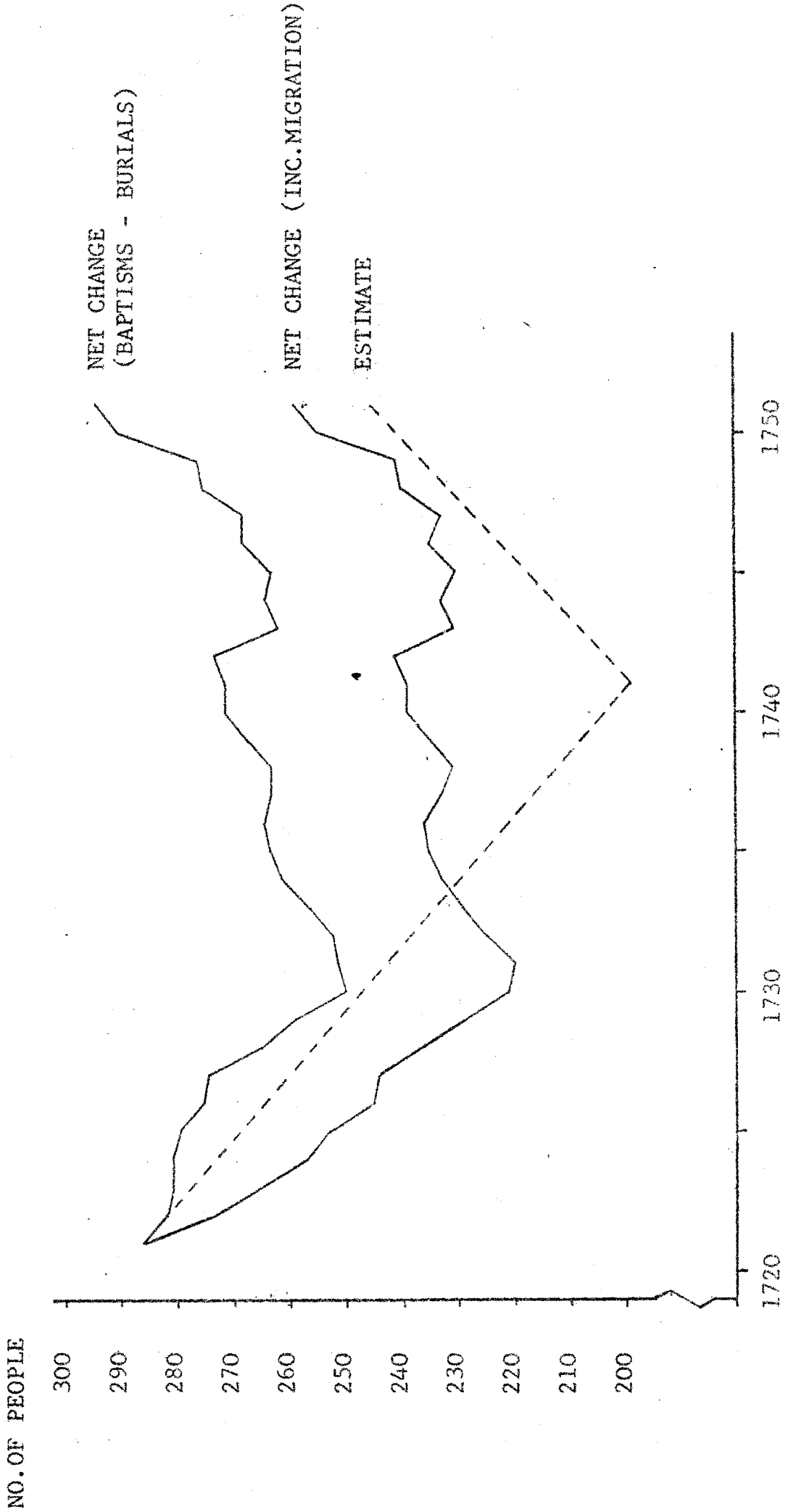


CHART 2 ESTIMATE BASED ON RECORDED DATA



POPULATION ESTIMATE 1721 - 1751



POPULATION ESTIMATE BASE
ON AGGREGATE ANALYSIS OF PARISH
RECORDS - 1671-1801

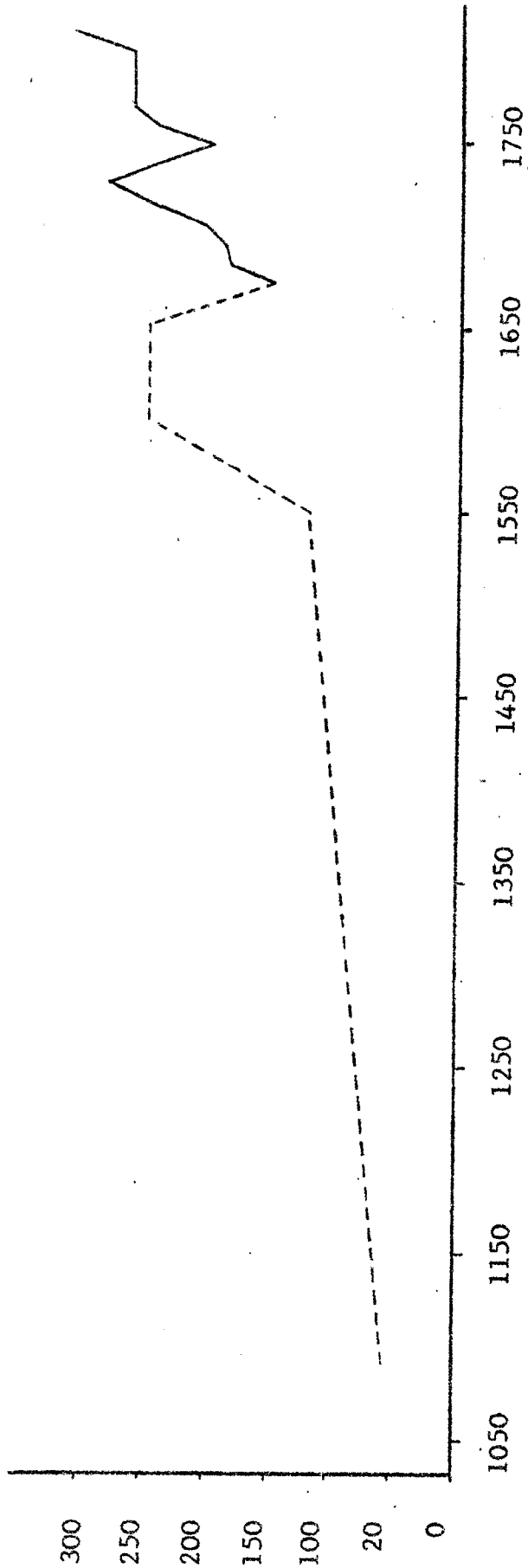
YEAR	RECORDED			ESTIMATE		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1671	57	61	118	83	89	172
1681	76	81	157	89	95	184
1691	88	81	169	102	94	196
1701	94	89	183	108	102	210
1711	100	111	211	114	126	240
1721	125	128	253	141	145	286
1731	119	97	216	133	109	242
1741	100	79	179	111	88	199
1751	106	117	223	116	129	245
1761	126	116	242	138	126	264
1771	127	119	246	137	129	266
1781	133	116	249	142	124	266
1791	137	110	247	146	118	264
1801	165	148	313	165	148	313

NOTES:

1. Recorded - facts as established from entries in records.
2. Estimate - based on an assessment of under-registration of males and females in same ratio as those recorded.
3. Sex Ratio - number of males per 100 females.
4. 1801 figure taken from Census.

POPULATION ESTIMATE 1086 - 1801

NO. OF
PEOPLE



HOW RELIABLE IS MEN AND ARMOUR?

The information available in John Smith's Men and Armour for Gloucestershire, 1608, has been sadly neglected by historians except for an article in Economic History Review (1934) by A.J. and R.H. Tawney and brief references in Gloucestershire village histories and the Victoria County History. Probably this is because the accuracy of Smith's compilation has been in doubt. In this article an attempt is made to assess the value of Men and Armour as a source of information. The assessment is not yet complete and this article should be regarded as in the nature of an interim report.

We now know that Men and Armour is a list of the able-bodied men in Gloucestershire in 1608 between the ages of eighteen and sixty years with the exception of clergy, the aristocracy and their 'menial and household servants', and possibly a few others. A list of all men liable for service, stating the occupation and giving some indication of the age and physique of most, was drawn up by the constable of each town, village, manor or tithing and sent to Lord Berkeley, Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire and of the City of Gloucester. Not long afterwards the lists were copied by John Smith, barrister and steward of the Hundred of Berkeley, and his clerk, William Archard, into the three large folios which comprise Men and Armour.(1)

To test the reliability of Men and Armour the number of men listed in it for each parish, hundred, and the whole county has been compared with the number of communicants stated to be resident in the corresponding area in an ecclesiastical survey carried out in 1603 by the order of Archbishop Whitgift. This survey has been transcribed by Dr. Alicia C. Percival and is included in An Ecclesiastical Miscellany, published by Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Records Section, Vol.XI pp.59-102.

First, because the parish was the basis of the ecclesiastical survey, while Men and Armour was based on manors, or groups of manors, it was necessary to match the manors against the parishes. This was not so simple a task as might appear for manor and parish boundaries did not always coincide; boundaries of hundreds sometimes cut through parish boundaries, and parts of some Gloucestershire parishes were in neighbouring counties; e.g. part of Great Barrington was in Berkshire; two of the three hamlets in Welford-on-Avon were in Warwickshire. The chief source of reference used for this purpose was R. Atkyns The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire (1712), but further checks are necessary in some instances by reference to the Victoria County History for those hundreds for which it has been completed. The full comparison for each parish in the county is much too long for inclusion here but comparisons for the totals of each hundred, for the whole county, and for individual parishes in some hundreds, is given below. Because some parishes were divided

between two or more hundreds it has been necessary to bring all parts of each parish into the same hundred. E.g. parts of Westbury-on-Severn lay in the hundreds of Westbury, St. Briavels, and the Duchy of Lancaster. In this survey the whole parish has been included in Westbury Hundred. Similarly the City of Gloucester, as given in Men and Armour, consisted only of the area within the city walls. But the city parishes included Tuffley, Kingsholm, Longford, etc., in the Hundred of King's Barton, so, to enable comparison to be made, those areas are included in the city in the tables which follow. In consequence the hundreds as given below, though basically the same, differ to a certain extent from the historic hundreds of Gloucestershire.

Before comparing the information derived from each of these sources the merits and defects of each should be considered.

The Ecclesiastical Survey states the number of communicants in each parish and also the number of recusants and the number of persons who refused to take communion. In some instances the same people appear to be included twice. At Preston-on-Stour 4 men and 3 women were stated to be recusants and 4 men and 3 women to refuse communion, and at Weston-on-Avon 6 men and 2 women are stated to be recusants, 6 men and 2 women to refuse communion. The number of recusants recorded was small, only 69 and Mrs Greville's household at Sezincote 'who are for the most part recusants'. The total number of those stated to refuse communion was 133 of whom 42 at Westbury-on-Severn were stated to be Puritans.

The number of communicants in the parish is in many instances only an estimate. Sometimes this is stated, as at Little Rissington, 90 'or thereabouts', Guiting Power, 100 'or thereabouts'. For many parishes an estimate may be inferred, for of 293 churches for which the number of communicants was given, for 42 the number ends with two zeros and for 125 with one zero. By the law of averages one would expect about 3 exact multiples of 100 and 27 exact multiples of ten. Obviously for at least half the parishes the number of communicants was an estimate.

To compare the number of men listed in Men and Armour with the number of communicants it is necessary to know the age at which young people started to come to communion. Information about this is difficult to obtain. In an article on Gloucestershire village populations, Dr. Percival, referring to a similar ecclesiastical survey in 1676, suggests that the age was then sixteen 'as the age for coming to communion was rising'(2). Presumably it was below sixteen in 1603. In the calculations which follow in this article the age of coming to communion is taken as being fifteen. This may be wrong; the age may have been less or even have varied from parish to parish according to custom or the whim of the minister.

The ecclesiastical survey of 1603 does not include a number of parishes in the south of Gloucestershire which were in the diocese of Bristol. Minety was not included, for,

though the greater part of that parish was in Gloucestershire, the church was in Wiltshire. For some reason unknown Churchdown, which included Hucclecote, was omitted. These places have been omitted from the tables which follow and from any calculations made.

The number of communicants stated for some parishes must be regarded as suspect, e.g. Thornbury, 1705. According to similar surveys there were 700 communicants in 1551; 740 in 1676; and according to Atkyns 1,100 inhabitants in 1712. Hinton-on-the-Green stated to have 200 communicants in 1603 had only 100 in 1551; 85 in 1676 and only 100 inhabitants in 1712 (3). Generally the figures given in the various ecclesiastical surveys reveal a plausible pattern but they should always be subjected to scrutiny.

Men and Armour as a statistical source has the advantage that it does not give numbers but the names of men who certainly existed: we know the occupation, approximate age and physique of most: the employer or employees, the father, sons, or brothers of some. If the number given for a certain place errs it can only err by being too low - it cannot be too high.

Its defect as a statistical source is that it does not include all the men in the 18 to 60 age group, only those 'fitt for his Ma'ties service in the warrs' and liable for militia service. We do not know how many were exempt, or what percentage of men were judged to be unfit, though an attempt to discover this follows later in this article.

The original returns from the constables are in the Muniment Room at Berkeley Castle, not available for scrutiny, and not in fit condition to be handled by the public. It is unlikely that John Smith and William Archard made any serious mistakes when transcribing them. No parish except Weston-on-Avon on the Warwickshire border has been omitted and there may be a reason for this omission. Nevertheless the possibility that a page from a long list may have been mislaid or omitted cannot be completely ignored.

A comparison of the number of men listed in Men and Armour with the number of communicants in 1603 in each of the thirty hundreds and in the whole county is made in Table 1. Column (1) shows the number of communicants plus any recusants and any refusing communion. Column (2) shows the number of men listed in Men and Armour. Column (3) makes a comparison by giving the number of men in Men and Armour for every hundred communicants in 1603.

Of all the hundreds in the county the most likely to present true and accurate lists of the men liable for militia service was Berkeley Hundred, for there lived the Lord Lieutenant who owned much of the land in it. He and John Smith knew almost every farm and household; Smith wrote a massive history of the hundred. Moreover the compilation of the Berkeley muster rolls was to be a model for the rest of the county.

HUNDRED	(1) Com.1603	(2) W.Men 1608	(3)
<u>INSHIRE</u>			
City of Gloucester (Parishes)	3584	702	19.6
Dudstone and King's Barton	2225	665	29.89
	<u>5809</u>	<u>1367</u>	<u>23.53</u>
<u>KIFTSGATE DIVISION</u>			
Kiftsgate	5412	1292	23.87
Deerhurst and Westminster	2760	674	24.42
Cleeve	520	235	45.19
Tibblestone	603	134	22.22
Cheltenham	1246	352	28.21
Pewkesbury (Inc. Borough)	2725	893	32.77
Slaughter	2188	670	30.62
	<u>15456</u>	<u>4250</u>	<u>27.50</u>
<u>BERKELEY DIVISION</u>			
Berkeley (Bristol Diocese omitted)	6632	1932	29.13
Grumbolds Ash	2605	828	31.79
Langley and Swineshead	754	335	44.43
Fucklechurch	816	269	32.97
Barton Regis (All in Bristol Diocese)	-	-	-
Henbury (Yate only)	195	83	42.56
Thornbury	3143	651	20.71
	<u>14145</u>	<u>4098</u>	<u>28.97</u>
<u>DIVISION OF CIRENCESTER and SEVEN HUNDREDS</u>			
Cirencester (Borough)	1838	384	20.89
Crowthorne and Ninety	1233	398	32.28
Rapsgate	855	250	29.24
Brightwells Barrow	1572	449	28.56
Bradley	1425	442	31.02
Longtree	2462	664	35.09
Bisley	2883	732	25.39
Whitstone	3253	1179	36.24
	<u>15521</u>	<u>4698</u>	<u>30.27</u>
<u>FOREST DIVISION</u>			
St Briavels	2395	892	37.24
Westbury	2376	853	35.90
Bledisloe	938	331	35.29
Botloe	1451	624	43.00
Duchy of Lancaster	726	268	36.81
	<u>7888</u>	<u>2968</u>	<u>37.63</u>
<u>TOTAL FOR COUNTY</u>	<u>58819</u>	<u>17381</u>	<u>29.55</u>

In Berkeley Hundred, omitting those parishes which were in Bristol diocese, there were said to be 6,632 communicants in 1603 and 1,932 men fit for militia service in 1608, a ratio of 29.13 militiamen for each 100 communicants. Of the 28 hundreds as shown in Table 1 (Deerhurst and Westminster Hundreds have been combined, and Barton Regis Hundred omitted because all of it was in Bristol diocese) 18 have a higher ratio of militiamen, only 9 a lower ratio, than Berkeley Hundred. The ratio for the whole of the Berkeley Division, which would be well known to the Lord Lieutenant and to John Smith, was 29.00. That ratio was exceeded in the Division of Cirencester and the Seven Hundreds (30.1), and greatly exceeded in the Forest Division (37.6). The ratio was slightly less in Kiftsgate Division, 27.5, and considerably less in the Division of Gloucester City and the In-shire, (Dudstone and Kings Barton Hundreds), where it was 23.5. This was because of the very low return for Gloucester City (19.6). The ratio for Dudstone and Kings Barton was 29.9.

More research is necessary to discover the reason for the very low ratio of militiamen in Gloucester City. The ratio for the borough of Cirencester was not much higher (20.9). For Tewkesbury borough, the only other town of considerable size, the ratio was slightly above average, 31.37.

In the whole of Gloucestershire covered by the survey of 1603, there were 58,819 communicants and 17,381 militiamen; 29.55 militiamen for every 100 communicants. Is it reasonable to suppose that of every hundred persons over fifteen years of age 29.55 were males between 18 and 60 years of age and fit for military service? No reliable statistics concerning the relative numbers of persons within various age groups existed before the census of 1821. Table 2 below gives information from the census returns from Gloucestershire concerning male inhabitants.

TABLE 2 CENSUS 1821 GLOUCESTERSHIRE (4)

Age Group	No. of Males	Over 15 Years	18-60 Years
Under 5	1488	-	-
5-10	1323	-	-
10-15	1172	-	-
15-20	1004	1004	(18-20) 384
20-30	1480	1480	1480
30-40	1102	1102	1102
40-50	960.7	960.7	960.7
50-60	686.8	686.8	686.8
Over 60	781.86	781.86	-
Total	9998.36	6015.36	4613.5

What would be the Numbers of Males of several specified Ages on 28 May 1821, supposing the Number of Males to have been 10,000. (See footnote to Table 3).

From these figures two calculations may be made:

- A. That in 1821 of all males over 15 years of age 76.70% were between 18 and 60 years of age.

$$\left(\frac{4613.5 \times 100}{6015.36} = 76.70 \right)$$

- B. That in 1821 of all men between 18 and 60 years of age 14.89% were between 50 and 60 years of age.

$$\left(\frac{686.8 \times 100}{4613.5} = 14.89 \right)$$

An historian may well be horrified that statistics relating to 1821 should be used to determine the relative composition of age groups in 1608. There are, however, reasons for supposing that the application of this procedure to the age groups with which we are concerned is not so outrageous as might at first appear.

First, the population had been rising in the century ending in 1821 and it is generally believed that a similar rise in population occurred in the century preceding 1608.

Secondly, the principal factors determining the relative sizes of various age groups since 1608 have been dramatic reduction in infant and child mortality in the 19th century, and the almost as dramatic increase in the over-60 age group in the 20th century. As we are concerned only with persons born before 1806 the first factor would have little effect and the second none. It is doubtful whether the expectation of life of a child who survived to the age of 15 years changed much between 1608 and 1821.

Thirdly, in the calculation made in A above, comparison is made between one age group (18 to 60 years) and the sum of the age group immediately above and below it. (15 to 18 years and over 60 years.) This would tend to have a stabilising effect, particularly as the two groups were almost equal and remained so until about 1911, the over-60 group being slightly larger than the 15-18 group.

Fourthly, as shown in Table 3, the number of men between 18 and 60 years of age, as a percentage of all males over 15 years of age, changed very little in the 130 years after 1821. It is therefore not too unreasonable to suggest that it did not change materially between 1608 and 1821.

For these reasons, and through lack of any more reliable statistics, the following calculations have been made based on the assumption that the percentages in A and B above are substantially correct.

The number of communicants in that part of Gloucestershire covered by the Ecclesiastical Survey of 1603 was 58,819.

If we assume that the sexes were equally divided the number of male communicants was 29,409.

If 76.70% of these were of militia age (18 to 60 years) the number of men of militia age in that part of Gloucestershire covered by the survey was 22,556 of whom 14.89% (3,358) were 50-60 years of age, 19198 aged 18-50 years.

TABLE 3

CENSUS RETURNS, ENGLAND AND WALES. MALES. THOUSANDS.

Showing number of men aged 18 to 60 years as a percentage
of all males over 15 years of age.

AGE GROUP	1821	1841	1861	1881
10 - 15	603.6	880.4	1059.9	1402.1
15 - 20	509.6	781.6	957.9	1268.3
15 - 18	509.6	317.0	480.8	586.9
18 - 20	509.6	192.6	300.8	371.0
20 - 60	2174.0	3580.1	4542.1	5767.2
Over 60	378.46	533.9	888.5	876.1
<u>TOTALS</u>				
Over 15	3062.06	4895.6	6188.5	7911.6
18 - 60	2366.6	3880.9	4913.1	6258.4
	77.32%	79.27%	79.39%	79.10%
AGE GROUP	1901	1921	1951	
10 - 15	1671.0	1837.1	1428.6	
15 - 20	1607.5	1727.0	1335.3	
15 - 18	972.1	1049.0	812.6	
18 - 20	635.4	678.0	522.7	
20 - 60	7784.4	9480.9	11820.9	
Over 60	1071.5	1581.4	2910.7	
<u>TOTALS</u>				
Over 15	10463.4	12790.1	16066.9	
18 - 60	8419.8	10158.9	12343.6	
	80.47%	79.43%	76.83%	

(From B.R. Mitchell & Phyllis Deane. Abstract of British Historical Statistics, Cambridge 1962, pp.11, 12).

NOTE. The numbers in the 15 to 18 years and 18 to 20 years groups are not given in the tables but have been calculated on the assumption that the fall in numbers from the 10 to 15 years group to the 15 to 20 years group was uniform in each successive single-year age group. This may not have been so but any difference would be too small to make any appreciable alteration to the calculations.

The same method was used in Table 2.

Of these men the names of 17,381 appear in Men and Armour. (77.06%).

This leaves 5,175 men (22.94% of the total) to be accounted for. These would include:

- a) Those exempt from service: any royal servants (customs officials, etc.); the aristocracy and their 'menial or household servants.' (The clergy are ignored as it is unlikely that they were counted among the communicants).
- b) Any constables who, as at Cheltenham Hundred, did not put their own names on the list, though they had to attend the musters.
- c) One hundred men who had been sent for service in Ireland in June 1608.
- d) By far the largest group; those unfit for service.

More research is necessary concerning the aristocracy and their servants. In Men and Armour 54 knights or men of higher rank are named as lords of manors, but many of these were not resident in the county. Nor do we know how many menial and household servants they had. In several instances men stated to be servants, but not menial or household, are listed in Men and Armour. At Frocester 13 men were stated to be servants to Sir George Huntley. At Sapperton one gentleman, 14 yeomen and 9 husbandmen, and at Pauntley a gardener, a miller and 6 husbandmen are all stated to be servants to Sir Henry Poole. Yet men stated to be household servants to Sir William Throckmorton - a warrener, a keeper, a brewer, and 6 others - are included in the list for Tortworth. Moreover the term 'menial and household servants' appears subject to curious interpretations for at Dodington 8 yeomen and 6 husbandmen were stated to be 'menyall and household servants to Mrs Richard Codrington'.

No servants to Lord Berkeley, household or otherwise, are listed, nor are any to Lord Chandos at Sudeley Castle, though there must have been a considerable number at both Berkeley and Sudeley. No servants are mentioned to Viscount Lisle at Wotton-under-Edge or Lord Stafford at Thornbury. At Kempsford Sir Thomas Thynne, a very wealthy and influential nobleman, was resident in the old castle, but no servants to him were listed. There were 240 communicants at Kempsford so one would expect about 70 men to be fit for the militia. Only 35 were listed. Were about 35 omitted as household servants?

For the purpose of further calculation, the small but arbitrary number of 175 for the aristocracy and their servants, and any others exempt from service, is suggested. This figure, with a further hundred for the men sent to serve in Ireland leaves 4,900 men to be accounted for as unfit for military service, 21.72% of the men of militia age. Is that the percentage which might be reasonably expected?

The men would not have been subjected to a medical examination such as is given to recruits in the modern army. Ability to march to the musters or, in time of war, to the coast was probably the prime consideration. It was only twenty years since some of the men of Gloucestershire had marched to Tilbury camp in readiness to repel the armies of the Spanish Armada. Many of the men would remember that march.

In an age when most men were engaged in heavy manual labour and spent much time weilding scythes, axes, and hammers, accidents causing severe physical injury must have been common. Children were put to work at a very early age and were particularly liable to permanent injury. Skilled surgical attention was almost non-existent - only 5 apothecaries, 2 physicians and 4 surgeons are recorded in Men and Armour - and, in the absence of X-rays, few who suffered a fractured bone in leg or foot would not suffer from a permanent limp.

The percentage of men unfit for service in the 50 to 60 years age-group might be expected to be high. This is the only one of the three age groups into which the men were divided for which definite age limits were given; the other groups were vaguely defined as 'about 20' and 'about 40' years of age. In the hundreds of Longtree, Bisley and Whitstone the age groups of 2,443 men are recorded. Of these, 2344 were in the age groups 'about 20' and 'about 40', that is 18 to 50 years. According to the 1821 census (see calculation E, above) 14.89% of men of militia age were between 50 and 60 years of age. For every 85.11 men in the 18 to 50 age groups therefore one would expect to find 14.89 in the 50 to 60 years group. In these three hundreds therefore

$$\left(\frac{2344 \times 14.89}{85.11} \right) = 410.08 \text{ men}$$

should have been recorded in the 50 to 60 age group. In fact, only 99 were recorded in that group so one may conclude that only 99 out of 410 were fit for service i.e. 24.15%. According to our previous calculations there were 3,358 men in Gloucestershire in that age group. If only 24.15% of these were fit for military service, then

$$\left(\frac{3,358 \times 75.85}{100} \right) = 2,547 \text{ were unfit for service.}$$

We have already calculated that about 4,900 men of all three age groups were unfit for service. If 2,547 of these were in the 50 to 60 age group, then 2,353 were in the 18 to 50 years group which numbered 19,198. The percentage of men in that group who were unfit for service, therefore, was

$$\left(\frac{2,353 \times 100}{19,198} \right) = 12.26\%.$$

To summarise this section: if we accept that the ecclesiastical survey of 1603 was correct; that the age distribution of the population in 1608 was similar to what it was in 1821; that 275 men were exempt from militia service for various reasons: then Men and Armour records the names of 87.74% of all men liable for service aged 18 to 50 years; 24.15% of those between 50 and 60 years of age. These percentages are much as might be expected; This, and the fact that the returns from the Hundred and the Division of Berkeley are likely to be accurate, and that returns from most of the other hundreds and divisions compare favourably with them, lead one to believe that Men and Armour is a reliable source of statistical information.

So far, however, only the totals of communicants and militiamen in the whole county and the the thirty hundreds into which it was divided have been considered. When the numbers for each single parish are examined other problems arise. On average there were about thirty militiamen for every hundred communicants and, as shown, this appears to be an acceptable ratio. Variations from the average are to be expected, for some parishes would have a higher or lower proportion of women, fifteen to eighteen year olds, old people, or unfit men. A variation of between 24 and 36 militiamen might reasonably be expected; an even wider variation in small parishes. Table 4 shows the number of parishes in each of the five divisions of the county which returned: (a) 24 to 36 militiamen per 100 communicants, (b) more than 36, (c) less than 24.

The numbers in brackets refer to small parishes with 100 or less communicants.

TABLE 4

Division	24 -- 36	Above 36	Below 24
1. Inshire; Gloucester, Dudstone & King's Barton	- 10 (5)	- 4 (1)	1 2 (1)
2. Kiftsgate	32 (12)	17 (11)	31 (9)
3. Berkeley	32 (3)	13 (7)	7 (2)
4. Cirencester and the Seven Hundreds	- 43 (18)	- 26 (19)	1 16 (8)
5. Forest	11 (1)	20 (9)	-
Total	266 (106)	128 (39)	80 (47)
	58 (20)		

Future research will involve investigation of each individual parish where there appears to be an unacceptable disparity between the number of communicants and the number of militiamen. There are several possible explanations.

- a) Overlapping of manor, parish and county boundaries. (It is noticeable that many of the parishes with a low percentage of militiamen were on the county border)
- b) Omission of household servants to the aristocracy.
- c) Possible changes in parish boundaries between 1603 and 1712 when Atkyns wrote The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire on which the grouping of manors into parishes in this article has been based.
- d) More likely is the over or under-estimation of the number of communicants in the Ecclesiastical Survey of 1603.

In comparing two sets of statistics, neither of which can be relied upon completely, the danger of circular argument is always present and so is the danger of preferring one set of statistics to the other as and when it supports the argument. Instances have already been given in which the number of communicants in a parish appears to have been over-estimated. Under-estimation is even more apparent for parishes such as Rodborough where there were stated to be only 115 communicants but 118 militiamen are named. Not only in single parishes,

HUNDRED OF DUDSTONE & KING'S BARTON

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Maiseacre	179	53	29.61
Preston	48	14	29.17
Churchdown	-	62	(Not inc.)
Hucclecote (Not in 1603 survey)	-	29	in total)
Sandhurst (232+1 Ref.Com.)	233	70	30.04
Hartpury	250	102	40.80
Wilcombe	70	19	27.14
Shurdington Magna	37	10	35.14
Up-Hatherley	37	3	13
Brockworth	140	43	30.71
Mortor	157	51	32.48
Radgeworth	220	73	33.18
Down Hatherley	55	24	43.64
Brockthorpe	86	21	24.42
Hempsted	106	14	13.21
Whaddon	84	24	28.57
Elmore	236	87	35.86
Upton St Leonards	287		
Watson	37		
Saintbridge	37		
		57	17.59

APPENDIX

HUNDRED OF BERKELEY

PARISH	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Com. 1603	M. Men 1608	
Berkeley		97	} 412 29.43
Ham		26	
Pedington		16	
Bevington		19	
Clapton		17	
Saniger	1400	8	
Wanswell		25	
Halmore		41	
Alkington		106	
Hinton		46	
Breadstone		11	
Hill	140	37	26.43
Stone	190	34	17.89
Wotton-under Edge		146	} 300 24.67
Huntingford		3	
Synwell	1216	70	
Combe		38	
Wortley		43	} 80 33.33
Cromhall		60	
Cromhall Abbots	240	20	} 158 30.21
Dursley	523	101	
Woodmancote		57	} 63 33.16
Uley	180	56	
Newington Bagpath	120	} 46	
Ozleworth	70		17
Owlpen			} 27.97
Kingscote	118	33	
Beverstone	115	41	35.65
Nympsfield (90 + 1 Ref. Com.)	91	26	28.57
North Nibley	413	126	30.51
Cam	400	121	30.25
Stinchcombe	220	61	27.73
Coaley	330	102	30.91
Slimbridge and Hurst	300	115	38.33
Arlingham	366	96	26.23
Ashleworth	200	71	35.50
TOTAL	6632	1932	29.13

HUNDRED OF KIPPSGATE

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Winchcombe		153	
Greet		10	
Gretton	862	33	223 25.87
Stanley Pontlarge		16	
Postlip		11	
Sudeley	20	-	-
Stanton	176	44	67 38.07
Snowhill		23	
Guiting Power	100	29	41 41.00
Farmcote		12	
Buckland and Laverton	195	48	24.62
Aston Somerville (Not in 1603 survey)	-	7	(Not inc. in total)
Batsford	60	5	8.33
Hawling	40	10	25.00
Dumbleton	170	36	21.18
Toddington	130	30	23.08
Temple Guiting (160)		45	
Pinnocke (7) Hyde and Ford	} 167	12	57 34.13
Errington & Hidcote (20 + 1 Ref. Com.)	201	42	58 28.86
Charingworth		16	
Wickleton (240 - 6 Ref. Com.)	246	71	28.86
Willersey	120	36	30.00
Didbrook		28	
Hailes	} 94	10	38 40.43
Aston Subedge	74	11	14.86
Longborough	144	44	30.56
Pebworth	200	29	14.50
Broad Marston (Long Marston)		13	
Dry Marston (Marston Sicca)	} 209	23	36 17.22
Upper Swell (Over Swell)	47	9	19.15
Chipping Campden		123	
Barrington		21	161 22.80
Broad Campden	} 706	12	
Wesington		5	
Combe			
Saintbury	200	22	11.00
Childs Wickham and Murcot	280	41	14.64
Quinton, Lower or Church		35	
Over Quinton		34	
Admington	} 400	8	81 20.25
Rodbrook		4	
Weston Subedge (130 + 1 R.C. + 4 Ref. Com.)	135	20	14.81
Dorsington	40	10	25.00
Cow Honeybourne	40	21	52.50
Wormington, Little	40	15	37.50
Twynning	280	65	23.21
Charlton Abbots	36	7	19.44
TOTAL	5412	1292	23.87

but in whole hundreds, under-estimation of the number of communicants is almost certain. If sexes were equally divided more than 90% of males over 15 years of age were able-bodied and between 18 and 60 years of age in Cleeve Hundred; 89% in Langley and Swineshead; 72% in Whitstone Hundred. Under-estimation of communicants is apparent in the whole of the Forest Division for it is very improbable that 75% of males there over 15 years of age were of militia age and fit for service. Constables did not invent names of men for the militia; Men and Armour can only err by understating, not over-stating the number of men eligible for service.

· Is Men and Armour a better basis for estimating population than the Ecclesiastical Survey of 1603?

Further research and time for reflection will probably result in some modification, but not in substantial alteration, of the conclusions arrived at in this article. In the totals for the county, Men and Armour and the Ecclesiastical Survey of 1603 are in agreement. In most of the Hundreds, and in about half of the parishes, they also agree. Some of the other parishes had so small a population that a wide divergence from the average ratio of militiamen to communicants is not surprising. In about half of the remaining parishes the Survey of 1603 has obviously underestimated the number of communicants. As the totals for the county agree, it seems probable that the survey over-estimated the number of communicants in the other half, the under and over-estimations approximately balancing each other.

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THE BIBURY TURNPIKE TRUST 1753-1803

The route from Cirencester to Burford has always been important and the preamble to the first turnpike act stated that it was part of the great road from diverse parts of the West of England, including the counties of Devon, Somerset and Gloucester and the cities of Bristol and Bath, to the city of Oxford and the towns of Buckingham, Northampton and Banbury. Rudder also said that a stagecoach plied between Bath and Oxford. This act, dated 21 May 1753, was for repairing and widening the road from the Hand and Post, Upton Field in the parish of Burford, Oxfordshire, to Dancy's Fancy in the parish of Preston, Gloucestershire, a distance of 21.8 kilometres (13½ miles).

The first act covered all aspects of a turnpike trust including trustees, officers, tolls, loans, toll-houses, milestones, road repairs, statute duty and penalties. This act of thirty-one pages, though a pocket version was published for local use, would have expired in the Parliament ending in 1775 but an act in 1774 gave five years extension to turnpike acts, so on 21 March 1780 it was renewed for twenty-one years. Towards the end of the fifty years being considered, in May 1801, the act was renewed yet again.

Compared with the trusts' salaries and wages the act and renewals proved very expensive, the original act costing £262 with the charge for the first renewal being £240 and the second £337. However, on this latter occasion the solicitor concerned, John Coxwell, said that he was necessarily detained thirty-nine days in London owing to a change in administration delaying proceedings. This was the time when George III was anxious for Henry Addington, the Speaker, to form a government instead of Pitt but this stay in the capital cost the trust approximately £120 extra.

In addition to the local acts there were general ones relating to the turnpike roads and in 1767 the clerk was ordered to give abstracts to Thomas Tempany, the collector, so that he could 'collect the proper tolls made payable thereby'.

At the start the Trust had no income but there were many items for which money was required, for example the financing of the first act which included a clause limiting the sum borrowed to £2000 with the annual interest not to exceed £4 10s 0d. Other money was required for the repair of the road and the building of a toll-house and gates. Thus two mortgages of £600 and £400 had to be arranged and the annual interest on these loans took a large slice out of the trust's income every year. For instance, thirty years later it was minuted that Thomas Bush was paid £45, a year's interest on £900, though the income from the auctioning of the tolls that year was only £114.

The original 1753 act listed no fewer than one hundred and fifty trustees starting with Viscounts Tracy and Gage and including three baronets and twenty clergymen: for comparison the Gloucester Northgate Act only mentioned forty-six trustees. The meetings held to run the trust attracted an average of between 8 and 9 trustees over the first ten years and all those present signed the minutes. The mortality rate was high and the election of new trustees was mentioned in many minutes when the newly elected had to swear that they were receiving at least forty pounds in rents, or that their own estate was valued at over £1,100. A penalty of £50 was to be imposed if they acted when not qualified.

The trustees of many turnpikes, such as the Newent and the Gloucester and Hereford, held their meetings in many different inns but with the Bibury Trust every meeting took place in the Swan Hotel at Bibury, or as the minutes record it - 'at the dwelling house of William Skute called the Swan Inn'. Bibury and Arlington together in the middle of the period had a population of 562 and was therefore by far the largest centre along the road. The earliest advertisement, in February 1756, stated that the next meeting would be held at eleven of the clock in the forenoon, at which meeting the said trustees would proceed to nominate, elect and appoint fit and proper persons to be trustees in the room and place of such as are dead.

At one meeting, in 1766, at which six were present, three were clergymen and in fact the clergy were responsible for much of the running of the trust. Many of the other trustees were noted as 'gentlemen' and thus it was unusual when, in 1770 William Wilkin, an edge tool maker of Cirencester, was elected.

From the Minutes Book it was found that two hundred and five meetings were held during the fifty years so the average number of meetings a year was four. In the 1770s the number of meetings annually was unusually five but by the 1790s it had been reduced to three. Only sixteen had to be adjourned due to the quorum of five not being reached which compared very favourably with the nearby Cirencester-Lechlade Trust where during two periods there were thirteen and fifteen consecutive adjournments. The Northgate Trust also required a quorum of five but the larger Chepstow Trust needed nine.

Elected by the Trustees, the three officers of the trust were the clerk, treasurer and surveyor. Throughout the whole fifty years the clerk was paid a guinea a meeting, though the Chepstow Trust, admittedly larger, gave theirs ten pounds a year. The surveyor was paid 10s 6d a week, compared with 9s at Chepstow, and the treasurership appeared to be an honorary post as no payments were recorded in the accounts. Chepstow paid theirs fifteen pounds a year. These three often remained in office for long periods; a clerk with a very ostentatious signature, Maurice Vincent, served the trust twenty years and the Rev. Charles Coxwell, descendant of a well-known Cirencester family, was treasurer for twelve years. Finally, the William Durhams, father and son, were

surveyors for the entire period except the first three years when William Durham senior was surveyor of Barnsley, Arlington, Bibury and Aldsworth, also for 10s. 6d. a week.

Occasional mistakes occur in the dating of the minutes but one mistake in May 1756 must have caused considerable friction when the clerk minuted that the Rev. Charles Page was nominated, elected and appointed treasurer in the room of the Rev. Dr. Seybourne, the trust's first treasurer, who was incapable of attending meeting because of his ill health. Another meeting was held the following month, an unusual occurrence, when it was resolved that the order which appointed Mr. Page treasurer arose from a mistake. It was resolved that the Rev. Seybourne was to continue as treasurer, which he did until he died in 1759.

There was also trouble in August 1760 when it was ordered that Mrs. Rogers, the widow of Mr. James Rogers who was clerk from the beginning, was to pay the treasurer £27. This money, which the clerk had received from the collector of tolls before he died, was to be paid on or before the 18 November, or, in default, the treasurer was to order an attorney to sue Mrs. Rogers for its recovery. Five years later the clerk was disqualified from office at the meeting after he had been appointed, because he had moved away from the area.

Also on the payroll between 1753 and 1768, before the auctions of tolls started, was the collector of tolls who was paid 6s. a week, better than those in the Chepstow trust who received 5s. and a toll keeper of the Nailsworth trust with 4s. In addition in 1755 a toll collector was appointed for the Ablington check gate.

One would have expected the Bibury turnpike (A433) to have started at its western boundary where the Foss Wau (A429) forked northwards, just east of the 1-mile stone from Cirencester. However, the Inclosure Commissioner's working map of 1770 for Preston parish clearly shows the name Dancy's Fancy marked east of the 2-mile stone where Akeman Street turnpike eight. Thus the last two miles into Cirencester were part of the Akeman Street turnpike from Ready Token, a staging post from Gloucester to London, and this road formed part of the Cirencester-St. John's Bridge, Lechlade Trust. This trust, formed in 1717, amalgamated with other trusts in 1825 to form the Cirencester United Roads, and the 2-mile stone still has a plate inscribed 'Cirencester District'. Later the first part of Akeman Street east of Dancy's Fancy fell into disuse and the draft 2" O.S. map shows approximately 225m (250 yards) of disconnected road. Today occasional hedges and banks show the former route of the Roman road.

From Dancy's Fancy the old Burford road to the Head and Post, on the Cheltenham-Oxford road, was remade and small improvements to the alignment carried out where necessary. The eastern part was left to the last and in 1756 the surveyor was ordered to lay the remainder of the road in Upton Field where the stones had already been dug. Twelve years later the trustees were worried concerning the state of

the side roads to Little Barrington and Westwell. Towards the end of the period, in 1790, the road through Bibury was diverted along the waterside from the churchyard gate to the Swan Inn, at a cost of £50. A subscription was opened and six people contributed £44 3s. Od, the remainder being paid out of the tolls.

In 1769 the trust took over the repairs of a minor road, coming under the jurisdiction of the St. John's Bridge Trust, from the Stone Bridge in Amprey Crucis parish to the Bibury turnpike, but this was the cause of friction between the two trusts. The annual sum to be paid by the St. John's Bridge Trust was £2 10s. Od. but by 1772 the money had never been paid and the Bibury Trust were also asking for the sum to be increased, due to damage caused to the road. In the following year it was therefore decided that the amount be increased by 10s.

The Act allowed the trustees to contact people for the purchase or rent of land, so that re-alignments of the road could be made, and if there was no agreement on the value then this would be settled by a jury. The accounts list small sums paid annually for the rent of land, for instance 5s agreed in 1784. Likewise the trust must pay for stone for repairs when dug from private land but the sum agreed, $\frac{1}{2}$ d or 1d a load, did not seem very generous and the Newent Trust used to pay 1d or 2d. The actual pits caused problems and in 1789 it was reported that several pits between Bibury and Aldsworth were dangerous to travellers, so the surveyor was ordered to slope or fence them. Again in 1792 10s was paid to a mason for repairing walls damaged by pits being sunk too near them.

Naturally the minutes and accounts were mainly concerned with repairs to the road and the consequent bills. At practically every meeting the surveyor was 'empowered to employ labour' to repair a certain section of the road; for example in 1764 he was allowed two labourers to fill up quick sands and hollows, and in 1775 100 yards over Windrush Downs was reported to be most 'founderious' in winter. This cost £17 12s 5d to repair. Also the actual width of the road must have been minimal as in 1765 the road was ordered to be widened for the waggons with broad wheels.

Under statute duty each parish surveyor was responsible for providing lists of inhabitants and teams liable for between one and four days repair work on the turnpike road. There were penalties if this was not done and in 1757 seven inhabitants of Barnsley were fined 10s each for refusing to do their statute duty. There was also trouble in 1761 with the part of the road in Oxfordshire and the treasurer and clerk had to 'wait upon' Justice in that County to obtain a warrant in order to call out the Statute Duty. By paying an annual composition sum, however, the act allowed parishes to opt out of providing statute labour; in 1776 the parishoners of Preston, who did a days statute work with one team and three labourers repairing the road between Dancy's Fancy and the Gap, were told that if they paid £1 11s 6d every year they would be discharged from duty. Those parishes who agreed to this did not always pay promptly and in 1779 the Trust surveyor had to summon the parish surveyor, who had not paid, to bring their money to the next meeting.

Bridges caused trouble even though the turnpike only went over the river Coln and Leach and two small streams, and most of the road lies on the Cotswold plateau at least 125 metres (406 feet) above sea level. In 1768, for instance, the surveyor of Arlington was told to erect proper rails on both sides of the bridge over the mill-stream for the security of travellers, otherwise 'the said bridge will be indicted' ! But it was the proposed bridge at Winterwell Bottom, for which Samuel Herbert was paid 2s 6d in 1791 for an estimate, that produced the most reports in the minutes. Here the turnpike used to flood due, it was recorded in 1798, to Richard Selfe having dammed up the water to flood his meadows, and therefore the trustees said a bridge was not necessary if the obstruction was removed. In a letter to the treasurer, Mr. Selfe said that he would remove the obstruction at the first sign of a rise in the water, but in 1791 there was a meeting reminder note written by the treasurer 'to ask Mr. Selfe whether I did not put into his hands the estimate for the bridge at Winterwell'. Another note considered that it would probably be worth while for Mr. Selfe to build the bridge at his own expense rather than be deprived of the benefit of flooding his meadows. In the same year the surveyor was asked to 'turn an arch' at Hamer Bridge and, if it encroached on William Hales land, to pay him a yearly sum, but normally the trustees tried to avoid paying for costly bridges. For a new bridge at Letchbrook, an estimate, excluding carriage, was £38 in 1811, later however than the period being considered.

The removal of annoyances, nuisances and obstructions was allowed by the act and in 1791 several landowners whose hedges and fences shaded and encroached on the road were given notice to immediately cut and prune them, the surveyor to report the names of those who did not conform to the next meeting. Another nuisance occurred in 1770 when John Bridle of Arlington was burning pigs and causing a nuisance to travellers. Also the inhabitants of Barnsley were warned not to make bonfires or let off any squib or firework within 80 feet (24 metres) of the centre of the turnpike, with a penalty of £5, a large sum at that time.

In the original act the tolls were laid down and briefly were as follows:-

(1) Every animal drawing any carriage	3d
(2) Every animal not drawing	1d
(3) Every drove of large animals	10d per score
(4) Every drove of small animals	5d per score

However, in the 1801 session these tolls were doubled with the exception of (1) which was increased to 5d and a new clause added when waggons and carts with wheels less than 6 inches (150 mm) wide were charged 7½d. If the tolls were not paid the trustees were empowered to impound goods or chattels which could be sold after four days.

Exempt from the beginning were carts carrying stone for building or repairing the road, likewise loads of manure, and election days were also free for those concerned with the

voting. Also exempt was straw for flooring, agricultural implements going for repair, animals being taken to water or pasture, horses for shoeing, animals carrying grist to and from mills, horses and waggons used in the passing of vagrants travelling with lawful passes, posthorses carrying mail and finally animals and carts moving soldiers and their baggage. Tolls and exemptions varied from trust to trust; for instance under the Northgate Trust, mail and soldiers were not exempt until 1806.

Tolls were to be paid once a day, from midnight to midnight but in 1755 it was agreed that waggons going to Cirencester and returning empty before noon the following day, need not pay toll again. In the original act the people of Bibury and Arlington were allowed to pay only half the toll for their carriages and cattle and the 1780 session added Ablington. This led to a dispute regarding tolls for waggons and in 1758 these were ordered to pay full tolls but the treasurer privately thought that the village should pay all tolls in full and a Mr. Stevens was asked to find out the position in Cirencester. Another reduction was made for regular movements of sheep and a composition toll of 5s was paid for three months.

During the first fifteen years the tolls were collected by a paid collector, Richard Westmacott, and during that period the average amount obtained yearly was £81. Set against that figure the average expenditure during the last eight years of that period was £76. Then in December 1768 the system was altered and the tolls were put up for auction for a period of a year, a quarter of the sum being collected every three months, with the highest bidder providing sureties for the trustees. At £98 John Cherrington of Cirencester, an iron-monger, was the highest bidder at the first auction which can be compared with the £93 collected during 1768. An advertisement in the Gloucester Journal in November 1774 stated that the auction was to be held at the Swan, Bibury, between two and five in the afternoon on the 20 December. From 1768 until 1776 the auction bids rose to £154, William Holtham, a labourer formerly of Winsom being successful for four of the years, but for 1776 he was allowed £5 for his loss due to the deep snow. There was no bidder for the following year, 1777, when the toll-house was removed to a more remote place, and a contract had to be arranged on the best possible terms. In 1780/81 the auction figures dropped to £106/£100 as the stage coaches ceased to travel regularly.

Over the following seventeen years, 1782 to 1798, the figure averaged out at £124 with seven different collectors involved. The Rev. William Somerville, Rector of Bibury from 1757-1790, was successful from 1783 to 1785 but Charles Slatter, a cordwainer who originally came from Bladon in Oxfordshire, was collector for no less than seven years. During the last five years being considered the average increased considerably to £168 and Charles Slatter was only defeated once at the yearly auctions. In the last year under consideration, 1803, he also paid £45 for the rent of a new toll-house just established at Upton Field. An observation on the collection of money occurred in 1778 when the

treasurer was ordered to buy a new pair of money scales and weights for the use of the gate-keeper.

In common with all other trusts evasion of paying tolls was always a problem and the act stated that a penalty of 20s was payable by persons permitting or going through private passage, in other words travelling round the back of the toll house. In 1769 John Cherrington was ordered to attend the next meeting to make his complaints against such person or persons going over private ground to evade the Arlington gate. There was also a complaint in 1783 that the gate-keeper received 2s 3d without actually being at the gate.

The act permitted the trustees to erect turnpikes and toll houses along the road and also across any lane leading to the road, except within five miles of Cirencester, so at the first meeting in June 1753 it was agreed that gates or chains be put up at Upper End, Arlington and at Ablington. An estate map of 1769 shows the Arlington gate up the hill leading south west from Bibury bridge and in November 1753 it was minuted that John Simms was to be paid £21. 1s 0d for erecting the turnpike house and gate, very similar to the £20 allowed at this time by the Chepstow trust. The road to Ablington goes north-west from Bibury bridge but it was not until May 1755 that it was ordered that this check gate be erected.

In June 1774 the trustees decided to move the toll house from Upper End to a crossroad called Taylor's Cross along the Barnsley road, a movement of 0.8 kilometres ($\frac{1}{2}$ mile) to reduce avoidance of tolls. However, there was no action on this minute and in December the treasurer was asked to arrange the erection of a temporary house at Taylors Cross 'in the most frugal manner he conveniently can'. The following meeting in March 1775 the treasurer produced a plan for a proper house but this was not approved as it was thought too expensive. The trustees themselves were now to produce plans but there must have been a considerable delay because it was not until August 1777 that it was ordered that £34 15s 3d be paid for erecting the house and also that a new gate be put up in place of the old decayed one. For comparison the Chepstow trust now allowed £30 for a toll house.

John Simms detailed accounts for the house survive, although the house itself does not, and the total cost of the carpentry and joinery amounted to £12 15s 7d, one of the more expensive items was an oak door and frame for 18s. Another bill, this time from mason Dun, included $2\frac{1}{2}$ days work in June taking down the old turnpike house for 4s 2d. In this connection T. Tibbald, in his estimate of £23 5s 0d for erecting the new house, stated that the timber of the old house was not worth more than £2 and the stone was not worth the carriage. This estimate was particularly interesting as it included a plan showing the house and gate he had quoted in relation to the crossroads and the sizes of rooms were also indicated. The main room with fireplace, door and adjacent window was dimensioned 10 feet by 10 feet (3m x 3m) and off it were two small rooms, one 6 feet by 4 feet (1.8m x 1.2m) with window and the other 3 feet by 4 feet (0.9m x 1.2m).

Other documents in the treasurer's papers included further plans and elevations for a single storey house estimated at £33 and a two storey house at £43 10s Od.

In February 1777 it was agreed to erect a check gate, or set up a chain across the road from Arlington Down to Ablington, near the river, as tollgate evasion was taking place, and in August J. Hinks, carpenter, was paid £6 0s 11½d for erecting a wooden house at this place.

It was not until towards the end of the fifty years, in 1801, that the Trustees started to consider erecting another toll house and the treasurers' notes state that Messrs. Musgrave and Beach were asked to find the best position but that Mr. Beach strongly objected to having it south of Aldsworth, where the surveyor wanted it, as this would intercept the teams going to Coln and his mills. Two years later it was agreed that it would be sited in the northern position near Upton Field, shown on the 2 inch draft O.S. map of 1811-16 as 0.8 kilometre (½ mile) south west of the junction with the Crickley Hill to Campsfield Trust (via Northleach, Burford and Witney) of 1750/1. The account of Thomas Tempany, mason for this house amounted to £18 18s Od and the new gate by Thomas Simms cost £5 2s Od. The draft 2 inch map also shows a toll-house at the junction with the main road (A40) but this belonged to the Crickley Hill Trust.

Throughout the minutes constant references were made to repairs to the gate including sums of 3s 6d, 8s, 6s 6d, 3s 8d, 12s 4d, 12s 4d, 12s 1d, 1s and 2s 6d and alterations, improvements and repairs to the toll house including white-washing for 7s in 1757, painting in 1778 for £1 18s 6d and painting the door and gate the same year for 12s 6d. In 1781 the collector complained that the window in the north east part of the house was too small to command views of both gates and 3s 6d was paid to a mason for enlarging it with 4s 6d to the glazier. A pool was ordered to be dug for 50s in 1787 to provide a water supply and two years later a wood shed was ordered at a cost of £13 14s 1d, but, as this seems expensive, the sum may have included house repairs. Later again, this time in 1795, wooden shutters were requested and finally a new floor was ordered to be laid in 1801. In addition, the check turnpike had to have a new door costing 4s in 1799 and the gate itself had to be renewed for £1 2s Od.

One section of the act stated that the road was to be measured and milestones erected; another paragraph added that the penalty for breaking or defacing a stone was forty shillings. In May 1756, three years after the first meeting, it was resolved that the road was to be measured, staked out and milestones were to be erected with proper inscriptions, mentioning distances from Burford and Cirencester. In the following month it was agreed that Joseph Brindle was to be paid nine shillings for measuring and staking out the road and then in March 1757 he was paid 7s 6d each for seven milestones which were erected and set up upon the road. There were eventually thirteen stones between Dancy's Fancy and Hand and Post, but in 1756 it was recorded that the eastern end of the road across Upton Field had still to be laid and this may at least partly account for the discrepancy in numbers.

Nearly thirty years later, in 1785, the surveyor reported that the milestones were much defaced and wanted new lettering and it was ordered that they were to be re-lettered. However the work does not appear to have been carried out as in April 1788 there was another order to face the stones and paint in legible characters and figures. In November Thomas Brindle was paid £1 11s 6d for this work. At the same meeting the clerk was ordered to give notice that if any person defaced any of the milestones or direction posts, they would be prosecuted; also that any person giving information leading to a prosecution would be rewarded by the treasurer. Parents were asked to caution their children not to be guilty of this offence. Anyone convicted of this offence could be fined a sum not exceeding £5 and this incidentally exceeds the 40s mentioned in the original act. Today a typical surviving milestone is 850 mm (34 inches) high with the top 50 mm (2 ins.) rounded to throw off rainwater; the width tapering from 450 mm (18 ins) at ground level to 375 mm (15 ins), and the depth also tapering from 200 mm (8 ins) to 125 mm (5 ins). Although the stones survive unfortunately none have been found with any evidence of lettering.

Associated with milestones were hill markers. In December 1770 the surveyor was asked to survey and measure in furlongs and perches five hills along the road i.e. Leachbrook Hill, Quarry Hill near Barnsley, White Hill, the hill at Bibury and finally Vens Blow Hill, so that posts could be erected where additional horses were allowed. Broad-wheeled waggons, i.e. those with wheels 225 mm (9 ins) girth or over, were to be allowed ten horses and narrow-wheeled, those under 225 mm could have five.

In March 1771, the trustees sent this order for allowances to the Quarter Sessions but unfortunately it was not passed as it was said that the boundaries of the hills were insufficiently described. So in June a revised statement was submitted and at the Trinity Sessions meeting at the Boothall, Gloucester, on Tuesday in the week after the feast of Thomas a Becket, it was proved upon the oath of two credible witnesses to the satisfaction of the court and the allowances were confirmed. As a result, in September, it was ordered that stones should be erected at the boundaries of the hills mentioned. Here it is interesting to note that at the top of Quarry Hill there was a stone pillar, 700 mm (28 ins) high and approximately 250 mm (10 ins) square at the base, which was in the correct position to have been one of these markers. Unfortunately it was knocked over in February 1977.

With one exception the trustees and officers appear to have managed the trust reasonably efficiently and, considering the limited income, the road, gates, toll-houses and milestones were kept in good condition, if one can rely on the lack of recorded complaints. The exception was the faulty positioning of two of the three toll-houses, as the first at Bibury was soon found to be an error and likewise the one established at a late stage in Upton Field would have been preferable at or near Aldsworth. Minutes and notes indicate that a considerable amount of traffic must have been avoiding the tollhouses and

check gates at Bibury, Arlington and Ablington and it is strange that it took fifty years to erect a gate along the eastern part of the turnpike, albeit even then in the wrong position.

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THE PACKERS OF PAINSWICK
A Clothier Family

If you visit Painswick church you can see on the south side of the tower two memorials to the Packer family, and if you go through the churchyard towards the north-east gate you can see six of the famous eighteenth-century tombs of the same family; a family engaged in the cloth-making industry for which this area was at that period of considerable importance. The earliest recording of the name Packer which I have been able to find is in 1381 on the Lay Subsidy Roll - Johannes Paccare (Mercer)(1). In 1487 a property named Packers is mentioned in Spoonbed tithing (2). The first record of the Packer family in Painswick church registers is of the marriage of a Richard Packer in 1591 to Sybbel Badham (3) and in 1608 in John Smith's "Men in Armour", Richard Packer is recorded as a yeoman, unable in body.

In 1625 a Richard Packer bought the mill, now known today as King's Mill, but in those days usually known as the Lower Mill, from William Kynne. It was recorded as a corn mill(5). It was given to his son Thomas on his marriage to Sarah Loveday in 1634(6). Thomas was working it as a cloth mill in 1671 and this is the first evidence that the Packer family was engaged in the cloth trade.

Thomas, who died in 1678(7) had a son Daniel, who married Mary Clissold in 1678(8) when he was described as a clothier, and a son Richard, who married Elizabeth Clissold in 1671(9) and occupied the mill in 1677(10). He lived to the remarkable age for those days of 80 years and died in 1719(11). In his will(12) he left his mills to his son Daniel. Two of his sons Richard and Thomas had predeceased him,(13) but two more sons John and William and his daughter Sarah are mentioned in his will, and four grandchildren, John, Daniel, Richard and Elizabeth, whose father Thomas died in 1705(14).

The Daniel Packer to whom his father Richard left his mills was born in 1673 and died in 1739(15). A document dated 1730 (16) describes a piece of land conveyed to Daniel Packer formerly part of Gides Farm. As Gydes Farm today is still so named and is by King's Mill, this piece of land was probably the steep bank at the side of Watkins Pitch and would have been a very suitable site for tenters. The mill is described in the deed as a fulling mill.

Daniel died in 1739 and in his will dated 14 February 1738 (17) he is described as a gentleman. To his only surviving brother William, he left the house and garden where he was living in Painswick which was copyhold of the manor of Painswick. His nephew John Packer was to be "entitled to Cap Mill now enjoyed by his mother, Mary". This Mary was the widow of Daniel's brother John who had died in 1733(18). Her two other sons Richard and Daniel were left money in the will.

Ann, Daniel Packer's widow, was left an annuity and household goods including silver, brass, pewter and furniture. Surplus household furniture was left to the children of John Packer, the son of his brother, Thomas, and silver was left to his neices Mary and Elizabeth, daughters of his brother John. To his niece Mary, the daughter of his brother William he left a chest of drawers. This Mary was the Mary Packer who later married her cousin Daniel (of the letters) and I cannot help wondering what kind of remarkable chest of drawers she inherited from her uncle!

This Daniel Packer also left a case of instruments and Salmon's Chirurgery in two volumes to Mr. James Tippetts, so he may have been a surgeon. The executors of his will were his wife and his brother, William Packer. William Packer was born in 1687(19) occupied Rockmill in 1738 when it was described as a fulling mill(20). This mill was on the Painswick stream just by the A46 about a mile north of Stroud. The mill house is still there, but the mill itself has been demolished. William is also said to have held Damsell's Mill 1740-45(21). This mill still exists and the water wheel is still to be seen there, but the building has been converted into a dwelling

It is likely that as William Packer inherited his brother's dwelling house in Painswick, it was the present Hazelbury House in New Street where a piece of window glass was found with the name "Molly Packer 1743" scratched on it. This piece of glass is preserved now in the cottage next door to Hazelbury House, named "Packers" which was formerly a barn (22). William's only daughter was Mary (Molly) who was born in 1723, but it is difficult to be certain about such an identification as the church burial records show that thirteen Mary Packers died and were buried in Painswick between 1700 and 1793.

William Packer died in 1754(23) and a year later in 1755 his daughter Mary married her cousin Daniel Packer, the son of John and Mary Packer and a nephew of the Daniel Packer who died in 1739(24). By her marriage settlement,(25) Mary is shown to have had a fortune of £8,000 of which £4,000 was given to Daniel and the other £4,000 settled in trust for Mary and her children. One of the trustees in this settlement was Henry Loveday, a member of another noted family in Painswick. It is likely that Daniel and Mary lived at Hazelbury House as a fire insurance wall plaque was found there, which was dated 1757 and insured "Daniel Packer in the Parish of Painswick in the County of Gloucester". This wall plaque is now in the next-door cottage named "Packers"(26).

In 1759 there was recorded a list of persons paying "a pound rate" in Painswick and Mr. Daniel Packer paid £2, and for Cross Keys £1 and for King's £1 and for Keens £3, and for Mrs. George Smith's £6(27). It is probable that this was Daniel Packer mentioned above, but it is difficult to be certain as it seems that there were two other Daniel Packers alive at this time.

In the same list is Mr. John Packer - £16 and Mrs. Packer £8. It is likely that the Mr. John Packer was Daniel's older brother who worked the Lower Mill (Ming's Mill).

We know more about Daniel Packer 1715-1769 and his wife Mary, who was also his cousin, than any other members of the Packer family, as two books of their letters have survived and are preserved at the Record Office. The first book of letters (28) commences 3 September 1760 and continues to 7 March 1761. They are written to Sir Samuel Fludyer, a Blackwell Hall factor, in London and are business letters concerning supplies of cloth sent and bills. Daniel seems to have made a variety of cloths; Worcesters, Livery Whites, Blacks, Scarlets and Blues (29). Some cloth, such as Livery Whites were sent to London before being dyed, but much was dyed by his own men. He mentions that his dyers have had difficulty with green cloth ordered and that "Dyer Pegler says a pink mixture cannot be matched but if the friend must have it they will do their best" (30). The wet weather was a cause of trouble, for it made it very difficult to dry cloths on the tenters. He mentions in November that he could not send Liverys as he could not get them dry.(31).

It would appear that the cloth trade was thriving in the area in 1760 for he writes "The spinning of Liverys is much the same as it was last year but 'twill not be in my power to get it better so long as the superfine makers can give such wages they takes a great many of our best hands from us"(32).

The second book of Daniel's letters (33) covers the period from January 1768 to September 1769, but letters by his wife Mary continue to 1791. Most of the letters by Daniel in this period are addressed to Mr. Thos. Misenor, factor in London, but a number are also addressed to Messrs. Marsh and Hudson, and Sir Samuel Fludyer. It appears that 1768 was a year of depression in the local cloth trade. In January, Daniel complains that India House will oblige him to quit the trade (34). In May he says he has had so many losses in cloths of late that he thought of declining the order and mentions a parcel of Worcesters ordered in 1765 which he still has unsold(35), and he thinks he will be a great loser by keeping on his workpeople this year, although he has never made better cloth(36). In June he refuses to sell cloths on the terms mentioned and says that if he cannot find better terms he must part with all his spinners although he does not know what they will do, for they will not find employment elsewhere (37). In August he complains that trade is not worth following: "what our poor will do this winter I cannot tell for my infirmities will prevent my keeping them employed as I did last year." (38) In another letter, with reference to poor prices he says that "We shall have fewer clothiers another year. I hear there was one sent to Gloster Jail Thursday last, and last Tuesday Sam. Haines (Bro. to Mr. Daniel Haines) shot himself through the Head; he was deeply in Debt for Wooll."(39) This tragedy, related by Daniel is connected in local legend to Painswick with Haines Green, which is on the left side of the lane leading from Painswick to Edge about one hundred yards up hill, after crossing Washbrook. In the same letter Daniel mentions selling cloth to an inland clothier as well as that he sending to the London factors.

In October he apologises for the delay in sending whites because of the tempestuous weather (40) and during the same month he complains of the delays in payment for cloths (41) and more complaints are made in December about money which has been owing for 13 months (42). In November Daniel apologises for not sending all the cloths ordered as he had some stolen from his tenters (43).

It is interesting to note that a letter could take ten days to travel from London to Painswick, as in a letter to Fludyer & Co. Daniel writes, "Your favour of the 7 inst. did not come to hand until the 17th.(44) In January 1769 he is still complaining about Worcs. being sold for £11 when worth £29. 10s. He also refers in the same letter to the "Turkey Gentlemen" (Levant Company) and the Co. (East India Company) to whom a considerable amount of his cloth was sold.(45)

By February Daniel was so ill that he wrote to Fludyer & Co. saying the he was obliged to quit business (46) and in answer to a letter from them he writes the next month recommending Mr. Thos. Bayliss to take his place in supplying them with cloths.(47) The following month he writes that Mr. Bayliss has agreed to take any orders sent and adds "I have left my mill".(48) His last letter was written on 14 September 1769 and he died in November aged 54.(49) During his last year a few letters were written by his wife Mary when Daniel was too ill to write and one is of particular interest about a pipe of oil. Mary says Daniel paid £42 per ton for it and it seemed so good he reserved it for fine yarn, but it had proved to be not so good, as it had caused more "Rows" (lumps) than was normal in 'fine 5 hds' (50) (type of cloth). The oil used for high quality cloth at this period was usually olive oil imported from Italy. Oil seed rape was grown in the Painswick area for the cloth trade but was not used for high quality cloths.

Daniel Packer left two wills; one dated 15 April 1768 (51) and the other dated 6 July 1768 (52). The reason for this was that his brother John died and was buried on 2 June 1768 (53). His nephew John, son of brother John had died in April (54) and the church registers record another John Packer who died in March 1768 so three John Packers died in Painswick in less than three months! In his will Daniel Packer left a property called Keens to his nephew Richard Packer, son of his brother John of the Lower Mill (Kings Mill), woolstapler, who with his widow Mary were named as executors. Tithes of corn, grain and hay from lands and estate in Sheepscombe were to be paid to Mary Packer for life and after her death to his son William. Money was left in trust for his three children; £3,000 for William at age 21 and £2,000 each for his daughters Mary and Catherine at age 21. Three children only are mentioned in the will but it is probable that he had a son Daniel born in 1756, a year after his marriage, who died in his 10th year in 1766 (55). After Daniel's death his widow Mary continued to keep copies of her letters which mostly concerned investments in Government stocks, but they also contain interesting information about family matters. She refers to her nephew Richard as a mealman as well as a woolstapler (56) so it would seem that Lower Mill (Kings) was

being used at that time as a corn mill as well as for wool storage. A few days later she is writing to Marsh & Hudson to apologise for an error, saying that her nephew Richard is on the point of marriage and that she hopes when it is consummated he will be more assiduous.(57) Richard married Susannah Baylis in 1770(58) at St. Michael's, Glos. Mary's son William, who was born in 1757 seems to have suffered very much. She writes that she has returned from Weymouth with him and that he is much better(59), but only eleven days later she says she is setting out for Weymouth again as he son has trouble in his right shoulder which is useless, but the cause is not known(60). A year later her son has been to Southampton to bathe in the sea, but his arm was no better.(61) In 1774 William had again been to Southampton but was no better, but Mary says that in a fortnight he is going on trial as an apprentice to Mr. Whitaker, a clothier in Wiltshire(62). At the same time Mary records the death of her nephew Richard who died of consumption aged 28 on 22 March 1774 saying he was, "the only relation I had capable of serving me in any shape." In September 1774, Mary returned from Trowbridge where William had been apprenticed to Mr. Whitaker for 5 years and although he could use his arm better, he would always be deformed.(63) Three years later it is recorded by Mary that William had been ill for five weeks and had been to Bath to see a doctor who advised salt water baths(64) but within three months William had lost the use of his legs and had to be kept at home(65). In April of the following year 1778 William was in the same state(66) and he died in less than a year. The exact date I have been unable to determine as in the church registers one William Packer was buried September 30 1778 and another William Packer 26 February 1779 and I have found no evidence to determine which one was the son of Daniel and Mary.(67)

William's sister Catherine died aged 14 in 1779(68) so Mary was left with only one daughter. This daughter, named Mary, like her mother, married Nathaniel Winchcombe in 1782 (69). Ten years later he changed his name to Clifford, leaving Henry Clifford of Frampton his heir,(70) so Daniel and Mary Packer are ancestors of the well-known Clifford family of Frampton-on-Severn.

A Nathaniel Winchcombe is recorded as holding Hazle Mill and New Mills on the Slad Brook and surrendering them to Thos. Baylis in 1798,(71) which is interesting because the Baylis family also had connections with the Packers. Daniel, as already stated had recommended a Mr. Thos. Baylis to take over his cloth trade in 1769 and Mary wrote a letter to him later that year,(72) and Richard, Daniel's nephew, had married Susannah Baylis. In Mary Packer's letters, in addition to financial matters and family troubles there are a few other items of interest. One of these is the presents she sent to London to Misenor; a couple of hams,(73) a hare (74) a flitch of bacon(75) Double Berkeley cheeses(76) a 10lb salmon(77) and several other similar items. Sometimes they were sent by Niblett's Waggon and(78) sometimes by the Gloucester coach(79); Manning's Waggon(80) and Ballards Waggon(81) are also mentioned but there is no reference to the Stroudwater coach. It would be interesting to find out by which route these waggons made the journey to London.

One other item of interest in Mary's letters is her statement to Mr. Burford that she has sent two halves of two bank notes to him, value £100 each, and that by the next post she will send the remaining halves! - an unusual safety precaution. Mary's last recorded letter was written in 1791 and she herself died in 1793(83). With her death her branch of the Packer family died out in Painswick, as her only remaining daughter Mary, as before mentioned had married and left the district. In her will Mary(84) left the main part of her considerable fortune to her daughter Mary Winchcombe for life with reversion to her grandchildren, to whom she also left money and jewelry. A ring with the motto "Daniel Packer" is specially mentioned to be given to her grandson Henry Clifford Winchcombe. £100 was left to Gloucester Infirmary and £10 for the establishment and support of a Sunday School in Painswick. Small bequests were made to servants, Sarah Spring, Margaret Crump, Mary Evans and James Birt.

After Mary Packer's death, the only remaining relatives other than the Winchcombe family who can be traced are the widow of Richard Packer (d.1774) Susannah and her two children John and Sophia. Sophia who was born in 1770 married the Rev. James Parsons at Worcester in 1793(85) and John Packer is mentioned in a bond of 1795(86) to pay £500 to his mother Susannah Baylis, the wife of the Rev. Joseph Baylis of the city of Gloucester, so it seems that Susannah, Richard's widow must have re-married and left Painswick for Gloucester and no doubt her son John Packer, the last male descendent of the clothiers mentioned in the family records, went with her.

One other family connection of the Packers which is of interest is the marriage of Richard's sister Sarah to Abraham Rudhall, the son of the Abraham Rudhall who in 1731 recast the five bells in the church tower in honour of the Coronation of George II, (87) which still form part of the twelve bells which were ringing Grandsire Triples in honour of the new vicar this year. The mills which the Packer family held for so long passed into other hands within a few years of the deaths of Daniel and his brother John. Cap Mill was leased to William Knight, the younger by Ann, John's widow and his son Richard in 1772, when it was described as having a dwelling house, stables, outhouses, dye-house, 2 stocks, 1 gig-mill, mill-loft and 2 meadows(88). This William Knight's father lived at Byfield in Bisley Street and married Hester Wick of Wick St. House whose monument can be seen in Painswick Church(89). At the back of Byfield is an old building described as a wool Barn(90) and near the back door is an area, now filled with concrete which was used for wool washing(91).

Lower Mill (Kings) was in the hands of Richard Packer who died in 1774 leaving it to his widow Susannah. It is not clear who was running the mill directly after Richard's death but in 1787 it was advertised to be let as a corn mill, together with wool-lofts and "a good dwelling house (convenient for a genteel family)". It was occupied then by a Mr. Edward James, but application was to be made to

Mr. Edward Palling of Sheephouse or Rev. Joseph Baylis,
Gloucester.(91)

The Rev. Joseph Baylis of Gloucester was the husband of Susannah, so it seems that although the Packer family had given up any direct involvement in cloth making, their descendants still retained a financial interest in the mill. Several members of the Baylis family are recorded as clothiers well into the 19th century, but the name Packer does not appear again in the cloth trade in Painswick.

COLLEEN HAINE

APPENDIX THE PACKER FAMILY TREE

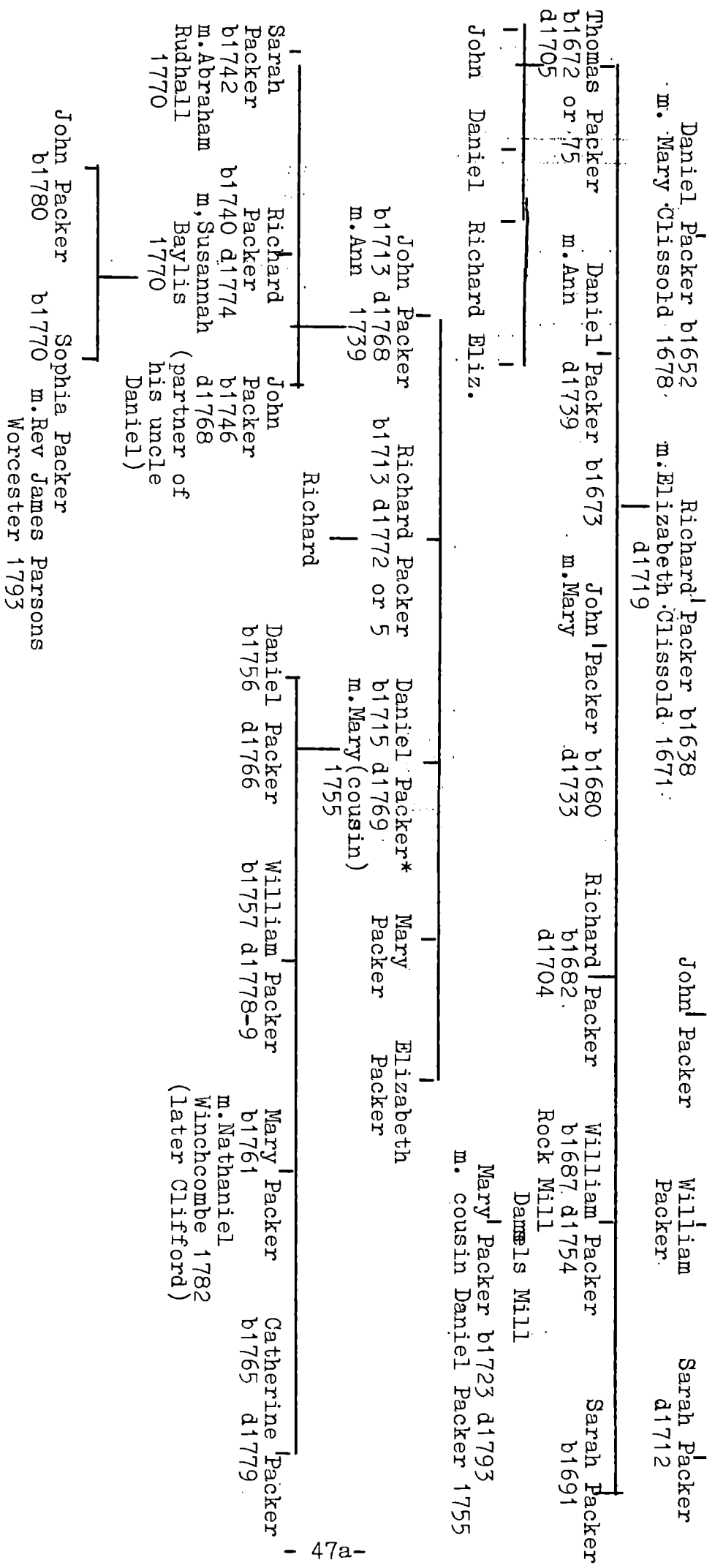
In drawing out the Packer family tree on the next page, I have used church registers, Bigland Vol.II, Gloucestershire Marriage Allegations and the Packer family documents in GRO.

It does not show all the Packers recorded in the church registers, but only those known to have taken part in the cloth trade, who are also mentioned in the family documents. It has been very difficult to sort out exact relationships as so many names are the same. Thirteen Mary Packers were buried in Painswick between 1712 and 1793 and 3 John Packers died in less than three months in 1768 and 2 Richard Packers in less than 2 months in 1774.

There were many other Packers besides those I have shown, but it has not been possible to find out any information of interest about them. There was a Packer family still in Painswick in the 1930s, but whether it was descended from the clothiers I have not been able to discover.

SOURCES

1. Baddeley. A Cotteswold Manor, p.85
2. Ibid, p.119
3. Painswick church registers. Index Book O.P.Q. p.28
4. Smith, J. "Men & Armour in Gloucestershire"
5. G.R.O., D149/T1204
6. G.R.O., D1886
7. Painswick church registers
8. Glos. Marriage Allegations
9. Ibid
10. G.R.O., D149/T1204
11. Bigland, Vol II, p.310
12. G.R.O., D149/187
13. Painswick church registers
14. Ibid
15. Ibid and Bigland, Vol. II, p 310
16. G.R.O., D1886



This is part of the Packer Family Tree to show the relationship of those members mentioned in the

17. G.R.O., D149/F89
18. Painswick church registers
19. Ibid
20. Glos. Jnl., 24 Oct 1738
21. V.C.H. Glos., XI, p.72
22. Ex. inf. Miss Dangerfield of "Packers"
23. Painswick church registers
24. Ibid
25. G.R.O., D149/92
26. Ex. inf. Miss Dangerfield of "Packers"
27. Churchwardens accounts 1759
28. G.R.O., D149/F113
29. Ibid. 3/11/1760
30. Ibid. 13/12/1760
31. Ibid. 15/11/1760
32. Ibid. 6/12/1760
33. G.R.O., D149/F114
34. Ibid. 22/1/68
35. Ibid. 31/5/68
36. Ibid. 9/5/1768
37. Ibid. 20/6/1768
38. Ibid. 20/8/1768
39. Ibid. 28/8/1768
40. Ibid. 1/10/1768
41. Ibid. 22/10/1768
42. Ibid. 17/12/1768
43. Ibid. 19/11/1768
44. Ibid. 22/12/1768
45. Ibid. 28/1/1769
46. Ibid. 17/2/1769
47. Ibid. 18/3/1769
48. Ibid. 8/4/1769
49. Painswick church registers and Bigland, Vol II, p.310
50. G.R.O., D149/F114, 21/7/1768
51. G.R.O., D149/T1204
52. G.R.O., D149/F97
53. Painswick church registers
54. G.R.O., D149/F114, 18/1/1770
55. Painswick church registers
56. G.R.O., D149/F114, 18/1/1770
57. Ibid. 22/1/1770
58. Painswick church registers
59. G.R.O., D149/F114, 15/9/1772
60. Ibid. 26/9/1772
61. Ibid. 31/8/1773
62. Ibid. 4/4/1774
63. Ibid. 29/9/1774
64. Ibid. 24/4/1774
65. Ibid. 17/7/1777
66. Ibid. 13/4/1778
67. Painswick church registers
68. Ibid
69. Ibid
70. Baddeley, p.217
71. V.C.H., II p.77
72. G.R.O., D149/F114
73. Ibid. 1/1/1771
74. Ibid. 9/2/1772

75. Ibid. 4/11/1774
76. Ibid. 17/11/1775
77. Ibid. 19/4/1781
78. Ibid. 4/11/1774
79. Ibid. 12/11/1773
80. G.R.O., D149/1714, 6/5/1788
81. Ibid. 17/11/1775
82. Ibid. 9/6/1784
83. Painswick church registers
84. G.R.O., D149/F105
85. Ibid. D1886, Copy of Marriage Cert., 1793
86. Ibid. Bond, 1795
87. Baddeley, p.215,217
88. G.R.O., D1886, Indenture 1772
89. Baddeley, p.200
90. Ex. inf. from owner of property, and D. Verey
Gloucestershire, The Cotswolds (1970), p.362
91. Ibid
92. Glos. Journal, 3 Dec. 1787

RODBOROUGH WORKHOUSE

The late 18th and early 19th centuries was a period when parish workhouses existed all over the country and were to be found even in small villages like Rodborough, which in 1763 consisted of 160 houses with 750 inhabitants (20 freehold) and an average of 33 people on parish relief.

At the vestry meeting in 1766 "it was agreed that several people living in the church house should be given notice to quit, and the furniture removed, as it is to be repaired and let". Subsequently it was turned into a workhouse and in 1777 Mr. and Mrs. Tuner were appointed the first overseers. Mr. Gordan became surgeon and apothecary of the poor at £5. 7s. per annum. By 1797 James Hodges (late of London) was appointed Governor, at £30 per annum, and in 1818 the old workhouse was pulled down, the new building being opened in 1820.

It is possible to learn quite a lot about the inhabitants of the Workhouse. For instance, their food - items for 1820 included:-

May to July, side of bacon	£3	6s.	6d.
Beef & mutton, 20lbs		16s.	4d.
Cheese, 30lbs		16s.	3d

Tea and butter were for sick persons, also treacle. 32 bags of potatoes and their haulage cost 10s. 6d. a bag. Wine for sick - 1s. 2d (sometimes recorded as gin). Other items included bread, turnips, salt and ashes! (this last item being recorded in every list). "It was agreed that $\frac{1}{4}$ of barley flour be mixed with $\frac{3}{4}$ of best wheaten flour for consumption of workhouse" - a rather ambiguous statement, as there were regular payments to a local tradesman for bread. Clothes from March to December, 1823 cost £4. 14s. 6d. and included calico, serge, black hose and shoes.

The list of expenses also mentioned

1	1 ton of coal and haulage,	£1	5s
	Plants and seeds (regularly)		1s. 6d.
	Hair cutting		2s.
	Worsted thread & buttons		4s. 6d.
	Shoes and mending		12s. 4d.
	Payment for loom, now in Poor House	£1	5s.
	Paid Jurymen on 3 inquests		£1. 4s.

Men in the workhouse were employed on the repair of the turnpikes 'Item March 20th 1820, for work on turnpike £29. 13s. 8d. also for work in the house'. '3rd July, for 5 weeks, 4 workers £3. 8s. 6d., also for cleaning - 3 workers, £1. 16s.(man), 12s (woman) and 8s (woman)' This work also comprised whitewashing, spinning, hemp, pulling down houses, building a garden wall and stone breaking.

Poor outside the workhouse obtained relief when it was considered necessary and the churchwardens kept meticulous

accounts of the items paid. In August 1795 the total sum given (ranging from 1s. to 3s. 6d, 3d for children), was £188. 3s. 5d. In most cases these were widows and children, a number of "bastards" and awards for "militia". There were also articles of clothing supplied 'Shirt for Delby, 2s. 6d.' A case of "spotted fever" is recorded in 1795, also smallpox in the Davis family in 1795, a reported case in 1819, and in the Watts family in 1821, the last named with a further item "for whitewashing Watts' house, and for bedding and change of clothes".

Children of the poor were apprenticed at an early age: (June 1787) 'The eldest girl of James Shides to be clothed and put to Mr. Bamford till Michaelmas and rest of family to workhouse' and (Oct. 30th) 'James Heaven, 10 years, to be apprenticed to Daniel Pagler, Bowbridge, weaver, until 21 years. The latter being paid 1 gn. $\frac{1}{2}$ for clothes for James. Thomas Williams of Salisbury hired for 3 years Pricilla Fletcher as a menial servant, and "is to find her in meat, drink, washing and clothese and teach her the art of spinning". (The said Williams signed his contract with his mark) John Plummer, 13 years, apprenticed for 7 years to Thomas Philpot, weaver, of Minchinhampton for 2 gns., the boy to be provided with shirt and pair of shoes. His brother, name not recorded, 11 years, to be allowed 1s. per week, and a younger brother, also no name recorded, aged $4\frac{1}{2}$, to have 3s a week until able to work. These children were orphans, but there is no mention of them being sent to the workhouse.

"Passes" were issued for paupers who moved into other parishes, and there are early certificates, dating from 1707 complete with seals, and signed by Nathaniel Cambridge, beginning

'according to the late Act of Parliament in the reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne John Chapman (7th son of Timothy) and family, wife, children and 2 apprentices, every one of them and all he may hereafter have declare to be legal inhabitants of the parish of Kings Stanley'

another

'1712 ... we acknowledge William Hollins, broad-weaver, Deborah his wife and Richard Eliots his apprentice, to be legal inhabitants in the parish of Horsley ...'

With few exceptions, the paupers came from surrounding villages and towns. Later "oaths" (for 1801) out of 55, only 17 are signed (4 women) the rest made their mark. Nearly all these people had lost their parents at an early age and were themselves married with a family. Their ages were on an average 20 plus.

(1801) Mary Browning, married, then husband left her, she heard he was dead and married again, but then first husband turned up for 1 week and then went away, so she continued to live with the second one.

A man from Ashton Keynes was hired at Cirencester Mop Fair to shop-keeper of Stround. He "never received

£10 a year, or served any parish office...."

Several young women applied because they "are with child".

(1809). Samuel Wynn, who on his oath says he is now about 53, that he is a brother of George Wynn, who was father of James Wynn, who was drowned about one month ago, that his brother George was legally settled in Painswick and that he was killed in a quarry when his son was about one month old. That he verily believes the said James never gained any settlement but of Painswick, except he gained a settlement by living with Mr. Lewis of Brimscombe, Stroud after he was married (about 9 years ago) to Hannah, his widow who has two children, Sarah 2 and George 11 weeks, which are becoming chargable to the Parish of Rodborough. (Samuel is able to write, and signs his name).

There is only one recorded case of anyone in the asylum a regular half-yearly payment for Lea Simms in Gloucester Asylum of £15. 12s.

SISTER M. WULSTAN

SOURCES

Rodborough vestry minutes and overseers of the poor accounts, GLOS. R.O., P272a.

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE FORMATION OF THE
STROUD CIRCUIT BETWEEN THE YEARS OF 1787 AND 1843

The first recorded visit of John Wesley to the Stroud area was on October 7th 1739 when he preached at Randwick. The following day he preached to 5 or 6,000 people on Minchinhampton Common. After that it is recorded that his visits were almost annual (at the commencement of his northern tour of the societies) until March 1790 - the date of his final preaching appointment in Stroud.(1)

During this time, various societies were created nationwide and grouped geographically into Circuits under the Superintendency of a visiting Minister.

The Methodist Recorder of August 20th 1903(2) records that the first preaching place in the Stroud area may have been a house at Wallbridge, but in 1763 the first church was built in Acre Street, Stroud under the Superintendency of Alexander Mather. The Society has since moved to Castle Street and the church - the first in the Stroud area - is now used by the Salvation Army.

Between 1763 and 1770 Stroud was at the southern end of the Staffordshire Circuit - a circuit that extended as far as Coventry and Shrewsbury(3). In 1770, the Gloucestershire Circuit was formed, and in 1788 the Worcestershire Circuit was separated leaving Stroud, Cheltenham and Gloucester as three churches on a smaller geographical circuit as follows:-

<u>Society</u>	<u>Membership</u> (1791 July)	
Gloucester	62	
Painswick*	20	
Stroud*	49	
Littleworth*	14	
Thrupp	12	.. joined with Brims-
Cirencester*	19	combe Society in
Winchcombe	10	1795, reappearing
Gretton	23	briefly in 19th C.
Stanley	15	... continued to 1799 only
Tewkesbury	49	
Deerhurst	23	
Tirley	6	
Ashleworth	9	
Cheltenham	<u>5</u>	
Total	316	

Further societies joined in the circuit in the period 1780 to 1796 with membership for the first year as follows:-

Ebley*	1796	12(earlier note of Society '88-'90)
Upton	1794	12(earlier note 1793)
Brimscombe*	1794	6(" " 1793)
Newent	1795	13
Gorsley Common	1795	10

Kemerton	1795	-
Weston	1796	20
Taddington	1787/8 only	-
Poulton	1788 only	- reappears 1841
(Minchin)Hampton	1788-90 only	- reappears 1822

In 1797 (Note A) those societies marked * formed the basis of the first Stroud Circuit, which by the year 1800 had a membership as follows:-

<u>Society</u>	<u>Membership</u> (July 1800)
Painswick	23 .. Church rented/sold to
Stroud	126 Baptist Denom in 1831/2(4)
Littleworth	36
Cirencester	32 .. not recorded 1810-15
Ebley	10 .. ceased in 1802
Bisley	13 .. formed 1797
Brimscombe	15
Ketleigh	21 .. formed 1799-1807 only
Camp	5 .. 1798-1802 only; reformed 1817
Ashton (Keynes)	6 .. 1798-1801 only
Chalford	10 .. formed 1797
Oakridge	12 .. formed 1797

Further societies joined the Circuit between 1801 and 1823 as follows, again the date indicates the first reference of the society in the membership records:-

Woodchester	1804-06 only	11	
Randwick	1806	13	
Box	1806 only	12	.. merged with Stroud
Chalford Lynch	1813-15 only	4	1809
Slad	1813-15 only	-	
Pitchcombe	1814-29 only	10	
Northleach	1822	11	.. annexed to Cheltenham Circuit 1840
Tarlton	1821	9	do
Coln Rogers	1821	13	.. do
Sheepscombe	1821 only	-	.. may have been Camp Society (see above)
Minchinhampton	1822-24 only	12	

giving a total membership in 1824 of 597.

Between 1824 and 1843 the following societies joined the Circuit:-

Stanley End (Dudbridge)	1828	10	
Little London	1828 only	11	
Backpath (Note B)	1829-30	10	
Machhouse (Note B)	1833	4	
Cockshed (Note B)	1838	11	
Cainscross	1837 only	10	
Callowell	1839-41	5	.. earlier ref.
Poulton	(cf 1788) 1841		1830 on preaching plan

so that the circuit of 1843 consisted of:

<u>Society</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Stroud	138
Littleworth	69

<u>Society</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Brimscombe	43
Bisley	9
Oakridge	42
Chalford	55
Randwick	36
Stanley End	16
Cockshed (B)	5
Tarlton	6
Cirencester	37
Callowell	-
Poulton	8
Total	<u>464</u>

In terms of numbers, the Stroud Circuit appears to have at its zenith around 1824, when it had a total membership of 597. The Circuit was also at its most flexible with new societies forming and merging at regular intervals. The influence of the primitive Methodist movement had still to make itself felt, with the formation of its own churches and circuit.

From 1824, membership numbers slowly declined and the principal changes in the Wesleyan circuits took place with the subsequent amalgamation of circuits and societies.

- Notes
- A Document 5 gives the date as 1794, but this is not confirmed by Circuit records.
 - B The location of these Societies have yet to be determined.

D. MICKLEWRIGHT

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Custodian: Minister, Epworth Lodge, Field Road, Stroud.
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TRANSPORTATION FROM GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1821-1830
CRIMES AND CRIMINALS

Using some of the information gathered during earlier studies on the transportation of criminals from Gloucestershire to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, I have attempted to discover how many were persistent criminals and whether the trivial offences for which some were transported were indeed as trivial as they appeared or were simply the latest in a long list of crimes.

Earlier essays covered the periods between 1788 and 1814, and Easter Quarter Sessions 1815 to Trinity Sessions 1818. The following attempt to categorise crimes and criminals between 1821 and 1830 leaves a gap which there was insufficient time to fill. Indeed the present study is not as full or as comprehensive as one could wish. There has not been time to study the Gloucester Journal of the period to fill in the background to some of the crimes and possibly illuminate the causes. Nor has there been time for background reading to put the whole thing into context. However, the tables and comments which follow, may serve to provide answers to some of the questions which arise.

Not all criminals sentenced to transportation were transported. Some served their sentences in the Hulks - convict ships moored at various ports - others had their sentences commuted to shorter periods of hard labour in the County Gaol.

The convicts under study were those sentenced at Gloucester County Assizes and Quarter Sessions who are listed in the Convict Transportation Lists as having sailed for convict settlements in Australia and Van Diemen's Land. Those sentenced at Gloucester City Assizes, known to have been transported, are not included in this survey nor are those sentenced at the City of Bristol Assizes.

During the ten-year period 1821-1830 five hundred and six men and thirty women were transported from Gloucestershire. Their ages ranged from eleven to sixty years: their crimes from stealing large sums of money to a few handfuls of grain. In order to discover how many were hardened criminals with several convictions, and how many were first offenders, I have analysed the entries in the Gaol Registers of the period.

These registers provide a wealth of information: place of settlement, age, nature of crime, description, ability to read and write, and occupation. As with many such documents, human error has crept in occasionally. For instance, the clerk has noted on one page that two descriptions are transposed. I suspect that this happened on at least one other occasion and possibly more without being noted. Nevertheless the information provided gives a good picture of the enforced emigrants. Such comments as, 'much pitted with the smallpox'; 'good countenance'; 'thigh has been broken and

much lame in consequence'; 'marks of punishment on back'; 'of genteel address', amplify many descriptions. An indication of behaviour in prison, while awaiting trial, is often given. 'Very well', 'orderly', 'indifferent', 'bad', and 'very bad' are the terms used.

The first time a name appears in the register a description is given. On subsequent occasions reference back to the original entry is made. In this way it is possible to determine the number of previous appearances a criminal has made at the Gloucestershire Assizes or Quarter Sessions. This does not, of course, mean that he has not appeared in court elsewhere. However, remarks such as, 'has been in Northleach prison five times', and, 'was 6 months in Hereford gaol some years ago for steling cider', lead one to believe that, unless there are indications otherwise, if a description is given it implies a first offence.

On this basis Table 1 is compiled. It will be seen that out of a total of 432 men and women settled within the county (including Bristol), 239 had no previous conviction, nor had appeared in court before. Eighty-eight had one previous conviction and only ten had more than one conviction.

Of the 89 settled outside the county, some may have appeared in court elsewhere, but with one exception, there is no indication of this in the registers.

Table 2 shows the kinds of crime for which the convicts were transported. Most of the thefts were from dwelling-houses and outbuildings, as might be expected. The value of the goods stolen appears to bear no relation to the length of sentence passed, nor does the seriousness of the crime. The disparity between the crime and the sentence is noticeable throughout the whole period. Inconsistencies abound. Here are some examples:

An Irish labourer killed a constable at Cheltenham. James Maile, a labourer from Redmarley, broke into a house and stole a hat. Both were sentenced to life transportation. As far as is known, James Maile had no previous conviction, nor had he appeared in court before.

James Walkley who stole £720 - the largest single sum stolen during the period covered - was sent to New South Wales for seven years. So, also, was William Bradley for stealing a handkerchief from a house at Aldsworth.

Twenty-three shotgun, 3,000 copper caps and some powder flasks were stolen from a gunsmith's workshop by John Mills. He was committed for trial but escaped. Eventually he was recaptured and sentenced to seven years' transportation. He had made one previous appearance in court on a charge of stealing four casks of wine, but was found not guilty.

George White, a 22 year-old carpenter whose place of settlement was given as Jamaica (a ship's carpenter, perhaps?) and William Rowley, a labourer of Hatfield, Hertfordshire, broke into a house and stole two loaves of bread. They, too, were transported for seven years.

Walter Keefe and Abraham Pullen were sentenced to 14 years' transportation for stealing a leg of mutton worth 2s. 3d. from a butcher. Keefe had served one month in gaol earlier the same year for stealing a pair of shoes from a shoemaker's shop, and Pullen, at the age of thirteen, almost two years earlier had served one month in prison for the theft of two pieces of cheese valued at 9s. 6d. The register stated that they were given sentences of 14 years because they had earlier been convicted on another felony. It is not clear whether this was a separate charge at the same assizes or whether they were being punished for offences for which they had already served one month. Whichever is the case, 14 years for stealing the same leg of mutton seems excessive.

It is difficult to see what criteria were used to determine the length of sentence. Why, for instance, was William Corbett, sentenced to transportation for life for housebreaking with intent to steal, given the same sentence as William Slade, who stole a horse and £50 in gold?

Behaviour in prison while awaiting trial seems to have had no bearing on the matter. Corbett's behaviour was described as orderly, Slade's as indifferent. Nor did age appear to make any difference. Although most of the criminals transported were aged between 18 and 22 years, the youngest of those transported between 1821 and 1830 was eleven years and the eldest was sixty.

The women's crimes varied little - picking pockets, highway robbery, or receiving stolen goods. One woman was charged with stealing a sheep. Her husband and another man were charged with the same offence and it is not clear whether she assisted in the theft or received the sheep once stolen.

Of the 476 men whose occupations are known (Table 3), 246 were labourers. The rest followed a wide variety of trades. Though occupations appeared to have little connection with the crimes committed, of the nine butchers sentenced seven were convicted of stealing sheep, cattle, pigs, ducks and pigeons!

Approximately five-sixths of the total number transported from the County Gaol during the ten years under review were settled within the county. The remainder came from various places in England, Wales and Ireland. Two came from the West Indies. There were none from Scotland.

As in the period 1815-1818, many came from in and around Bristol. About one-fifth of the total number were from the Bristol parishes of St. Philip and St. Jacob, St. Paul's, St. George's, St. Michael's, and from the Bitton, Hanham and Kingswood areas. Thirty-four convicts were settled in Cheltenham. Of these four were Irish. Twenty-three came from Stroud.

Many of those transported had suffered injury of some kind.

William Rowley had been badly burned from elbow to armpit on his right arm and on his back. Another labourer, Henry Baylis, had 'no ear on right side and his mouth drawn to right in consequence'. Henry Wakefield, a painter, who had served thirteen years in the 12th Regiment of Foot had marks of punishment on his back and had lost the little finger of his right hand. A dealer in marine stores, 52 year-old Joseph Smith, had one ear 'withered and useless'. A former soldier in the 1st Regiment of Foot, John Davy alias Hill, had a 'wrist much injured from a ball'.

Many, and not all of them sailors, were tattooed - usually with the kind of designs one expects - mermaids, hearts, anchors, initials, etc. Occasionally there were individual touches such as name and date of birth. Two deserve particular mention. William, a coach smith of Clifton, who was transported for life for housebreaking and stealing a quantity of clothing valued at 10s. Od. bore the legend 'Thou shalt not steal' on his left arm, and William Shemett, a navigator from Yorkshire who had appeared in court twice previously, carried on his left arm the plea, 'O God have mercy on me a sinner'.

Table 4 needs no explanation. It will be seen that less than half the number of those transported could read and write.

Although many questions remain unanswered and much more needs to be done, it would appear on the foregoing evidence that, contrary to expectation, more than half of those transported from Gloucestershire during 1821 to 1830 were first offenders.

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SOURCES

P.R.O., H.O. 11/4-7, Convict transportation lists
Glos. R.O., Q/Gc 5/3, Felons' registers

TABLE 1
PREVIOUS RECORD

<u>MEN Settled in Gloucestershire (inc. Bristol)</u>			
No previous conviction or court appearance	...	...	222
As above but facing more than one charge	...	...	20
No previous conviction but previous court appearance:			
	<u>Verdict:</u>		
...	Not guilty	...	22(1)
...	Not true bill	...	8
...	Discharged by proclamation	...	4
...	Not known	...	10(2)
...	Turned King's Evidence	...	3
...	Others	...	6(3)
One previous conviction	...	...	83
Two previous convictions	...	...	5
Three previous convictions	...	...	2
Several " " "	...	...
(1 in City Gaol & 1 in House of Correction 5 times)			2
One previous conviction and court appearance			
	<u>Verdict:</u>		
	Not guilty	...	5(4)
	Not true bill	...	5
	Discharged by proclamation	...	1
	Not known	...	5
	Others	...	5(5)

MEN Not settled in Gloucestershire

No previous conviction or court appearance	...	...	77
As above but facing more than one charge	...	...	2
No previous conviction but previous court appearance			
	<u>Verdict:</u> Not guilty	...	2
Previous conviction and appearance in court			
	<u>Verdict:</u> Not guilty	...	2

WOMEN Settled in Gloucestershire

No previous conviction or court appearance	...	...	17
As above but facing more than one charge	...	...	1
One previous conviction	...	...	5
Two previous convictions	...	...	1

WOMEN Not settled in Gloucestershire

No previous conviction or court appearance	...	...	5
As above but previous court appearance			
	<u>Verdict:</u> Not guilty	...	1
Previous convictions	...	...	-

There are fifteen men of whom no details are known.

-
- (1) includes 1 not guilty (4) includes 1 not guilty twice
 - (2) includes 2 verdict not known twice
 - (3) includes 1 not guilty and King's Evidence; 1 not guilty and verdict not known; 1 not guilty and Not True Bill; 1 on two charges and previous fine; 1 with 3 appearances - 2 not guilty and 1 discharge by proclamation; 1 previous fine.
 - (5) includes 1 discharged by proclamation and not true bill; 1 with 3 appearances verdict not known; 1 not guilty and not true bill; 1 with 4 appearances - 3 not guilty, 1 not true bill; 1 not guilty and not true bill and also army deserter.

TABLE 2

CRIMES FOR WHICH CONVICTED

MEN

Burglary and stealing money, money and Bible, clothing, food, miscellaneous	9
Breaking and entry and stealing money, jewellery, plate and watches	26
Ditto with other goods	30
cloth	8
clothing	25
clothing and other articles	11
food	6
wines and/or spirits	5
various	11
cheeses	2
Breaking and entry with intent to steal	4
Stealing from dwellinghouse money, plate, jewellery, watches	48
clothing	39
food	13
food and clothing	3
cheeses and large quantities of food	6
wine and spirits	3
various	35
Stealing money etc. from person	8
Stealing guns with other articles	5
horses and/or asses	40
sheep	29
cattle	6
pigs	3
fowls, ducks, pigeons, etc.	10
cloth	18
corn, potatoes, hay	16
metal, lead, copper, etc.	17
timber, trees	12
Killing a constable	1
Gaol breaking and theft or intent to steal	2
Assault to resist arrest	1
Assault and stealing money, watches, etc.	8
Attempted robbery with violence	2
Highway robbery	18
Receiving stolen goods	11
Embezzling money	1
Stealing by fraud money, coal, horse, food, clothing	7
Non-appearance to answer indictment	1

There are 6 men whose crimes are not known

WOMEN

Breaking and entry and stealing sheets, clothing, etc. (with 3 men)	1
Stealing from dwelling house, money, clothing, watches, jewellery etc.	10
Stealing from person, money	5
Stealing from shop, furniture and other goods	1
Aiding and abetting burglary (man)	1
Receiving stolen goods	9
Perjury	1
Stealing sheep (with 2 men)	1
Assault and robbery on highway (with man)	1

TABLE 3
TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

MEN

Awl bladesmaker	1	Nailer	1
Baker	3	Navigator	1
Barber	1	Painter	3
Blacksmith	13	Paper maker	1
Boilermaker	1	Pargeter	1
Brassfounder	2	Plane maker	1
Brazier	1	Plasterer	2
Bricklayer	3	Potter	3
Brickmaker	11	Razor grinder	1
Butcher	9	Ribbon weaver	1
Cabinetmaker	4	Rope maker	1
Carpenter	7	Sadler	1
Carpet Weaver	1	Sailmaker	1
Chairmaker	3	Sailor	8
Clerk/Clerk-traveller	2	Sawyer	3
Cloth dresser/ rower/worker	12	Servant	9
Clothing business	1	Shearer/shearman ...	6
Coachsmith/painter	4	Shoemaker	14
Coalminer/collier	13	Silkweaver	1
Combmaker	1	Smelter	1
Confectioner	1	Spinner	2
Cork cutter	1	Stenciller	1
Dealer in marine stores	1	Stocking weaver	3
Draper	1	Stockworker	2
Edge-tool maker	1	Stone-cutter	1
Furnace fireman	2	Surgeon	1
Gardener	2	Sweep	
Glazier	1	Tailor	
Gunsmith	1	Traveller with hardware/ blacking/caps ...	4
Handle setter	1	Turner and filer	1
Hatter	3	Twinespinner	1
Horse dealer	1	Waterman	6
Labourer	246	Weaver	19
Lemon carrier	1	Whitesmith	2
Licensed hawker	1	Woolsorter	1
Mason/stonemason	9	NOT KNOWN	30
Brushmaker	1		

WOMEN

Burler	1	Servant	2
Clothing business	1	Shoe-binder	1
Dressmaker	1	Shopkeeper	1
Frame-work knitter	1	Stocking weaver	1
Labourer	18	Washerwoman	1
Ribbon weaver	1	Weaver	1

TOTAL 506 men 30 women

TABLE 4

	<u>LITERACY</u>	
	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>
Able to read and write	165	11
Able to read	42	7
Able to read a little	87	8
Able to read and write a little	4	-
Not able to read or write	9	-
Not able to read	120	8
Not known	79	6

POOR LAW SETTLEMENT AND CHELTENHAM'S POPULATION GROWTH
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Like many other towns in England in the early nineteenth century, the population of Cheltenham increased very rapidly. The speed of this increase, especially over the years 1811 to 1841, is perhaps surprising when one remembers that the growth of industry in Cheltenham was relatively insignificant compared with that of many northern towns.

Population Growth in Cheltenham 1801-1851

1801	3076
1800	8325
1821	13396
1831	22942
1841	31411
1851	35051

It is interesting to speculate on the geographical origins of this influx of people, since presumably the population rise cannot be said to result solely from an increase in the birth-rate in the town. An analysis of the places of birth of the inhabitants of Cheltenham in 1851 is possible from existing evidence but such an analysis still awaits the attention of the researcher.

One source of evidence which might provide a few answers to the problem is to be found in the registers of settlement examinations for the Cheltenham petty sessions and parish areas. Several such registers are stored in the County Record Office and cover the years 1815-1826 and 1832-1848 for the petty sessions area and 1831-1848 for the parish. The register of settlement examinations for the Cheltenham petty sessions area 1815-1826 has already been the subject of some study and is now available in printed form(1). In this investigation it was possible to examine material in the printed source and also the original sources for the 1832-1848 period (petty sessions area) and for 1831-1843 (parish area).

Some definition of the scope of the petty sessions area during the period under consideration is relevant here. According to a return made by the clerk to the magistrates in 1834(2), the Cheltenham petty sessional division then consisted of the following: Cheltenham with its hamlets of Alstone, Arle, Westal, Naunton, Sandford; Charlton Kings, Leckhampton, Swindon; Bishops Cleeve with its hamlets of Gotherington, Southam, Stoke Orchard; Woodmancote, Prestbury, Woolstone, Staverton, Uckington.

The object behind the investigation of these records was to find out where the applicants for poor relief had come from before they arrived in Cheltenham. Often in the earlier records, a place of birth was given but very little else. For example the records of examinations of Irish or

Scottish paupers are normally very short and confined to place of birth. Usually there is no indication of how long the applicant had been in England before reaching Cheltenham. In the 1830s the records become somewhat more detailed, and the problem is to discover evidence which unfortunately the magistrate's examination was not necessarily seeking.

'Previous abode' before moving to Cheltenham and 'last legal settlement' are not always the same. In any case the position is further complicated by the fact that means of acquiring a settlement were altered during the period under consideration by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

Nevertheless some conclusions were possible from the evidence, and it was convenient to divide up details of the previous homes of those paupers examined into the following areas:

1. Cheltenham: the town and its immediate environs, including hamlets of Alstone, Arle, Westal, Naunton and Sandford.
2. Up to five miles from Cheltenham: including places like Prestbury, Charlton Kings, Leckhampton and Bishops Cleeve.
3. Between five and fifteen miles from Cheltenham: especially Gloucester and Stroud areas.
4. Rest of Gloucestershire: including places like Dursley and also Bristol.
5. The South-West counties: as far east as Wiltshire, but not including Hampshire.
6. The South Midlands: south of Birmingham and including Oxfordshire.
7. Rest of England.
8. Ireland.
9. Wales.
10. Scotland.
11. Unknown.

The Petty Sessions Area

In addition to the printed source already mentioned, statistics for the petty sessional area were obtained from the register of settlement examinations for the years 1832-1848.

The existence of two registers separated by a gap of six years makes it possible to compare figures for the two periods. A sizeable decrease in the total examinations in the period 1832-1848 compared with the earlier period is reflected in nearly all the geographical divisions as can be seen below. The only exception is the area no more than five miles from Cheltenham from which applicants for relief increase. In his study of the settlement examinations for 1815-1826 Irvine Gray(3) concludes that much of the increase in Cheltenham's population came from the migration of rural workers living relatively close to Cheltenham, and this is confirmed by the statistics for 1832-1848.

As for areas further away from Cheltenham, more people came to Cheltenham from the South Midlands area, especially Worcestershire and Herefordshire, than came from the southern half of Gloucestershire. Presumably the migration in the south of the county tended towards Bristol.

Only about 4% of those examined in the petty sessional area in this period came from Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and nearly all of these appear in the records for 1815-1826.

Previous Homes of Paupers Examined in the Petty Sessional Area

	<u>1815-26</u>	<u>1832-48</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Cheltenham	107	48	155
2. 5 miles of Cheltenham	109	127	236
3. 5-15 miles from Cheltenham	161	74	235
4. Rest of Gloucestershire	38	21	59
5. South-West of England	41	4	45
6. South Midlands	92	14	106
7. Rest of England	57	11	68
8. Ireland	20	1	21
9. Wales	11	0	11
10. Scotland	6	0	6
11. Unknown	4	1	5
<u>Total</u>	646	301	947

The Parish Area

Statistics here were derived from the registers of settlement examinations (Cheltenham parish) for 1831-1837, 1838-1843 and 1843-1848. On the basis of the first two registers, the results have again been split up so as to give some idea of changes during the period considered.

Although the second period is shorter by one year than the earlier period, the total examinations for both are very similar. Areas four, five and six also show this characteristic, with the South Midlands area contributing the highest numbers to Cheltenham's paupers as it did for the petty sessional area.

Previous Homes of Paupers Examined in the Parish Area

	<u>1831-37</u>	<u>1838-43</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Cheltenham	82	100	182
2. 5 miles of Cheltenham	39	62	101
3. 5-15 miles from Cheltenham	94	160	254
4. Rest of Gloucestershire	29	33	62
5. South-West England	34	34	68
6. South Midlands	46	46	92
7. Rest of England	38	44	82
8. Ireland	92	0	92
9. Wales	1	14	15
10. Scotland	26	0	26
11. Unknown	3	0	3
<u>Total</u>	484	483	977

One of the most striking features of these statistics is the rise in the numbers seeking relief from areas close to Cheltenham. Examinations of those living within 5 miles of Cheltenham increased from 8% of the total between 1831-1837 to 13% between 1838 and 1843. Just as marked is the rise in

examinations of those having lived between five and fifteen miles from the town. This increased from 19% of the total between 1831-1837 to 33% between 1838-1843. These details confirm the importance of local migration from rural district to nearest large town as a factor accounting for Cheltenham's growth in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The figures for the rest of England remain relatively stable over the periods concerned in the research. London is the most frequent 'previous abode' of those whose settlements fall into this category and accounts for about half the total. Some of those applying for relief were travellers forced to stop at Cheltenham because their wives were pregnant and about to give birth.

The other interesting point derived from the statistics is the large numbers of Irish and Scottish paupers in the early period. A total of 47 entries with Irish origins (over 38% of the total) are recorded in 1831 together with 17 from Scotland. It is not at all clear what caused this influx. Irvine Gray suggests that they were navvies "attracted by the prospect of work on canal and railway construction"(4), but no major engineering work was being carried out in the Cheltenham area at that time, and in any case many of those applying for relief were women. The brevity of all records connected with Irish or Scottish paupers at this time makes the problem worse, though the majority of Irish paupers appear to have been born in the counties of Cork and Waterford and may have crossed to Bristol before moving north in search of work. Strangely, there are no entries concerning Irish or Scottish paupers in the register for 1838-1843.

Conclusion

The difficulties in interpreting the evidence have already been emphasised, but some suggestions may be put forward regarding the geographical origins of Cheltenham's population increase in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Much of the increase probably came from rural workers coming to Cheltenham in search of more or better work, perhaps in the building trade which of course had to cope with the increase in inhabitants of the town.

Cheltenham Buildings: Figures from the Population Census 1831 & 1841

	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Building</u>	<u>Uninhabited</u>
1831	4013	90	246
1841	5675	139	623

More people came from the South Midlands than from other parts of comparable distance from Cheltenham and London contributed a significant number. The influx of people from Ireland and Scotland should not be exaggerated, though in 1831-1832 they do form an unusually large proportion of the total settlement examination entries for these years.

R.J. RATHBONE

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2. Glos.R.O., Q/CR 22/5
3. I. Gray ed., op.cit., p.xxi 4. I. Gray ed., op.cit., p.xv.

HUNTLEY POOR RELIEF, 1830-1841

The records relating to Huntley include the accounts of the overseers of the poor from 1829. These accounts are very detailed until 1835 when Huntley joined the Westbury on Severn Union. After 1835 the Huntley records are much more brief but the Westbury Union minute books give some further information.

In 1834 major changes were made to the poor law. There was a feeling that too many people were receiving relief and the idea of introducing workhouses as a test of need was accepted.

The general principle was that paupers would be forced to enter the workhouse if they required relief. Short-term relief in such cases as illness was to be given outside the workhouse but this was to be carefully controlled. Parishes could group together to form Unions and build workhouses. Outside relief was to be given in goods rather than money wherever possible.

It was possible from the Huntley records to look at five year periods before and after the Poor Law changes. The change of accounting systems took place in October 1835, half way through the 1835/6 accounting year and so this year has been excluded from the figures used in comparison. It was hoped that by studying the periods 1830-1835 and 1836-1841 the effect of changes of legislation on one parish could be identified.

The overseers were responsible for raising a rate and collecting this from all eligible parishioners. They made a number of regular payments to persons on a weekly basis in addition to ad-hoc relief. It was of interest to all in the parish to keep the level of relief as low as possible so that fewer rates would need to be levied. In Huntley there were usually three rates levied in each year.

The amounts collected during this period were:-

1830	-April 1831	- £157	by three rates
1831	-April 1832	- £210	by four rates
1832	-April 1833	- £157	by three rates
1833	-April 1834	- £231	by five rates
1834	-April 1835	- £164	by three rates

In the 1834 year five rates were needed to raise the sum required. Three rates of 1d. in the £ and two of 6d. in the £ making a total rate of 1s.3d. but still the year ended with a debt by the parish to the overseers.

It is perhaps interesting to look in some detail at the persons who received regular relief throughout this period 1830-35.

Sara Billingham - received relief of 3s. per week.
The 1841 census lists a Sarah Billingham
as Independent living with John Watkins

and his family and then aged sixty. The burial register entry in 1863 mentions Huntley Common and gives an age of eighty-nine.

- Richard Ellis - received relief of 3s. per week. The burial records show him to have been a widower aged ninety-six at the time of his death in 1837.
- Mary Fowle - received 2s.6d. per week until February 1835. The burial register entry for 30 January 1835 lists her as a widow aged ninety-two.
- Jos Collett - received 2s. 6d. per week and there are also entries for lodging Joseph Collett and his wife with payments to Richard Green. Joseph was recorded as aged ninety-one in his burial entry in November 1839.
- Eliz Vaughan - received 2s.0d. per week and according to the 1841 census lived alone on Huntley Hill although she was then shown as aged ninety-five. She was buried in August 1842 and recorded as Elizabeth Vaughan aged ninety-eight.
- Ann James - also received 2s. per week. The burial (shown at one stage as Jaynes) entry in March 1850 states 'resident in Blaisdon' aged ninety-four years'.
- John Fowle - Also received 2s. per week. His burial entry in July 1863 shows him to have been 'resident in Westbury Union - aged 87 years'.
- John Drinkwater - received 2s. and Pheobe Dean received 1s.6d. per week but no further details have come to hand on these two persons.
- Thomas Steel - started receiving payments in 1830 and is shown in the later period as a resident in the Westbury Union Workhouse as an 'aged person'.
- John Parsons - received 1s. per week from 1830.
- Mary Brown - received 2s. per week at the commencement of the period but this ceased on her death. The burial entry of August 1828 shows her to have been a widow aged eighty-one. There are also entries for:-
- | | |
|----------------------------------|------|
| Mary Brown's funeral | 6s. |
| R. Merrett for M. Brown's coffin | 17s. |

Other regular expenditure items are expenses in visiting Newnham and signing rates and charges for letters. It would seem that the magistrate conducted his business at Newnham for visits there were frequent. The constable's bill was paid from the poor rates and also an item marked 'bridge money'. The bridge money varied from £10. 12s. 10d. in

1834/5 to £20. 1s. 8½d. in 1831/2 and in 1829 there is an entry for 1s. for 'taking the Bridge money'. The bridge money would seem to have been a quarterly charge and is the largest single item in any year. It may well include other items otherwise regarded as part of the county rates.

Payments for medical services to Mr. Hollister, Dr. Beadle and Mr. Abbott averaged at an annual cost of £7. A regular payment of £1. 10s. Od. was made for 'Rent of the Poor House'. Until 1834 this was paid to Thomas Marshall and thereafter to Mr. Morse.

A number of cases were the subjects of settlement examinations with varying results as the entries show:-

- Paid turnpike to bring J. Watkins to Littledean 2s.
- Orders of removal and other expenses 10s.
- Paid for orders for Wm. Gwilliam 10s.6d.
- Ann Wilks for lodging Gwilliam 3s.
- Ann Wilks for lodging Gwilliam 3s.

Following an entry in 1832 for 2s. 6d. payment for bringing J. Goode to the parish, 3s. relief was paid. A later entry shows Mr. Abell - one of the medical advisers - was paid £1. 18s. Od. for attending Joseph Goode and a further £1. 12s. 10d. was expended on lodgings, letters and other expenses in 1833.

Entries for ½ bushel of flour 5s. 6d. and lodgings 12s. relate the relief given to Samuel Kerton in 1830 prior to his death. He was aged seventy-eight.

Items paid to 'Lodge at Worcester' terminate in May 1833 thus:-

- Paid for the funeral of T. Lodge at St. Andrews Church Worcester, £1. 14s. Od. Paid the Overseer of Parish of St. Aldgate for the support of The Lodge, his wife and family who were removed by order £2. 10s. Od.
- Doctors bill for the same £2. 14s. 4d.

Regular items were paid to the parish of St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, for R. Hayward and wife and seem to represent relief of 3s. per week throughout the period studied.

Hannah Goode was the subject of expenditure over a period:-

- | | | |
|------------|---|---------|
| Sept. 1832 | Paid Mr. Hail for attending H. Goode | 10s. |
| Aug. 1833 | (Examination of Hannah Goode at Newnham | 1s. |
| Aug. 1833 | (A warrant for apprehension of J. Cowles for bastardy | 2s. 6d. |
| Aug. 1833 | (Paid for a bed cord for H. Goode | 1s. |
| Nov. 1833 | (Mrs. Hail for attending Hannah Goode | 10s. |
| | (Mrs. Drinkwater for shop goods for | |
| | (H. Goode during her lying in month | 16s. |

The baptism register shows an entry for William son of Hannah Goode of Huntley, single woman, on 3rd October 1833.

Feb. 1834	A bedstead for H. Goode	5s.
Mar. 1834	Paid for H. Goode at the Lion	18s.
Apr. 1834	(Coal for H, Goode	12s. 6d.
	(Mr. Uzzell for waiting on	
	(H. Goode	£1. 0s. Od.
	(Mrs. Drinkwater for H. Goode	19s. 1d.

The burial register contains two entries:-

4th April 1834 - William Goode aged six months
 5th May 1834 - Hannah Goode Spinster aged twenty-four.

1835 Paid Mr. Baker for Hannah Goode's coffin £1. 0s. Od.

The accounting year 1835/6 records the changes made due to the Poor Law legislation of 1834. Until October 1835 the old system continued but then the accounts are totalled to date and continue with considerably fewer entries. The new entries include regular payments to the treasurers of the Union for Huntley then joining the Westbury-on-Severn Union. Only such items as county rates, postage and expenses before Magistrates now appear as individual expenses as all others are paid by the Westbury Union.

The Huntley overseer collected the following amounts by rates:-

1836 - April 1837	- £105 by two rates
1837 - April 1838	- £209 by four rates
1838 - April 1839	- £145 by two rates
1839 - April 1840	- £192 by three rates
1840 - April 1841	- £187 by four rates

The minute and account books for the Westbury Union show how the monies paid to them were spent. Huntley paid about £145 each year and if the year 1838/9 is taken as a guide this was spent on the following basis:-

In Maintenance - provisions	£14. 0s. Od.
In Maintenance - clothing	£ 1. 0s. Od.
Establishment charges	£29. 0s. Od.
Out relief	£94. 0s. Od.
Loan interest	£6. 0s. Od.

The number of Huntley persons in the workhouse varied but never exceeded five. In June 1838 there were four:-

Thomas Steel - aged
 Eliz. Stephens - aged
 Charles Watkins - orphan
 Thomas Watkins - orphan

In August 1835 Huntley had paid £6. 0s. Od. to the Taynton workhouse for the board of Chas and Thos Watkins and a further 2s. 8d. for mending their shoes. A later entry shows a further £4. 7s. 8d. paid to Taynton. Presumably they were transferred to Westbury when the Union was formed. In September 1836 only Thomas is listed as an inmate but by December he too had left.

Elizabeth Poyner spent some time in the workhouse prior to her removal:-

1839 - Examination and information of Eliz Poyner with order of removal, duplicates and notices etc. from Huntley to Leigh £1. 1s. 6d.

Expenses incurred in removing Eliz Poyner and child from the Westbury Workhouse to the Leigh 13s.

The Huntley baptism register shows an entry on 1 November 1835 - Eliza daughter of Elizabeth Poyner - single woman.

In 1835 £4. 4s. Od. was paid to the Deaf and Dumb Institution at Edgbaston near Birmingham for the board of Henry Clarke. In August 1836 the board ordered a further £10. 5s. 6d. to be paid and after reading a letter from the Secretary to the General Institution for the instruction of Deaf and Dumb Children, Edgbaston the board ordered that Henry Clarke should be returned from the institution to his parish of Huntley. Henry Clark spent sixteen days in Westbury workhouse and the following is recorded in the board minutes:-

Nov. 1836 - 'Henry Clark a deaf and dumb boy having been removed by the order of this board from the Institution at Edgbaston to Westbury Workhouse resolved that in consideration of the extraordinary care he has received and the progress he has made at such place he should be sent back with the thanks of this board to the Governors and Managers of such an excellent Institution.'

Out relief was clearly the largest item of expenditure in Huntley's case but unfortunately the relieving officer's books have not survived.

The board meeting minutes give us some insight of the day to day working of the Union and occasionally details of some Huntley person. In March 1836 there were fourteen outdoor paupers receiving relief and by September this number had increased to seventeen although the indoor paupers now only numbered two. (Thomas Steel and Thomas Watkins, the first aged and the other orphaned) Throughout 1837 only one pauper was maintained for Huntley indoors and this would appear to have been Thomas Steel.

The board arranged to pay items to other boards where due for Huntley. Chipping Sodbury Union was paid 4s. per week for Robert Morley and family until he was able to work in 1839. Payments were also made to the Newent Union in respect of Richard Jaynes, his wife and two children.

In 1840 the medical officer's certificates were entered in the minutes when relief had been granted. There are a number for Huntley and they give some idea of the circumstances under which relief would be granted.

April 1840 - Thomas Merrett - 38 - Labourer
Reason - Wife's confinement
Period - uncertain
(The baptism register shows Mary Ann
daughter of Thomas and Mary Merrett
born March 29)

April 1840 - Samuel Haynes - 55 -
Reason - Fever

May 1840 - Sarah Ballinger
Wife of Willm. Ballinger - Labourer
Reason - Labour
Notes - The woman is going on very well
but is ver poor.-
Tea 2oz. Sugar 1lb. Oatmeal 1lb.
(The baptism register shows William son of
William and Sarah Ballinger born 2 May 1840)

By this time there were five indoor paupers from Huntley and concern for medical matters was increasing. The boards medical officers requested some additional rooms for the care of the sick. The medical officers were contacted to vaccinate 'all persons in the Union who shall apply' and by July 1841 Abell and Hearne reported thirty-five successful vaccinations from Huntley.

Further medical certificates are entered:-

Nov. 1840 - John Read - Labourer
Reason - Rheumatism
Notes - oatmeal

Martha Bradley - forty-five
- Acuphuld.

July 1841 - Geo. Brooks - thirty-five - Hostler
Reason - Sickness Erysipilus and Typhus Fever
Notes - $\frac{1}{4}$ pint Brandy.

Despite the changed methods of giving relief the amount of money spent does not seem to have decreased during the period studied. Under the old Poor Law arrangements the largest proportion of the money was spent on regular payments to elderly people. A detailed analysis of relief under the new arrangements is not possible due to the lack of relieving officers' books but the minutes show that only one of the elderly persons was admitted to the workhouse. There would appear to have been room for more people than needed accommodation in the early years of the Union and this leaves the question of what became of the remainder of those previously receiving regular relief. Persons living on Huntley Hill form a high percentage of those receiving relief until 1835 and the records that exist for the later period suggest that this situation did not change.

In 1805 there were eighty-six persons paying tithes but by 1841 this had increased to one-hundred and sixty-nine. If one takes this as a guide to the number of persons contributing to poor relief and allows for paupers and other exemptions it can be seen that the amounts paid were

sufficient to induce interest in the use to which the monies were put. Without the relieving officers' books it is not possible to show how individuals were affected but certainly the new Poor Law did not ease the burden of the poor rate for those living within the Huntley parish.

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SOURCES

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