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THE CLOTH TRADE ALONG THE PAINSWICK STREAM FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO 1709

The Painswick stream or Wycke stream, as it was called in earlier times, rises on the hilly land above Cranham and after flowing through that village, it is joined by the Sheepscombe brook before continuing through the main part of Painswick to Kings Mill, where the Washbrook flows into it. Continuing through Pitchcombe, where the Pitchcombe brook joins it, it passes through Rockmill, Salmon's Springs, Stratford Park and joins the river Frome (sometimes called Stroudwater) near the Stroud- Cainscross road (A419).

From the Domesday Book until the late 19th century, the area covered by the manorial and parish records was much larger than this, as Painswick manor included Sheepscombe tithing, Edge tithing, Spoon bed tithing and Stroudend tithing. Stroudend included the land along the Slad brook and all that part of Wickridge Hill, now called Uplands and Beeches Green, which lies between the Slad brook and the Painswick brook and is no longer part of Painswick today.

In doing this research work, I have tried to leave out the Slad brook area and its mills, but it is often not possible to tell in the records the exact locations. Where it is obvious from local names quoted, that a record refers to the Slad area it has been omitted.

At the time of the Doemsday Book in 1086, Painswick was a large and important Manor held by the De Laci family. (It was called Wycke at that time) There is no evidence in the Domesday Book of sheep being kept or cloth being made, but there were four mills in the manor. There is nothing to indicate where the mills were situated and it is generally believed that they were corn mills, (1) but it is interesting that the power of water was already being used, which was to gain so much in importance during the following centuries. During the Middle Ages, when the wool trade of the Cotswolds was at its apex, there is no evidence of it in Painswick.

A document of 1429 mentions a building called New Hall at the corner of the present Bisley Street, (formerly High Street) and New Street, which Baddeley thinks was probably a Cloth-makers' Hall. (2) As this building is on the ancient pack-horse route which went through Bull's Cross over Steanbridge (3) on the Slad brook and continued through Bisley to Cirencester, it is possible that it could have been used for this purpose.

A document of 7 December 1440 (4) gives a list of purchases made by the Steward of the manor, which include some interesting items:

"ij steykys of wollen cloth" the price xd.

"Woollen cloth as commeth iijs and jd to be paid by Mydsomer."

"a scherte and an apryn clothe the price xvjd."

"half a decen of Wyke yeyrne the price xvd."

"ij shurtes price ijs iijd."

"ij yardes di quarter of Redde cloth price the yard vs."

"j li of blewe threed xiijd."

"ij stykkes j quarter of Blakke fustyan."

"iij yardis di grene cloth, price the yerd vis viijd."

"Item to Study's wife in lynyn cloth."

"Item to Thomas Wynor for wollen cloth."

"Item to Walter Berowe iij quarters saten."

"Item for ii brode yardes blanket xxd."

"Item to Henry Dudbrygge on Ester Evyng for Tesylls iis."

In this list we can see that the steward bought, not only woollen cloth dyed red and green, but black fustian, linen cloth, satin, and blanket cloth. In addition there is mentioned Wyke yarn, blue thread, hemp and teasels. We know that during the 15th century the cloth trade in England was expanding rapidly, as the export of wool was declining (5) so it seems reasonable to assume from the above list, that cloth was being made in the Painswick area in 1440. We know of course that in the Middle Ages and for centuries afterwards most women did spinning, so Wyke yarn and blue thread would not be unusual. Hemp seed oil was at one time used in the process of greasing wool, after scouring with stale urine had taken place (6) and teasels were used for raising the nap on cloth after fulling. (in early days in hand frames, but later in gig-mills).

What type of cloth was made is not known, but it seems reasonable to assume that at this period it was largely for local usage and was nothing like the fine broadcloth which was to be produced later in the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries.

The first mention of a clothier in the area is nearly a century later, in 1512, when Henry Loveday is recorded as a clothmaker.(7) In a 1548 manorial roll, a Thomas Loveday is recorded as a miller, but there is nothing to indicate the type of mill. In the same roll I found that William Pounde and John Jakes were recorded as woolcarders, which is interesting because carding was usually done by women, before spinning. It is possible that they may have been makers of hand cards which were wooden frames to which were fixed pieces of leather, with nails inserted in them, which had replaced the short-spiked teasels of earlier days. (8)

There is little information about the 16th century cloth trade which I have been able to discover, but one other man is mentioned as a clothier. In the north aisle of Painswick church you can still see recorded "Here rest the body of James Tocknell, the son of Walter Tocknell, clothier, d. 9th September 1602." No age is stated, but even if the son died very young the father must have been trading in the latter years of the 16th century.

Once we reach the 17th century much more information is available. In 1608 John Smith of Nibley collected the names of men in each parish fit for military service. The list for Painswick shows that by this date the cloth trade was well established. The following names are those taken from his list which relate to this trade. (9)

Clothiers

Edmand Fletcher	clothier	
Thomas Fletcher	clothier	
William Blisse	sonne of Thomas Blisse	clothier
Walter Merrett	clothier	

Total = 4

Under other inhabitants not included in the able-bodied, but charged with finding armour is: Thomas Blisse, clothier, unable in body.

Total 4 + 1 = 5

Weavers

Richard Fletcher	wever	Arthur Hillman	wever
Will'm Westripp	"	Richard Willshire	"
Arthur Kinge	"	Gyles Beard	"
Anthony Norton	"	Richard Watson	"
John Derny	"	Thomas Ellice	"
Richard Aldridge	"	Thomas Whitinge	"
Gyles Carter	"	Thomas Pyffe	"
Henry Aldridge	"	Willm Twyninge	"
Will'm Gybbins	"	Thomas Vaughan	"
Richard Myll	"	John Mylle	"
Thomas Clissold	"	John Scott	"
John Bardle	"	Thomas Knowles	"
John Treherne	"	Will'm Niblet	"
John Mason	"	Court Hooper	"
Walter Peirce	"	Gyles Knowles	"
Richard Bankeknett	"	Robert Harris	"
George Carter	"	Total Weavers = 33	

Tuckers (fullers)

Gyles Wheeler	tucker	John Dier	tucker
John Hamons	"	John Russell, jun	"
Thomas Wood	"	Richard Garbett	"
Samuel Hobson	"	Thomas Wight	"
Robert Nicholls	"	Edward Rickets	"

Total Tuckers = 10

The total number of men quoted by Smith as fit for military service is 160 and of these 47 are engaged in the cloth trade, almost 30%; which indicates that by 1608 the manufacture of cloth had become very important. No women are, of course, mentioned on such a list, but it must be remembered that they would have been engaged in the industry doing the carding and spinning. There were probably also a number of younger boys working as apprentices who are not included. The weavers are not labelled "broadweavers" as occurs at a later date, so we cannot tell on what type of cloth they were working, but the presence of 10 tuckers (fullers) indicates that it was felted cloth and not worsted. It is possible that it was broadcloth but that it was sold in an undyed and unfinished state; the various processes being fully described in the general histories of the West Country cloth industry.

The next item of interest in the Painswick cloth trade concerns Thomas Webb in 1634-5. In December 1634, Henry Ackenbach of London, gentleman, sent in an Affidavit that "Thomas Webb, the elder, of Painswick co. Gloucester on the 27th of November last past, being at Blackwell Hall, in the Cloth Market, offered for sale two Stroudwater reds, not having the mark of the clothier woven in either of them, but contrary to the statute between the forrels, and that Anthony Wither, his Majesty's commissioner for clothing, caused Laomedon Bliss to seize the same cloths as forfeited to his Majesty's use. Bliss having one of the said cloths in his arms to carry away to the King's storehouse, the said Thomas Webb violently took the same away, saying to Wither, in a railing manner that he hoped the curses of the poor would one day root him out and that the marks on the said cloths stood where they ought to stand, where they should stand, and where he would have them stand, neither would he make it otherwise while he lived" (10). Later it seems that the case against Thomas Webb was discontinued and no further answer was ordered. (11) This Thomas Webb is probably the one who is recorded in Painswick church registers as being baptised on 4 June 1598 (son of Walter Webe) (12) His name is also recorded in the subsidy rolls:

$^{116}/_{505}$ 1626. Thomas Webb is assessed at 13s. 4d on £5

$^{116}/_{522}$ 1641. It is 26s. 8d on £5

$^{116}/_{526}$ 1641. It is £1. 12s. on £6 and he is rated higher than any other customary tenants on the list (13)

He made a will in 1642 in which he left considerable charities to Stroud (14) which is understandable as he lived on "de Hill" which is the area on the tip of Wickridge Hill, above Merrywalks in Stroud, where he built or rebuilt a house in 1634 which was occupied by the Webb family until 1816 (15)

You can still see the porch of this house today (1978) but it is very much decayed. You can see the 16-- but not the

34 and only the W of the Webb initials. I have been unable to trace any children of Thomas Webb and I note that Fisher uses the words "his successor" in describing the next Webb to occupy his house so he may not have had any direct descendants, but the family, described as "Webb de Hill" continue to be recorded in Painswick church records until the late 18th century.

During the middle years of the 17th century, there seems to be very little evidence about the cloth trade along the Wycke stream, but the names of clothiers recorded by Bigland from monuments in the Painswick church and churchyard show that the trade was expanding. The following list gives names of clothiers quoted by Bigland who according to the date of death and age given would have been following their trade during the 17th century. I have not recorded those who were working along the Slad brook, where this can be ascertained.

Thomas Winn	(70)	d. 1708
Henry Townsend	(61)	d. 1714
John Webb	(66)	d. 1712
Thomas Webb	(53)	d. 1713
Edmund Webb	(77)	d. 1697
Richard Packer	(80)	d. 1719
Thomas Packer	(30)	d. 1705
Daniel Packer	(67)	d. 1739
Richard Gardiner de Damsells	(73)	d. 1690
Richardus Gardiner de Damsells	(71)	d. 1728
Daniel Gardner		d. 1662
Daniel Gardner	(60)	d. 1712
John Palling	(84)	d. 1726
Edward Palling		d. 1685
Edward Palling	(17)	d. 1698
William Palling	(80)	d. 1757
Edward Palling	(81)	d. 1758
Henry Webb		d. 1689
Edmund Clement		d. 1684
Robert Kent	(45)	d. 1704
Jeremiah Caudwell	(51)	d. 1701-2 (16)

In addition to this list from Bigland some more names of clothiers are given in the Painswick churchyard "Tomb Trail," but no ages are quoted, only the date of death. The following were probably working in the latter part of the 17th century.

John Webb	d. 1736
William Palling	d. 1752
John Edwards	d. 1751
John Harris	d. 1738
Jeremiah Caudwell	d. 1747
Edwin Winchcombe	d. 1739
John Wight	d. 1731
John Packer	d. 1753
Samuel Hopton	d. 1677 (17)

In addition to these names, there are other families who were concerned in the cloth trade such as the Blisses and Lovedays, but as they are not named as clothiers they have not been included. It is however obvious from the lists given that there was great expansion in cloth trading since the time of John Smith's list of 1608.

Another interesting source of names of men concerned in the cloth trade in the Painswick area during the 17th century is the Gloucestershire marriage allegations 1637-1700 (18). These allegations were statements made in applications for marriage licences, so that marriages could take place without the publication of banns.

Names of Persons in Painswick Cloth Trade Recorded in Gloucester Marriage Allegations 1637 - 1700

(All come from Painswick, unless otherwise stated)

1662	June 3	Richard Morgan, weaver, 20 and Deborah Moore, 20. Bdm. William Wattkins, weaver
1662	Nov 29	Thomas Twyning, broadweaver, 30 and Rebecca Greene, w.
1663	Aug 17	Daniell Gardiner, clothworker, 27 and Margery Wood, 27.
1666	Nov 20	Richard Gaye, clothworker, 21 and Mary Payne, St.Mary Load, Gloucester City, 22
1668	Dec 15	John Mynce, clothier, 20 and Beata Partridge, 19, Bdm. Thomas Partridge, clothier
1670/1	Feb 27	Richard Crumpe, clothier, 28 and Mary Derrett, North Nibley, 24.
1671	June 29	Richard Packer, clothier, 30 and Elizabeth Clissold, Pitchcombe, 20.
1672	Dec 19	John Dodwell, clothier, 40 and Anne Chadwell, Stroude, 30
1676	Apr 20	Will. Loveday, clothier, 25 and Ursula Webb, W.
1676	n.d.	Henry Townsend, clothier, 24 and Anne Jayne, Salperton, 30.
1677	Apr 10	John Webb, clothier, 22 and Mary Iles, Minchinhampton, 21.
1678	May 11	Daniel Packer, clothier, 24 and Mary Clissold, Pitchcombe.

1678/9	Feb. 26	Edward Okey, clothier, 30 and Margaret Clements.
1679	May 3	Edward Palling, clothier, 40 and Grace Gardner, 24.
1679/80	Feb. 7	Walter Lawrence, clothier, 23 and Anne Webb, 21.
1680	May 5	Josiah Dorwood, clothier, 28 and Francis Smith, 29.
1680/1	Jan. 1	Robert Cooke, clothier, 27 and Joane Viner, Stroude, 24.
1680/1	Jan. 28	Daniel Foord, clothier, 23 and Martha Gardiner, 22. Bdm. Joseph Foord, (signs Ford), clothier.
1681	Aug. 6	Richard x Gardner, clothier, 28 and Deborah Franklyn, 22.
1681	Nov. 5	Jeremiah Cawdle (signs Codewell), clothier 26 and Dorothy Loveday, 24.
1682	Apr. 4	William Simmonds, clothier, 25, and Margaret Theyer, Brockworth, 24.
1682	May 9	John Cooke, clothier, 23, and Mary Howes, W.
1682	Dec. 12	John Flight, clothworker, 23 and Elizabeth Gardiner, Kings Stahly, 26.
1682/3	Jan. 22	Giles x Harding, clothworker, 24 and Ann Wesbury, W.
1683	Oct. 11	James Fryer, broadweaver, 28 and Elizabeth Brookes, 30.

W = widow x = the person signs with a mark.

Although the marriage allegations cover the period 1637-1700, the earliest Painswick man mentioned who was engaged in the cloth trade was in 1662 and the last mentioned was in 1683. There were other Painswick marriage allegations after this date, but in most cases no occupation was given. In the list above the totals of occupations are:

Clothiers	20
Clothworkers	4
Weavers	4

Marriage by licence rather than banns, was not limited by law to any special social class, but as it was usually more expensive, it was natural that it should be more fashionable and popular among the "higher classes" and this would seem to accound for the totals given here. The number of men quoted as clothiers also confirms, as did the burials, how greatly the cloth trade was increasing during the 17th century.

With regard to the weavers who must have been increasing greatly in numbers as the cloth trade expanded, there is not much evidence, but the apprentices' indentures among the church records

are very interesting. Although the law which gave the overseers of the poor, in every parish the right to bind any poor boys or girls in apprenticeship dates back to 1601, (19) the earliest indentures I found were dated 1668. These indentures were documents whereby the churchwardens and overseers of the poor bound a poor child as apprentice to the age of 24 for boys and 21 for girls, to an employer. The master had to provide the child with living accommodation, meat, drink and all other necessities and teach him a trade; "the art or mystery of a broadweaver" was the commonest in the documents I have seen. At the end of the apprenticeship the master had to provide him with two suits of clothing, one for "holy Days" and another for working days. The apprentices had to serve his master in all lawful business and behave faithfully and obediently towards him. The indentures surviving from 1668 to 1700 totalled 72 and of these 65 were concerned with the cloth trade. Of the employers mentioned in the documents there were:

Broadweavers	59
Gents	2
Clothiers	3
Clothworkers	2
Serge Weaver	1
Husbandman	1
Butcher	1
Not described	3

(1 broadweaver was also described as a serge-weaver)

Of the broadweavers mentioned 41 were in Painswick. The clothiers, cloth workers and serge weaver were also resident in Painswick. Eighteen of the apprentices to broadweavers went to employers outisee Painswick and one who was apprenticed to a clothworker. The places outside Painswick were:

Randwick	Whitminster	Horsley	Rodborough
Miserden	Stroud	Pitchcombe	

It is interesting to note that during the years covered, 1668-1700 (inclusive) a period of 33 years, there were 14 years when no indentures were made. The numbers of years and indentures are as follows:

14 years	with	0	indentures
1 year	with	1	"
5 years	with	2	"
6 years	with	3	"
3 years	with	5	"
1 year	with	16	"

This last year with 16 indentures was 1688: the list of names of all the employers concerned would be too long to quote here but the name of one clothier, Edward Gardner 1677, is of particular interest as will be seen later when dealing with the mills. (20)

There is a little information about occupations in Painswick in the register of baptisms in 1698 and 1699, but as not all the parents have the occupations quoted, it is not possible to form any conclusions upon the evidence. In 1698 there are 53 baptisms recorded and 11 fathers are quoted as being in the cloth trade;

3 Weavers	2 Rugweavers	1 Clothworker
3 Tuckers	1 Broadweaver	1 Clothier

There are also 15 labelled "poor". In 1699, there are 51 baptisms; but only 3 clothiers and 3 weavers are named among the parents but 25 are labelled "poor". In 1700 the parents' trades are not quoted but out of 53 baptisms recorded 27 parents are labelled "poor". It must have been a very bad time for the workers in the cloth trade at the end of the 17th century. (21). It is interesting to note that not all the weavers were making broadcloth as 2 rug-weavers are quoted above, and I found another mentioned in 1688 in the churchwardens' book and also a woolcomber (22).

As wool for broadcloth was carded, not combed, perhaps the woolcomber was providing the yarn for the rug-weavers. One other small point of interest written by the churchwardens in 1689 was that the "Land Tax did the Parish great damage", (23) so Land Taxes may have had some share in the depression which seemed to be going on in Painswick in 1688.

The factor which was probably most important in the expanding cloth trade in the 17th century along the Wycke stream has not yet been mentioned - that is the stream itself - and the power provided by the water for the mills. It has been possible to identify 14 mills along the Wycke stream plus one on its tributary, the Washbrook, as existing before 1700, but that does not prove that others were not in existence; neither is it possible to say that the 15 mentioned were in existence all the time from the first date mentioned to 1700, as in mediaeval times mills were probably built of wood and very small and may have fallen into disuse or been rebuilt several times.

Colleen Haine

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON INDUSTRY IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1608

This article is based on evidence provided by John Smith's Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608, so it is necessary first to consider the value of that evidence.

Men and Armour is a list, compiled by the constables of each manor, under the supervision of the high constable of each hundred, of all those men between 18 and 60 years of age who were considered by the constables to be fit to serve in the armed forces, and who were summoned to musters of the militia held in August and September 1608. At the musters the men were classified into three age groups: 'about twenty', 'about forty', and between fifty and three score' years of age. They were also graded according to physique into four groups: the tallest as fit to be pikemen; the next as musketeers; the third as calivermen; the fourth group as men 'of the meanest stature fit for a pioneer, or of little other use'.

The lists were copied into three large folio volumes by John Smith, estate steward, friend and confidant of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Berkeley, and by his clerk, William Archard. We cannot be certain that no list was lost or mislaid or that Smith and Archard made no mistakes in copying them. There is some evidence that misunderstandings and errors occurred on rare occasions. At the end of most lists of militiamen was added a further list of men who held arms or armour or were charged with the duty of providing them. No such list appears in Men and Armour for the Borough of Twekesbury though such a list must have been made, for the Privy Council, which ordered the musters of 1608, appears to have been more concerned about the armour than about the men. The number of militiamen recorded in the joint entry for Upton St. Leonards, Matson and Saintbridge is very small, only 57, though there were stated to be 324 communicants there in 1603. There were three manors in Upton, so five in all. Did Smith and Archard, by misunderstanding, omit some manors? This was the last entry for the Hundred of Dudstone and Kings Barton - a likely place for misunderstanding to occur. Oddly enough, the list for Shipton Moyne and Dovel, the last entry for Longtree Hundred, also appears suspect: only six militiamen but 120 communicants in 1603. At Kempsford only 35 militiamen are listed although there were 245 communicants in 1603. Kempsford is the last entry for the Hundred of Brightsell's Barrow!

For the whole of Gloucestershire 18,623 men were recorded and comparison with an ecclesiastical survey made in 1603 of the number of communicants in each parish of the Diocese of Gloucester suggests that about 76.06% of all men between 18 and 60 years of age were recorded. A few of the men who were not recorded were exempt from militia service but the great majority were physically unfit (1).

The occupation of most of the men was also recorded for Men and Armour but no occupation was recorded for 1,719 men, 370

men were recorded only as servants to men of unspecified occupation, and 21 more were recorded according to their official position as mayors, constables, etc., and not according to their occupation. The occupation of 16,513 men is therefore recorded: about 68.41 per cent or, roughly, two-thirds of all the men between 18 and 60 years of age.

Of these, however, 1,970 are described only as labourers and not assigned to any specific industry, and a further 691 are described as servants to gentlemen. The latter were almost all in country districts. Some may have been household servants but most were obviously engaged in agricultural or estate work. The labourers cannot easily be assigned to any particular industry; an attempt to do so would involve a study of each individual manor. There is some evidence that whereas in some places labourers were recorded as such, in others they were included amongst those for whom no occupation at all was recorded. For example, for Tewkesbury Borough 83 labourers were recorded and no occupation was given for only 15 men; for Gloucester City only 6 men were classed as labourers but no occupation was given for 60 men. In country districts, where there was no other industry to employ them, the labourers must have been agricultural workers; in areas where there was some alternative heavy industry such as mining, quarrying or ship-building, labourers could, perhaps, be allocated to particular industries in proportion to the number of men known to be employed in each. As most of the men classified as labourers were in country parishes it may reasonably be assumed that most were agricultural labourers. None of the labourers would have been engaged in weaving tailoring, glovemaking or similar light industries.

As previously stated, Men and Armour lists about 77.06 per cent of all men in the county between 18 and 60 years of age. That percentage, however, refers to the county as a whole; the constables who compiled the lists adopted different standards when deciding whether or not a man was fit for military service. For example: in Gloucester City 55.41 per cent of the men selected were in the youngest age group and only 2.81 per cent of the men were between 50 and 60 years of age whereas in the hundred of St. Briavels the corresponding percentages were 23.40 and 8.79. Moreover in St. Briavels Hundred 21.40 per cent of the men were of poor physique, fit only to be pioneers, whereas in Gloucester City only 7.97 per cent of the militiamen were in that category. Similar differences in selection exist between other hundreds and it is apparent that more that 77.06 per cent of men were listed in hundreds such as St. Briavels, less that that percentage in others. Investigation of this aspect of Men and Armour is proceeding but is not yet complete.

In assessing the evidence provided by Men and Armour it must be remembered that a higher proportion of men in the 'about forty' age group would be unfit for military service than in the 'about twenty' age group; a higher proportion still in the '50 to 60' age group. Calculations made suggest that only 24.15 per cent of men in the latter group were selected for service. Furthermore, of course, no men over 60 years of age were included. Thus it is probable that a smaller proportion of men in the employer class such as, for example, yeomen, clothiers, millers, or innkeepers, was recorded.

Some trades such as weaving or tailoring could be performed by cripples and men of very poor physique and a relatively higher proportion of men in these trades would be unfit for service and not recorded.

Furthermore it must be remembered that, in an age when children were set to work as soon as they could perform some simple tasks, boys under 18 years of age constituted a considerable proportion of the workforce. When considering agriculture or the clothing industry it must be borne in mind that whereas it is improbable that any yeomen or clothiers were under 18 years of age many hundreds of farm workers and weavers were. This is very apparent if we consider the broadcloth weavers, 252 of whom are recorded in Men and Armour. Every weaver using a broadloom needed an assistant to return the shuttle, for the loom was wider than the span of his arms, yet only 11 sons and 14 servants were recorded to the 252 men. The other assistants were probably under eighteen years of age. Some broadweavers may have worked in pairs as equal partners but this is unlikely: the loom was in one person's house and he is likely to have been the employer.

Finally it must be remembered that female workers are omitted entirely.

Within these limitations Men and Armour is a unique source of information about the economic life of the county at that time. The following notes do not deal in depth with any industry but illustrate the kind of information which can be obtained.

Agriculture, as might be expected, was by far the most important industry. Of the 16,514 men whose occupation was stated, 6,133 were engaged in agriculture. If we add to that number two-thirds of the 1,970 labourers and 691 servants to gentlemen - which seems a conservative estimate - the number of men employed in agriculture would be 7,907 or 47.89 per cent of the adult male workforce. Most of these were described as yeomen (952) or husbandmen (3,865) or as their sons or servants.

It must be remembered that many more men held small plots of land and were partially engaged in agriculture. Probate inventories of the period show that many craftsmen owned agricultural implements and livestock (2).

Ninety-four shepherds were recorded, almost all of them on the Cotswolds - 49 on the north Cotswolds in Kiftsgate Division, 28 in Cirecester Division. Only one shepherd was recorded in the Forest Division.

Although much farming, particularly by the smaller husbandmen, was carried out for subsistence, there was a surplus to supply the towns and this was sold either in the open markets or to the 'badgers' - dealers in corn and other agricultural produce. Twenty-six badgers were recorded in Men and Armour, most of them in the Severn Vale though there were four at Cowley, two at Brimpsfield and one at Stow-on-the-Wold. The proximity of many of them to the Severn - there were five at Hasfield, three at Apperley, one at Uckington and one at Ashleworth - suggests that they sent corn down the river to Bristol, while the two at

Westerleigh, corn at Wickwar and one at Itchington probably supplied the same market by land.

Agriculture supplied many industries with the necessary raw materials. Milling occupied 184 men distributed fairly evenly throughout the county and including six millwrights and one mill-carpenter. There were four millers in Barnwood and Wotton and another at Hucclecote, probably supplying the Gloucester market.

There were 69 maltmakers in the county employing only three sons and one servant between them. Of these 13 were in Gloucester City. In Kiftsgate Division, where there were 31 maltsters, Tewkesbury with 14, and Cheltenham with 11, were important centres. Of the 23 maltsters in Berkeley Division 21 were in Marshfield, probably supplying the Bristol market. No maltsters were recorded in Cirencester Division and only two in the Forest which suggest that little, if any, of the 23 m grown in those areas could be spared for that purpose.

In comparison with the number of maltsters very few brewers were recorded; brewing in the home or by the ale-house keepers evidently used most of the malt. Only 13 brewers, with three servants, were recorded and nine of these, and the three servants, were in Gloucester city. There was one brewer in Winchcombe, Tewkesbury and Cirencester, and one at Tortworth but he was stated to be a household servant to Sir William Throckmorton.

Sixty innkeepers were recorded. The inns supplied food and lodgings for travellers and in addition to them there were 25 victuallers supplying food but not lodging. The village ale-houses, which cupplied only drink, were evidently kept by 'ale wives', and manorial records reveal the large proportion of woman ale-sellers, or as a part-time occupation by men recorded under a different trade, for only one''ale-seller' was recorded. The innkeepers and victuallers were almost all in the towns but there were some who catered for travellers crossing the Servern or travelling by it. Apart from those at Newnham and Lydney, there were victuallers at Westbury, Aylburton and Ashleworth and an inn at Aust. This inn serves what must have been a busy crossing for there were eight boatmen and a waterman at Aust and probably an equal number of ferrymen on the opposite bank.

Tanning and the preparation of leather gave employment to 159 men: 103 tanners with two sons and 33 servants; 17 curriers with one servant; and two 'tewgorers' - an obscure term which probably means men who 'tawed' or softened leather but could refer to men who extracted linen fibre from flax. The plentiful supply of oak bark made tanning an important industry in the Forest Division where there were 36 tanners with one son and 11 servants, but Gloucester and Tewkesbury, with 12 tanners each, were the principal centres. There were only three tanners in Cirencester Division which suggests that few cattle were raised on the Cotswolds. Most of the 27 tanners in Kiftsgate Division were in the vale, including the 12 at Tewkesbury and 12 in or near Cheltenham.

Shoemaking was widely and evenly distributed throughout the countyl mostly in the market twons but also in some villages.

Tewkesbury, with 28 shoemakers, Gloucester, with four shoemakers and 17 cordwainers, Cirencester, with 20 shoemakers, and Wotton-under-Edge with 18 were the principal centres but there were 13 shoemakers in Cheltenham, 12 in Thornbury, 10 in Marshfield and 8 in Newent.

Glovemaking gave employment to 146 men, mostly in the towns but also in some villages, and fairly evenly distributed throughout the county. Eighteen glovers were recorded in Tewkesbury, 12 in Gloucester, 9 in Winchcombe, 7 in Chipping Sodbury and 6 in Newent and Tetbury. The stitching of gloves was a cottage industry in the earlier years of the present century when the leather was cut by men and distributed by the glovers to women in the surrounding area for stitching. If the same system operated in 1608 it must have given employment to several hundred women and have been particularly welcomed in Kiftsgate Division which had the highest number of glovers, 38, and fewer industries than the rest of the county.

Second only to agriculture in economic importance was the woollen industry which gave employment to 2,615 men, 15.84 per cent of all men whose occupation was stated and 30.38 per cent of all those not engaged in agriculture. As 1,850 of them were weavers, or their servants, and several spinners were required to keep tne weaver supplied with yarn, spinning must have provided employment for several thousand women. Of the weavers 1,554 were classified simply as weavers; 275 as broadweavers, 5 as fustian weavers, and 13 as coverlet weavers, all of whom were in the Forest Division.

The industry was carried on all over the county: there were 286 parishes in Gloucestershire, excluding the eleven in Gloucester City, and weavers were recorded in 161 of these parishes. There were, almost certainly, weavers in many of the remaining parishes who were unfit for military service and consequently not recorded. Weaving could be done by cripples and men of very poor physique. A writer in the Gloucester Journal of 6 March 1739 stated 'The weavers in general are the most feeble, weak and impotent of all the manufacturers'. Consequently a higher than average percentage of them would have been unfit for service. Though not confined to it, the industry was principally concentrated in the Severn vale south of Gloucester and on the edge of the Cotswold escarpment. In the hundreds of Berkely, Longtree and Bisley more men were engaged in the woollen industry than in agriculture, and in Whitstone hundred the numbers were almost equal.

In this area, and in the Forest, the industry was coming under the control of the clothiers. The names of 196 clothiers appear in Men and Armour, approximately one to every nine weavers, though, as previously noted, there would have been many weavers, or their assistants, under militia age and many more unfit for service. Despite these reservations it is apparent that most of the 196 clothiers must have been in a very small way of business though some, like William Clutterbuck of Alkerton, who had ten servants, and John Hollister who was lord of the manor of Stinchcombe, were men of substance.

It might be said that there were two types of woollen industry in Gloucestershire for not one clothier was recorded in the whole of Kiftsgate Division. There may have been a clothier there, too old or physically unfit to be recorded, or the district may have been served by a clothier from a neighbouring county, but the weavers in the north of the county were so scattered - 78 of them divided amongst 34 parishes - that it could hardly have been worth a clothier's time to travel the area. In Tewkesbury there were 8 weavers, in Cheltenham 6, 5 in Winchcombe and Marston Sicca or Long Marston, 4 in Charlton Kings; the remainder were scattered mostly one to a village. There were fullers at Stanway and Stow-on-the-Wold and two at Chipping Campden, and at Tewkesbury a tucker, three dyers and five shearmen. Possibly these men finished and disposed of any cloth surplus to local requirements, but for the most part it is probable that the weavers in the north of the county executed orders and sold directly to individual customers. George Eliot describes such a weaver in Silas Marner written at the much later date of 1861.

Such weavers would have found plenty of customers among the village tailors. If we except agriculture and weaving, tailoring employed more men than any other industry and was the most widely distributed, as shown in the table below of some of the most common occupations.

Occupation	No. of Men (excluding servants)	Distributed in:-	
		Manors (442)	Parishes (286)
Innkeepers	60	38	35
Tanners	103	50	36
Bakers	102	45	44
Glovers	132	49	46
Shoemakers & Cordwainers	316	89	68
Butchers	255	97	82
Carpenters & Joiners	410	201	156
Smiths & Blacksmiths	381	203	158
Weavers (all kinds except silk)	1708	214	161
Tailors	651	247	183

(Gloucester City is counted as one parish)

Tailors were not confined to the towns or even to the larger villages; there were two in such small villages as Down Hatherley, Oxenhall and Ashleworth. Of all men for whom some occupation was recorded, one in every 24 was a tailor. It seems a very high proportion until one remembers that there were no sewing machines; that cotton fabric was almost unknown, silk and linen were only for the well-to-do; hand-stitching of coarse woollen cloth or of leather breeches and jerkins a slow and laborious process. Clothing was comparatively so very expensive that people included it in their wills.

Only 186 men in the county were recorded as being employed in mining, quarrying or charcoal burning but men recorded as labourers may have been employed in these industries making the total number of men engaged in them considerably higher. These industries were almost totally confined to the Forest of Dean and the mining area in the neighbourhood of Bristol.

The 32 miners, with two servants, were all in the Hundred of St Briavels except two at Yate. The Forest miners were engaged in mining ironstone with the exception of one man at Kilcot, near Newent, stated to be a coalminer.

In the Forest were 22 colliers with one son. A collier was one who produced or sold 'coal' and at that time 'coal' usually meant charcoal, mineral coal usually being known as 'sea-coal' because it came to London by sea from Tyneside. Most, if not all, of the Forest colliers were charcoal burners (3). Coal mining was little developed in the Forest. Coal was probably used locally as house fuel but the difficulty of transport, would have made it too expensive for household use further afield. Other evidence suggests that the small Newent coalfield was being first worked from about 1600. The coal-miner at Kilcot may well have sold his coal in Newent.

In the Bristol area were 91 colliers with three sons and one brother. Forty-five of them were in Bitton and Hanham, 25 at Easton - now the Eastville district of Bristol. Some may have been charcoal burners but probably most were coal miners for as early as 1601 Lord Berkeley was ordereng the men of Bitton to fill in coal-pits not still in use (4). Bristol, only a few miles away, provided a large and convenient market for coal mined in the locality and there were five 'coal drivers' in the area - three at Old Sodbury and two at Wick and Abson - who, presumably, transported the coal.

The two colliers at Minchinhampton and the one at Painswick must have been charcoal burners.

Though iron-ore was mined in the Forest most of it was at this time smelted just over the county border in Herefordshire and Monmouthshire. One iron-founder, employing three servants, was recorded at Aylburton and a 'furne' (furnace?) keeper at Ruardean. One 'iron workman' was recorded at English Bicknor.

Enough iron was smelted to supply the numerous smiths and the 39 'nailers' and one apprentice and 14 servants who worked in the Forest. Littledean, with 17 nailers and 8 servants was the principal centre of this industry. There were 23 cutlers in the county, 5 in Gloucester and in Tewkesbury. Wire-drawing employed 6 men in Gloucester, 3 in Newnham and one at Tidenham and at Newent.

Only two quarrymen were recorded, both at Guiting Power, but there were six grindstone hewers and two millstone hewers in the Forest. There were five lime-burners in St Briavels Hundred and three at Wick and Abson, near Bristol. At Westerleigh were four 'wasburners' with two servants. They burnt some kind of ore - perhaps copper.

The building and repair of ships employed 33 men on the Severn below Gloucester and probably some labourers in addition. There were five shipwrights at Minsterworth; three and one servant at Elmore; two with two sons and a servant at Elton; one with two sons and four servants at Eastington, and one at Ruddle, Tidenham, Allaston, Purton, Hagloe and Blakeney. There were also two ships' carpenters at Wtloe and one at Westbury, Woolaston, Aylburton and Arlingham.

Silk-weaving gave employment to 10 men in Gloucester and one in Cheltenham, and felt-making to five men in Tewkesbury, two in Gloucester, one at Newnham and one at Easton.

Space does not permit an account of all the trades or industries: the fullers and dyers, masons and building workers, basket makers, carriers, mercers and drapers, etc., but perhaps special mention should be made of Thomas Crosse of Cirencester, the only man in the county described as a 'loyterer'. The full Oxford English Dictionary gives no other meaning for the word than the commonly accepted one. To give Thomas his due, he attended the muster and was declared to be 'about twenty' years of age and fit to be a caliverman. Happy the county with only one loiterer.

John W. Wyatt

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A SUMMARY OF POPULATION CHANGES IN HUNTLEY 1661 - 1800

Introduction

The research into the population of Huntley which started in 1975, has now reached a point beyond which further study of the period before 1800 would be unprofitable due to limitation of other data. Nevertheless, numerous sources were found during the study. Undoubtedly, other sources do exist, but detailed analysis of what remains could not be justified as the time required to extract the data would be out of proportion to the additional information it would provide. It is also unlikely that it would have any significant effect of the findings already obtained.

Full details of documents consulted have been listed separately. It will be seen that the study has embraced not only the parish records of Huntley, but also some of those of adjacent parishes. Other ecclesiastical records, including poor law records, fiscal returns and estate papers have provided valuable evidence of residence in the parish. The accuracy of these records can sometimes be questioned and problems associated with their use have been discussed in Gloucestershire Historical Studies VIII (1977) (1). Although parish records are available from 1661, there are a number of statistical difficulties in using these earlier records, particularly the period between 1661 and 1679 which is known to be prone to under-registration. Despite some earlier reservations about the accuracy of information, the available data after 1700 does not raise too many causes for concern, but the reader should remember that some figures quoted are based on small samples. Where possible, the results obtained have been compared with other surveys in order to assess the validity of the result obtained. However, a similar result to that found in other areas does not prove the accuracy of the figure found for Huntley.

A considerable volume of information has emerged from the study and space does not permit the publication of all the available data. This paper, therefore, can be little more than a summary of the facts which have emerged, and the reader is, therefore, invited to interpret the tables and graphs included in the appendices.

Earlier essays (2) covered the problems associated with the study, the methods adopted and brief historical notes about the parish. It is comforting to note that estimates made in earlier essays do not need drastic modification, although it will be appreciated that some revision to these earlier figures has been necessary.

Population Growth

The calculation of the estimated population of Huntley covering the period 1551-1801 was discussed in Gloucestershire Historical Studies IX (1978)(3). It is, therefore unnecessary

to repeat all the details here, but for convenience, the important aspects are summarised below. At the turn of the 17th century, the population of Huntley stood at about 210, and consisted of 108 males and 102 females. During the early part of the 18th century, there was a steady increase in the size of the population which was probably helped by immigrants from nearby parishes. By 1721 the population had probably reached 286, its highest figure until the mid 1790s. After 1721 there was a rather sudden reversal of this trend which appears to have resulted in a population of 199 two decades later. It is possible that this decline was the result of a combination of factors, the most significant being a fall in the birth rate, an increase in death rate, and people leaving the village. Having reached the lowest point of the 18th century, a recovery started which resulted in a population in the region of 264 in 1761. The size of the population then remained very stable for the next 30 years after which there was an increase of about 50 people during the last decade of the century.

A summary of the population growth does not in itself tell the full story of the events and factors which were influencing the population. One significant characteristic which will influence growth of any community is the age of the inhabitants. Unfortunately, lack of suitable data prevents any accurate calculation of the age structure. In order to produce population pyramids, it was necessary to assume that a stable population existed. (We shall learn later that this was probably far from the real situation and it must, therefore, be assumed that immigrants were of a similar age and sex to those who left the village). The calculated age structure, based on births and a life expectancy table is illustrated in Appendix A. It will be seen that the pyramid for 1800 clearly illustrates the effect of the increased birth rate after 1781.

Due to the probable effect of migration, it is difficult to estimate the number of people who were married or widowed. The maximum number who were married at any one time cannot have exceeded the sum of the male, or female population, (whichever was less), who were of marriageable age. Taking the average age at marriage as 26 years, and assuming that all people above that age will or have been married, it is possible to estimate from the population pyramids that the proportion of people ever married will have been approximately 38% of the population in 1751, 47% in 1781 and 37% in 1800. The increased ratio in 1781 contributed to the increase in birth rate which, in turn, resulted in a larger proportion of the population being below marriageable age by 1800.

The age structure, marital status and age at marriage would all influence the growth rate of the population. The natural increase (births minus deaths) should, by itself, have resulted in a considerably larger population than can be found in the 1801 census returns, and it would therefore seem probable that migration restricted the overall growth rate.

The percentage growth in Huntley (Appendix B) was found to be significantly different from the national trend which again

suggests that some other factors were influencing the size of the population. A further measure, known as net reproduction rate, which is based on the number of girl babies born to married women, gives an indication of future growth rates; this likewise suggests instability of the population at various times.

Having established apparent changes in the total size of the population, and seen the possibility of migration influencing the growth rate, it is interesting to compare Huntley with the adjacent parishes. On making this comparison (Appendix C) it can be seen that the size of the population in most parishes varied to a greater or lesser extent.

The calculation of these figures is based largely on ecclesiastical returns which may suffer some inaccuracy or bias. It should be noted that this method of presentation can hide the true picture as for example in Huntley between 1721 and 1740. Six of the eight parishes showed a large increase in the last 20 years of the 18th century, but it must be pointed out that all the figures for 1779 were taken from Samuel Budder's (4) estimate which was not as accurate as the first civil census of 1801.

Births and Baptisms

The number of Baptisms recorded in Huntley show fluctuations from one period to another but these can be explained to some extent by the absence of entries in the register. Although it is possible that no baptisms took place in certain years, this is thought to be unlikely and estimates can, therefore, be made where entries are missing. The total number "missing" is probably not significant and, at worst, it is unlikely that the number of missing entries exceeded 60 baptisms over the 140 year period covered by the registers. It should, however, be remembered that not all births result in baptisms.

The number of baptisms over the period from 1660 until 1800 shows a progressive increase (Appendix D). Peak periods were 1701-10; 1751-60 and 1781-90. As mentioned above there was a period of apparent population decline between 1720 and 1740 and lower baptisms during this period would not seem unrealistic. Illegitimacy during this period of population decline was above the average for the total period under study.

After 1781, there was an unusually high baptism rate of 47.5 per thousand. This is probably the result of the suggested increase in the number of people in the 20-39 age group (Appendix A) with the associated increase in the number of couples marrying.

There is a general indication that illegitimacy increased throughout the period showing a steady increase from 3.2% of all baptisms in the decade ending 1680 to a peak of 12.7% between 1781-90. The overall rate of illegitimacy was 6% of all baptisms with the number of illegitimate boys who were baptised double the number of girls! The number of children conceived outside marriage shows an overall percentage of 8.5 (This figure includes the illegitimate births mentioned above)

Crude birth rates are not completely accurate guides to the real change in the level of fertility (5). Unfortunately,

lack of data makes the calculation of fertility rates impossible.

Some local historians have suggested that certain months of the year display higher than average births. It is not possible to establish the interval between birth and baptism so it may be dangerous in noting that most baptisms took place in January, February, March and October. In actual fact there is little to choose between the months in terms of absolute numbers.

The sex ratio of baptisms show a curious picture from 1661 to 1710 during which period was apparently an excess of girls over boys in every decade. (It is usual fo find a ratio of about 105 boys to every 100 girls). After 1710 most decades show a ratio in favour of the male population. High adverse sex ratios usually suggest under-registration (6). However, the small numbers applicable to Huntley will, of course, produce quite wide fluctuations when expressed as percentages. During the analysis of baptisms, it became apparent that about 9% of all recorded baptisms which took place were of children born outside the parish. By far the greatest number (over one third) apparently residing in Taynton with a further third coming from Westbury, Longhope and Churcham. The balance of baptisms was distributed among eleven other parishes. The only explanation which can be offered is the proximity of residence to the church in Huntley.

Marriage

An analysis of marriages in Huntley illustrates the extent of population movement between parishes. It appears more likely that the bride would marry in her own parish than in the parish of the bridegroom. Between 1681 and 1751 there was a tendency for couples from outside the parish to marry in Huntley although after the Hardwick Marriage Act of 1753 this practice ceased.

As with other calculated rates, the crude rate for marriages shows fluctuations throughout the period. A rate somewhere in the region of 8 per thousand can probably be considered typical for any population, and although the number of marriages does vary the overall rate was 7.1 per thousand and is probably not unrealistic for a small population.

The age at which people marry is an important factor influencing the future growth of populations. The lower the age at marriage the greater the likelihood of high birth rates and larger families. Lack of data restricted the number of people who could be included in the analysis and it was surprising to find more data available for the 17th century than for the 18th. Bearing in mind the small numbers included in the analysis, it is possible that the most popular age for marriage between 1661 and 1700 was 24 years for men and 21 for women with the arithmetic mean a little above these figures at 25.9 and 24.8 respectively. Between 1701 and 1750 there was a tendency for both men and women to marry later at about 29. The latter half of the 18th century saw a generally lower average age at marriage for men, although the popular age for marriage was still high at 28 years.

By comparing the marriage and baptism registers it is possible to deduce that nearly 20% of all brides were pregnant at the time of marriage. In order to arrive at this figure, it is necessary to exclude those women who left the village after the wedding; the figure obtained may therefore be a little high.

The age at marriage will influence the duration of the marriage and one would, therefore, expect that the period would be longer for those married between 1661 and 1700. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that marriages during this period lasted on average 21 years, with a record 59 years in one case. With later marriages during the 18th century the duration of marriage was correspondingly shorter at about 17 years. The latter half of the 18th century has been ignored because of the larger number of uncompleted marriages which may have distorted the result. No analysis has been made of how many widows and widowers re-marry, but it is known that one marriage in ten involved a widow or widower.

Family and Social Structure

The number of children resulting from marriages showed a slight decline up to 1750 because of later marriage, although the decline is not significant. Because of a greater likelihood of uncompleted periods of marriage, it was felt desireable to exclude any analysis for later periods. Couples who married between 1661 and 1700 and who had completed their families while still resident in Huntley had an average 2.7 children while those marrying between 1701 and 1750 had 2.57 children. The interval between births shows a tendency to increase after the birth of the first child and although the interval between marriage and baptism of the first child was about 15 months, during the second half of the 17th century, the period before the second child was baptised was found to have been 42 months; a further 37 months elapsed before the third child was baptised. These periods seem to be unexpectedly long but it should be remembered that date of baptism may not resemble the date of birth. During the period 1700 to 1749, the baptism interval between marriage and the first three children was respectively seventeen months, twenty-six months and thirty months, with the last half of the 18th century displaying intervals of fifteen months, thirty months and thirty-six months.

The average size of a family in Huntley (whether complete or not) during the second half of the 17th century was 4.83 people. Although the number of families increased during the 18th century, the average family size was found to be smaller at about 4.40 people. A few families were found to be quite large by present day standards, but in the period up until 1750 only 25% of families consisted of more than four children while the analysis for later periods shows that only 14% of families had more than four children. However, the latter figure is influenced by the increased marriage rate towards the end of the 18th century where the sample would have included a higher proportion of young married couples who had not completed their families.

The size of the average household, which would include any aged parents living as part of the family unit, showed an increase and was probably the result of a housing shortage as the relative

increase in population was greater than the increase in housing. In 1676 the average household consisted of 3.87 people (7). By 1717 this figure had increased to 5.37 (8), and while during the population decline the situation probably improved, the figure was still found to be about five people by 1776 (9), despite an increase in available houses. During the next 25 years, available houses increased in the same ratio as the population so that although there was no improvement in the general situation, increased housing did prevent things getting worse.

Migration

It would be easy to explain any variation in the statistics by assuming they resulted from migratory movement of the population. While there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that migration did take place on a relatively large scale, the total picture is inconclusive. Perhaps the strongest indication can be obtained by comparing the marriage register with the baptism and burial registers. On the assumption that lack of evidence of the baptism of any children or the death of either husband or wife gives an indication of emigration, it is possible to estimate that 60% of couples who married probably left the village shortly after marrying. This analysis also indicates that 28% of people from outside the village, who married in Huntley, settled in the parish after the wedding. It also appears that over the period 1661 to 1800 there was a net loss due to migration of 41 men and 101 women. This may not appear to be a significant fact but these figures do represent an average of 3% of the men and nearly 8% of the women leaving the village for reasons associated with marriage each decade.

During the 110 years up until 1770 there were 717 baptisms in the village of whom 23% subsequently died unmarried, leaving a potential 554 people who might be expected to marry in the village if no migration took place. In actual fact only 12% of these married in the village.

The tendency for people to leave the village seems to have become more common after about 1730. This might not be unexpected with the growth of industry but as mentioned above it is virtually impossible to prove that migration did take place. Migration was certainly not a one-way process in Huntley. At any point in time nearly 15% of men and a little over 19% of women were likely to have moved into the village within the preceding ten year period. During the next ten year period 23% of men and 28% of women would leave. This trend prevented any large scale growth in population which may have resulted from the excess of births over deaths.

Mortality

The burial rate curiously fluctuated for alternate decades while displaying an overall downward trend. The highest burial rate of 33.2 per thousand is found between 1701 and 1710 during which period Gloucestershire experienced a number of severe winters (10). An analysis by month of the burials does not show any real change in the general pattern or seasonal variations and as no documentary evidence can be found to connect deaths with these

conditions or any other factors. The reasons for this increased rate must remain a mystery. There was another period of high burial rate between 1721-30 which presumably made its contribution to the population decline at that time.

The very low number of deaths between 1731 and 1740 and again between 1761 and 1770 cannot be explained by documentary evidence. There is reason to believe that there may have been some under-registration of burials as the number of burials which can be predicted from life-tables which have been constructed, is in excess of the actual. The life-tables were, of course, based on an assumed stable population and do not, therefore, take account of migration which could influence the final result.

However, taking the predicted rate of burials from the life-tables, the burial rates appear more like the rates calculated by Deanne and Cole (11) so it would seem reasonable to assume that there was some under-registration furing this period.

Infant mortality can be calculated by two methods either as a proportion of baptisms or as a proportion of burials. Although the absolute figures are small and any ratio calculated tends to exaggerate the rate of change, infant burials do, nevertheless, represent quite a high proportion of all burials. The highest periods are found between 1741 and 1750 when over 23% of burials were infants and between 1761 and 1770 when the figure was again high at 22%. During the period 1741-50 the high rate of infant mortality represented 15% of all baptisms. A similar percentage can also be found for 1721-30.

Lack of information in the parish registers makes it difficult to calculate the average age at death or life expectancy as only 32% of females and 51% of males have any indication of age at burial. Due to the small numbers, it has been necessary to generalise for the whole of the period under study which is not the most satisfactory solution. The life tables, for example, show the average age at death to be 38 for men and 32 for women if infant burials are excluded from the calculation.

The sex ratio of burials fluctuates considerably from one decade to another with extremes at certain periods, 1731-40 being one case where the ratio was found to be 231 males to 100 females. Extremes such as these do tend to suggest under-registration, but the overall ratio for the whole period is the same as baptisms at 102 males to 100 females, which is the figure one could reasonably expect.

There are a number of burials in the parish of non-parishioners; the highest number being tramps. Most of the other burials in this category are of people from adjacent parishes, and may have resulted from the proximity of residence to Huntley parish church as suggested for baptisms.

Conclusions

The most interesting fact to emerge from the study is the apparent high rates of migration which took place. Although not proven every record consulted indicates that people did leave the village in fairly large numbers, while other people moved in from adjacent parishes, and sometimes from further afield. The strongest indication is obtained from the baptism register. Even with the possibility of under-registration, it is unlikely that 88% of people baptised were subsequently omitted from the marriage registers. The study shows that women were more likely to marry in their own parish than men, so even assuming that all men married outside the parish, it is extremely unlikely that under-registration would be anywhere near the remaining 40%.

The net increase in population which one expects from the examination of the baptism and burial registers did not materialise. Again, it is unlikely that so many people escaped mention in the parish registers.

Perhaps we should ask why people left the village. Here further difficulties are encountered. Although the number of houses did not show any real increase, it is difficult to say whether this was the result of limited demand because people were emigrating or whether shortage of houses forced people to emigrate. It is tempting to suggest the latter because the average size of households increased from 3.87 to 5.37 and, thereafter, remained stable. It was at this latter point that there was a greater tendency for people to leave the village. It has proved extremely difficult to obtain enough information about the age structure of the population. This factor has a significant impact on the structure and subsequent characteristics of the population, the most important is probably the rate of growth. It has been demonstrated that the overall net increase was about 50% while the actual growth could have been much higher. Although it has been suggested that there was a tendency for later marriage in the 18th century, (thereby limiting growth), the baptism and net reproduction rate do not always confirm this picture. Despite the increase in population, the average family size was smaller than expected. Chambers (12) noted that poor families were often small and some writers also suggest that later marriage is often an indication of relative poverty within a parish.

Illegitimacy apparently increased, but this may have been the earlier result of reluctance of the rector to baptise these children while on the other hand it may have been associated with the tendency of later marriage. Whatever the cause, it is difficult to explain why there should have been twice as many illegitimate boys than girls.

The overall picture is, therefore, far from clear. Many factors exist which can be interpreted in a number of ways. Limitations in the data have forced the use of estimates, sometimes based on samples which, from a statistical point of view were too small to guarantee any significant level of confidence.

However, in most cases the picture presented is believed to be an accurate summary of the situation which existed. The result of the study can, therefore, be taken as a general guide to the population in Huntley.

J.A. Eastwood

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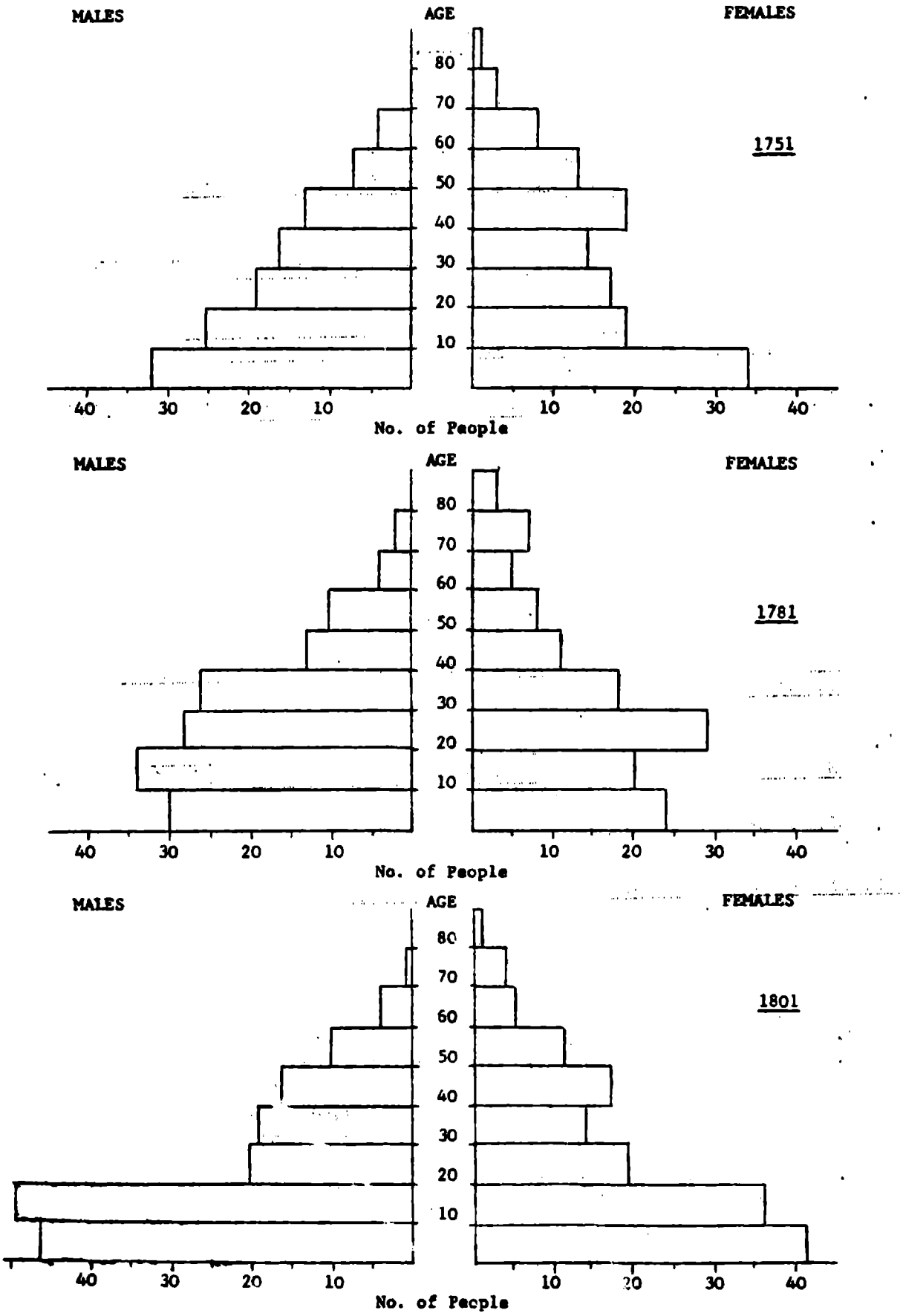
POPULATION PYRAMIDS 1751, 1781, and 1801



POPULATION GROWTH - 1661 - 1800

DECADE	% GROWTH P.A.		HUNTLEY
	NATIONAL	HUNTLEY	N.R.R.
1671-80		-	0.74
1681-90			1.03
1691-1700	1.2*	0.7	1.26
1701-10	0.3	1.4	1.29
1711-20	0.1	1.9	0.67
1721-30	0.1	(1.5)	0.49
1731-40	0.2	(1.8)	0.76
1741-50	0.4	2.3	1.37
1751-60	0.4	0.8	1.07
1761-70	0.6	0.1	0.70
1771-80	0.5		0.71
1781-90	1.1	(0.1)	1.36
1791-1800	1.1	1.9	1.40

NOTES: ( ) = Population decline.

N.R.R. = Net Reproduction Rate.

National Growth Rate taken from various sources quoted by Neil Tranter in Population Since The Industrial Revolution, the case of England and Wales (1973) Page 41.

1695 - 1700

APPENDIX C

RELATIVE POPULATION CHANGE IN ADJACENT PARISHES

PARISH	POP. EST. 1551.	POPULATION RELATIVE TO - 1551						CENSUS 1801
		1603	1650	1676	1712	1779	1801	
HUNTLEY	200	126	113	95	119	134	157	313
BLAISDON	166	100	109	126	126	83	91	152
CHURCHAM	565	87	63	83	60	55	58	327
LONGHOPE	220	112	152	139	170	158	214	470
NEWENT	1190	77	114	132	93	131	198	2354
TAYNTON	235	43	164	111	69	110	161	378
TIBBERTON	134	60	122	124	112	172	190	254
WESTBURY	1164	128	116	114	102	112	142	1651

1551 = 100

The above table shows the relative change in population size using 1551 as base equal to 100. A figure of 134 as shown for Huntley in 1779 indicates a growth of 34% while 95 shown for 1676 indicates a population 95% of the level found for 1551 viz. 190.

BAPTISMS BY LEGITIMACY IN HUNTLEY - 1661 - 1800

DECADE	ILLEGIT-IMATE BIRTHS	LEGIT-IMATE BIRTHS	TOTAL	ILLEGIT-IMATE AS % OF TOTAL
1661-70	-	43	43	-
1671-80	1	30	31	3.2
1681-90	2	60	62	3.2
1691-1700	1	69	70	1.4
1701-10	-	80	80	-
1711-20	3	60	63	4.8
1721-30	4	55	59	6.8
1731-40	4	59	63	6.3
1741-50	4	79	83	4.8
1751-60	6	87	93	6.4
1761-70	6	64	70	8.6
1771-80	7	59	66	10.6
1781-90	16	110	126	12.7
1791-1800	10	106	116	8.6
TOTAL:	64	961	1025	6.2
AVERAGE:	4.57	68.64	73.21	

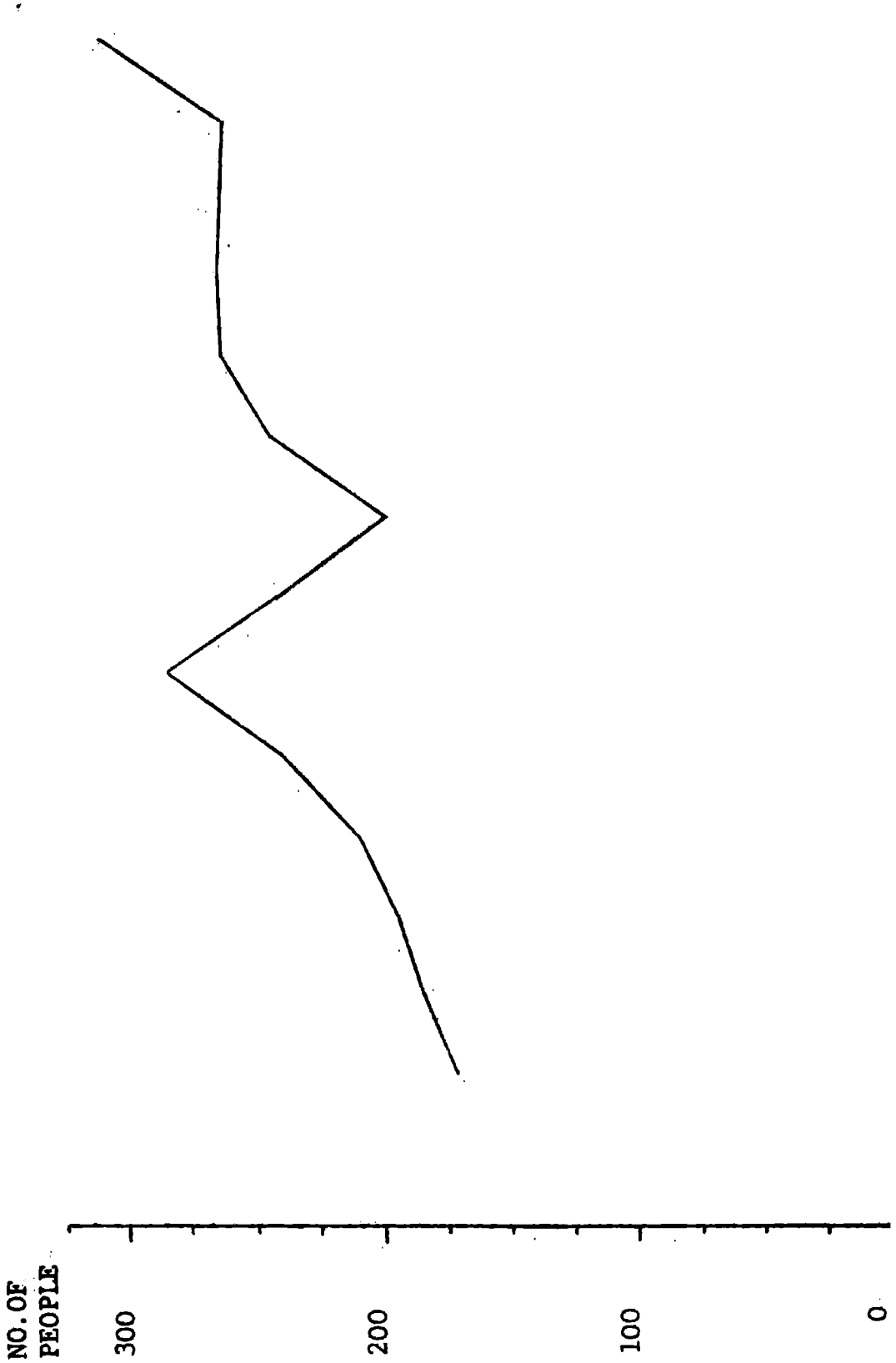
APPENDIX E

ANALYSIS OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES AND BURIALS IN HUNTLEY - 1661 - 1800

DECADE	RECORDED BAPTISMS			MARRIAGES OF PARISHIONERS			RECORDED BURIALS		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1661-70	18	25	43	16	20	36	22	28	50
1671-80	14	17	31	3	5	8	12	14	26
1681-90	30	32	62	10	14	24	32	29	61
1691-1700	31	39	70	10	11	21	22	25	47
1701-10	36	44	80	6	10	16	33	31	64
1711-20	35	28	63	20	23	43	28	29	57
1721-30	35	24	59	18	23	41	44	46	90
1731-40	35	28	63	2	10	12	30	13	43
1741-50	42	41	83	12	13	25	29	27	56
1751-60	45	48	93	8	11	19	22	23	45
1761-70	39	31	70	13	18	31	20	25	45
1771-80	34	32	66	15	24	39	28	18	46
1781-90	66	60	126	20	22	42	22	37	59
1791-1800	57	59	116	13	20	33	29	23	52
TOTAL:	517	508	1025	166	224	390	373	368	741
AVERAGE:	36.9	36.3	73.2	11.9	16.0	27.9	26.6	26.3	52.9

M = MALES
F = FEMALES
T = TOTAL

ESTIMATED POPULATION IN HUNTLEY
1671 - 1801



Reprinted from: Gloucestershire Historical Studies, Volume 10, 1979, pages 35-41

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CORRESPONDENCE FROM WESTON BIRT

From the 17th century the manor of Weston Birt, a small village near Tetbury, was held by the Holford family. In these early years they were for the most part absent landlords who also owned land in Avebury. Although the letters as a whole, and there are over 600 of them, cover the period roughly from 1661 to 1742 I have had time only to look at a small part of them mostly dated in 1709 and 1710 although this period was a prolific one whilst in other years letters are few. At this time the lord of the manor was Sir Richard Holford who was a Master in Chancery and almost all the letters are addressed to him at his house in London. He had acquired the estate by his marriage to Sarah Crewe. At his death his son by another marriage, Robert, who also became a Master in Chancery, inherited. The letters also include copies of Richard Holford's replies. Most of them are of little value to historians generally as they mostly concern, as one would expect, purely village matters and petty squabbles in particular. They do give some insight into the character of some of the inhabitants and very occasionally reflect national events such as the Great Storm of 1702.

Two of Holford's principal correspondents were Francis Goodenough of Sherston and John Drew. The former seems to have been a person of some substance who acted as Holfords agent. John Drew was poor but a prolific writer who kept Sir Richard in touch with all that was going on in his manor and losing no opportunity to present himself as a dutiful god-fearing man looking after Holford's interests and the other villagers as men who were responsible for the damage to his trees, hedges, and so on.

The rectors of the village seem to have been a source of trouble at several times. According to a letter from Holford to the Bishop of Gloucester (12 Dec 1702) one Broadhurst had 'proved a very troublesome and unhappy man'. He had gone as chaplain on a man-of-war and sailed with the fleet to Cadiz and Vigo. On return he had come ashore at Portsmouth and there died and so '... that small rectory (about £50) is now vacant'. His affairs surface again in the letters about 8 years later. Mr. Broadhurst had left a number of debts and a letter of 13 September 1710 explains that his creditors are pressing his widow for £87 still due and Richard himself expects to be reimbursed for dilapidations to the parsonage which Broadhurst had allowed to go to rack and ruin.

More trouble broke out in 1710 when a Mr John Jackson was Rector. He lived at Dursley but a Mr Millechamp was curate. Jackson had decided to get rid of his curate ostensibly on the grounds that his new curate would live at Dursley leaving Jackson free to visit Weston Birt more often. The villagers however seem to have had a genuine liking for Millechamp and suspected that the real motive was that as the new curate-to-be was very young he would cost Jackson less. On 13 March 1709/10 the villagers

send Sir Richard a petition.

> 'We your humble servants and Inhabitants in your parish of Weston Birt humbly entreat your Worship to continue Mr Millechamp to be our Curate under whose ministry we are extraordinarily well pleased and our Church and Congregation is as full if not much fuller than formerly. We are very unwilling to be scattered abroad again and think it extremely hard that our minister that lives now ... near us and never neglected his Duty since he came should be put off and we supply'd by a very young man that is to live constantly at Dursley ....'

There are othe r letters on Millechamp's behalf including, naturally, one from himself. On the following day John Drew writes that Jackson had ordered the clerk, Ambrose Ball, not to ring the bell for the old curate nor to open the door to him. The churchwarden told the clerk that if he persisted in his refusal to open the door and allow the people into the church they would break down the door and enter by force. Drew himself claims the credit for persuading Ambrose to hand over the key. The rector's own letter asks Holford to write to the Bishop for '.... Mr Millechamp is a man wholly given up to his own interest which makes him so troublesome in this matter therefore I think unfit to stay where he is.' We know from other letters that Holford was very desirous of having a 'resident' minister who would always be on hand to care for his tiny flock and on several occasions he expresses disappointment in Jackson. On 7 October 1710 Jackson writes to tell Holford that the Fellows of Eton College have signed his presentation to the living of Hullavington and requests Holford to signify his assent to the Bishop of Salisbury. Holford quickly replies. Most of his letter concerns the tenancy of his farm but he adds:

> ' ... when you accepted that small benefice (i.e. Westonbirt) I very well knew how requisite the having a good man there to put the poor Wretches in Mind of their Duty to God, towards each other, & how very kind you might have been therein to me and them by y^{r} constant residence but foresaw that y^{r} merit would quickly call you to better preferment & I do now find the inconvenience I then foresaw.'

Writing to Dame Andrews, a tenant, in December 1713 Sir Richard says:

> 'I am afraid Mr Jackson by reason of the bad ways and weather & the short days & lack of health spends but little time at Weston Birt which is a great trouble to me and a very great disappointment.'

Another villager who gave Holford much trouble was Issac Humphries or Humfrys who was the tenant of his farm. He and Drew seem to have been bitter enemies. In May 1709 Drew complains that the farmer will not allow Drew's kinswoman to live in Weston Birt even though she has a certificate from Horsley where her husband is settled. Drew can only assume the motive is malice. A further complaint is that Humphries does not

give enough work to the other villagers but employs strangers. Drew says that in spite of a letter from Sir Richard asking him to be neighbourly not one man in the parish has had a days work out of him. Isaac's reply to Holford says he does not fail to employ his neighbours 'whilst they behave themselves' but declares he is not bound to keep them against his own interest.

Over a period of over a year from November 1709 many of the letters concern the tenancy of the farm. Sir Richard wants to increase the rent and tells Humphries that if he wishes to renew the lease he must pay another £20 a year, but the farmer is hard to pin down to a clear reply. Writing to John Drew Holford says of the farmer:

> ' .... I gave him time to consider of it and to give me his Answer which he hath not yet done & therefore I am free to treat with your friend & not to wait on a Wilful Stubborn Man.'

The friend referred to was a man put forward by Drew as being a prospective tenant but this particular deal fell through. In December 1709 Holford reminds Hemphries that the lease is expiring and complains of his rudeness, non-payment of rent, and the hitchins. These last seem to have been small enclosures in the corners of the fields and Humphries had apparently made several even though the lease strictly forbade or limited the number, Holford adds:

> ' you told me I was governed and misinformed by John Drew but you are very foolish to accuse me in such a manner for I do not love to be governed but by truth and reason and what I do know and see ... '.

In January 1709/10 Drew is telling Holford that Jackson has preached only one Sunday since Sir Richard's visit at Michaelmas but Mr. Millechamp served the Church every Sunday and is 'esteemed a Son of Thunder'. Drew is concerned for the right way of doing things - when he takes over a tenement he complains about the 20 shillings he has to pay for his Copy and adds:

> 'I think it is very dear for a Copy so barefaced as mine is for it is not done as it ought to be done for it ought to be delivered in Court in the presence of the Homage.'

Jackson's feelings about his parish and John Drew are hinted at in a letter of his dated 13 February 1709/10:

> 'I am now at Weston Birt where I preached yesterday & find the poor as full of complaints & stubborness as ever.'
>
> ' ... Yr correspondent John Drew is in a very poor low condition & sinks in everything but his own good opinion of himself which indeed is the epidemical distemper of Weston Birt.'

In the same letter he reports the death of one of his flock but the rector's concern (or satisfaction) is for the parish money-bags:

'old blind Hiller is dead by which means our payments are lessened something though there are others ready to step in his place for Alms whom we keep off as long as we can. ..'

A week later Drew is writing on behalf of the dead man's widow and asks Holford to intercede with the minister, churchwarden, and overseers:

' .... (she) have lived already in this world about 90 years is also a cripple one of her eyes the sight of it she hath lost and the other is very dim...'

On the 6 March 1709/10 Drew is again complaining about Farmer Humphries and charges him with bad husbandry. For example:

' ... the poor timber trees ... and hedgerows have had as much reason to weep and cry as ever the Kings of the Earth had to cry out before Alexander the Great for deliverance for they had had very little rest since the first time that William Humfrys (Isaacs dying father) took the farm of your Worship.'

The farmers family seem to have had apartments in the manor house and in this same letter Drew goes on:

' ... Isaac's wife do say that your great house at Weston Birt is greatly troubled with several sorts of noises in the night season for any time this two or three years past .... and another voice like to the voice of a child is there heard to cry in the night very often towards the hall when the family be all in bed and other voices are heard in the night very bad as knockings of several kinds ... which have caused her to be greatly troubled .....'

Richard Holford's assessment of Drew is hinted at in a letter to Francis Goodenough of 12 April 1710

' ..... If you could see John Drew's elaborate epistles and did not know the man I am persuaded you would think him a man of great integrity, a valuable frien and a knowing husbandman and as such I treat him & though he prides himself to work for me yet he labours for himself & hath assurance enough to expect, nay to demand (in an humble honest manner) an acknowledgement for his industry and considering his condition and my circumstances I must gratify him.'

On 6 September 1710 Sir Richard comes again to Weston Birt. He sees Isaac Humphries the same day but the latter was 'unmannerly and foulmouthed' and they parted 'pretty rough'. On Sunday 10 September the Beverstone singers came in the forenoon and the Tetbury and Shipton men in the afternoon. 'I made them all drink for their psalms and anthems. During his stay he is introduced to a Nathaniel Wells who is a prospective tenant for his farm. From September 1708 to October 1710 the Great Seal was "in commission" and after his return from Weston Birt Holford complains to Goodenough that business is slack:

' .... Our Chancery Trade is totally becalmed until the Seal shall be disposed of which we hope will quickly be but how or to whom is yet a secret in Chancery Lane.'

He did not have long to wait for in October Sir Simon Harcourt became Lord Chancellor. In his reply Goodenough remarks that Wells 'is as errant a contentious K as any in the country ...' (K for Knave?), and gives several instances of his misdeeds. Holford must by now be getting weary of all the haggling over the tenancy for on 2 November 1710 he is writing to Goodenough to the effect that a bad tenant is better than no tenant and he is thinking of allowing Isaac to continue for his present rent but without hitchins or inclosures. But almost immediately Drew has found another man - Robert Andrews of Tressham a 'laborious, honest, quiet man'. Holford replies expressing interest and outlining the terms telling Drew he will want Andrew's proposals in writing so that he could consider them further - after all, all Drew's previous attempts at finding tenants had foundered. He was outraged and astounded to receive Drew's reply which consisted of a covering letter and what Holford had labelled 'John Drew's Pretended Agreement with Robert Andrews'. It begins portentiously with the words.

'I John Drew of Weston Birt in the County of Gloucester husbandman have as Agent to Sir Richard Holford ....'

There follows the terms of a lease bearing the signatures of Drew, Andrews, and two witnesses. In the covering letter Drew asks Sir Richard to ratify what has been done in his name.

Holford writes to Drew a lengthy and angry letter denying that he had ever intended to give him such powers. He also writes to Francis Goodenough and other gentry to seek information about Andrews. The replies were mixed and cannot have given him much comfort. Most are agreed that Andrews is behind with his rent in his present bargain and one goes so far as to say:

' ... that when any of his neighbours cattle chance to break on to his ground he will destroy them as or his scnes (who are of the same temper) did .... (to some sheep) ... by cutting them off in the middle with a hedge bill.'

However on 24 December 1710 Sir Richard writes to Drew accepting Andrews as a tenant apparently persuaded by the fact that Andrews will be helped by his son and so will have less outgoings on labour. On February 16 1710/11 Drew is writing his last letter:

' ... Your little nursery hedge in Lamas Hay is all every stick of it plucked up and carried away by wicked people, your trees and wood are very much cut and abused by the people of Parish this season

..... I have done to the very uttermost of my power for you in everything that I have done for you. I hope you will be kind to me and to my wife and children in case that I should dye and leave them to the Parish before that I do see you again, if so for god sake let them have Right.'

This last is prophetic for on February 26 the rector is telling Holford that he has buried John Drew. With Drews death the spate of letters abates. On the 24 March 1710/11 Goodenough has the lease and covenants signed and sealed by Andrews and they ride to Weston Birt where Isaac Humphries is leaving. They drank beer together and 'parted very fair'. A few letters up to December 1713 suggest that Andrews is managing fairly well but by December 1715 he is dead and Widow Andrews is working the farm with her sons.

Dame Andrews has two sons but it is George who is zt the centre of a new scandal which breaks out in 1716. In November 1716 Holford learns there has been trouble between George Andrews and Walter Watts the latter being accused of breaking gaps in a new quickset hedge at the instigation of Isaac Humphries. Walter himself says that his neighbours are sorry to find the ancient ways hedged up and have to go large distances out of their way. This is only a small indication of the ill-feeling that exists between George and some of his neighbours but later in November Holford is shocked to receive a letter from Mr. Jackson which starts:

> 'I suppose Sir you may have heard something of a prosecution for Sodomy commenced against your tenant George Andrews ...'

Jackson is writing from Hullavington of which parish he is vicar (as well as still holding Weston Birt) and in which he lives. Holford writes to Goodenough for more information and on the 28 November 1716 he replies. It seems a William Lingsey, a poor man's son from the city of Gloucester, came to Weston Birt seeking work. Andrews would not employ him but he was taken on by Walter Watts. In August there was whispering in the village that George had buggered him and it seems that some seized on the rumours as a chance to have fun at George's expense. Isaac Humphries got a sack of malt and made good ale and others contributed with joints of meat and 'belly-timber' or food. On the 22 November they had a mock 'groaning' or lying-in:

> ' ... Walter Watt's wife furnished Lingsey with a ....petticoat, white apron and head clothes that he might look something like a woman. One Rolfe Smith of Duckington was the midwife. The invited company which was numerous pleased themselves with the ale and good things. Lingsey by their assistance and the skill of the midwife was delivered of a child viz a wad of Shaw made up and dressed with clothes in that form which they pretended was a male child ..'

The company rejoiced at the 'birth' and drank more ale and resolved to have it christened and chose Samuel Wallis to be Parson. He was dressed in a white apron to represent a surplice. He went through as much of the service as he could remember and christened the child whom the 'Godfathers' called George and threw water over it, signed it with the sign of the cross and said the ritual words of baptism. According to another witness the words used were instead 'I christen thee George Buggerer and you are to live in that religion and no other.' and then the witness adds:

'after the ceremony was over the Curate sprinkled his congregation with all the consecrated water that remained which amounted to a benediction as good as the Popes.'

All this was no more than village high spirits and the matter could easily have been laid to rest but it seems that after this and the trouble with the quickset hedge George threatened Watts with legal action. Hereupon Watts and Lingsey went to the magistrate Mr Kingscote for a warrant to arrest George. This was done and Lingsey was examined on oath and related to the events of 4 August when the offence was supposed to have taken place. A parson Swinfin, also a Justice, who was with Kingscote at the time wanted George committed to jail but Kingscote took a cooler line and allowed him bail when committing him to appear at Quarter Sessions.

Holford does not seem to believe that George would do such a think although he makes it clear in his replies and requests for more information that he regards the offence as an abomination. Lingsey seems to have been foolhardy for as Holford points out if the case is proved he too will go to the gallows unless he can prove compulsion. He is also very concerned about the mock religious rites and writes several strong letters to Jackson making it clear to him that he has a duty to 'God, of his Holy Religion, and those committed to your charge.' Holford takes it very amiss that his rector knew nothing of these goings on until November and even then was able only to give much less information than Holford obtained from Goodenough, It is more than evident that Jackson has very little contact with his flock. When George goes before the Quarter Sessions they refer the case to the Assize but allow him to continue bail. Some of his friends also indict 13 of those present at the groaning for Riot. On 20 March 1716/17 Andrews is on trial in Gloucester. In his summing up the Judge called attention to the character of Lingsey (a vagabond) and other witnesses and the length of time between the alleged offence and the initiation of action. After about an hour the jury returned a not guilty virdict. The action against the 'rioters' also came to nothing. Holford however sends details of the events at the groaning to the Bishop and his chancellors and they think it necessary that the case be presented at their Court to bring about a 'just censure and suitable punishment'.

This is almost the end of Sir Richard's problems with Weston Birt for by June 1718 Goodenough is writing to his son, Robert Holford, giving him details of his lands in Weston Birt although at first Robert wanted to dispose of this particular inheritance but was unable to do so dor legal reasons.

D. Greenhalgh

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Reprinted from: Gloucestershire Historical Studies, Volume 10, 1979, pages 42-49

NURSING IN GLOUCESTER INFIRMARY 1755 - 1865

On 10 October 1754 the first meeting took place of "the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy of the County at The Tolsey to start a subscription and endow the Gloucester Infirmary". As a result many Gloucester worthies paid a subscription that was to make them Governors of the proposed Infirmary with the right to attend the quarterly General Meeting and to be elected to serve on the Weekly Board that was to meet every Thursday at noon to order the day running of the Institution.

A set of rules was made very quickly and one stated that all the proceedings of the General Court and the Weekly Board "shall be fairly registered in a proper book for that purpose". From these 'proper books' together with the annual reports published for the benefit of all subscribers can be gleaned much information about life in Gloucester during this period but primarily about the Institution, the sick poor for whom it existed and for all the staff who cared for them. References to nurses are frequent and enlightening giving many glimpses of their role and their place in society in the 18th and 19th centuries and also of their patients. Indeed an account first of the role of the patient may do much to clarify the role of the nurse at that time.

The patient's admission and stay in the Infirmary were governed by very strict rules. He must be curable and clean, polite, obedient, grateful and such patients who were able had to be ready to "assist the nurses and other servants in nursing the patients, washing and ironing the linen, washing and cleaning the wards and in doing such other business as the Matron shall require".

On 30 October 1777 there was a complaint against the patients of Berkeley Ward "that they refused to assist in making their beds in the proper time and in cleaning the ward altho' ordered so to do by the nurse and afterwards by the Matron. Upon which the Governors present at this Board visited the ward, reproved the patients and admonished them to behave better for the future on pain of dismissal.

In 1807 there was no water in the wards because "No patient was able to work the pump". If he "behaved unseemly", used "insolent language", was caught smoking, even had extra bread "secreted in" to him or even failed to be cured in the time allowed he was discharged and often blacklisted so that he could not be admitted again. The official time allowed for a 'cure' varied from six weeks to three months depending on the financial state of the Institution which after the first few years was always precarious. Hoeever the Weekly Board was often appealed to and extended the stay if there was a hope of a cure and occasionally it was drawn to the Board's attention that someone had managed to stay for a year of more in spite of their vigilance.

It was required that "Patients who are hale and the Nurses and other Servants who can be spared from the necessary business of the House do constantly attend daily prayers, that they do not swear or curse of give abusive language or behave themselves

indecently in other way on pain of expulsion if they dont amend after the first admonition". No liquors or provisions of any sort were to be brought into the House to the patients from their friends or any other whatsoever. Visitors were allowed every Monday and Saturday from three to four thirty. Patients had to have permission to leave the infirmary and on no account could they stay out over night. No patient could stay up later than 9pm in winter and 10pm in summer and if fit had to be up by 7am in summer and 8am in winter.

All in-patients were expected to bring with them "three shirts or shifts and other necessary apparel" and it was a rule over which the Board frequently had problems they often had to appeal to the Poor Law Guardians or other sponsor who had sent the patient in for these to be supplied urgently. Though on one occasion a generous gift by the Blue Coat School meant that all the patients had night caps provided.

Patients were not allowed to have newspapers to read because it was feared they would breed discontent and "No patient was to play cards, dice or any other game or to smoke in the wards or elsewhere". The Board was however very concerned that they made good use of their time and regular sums of money were set aside to buy simple religious books and tracts and several times the chaplain was granted money for a supply of spelling books to help those who could not read or write.

Finally "No woman big with child, no children under seven years of age, no persons disordered in their senses or suspected to have the smallpox, itch or other infectious distemper or who are not clean and free from vermin nor any who are apprehended to be in a consumptive or dying state or who are suspected to have venereal disease or who may receive equal benefit as outpatients be admitted into the Infirmary or permitted to stay in it. But exceptions to this rule are made in cases of sudden accident and other emergencies." Most of these rules were broken many times and they were often subjects for discussion by the Weekly Board.

The cost of the patents' food was an endless topic of discussion by the Board particularly as the price of food rose rapidly early in the 19th century, but the normal diet provided was very monotonous. In 1867 the patients had a weekly allowance of ½lb sugar and a daily allowance of 20oz of bread.

Breakfast 8am:	¾ pint tea. 2oz milk. ½oz butter
Dinner 1pm:	
Sunday:	4oz cold roast beef or mutton and 6oz potatoes
Monday & Thursday:	4oz warm boiled beef or mutton and 6oz potatoes
Tuesday & Friday:	1 pint broth with vegetables and 4oz rice
Wednesday & Saturday	4oz warm roast beef or mutton and 6oz potatoes
Tea 5pm:	As breakfast
Supper 8.30pm:	½ pint oatmeal porridge made with milk and on Tuesdays and Fridays 1oz cheese.

In December 1758 there was a complaint against the broth and the matron was ordered to allow three pounds of meat extraordinary to each gallon of broth. Special diets and any extras had to be specially ordered by the physician and at times of great financial stringency as in 1867 matron had to keep a careful record of all these in a special book which she had to bring to the Weekly Board for them to see. The hospital actually kept its own cows to supply the milk right through this period. The cost of keeping a patient was £13 per annum in the 1790s but by the 1870s it had risen to £61.

One reason for this increase was the gradual rise in the pay of the matron and nurses. When the infirmary first opened in the Crown and Sceptre Inn, Westgate Street, in 1755 the matron received £20 per annum and the nurses, one to each ward, £4. At the Quarterly Meeting in October 1855 it was reported that "The day nurses are at present admitted at £12. 12s. for the first year but if they remain a whole year they receive a gratuity of £2. 2s. Od" (that is if they had behaved themselves and there had been no complaints proved against them). It was resolved at this meeting that at the end of the 2nd year there be another increase of £1. 1s. Od. and at the end of the 3rd year another increase of £1. 1s. Od. making the wages of £16. 16s. Od. for every nurse who stayed that long. At the same time matron's was increased from £50 to £60. In the 1850s the first annuity for those retiring after several years of faithful service was proposed and on 1 February 1854 Anne Ferrabee the nurse on Ward No 1 appealed for "some pecuniary assistance upon her resignation after 23 years service". The General Quarterly Meeting turned the request down with regret because "in the past year expenses had exceded income by above £70". Hope was expressed that it would be possible to adopt some scheme "if the circumstances of the Institution improve". That the type of person who worked as a nurse is the infirmary was barely above those who were eligible for poor law relief is indicated by an incident concerning another elderly nurse in 1824-5. In the August Sophia Wood lost the use of her arm and could no longer carry out her duties. "Poor and destitute" she asked to live in the Infirmary and the General Court gave their permission but applied to the Gloucester Workhouse Guardians for an allowance towards her support and maintainance. The guardians denied responsibility because she had "slept in the county of Littlethorpe", presumably the Gloucester suburb of Littleworth outside the city. The General Court then applied to the overseers and in February 1825 they allowed her 1s.Od. per week over which the general court expressed satisfaction.

She lived on until 3 May 1838 when she was transferred to the "Gloucester Poorhouse Infirmary because she has become perfectly imbecile". She died on 9 Aggust and the Weekly Board defrayed the cost of her funeral.

It was not until 1862 that regular leave of absence was allowed, one week per year but only at matron's discretion and it was 1862 before regular off duty was considered necessary, apart from the traditional Sunday afternoon of the servant but only after considerable discussion. On 19 September the nurses asked for permission to be out one fixed afternoon and one fixed evening each week. After conferring with the house surgeon the Board

could not accede to the request as it would interfere with arrangements for in-patients. But on 26 September Mr. Cole the house surgeon reported to the Committee that after conferring with the nurses he was inclined to make the following arrangements "That they are to be allowed to be absent on one afternoon from 3-5 every week and on a separate evening from 6-8 but it was considered that it would be better to enquire whether Nurses were permitted to be absent on leave from other hospitals after 6pm in the Winter". Enquiries were made of Reading, Bristol General, Birmingham, Worcester, Brighton and Hereford and on 10 October the nurses were called to the Weekly Board "and it was distinctly explained to them (information having been obtained from those other hospitals) that they are to be allowed out door exercise one afternoon per week from 3-5 and one evening per week from quarter to six to 8.30. Sunday afternoons as theretofore but they are not to absent themselves from their wards if in the opinion of the house surgeon or Matron the cases are of such severity that their wards cannot be left with safety. They were warned that they must be punctual in returning to the Hospital by 8.30."

Of course the nurse also received her full board. On the whole there was very little discussion by the Board on this matter though they dealt with general complaints about the quality of the meat or cheese being supplied. However for several years from the time it was first requested in 1848 there were discussions on whether the normal daily ale and beer allowance shoudd be changed partially or wholly to tea and sugar. The final decision was made in 1867 when it was "resolved that a money payment be made to Nurses and Servants in lieu of the Ale and Beer". Nurses were to receive £3 each and "To have a present of the materials for a summer and winter dress annually if they have been in the service of the institution 6 months".

This was the first mention of any uniform being supplied to the nurses apart from 1778 when it was "Ordered that Matron do purchase a nightgown for the use of the nurses when they do sit up at night with patients". From the very first however the porter had a "coat, waistcoat, breeches, hat and scarlet stockings with a dark Rufaia Drab Frock and a leather apron" supplied.

The annual gratuity for "deserving nurses" was an important incentive to good behaviour but in spite of this the complaints against nurses who as we have already seen came from people bordering on the poor and destitute, were often recorded. Theft, unkindness, drunkeness, misconduct, indiscretion, neglect and "not doing their duty" were the most common. All complaints were carefully investigated by the Weekly Board and many were discovered to be unfounded but if not the nurse risked instant dismissal or if a first offender then a reprimand and loss of gratuity if she promised that it would not happen again. In 1759 it was ordered that "Jane Withington Nurse be expelled for taking money of patients" and in 1864 it was reported that "the nurse of No 2 ward had conveyed provisions into her ward for the use of a patient." She was reprimanded by the Board and informed that the practice was a violation of the rules of the house. On her expressing regret at her conduct the Board having regard to the short period she had been in the Hospital permitted her to continue a nurse of the establishment on her promise not to repeat the offence. The only letter of gratitude was recorded in 1856.

"I should be wanting in gratitude did I not also bear testimony to the kindness of my nurse and I must add I have always seen her exhibit the greatest patience and forbearance under circumstances most trying". More often the weekly entry just read as it did on 18 June 1835. "There was no report of misconduct by the Nurses and the patients are satisfied".

Like the patients during this period many rules were made to govern the behaviour of the matron and the nurses. "The Matron be unmarried and free from the burden of a family and that she take care of the household goods and funniture according to the inventory given to her and that she be ready to give an account thereof when required.

That she weigh and measure all the provisions and necessaries which come into the House and keep a daily account thereof to be given to the Weekly Board and never suffer any of them to be carried out. That she oversee the patients and servants and take care that the wards, chambers, beds, cloathes, linen and all other things within the Infirmary be kept neat and clean and for these ends all the patients and servants shall be submissive and obedient to her.

She shall superintend the conduct of the Nurses Servants and patients and shall keep a check upon the Beer and Ale consumed by the patients and the Establishment by noting in a book provided the quantities consumed daily and she shall keep the key of the Ale and Beer engines.

She shall report all cases of misbehaviour of the patients or Servants. She shall lay upon the table of each Weekly Board such books as she shall be required to keep in which are recorded the weekly orders and consumption of Bread, Meat and Beer. That she go into each ward every morning and evening and cause the name of all the patients to be called over and that she enter into a book the names of tte patients who are absent at such times from their respective wards without her leave or who have in any other respect transgressed the rules of the Infirmary. That she take care of the keys of the House seeing that the doors are locked at nine in the evening and not opened before 7am from Michaelmas to Lady Day and before 6am from Lady Day to Miachaelmas unless in cases of great emergency for the service of the patients.

The servants shall consist of one Nurse to each ward and two night nurses, one laboratory man, one or more porters, one cook and one kitchen maid one housemaid and one or more washerwomen.

The Nurses must clean their respective wards before seven in the morning from Lady Day to Miachaelmas and before eight from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and that they serve up all the breakfasts within one hour after the wards are cleaned. The nurses shall report the misbehaviour of any patient to the Matron. No Nurse nor other servant shall leave the House without a ticket of leave from the Matron with the name of such nurse or servant inserted; nor be absent for a day or more without permission in such cases providing an approved substitute.

That the nurses and other servants be very diligent in complying with the order of the Matron and their other superiors and that they behave themselves with tenderness to the patients and with civility and respect to all".

On 3 November 1774 it was ordered that "for the future the nurses examine whether the patients are clean before they go to be examined by the gentlemen of the faculty", and on 29 December 1774 that "no nurse or servant do presume to take any gratuity or reward directly or indirectly of any patient or any of their friends on pain of expulsion." It was also ordered that the rules respecting the conduct of the nurses patients and servants be read over in all the wards by one appointed by the matron for that purpose.

Treatments were rarely mentioned though much can be surmised from the supplies and equipment ordered over the years. In 1755 poultice kettles to hold 3-4 quarts were ordered together with "a table to spread plasters on", and over the next hundred years such things as "2 doz pewter half pint basons for the patients to take their medicine in". "A copper boiler for herb tea". "Voiders, Bleeding porringers and a set of cupping instruments". "A sweating chair with chafing dish and steem pot". In 1864 came the first of a series of "electrical machines". No mention was made of their use but perhaps they were precursors of the equipment now used in the physiotherapy department. Trusses were a frequent item of expenditure as was the order for "two wooden legs to be provided upon the best terms", and "artificial armlets of the best possible construction ordered for a boy of 17 from Minchinhampton who had both hands amputated". In 1767 Dr. Lyons was "desired to procure some lemon juice for the use of the Infirmary" and thereafter it became a regular item of expenditure.

Although one of the rules for the patients was that they were clean "and free of vermin" by 1783 it was "ordered that Matron cause Six Bug Trapps to be used in every ward and other rooms at her discretion". This problem had to be dealt with frequently in the years that followed.

In 1838 the nurse in charge of ward 2 who also had charge of the bathroom "complained that she could not prepare sulphur baths except on special appointment days as it interfered with her other work so the nurses under whose care such patients were placed were ordered to prepare the Baths".

The application of leeches was a frequent treatment and an expensive one. On 26 February 1846 the Medical Board were asked to consider a more economical system of supply because the "amount spent on leeches in the course of the previous year appear to the Board to be very large". Leeches and carriage had cost the Infirmary £107. 2s. 8d. in the year yet the year's wage bill for 11 nurses was only £161. 14s. 0d. In the same year £55. 13s. 5d. was spent on calico, two, sponges, cotton wool and bandages and £30. 4s. 3d. on lard, lint and linseed meal.

One investigation carried out by the board which vindicated a nurse, Ann Williams, of a charge of ill treating a 3 year old admitted with severe burns mentioned the treatment of the "application of linament to the burns with a feather". In 1815 there was a mention of a new treatment of patients with Venereal Disease, "Mercury to induce salivation".

An investigation of another complaint against the treatment of a boy with a stone in the bladder states "certain treatment had been ordered to be applied internally through the rectum but this treatment was carried out by one or two men who were the boy's fellow patients and not by the nurse. One of the men said that they had a very sad and troublesome job with the application and the boy felt it severely". As a reult of this the Board ordered "With regard to the administration of suppositories, such duties belong and are understood throughout the Infirmary to belong to the Nurses alone and no sanction can be given to the Nurse to leave her duties to be performed by a patient".

The problem of cleaning and laundering soiled and infected linen often vexed the Board and in 1871 they produced what must have been the very first nursing procedure in the Gloucester Infirmary. Directions to nurses as to the disinfecting of linen were printed and a copy given to each nurse. "All linen removed from patients suffering from fever or other infectious disease must be at once soaked in water containing in every two gallons oen ounce of Condy's Red Fluid (Potassium Permanganate) for the space of 24 hours then rinsed in cold water and lastly exposed to the fresh air for the ensuing 12 hours".

When Mrs. Hester Partridge was appointed the first matron in 1755 it was resolved that "the Matron shall attend some public Infirmary where the Committee will decide for her instruction". In April she set out for Bristol Infirmary with "five guineas for her expenses" but by June she was back ordering "mops, brushes, brooms, Turnery and Earthen Ware". Any further suggestion that the Matron or Nurses should be trained for the job was not made in the records until 1864. Advertisements for staff were put in the local papers from the very beginning when on 23 January 1755 it was resolved that "An advertisement to the following effect be inserted in the Gloucester, Bristol and Worcester Journals to be continued for one month. 'Whereas an Infirmary is intended to be erected for the County and City of Gloucester. And as an Apothecary, a Secretary, a Matron and Nurses will be wanting all persons who are willing to undertake either of those offices may apply to the Committee who will sit on Thursday the 20th of this instant at the College Coffee House in Gloucester and on Thursday the fortnight following'". When the first patients were admitted in the August there were four nurses chosen from 13 applicants.

There was a constant turnover of nursing staff some staying many years and some only a month or two and advertisements continued to be inserted in the Gloucester Journal. Later ones indicated the type of person they were looking for as this one from February 1855.

"NURSE WANTED.

The Weekly Board will at 12 o'clock on Thursday next the 8th instant proceed to elect a nurse for one of the wards of the Institution. She must be active, middle aged, without incumbrances and able to read and write".

Then on 15 December 1864 Mr. Gambler Parry proposed to the Board "the admission into this hospital of young persons for the purpose of being trained as pupil nurses". Thus began a series of events that was to include a visit from Government Inspectors in 1865 who in their report said "The welfare of Patients in Hospitals depends in no small degree on the amount and kind of nursing they receive and no woman, however admirably adapted by nature to be a nurse she may be, can be an efficient nurse without some experience or some special training", and finally culminated in the founding of the Training School in October 1877.

F. Storr

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KINGSWOOD COALFIELD - THE RUDGEWAY DRAINAGE LEVEL

A fairly common feature of coal mining in the 18th and early 19th centuries was the construction of underground drainage adits or levels, often of considerable length, whereby large blocks of coal bearing strata could be dewatered and worked with the minimum amount of pumping. During the previous century construction of such tunnels, or 'soughs', had been brought to a fine art by the lead miners of Derbyshire (1) and the technique gradually spread to coalfields where the topography favoured it, and it was an economic proposition for deeper mining. Where the conditions were right, very high expenditure on tunneling could be justified; for example at Silverdale in Staffordshire between the years 1799 to 1820 over £20,000 was spent in driving and maintaining drainage adits, known locally as 'gutters'. (2)

One such favoured area was the Kingswood coalfield situated to the east of Bristol where a complex of over 25 miles of underground drainage levels had been driven by 1820. Now largely obscured by the suburbs of Bristol, the former coal mining area extended over an elongated dome of high ground some three miles long by two miles broad, the southern edge being cut into by the deep meanders of the river Avon, and the east and west extremities being formed by the valleys of the Warmley brook and the river Frome respectively. (3)

From the highest point of the dome, now marked by Cossham Hospital, several defiles radiate outwards, noteably one formed by the Coombe brook, a small stream flowing due west to join the river Frome near what is now Stapleton Road railway station. This narrow defile, in former years known as 'Gosthill Gully' was the site of one of the first local adits of major dimensions built to drain the coal workings in the Rudgeway (or Ridgeway) manor lordship covering the north western sector of Kingswood Chase. It is not so far known when this adit was first commenced; in 1864 Handel Cossham, the famous local geologist and mineowner, stated that it was supposed to have been made "about 150 years ago" (4) which would put it somewhere in the first quarter of the 18th century. Certainly by 1790 it extended over two miles into the northern extremity of the lordship, as owned by the Beaufort family, passing on the way both their New Lodge Engine and Old Lodge Engine Pits where steam pumps drew water from lower measures to discharge into the adit, there running at about 200 feet below surface level. Additionally a mile long branch adit ran back along the southern side of Coombe brook into the lordship of Barton Regis to link up the coalpits leased by the Beauforts from the Chester-Master family. Eventually a further branch drove south to beyond the Two Mile Hill Engine Pit, and accidentally broke into the drainage system of the coalpits worked by John Whittuck in the adjacent liberty. (5)

Possibly it was to assist the drainage of the Coombe brook adit, or more likely to prospect and develop a somewhat isolated section of coal bearing land without the risk of overcharging the main adit, but in 1799 the Beauforts decided to commence an entirely new adit back from the river Frome. The cash expense book for this venture is now kept in the Gloucestershire Record Office (6) and, except where otherwise noted, forms the basis from which the following account has been extracted: In common with most registers of this nature the entries are somewhat laconic, but the initial page starts in fine style:-

> "1799 April 29th Began the new Level from the River Froom, in the Rudgeway Estate, by the order of His Grace Henry Duke of Beaufort & under the direction of Mr Robt Baylis Principal Agent for His Grace at Kingswood Lodge."

During the first four weeks two workmen, Thomas Flook and John Long, carried out initial clearance work armed with 2 shovels, a sledge-hammer, 2 wedges and an iron bar. They were then joined by a third man, Thomas Lovell, with materials to make and barrow, lime mortar for stone walling. Throughout the summer months these three toiled away, occasionally assisted by Charles Lovell, laying out the access way and cutting the tunnel entrance into the hard Pennant sandstone of the steep valley side.

Towards the middle of September serious tunneling began with the first purchase of a dozen candles and the employment of seven men on site. These comprised, as before, Thomas Flook, John Long, the two Lovells, plus John Wiltshire, Isaac Ford and Thomas Day. During the autumn months the work steadily progressed with further purchases of candles and a weekly wage bill (unfortunately no longer itemised) indicating the employment of about five men. In the first week of November the first purchase of a hundredweight barrel of gunpowder was made and the following week the wages bill doubled in respect of 'task work' by Thomas Day and Partners - no doubt the employment of skilled miners to set and fire charges.

After a lull over the Christmas period, the pace of work increased in the new year with more 'task work' carried out in the last week of February, this time led by Thomas Flook. Another hundredweight of gunpowder was purchased a week later and yet another at the end of April. These barrels of powder had cost £9. 6s. 0d. (£9.30) each, but a cheaper source was found in June when the cost of a hundredweight barrel went down to £7. 16s. 0d. (£7.80). At this rate they were using up 1 cwt of powder every six weeks on average. In December an even cheaper source was obtained in that the cost per 'cask' went down to only £3. 5s. 9d. (£3.29) but as the weight is not specified it could well have been smaller as subsequent purchases average out at four to five week intervals. The price of candles on the other hand remained constant at 9s. to 9s. 4d. (£0.45-£0.47) per dozen up to the end of 1802 and lasted on average for three weeks.

Without itemised details of the numbers employed it is difficult to compare wage rates but at the commencement of the work it would appear that labourers were being paid about 10s (£0.50) per week and skilled miners up to 16s. (£0.80) per week - very good wages for the period. Throughout 1800 the basic weekly

wage bill remained about the £1. 13s. 0d. (£1.65) level with dramatic peaks every five weeks or so, the maximum being in the second week of December when the total wage bill amounted to £13. 3s. 6d. (£13.17) evidently recurances of 'task work' though no longer specified as such in the accounts. After the customary Christmas lull the early months of 1801 indicate work progressing much as before, but no work done in the first week of April and thereafter there is a noticeable reduction in the wage bills, culminating in a full stoppage for seven weeks from the second week in August. There is no obvious reason for this stoppage. Local contemporary newspapers merely report fine warm weather and a bumper harvest making up for earlier shortages. (7)

Work on the adit recommenced in October and progressed steadily for the next two years. One inovation was the purchase of a 'Scrages Carriage' for £8. 12s. 6d. (£8.62) and the regular purchases of 'Scrages' for between 12s. 8d. and 4s. (£0.63-£0.20) every month or so for the next four years. What these might be I do not know but it may be significant that the purchase of Scrages cease just before the hire of horses first occur in the accounts.

By October 1803 the adit had been driven 638 yards (not 674 yards stated in the accounts for that year - corrected in the following year) which gives, (if September 1799 is taken as the start of mining in earnest) a rate of just over 3 yards tunnelled per working week. The first signs of inflation now occur with the cost of candles going up to 10s (£0.50) per dozen, and a cask of powder which had cost as little as £2. 6s. 0d. (£2.30) at the beginning of the year going back up to £3. 2s. 6d. (£3.12). The distance driven in the tunnel would seem to have placed it very close to being underneath the gaol in Stapleton especially set up to house French prisoners from the Napoleonic Wars and it is interesting to speculate whether the prisoners could feel anything of the blasting going on some 80 feet below. It had even been suggested in a letter to The Times in 1797 that the prisoners could be confined in the Duke of Beaufort's local coal mines in order to reduce the number of necessary guards! (8)

The begining of 1805 saw another stoppage of work, this time for four weeks, and on recomencement a horse was hired at the rate of 2s. 1d. (£0.10) per day, and used on average two days per week. Some sort of roof-fall seems to have occured in August as there is a hiatus in the purchase of powder, several weeks of little or no wage payments, and some substantial purchases of stones, lime, and ashes (for mortar). At the end of November there is another gap in wage payments and inflation becomes more apparent with a cask of powder going up to £3. 17s. 6d.(£3.87). With such interuptions it is perhaps not surprising that only 97 yards of adit were driven that year.

Worse problems were to be experienced in 1806. At the beginning of May that year the accounts show a sudden increase in wages coupled with the enormous purchase of 84 cart loads of stones - at 939 yards in, they had hit the loose ground and water of 'Old men's workings'. Nothing daunted the miners came back 119 yards to a point they had intersected a small seam of coal and started tunnelling a branch on the eastern side of the adit. By

October they had driven 53 yards on the branch. In the following 12 months the branch was driven a further 137 yards, and the main adit slowly cut and shored through 22 yards of bad ground. Costs of materials eased a little with candles going down to 8s. 6d. (£0.42) a dozen, and powder £3. 13s. 6d. (£3.67); however hire of the horse went up to 2s. 6d. (£0.12) per day.

The year 1807 started well with work concentrated entirely on the main adit with the problem of loose ground apparently successfully overcome. However by April work had slowed and ceased altogether for a 12 week period up to the end of July. Still, by October the main adit had reached a total length of 1,061 yards. More price rises occured with candles going to 12s. 6d. (£0.62) per dozen, and powder £4. 3s. 6d. (£4.17) per cask.

For the next two years work progressed steadily, helped by stable prices. Physical conditions in driving the main adit must however have remained difficult as the cutting rate fell from 3 yards per week to only 1.4 yards per week. By October 1810 the tunnel was 1205 yards long, which must represent nearly its final total as all work ceased four weeks later for a period of two years, and the subsequent works shown in the accounts for a 27 week period in 1813 are clearly only maintenance, without any more purchases of powder.

The grand total cost for some 1400 yards of adit had amounted to £2,529.

There remains the question as to precisely where this tunnel might be and what still lies in situ. The only map I have so far been able to trace that gives any indication of its existence merely endorses it as 'New Level' (4) on an older plan of 1790 which unfortunately does not show the line of the river Frome with any degree of precision. However, going on this, and the general lie of the country, the most likely spot for the adits mouth would appear to be immediately upstream of Blackberry Hill Road Bridge, opposite Snuff Mills Park entrance (O.S. Grid Ref ST 624765). Close inspection of this locality has not revealed anything, but all trace could have been removed some years ago when a main sewer was laid along that bank of the river.

It is hoped that further research will reveal the subsequent history and more exact location of this 'lost' tunnel.

Robin Stiles.

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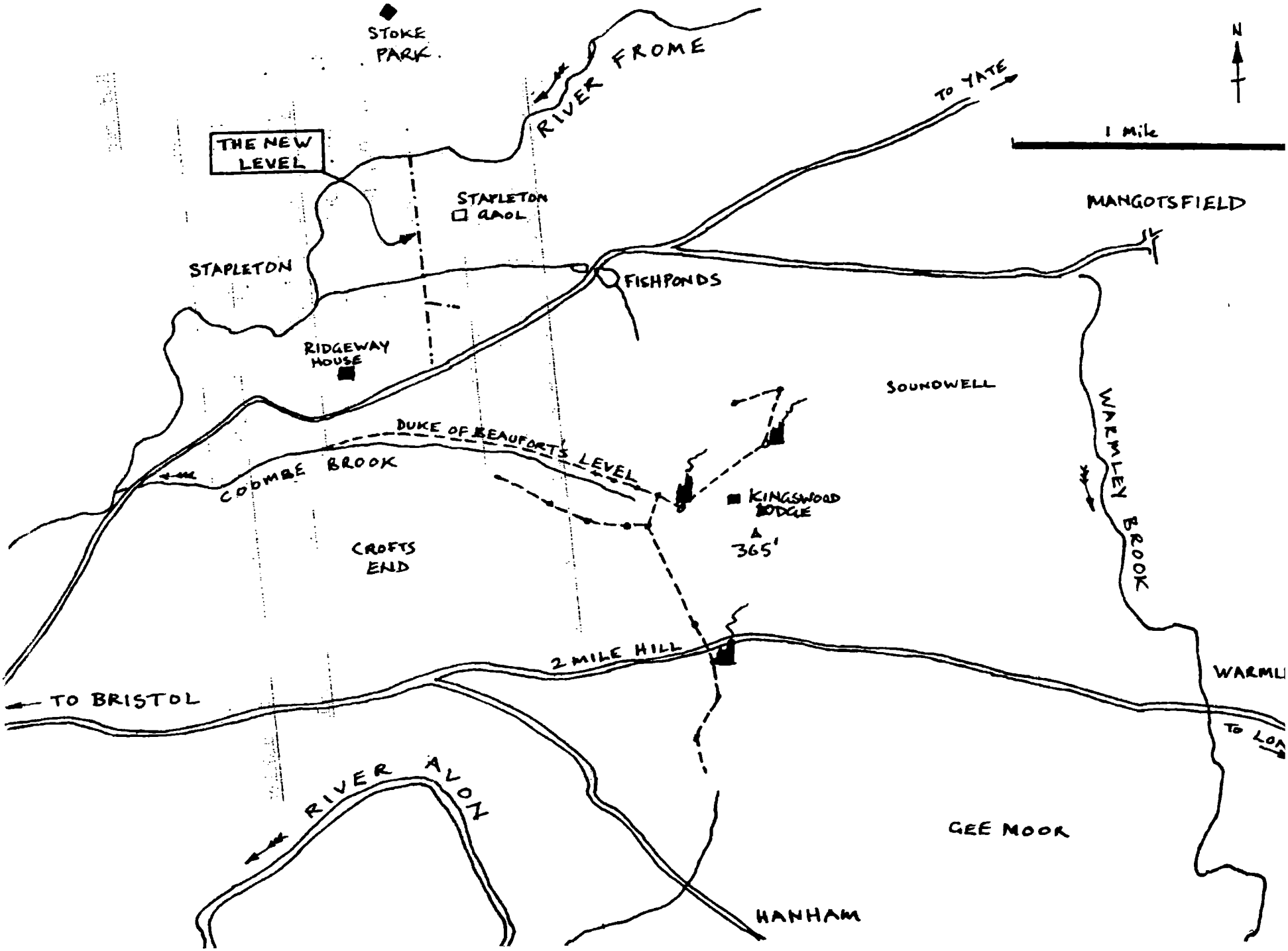
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RIDGEWAY HOUSE
SOUNDWELL
WARMLEY BROOK
DUKE OF BEAUFORT'S LEVEL
COOMBE BROOK
KINGSWOOD HOUSE
365'
CROFTS END
2 MILE HILL
WARMLEY
TO BRISTOL
TO LOA
RIVER AVON
GEE MOOR
HANHAM

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF GLOUCESTER DOCKS

The present main basin was opened in 1812, and probably had quays along the west, north and east sides. The south side had an earth bank like the canal itself. At first, access to the basin was only through the lock from the river Severn, but after 1820 some traffic came along the completed section of the canal from the junction with the Stroudwater Canal. By 1824, a small warehouse had been built to the north of the basin, and there was a timber yard adjacent to it (1). A boat-building yard had been established in the south-west corner of the basin, apparently making use of a primitive dock on the line of an old drainage ditch (where the small graving dock was later to be built).

From an early date, the Gloucester and Cheltenham tramroad had several sidings running down to the waters edge on the east side of the basin (2). As traffic built up (mainly coal and stone), this area became overcrowded, and so in 1824 the canal company built a small basin to the south now known as the Barge Arm. The surrounding land was divided into sixteen yards, each with its own tramway siding. In 1834, one such yard was surrounded by fencing seven feet high, with a pair of gates that opened on wheels (3). Inside the yard, there were two moveable huts which served as offices, and there was a small warehouse that contained weighing machines, barrows, wood, iron pipes, tar and oil casks etc. There was also a cast iron crane, and it is possible that it is the post of this crane that can still be seen embedded in the quay on the north side of the Barge Arm.

The canal was eventually completed to Sharpness in 1827, and the next ten years saw a steady growth in traffic and a corresponding expansion in the facilities at Gloucester. Relaxation of the corn laws in 1828 allowed a considerable increase in imports of foreign corn, and the developing port of Gloucester was able to capture a large share of this new trade. The canal company demolished their original warehouse and built what is now known as the North Warehouse in 1826-27. They leased individual floors to various corn merchants as they required them. The larger merchants (such as Joseph and Charles Sturge) also built their own warehouses on land leased from the canal company along the west side of the basin and later also on the east side (4). Another trade that was to become very important for Gloucester was importing timber from the Baltic and North America. A group of local landowners and businessmen, lead by Samuel Baker of Hardwicke Court, arranged to widen the cnnal and establish a new quay to the south of Llanthony Bridge. The adjoining land known as High Orchard was largely sold off for timber yards, and William Price (whose firm later became Price, Walker & Co.) had a yard at the southern end (5). A third trade which developed during this period was salt from Worcestershire, which was in increasing demand for the manufacture of soda needed for soap and glass-making. Around 1835, two single storey warehouses were built just to the north of Hempsted Bridge, and new quays were formed beside them. The northern one was built for the Droitwich Salt Co., and the southern one was built for the British Alkali Co. and later taken over by the Stoke Prior Salt Co. (6). To help cater for the

increasing number of ships using the canal, the canal company built a graving dock in the south-west corner of the main basin, and close by they installed a steam-powered pump to improve the water supply to the canal (both circa 1834).

By 1840 there were two further extensions to the water space and quays, although no trace of either can be seen now. A small dock was built as a branch to the canal half-way between the Barge Arm and Llanthony Road (5). This may have been too small to have been of much use, as Causton's map of Gloucester in 1843 shows that it had largely been filled in again by then. Also by 1840, the 120 yard long High Orchard Dock was formed as a branch to the canal towards the southern end of Bakers Quay, roughly following the line of the Sudbrook. The idea was that the Birmingham and Gloucester Railway should use it as their point of access to the canal, particularly for Bristol traffic. However, it was not until 1848, after various unsuccessful attempts, that the rail link was provided (2). A line into the main docks was also built at the same time, and this marked the beginning of the end for the Gloucester and Cheltenham tramroad which had linked the railway terminus and the docks in the meantime. Probably by 1870, the High Orchard Dock was filled in and the ground was used by the Midland Railway Co as a goods yard. (The site is now occupied by West Midlands Farmers Ltd.).

In spite of the increase in facilities, there was still some overcrowding in the basin in 1846. With the prospect of continued growth in traffic due to the movement towards free trade in general and the repeal of the corn laws in particular, the canal company embarked on a major programme of expansion. The main project was the Victoria Dock which was opened to vessels in 1849, and further warehouses were built beside it (4). A new barge dock was also constructed on land known as Berry Close, almost opposite the existing Barge Arm (7). It was about 120 yards long and 20 yards wide, and probably had earth banks with several wooden landing stages. The surrounding land was used for timber and coal yards and for boat building. (Later in the century, the dock was filled in and a malthouse was erected on the site) While all this was going on, the Gloucester and Dean Forest Railway were proposing to build a huge new dock on Sizes Ground just to the south of Llanthony Road (8). This was to have been about the same size as the main dock basin and would have involved diverting the road to Hempsted, but it was never built. By 1851, the railway company was running out of money, and so it was agreed that they would just construct a quay wall along the canal with a goods yard behind it and a branch into the west side of the main dock area (9). One much needed development that did get carried out soon after this was the construction of a new graving dock to accommodate the larger ships that were now using the canal.

During the second half of the century, there were few changes in the water-space, but the docks became a centre for industrial development. By 1870, three flour mills were operating in the main docks area (4), Foster Brothers oil mill was built at the southern end of Bakers Quay, and engineering works, saw mills and timber yards spread southwards between the Bristol Road and

the canal (10). Timber yards were also established on the west side of the canal, and Monk Meadow Dock and the nearby timber pond were formed in the 1890s. In the present century, there has been a gradual decline in traffic, but many of the quays and warehouses remain. It is to be hoped that some new use can soon be found for them, and that the story of the development of Gloucester Docks can be continued.

A.H. Conway-Jones

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JUVENILES TRANSPORTED TO AUSTRALIA AND TASMANIA

1815-1835

In the space of twenty years - from 4 April 1815 to 4 April 1835 - 2,290 convicts sentenced at Gloucestershire County Assizes and Quarter Sessions were shipped to Australia or Tasmania. This number does not include those sentenced at Tewkesbury Quarter Sessions, Gloucester City Assizes or Bristol City Assizes. Seventy-five of the transportees were juveniles, aged 16 years and under. All but four of these were boys.

The term 'juvenile' conjures up a picture of irresponsible children but does not aptly describe the young offenders transported during these twenty years. Thirty-two of these youngsters were described as tradesmen: whitesmith, brickmaker, shoemaker, butcher and others, which indicates that they had been apprenticed to these trades.

Some, if not all, may have been pauper apprentices, put to a trade at an early age by the overseers of the poor. Pauper children in Bitton were apprenticed from the age of eight years onwards, often outside the parish so that after 40 days they would be deemed to have gained a settlement in their master's parish and would no longer be the responsibility of Bitton (1). The same system operated elsewhere. The terms of apprenticeship were rigid. A boy was usually apprenticed until the age of twenty-one, and could not marry until his term was completed. A girl was bound until she was twenty-one or until she married, whichever happened first.

It may be that some of these young offenders ran away from hard masters, or child-like, found it irksome to be always at work with no time for childish pursuits. Whatever the cause, once they left their masters' service they had to fend for themselves. Since it was an offence to leave service, there was little alternative but to turn to crime if only in order to eat. Other jobs would have been difficult to obtain.

Sixteen of the boys and one girl, had apparently, no previous convictions or appearances in court and were acting on their own initiative when caught. Eight were tradesmen, eight were labourers. The youngest of these, eleven-years old labourer Alexander Taylor of Woolwich, was charged with entering a house at St Briavels and stealing three valuable snuffboxes. His sentence was seven years transportation. One wonders what he was doing so far from home. The only clue is that he was charged with the offence on the oath of Captain R.H. Fleming, R.N. Could he have been a cabin boy on the Captain's ship? One can only speculate. Fifteen-years old labourer Elizabeth Jones, of Hinckley, Leicestershire, received a sentence of life transportation for stealing from a number of houses Tewkesbury. Two sixteen-year old butchers were transported for life for acquiring their stock in trade by theft. One, from Gloucester, stole eight ewes valued at £16, the other, from Twyning, stole a heifer and a cow whose total value was £17. Were they hoping to establish themselves in business or had their masters instigated the crime?

Twenty-seven of the boys and two of the girls had been in prison at least once before and had served sentences varying from seven days to one year, with the exception of two who were found not guilty, two against whom no true bill was found, and two whose sentence, if any, is not known. Some had been whipped.

At the age of ten, William Burton served six months for stealing a pocket book and purse containing a gold ring, a token worth three shillings, and a shilling in silver. At sixteen, with two others aged seventeen, he was accused of the theft of goods and cash worth £12. One of the older boys turned King's Evidence and William and his other companion were sentenced to seven years transportation. Joseph Miller, a fifteen-year old chairmaker, had already been sentenced to transportation at Bristol Assizes for the theft of two silver spoons. This sentence, obviously, was not carried out but probably commuted to one or two years in prison at Bristol. To have been twice sentenced to transportation by the age of fifteen must constitute a record.

Twenty eight boys and one girl were charged jointly with others. There is no evidence that any of these had committed a previous offence. In many instances, although their companions in crime were older, it appeared that these young offenders often paid the penalty while their more experienced accomplices escaped punishment. George Walker,aged fifteen, with two companions aged sixteen and twenty-eight, was charged with stealing a gelding worth £5. On the evidence of the sixteen year old, George was condemned to death and the twenty-eight year old was found not guilty. George was reprieved and sentenced instead to life transportation.

All of these youngsters were sent to the hulks in company with older, hardened criminals. No attempt to segregate the young from the old offenders appears to have been made until a more enlightened officer in the prison service - the Rev. Thomas Price, chaplain of the hulk Retribution - suggested in 1818 that there should be a separate hulk for juveniles. " ... In a ship of this kind, with proper overlookers (and everything would depend upon the choice of such persons), many of these poor children might be reclaimed. Let one part of the ship be allotted for their habitation, and other parts be appropriated for schools and places of instruction in different branches of trade ..... Let it be remembered that they are at present <u>children</u>, and so situated as to claim our sympathetic concern; by thus doing all we can for them, we are but following the direction of the wise man who declared that if we 'train up a child in the way he should go, when he is old he will not depart from it'." (2). However, it was not until 1823 that the "Bellerophon" was brought into use at Sheerness as a hulk solely for juveniles. In 1825 the boys were transferred to the "Euryalus" at Chatham. Because of the failure to provide Price's first requirement- a suitable overseer - the experiment was not a success. Overcrowding - the "Euryalus" was a much smaller vessel than the "Bellerophon" - and lack of proper supervision produced a deterioration in conditions, so that there was little to choose fbetween the hulks for adults and that for juveniles. In 1844 the "Euryalus" was dispensed with.

The length of time spent aboard the hulks between conviction and transportation varied considerably. For instance:

Thomas Arnold, a thirteen-year old labourer, was convicted on 3 March 1835 and on 18 June was put aboard "Aurora I". Nine days later the ship left port and after a voyage of 102 days arrived at Hobart, Tasmania. The experience of Thomas Patterson, also aged thirteen, was somewhat different. In company with his brother and two other boys he was convicted of housebreakingand sentenced to life transportation on 18 July 1816. Four years later, in September 1820, he was transferred to the Asia and reached New South Wales on 28th December. It is not known when he was taken to the hulks, but it is probable that he spent most of the time there between conviction and sailing, as it was usual to convey transportees from prison to the hulks at the first opportunity.

Conditions on board some of the transport ships were very little better than on the hulks. Poor ventilation and inadequate sanitary arrangements were the root cause of the foul conditions in which many of the convicts lived. Much depended on the surgeon or surgeon-superintendent under whose charge they found themselves for the duration of the voyage. It was the surgeon-superintendent's duty to ensure that only healthy convicts were allowed to embark (3). Some carried out this duty conscientiously; others were so lax that they did not examine convicts at all. Some convicts, convinced that transportation was their only hope of a better life, pretended to b better state of health than they actually enjoyed. Consequently in some ships there was little incidence of disease while in others disease spread rapidly.

At first, on the transport ships as in the hulks, there was no segregation of young and old. In 1827 prisoners' quarters were re-designed. The space between decks where convicts were usually confined was divided into three compartments separated by iron railings instead of the thick wooden stanchions formerly used. This not only improved ventilation, but allowed the surgeon to separate the boys from the men (4). Unfortunately, this improvement was not maintained, and more than thirty years later surgeons were suggesting that iron bars instead of heavy wooden planks should be used to separate convicts' quarters, not realising that the idea was not new (5).

In the late 1830s another attempt was made to prevent juveniles becoming further corrupted. Boys were shipped separately in charge of older convicts chosen for their suitability to act as petty officers during the voyage. Schooling took place in the mornings and afternoons. Excellence was encouraged by the setting of examinations and the presentation of prizes, and time was allowed for recreation (6).

It is doubtful if any of the youngsters mentioned here enjoyed such privileges. Edmund Crockett, a fifteen year old labourer was unfortunate enough to be put aboard the "Norfolk" at the beginning of July 1834. Whether there was already sickness aboard is not clear but after three unsuccessful attempts to sail the "Norfolk"'s passengers were taken on board the "Lady Kennaway" in a poor state of health. There was disease aboard the "Lady Kennaway" when she put in at Cork and seventeen convicts died there. Another eighteen convicts, too ill to continue, were put ashore at Haulbowline Island and two more died during the voyage (7). Edmund Crockett eventually landed at Hobart on 13 February

1835. George James, aged fifteen, was among the 160 convicts who sailed in the "Southworth" in June 1830 who complained that they had been kept short of food during their voyage to Hobart. Three years later, William Allen suffered similar deprivation on board the "Emperor Alexander". It is fair to say, however, that although starvation of prisoners occurred often during the very early days of transportation, wuch cases at this period were exceptional.

As with the adult criminals, it has been difficult to establish what criteria magistrates used in sentencing these young offenders. Little concession to their youth appears to have been made. It is possible that magistrates believed that the youngsters were being given a chance to make a new life, but if the Recorder quoted below is a typical example, one is left with grave doubt that this was so.

In passing sentence in 1810 on a shop-boy convicted of stealing two shillings from his master, the Recorder at the Old Bailey said, 'Samuel Oliver, you have been tried by a jury of your country, and found guilty of one of the very worst descriptions of theft. You ungratefully betrayed the trust reposed in you by your employer, who paid you to be faithful to him. It is greatly to be lamented that young men, by so mean an offence, should bring themselves into the shameful situation in which you are now placed; and that there is a necessity of proceeding with rigour against a person who had apparently preserved a good character; but yours is a crime which the courts are determined never to treat with lenity. It is in itself hostile to every idea of domestic security. It is so harsh a violation of the confidence reposed, and of every bond of civil society, that, whenever it is proved, it cannot be punished with too much severity. The sentence, therefore, of the court is, that you be transported beyond the seas, for the term of seven years, to such place as his Majesty shall think fit.' (8)

It is impossible to draw any real conclusions about the motives in sending these young people to the penal colonies. It is obvious that there were some like the Recorder quoted above who were convinced that severe punishment was the only answer to juvenile crime, and others like the Rev. Thomas Price who sought to reform and rehabilitate, and, no doubt, some who sentenced automatically, without thinking of the effect upon the child, but simply as a means of reducing the numbers in already overcrowded prisons. As always, much depended on those who administered the system.

It is easy to condemn, but have we made so much progress that we can afford to be smug, where even today the problem of dealing with juvenile - or adult - law breakers has not been satisfactorily resolved.

Irene Wyatt

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THE INCLOSURE OF UPTON ST. LEONARDS

"In the Parish of Upton St. Leonard's near Gloucester, an event has occured of considerable moment, not only on account of its effect on the present and the future, but because a system of remote antiquity has locally ceased to exist. All connection with the land customs of early times has come to an end. The future is severed from the past. One of the last instances of the ancient system of land tenure, as shown in the 'Common Fields', is no more."

With these words, the Rev. Canon E.C. Scobell, Rector of Upton, began a lecture on the Upton Inclosure to the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club on 14 Nov. 1899 (1).

It is the purpose of this paper to examine as closely as possible the structure of the "open field system" as it had developed at the end of the nineteenth century and the social changes taking place.

We do not know who instigated the inclusure, but it was probably the larger landowners, irrespective of whether they had property in the common fields or in severalty. In 1886 John Dearman Birchall of Bowden Hall, who held some ten acres in the open fields, and Edward Hope Percival (2) of Kimsbury House were elected Feoffees, and it would not be surprising if they were impatient to advance the formation of consolidated holdings. From evidence given at the enquiry, the Executors of the Rev. Henry Elisset, and the Hon Robert Marsham Townsend, the two largest holders of the open land, both supported inclosure and an application for a provisional order was made. A report by the Board of Agriculture upon an "Application for a Provisional Order for the Inclosure of Upton St. Leonards Common Fields" was dated 8 April 1895 (3).

The report states that the land in question consisted of 534 acres, 520 arable and 14 pasture; it continues:

"It is in fourteen tracts in different parts of the parish. None of it is "common" in the usual acceptation of the word, but it is all common-field land, held in severalty by the various owners during part of the year until the crops are removed, and after harvest subject to be depastured in common by the stock of freeholders" ....

"...Each tract is made up of a number of unfenced strips, of which there are in all about 2000 of the average size of half an acre, belonging to more than 80 owners (4). The strips of each owner are generally most inconveniently scattered ... holdings very small, 3 acres or under, some as little as ¼ acre (5) .... Under the present system the cultivation of the land is necessarily both difficult and costly, and can scarcely be carried on with profit, while permanent improvement is out of the question. Some of the lands have been allowed to go out of cultivation."

"No part of the land being waste of a manor, or subject to rights of common at all times of the year" it was apparently not strictly necessary to make provision for field gardens or recreation ground. Apparently cricket was already played by permission in a field not included in the land in question, so it was proposed to make "reasonable provision of 15 acres in four different places ... for field gardens and six acres in a pasture field near the village ... as a recreation ground" (6).

It was pointed out that: "The setting out of these allotments will, of course, diminish the area to be allotted to the various owners, and on that account the proposal was not regarded favourably by some of the persons interested in the land". It was reported however that the Executors of the Rev. Henry Blisset submitted 6 acres of land not subject to inclosure to be included.

Two small commons, Sneedham's Green and Cut Hill, were not to be affected by the inclosure. It was recognised that they were too far from the village for recreational purposes, (7) "but will remain open subject to the same rights as heretofore".

A "second Report From the Select Committee on Commons", (price ½p)(8) 7 May 1895 ordered the setting up of a Committee of Twelve, consisting of Dr. Ambrose, Viscount Curson, Sir Arthur Hayter, Mr. Seale-Hayne, Mr. Jeffreys, Sir Thomas Robinson and Mr. Taylor, nominated by the House, and Mr. Arch (9), Mr. H.L. Lawson, Mr. Roche, Sir Mark Stewart, Mr. Wroughton added by the Committee of Selection.

The Fourth Report (10), which incidentally considered also the inclosure of Bexhill Down, Sussex, and Castor and Ailsworth Open Fields and Common, gives an account of the enquiry and the evidence submitted.

Sir Jacob Wilson, Director of the Land Division of the Board of Agriculture repeated the information already quoted from the provisional order. He was asked whether the proposed inclosure with compensatory allotments and recreation ground was unanimously approved. He replied:

"I will not use the words 'quite unanimous' but I think now very likely it is practically so".

Mr. John Robert Moore, Chief Clerk to the Board of Agriculture, was also called in. He stated that the application was approved "by a certain proportion of the owners". When asked whether there was approval by the commoners, he replied ".. the commoners are the owners of the lands in the fields, they are not a separate body".

Mr. Moore explained further that they ...."have the right of tilling the arable land, and then of putting their cattle on to pasture ... each person who has a legal interest in these fields will get his allotment, which will be absolutely his own .. and then the cottagers will be able to apply to the parish council to hire allotments out of the 13 acres". When asked if this was "popular with all classes in the district" Mr. Moore replied "It appears to be so".

Mr. Arthur Russell, the Board of Agriculture officer who held the local inquiry, reported that he had held two meetings in one day. He had gone over the land with forty to fifty interested parties and a hundred people attended an evening meeting to hear an explanation of the decisions.

When asked how the figure of fifteen acres was arrived at for the allotments, it was explained that this should be enough for those cottagers engaged in agricultural pursuits. Mr. Russell stated that there were about three hundred cottages (11), one hundred and fifty "at the Gloucester end", that is Matson, and the other hundred and fifty at the village end. He continued "but nearly all the Gloucester cottages are £8 to £10 cottages and they are chiefly occupied by artizans and clerks who go into Gloucester to do their business. At the village end, about one hundred out of the one hundred and fifty cottagers are of the same character, and only about fifty of them really follow agricultural pursuits at all". He stated that all the small owners farm the land themselves; they did not sublet" - not the small ones".

Mr. C.H. Kenderdine, agent of the Hon. Robert Marsham Townsend, whose address is given in the Award Schedule as Frognal, Footacray, Kent, put the case for the large landowners. He stated that with regard to the land being cut up into small strips in the common fields, there was "a great amount of trespass done by the common fields being open and damage is done by the hauling off of the crops. There is no pooper means of access to the strips, and the crops are sometimes hauled off through standint corn in order to get to the roadways, and altogether agriculture cannot be carried on at all and a great deal of land is going out of cultivation. In fact, one of the fields has entirely gone to waste because no one will cultivate it; that is Moorend Field" (12)

It was further claimed that damage was done carting manure, "not always in the finest weather" and even turning the ploughs damaged other people's strips. It was impossible to grow cabbages, peas and beans because of the cattle being turned out "at certain times". There was a great waste of time moving implements from plot to plot and often plots were very far from the homesteads (13) Cattle being turned out in the fields "means that the land must be laid down to corn. Of course corn growing for profit is an utterly impossible proceeding, especially in these common fields which are so liable to trepass". Every man at the meeting except one signed in favour of inclosure.

Mr. Kenderdine pointed out a further advantage of inclosure; namely "the building frontages would be opened up". There was, he asserted, "great feeling amongst small owners" .. who .. "have bought ... this land as freehold and are rather loth to acknowledge that there are any common rights ... if there happens to be a frontage they cannot build on it .. (they) ... have bought land as freehold and it has been described so in sale catalogues (and they) find they cannot do what they like with it."

Mr. Ponting (14), a small owner of two strips of three quarters of an acre each in two separate fields, agreed with the difficulties already mentioned and added that if onions or turnips

were grown they were "taken away". If inclosure came about his land would be worth £10 - £20 more and "I could build a house if I liked".

Another witness Mr. George Eshelby, "assistant overseer of this parish" stated that he had "known the land 50 years and more" and had at one time held thirty acres, some of it "2½ miles from the homestead". He had "also managed Lady Downe's allotment land for 27 or 28 years as steward". The allotments were, he claimed, difficult to let "even where the hard turnpike road comes to them".

The Provisional Order was confirmed on 6 July 1895 (15).

Amongst the papers in the Gloucester City Library is a handbill, not separately catalogued, as follows:

INCLOSURE OF OPEN FIELDS

UPTON ST. LEONARDS

A MEETING
Will be held as arranged
TUESDAY EVENING NEXT
September 10, at 7 o'clock
IN THE
READING ROOM

Mr. STURGE will attend

C.H. KENDERDINE

BRIDGEN & CO., WEST OF ENGLAND PRINTING WORKS, GLOUCESTER

Mr. Sturge, the Bristol Surveyor appointed to draw up the actual award, finally issued his findings on & October 1897, so that the meeting advertised would have taken place after July 1895, probably some time in 1897 when he could explain the award to those interested.

THE INCLOSURE AWARD

The Inclose Map (16, issued on 18 October, 1897)is certified as being based on the Ordnance Map of 1885 and was issued with a Schedule, which begins with the words:

"To all whom these Presents shall come I Robert Fowler Sturge of the City and County of Bristol Land Surveyor, Send Greeting"

The Schedule records the gift of six acres of land for the Recreation ground by the Trustees of the Blisset estate, and then gives details of footpaths and access roads. Two footpaths in Stanley Field were extinguished and one in Brimps Field was straightened. The "Private, Carriage and Occupation Roads" are marked on the map with letters; their widths are specified either 12, 15 or 20 ft, and precise details of the share of the cost and upkeep allocated to the owners of the new plots and occasionally to the Parish Council. (17).

Pages 10 to 36 of the Schedule give the details of the award under the following headings:

Persons Interested Residence and Description	No. on Map (1) Part I Part II	Allotments Extent Fences to be made and maintained by owner	Lands in respect of which claims allowed and allotments made No. on (2) Tithe Map	Description	Extent	Tenure
(Example)		a. r. p.			a.r.p.	
William Bailey Matson Hill, Upton St. Leonards Gardiner	43	0 2 14 Wheatridge Field	1958	Great Awe Field	23	
		Against the Road	1959		1 8	Copyhold (3)
					1 31	
		2 14 Against	1700	In Wheatridge		
		1 2 15 Allotment 45 & the Road		Field	1 2 20	Freehold

(1) The Award Map is divided into two parts.

(2) Tithe Map of 1841. Glos Record Office P3476

(3) Originally freeholders held their land by a fixed payment to the manor from an early date, while copyholders, although personally free, were bound by the custom of the manor. Originally copyholders were at the mercy of the lord of the manor who could demand higher rents, substitute new leases etc. By the nineteenth century there seems to be little difference between the two types of tenure.

The total area of the strips was 514 acres 0 roods 27 perches (18) The area of the land allotted was 491 acres 3 roods 28 perches. The difference of 22 acres 39 perches will be accounted for by the allotments, the fifteen acres referred to at the enquiry, and land for new access roads (19).

On page 37 we read:

"And I the said Robert Fowler Sturge do hereby order direct and appoint that good and sufficient Fences for inclosung the several Allotments hereinbefore described if not already set up and made shall be made within the space of Six Months from the Confirmation by the Board of Agriculture of my Award by the several persons owners for the time being of the said several Allotments on the sites hereinbefore in that behalf prescribed in which sites respectively a mark (sic) is drawn thus T on the said map".

This was signed by Robert Sturge 9 October 1897 and witnessed and confirmed by P.G. Craigie, Authorised by the President (Board of Agriculture).

There are four handwritten memoranda of Feb 1953, May and July 1964, and April 1967 of conveyances between the Parish Council and developers.

In examining the award, certain facts must be borne in mind:

1) That the total area of land in the parish was estimated at 2869 acres (20) of which the greater proportion, 1840 acres was pasture, whereas the open fields consisted of 534 acres, of which only 14 were pasture.
2) The enquiry gives the population of the village as 1400-1500: it also states that the "cottagers who follow agricultural pursuits" total 300, but that three-quarters of these are "artizans and clerks who go into Gloucester to do their business".
3) That some owners had land in severalty in addition to the strips they held in the open fields.

An analysis of the ninety land owners named in the Award Schedule reveals the following:

Residence	Number in Each Category
Upton & Matson	39 of whom 24 held less than 3 acres each
Adjoining Parishes	4
Gloucester	19
Glos. County	14
Extra County	7
Charities or Adress not given	7
	90

The occupations of these holders, not always easy to categorise, are as follows:

Professions and Trades (21)	23
Esquires and Gentlemen (22)	19
Farmers and Yeomen (23)	12
Spinsters and Widows	12
Employees (21)	10
Married Women (23)	5
Not specified	5
Charities and Churchwardens	4
	90

The sizes of the allotments are:

Number under 1 acre	29
Number between 1 and 10 acres	49
" " 10 " 20 "	9
" " 20 " 30 "	0
" " 30 " 40 "	1
" " 40 " 50 "	0
" " 50 " 60 "	0
" " 60 " 70 "	1
" with over 70 "	1
	90

It will be seen that 78 of the 90 people affected by the inclosure held less than 10 acres, but again it should be remembered that some of these may have held land elsewhere, or may have let their holding to someone else. It is instructive to look more closely at the names and occupations that appear on the schedule.

The biggest holding was probably farmed by a steward on behalf of the Rev. Henry Blisset. Thus the Court Rolls for 1883 read:

"Court Leet and Court Baron of the Rev. Henry Blisset and other Lords of the said Manor (24) ... Before Edward Theodore Gardner, Gentleman Steward there".

The steward of the next biggest landowner, the Hon. Robert Marsham Townsend was the Mr. Kenderdine who spoke on behalf of the larger landowners at the Enquiry. The other "esquires and gentlemen" who did not hold sufficient land to employ an agent, must have sublet directly to Upton tenants. Thus Benjamin Ackers of Huntley Manor had eleven acres, Charles Hale of Gloucester had three and Henry Small of Dursley had one. Others who lived in Upton may have cultivated the land themselves, although they are listed as gentlemen and not farmers, such as Thomas Houghton who had a quarter of an acre, and Edward Miles who had an acre.

The smallest plot was that of a widow, Mrs. Charlotte Smithers of Cheltenham who held a strip of 12 perch, less than a fourteenth of an acre, but the majority of small plots belonged to Upton people, some of them no doubt the "clerks and artisans" who worked in Gloucester. They also include:

G. Acreman of Matson, a coachman, who had			2	acres	2	rood	9	perches
William Bailey of Matson Hill, a gardener	"	"	2	"	0	"	11	"
Moses Chambers of Upton Hill, a carpenter	"	"			2	"	30	"
Thomas Davis, nr. Gloucester, an asylum attendant	"	"			1	"	13	"
George Eshelby (25) of Upton, schoolmaster	"	"					27	"
Edmund Morris of Upton, sadler	"	"	1	"	3	"	15	"
John Ponting (25) of Upton, retired police officer	"	"			2	"	26	"
Henry Poole of Upton, sexton to cemetary	"	"			3	"	1	"
George Rickards, Saintbridge, mechanic	"	"			1	"	25	"
Canon Scobell, Upton, rector	"	"	1	"	0	"	4	"
Henry Tidmarsh, Upton, woodman	"	"	1	"	1	"	7	"

Others, not included in the twelve "farmers and yeomen" listed above, may have had other connections with agriculture. Benjamin Ballinger of Upton was a "milk dealer", Richard Miles of Sneedham was a haulier, while William Richard Miles, also of Sneedhams was a cattle dealer.

It will be remembered that at the Enquiry Mr. Ponting, the retired police officer, was in favour of inclosure becasue "I could build a house if I liked", There is some evidence that the future growth of Gloucester was foreseen and land was being bought as an investment. A Gloucester soliciter, whose great grandfather had land both in the common fields and elsewhere in Upton, is of the opinion that this was why the land was acquired. The land was sold in 1900 to William Nicholls, the well known Gloucester builder (26). Another solicitor also held a small plot, as did Jobes Franklin, described as a house agent, and Henry Knowles, auctioneer, all of Gloucester. Other owners of small plots may well have sublet them for cultivation, but may have purchased them with the intention of building either a house for themselves or to sell as building plots.

Upton was certainly no longer an agricultural village, and the common field system was very different from the "typical" examples of the history books. Mr. Kenderdine's statement at the enquiry that it was impossible to grow cabbages, pease and beans, because of the cattle being turned out at certain times, was deceptive. In his lecture to the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club Canon Scobell refers to common pasture over the fields on Lammas Day August 1st, "a custom which of late years had for practical purposes fallen into disure, but one which was regularly observed by annually driving cattle over the fields, termed 'breaking the fields' so as to maintain the common rights". In fact the reports of the Court Leet (27) show that this "commoning" usually occurred in October or November, usually in one or two fields only, and lasting only a few days:

i.e. "October 25th 1883. Nuthill Field was broken and kept open that and the following day and William Archer and Mr. Issac Wiggale and Mr. Thomas Knight turned out cattle for that time".

October 23rd 1884. Rooksmoor to be broken "for that and the following day. Bottom Field next year."

Oct. 27th 1885. Bottom Field was broken and Church Field the year after.

It is evident that a small number of holders were inconvenienced for a short time. There was no question of a strict rotation of a limited number of crops from field to field as in medieval times. A photograph illustrating the report of Canon Scobell's lecture, shows a root crop growing alongside rough grass. Considering the large number of plots of under one acre - twenty nine, it is very probable that many of the owners must have used them as allotments in the modern sense of the term. The strips of each owner were not evenly distributed over two or three fields; two landowners had strips in ten fields and one in nine, but over fifty had strips in one field only.

A more cogent reason for inclosure was indeed touched on during the enquiry. Corn growing in England was no longer the profitable business it had been before the opening up of the American prairies and it was stated at the enquiry that "corn-growing for profit is an utterly impossible proceeding, especially in these common fields which are so liable to trespass" and that fences were regarded as encroachments. The most powerful economic incentive was the need to change from arable to dairy farming. Whereas in 1897 only 14 of the 534 acres were pasture in the common-fields, little arable farming now survives.

For those who wished to use their land, or a greater proportion of their land, as pastures it would be much more easy if they were to have fenced fields. Evidence had been given in the report that, even prior to inclosure, not all the allotments provided for the villagers by Lady Downe's Charity had been taken up and now there were to be ample allotments to be had from the parish council. (28). We may well belive the Board of Agriculture's officers when they reported that the owners affected were practically unanimous in favour of inclosure and only one man dissented at the public meeting. Unfortunately there is no record of the cost of fencing or hedging, and the smaller the plot, the greater the comparative expense. According to Gonner, even after 1801, when the General Act was passed:- "the parliamentary cost continued high while the administrative cost remained undiminished." (29)

In the Report on the Application for Inclosure it was stated: "The setting out of these allotments will of course, diminish the area to be alloted to the various owners" and we have seen that there was actually a difference of some twenty two acres in the area of land owned by the holders before and after the Award. In fact, of the ninety owners affected, 74 lost land, 3 received exactly the same amount as before and 13 gained in area. It is conceded that it would be very difficult to make the proportion of loss exactly the same in every case, and mostly the losses were small. It would have taken an inordinate amount of time to work out the percentage loss or gain in every one of the ninety awards, so a small sample of seven was taken. This was not a random sample, but intended to illustrate the range or differences.

Name	Size of Unenclosed strips	Size of Allotment	% Gain or Loss
Jabes Franklin	2r 30	2r 28	- 1.81%
Benjamin Ackers	11a. Or 25	10a.3r 28	- 2.07%
William Organ	18a. 3r 31	17a.3r 12	- 5.09%
Hon. Robt. Townsend	67a. Or 15	63a.Or 23	- 5.88%
Ecclesiastic Commissioners	2r 36	2r 28	- 6.89%
Rev. H. Blisset	78a. 2r 28	79a.3r 23	+ 1.54%
J. Dearman Birchall	10a. 2r 31	16a.Or 6	+49.97%

The first, second and sixth examples seem reasonable, but the seventh is inexplicable. It might be thought that there might have been a purchase at the time of the inclosure, but there is no corresponding sale of land, and moreover, in the case of Walter Wilkins there are two allotments - one under his name and a second recorded thus: "Ditto as purchased from Ed Weedon Wilkins who purchased from Wm. Sadler Hall". It might be thought that the bigger gains or losses might be in proportion to the fencing or hedging required for the new allotment, but a cursory examination shows that the Blisset and Townesend estates had greater lengths of fencing to provide than Mr. Birchall.

In his lecture Canon Scobell said:

"These strips, which thus appear to have existed generally in this and other uninclosed parishes were separated from each other not by hedges but by lengths of unploughed grass called "bulks" or "Meers"."

The very existence of balks has of course been questioned, and different opinions expressed for nearly a century. Seebohm had postulated balks in all common fields, but the Orwins (30) were of the opinion that balks mentioned in documents were "not bounderies, but common ways given access to strips" and Beresford (31) refers to a balk as "an unploughed lane at the edge of the arable fields". On the other hand Finberg writes (32) "Westcote, on the Oxfordshire border, still keeps a number of arable strips divided only by grass balks, the sole visible remnant of the communal husbandry which had supported so many generations of Gloucestershire peasants".

An amateur historian is probably the last person to enter into the controversy; but the author ventures to suggest that, just as the divisions between modern allotments vary considerably, so may those have varied between strip and strip, field and field, and village and village in the open fields. Some farmers may have ploughed their strips to the very edge and trodden out a path on the soil after each ploughing, others may have left an unploughed strip of turf at the end of their strips, despite its becoming a harbour for weeds and vermin.

The final question that arises in considering the history of Upton open fields is its fragmentation into fourteen separate places. It has, of course been long established that there was no universal two-field or three-field system in England. At its inclosure in 1819, Mardon in Herefordshire had "some 1000 acres .. These lay in forty six fields and patches ..."(33) Gray continues "The three field townships which were once existent in the county (Herefordshire), and which must have had fields that were more or less compact, had clearly survived in not more than four or five places" and again "open arable fields of this county had before the days of parliamentary enclosure so shrunken that they constituted not more than two and one-half per cent of its total area" (34). Gray also states: "Several Tudor and Jacobean surveys have established ... that departures from the three field system took place ..... as early as the sixteenth century, especially in the counties of the western midlands ... and above all in the valley of the Severn".

From this it might seem surprising that Upton was not enclosed earlier, being situated partly in the Severn valley, but it is possible that, becoming increasingly a village of people working in Gloucester, there was not the incentive amongst the small strip holders to enlarge their holdings and inclose them.

It is not possible to explain how the fragmentation of the open fields came about, but it is possible to suggest a number of reasons. Study of the map reveals that some of the fields fall into groups. The largest of these, Little Awe field, Great Awefield and Wheatridge Field lie to the north west of the village, and these are connected by an old enclosure to the Bottom Field to the north. A smaller group consistes of Stanley Field and Rooksmoor Field with an old enclosure between them on the southern side of the village. Church Field itself lies between the two groups and might originally have been attached to either. These fields all lie between the 45 and 55 metre contour lines. A third, Brimpsfield, lies on a gentle slope further to the south at about 135-150 metres: not far to the east, with a small old enclosure between, is Moorend Field, but, it will be remembered, this was the field that had fallen out of cultivation by the time of the enquiry. These fields may have originally formed the "three" or "four" fields of a traditional open field system, but we are left with four other fields; Panley Field, Nuthill Field, Seat Field and Crow's Nest scattered widely at some distance from the others and higher up on the escarpment - the appropriately named Crow's Nest being perched on the 200 metre line.

In the first place the scattered positions of these outlying fields are due to their geographical situation on higher, poorer soil facing north and being on steeper land more difficult to cultivate. It is, I think, probably that these were assarts won from the woodland, the ancient Buckholt, the remains of which still line the summit of the ridge. Etymology suggests that land was being won from the forest as far back as far back as Saxon times. Pincott Farm (35) (Pynekott in 1220) may originally have been Pinna's Cottage. Farther to the west (36) are Kimsbury House, perhaps the settlement of Cynemaer. The name, Seat Field, may just possibly be derived from On saeti, "a high place" as in "Arthur's Seat" or from On saetr" mountain pasture". (37)

Other fields to the south of the village show traces of ridges, suggesting that they may have been inclosed at an early date, and Canon Scobel speaks of "traditions of inclosure by arrangement", presumably referring to more recent times. The considerable area of land lying between Brimps Field and Awe Field has in its centre Grove Court, one of the three Upton Manors, which eventually passed to the Blissets, who also held land in the opne fields. According to Gonner "Gloucestershire 'court farms' are very entire and lie well round the homesteads" (38). It is therefore possible that the powerful Berkeleys, Lygons and their successors managed to inclose some land from the open fields to consolidate their estate.

To the west of Grove Court and the village, and near the slopes of Robin's Wood Hill is Upton Common at Sneedham's Green. According to A.H. Smith (39) Sneedham, or Snedham implies a meadow "possibly one isolated from the main settlement" which fits the situation of Upton's Sneedham's Green. It may well be that this land was originally manorial waste on which the villagers established common rights. The common is not large, but in its centre, with common all round it, is a farm and enclosed field: (the presence of two or three other cottages suggest that these may well have been built by squatters in the past).

Today there are few traces of Upton's comparatively recent open field sustem. The northern group of fields is being overwhelmed with new houses and is no longer in the Parish. The point where Upton Lane crosses the motorway is in the middle of what was the Bottom Field, and looking southward the observer can see faint traces of plough ridges and also an access lane decreed by Mr. Sturge in the award. Again if the reader looks for a track (40) on the left hand side of the Painswick road a little beyond Hotel Tara he can follow it across a large field, part of the original Brimps Field, and where the track makes a sharp right-angled turn and then in a short distance turns to the left, he is walking along a section which Mr. Sturge straightened, albeit in a zig-zag fashion. At the very bottom, where the track meets Watery Lane, he will have great difficulty because it is so overgrown. He will notice that this section is in a cutting five or six feet deep - probably because this was the track from the medieval village up to Brimpsfield. Looking across the valley in a southerly direction he will see the ridges of the Moorend Field which was reported to have fallen out of cultivation by the time of the Enquiry. In the centre of the village in Bondend Road outside a bungalow called Meerstones is one of the meerstones used to mark the field strips. (41).

It would be appropriate to conclude with the words of Canon Scobell (42):

> "Although such changes have become necessary, it is with some regret that the link with the archaic past is severed, and the system adopted for centuries by the makers of England, abandoned.
>
> This, however, is one of the processes at work by which
>
> 'The older order changeth, yielding place to new".

R. Davis, E.M. & J.V. Ruffell.

References

1. Reported in the Proceedings of the Club, Vol XIII, Part III, (August 1900).
2. The actual award schedule of 1897 does not list the Percivals as holders of strips in the common fields.
3. Gloucester City Library, Gloucestershire Collection, 321.1.
4. In the Award Schedule, 90 owners are listed.
5. Mrs. Harriet Eshelby had the smallest strip 27 poles - about 1/6 acre.
6. The recreation ground is situated between the Pound and the King's Head: a title was given up for the construction of the M5 motorway which now skirts it.
7. Sneedham's Green is still an open common with sheep usually to be seen grazing there. Cud Hill is on the border of the parish near Painswick Beacon. A villager whose father had a strip in the Common Field tells me that villagers were allowed to quarry stone at Cud Hill on payment of a shilling.
8. Gloucester City Library, Gloucestershire Collection, RF 321.2.
9. Joseph Arch, the founder some years earlier, of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union was at this time a Member of Parliament and may be the Mr. Arch of the Committee, but, if so, I would have thought it more likely that he would have been nominated by the House.
10. Gloucester City Library, Gloucestershire Collection, 321.3.
11. It was stated at another point in the enquiry that the population of the village was about 1400-1500 people - an average of nearly five people per cottage.
12. This outlying field was on the sloping hillside under the Cotswold edge where the soil is lighter and receives less sunlight. It was also some way from the village.
13. According to the Tithe Map of 1841 William Green, the owner of the house now occupied by the authors, had 2 roods behind the house and one small strip about one mile away in the Bottom Field.
14. In the Award Schedule he is described as a "retired police officer".
15. (58 & 59 Vict.) Inclosure (Upton St. Leonards) (Ch.IXXVIII) Provisional Order Confirmation Act 1895. Gloucester City Library, Gloucestershire Collection RR321.1.
16. Gloucestershire Records Office, p. 347b. S/D1.
17. For example; a twelve foot wide road from the main road to Painswick across Awefield to Larkham Farm; the cost to be shared between the farmer and the Parish Council. This track has now been covered by the Gloucester Corporation Matson Housing Estate, but Larkham Farm is now the Redwell Restaurant.
18. This figure was arrived at by adding the individual areas given in the Award Schedule; the Application for the Provisional Order states 534 acres.
19. It has not been possible to trace any details of the principles on which Mr. Sturge worked, nor the cost of hedging etc., which fell on the landowners - historians state that in any inclosure this was probably a heavy expense for small proprietors.
20. Tithe Award of 1841 Glos. Record Office P347b SD 2/1 but this includes some land at Tredworth and Sudmeadow.
21. It is not possible to know whether a "carpenter", for example was an independent craftsman or an employee.

22. Includes the Rt. Hon. Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester and the Rt. Hon. Robert Marsham Townsend.
23. Rosa Davis is described as a "married woman", but her address was Rees Farm, Upton, and she held more than six acres of copyhold land.
24. There were originally three manors in Upton, one held in the time of Edward II by Sibella de la Grave, who had to find a man with bows and arrows for forty days. The manor was later held by the Berkeleys who sold it to Sir Arnold Ligon and eventually passed to the Blissets. Grove Court is a half timbered building nearly opposite the King's Head public house on the Painswick road.
25. Gave evidence at the Enquiry.
26. This land is actually being developed for building at the present time, 1978 - eighty years after the inclosure.
27. Glos. R.O., P347 FM 5.
28. Until the recent steep rise in the price of vegetables (1978) there have always been allotments lying fallow in Upton.
29. C.K. Gonner, Common Land And Enclosure (1966). The only villager I have been able to question about this, told me that his father's business was very adversely affected by the inclosure.
30. C.S. & C.S. Orwin, The Open Field (Third Ed. 1967).
31. Beresford, History on the Ground (1957)
32. H.P.R. Finberg, Gloucestershire. The History of the Landscape (1955)
33. H.L. Gray, The English Field System (1915)
34. Ibid.
35. It is still there today below the "landslip" on the Bath Road
36. Kimsbury Farm and Kimsbury House are to the east of the Gloucester Painswick road.
37. A.H. Smith, The Place Names of Gloucestershire Part II (1964)
38. E.C.K. Gonner, Common Land and Enclosure (1966)
39. A.H. Smith, The Place Names of Gloucestershire Part II (1964)
40. Footpath EVL 55
41. Two have recently been sent to the City Museum by the developers of the building estate on the former Awefield and one of the estate roads is named Meerstones.
42. From his lecture to the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club.

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THE MANORIAL COURT ROLLS OF UPTON ST. LEONARDS 1849-1883

As the interest of this exercise was centred around the village of Upton St. Leonards in the second half of the nineteenth century i.e. round the time of the final enclosure of the village fields, only the later collections of documents pertaining to the "Court Leet and Court Baron and other Lords of the said manor" were examined.

The first part of every record is the same: written in careful copperplate, and couched in the same legal phraseology it defines rights of common and reiterates obligatory duties. Then there follows in the second part, usually written in a different hand, less well formed and often difficult to read, a report of various derelictions and defaults and the resulting decisions taken to deal with them, e.g. failure to keep drains in good order or maintaining gates and hedges satisfactorily: perhaps more important were the decisions made about encroachments. In this section also are the re-appointments of the officials, usually the same people each year.

These records also are largely repetitive, but they do present some idea of the conduct of the affairs of the village. So, in 1849 a bill for £1. 3s. 11d. for the repair of the village pound was presented by the hayward; in the same year, several persons were in "default of keeping the grips and watercourses on their respective lands properly cleaned", and the hayward was instructed to give them three days notice and after that, he was to do the work: for this he was to be paid fourpence per lug by the "respective persons making default".

People do not appear to have been in a hurry to pay their fines. In 1851 it is reported that the steward has gone through the rentals of several of the encroachments and found considerable arrears due by several parties, and it was "unanimously considered and resolved only fair and honest that all should be paid before December 1st., or prompt and legal proceedings taken".

One gets the impression that encroachment on the various common lands was a continuous process. So in 1852 it is recorded that the proceeds of the enfranchisement of the several encroachments shall be applied "for some public purpose within the powers of their trust". It is also recorded that "thirty years purchase should be the terms upon which any encroachment should proceed."

These last records give the impressions of a system that is breaking down. Year after year the same defaults are noted:- instructions to mend hedges between Curtis Orchard and Stanley Common, (Thomas Brown's responsibility), a gate across the lane leading from Murren End, (Mr. James), and other gates at Whinney-croft and across the Portway Road, are all reported year after year as needing attention, and each time the bailiff is instructed to carry out the work if it is not doen, but apparently nothing happens. The work is reported as not done and each year the fines for non-completion are increased. In 1854 it is noted "As no person interested in the same attends to complain of the non-

compliance with the said order, we rescind the same." But the gate problems are still being noted in 1866. In 1867, however, a fence enclosing land in the Stanley Field by Wm. Field is ordered to be removed, and in 1868 it is recorded that the fence has been dismantled.

One tale of villainy begins in the year 1853, when George Miles is reported as having "encroached on the common field called Wheatridge by erecting a cottage or building. Its removal by November next is ordered. If it is not dismantled after seven days' notice by the steward, action is to be taken. In 1854 however, Geroge Miles and his building is still there, as he is in 1855, although in that year he definitely promised to remove same. In 1856, however, not only has Mr. Miles not budged from the field called Wheatridge, but he has encroached further by making an obstruction in the path leading from Camp House to Brimpsfield to Clappers Leaze, by setting up a dry hedge across the same". Again the bailiff receives his instructions, but it is not until 1857 that the flagrant George Miles is removed, at a cost of twenty-five shillings, and one is left wondering if he ever paid up.

From 1870 to 1882 the records become merely formal with a brief half-hearted complaint about "non-commoners" in 1871 and the gates continue still to be in question.

It is interesting to note the names of the various people connected with the records. In 1849, James Wintle is named as the Court Baron and remains so until 1860 when Henry Hyett takes his place; he is followed by Charles Brooke-Hunt in 1866 from whom Henry Blissett takes over in 1882. John Webb and Robert Freeman are noted as hayward and bailiff respectively until 1865 when George Witcombe replaces Webb. Next year, Edwin Davies takes over as hayward, and there is no other change until 1875.

Each record concludes with the signatures of all jurors present: it is interesting to note that only in one or two rate instances are there jurors present who sign with a cross. Very few names persist more than four or five years, so that the list for 1849 is totally different from that of 1883. Among the more recurring names there are Witcombes from 1849 to 1882; H. Morris appears from 1852 to 1883; W. Nicholls appears from 1849 until 1870. Among the names of families still in the village today, the name Barnard first appears in 1870, Tombs in 1881, Rumsey and Townsend in 1883.

E.M. Ruffell