

U N I V E R S I T Y O F B R I S T O L

D E P A R T M E N T O F E X T R A - M U R A L S T U D I E S



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STUDIES

XI

Essays on Local Historical Records by the
University Extra-Mural Class at Gloucester 1978-79

Edited by Brian Smith

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FOREWORD

The intention was to concentrate research on the history of Gloucestershire buildings, but in the end some of these studies were not completed, while others, continuing from the previous year, were successfully finished. The booklet therefore is the mixture much as before.

For the first time the class had joint tutors - a distinct advantage since our knowledge tends to be complementary and this allowed uninterrupted work despite the occasional business absence of one of us. Having tried this once successfully, we hope to repeat the arrangement and increase the size of the class next year.

Thanks are again due to the Gloucestershire County Council for allowing the class to meet in the Record Office, to the staff of the Extra-Mural Department of the University for typing and publishing the research, and of course to the members of the class for producing and sharing such worthwhile work.

Brian S. Smith

Margaret A. Richards

MEN AND ARMOUR FOR GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1608

THE ARMOUR

by John W. Wyatt

On the last day of June 1608 the Privy Council sent a letter to the Lord Lieutenant of each county stating,

'It is so long since any generall Muster and Survey hath bin taken ... of the armed Forces of this Realme, as we cannot but very much doubt that in this happie time of peace, there hath been no less neglect and decay of necessary provisions for warr, than there is comonly in men an improvident forgetfulness of sickness as long as they find themselves in good health ... His Maties pleasure is that you cause a generall view to be taken of all the Forces in that county, both horse and foote ... and enrollment made of all the numbers trayned and untrayned, but especially that the trayned bands may be made complete ... as also by causing the defects of the Armor, weapons and furniture to be sufficiently repaired and amended. At which generall view it shall be likewise expedient that such of the Clergy that hath bin appointed to find Arms ... may be ordered to cause the same to be shewed at these musters.'

Each division of the county could be mustered separately so that the men did not have to travel so far, but, because it had been found in the past that persons who did not possess the armour they had been charged to provide had frequently borrowed the same from another division, the musters were all to be held on the same day if that could conveniently be done. A supply of gunpowder with match, bullets and other provisions was to be kept in a safe store in the county town or such other place as the Lord Lieutenant thought fit. Finally, the Lords Lieutenants were 'to returne a perfect and orderley Certificate unto us by the last of November next.' (1)

The Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire was Lord Berkeley, appointed in 1603 in place of Lord Chandos of Sudeley Castle who had held that office all through the troubled period of the Spanish Armada and was, naturally, not pleased by his replacement.(2) Lord Berkeley relied heavily upon John Smith, and the latter's serious illness in Gloucester for six weeks in July and August appears to have caused some delay in the necessary arrangements for the muster. (3)

Gloucestershire was divided into five divisions: three large ones - Kiftsgate, Berkeley, and Cirencester and the Seven Hundreds - and two smaller ones: the Forest, and Gloucester City and the Inshire. The three larger divisions were each expected to provide 26 per cent of the requisite men and armour; the Forest 12 per cent; the Inshire Division 10 per cent. (4) The certificate returned to the Privy Council after the muster twelve years earlier in 1596 stated that there were 3,000 trained men in Gloucestershire and sufficient armour for 4,000. (5) The certificate returned for the Inshire Division in 1618 stated that the Trained Bands for the division numbered 300. (6) As the Inshire supplied one-tenth of the county forces it may be assumed that the requisite strength of the Gloucestershire trained bands in 1618 was 3,000. We may assume therefore that the trained bands in 1608 were expected to number 3,000 men.

The Privy Council's fear that there had been 'neglect and decay in the necessary provisions for warr' was fully justified, and that is not surprising for, since the last threat of invasion from Spain in 1599, training had been suspended to save costs. (7) Of 18,622 able bodied men listed in Men and Armour, about 2,108 were trained: 742 as pikemen, 631 as musketeers and 506 as calivermen. The trained bands were, therefore, 892 men below full strength. The armour, too, though - except for muskets - sufficient to arm those men already trained, was insufficient to arm the trained bands at full strength.

The organisation of the military forces and the provision of arms and armour for their use, was based partly upon ancient tradition, partly upon feudal custom, and partly upon laws which had become obsolete but were, nevertheless, still observed in principle. It is impossible to give a precise and concise account of it because the system itself was imprecise, and anyone wishing for an adequate account of it should read Lindsay Boynton, The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638, which has provided most of the background knowledge for this article. It tells how the Privy Council exerted continual pressure upon the county authorities to maintain and strengthen the efficiency of the militia, and how in general, the county authorities tried to evade the expense of doing so. The nobility still maintained the feudal tradition of exacting military service from their tenants and retainers and maintained their own forces, independent of the county militia. Consequently there is no information in Men and Armour of the armour held by them and, in particular, of that in the possession of Lord Berkeley and Lord Chandos, which must have been considerable. The clergy, exempt from personal service but obliged to provide armour for the militia, did so through the Bishop, not the Lord Lieutenant. Therefore their armour is not recorded in Men and Armour. Five years later, in 1613, when the Bishop took 'a view of the horse, armour, and other warlike furniture assessed upon the clergy wthin the dioces of Glouce.' they held

armour for 39 pikemen, 25 musketeers and 67 caliver men; a total of 131 foot soldiers, and in addition for 18 horsemen.
(8)

The corporate towns, too, strove to keep control of their own trained bands and armour, free from interference by the Lord Lieutenant. Bristol achieved complete independence and is not mentioned in Men and Armour. Gloucester's charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1561 states, 'We grant that the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen ... shall array and arm the musters of the city ... and no other ... shall interfere or have jurisdiction in the city.' (9) The Lord Lieutenant did, however, attend musters of the City and Inshire - acting through the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen as Deputy Lieutenants, and all Gloucester's trained men and armour are listed in Men and Armour. Tewkesbury received a charter to the same effect in 1609 (10) but appears to have insisted on the same rights in 1608 for no armour was listed for that borough in Men and Armour and though 455 able-bodied men were recorded only two were stated to be trained. Possibly these two had recently come to live in the borough and had not been incorporated into the trained band of the town. No armour is listed for Cirencester though the trained men are, and that applies also to Tetbury borough although Lord Berkeley was lord of that town.

One basic principle held the military system - if such it can be called - together: no one disputed that it was the duty of every Englishman to fight in defence of his country and to provide the arms necessary for that purpose. That principle had been observed in Saxon times, and the Assize of Arms, 1181, and the Statute of Westminster, 1285, enacted that every man should arm himself with weapons appropriate to his wealth, and stated what those arms should be. Two Acts of 1558 (4 & 5 Philip and Mary c.2,3) repealed the earlier laws and substituted a scale of arms to be held according to the annual value of a man's estate or inheritance of freehold land, or the value of his moveable goods. There were ten groups of landowners, six groups for moveable goods. The extremes of each scale are shown below.

Land. £5 p.a.:-	1 corslet or almain rivet; 1 long-bow and sheaf of arrows; 1 steel cap; 1 bill or halberd.
£1,000 p.a.:-	6 demilaunces; 10 light horse; 40 corslets almain rivets and pikes; 30 long-bows, sheafs of arrows and steel caps; 20 bills or halberds, harquebuts and morions.
Goods. £10:-	1 long-bow, sheaf of arrows, steel cap and bill.
£200:-	1 light horse; 1 pike; 2 almain rivets, long-bows sheafs of arrows and steel caps; 1 harquebut and morion.

Failure to provide the arms was punishable by heavy fines. (11)

Most of the armour listed soon became obsolete and the Act of 1558 was repealed in the first year of the reign of James I, 1603. It was not replaced by a further act so future orders from the Privy Council for the provision of more modern arms were of dubious legality, based on the statutes of 1181 and 1285, though the legality of the Council's demands was never challenged. In 1600 Thomas Wilson wrote in his State of England: 'For the provision of armour every householder is charged to have in his house, in a readiness, such arms as is (sic) appointed by the Commissioner, and there is no householder so poor that is not charged with something ... unless he be a beggar.' (12)

The items of armour and the persons who held it, or were charged with its provision, are shown in Men and Armour in three different categories as illustrated by these entries for the village of Brockworth. First, in the list of able bodied men is stated

'George Longe husbandman. 2.p.tr. hath one corslet fur.'
etc.

Secondly, beneath the list of able bodied men is a further list of 'Inhabytants chardged with the findinge of Armour not before mentioned' (or 'not aforesaid')

'John Reeve, John Milton and John Thorne have betwene them one Calyver fur.'

etc.

Finally the last entry for the parish states

'Also the said Tythinge standeth chardged with the findinge of one Corslet and one Calyver with the fur.'

The entries vary, stating sometimes that a person 'hath', sometimes that he 'findeth', sometimes that he 'is charged with' some weapon. There is also some variation in the entries from different divisions. All the armour for Gloucester City and for the Forest Division is ascribed to individual holders, no mention is made of any tithing, parish or town being collectively charged with its provision, but in Kiftsgate Division, about five-sevenths of the armour is charged to the tithing or parish. In Dudstone and King's Barton Hundred, and in Berkeley and the Seven Hundreds Division, although most of the armour is charged to individuals some is charged to most of the tithings.

W.B. Willcox, in Gloucestershire, a Study in Local Government, 1590-1640, classifies the individually held armour as private equipment, that charged to the tithing or parish as public, but this does not appear to be a valid differentiation.(13) Frequently several persons were jointly charged with provision of some item. At English Bicknor five men shared a corslet; at Flaxley Elizabeth Hayll, widow, and an unspecified number of others had one musket; at Oldbury five men were each charged with provision of a fifth of a musket; at Redwick six men with a quarter of a musket; at Highnam and Hartpury men were charged 'with others' to provide some weapon. Obviously these weapons were just as publicly owned as those charged to a parish.

The armour listed consisted almost entirely of 'corslets fur.', 'muskets fur.', or 'calivers fur.'; fur.(furnished) indicating that it was complete with all its accoutrements. A corslet furnished was the complete equipment for a pikeman and consisted of armour protecting the upper half of the body, a helmet, or morion, and the pike which was 16 to 18 feet long. Pikemen were chosen from the tallest and strongest men. A musket furnished was the full equipment for a musketeer. He usually wore a jack - a leather jacket either quilted or strengthened by steel plate - a morion, and a bandolier to carry powder and shot. The musket was a heavy firearm with a barrel 4ft. 6ins. long; too heavy to be supported by the arms alone it had to be fired from a forked rest which the musketeer also had to carry, so he needed good physique. The advantage of the musket lay in its ability to pierce armour which the caliver could not do, being a lighter firearm which did not require a rest. The caliverman's other equipment was the same as the musketeer's.

A few odd items of equipment and obsolete weapons were listed: three bows and sheafs of arrows; six targets, or shields; eight halberds; two bills; six swords; three daggers; a gauntlet and two headpieces. Strangely, the oddest assortment of weapons was held by John Smyth himself: 'one corslet furnished, one birdinge peece, one Crossbowe and Gauntlet and Target, and three swordes and an holbert', and George James, clothier of North Nibley, also had 'a birdinge peece and a Crossbowe.'

Table 1 shows the amount of arms and armour available in each of the five divisions of the county. Table 2 shows: (a) the quota of armed men each division was expected to provide to maintain the trained bands at the strength of 3.00 men; (b) the number of men for whom armour was available; (c) what percentage of the quota could be armed.

TABLE 1

DIVISION	Charged to or held by individuals			Charged to Tithing or Parish			Total			Total Armed
	Cor.	Mus.	Cal	Cor.	Mus.	Cal.	Cor.	Mus.	Cal	
Gloucester	40	38	25				40	38	25	103
Dudstone & K.B.	51	35	47	29	8	24	80	43	71	194
Inshire Div.	91	73	72	29	8	24	120	81	96	297
Forest	82	57	110				82	57	110	249
Kiftsgate	40	20	41	118	36	101	158	56	142	356
Berkeley	203	208	137	49	28	15	253	236	152	641*
Seven Hunds.	162	96	122	68	33	95	230	129	217	576
Total for County	578	454	482	264	105	235	843	559	717	2119

* Half a corslet provided by an individual, half by tithing

TABLE 2

DIVISION	Full strength of trained bands	No. of men armed	% of 'quota'
City & Inshire	300	297	99.00
Forest	360	249	69.17
Kiftsgate	780	356	45.64
Berkeley	780	641	82.18
Seven Hundreds	780	576	73.85
Total	3000	2119	70.63

It should be remembered that, in addition to the armour shown in these tables, the clergy had armour - probably enough for about 130 men - and that the towns of Tewkesbury, Cirencester and Tetbury also had armour which should have been sufficient for about a hundred more men.

It appears, however, that the county was expected to provide more arms than were sufficient to equip the trained bands. The certificate sent to the Privy Council after the must in 1596 recorded armour for 4,000 men. In 1590 the Lord Lieutenant mustered the trained men and armour for the City and Inshire Division and a month later mustered all the able-bodied men and armour over and above that for the trained bands. On that occasion 'many made default, which defaults were afterwards mustered and diverse (divers) comitted for on(e) night.' There was armour complete for 70 men and incomplete for 166, so it appears that the Inshire was expected to provide arms for about 230 men in addition to the 300 in the trained band.(14)

These extra arms were needed to equip the pressed levies: men pressed to serve abroad in Ireland or on the continent. They were seldom taken from the trained bands, which were for home defence, but usually from the ranks of the unemployed, vagrants, ne'er-do-wells, or paupers. The Privy Council ordered the county to impress a specified number, usually at short notice, and the captains, magistrates and constables of each division decided which men should be pressed to provide the divisional quota. The county had to arm the men and to provide 'coat and conduct money' i.e. to provide each man with a coat and pay for his wages and subsistence until he reached the appointed rendezvous and became part of the royal army. Almost a thousand men were sent out of Gloucestershire between 1591 and 1608 for service in the Low Countries, Normandy, Brittany and Ireland.(15) One hundred were sent to Ireland just before the muster of 1608.(16) The pressed levies were a considerable expense for the county. When 200 men were pressed for service in Brittany in 1592 arms and armour for each of the pikemen cost 46s. 8d.; for each of the 28 musketeers 45s.; for each of the 102 calivermen 30s. The coat for each man cost 12s. and the conduct money amounted to £110. On this occasion the county paid £19 for some 'armour brought out of Normandy'.(17)

Arming the pressed levies was a steady drain on the supply of armour in the county. Moreover armour deteriorated rapidly unless well cared for; leather straps perished, steel armour rusted if not kept oiled and had to be rubbed down with sand which soon made it too thin to be serviceable. Calivers were gradually being replaced by muskets which were more expensive. It is not surprising that after suspension of training for seven years the muster of 1608 revealed a considerable deficiency of arms and armour.

Tables 1 and 2 show that of the five divisions the Inshire most nearly achieved its quota of armour. This might be expected for it was the most compact division, the one in which the men and armour could most easily be mustered and inspected, and amongst its citizens were many wealthy merchants and tradesmen. Kiftsgate Division failed even to supply half its quota, partly because the armour for Tewkesbury was not included, though even if it had been the division would not have achieved more than half. The Seven Hundreds division possessed 73 per cent of its quota of arms despite non-inclusion of armour from Cirencester and Tetbury. Possibly the replacement of Lord Chandos of Sudeley Castle as Lord Lieutenant by Lord Berkeley caused some resentment and lack of co-operation in the north of the county. Kiftsgate was the most scattered division; the most difficult to administer. Delay in arrangements for the muster caused by John Smyth's illness may well have added to the difficulty. It was not until 24 August that a meeting was held at Berkeley to make arrangements for the muster in September. The Berkeley muster rolls had been compiled before the meeting was held.(18) Berkeley was not a convenient meeting place for officials from Kiftsgate hundred.

Despite these qualifications, the returns of arms and armour reflect the varying wealth and prosperity of the five divisions of the county and particularly the difference in wealth between the Cotswolds and the Severn vale and the escarpment below Gloucester. Omitting the Inshire, Berkeley division was pre-eminent not only in the quantity but in the quality of its armour for it held almost half the muskets in the county. The good returns from the Seven Hundreds Division is principally due to the stocks of armour held in the vale villages in Whitestone Hundred: Hardwicke had complete arms for 17 men, Stonehouse for 16, Longney and Frocester for 14 each. John Smyth wrote of Berkeley hundred, 'For the state and eminency of the yeomanry this hundred is allowed the pre-eminence before any of the other thirty hundreds of the county.'(19) The growth of the woollen cloth industry had enhanced the wealth of this and the other Hundreds in the vale and escarpment abut the consequent decay of the wool trade had depleted the wealth of the Cotswolds. There was comparatively little armour in those Cotswold market towns whose magnificent churches bear witness to their former wealth: Chipping Campden had arms for 9 men, Stow-

on-the-Wold 5, Northleach 8, Winchcombe 3, Lechlade 11, Fairford 8. Cheltenham had more armour than any other place in Kiftsgate Division, enough for 13 men. Painswick in the Seven Hundreds had arms for 36.

The Privy Council ordered that the muster of 1608 should include 'all the forces in the countie both horse and foote.' Only brief mention may be made here of the horse. No direct information is readily available concerning the number of horse which Gloucestershire was expected to provide. The certificate returned by the Inshire after a muster in 1618 shows that it was then charged with the provision of twenty light horse (20) and as the Inshire provided one-tenth of the county force we may assume that the whole county was charged with the provision of 200 horse. In 1626, Berkeley hundred was charged with 18 horse; 3 heavily armed cuirassiers and 15 lightly armed dragoons.(21) The figure of 18 from Berkeley hundred is roughly in line with 200 from the county. The onus of providing horse fell on the gentry - men with freehold land worth £80 or more a year - or on the wealthier clergy, though by a sumptuary clause in the Act of 1558 husbands could also be charged if their wives were extravagantly dressed.

The returns for the horse in Men and Armour are remarkable for their scarcity; only 15 light horse were listed: 9 from the Seven Hundreds, 3 from the Forest, one each from the other three divisions. Two 'lances' - heavily armed horse - were also listed, one from Kiftsgate, one from Berkeley division. In addition Sir Robert Woodroofe of Alvington had 'armour for six horsemen' but, presumably, not the horses or men, and at Todenham, in Kiftsgate division there was 'furniture for one horseman' and one 'petronell fur.' A petronel was a cavalry pistol but in this instance could mean a horseman armed with that weapon. In all less than one tenth of the requisite strength of horse was available.

First thoughts suggest that Men and Armour must be inaccurate, but Lindsay Boynton in The Elizabethan Militia, writes at length on the reluctance of the gentry to provide horse even at the height of the Armada crisis, and Jeremy Goring and Dr. Joan Wake, Northamptonshire Lieutenancy Papers, 1580-1614 give a long account of the opposition by the gentry of that county to the orders of the Privy Council; opposition varying from procrastination and pleas of poverty to downright defiance.(22) One would like to think that the Gloucestershire gentry were more patriotic though at the Inshire muster in 1618 only half of the twenty horse required were forthcoming.(23) Judgement must be suspended until further research has been made into documents in the Public Record Office.

GLOSSARY

ALMAIN RIVET:	Flexible light body armour. Superseded by corslet.
BILL:	Light battle axe.
CORSLET:	Armour for upper part of body worn by pikemen.
CORSLET FUR. or FURNISHED:	Full equipment for pikeman including pike 16-18 feet long.
DEMILAUNCE or LANCE:	Heavy cavalry. Horse partly armoured. Men with three-quarter length armour and high boots armed with heavy lance. Superseded by CUIRASSIERS.
GAUNTLET:	Armoured glove.
HALBERD:	Combined spear and bill.
HARQUEBUT:	Early firearm superseded by caliver.
JACK:	Leather jacket, quilted or sewn with metal plates.
LIGHT HORSE:	Light cavalry wearing protective armour armed with pistol and staff. Later known as DRAGOONS.
MORION:	Visorless helmet.
TARGET:	Round shield.

For CALIVER and MUSKET see text.

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THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE MAPS OF FERDINANDO STRATFORD

by A. Bailey

The practice and profession of land-surveying developed rapidly in the 18th century in both numbers and skill of surveyors. In provincial England away from London and the South-East it is rare to find good large-scale estate maps earlier than about 1700, but by the end of the century the move for estate improvement and inclosure had made map-making commonplace, surveying had become accurate and draughtsmanship transformed from an artistic and sometimes crude representation to severely practical planning. In Gloucestershire Ferdinando Stratford was the most expert surveyor in this first period of significant change. During the years 1748-1759 he was active as a surveyor and map maker in Gloucestershire, producing sixteen known maps.

He was a member of a long-established Cotswold gentry family, being born at Guiting Power in 1719. Of his early training nothing is known (though enquiries have been made in both London and Bristol) but throughout his life he usually described himself as 'engineer'. Indeed his later work indicated his interest in waterway navigation and he is also reputed to have designed Bromsberrow Place, an enlargement in Classical style of an older farmhouse which was completed in 1768, two years after his death at Tidenham in 1766.

His first known map is of the Hawling estate of William Wyndham, whose wife was a Stratford. It is a large map, in ink and watercolour on paper, executed to a high standard with an ornate cartouche, two compass roses and a detailed terrier in a separate volume, suggesting both formal training and some experience from the twenty-nine year old surveyor. In 1749 he issued a prospectus for a one-inch to the mile map of Gloucestershire, to be completed by 1756. The cost was to be half a guinea, with your own coat of arms engraved for an extra guinea. This map was never produced however, and we know of no other maps until 1753, when he surveyed the parish of Quenington at the time of inclosure. This led to two commissions for Humphrey Praed to survey the Williamstrip Park estate and Court Farm at Quenington. His most important commission the next year was the survey of the manor of Cam for the Earl of Berkeley, for which he received £71. 4s. Od. In 1755 he carried out a post-inclosure survey of Hawling. The period in which he appears to have been most active were the years 1757-1759 when he produced nine maps - the most important being two of the Forest of Dean for the Surveyor-General, John Pill.

Most of Stratford's maps are of a very high standard, all in ink and watercolour on paper. The decorative cartouches usually contain scallops and tendrils, and in all but the first he signed himself as 'Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer'. Houses are shown in lock plan coloured pink, trees are given shadows, and many maps mark field gates. Five of the maps have hachuring to indicate contours.

The map of the manor of Matson has not been traced, its existence only known because of a payment of £6. 7s. 7d. by the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester in 1760. As the Berkeley Castle muniments show that Stratford was paid sums in the region of £70 for the large estate maps of Slimbridge and Cam, this must have been a small survey. The manor of Matson was subject to a fourteen-year lease and the survey was probably undertaken for its renewal. A further missing map is that of Court Farm, Quenington in 1754, which is mentioned in a catalogue of the Williamstrip Park estate records compiled about 1960. The Public Record Office has an unsigned sketch map (F17/3) of an inclosure planned at Great Staplidge in the Forest of Dean, but the draughtsmanship would suggest that it is the work of his assistant David Morris rather than of Stratford himself.

From 1759 until his death he became interested in canal and river navigation, and he was also employed by John Strate in the controversy over the rebuilding of Bristol bridge, being paid £280 for surveys and plans. His death in 1766 from the ague was the direct result of a visit to Essex to survey the Chelmer Navigation, when his fees were a guinea a day for the survey and £20 for the fair copy plan. As mentioned earlier, he was also concerned at that time in architectural design.

HAWLING 1748

A map of the common fields with the copyhold and leasehold estates of William Wyndham Esq. situate in the manor of Halling in the County of Gloucester. Survey'd and Plan'd by Ferdinando Stratford 1748.

Shews the open fields with individual tenants' strips. Houses shewn in block plan. Fields outlined in colour with number references, hedges, gates, trees, Village pound and horsepool shewn. Some street names.

Cartouche. Two compass roses. Inset explanation to the plan and terrier of the town and enclosures.

Scale: 1 in. to 3 chains.

Ink and watercolour on paper.

Size:

Reference: G.R.O., D363/P4

Terrier: G.R.O., D363/E1, Terrier of town, inclosure with note of individual tenants' strips in open fields.

QUENINGTON 1753

The map of plan referred to by the annexed award.

Shewn fields, some numbered, some with owners names written over. Houses in block plan. Shews hedges, roads, water courses, footpaths, bridges.

No cartouche. Compass rose.

Schedules on map of allotments and fences, roads and watercourses and schedule of exchanges of lands in connection with inclosure award.

Scale: 1 in. to 5 chains.

Size:

Reference: P.R.O. MPN 20 (KB 122/907)
G.R.O. Q/RI 115 (photocopy)

Terrier: G.R.O., D2440 Box 24.

A compleat terrier of the common field, lands, tytheable, severalty, sheep, common etc.

A table of the proportional summs to be paid by the proprietors in lieu of tythes. Made pursuant to an act of parliament for inclosing the common fields in Quennington Gloucestershire.

By Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer.
26th Map 1753. Gloucester.

COLN ST. ALDWYN 1754

A map of Williamstrip estate with the parish of Coln St. Aldwyns in the County of Gloucester belonging to Humphrey Mackworth Praed Esq.

Surveyed by Ferdinando Stratford Engineer 1754.

Photocopy 64a

Decorative cartouche top left hand corner.

Compass rose centrally at top.

Shews fields roads hedges trees with shadows. Footpaths. Hatching for height. Houses block plan. Fields numbered. Colouring crude.

Scale: 1 in. to 4 chains.

Ink and watercolour on paper.

Size: 42" x 28"

No terrier.

QUENINGTON 1754

Map of Court Farm and other estates in Quennington belonging to Humphrey Mackworth Praed Esq.

Surveyed by Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer, 1754

(Map now missing)

CAM 1754

A plan of the common fields with the copyhold and leasehold estates of the Right Honourable Augustus Earl of Berkeley and also of the several freehold estates situate within the manor and lordship of Cam in the count of Gloucester. By Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer, 1754.

Shews the open fields with individual tenants' strips. Houses shown in block plan. Fields outlined in colour, numbered with hedges trees and shadows shewn. River Cam and roads. Hachuring to indicate contours.

Cartouche. Cartouche surrounding scale.

Scale: 1 in to 3 chains.

Size:

Reference: G.R.O. D650/2

Terrier: Berkeley Castle Muniments, Bound Books General Series 163

Gives names of fields owners and occupiers and acreage of orchard, arable and pasture. A few marginal comments on disputed claims.

(Payment made in January 1755 to Ferdinando Stratford of £71. 4s. Od. Berkeley Castle, Bound Book 122)

HAWLING 1755

A map of the freehold and copyhold estates with the common of pasture belonging to William Wyndham Esq. situate within the manor and lordship of Hawling in the County of Gloucester. By Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer 1755.

Shews roads, footpaths, fields, hedges, gates, houses block plan. Road gates, Westfield gate, Hampton gate and Inkberrow gate. Trees with shadows. Contour shading. On left hand side of map two decorative items enclose Rowell Groves and Haling Shrubbs.

Decorative cartouche with shells, cornucopiae, stems and leaves. Compass rose above.

Scale: 1 in. to 3 chains.

Ink and Watercolour on paper

Size:

Reference: G.R.O. D363/P5.

Terrier: G.R.O., D363/E2 Shews name of ground tenants' names, whether leasehold or copyhold, indicates arable, pasture and meadow acreage. Abstract of manor shewing total acreage. Pencil annotations relating to the year 1808.

GLOUCESTER 1756

A plan of a farm called the Castle Meads near the City of Gloucester belonging to C.H. Talbot Esq.
Surveyed by Ferdinando Stratford, 1756.

Shews fields, hedges, gates and trees with shadows.
Footpaths marked brown. River outlined in blue with fine blue stream lines to show direction of flow.

Cartouche finely drawn with leaf scrolls and grasses.
Compass rose. Reference table giving acreage exclusive and inclusive of hedges.

No scale.

Ink and watercolour on paper.

Reference: G.R.O., D2596.

LONGHOPE 1757

Sketch plan on indenture between John Prolyn of Newlands and Jonathan Wintle the elder of Ravershill.

Plan shews six fields with hedges. Buildings in block plan coloured pink. Field gates. Fields in colour trees with shadows. Shews common and names of owners of neighbouring fields.

Size:

Terrier.

Planned from a scale of 15 chains to 1 in. by Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer.

Ink and watercolour on paper.

Reference: G.R.O., D23/T18

HIGHNAM 1757

A plan of the freehold and leasehold estates of William Jones and John Guise Esq. together with free lands intermixed in the parishes of Lassington - Rudford and in the tythings of Highnam Over and Linton in the parish of Churcham in the County of Gloucester.
Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer.

Shews houses in block plan, including several houses in Lassington. Fields, some with strips, roads, river with old bridge. Fencing shewn round estate. Trees with shadows.

Cartouche (now heavily stained, illegible in parts, legend taken in part from terrier). Compass Rose. Block lettering A-S top and bottom.

Scale: (illegible)

Ink and watercolour on paper.

Reference: D2426

Terrier: G.R.O. D326/E2 - gives total acreage, field names proprietors and tenants and divides into orchard pasture and arable. Annotated with sketch maps D326/p14 P30 P46; map P14 surveyed in 1779. Some additional notes and records inserted at later dates.

MINSTERWORTH 1757

Plan of freehold and leasehold estates of Charles Barrow Esq. together with free lands intermixed in the parish and manor of Minsterworth in the County of Gloucester. Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer. Gloucester 1757.

Shews River Severn, dwellings in block plan, fields some with strips, hedges, roads. Block lettering A - U.

Simple cartouche, small compass rose.

Scale: (concealed under bottom wooden roller of map)

Ink and watercolour on paper (poor condition)

Reference: G.R.O. P218a/MI1.

Terrier: G.C.D. 32996 W72 - shews field names, tenants and proprietors' names. Abstract and index to whole; 1879 acreage recorded in pencil.

DEAN FOREST 1758

A plan of part of the Dean Forest in the County of Gloucester containing the several lotts mentioned in the terrier hereunto annexed directed to be enclosed by the Rt. Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and surveyed by the order of the Honourable John Pill Esq. Surveyor General of His Majestys forests and woods.

Surveyed and planned by Ferdinando Stratford Engineer, and David Morris assistant.

Shews roads, bridges, lime kilns, fields, buildings including Speech House in block plan, rivers. Wells.

Very ornate cartouche with scallop shells, cornucopiae and vases with leafy tendrils. Compass rose.

Scale: 1 in. to 10 chains.

Size: 57cm. x 65 cm.

Reference: P.R.O. F17/12 (Photocopy in G.R.O.)

Terrier - on plan.

DEAN FOREST 1758

A plan of an inclosure in Dean Forest in the County of Gloucester. Containing the severall lots mentioned in the terrier hereunto annexed. Surveyed by the order of the

Honourable John Pill Esq. Surveyor General of His Majesty's forests and woods.

Surveyed and planned by Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer.
David Morris, assistant, 1758.

Decorative cartouche, bottom right hand corner, stems and cornucopiae. Compass rose.

Shews enclosure, hedges, roads, houses in block plan, trees with shadows; hachvring for contours.

Scale: 1 in. to 4 chains

Ink and watercolour on paper.

Size:

Reference: P.R.O. F17/96

Terrier in top right hand corner of map.

COALEY 1759

Plan of the parish and manor of Cowley belonging to the Rt. Hon. Frederick Augustus Earl of Berkeley in the County of Gloucester.

Ferdinando Stratford.

Shews fields numbered, hedges, individual strips in a few fields, trees with shadows. Block plans coloured pink for houses.

Large simple cartouche. Compass rose. Large cartouche surrounding scale of 10 chains.

Scale: 1 in. to 2 chains.

Ink and watercolour on paper. (General condition poor, remounted on linen paper. Edges tattered with tears.)

Reference: G.R.O., D650/3

Terrier: Berkeley Castle Muniments, Bound Books General Series 170.

(A very poor map, for which Stratford received a fee of £46. 11s. 8d.)

SLIMBRIDGE 1759

A plan of the parish of Slimbridge containing the Manors of Slimbridge, Hurst and Sages belonging to the Rt. Hon. Frederick Augustus, Earl of Berkeley in the County of Gloucester.

Surveyed and planned by Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer. 1759

Shews open fields, delineates pasture and arable, fences. Houses in block plan, church, rectory, mill; shews sea walls, encroachments on highway at Cambridge. Marks Common and greens between Breadstone and Slimbridge, W and NW of Gossington.

Plain shell cartouche.

Scale: 4 chains to 1 in.

Ink and watercolour on paper.

Size: 63.5 cm. x 73 cm.

Reference: Berkeley Castle Muniments - Maps.

Terrier: Berkeley Castle Muniments, Bound Books General Series 168.

(Stratford was paid £71. 17s. 11d. for this survey on 3 August 1759.)

CHELTHENHAM 1759

A plan of Hartyfield Farm in the parishes of Cheltenham and Badgeworth in the County of Gloucester belonging to William Ashmead, Gent.

Surveyed by Ferdinando Stratford, Engineer. 1759.

52 acres, shews road, hedges, field gates, trees with shadows. Houses in block plan.

Single shell cartouche. Compass rose.

Scale: 'By the fourty scale'.

Ink and watercolour on paper.

Reference: Scottish Record Office RHP 5353 (photocopy G.R.0)

Terrier: Top left hand of map giving field names, orchard, pasture, arable.

MATSON 1759

Existence of map only known because of payment of £6. 7s. 7d. in 1760 by Dean and Chapter of Gloucester to Ferdinando Stratford for surveying and mapping the manor of Matson.

The lease for the manor was granted in 1745 and 1743 and the survey of 1759 would probably be for the renewal of a fourteen year lease. The manor at this time was leased by the Selwyn family.

From the size of the payment this was a small map.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE (1756)

A proposal for making by subscription a new survey and (printed) map of the County of Gloucester, constructed from a scale of one inch to a mile and painted on four sheets of fine paper. To describe hundreds, cities, towns, villages, forrest, common chases, woods, mires, medicinal springs, rivers, brooks, bridges, mills, roads, beacons, churches, chapels, castles, depopulated places, Roman ways, camp stations, places of battle.

Subscription $\frac{1}{2}$ guinea, 5s. down, the remainder on delivery of map, coloured and pastel on canvas. Own arms engraved 1 guinea extra.

Work is begun (1749) and will be pursued with great diligence till completed which will be by end of year 1756 by Ferdinando Stratford.

Specimen shews part of Highnam Park, Lassington, Island of Alney, Barnwood, Matson, Robinswood Hill.

Reference: Bodleian Library, Oxford, Gough Misc.J.P.310

(Stratford issued his advertisement well before the Society of Arts offered its annual prize in 1759 for large-scale surveys of English counties, which encouraged Isaac Taylor to produce his map of Gloucestershire in 1777. So far as is known Stratford did not pursue his proposal, presumably because of lack of support.)

Pamphlets by Ferdinando Stratford

A short account of the manner proposed for rebuilding Bristol Bridge Ferdinando Stratford Engineer of Gloucester. Bristol 1760 (BCL C 4987)

Observations on the letter by bystander printed 1760 to which is added an explanation of a certain method of building a single arch bridge. Illustrated note copper plate. Gloucester 1762 (BCL 10523)

Plan for Extending Navigation from Bath to Chippenham 1765. Contains estimates in back. (BCL B4987)

Remarks on a paper entitled Improvements and Savings in Inland navigation. Ferdinando Stratford May 29 1760 Annual Register 176 144-8. GCL Austen Catalogue 2256

Observations on Mr. Thos Yeomas printed proposals for making the River Chelme navigable. July and August 1765. Ferdinando Stratford. Engineer. Essex R.O. (D/DRA 04)

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THE CLOTH TRADE ALONG THE PAINSWICK STREAM

from 1700 to 1800

by Colleen Haine

The 18th century was a period of great changes for Britain. There were wars with European countries for most of the century and a great expansion of the British Empire in Canada, India and Australia, but the loss of the American States. The Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions were taking place, with improvement in transport facilities by the turnpike roads and the building of new canals and a considerable increase in population. Against such a background the cloth trade would be expected to show considerable changes. There was a great expansion of the export of cloth during the century, but also periods of depression as the following figures show.(1)

Annual Average per decade (in pieces) of cloth exported

1701-10 = 68,130	1751-60 = 79,935
1711-20 = 66,866	1761-70 = 82,572
1721-30 = 54,644	1771-80 = 82,834
1731-40 = 59,476	1781-90 = 114,739
1741-50 = 53,922	1791-1800= 196,154

The great increase in exports in the second half of the century refers, of course, to the whole country and it is likely that much more of it was in Yorkshire than in this area.

Atkyns, writing about 1710 says of Gloucestershire that the "Clothing Trade is so prominent that no other manufacturer deserves a mention". He estimated its value as £500,000 a year, and valued the wool provided in Gloucestershire at £30,000, but imported wool as £220,000.(2) He said that Stroud was famous for the "Trade of Clothing" and particularly for dyeing in scarlet.(3) He did not mention the cloth trade nor the mills in Painswick. Rudder, writing in the latter part of the century in 1779, said the manufacture of cloth had been gradually advancing but by very unequal steps. He classified the cloth trade under four sections:

1. The Country or Inland Trade = £250,000 per annum
2. Trade with drapers in London
(or Army Trade) = £100,000 per annum
but varies
3. Turkey Trade - "much
declined as French have
gained a lot of it" = £50,000 per annum
4. East India Co. Trade - "most considerable of
foreign trade, but present method of conducting it
is not advantageous to the clothier."

He said many Blackwell Hall factors acted as bankers and lent money to clothiers and as the clothiers could not get adequate prices for the cloth they produced, it led to bankruptcies. He also pointed out the importance of the power of water for driving the fulling mills and scouring wool and said that the cloth trade "has long since seated itself principally on the borders of little rivers and brooks in the parishes of Bisley, Hampton, Stroud, Painswick, Woodchester, Horsley, Stonehouse, Stanley, Uley, Dursley, Wootton-under-Edge and neighbouring places of less note".(4) About Painswick itself, Rudder said that the clothing manufacture had been long established and that large fortunes had been made, and it was still considered as a "lucrative and genteel employment". He also said that it provided work for both sexes and all ages of the poor. The population of Painswick was estimated at about 3,300.(5)

The Clothiers

In the early years of the 18th century the Painswick church registers give some information about occupations. These are included in the register of baptisms 1701-1716, in the register of marriages 1702-1705, and in the register of burials 1706-1713.

In these registers the names of 43 men are given as clothiers. The true total for clothiers in these years is probably much higher, as the registers do not include bachelors, clothiers whose marriages took place away from Painswick, nor clothiers who did not belong to the Church of England. There were Lovedays, quoted as clothiers who were Quakers. Painswick had a Quaker burial ground as early as 1658 which can still be seen at Dell Farm.(6)

At the beginning of the previous century, in 1608, out of a list of 160 able men in Painswick 4 were named as clothiers, plus 1 "unable in body", (7) so it would appear that in the early 18th century the number of clothiers was about ten times as many as in the early 17th century, and an enormous expansion of the cloth trade must have taken place.

Some of the old clothier families mentioned in the 17th century still (8) continued in the cloth trade until 1800. Cooks, Lovedays, Packers, Pallings and Webbs are all mentioned throughout the period, but in the later years of the century some new names appear: Cox, Jarruthers, Horlick, Stanley, Baylis, Knight and Wight are some of the most important of these new names.(9)

Some of the 18th century clothiers must have had considerable success in the trade and were held to be in 'genteel employment', as Rudder states. A number of them who were clothiers are described on their tombs as "Gents" and also in their wills.(10) There is not one mill-house along the Painswick stream which was built in the 18th century. The clothiers seem to have preferred country residences on the hillsides, some distance away from the mills, and to have built or rebuilt pleasant 18th century residences.

List of Men described as Clothiers in the Painswick
Church Registers of Baptisms (1701-1716) Marriages
(1701-1705) Burials (1706-1713)

Occupations are not given in other years except for an occasional one which would not be useful in making an analysis.

b= name of parent quoted in baptisms
m= marriages
d= burials (deaths)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Aldridge Thomas b.1702 | 24. Parker Richard |
| 2. Arrowsmith John b.1705 | (or Parker?) d.1712 |
| 3. Capel Richard b.1712 b.1713 | 25. Partridge Henry |
| 4. Clissold Daniel b.1710 | b.1704 |
| 5. Cook Richard b.1701 | 26. Pegler Richard b.1710 |
| 6. Fletcher George b.1708 | 27. Poole Richard b.1702 |
| b.1710 b.1713 | 28. Short William b.1705 |
| 7. Gardner John d.1708 | b.1707 b.1710 |
| 8. Gardner Thomas b.1714 | b.1712 b.1713 |
| 9. Harris John b.1711 b.1715 | 29. Smart Thomas m.1705 |
| 10. Hart William b.1703 | b.1706 |
| 11. Hudson Thomas b.1703 | 30. Smith George d.1706 |
| 12. Jones George b.1701 | 31. Sparrow Joseph |
| 13. Kent Robert b.1704 b.1705 | b.1708 b.1710 |
| b.1708 d.1708 | 32. Sparrow William b.1705 |
| 14. Lawrence Anthony b.1703 | 33. Stephens Thomas |
| 15. Lawrence William b.1701 | b.1702 d.1706 |
| b.1704 | 34. Stephens Thomas b.1704 |
| 16. Lediard William b.1716 | b.1706 d.1707 |
| 17. Lyddiard William b.1706 | 35. Stone (?) b.1712 |
| b.1708 b.1710 b.1713 | 36. Townsend Henry b.1709 |
| 18. Merrett Thomas b.1711 | 37. Turner John b.1701 |
| b.1712 b.1713 b.1715 | b.1704 b.1705 |
| 19. Packer John b.1715 | 38. Webb Edward b.1712 |
| 20. Packer Thomas b.1702 | b.1715 |
| b.1704 | 39. Webb de Hill Thomas |
| 21. Palling William b.1701 | b.1705 b.1709 b.1713 |
| b.1705 d.1706 | 40. Wight Edward b.1704 |
| 22. Palling William b.1706 | b.1708 d.1708 |
| b.1709 b.1712 b.1715 | 41. Winchcombe Edward |
| 23. Parker John b.1712 b.1713 | b.1701 b.1702 |
| | 42. Winn Thomas d.1708 |
| | 43. (?) Richard b.1704 |
| | (Name illegible) |
-

Some of the examples of these 18th century residences can be seen today at Brownhill Court, Sheephouse, Brookhouse, Castle Godwin and others. The only large 18th century residence on the outskirts of Painswick which has no connection with the cloth trade is Painswick House built by the Hyett family on the site of a farmhouse formerly called "Herrings".(11)

In addition to the "Gentlemen clothiers" there must have been many in the trade in a much smaller way, as many names of clothiers are not connected with any mills or important properties, and some only appear in church rates for a few years. The periods of trade depression which appeared during the century probably affected the small producers seriously. I have found several bankrupts who were clothiers of Painswick; William Lediard in 1734 (12) James Woodfield in 1777(13) and John Hill in 1780(14). Another clothier Samuel Haines shot himself in 1768 because he was in debt.(15) There were probably many more who suffered similarly or simply abandoned the trade.

Another trouble experienced by Painswick clothiers was the stealing or deliberate destruction of cloth, which was drying on tenters in the rack fields by the mills and an advertisement appeared in 1725 from Stroud district clothiers offering rewards for information that would convict the thieves. It is signed by a large number of clothiers recorded in the list I have quoted from the church registers. There are six others on the list who may have been Painswick clothiers (16).

Painswick seems to have had plenty of this trouble. In 1723 while long broadcloth had been stolen from the tenters at Mr. William Lediard's Mill (17). This was the same Mr. Lediard who went bankrupt in 1734. In 1729 white broadcloth was stolen from John Packer's rack at Cap Mill (18). In 1771 from the racks at Smalls Mill was stolen 36 yards of Spanish Stripe list cloth marked "Edward Palling - best superfine" (19). In 1776 two thefts are recorded from the tenter hooks at Rook Mill, 7 or 8 ells of scoured say-cloth and on another night 14 yards of blue and white feathered stripe-list Worcester cloth, the property of Zachariah Horlick.(20) In 1787, Smalls Mill again had trouble as a piece of scarlet cloth worth 9s a yard was cut from the tenters and from a drying house in the tenter ground 29 yards of white cloth was stolen. A reward of 10 guineas was offered for information to convict the thief.(21)

These advertisements tell us a little about the types of cloth being produced in the area, but not much information has been found on this subject. William Palling, in 1718-22 was selling about 230 cloths a year to London factors for export to India and Levant (22) and was being supplied with yarn from yarn-makers in Devizes and Cirencester (23). Many years later in 1763, Daniel Parker was also selling cloth to factors in London; Sir Thomas Fludyer, Messrs. Marsh and Hudson, and Mr. Thos. Misenor. His cloth was sold to the East India Company and to the Levant. Types of cloth mentioned are Salisburys, Worcesters, livery whites, scarlets and blues. He mentioned dyeing cloth scarlet himself for the East India Company, but he also sent undyed cloth to be dyed in London. Unlike William Palling, he was having the spinning done locally as in the depression of that year he feared he would have to part with his spinners and said there would be no

other work for them to do. In January 1769 he was complaining that his Worcesters had been sold for £11 per cloth when they were really worth £29. 10s.(24) In 1789 William Carruthers (who had married Mary Palling) was selling cloth to his London factors at 7s. 6d. to 15s. a yard. A few of the cloths at 15s. were described as "Superfine", but most were "super", "fine", "ladies' cloth" and one was "uniform cloth".(25)

Many of the wills of Painswick clothiers do not give much detail about estates, as they simply left their property to the main heir, but there are a few which show that not all the clothiers were in that position. Robert Kent, described as a clothier of Painswick, 1708, left only a quantity of domestic goods and some farming items including 1 dung cart, 6 score bushels of barley, 20 bushels of malt, 2 ricks of hay, 2 store pigs, 2 cows, 1 cider mill, 200 cheeses and at "John Webb's a pair of shears." His total goods were valued at £166. 9s. Od., so he was not poor, but in a very different position financially from the "Gentleman Clothier".(26) He was evidently using part of Webb's mill for shearing, but if he really was a "Clothier" as described, it must have been a very small business.

In 1768 Job Gardner, described as a clothier, died intestate and there is a document whereby his widow agreed that all his goods, chattels and credits be granted to his creditor Thomas White, woolstapler of Kings Stanley.(27) This poor man had evidently suffered from the depression about which Daniel Packer complained in 1768, but was in a very different financial situation from the Packer family, and his widow must have been left destitute. There are a number of other interesting wills of clothiers, but there is not space to quote any more, as the employees in the cloth trade are also of considerable interest.

The Broadweavers

In the church registers already quoted the occupations of other men are also given. The Painswick registers of baptisms give the occupations of parents, 1701-1716. The following table is an analysis of these occupations concerned with the cloth trade. Other occupations are not included. The occupations are not given after 1716, but the table seems to indicate that 1703 was a good year for the trade, as out of 60 baptisms, 21 parents were employed as broadweavers and only 5 were labelled "poor", but 1705 seems to have been a bad year as out of 75 baptisms, 49 parents are labelled "poor", and no broadweavers are recorded.

From the totals it appears that out of 943 children who were baptised during these years, 293 were children of parents engaged in the cloth trade i.e. 32% and of these 154 were broadweavers, i.e. 53%.

Year	Total Bapt.	Cloth -iers	Broad- weavers	Tuckers	Cloth- workers	Scrib -lers	Wool- combers	Poor
1701	50	6	4	1	-	-	-	18
1702	72	5	6	-	2	-	-	30
1703	60	4	21	6	-	-	-	5
1704	71	8	3	2	2	-	-	29
1705	75	7	-	-	1	-	-	49
1706	43	5	10	6	2	-	-	not
1707	62	1	12	7	-	1	-	given
1708	42	5	13	5	-	-	1	after
1709	42	4	11	3	-	-	1	this
1710	61	7	11	3	3	-	-	date
1711	45	2	8	4	-	-	-	
1712	59	7	7	2	-	-	-	
1713	66	8	19	4	1	-	-	
1714	64	1	12	1	-	-	-	
1715	75	4	10	2	-	-	-	
1716	56	1	7	4	-	-	-	
Total	943	75	154	50	11	1	2	

The Painswick marriage registers only give the occupations of husbands for the years 1702-1705 as below:

Year	Totals	Clothiers	Broad- weavers	Serge- weavers	Tuckers
1702	16	-	11	1	-
1703	4	-	-	-	-
1704	17	-	6	-	2
1705	12	1	7	-	2
Totals	49	1	24	1	4

Out of a total of 49 marriages, 30 husbands are in the cloth trade, i.e. 61%, but as the occupations are given for such a small number of years it is not reasonable to deduce much from them. Of the 30 men in the cloth trade, 24 are broadweavers i.e. 80%.

The Painswick burial registers give occupations 1706-1713. The following table is an analysis of these occupations concerned with the cloth trade.

Year	Totals	Clothiers	Broadweavers	Tuckers	Clothworkers
1706	34	3	3	2	-
1707	59	1	15	3	-
1708	42	4	10	1	-

Year	Totals	Clothiers	Broadweavers	Tuckers	Clothworkers
1709	35	-	9	1	-
1710	46	-	11	2	-
1711	45	-	9	1	1
1712	77	1	7	-	2
1713	(only 4 occupations given this year, so no use)				
Totals	338	9	64	10	3

The above table shows that out of 338 burials, 86 were concerned in the Trade - about 25% of these 64 are broadweavers, i.e. 74% (28).

In the three registers together, the total of occupations given in the cloth trade is 409 and of these 242 are broadweavers i.e. 59%, and this shows that broadweaving was the commonest occupation among men in those years. Of course women are not mentioned, but it is known that they did the spinning and that it took about 4 - 6 spinners to provide yarn for 1 broadweaver (29). Some other interesting information available in the parish records comes from the indentures of apprentices, which cover the whole century. The total number of pauper apprenticeships I found was 167 and out of these 151 were in the cloth trade. Most of the employers were broadweavers, but a few others in the trade were given as follows:-

Broadweavers	135	Clothworkers	3	Rugg-maker	1
Weavers	3	Clothiers	2	Narrow-weaver	1
Serge-weavers	3	Scribblers	2	Stuff(?)weaver	1

Most of the apprenticeships were served in Painswick, but some were in other local areas and 1 not local. Out of the total of 151 there were:-

- 94 in Painswick
- 14 in Stroud
- 12 in Bisley
- 10 in Miserden
- 3 each in Pitchcombe and Rodborough
- 2 each in Sheepcombe, Minshinhampton and Harescombe
- 1 each in Randwick, Wotton-under-Edge, Arlingham, Whadlon, Stonehouse, Upton St.Leonards, Frocester, and the only
- 1 not local, in Worcester.

The yearly totals of pauper apprenticeships in the cloth trade are shown below. It will be seen from the table that there were more apprenticeships in the first half of the century, 118 to 1750 and only 33 after 1750 to 1800.(30) It is possible that this was due to the unwillingness of broadweavers and clothiers to accept pauper apprentices. More workers were managing to take up weaving without serving a legal apprenticeship. Even as

early as 1727 weavers in the Stroud area had been complaining about clothiers who employed weavers who had not served apprenticeships. (31)

<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>
1701	4	1721	-	1741	1	1761	-	1781	1
1702	-	1722	1	1742	2	1762	-	1782	1
1703	4	1723	3	1743	-	1763	-	1783	2
1704	2	1724	-	1744	1	1764	-	1784	-
1705	-	1725	6	1745	1	1765	-	1785	1
1706	2	1726	-	1746	5	1766	-	1786	1
1707	1	1727	3	1747	4	1767	1	1787	3
1708	-	1728	5	1748	4	1768	1	1788	1
1709	2	1729	-	1749	4	1769	-	1789	-
1710	1	1730	1	1750	2	1770	-	1790	-
1711	2	1731	2	1751	-	1771	-	1791	2
1712	7	1732	1	1752	3	1772	-	1792	3
1713	3	1733	4	1753	2	1773	-	1793	-
1714	2	1734	-	1754	1	1774	-	1794	1
1715	6	1735	1	1755	-	1775	-	1795	1
1716	3	1736	4	1756	-	1776	-	1796	-
1717	6	1737	2	1757	-	1777	1	1797	-
1718	2	1738	1	1758	-	1778	1	1798	-
1719	3	1739	5	1759	1	1779	3	1799	1
1720	3	1740	2	1760	-	1780	-	1800	-

Among the wills of weavers we can see much diversity, as in the wills of clothiers. John Cardner, broadweaver, of Lovedays, 1715, could afford to leave £10 to his wife, plus a large amount of household goods, including pewter and brass, £20 each to a son and daughter, with large quantities of household goods and he named a clothier and a schoolmaster as his executors (32). John Cooke, weaver, in his will of 1708, left a long list of household goods, but also 2 broadlooms. His goods were valued at £19 18s. Od. which seems to put him in the medium class (33). In contrast with these two in 1737 the churchwardens offered for sale the goods of Samuel Dark, a broadweaver, for £5. 0s. Od.:-

- 2 beds with appurtenances
- 1 broadloom with all appurtenances
- 1 iron bolt
- 1 pail
- 2 half barrels
- 1 quarter barrel
- 1 long table
- 1 pewter plate
- 2 coffers
- 1 frying pan
- 1 pr. of andirons (probably hand-irons?)
- 1 little brass kettle
- 3 chairs
- 1 skimmer with appurtenances (34)

A William Cooke, described as a clothworker, 1713 left goods valued at £9 14s. Od. (35) Samuel Merrett, a Scribbler,

in 1768 left goods valued at £6 Os. Od. which included a scribbling horse and scales (36). There is a very interesting inventory of 1715, that of John Gardner, of Lovedays, a slaymaker. I had never found such an occupation quoted in any other book, but I found from the Oxford Dictionary that his "stock of slayes" were instruments made from reeds, used in weaving to beat up the weft. His craft must have been providing him with reasonable wages as his goods were valued at £197 14s. Od. (37) In 1722 William Merrett (no occupation stated) left goods valued at £95 6s. 5d. His stock included a malt mill, a cider mill, 33 sheep, 4 cows, bushels of barley and wheat also "2 loads of Wool and Yarn" and "Goods at the mill where he worked". The wool and yarn were valued at £16 12s. Od., the largest item on the list. It is hardly surprising that no occupation is quoted for him! (38)

The information which has been recorded here shows that there were enormous differences between the various classes of people. The poor were certainly very poor and life for them must have been very hard indeed. Smallpox did not help matters and outbreaks were recorded in 1741, 1745, 1752, 1756-9, 1770-72, 1785 and 1790 when Dr. Jenner was employed for vaccination.(39) In 1796 a decision was made on the advice of Mr. Bartlett, that all women and children paupers should be employed in the pin trade.(40) Perhaps Mr. Bartlett had an intuition of what was to happen to the cloth trade in the near future.

Twenty-two mills along the Painswick stream and its tributaries were recorded in the 18th century and of these 13 were working in the cloth trade for all or part of the century. Two of the latter, however, only entered the trade in 1799.

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18TH CENTURY MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT
ON HUNTLEY'S POPULATION

By J.A. Eastwood

(Huntley is a small country parish some ten miles west of Gloucester. For other essays on its' population, see preceding volumes of Gloucestershire Historical Studies)

The growth of Huntley's population until 1800 was not as great as might have been expected. The number of baptisms during the 18th century was considerably in excess of burials and one could, therefore, reasonably expect to see an increase in the size of the community. This increase did not take place. In this paper, the possible factors which could have contributed to the lower rate of growth are explored.

There has always been a natural tendency for populations to increase in the long term, and while an increase will create a demand for more labour, and up to a point, improve the living standards, small communities will, at some stage, become overpopulated and people will be forced to move out of their village in search of work. In a stable population, providing births are balanced by deaths, and the ratio of men to women in the population remains reasonably constant, migration need not take place. It is, however, unlikely that it would be possible to find a stable population anywhere in 18th-century England (1). Some degree of migration, therefore, seems inevitable. In order to understand the factors involved, it is perhaps useful to examine one or two situations which might apply to any village community.

Factors which may influence population movement are changes in marriage, birth or death rates. These, in the short term, could create a demand for labour beyond that which is available from local sources. This would encourage people to move into the village in search of work. If those attracted to the village were young and unmarried, an increase in marriage rate would probably follow within a few years.

On the other hand this influx of new labour may unbalance the ratio of men to women within the community which would encourage people of the opposite sex to settle in the village as the result of marriage. If this immigration did not take place, there would be a fall in the birth rate which would create another labour shortage.

Assuming this demand for labour remained, more immigration would follow. Changes in marriage, birth and death rates could also have the reverse effect of that described above, in which case, people would tend to leave the village.

The migration cycle, illustrated in Appendix A, shows how these elements inter-react. It can be seen that there is a somewhat delicate balance which must be maintained if a village is to survive. A number of factors may, therefore assist, force or restrict migration.

It would be interesting to establish the degree of migration required to change the characteristics of a population significantly, but it is difficult to measure this in numbers alone. The percentage of people moving between parishes is not important; the effect this has on the existing community is probably the most significant factor. Migration can change not only the size of the population, but also the ratio of men to women in any given age group, and this, in turn, can influence the growth rate and subsequent structure of the community.

The principal elements which could have controlled migration in Huntley may have been local labour requirements, availability of housing, the local population structure, (including the sex ratio), the number of unmarried people of marriageable age together with changes in the birth and death rates. It is possible that the largest single factor may have been the requirement for labour, but this is almost impossible to substantiate. Although the availability of work may possibly have been the largest single cause, it is more probable that migration was the result of a number of events and situations.

Having concluded that population movement was likely to have taken place to maintain the balance of population growth experienced, it is necessary to examine in greater detail the likely causes and degree of migration as they applied to Huntley.

Before proceeding further, it may be useful to look, in general terms, at the evidence which led to the initial assumption that migration was a significant and influencing factor in the development and growth of Huntley's population.

Perhaps the most obvious facts which raise questions about migratory trends are comparisons between the recorded population and the consequential effect on the population of births and deaths assuming no migration took place. The nett result on the population at the end of the 18th century would have been a figure approximately 160 above that recorded in the 1801 census.

The second fact to emerge is the high number of marriages which took place, from which no recorded baptisms or ultimate burials exist.

The third, but perhaps least important occurrence, is the number of children from neighbouring parishes who were baptised in Huntley. (There was an almost equal number of people from other parishes who were buried in Huntley). There is an obvious case to support migration, but it will be useful to review the sources of information and their likely accuracy before discussing the evidence which has emerged from the study.

Most of the data for the study was drawn from the parish registers (2) which are available from 1661. It is generally accepted that under-registration in parish registers can alone distort any demographic analysis. Baptisms do not, of course, equate to births any more than burials equate to deaths and omissions here can add to any inaccuracy caused by under-recording. It is extremely unlikely that the parish registers over the whole period could be completely accurate. Pages have been found to be missing from the registers at certain times; notes believed to have been made by the rector have not always been transferred to the registers and entries relating to Huntley have been found in the registers for Blaisdon. No doubt exists in the writer's mind that the registers are inaccurate. The only question unanswered is the degree of inaccuracy. By making reconstructions of the population at certain dates and comparing the result with figures quoted by Atkyns (3) and Rudder (4) one could tentatively suggest that, at best, the registers were no more than 90% accurate. This statement assumes that not only was the reconstruction accurate but also that the figures quoted by Atkyns and Rudder were a fair estimate of the population at the appropriate dates.

Conclusive proof of residence is not available for the 18th century as it was for the 19th. It is, therefore, feasible for a family to have moved into the parish and out again without leaving any apparent record. Any analysis will, therefore, fail to recognise all migration which may have taken place.

The reader will quickly appreciate that it is impossible to measure something which does not exist (e.g. missing entries as the result of under-registration), but relatively easy to make assumptions on what is available, basing findings on what may be inaccurate and incomplete data. Analysis shows that the available figures do not balance; indeed one could hardly expect a perfect mathematical result, and it is all too easy to explain these variations by assuming that migration must have taken place. Despite shortcomings in the available data, it is hoped that sufficient evidence can be made available to support the assumption that migration was a significant factor in Huntley's development.

Although the parish registers are available from 1661, there are indications that the 17th-century records are likely to be more inaccurate than those for later years.

It is, therefore, proposed to look almost exclusively at the 18th century.

From an analysis of the parish records, it is possible to estimate that, at the beginning of the century, Huntley had a population of about 210 and this figure showed a nett growth of just over 100 in a span of 100 years. Despite this apparent steady growth rate, the actual situation probably displayed some fluctuations from decade to decade. It would appear that, after 1701, the population rose quickly to about 286 in the first twenty year period, but then declined during the next two decades to around 200. There was then a recovery which resulted in a population of 264 in 1761. The population then remained remarkably stable for about thirty years after which Huntley may have again experienced a rapid increase to the figure of 313 which can be found in the 1801 census. The interesting fact about this growth pattern is that it is not consistent with the recorded baptisms and burials which can be found in the parish records, the details of which are summarised below:-

Period	Population at beginning of period	Baptisms	Burials	Net Change Expected	Actual Change
1701-20	210	143	121	22	76
1721-40	286	122	133	(11)	(86)
1741-60	200	176	101	75	64
1761-1801	264	378	202	176	49
Totals:		819	557	262	103

() = decrease

If allowances are made for under-registration the expected difference between the actual and "expected" population becomes even greater. The above table does not clearly illustrate that while burial rate declined, baptism rates showed a slow but progressive increase. The table is, of course, based on an estimated population and recorded baptisms and burials, all of which may be inaccurate. In an attempt to remove one of these uncertainties, it is possible to re-estimate the 18th-century population by working backwards from an accurate figure from the 1801 census. The revised population figures appear as follows:-

Date	Original Estimate	"New" Estimate
1701	210	51
1721	286	73
1741	200	62
1761	264	137
1801	313	313

This method produces figures which are extremely unlikely and bear no relationship to those produced by either Atkyns or Rudder. Even if allowances are made for marriages which result in migration, which are discussed in greater detail below, it is impossible to establish a realistic population figure. Unless there was considerable under-registration of burials, other pressures affecting the size of the population must have been present.

There can be little doubt that some movement of population was a direct result of marriage, and marriage was a contributor to the migratory trends. Of those couples who married in Huntley, 53% are believed to have left the village shortly after the wedding as no details of children resulting from the marriages or burials of the people concerned can be found. A more detailed look at these figures shows that 27% of men and 25% of women from other parishes settled in the village after marrying in Huntley. In the case of residents, 41% of men and 50% of women left Huntley after marriage. The percentages are, however, misleading on account of the small numbers involved. In actual terms, they represent 22 men formally resident outside the parish who settled in the village after marrying local girls and only nine women moving into the village after marriage.

Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the number of parishioners who married outside the parish, but later returned to settle within Huntley. In all 57% of marriages in Huntley involved people from outside the parish, with a greater tendency for men to marry away from home than can be found in the case of women. With few women from other parishes moving into Huntley after marriage, it would be interesting to be able to establish if the prime reason for other people moving was to find work.

The table in Appendix B has been constructed to illustrate the degree of migration which may have taken place following marriage. The tabulation was constructed from the parish registers and is based on the stated residence of the bride and groom. As in other examples, subsequent baptisms or burials were used to establish proof of residence. (Supplementary information was taken from title deeds where possible). A study of the table will show that with the exception of the following periods, viz. 1701-10; 1731-50, more men appear to have left the village after marriage than took up residence. The table also illustrates a tendency for women to marry in their own parish and also to leave after marriage. If the estimated movement associated with marriage is incorporated into the first table, the resulting population at the end of each twenty year period can be compared with the estimated population at the same date. The table attempts to demonstrate that even if marriage migration is taken into account, the calculated population still differs from the estimates which have been made from the parish registers.

Period	Estimated Pop. at Beginning	Baptisms	Burials	Movem't due to Marriage	Estimated Population at End
1701-20	210	143	121	(27)	205
1721-40	286	122	133	(32)	243
1741-60	200	176	101	(6)	269
1761-80	264	136	91	(18)	291
1781-1800	266	242	111	(26)	371
1701-1801	313*	819	557	(109)	363

*1801 population () = emigration

It will have already been noticed that there was a sharp decline in the population between 1721-1741. A closer examination of this period will illustrate the factors which inter-react and may, therefore, contribute to the changes of population. Although the reasons themselves are far from clear, it is easy to eliminate single factors as examples will show. The changes cannot, for example, be proved by baptism and burial rate alone. As demonstrated above marriage migration does not clarify the situation either.

The changes in sex ratio are quite noticeable from one decade to the next as the following table illustrates:-

Year	Males	Females	Females to 100 Males
1721	141	145	103
1731	133	109	82
1741	111	88	79
1751	116	129	111

The next stage is to try and simulate this change by taking baptisms, marriage migration and burials into account.

Decade	Males at Start	Baptisms	Marriage Migration	Burials	Resulting Population at End
1721-30	141	35	(13)	44	119
1731-40	133	35	4	30	142
1741-50	111	42	-	29	124
1751	116				

Decade	Females at Start	Baptisms	Marriage Migration	Burials	Resulting Population at End
1721-30	145	24	(19)	46	104
1731-40	109	28	(4)	13	120
1741-50	88	41	(1)	27	101
1751	129				

A comparison of sex ratios between the estimated population and calculated figures after allowing for known changes, shows similar characteristics except for 1751.

Year	Estimated Females to 100 Males	Calculated Females to 100 Males
1721	103	101*
1731	82	87
1741	79	85
1751	111	81

* not shown in tables above

The result would suggest that migration due to marriage probably does influence the sex ratio of the population. An extension of this table would show similar characteristics for the whole of the 18th century. The only date which is completely different is 1751 illustrated above.

The final statistical analysis using the baptisms, marriages and burials is an attempt to show the nett migratory movement which might have taken place during the 18th century.

Year	MALES			FEMALES		
	Est.	Calc.	Net Mov't	Est.	Calc.	Net Mov't
1711	114	113	1	126	133	13
1721	141	109	32	145	110	35
1731	133	119	14	109	104	5
1741	111	142	(31)	88	120	(32)
1751	116	124	(8)	129	101	28
1761	138	138	-	126	150	(24)
1771	137	155	(18)	129	125	4
1781	142	143	(1)	124	134	(10)
1791	146	183	(37)	118	142	(24)
1801	165	169	(4)	148	141	7

() = emigration

Small movements cannot be considered significant as calculations are based on estimated population figures, but the reader should also remember that figures show the possible nett change. The actual movement may have been considerably greater than the figures shown above.

There can be little doubt that some migration was the direct result of marriage. An analysis of children who were baptised in the parish shows that of those surviving to marriageable age only 12% married in the parish leaving 88% who either did not marry, or who apparently left the village. In the absence of any information to the contrary (e.g. burial details) it must be assumed that a high proportion of these people would have ultimately left the village for some reason.

This analysis has so far been based principally on the statistics which can be obtained from the parish registers. Obviously, the registers do not tell the whole story. Other records are available. In 1717 there were at least 49 houses; in 1776 there were 53 and by 1801 the figure had increased to 62. The 1717 figure may be a little low as it related only to the Duke of Kent's holdings in the village (5) while the 1776 figure is taken from the Land Tax return. (6). It can be seen that an increasing population would find housing difficult to obtain. The fact that more houses were not built may be an indication of limited employment opportunities in the parish. The above assumption can be tested in the following example to ascertain if limited housing could have been one reason for migration.

Year	Est. Houses	Available "Beds"	Possible Pop'tion	Migration Required	Est. Act. Migrat'n
1701	48	240	214	26	(4)
1721	49	245	205	40	79
1741	50	250	243	7	(43)
1761	51	255	269	(14)	(5)
1781	53	265	291	(26)	(25)
1801	62	310	371	(61)	(58)

- Notes: (a) Possible Population has been calculated using nett change resulting from baptisms, burials and marriage migration.
- (b) Estimated Actual Migration compares possible population with estimated population shown in third table.
- (c) Emigration is indicated thus ().

The table tries to illustrate that the number of "beds" (estimated at 5 per household) would encourage migration in addition to that which is apparently related to marriage. (The tables assumes a pr ogressive increase in the number of houses). If this is accepted, it shows that the housing situation would encourage immigration up until 1721, and after 1761 the natural growth of the population would exceed the supply of houses. If the figures are compared with the migration which is estimated to have taken place, a number of similarities will be noticed. As the above figures are based on estimates, it is possible that the changes are not quite as illustrated and, in order to overcome this problem, and make comparison easier, it is perhaps worth comparing twenty year averages, viz.

Year	Additional Migration Req'd (Nett) 20 Year Average	Estimated Actual Migration (Nett) 20 Year Average
1711	33	38
1731	24	18
1751	(4)	(24)
1771	(20)	(15)
1791	(44)	(42)

Although the middle of the century displays characteristics which differ from the other periods there is a very remarkable similarity between the two methods which have been used to try and illustrate the possible extent of migration. The table shows, in the first instance, the additional migration required over and above marriage migration to enable the population to match the available accommodation. In the second instance, it shows the change required to maintain the population which is believed to have existed. The reader should, therefore, be aware that comparisons are being made between similar sets of data, but they are not from the same source. One final point needs to be highlighted and that is the appearance and disappearance of names in the Huntley records. Analysis is difficult not only because of the magnitude of the task, but also because of the variety of spellings found in the registers and other records. This latter fact makes the job particularly difficult.

A search of registers of adjacent parishes show names familiar to the Huntley records. As detailed comparisons have not been made, the relationships, or otherwise, have not been established. More work in this area would undoubtedly help confirm the existence of migratory trends. However, any further analysis would be extremely time consuming and formidable.

The study has concentrated principally on those aspects which can readily be obtained from parish records. Although it has been necessary in many cases to use estimates, it is felt that these are a reasonable representation of the actual situation. Two important aspects have been omitted because there is insufficient information available. No real evidence has been found concerning local employment. This is particularly unfortunate because this may be the most significant factor in causing migration to take place. Other information relating to the age structure of the community would have been extremely useful in deciding if migration was common among any particular age group. Although doubts must remain concerning the available data and the extent of migration which took place, the evidence is sufficiently strong to leave little doubt in the writer's mind that the population movement must have influenced the characteristics of the village community. Space limitations have prevented a review of all the possible permutations of inter-relating data, although the most important elements of the available information have been reviewed.

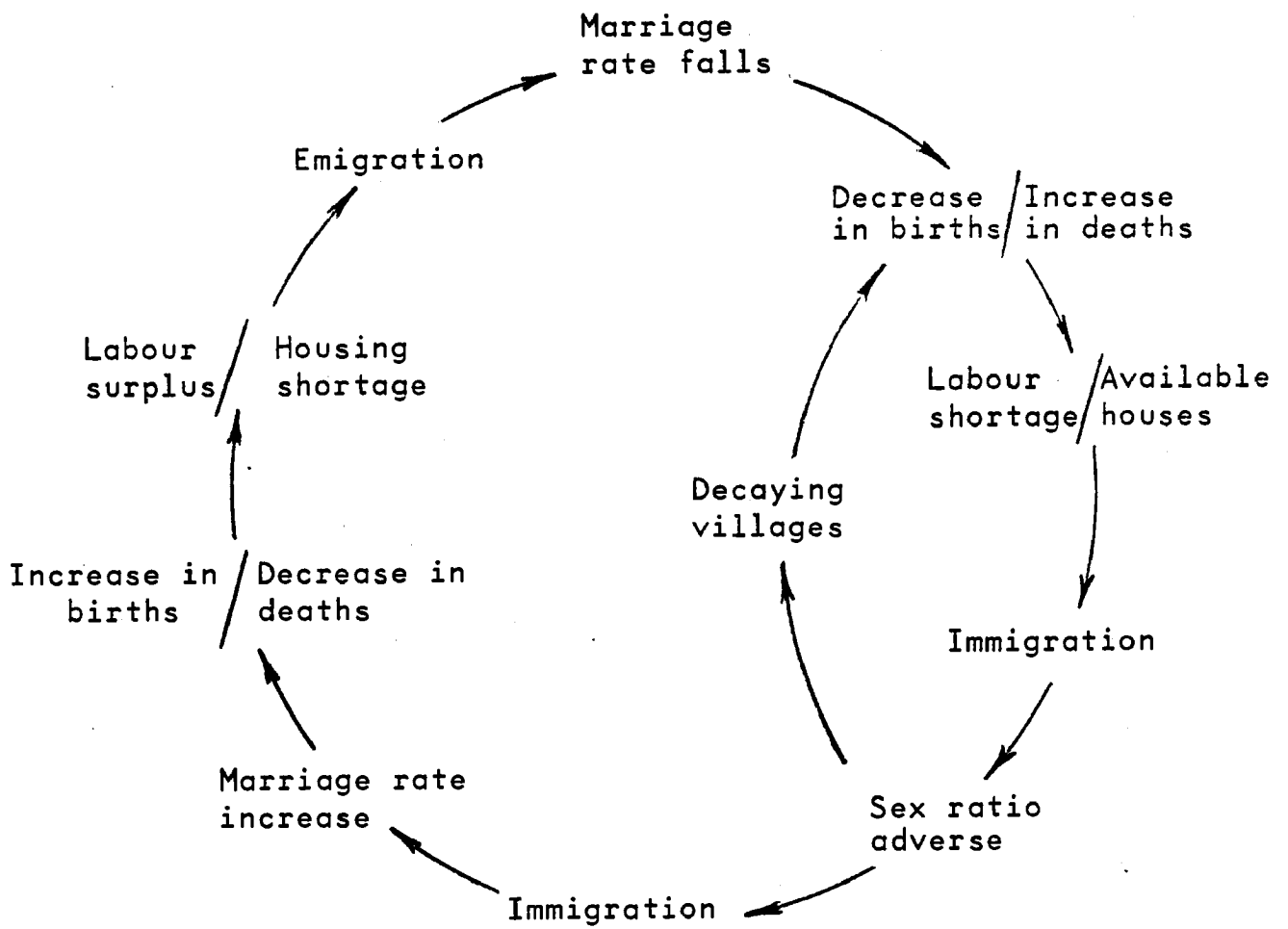
From the statistical evidence, it is clear that the population growth cannot be achieved simply by adding baptisms, subtracting burials and making adjustments for marriage migration. If there were the only events to take place, the population would have increased, but the actual increase was below what might have been expected. After 1721, there was, undoubtedly, some pressure on the population which restricted future natural growth. It was about this time that Huntley gained a new Lord of the Manor, and it may have been his influence which restricted the

availability of housing and labour. (It is emphasised that this latter point is pure speculation and no documentary evidence has been found to support this theory). However, it is clear that very few houses were built between 1717 and 1776 and this would obviously put pressure on the available accommodation. Many parishes discouraged people from other villages from settling within their boundaries for fear they might become a burden on the parish funds; again it is impossible to say whether this was relevant to Huntley. The requirement and availability of labour may also have been an influencing factor. Having reviewed all the important evidence though, it is clear that no single factor is responsible for migration. Many events appear to have interacted to produce trends which Huntley's population experienced, and lack of suitable data prevents any more specific conclusions being made for the 18th century.

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THE MIGRATION CYCLE



ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION ASSOCIATED WITH MARRIAGE

	DECADE	NON PARISHIONERS			PARISHIONERS			NET CHANGE
		Marry-ing.	Remain-ing.	Leaving	Marry-ing.	Remain-ing.	Leaving	
MALES	1701 - 1710	6	2	4	6	6	-	4
	1711 - 1720	6	1	5	20	7	13	(10)
	1721 - 1730	9	1	8	18	4	14	(17)
	1731 - 1740	19	5	14	2	1	1	(9)
	1741 - 1750	9	2	7	12	10	2	3
	1751 - 1760	6	2	4	8	5	3	-
	1761 - 1770	5	2	3	13	9	4	4
	1771 - 1780	10	4	6	15	11	4	5
	1781 - 1790	3	1	2	20	16	4	11
	1791 - 1800	10	2	8	13	6	7	(7)
	TOTAL:	83	22	61	127	75	52	(16)
FEMALES	1701 - 1710	2	1	1	10	7	3	4
	1711 - 1720	3	-	3	23	8	15	(10)
	1721 - 1730	4	-	4	23	4	19	(19)
	1731 - 1740	11	1	10	10	5	5	(9)
	1741 - 1750	8	2	6	13	10	3	3
	1751 - 1760	3	1	2	11	6	5	-
	1761 - 1770	-	-	-	18	11	7	4
	1771 - 1780	1	1	-	24	14	10	5
	1781 - 1790	1	1	-	22	16	6	11
	1791 - 1800	3	2	1	20	6	14	(7)
	TOTAL:	36	9	27	174	87	87	(18)

() = emigration

THE SILK INDUSTRY IN THE CHALFORD VALLEY

By Hugh Conway-Jones

For a brief period in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Chalford valley was one of the centres of the rapidly expanding British silk industry. Demand for silk had been stimulated by the diversity of foreign goods coming on to the market after the earlier prohibition of imports was relaxed in 1826. The home industry was able to meet this challenge with the help of improved machinery and a growing supply of raw silk from the Far East.

The factory inspectors returns (1) show that the number of silk mills in Gloucestershire rose from two in 1838 to seven in 1850 and to eleven in 1856. (These figures do not include the mills at Blockley which was in Worcestershire at this time.) The number of workers (mostly female) rose from 120 to 1370 over the same period. Much of this growth took place in the Chalford valley where the woollen cloth industry was becoming concentrated in larger mills, and the smaller mills were available for other uses. Around Chalford, the main activity was silk throwing, that is the twisting together of raw silk filaments to obtain a range of finished thread sizes for various applications. Some firms are listed in directories as silk manufacturers, implying that they used the thrown threads to make finished products, but it is not certain whether this distinction can be relied on. The power used was not large, the average being only about ten horse-power for silk mills compared with about forty horse-power for cloth mills of the same period. Unfortunately the boom was short lived, as a treaty with France in 1860 allowed French goods into Britain duty free while there was still a duty on British goods sold in France. Gloucestershire was particularly badly affected, and by 1870 the number of silk mills had dropped to four and the number of workers to 540. Some firms kept going though, and it was not until the present century that the last silk mill closed.

A good insight into the work that was done in the mills can be obtained from an inventory of the equipment in Sevilles Mill in 1873 (2) and a contemporary description of the processes given by Tomlinson (3). The equipment listed in what was known as the Silk Mill was probably mostly installed in the 1850s. There was a double square wooden washing bin lined with zinc where the skeins of raw silk would have been soaked in a hot soapy solution to clean them and make them pliable. There were fifty deal poles in the boiler house for drying the silk on. The skeins would then have been mounted on large reels known as swifts. There were Canton swifts, China swifts and Japan swifts to suit the sizes of skeins coming from the different sources. There were eight winding engines with a total of 834 spindles to wind the silk from the swifts

on to wooden bobbins. Four of the winding engines were fitted with cleaners, which would probably have comprised closely spaced blades to remove or detect fluff, bulky knots and coarse threads etc. To clean the silk that had been wound on the other engines, there were four special cleaning engines. There were seven spinning machines (known as mills) with a total of 1390 spindles for twisting individual threads. The silk was wound from a vertical bobbin with a flyer on to a horizontal bobbin, and the degree of twist was determined by the difference in speed of the two bobbins. This provides the first stage of twisting in the preparation of organzine (which is intended for use as warp), but is omitted in the preparation of tram (a looser thread intended for use as weft). For combining two, three or more threads on to one bobbin, there were two doubling engines with a total of 270 spindles. This number seems rather low and it is possible that some of the other machines also served this purpose (as became common later). Finally there were five throwing machines (also known as mills) with a total of 1080 spindles for twisting the combined thread. These machines were similar to the spinning machines except that initially the thread was wound on a reel. The finished silk would then have been wound into skeins and taken to the making up room where there were four spring balances for checking the weight and there was a press used in packing the silk for despatch.

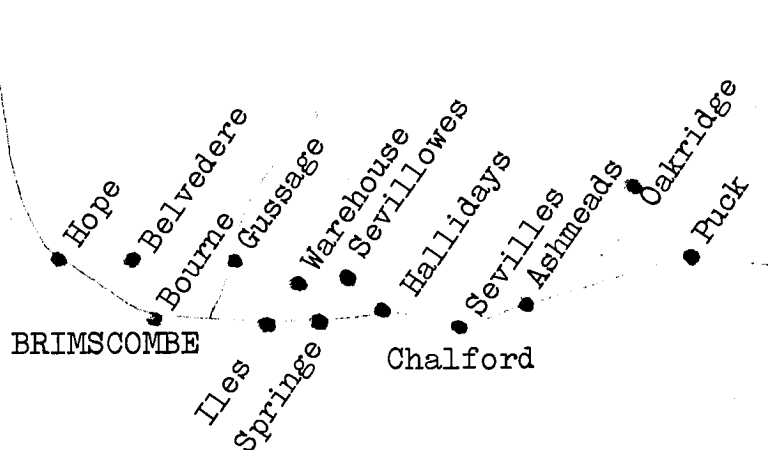
In the older part of the mill that had been used for making cloth until 1871, there were four reeling machines for transferring silk from bobbins to reels. These machines were fitted with bells which probably served to alert the operator in the event of a broken thread. There were also some other machines in this part of the mill similar to those already described (although apparently more up to date). To power all the machinery, there was a twelve foot diameter water wheel and a combined beam engine with a 10-inch diameter HP cylinder and a 16-inch diameter LP cylinder.

The earliest reference that I have found to the silk industry in the Chalford valley is in Pigot's directory of 1842, where Samuel Hook is listed as a 'silk manufacturer' of Chalford. In fact he was probably in business earlier than this, as S. and C. Hook were rated for a workshop adjacent to Spring Mill in 1840, and a deed of 1850 (4) refers to a building adjoining Spring Mill that had been used earlier as a silk mill by Samuel Hook. By 1845, Hook was occupying Warehouse Mill, and he was still there in 1855 although he gave up soon afterwards. By 1850, he was being listed in the directories as a silk throwater, and it is not clear whether the original listing as a manufacturer can be relied on.

In the Bisley rate books for 1845, there is specific mention of a silk mill owned by John Lowe and occupied by William Tayloe and a Mr. Hinton (probably Thomas Hinton listed as a silk manufacturer in Hunts directory of 1849). I have not been able positively to identify the premises referred to, but from a comparison of corresponding entries

in rate books for other years and the account of the Bisley mills in VCH Glos. Vol.XI, it appears that it was an old cloth mill adjoining the north-west side of the house where John Lowe lived and later known as Savillowes. In 1850, a Mr. Jackson is recorded as the occupier of the mill, although William Tayloe's occupation is still given as silk throwster in the census returns of 1851. By 1855, the mill was unoccupied, and it does not seem to have been recorded again.

STROUD



William Dangerfield and Sidney Foot started a silk throwing business at Gussage Mill probably in 1855. Certainly it was in that year that they insured their stock of silk in a building near the mill for £700 (5). By the following year, they had also taken over Warehouse Mill for Samuel Hook, and they insured the machinery for £1600 and the silk in stock for a further £1600. At the time of the 1861 census, they had 145 workers at Warehouse Mill and 125 at Gussage Mill (including some who were continuing Dangerfield's original business of bone button making). In the same census, Joseph Cherry gave his occupation as manager of a silk factory, and this is probably a reference to Warehouse Mill as the villagers still associate Cherry's name with a nearby spring. In 1867, Thomas Webb was also a manager for Dangerfield and Foot, and he was probably at Gussage Mill. It seems that they suffered in the general decline in trade in the late 1860s, however, as Gussage Mill is not listed in 1868, and although Dangerfield himself is still listed as a silk throwster in Chalford, he appears to have concentrated on his walking stick business after this.

Nathaniel Jones was one of the principal woollen cloth manufacturers in Chalford around the middle of the century, and was active in trying to relieve the plight of the out-of-work hand-loom weavers (6). He helped three of his sons to set up as silk throwsters. John William Jones is listed in Slater's directory of 1850, and he was probably using

part of Sevilles Mill where his father was making cloth. Joseph Jones was using Spring Mill by 1856 and Francis Edward Jones took over from him by 1858. John William Jones was obviously successful as he was working Oakridge Mill by 1855 and he bought Ashmeads Mill in 1859 (7). By 1860, he had also taken over Puck Mill where Blower and Smart had operated as silk throwsters for a few years. In that same year, however, he died at the early age of 33. Just over a year later, his widow married Charles DeBary who carried on running Oakridge Mill (and possibly Ashmeads Mill) and later also took over Spring Mill from Francis Edward Jones. However, DeBary was evidently affected by the general decline of the industry, and he is not listed as a silk throwster after 1867. In 1868 he was advertising Oakridge Mill to let as a silk throwing mill and Ashmeads Mill as being suitable for a manufacturer of cloth or a timber converting business (8). This latter description suggests that Ashmeads Mill may never have been converted to silk throwing owing to John William Jones's untimely death. After a short period as a flock mill, however, Ashmeads Mill did become a silk mill during the 1870s. The business was run by John Knight who was one of the executors of John William Jones's will, and the manager was Nathan Frost.

John Alexander Sparling is described as a solicitor and silk throwster in the census returns of 1871, and he had 263 employees. A newspaper report in the same year mentions that he came to Chalford in 1870 (9). The report describes a grand outing that he organised for his workers at Oakridge and Chalford Mills with food, games and dancing in a nearby field. The report also mentions that he had lately taken Iles Mill and was about to open it as a silk mill, although in fact it continued to be advertised for sale or letting for a further six weeks. The Chalford mill can be identified with Sevilles Mill, as Sparling is referred to as having previously occupied it as a silk mill in a lease of 1873 (2). By 1874, he had also finished at Oakridge mill, and it was used for silk throwing by Tubbs Lewis and Co. until about 1879 when they concentrated their operations near Kingswood.

It was clearly difficult to keep a silk throwing business going during the late sixties and seventies, but one that was successful was run by the Chapman family. Joseph Chapman is listed as a silk throwster of Chalford in Kelly's directory of 1863. It is not clear whether this is a reference to Joseph Chapman senior who was a coal and timber merchant and maltster, or whether it refers to his eldest son who was also named Joseph. It is Joseph junior who is listed in 1867, but it is his younger brother William who ran the business from then on. They probably started at Hallidays Mill, although no positive link has been found prior to 1876. By 1870, William had bought Warehouse Mill from William Dangerfield, and the 1871 census returns show that he was employing 250 workers. In 1873, he leased the whole of Sevilles Mill from Nathaniel Jones (2), and in 1880 he was rated at Oakridge Mill. Eventually though, he too was overcome by competition from the French, and he does not appear in directories after 1894 (most of his mills being forced to close by 1890).

Charles Chandler is listed as a silk throwster in Chalford in 1894, but nothing else is known about him.

Just before the close of the century, William Sidney Cox moved to Chalford from Coventry where he had owned the Brandon Silk Mill, and started making sewing silks on a small scale probably at Hallidays Mill. He brought his nephew Charles Padin with him to act as foreman. In 1903, Cox and Padin moved to Days Mill at Nailsworth, although silk making machinery still remained at Hallidays Mill in 1912 (10).

Further down the valley at Brimscombe, the growth and decline of the silk industry was very similar to that around Chalford, although on a smaller scale. In 1856, the clothier John Webb of Bourne Mill had silk throwing machinery valued at £500 and a stock of silk also valued at £500 (5). This may have been an attempt to diversify during a difficult time for the cloth industry, but Webb had left Bourne Mill by 1863. Over the period 1863-79, Charles Hodgson is listed as a silk throwster at Belvedere Mill. Jennifer Tann associates this name with Tayloes Mill at Chalford, but it is now clear that the mill referred to is the building on the Chalford road in Brimscombe now known as Gordon Terrace. An abstract of title in the possession of the owner of one part of the building shows that Charles Hodgson erected a silk mill on land he had bought in 1856. After he died in 1879, his widow was forced to sell the mill, and it was converted to dwellings in 1884. The longest surviving firm in Brimscombe was run by Charles Barton at Hope Mill. He is first listed in 1863, although the firm may have started earlier as Richard Barton and Son are listed as silk throwsters in Slaters Directory of 1858. Charles Barton continued at Hope Mill until about 1910, and he was still said to be living near his idle mill in 1912 (10).

Sources

This study was inspired by the various fleeting references to silk mills in Volume XI of the Victoria County History of Gloucestershire, and this volume should be consulted for further information on the location and the general history of the mills named above. Much use has been made of the surviving rate books of the overseers of the poor and of directories of the period, and it has not been thought necessary to reference these specifically. The author is grateful for information received from Messrs. F. Hammond, L. Padin and R. Clarke of Chalford and Mr J.F. Morgan and Mrs. Howell of Brimscombe.

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HUNTLEY MILL

by J.M. Eastwood

The study of property in Huntley, a country parish some ten miles west of Gloucester, which has been under way for two years, has raised a number of questions and problems. The uneven distribution of houses leads to the question of why properties are concentrated in certain areas while others contain little or no property. A closer study may help to answer these questions.

The 1717 estate survey contains a map and terrier which is the earliest detailed record of properties available. The survey forms a convenient starting document from which to study property and land changes in Huntley over the last 260 years. It is apparent that some properties ceased to be used while others were split to give dwelling accommodation for more families. Over the 260 year period there have also been notable changes to the road network, water resources and field sizes and it is of interest to discover why the changes took place.

In one area of the parish there are now no houses at all and only one farm building. The building at present in this area is a brick barn of no great age and the site has no recorded buildings on the 19th century maps. This land south of the present village extending to the southern parish boundary is traversed by one lane where the earlier maps show three lanes or roads. It was in an attempt to find out why this area did not attract housing and why the road and field patterns have changes so much that this study was started.

The area has an added interest in that it includes the site of Huntley Mill and it seemed relevant to try to discover something of the history of the mill. Some of the changes to the road system may have been connected with the cessation of operations at the mill.

Earlier information relating to this area can be obtained from studies of the Roam roads in the Forest of Dean. Research has suggested that the Roan road from Gloucester to Monmouth ran along the southern boundary of Huntley parish. This boundary line would appear to have still been the route of a lane or road in the early 18th century and a small section is followed by the modern road from Huntley to Westbury.

The Domesday Book, which normally lists all mills, does not mention a mill in Huntley. This would suggest that the mill was not then established. The first mention of a

mill is in the records of the perambulations of the Forest of Dean. These records quote the forest boundary running 'from the vill of Blechedon (Blaisdon) by highway as far as the mill at Hunteley (Huntley) which is called Stinderforthemilne and from thence by the way as far as the ditch of the wood of Bridwoode (Birdwood)'. Thus it appears that the parish boundary was then the boundary of the Forest of Dean and that by this time (1300) there was an established mill.

There is a long period for which no documents relating to the mill and this area of Huntley have been found. The next reference to the mill is contained in the survey prepared for the Duke of Kent in 1717. This survey map shows the mill and the roads leading to it. One lane leads directly from the village to the mill and meets another lane which follows the southern parish boundary. The mill is sited where two streams meet, one coming from Woodend farm and the other from Longhope parish - the latter is known as Ley Brook. The terrier which goes with the survey shows that the mill was let with Woodend farm to John Cox Esq:-

'Huntley mill and the little meadow adjoining.'

The fields listed include -

'Mill meadow, millpond meadow and little millmead meadow'

The survey also mentions Charles Jones as the tenant of the mill but gives no further details of his holding. On the map two buildings are drawn in the mill area. One of the buildings has a wheel drawn at one end and also a small square alongside. The square plot may represent the mill pond. Charles Jones died in 1733 and although some of his descendants continued to live in the parish they would not appear to have retained this holding.

John Cox, who had held Woodend Farm, died in 1745, and no further members of his family can be traced as living in Huntley. The mill is next mentioned with other land when it was sold to Mr. Probyn by the Duke of Kent. Unfortunately the documents do not show which land went with individual properties and give no indication of tenants at the time of the transaction. Later in the 18th century (c.1770) a set of notes on properties and leases include a record of one to Richard Drinkwater which included 'An old farm house, a mill and mill house, a barn of three bays, oak threshing floor and a cart house at one end.' The fields listed by name help to identify the properties and the farm house would appear to be Woodend Farm but the mill house probably represents the property previously let to Charles Jones.

Although later deeds mention the mill meadows there are no further documents for the actual mill. In the later 18th century the 'lane leading from Huntley village to Huntley Mill' was used as a landmark on a number of deeds. This cannot be held to prove that the mill was still in existence but does show that the lane was still in use.

In 1841 the tithe map for Huntley was produced and there were no buildings in the southern part of the parish where the mill had been. The lane leading from the village to the mill still existed but the lane along the southern parish boundary was not shown - presumably it had ceased to be used. The fields in the mill area had been enlarged by some amalgamation and were still attached to Woodend Farm. The map of 1883 which was produced for the estate sale shows that some further field amalgamation had taken place. The lane to the mill no longer existed. The original line of this lane was marked by field boundaries and in fact still is for most of its length. The mill site is still the meeting point for fields on the southern parish boundary but recent work on the stream bed and banks have removed any signs of the mill which may have previously survived.

Although an outline of the history of the mill has been obtained there are many gaps in the story. Some other pieces of information came to hand during the study which may have relevance to the mill's history.

One idea which was considered is that another mill may have taken over some of the work available to Huntley mill. There is no documentary evidence of another mill within the parish but Upper Ley Mill in Westbury parish is within a half mile of the Huntley parish boundary. The Ley Brook turns into Westbury parish at the point where Huntley mill stood and makes its way to join the river Severn. A short distance to the south of the Huntley boundary is Ley Fold Farm and Ley Mill Farm. In the Industrial History of Dean Cyril Hart mentions that the iron framework of the wheel at Upper Ley Mill was still in position in 1940. It would thus appear that this mill survived long after the Huntley mill ceased to operate and it may well have taken over some of the business from Huntley Mill.

The 1841 census of Huntley lists John Elliot as a miller. He was aged 75 and it may well be that he had to retire to Huntley from elsewhere but it is also possible that he had been the last tenant of the mill earlier in his life. No further papers for John Elliot have been found but this does raise the question of when the mill ceased to operate. If it was during John Elliot's lifetime it may well have continued after 1800, some thirty years after the documentary evidence.

A further factor to be considered is the field distribution in this part of Huntley. One large portion of the land north of the mill was called Rye meadow and this may once have been part of the common field system. If this were the case it would have precluded building in this area until the field system was modified and the fields enclosed. This portion of the parish was fully enclosed before the 1717 map was produced and thus it may have been difficult for people to encroach on this area in the way that they did on Huntley Hill. The fact that the

land was later part of the largest farm in the parish would also have had an effect in that the farm had its buildings and accommodation in one unit to the west of the area under study.

It would appear that the mill was water operated (from its siting and the millpond references) and it is therefore relevant to look at the water sources. The early ordnance survey maps show a reservoir to the north of Woodend which is not shown on earlier estate maps. It is perhaps worth asking if this would have affected the flow of water in the stream which ran from here through Woodend to the mill.

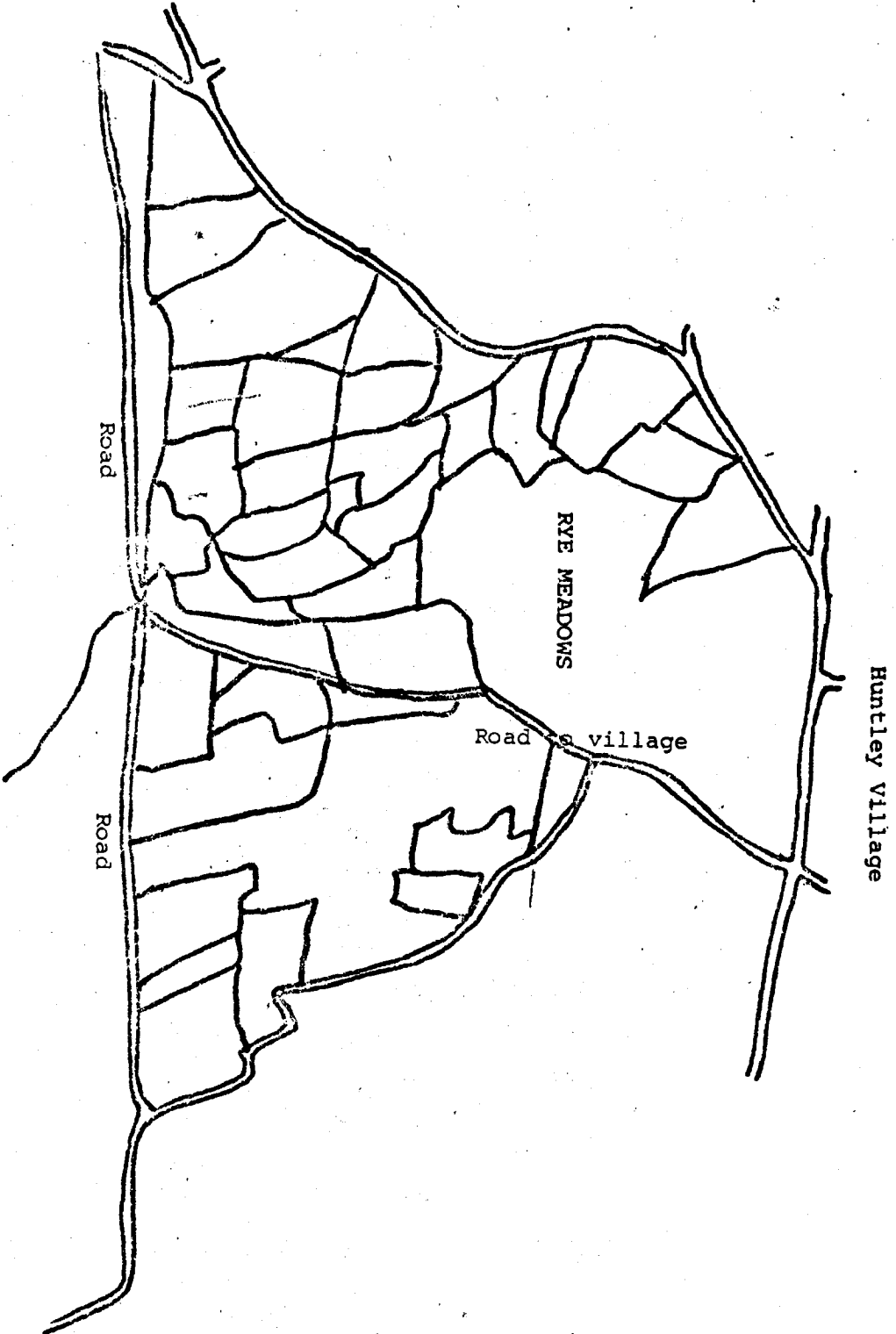
The lane which led to Huntley Mill is no longer needed and therefore it is logical that it has been lost but the lane which followed the southern parish boundary would have provided a shorter route from Birdwood to Longhope than the present road which goes through Huntley village. This route may have been very wet in winter as it followed the Ley Brook but there is no logical reason why it should have ceased to be used. The early ordnance survey maps show five footpaths meeting at the site of the mill and state that a footbridge existed across the Ley Brook. This would suggest that the footpaths had existed when the mill was operating but were still in use. The lanes that had existed in 1717 were included as footpaths.

It is hoped that as the study of the whole parish continues more information will fit into place and give a better insight into the reasons for the mill's disappearance. It appears to have operated for about five hundred years and to have had a marked effect on the field and road system of this part of Huntley parish.

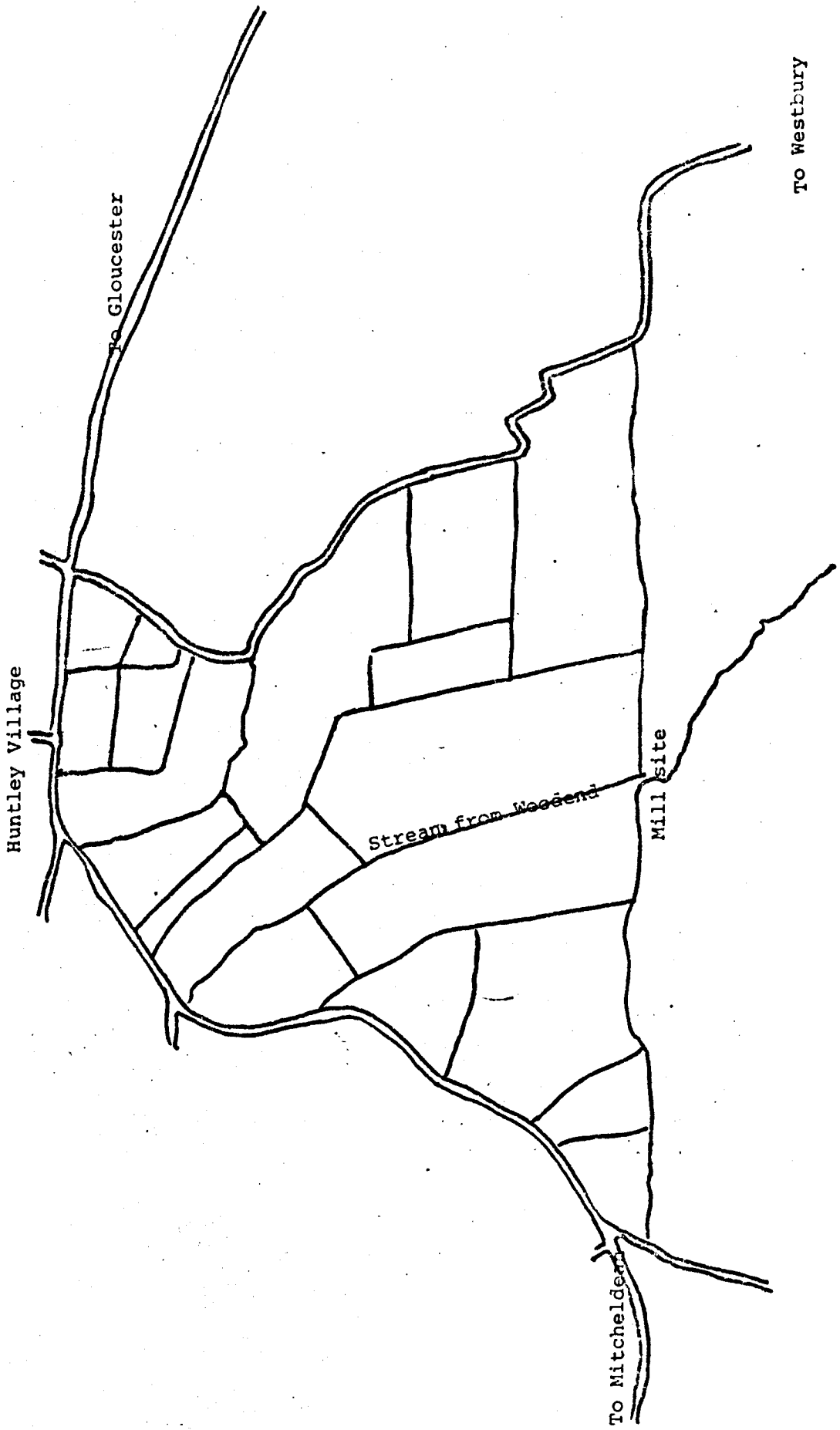
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1717 Field and Road Plan



1880 Field and Road Plan



OLD HOUSES IN CUDNALL STREET, CHARLTON KINGS

by the Charlton Kings Group

The name Cudnall comes from the OE Cudda's hill, and this settlement on a south-facing bank above the Chelt may be pre-Conquest. From Cudnall, the king's cheorls could easily work the arable in Coltham field (east of Hales road), Lower field (the Charlton Park area), Cudnall Bank and Slad Bank (the ridge above the street and slope down to the further stream) and Ryeworth, the rye inclosure. There was a mill in or near Cudnall by the 14th century. Later tenants living in this street had their strips in several of these fields, but principally in Ryeworth and on Cudnall Bank, with extra land in the "breaches" which had cleared the hillsides of woodland before 1600 and reduced the common waste to the two open areas still surviving, Ravensgate and Charlton Common.

Though Cudnall Street was "the highway to Cheltenham", it was not a main road till the 18th century, when a way to London via Dowdeswell (but not the London road as we know it) was developed. The old London road, which was also the Cirencester road, ran from Sandford Mill across the Lower field and up Sandy Lane. Part of this route was closed c.1790, but Sandy Lane was the road to Cirencester till the new turnpike road from Cudnall up the valley was cut in 1826.

There seem to have been 12 Cudnall tenements, only 3 of them freehold.(1)

To begin, then, with the customary tenements.

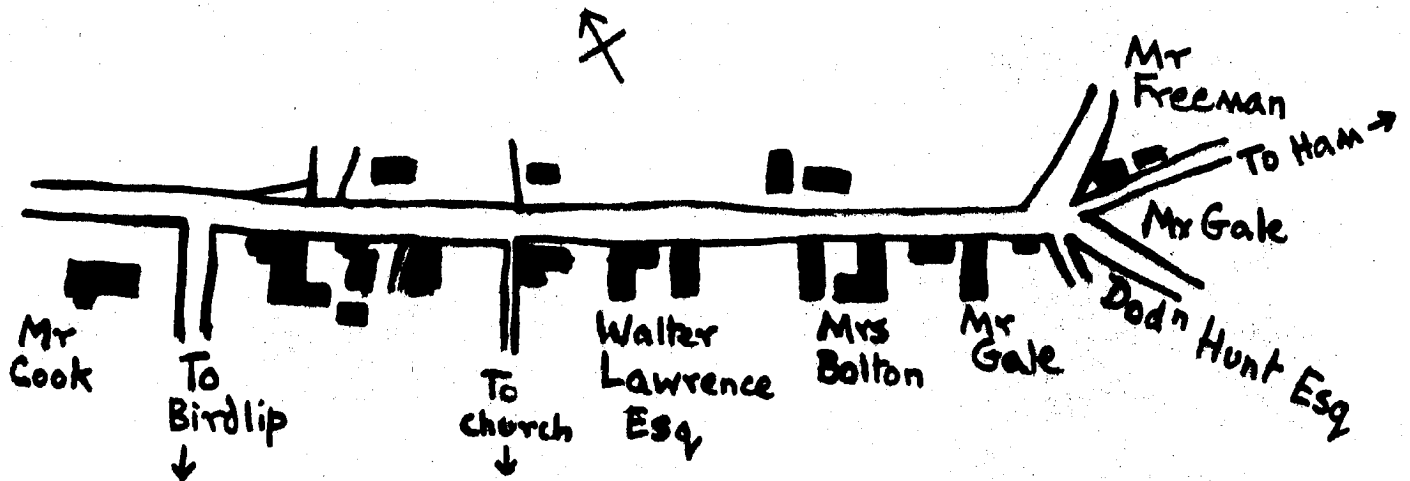
1) Charlton House

This is the first house on the south side of the street, coming from Cheltenham.

Mitchell's map of Cheltenham in 1806 marks it as a C-shaped house, the courtyard facing southwest, standing nearer the Chelt than the present early 19th century building. So it may well have been a timber-framed mansion of c.1600, like the C-shaped timber-framed mansion which is the core of the 18th century brick house at Charlton Park. This, rather than Elborough Cottage, may have been John Stubbe's residence in the 17th century and have served as a court house for the manor of Ashley alias Charlton, for among its amenities were the dovehouse

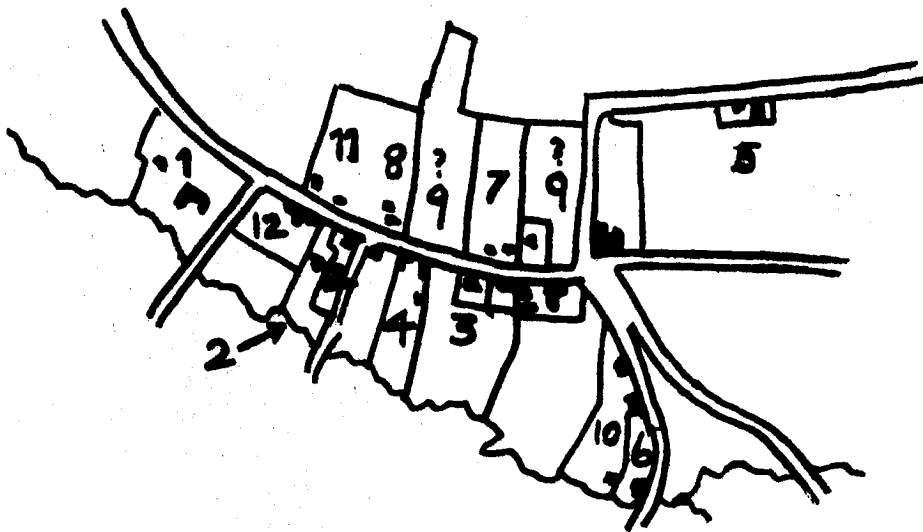
Part of Thomas Billings' "Plan of the Turnpike Road from the Gallows Oak in the Parish of Cheltenham ... to the 5th mile stone in the Parish of Withington" taken June 1798. Scale 40 chains to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

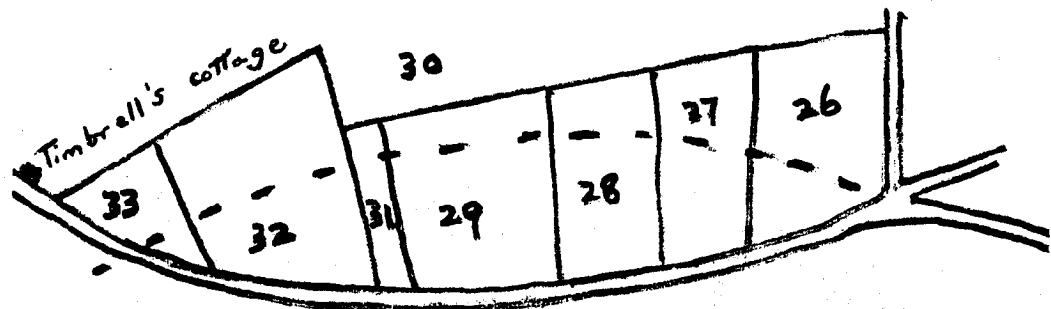
(Copied from original in office of G.H. Bayley and Sons, Vittoria House, by kind permission of Mr. Bayley)



Part of Edward Mitchell's map of Cheltenham in 1806 "Laid down, chiefly, from his own observations"

(Numbers refer to houses discussed here, as far as they can be identified)





Plan and book of references for new turnpike
from Timbrell's cottage to Cudnells

Proprietors

26 Mr. Gale
 27 Mr. C. Lovesy
 28 W.L. Lawrence Esqr.
 29 C.C. Higgs Esqr.
 30 W.L. Lawrence Esqr.
 31 C.C. Higgs Esqr.
 32 ditto
 33 Messrs. Prewen & Griffith
 34 Mr. Baylis

Occupiers

Mr. Acres
 Mr. Hamlett
 Wm. Morris Esqr.
 in hand
 Wm. Morris Esqr.
 in hand
 ditto
 ditto
 ditto

and fishponds that were the lord's prerogative. Until 1716, this manor never had a resident lord.

By 1712, Samuel Cooper held this house as a customary tenement.(2) He was a near relative of the steward, William Sloper, and was to succeed him in that office in 1716, when John Prinn bought the lordship from Edward Mitchell. Cooper was childless, and when he settled his estates in 1729, he surrendered the messuage in which he lived and its lands to use of himself for life, and after to use of his cousin Samuel Sloper, Sussanna his wife, and their heirs. Other messuages and lands were surrendered to uses of Cooper's will, part going to establish Cooper's Charity in 1743.

Samuel Sloper divided his property between his son Samuel and his daughters Mary and Elizabeth. His will was proved in 1747. But two years later, Samuel the son died without issue, and Mary became customary heir to the whole. She surrendered to use of her sister the house in which they both lived and in which their father had lived, together with the barn, stable, dovehouse, edifices, gardens, orchards, fishponds, and an undivided moiety of the other hereditaments. Neither sister married, and Elizabeth surrendered the property to uses of her will in 1754.

By that will dated 25 January 1754, Elizabeth Sloper devised all her property to her cousin Samuel Cooke for life, and after to Cooke's sister Susannah Higgs and her eldest son Charles Higgs. Samuel Cooke was admitted on 5 September 1755 and lived at Charlton House till his death on 12 July 1804 at the age of 81. Charles Higgs had to wait 50 years to inherit and in 1806 suffered a recovery to clear the title before the succession of his son Charles Cooke Higgs.

Mitchell's map of 1806 shows that the date c.1790 postulated by Verey for the rebuilding of Charlton House is too early; Charles Higgs, inheriting late in life, is unlikely to have begun a major enterprise. So the house we know ("rendered front with two segmental bows to full height, three storeys, cornice and parapet") was probably the work of Charles Cooke Higgs. His house faced north-west towards Cheltenham, but when it was built, he could not afford to live in it. He mortgaged it for £3,000 in 1820, when Mrs Charlotte Cooper was its tenant; and in 1825 a wealthy Birmingham business man, Frind Cregoe, came to live here while he looked for a site to build himself a family home. He was still at Charlton House when he bought land at Moorend in 1833.

Within living memory, Charlton House has been the home of the Podmore family, a prisoner-of-war camp in the First War, a Vicarage for Holy Apostles' Church, and now offices for the firm Spirax-Sarco. Considerable additions have been made to the house since it became offices

2) The beedle messuage

There were several "beedle messuages" in Charlton Kings. It is not clear what the term originally meant, for by the 18th century these were ordinary tenements, with no special duties or rents attached. It is unlikely that they had ever been "bead" or charity property, and the most plausible explanation is that their tenants had once been charged with the duties of manorial beadles, summoning courts and making attachments.

This messuage was a timber-framed building, butt on to the street, between a freehold tenement on the west and Cowell lane on the east and south. The description shows that the home close of the beedle messuage went to the present Brookway Lane on the east, and on the south included a piece of land beyond the Chelt, between the stream and a track marked by Mitchell in 1806 as leading from Cowell House (the present Park Cottages) to the mill. That land across the stream still belonged to a house in Cudnall Street until c.1960.

In 1719 Thomas White the elder and Hannah his wife mortgaged a messuage higher up the street in which they had previously lived, but then in the occupation of their eldest son John and his wife Ann. (3) It seems that the parents had moved into the beedle messuage. They were followed in it by their second son Thomas with Edith his wife. Thomas and Edith were certainly living in the beedle messuage in 1744, when John died and left no heir except his brother. So he moved back to the family home and let the beedle messuage. In 1764 the tenant was Thomas Fowler.

On 20 January 1764 Thomas White (then a widower) surrendered the beadle messuage to use of a relative Andrew White of Whittington, feltmaker, and his heirs. The heriot paid on the surrender was only 1s. 6d., because no land was included except the garden. Andrew White mortgaged his inheritance in 1768 and in 1771 the mortgage was transferred to John Newman who later foreclosed. On 31 May 1780 Newman surrendered to use of the sitting tenant William Tombs and Betty his wife "all that messuage or dwellinghouse being a beedle messuage, with the garden and appurtenances in Charlton Kings in a place there called Cudnel having a lane called Cowell Lane on the south and east, Cudnel Street on the north, and a messuage in the possession of Robert Sollis on the west".

William and Betty Tombs sold part of their garden to a developer, Thomas Billings of Charlton Kings, bricklayer. The surrender dated 6 February 1795 gave him a plot "commencing at a distance of 10 feet from the south end of the messuage or dwellinghouse ... and going in a direct line across their garden ground to a lane called Cowell lane on the east side, bounded by the said lane south and by a garden ground and premises of Robert Sollis on the west, together with a right foofoot road from the street or high road to and from the said piece of ground..." On this plot Billings built a new house, then called Raisey House, now Ivy Cottage.

Two years later, on 31 October 1797, William and Betty Tombs surrendered the old house and the rest of the garden to Billings. He may have planned further development but wider opportunities were opening for him and in 1808 as "Thomas Billings late of Charlton Kings, now of Battersea, gentleman" he sold to the Occupier Samuel Harward gentleman (previously a bookseller) "all that newly built brick messuage or tenement and buildings together with the garden ground in front and behind ... on part of which premises formerly stood an ancient messuage called a beedle messuage ... , which premises are bounded east by Cowell Lane, west by a messuage and land of Robert Sollis, north by the turnpike road, and south by part of a freehold garden of the said Thomas Billings sold to the said Samuel Harward ..." It appears from this that Billings had acquired part of Robert Sollis's garden, to add to the ground going with the new house, perhaps before he persuaded William and Betty Tombs to sell the residue of their holding.

John Harward was admitted as heir of Samuel Harward in 1818. Between 1818 and 1830, he seems to have sold the eastern part of the garden or some of it to Charles Cooke Higgs, who owned a messuage and garden there by 1830. But there was no surrender in court between those dates, an instance of copyhold property being transferred and the transfer only acknowledged some time later. On part of the remainder, John Harward had built cottages. As the Revd. John Harward of Hartlebury, he with Susannah his wife in consideration of £490, sold Raisey House, with the cottages and remainder of the customary land, and the freehold garden, to Martin Leggatt of Charlton Kings on 5 February 1830. Within the year, Leggatt was dead and his widow Elizabeth produced his will in court on 12 December 1830.

The repeated phrase, about the ancient messuage which "formerly" stood here, might be taken to mean that Billings or Harward had pulled down the beedle messuage. In fact it survived till c.1950, at first as a pub, later as three cottages. It was finally condemned by the UDC as unfit for human habitation.

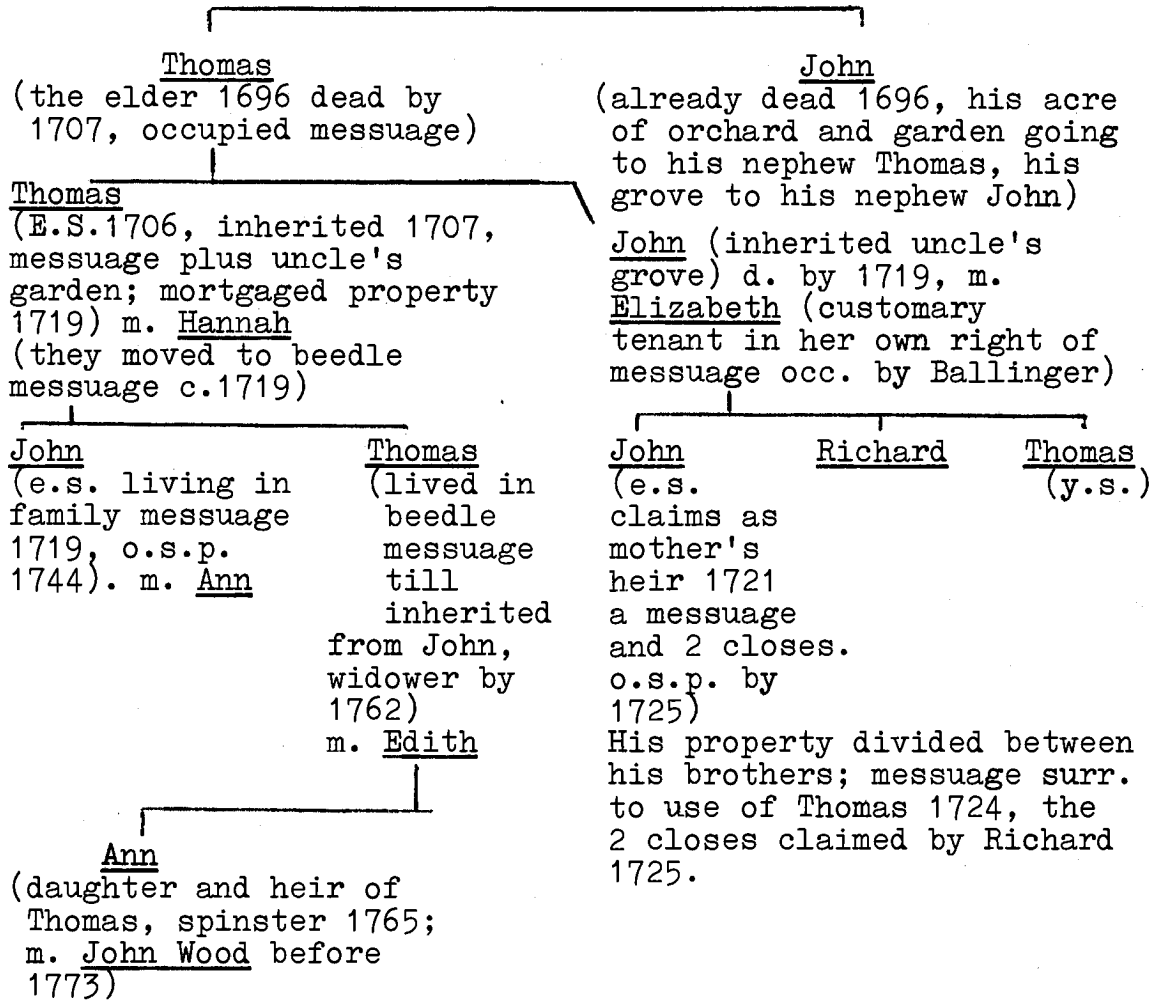
3) White's tenement (site of Hetton Lawn). opposite the first milestone out of Cheltenham.

Originally, this tenement consisted of a home close and a messuage facing west with its butt end to the road. But by 1696 (4), its occupier Thomas White the elder had inherited from his brother John an acre of garden and orchard lying on the backside of the messuage, with other land formerly John the brother's on the east, the highway to Cheltenham on the north and a little grove or coppice land also John the brother's on the south. It must have been a strip of woodland along the Chelt.

The usually amount of land in Ryeworth and on Cudnall Bank went with White's tenement, and after Thomas and

Hannah inherited the property in 1707, they consolidated their holding by a series of exchanges.

The White family is so complicated that a pedigree seems unavoidable.



In 1719 Thomas and Hannah mortgaged their messuage, and about that time moved to the beedle messuage down the road, leaving the family home for their elder son John and his wife Ann. John could not pay off the mortgage and was obliged to add the adjoining acre as additional security. He died, childless, about 1744, and his brother Thomas (then living in the beedle messuage) moved with his wife Edith into the tenement. The mortgages were not redeemed till 1762.

On 19 October 1765 Ann, daughter of Thomas and Edith, claimed her fathers holding and was admitted, paying £1. 6s. 10½d heriot. So there was still a fair amount of land. She married John Wood and her property was settled on her and her heirs in 1773. But the couple had to borrow from William Bolton or Boulton of Charlton Kings yeoman, and finally on 23 March 1785 Bolton, with their consent, surrendered to use of himself, paying them £177

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The usually amount of land in Ryeworth and on Cudnall Bank went with White's tenement, and after Thomas and

consideration. He bought the house, garden, orchard, home close, and cherry orchard, 2 pieces of arable in Mill-furlong, and arable on Cudnell Bank. The Woods retained the rest of the arable, and the heriot on the house was reduced to 15s. 10d. Bolton sold off the land in Mill furlong and Cudnall Bank to Charles Higgs, and the Cherry Orchard to his neighbour John Gale, who already held the land that in 1696 had belonged to John the elder.

Bolton added a new block across the south end of the house and to raise the money, mortgaged the property in 1788 for £200. The roof line of his late 18th-century work can be seen above the facade of rusticated stone added some 60 years later. About 1798, Bolton died, leaving a widow and his eldest daughter Elizabeth his customary heir, but they joined to surrender in 1801 to use of all 3 daughters as tenants in common.

This is the house now associated with the Liddells, Lewis Carroll, and Through the Looking Glass.

John Gale built himself a house on the cherry orchard he had bought from Bolton on 29 August 1786, a predecessor of the house called Charlton Lawn. There was no ancient messuage on that site.

4) Elborough Cottage

This is an L-shaped timber-framed house, basically old, though prettied in the 19th century. The name comes from a 17th-18th century family. A William Elbrow still held land in Great Oldmead in that year (5), but the family no longer held the Cudnall tenement.

By the 18th century, it had come into the possession of the Lawrence family, Thomas Lawrence of Cudnell, then William, then John (6), then William Lawrence, a Hereford surgeon, who surrendered his copyholds to uses of his will in 1766. His widow Elizabeth and nephews William and Henry were admitted tenants in common in 1770, and from th them the property passed to Walter Lawrence of Sevenhampton. The exact relationship between all these is not clear.

Walter Lawrence died in 1810, leaving a daughter Mary married to William Morris. Her son Walter Lawrence Morris, born in 1799, took the name Lawrence under his grandfather's will. In 1825 mother and son agreed to sell this house, in which she and her husband had been living, to Richard Pruett. It seems possible that originally the tenement included all the land east of Brookway Lane as far as a block of stabling that went with the house; but by 1825 a strip of land down the lane and across the stream to Cowell Lane had been used to build Hamilton House (c.1800), Wraxall House (c.1820) and cottages.

So on 8 August 1825, in consideration of £1750, Walter Lawrence and Mary Morris surrendered to use of

Richard Pruen and his children Edward, Henry, and Alice, "all that messuage, cottage, garden, and close adjoining the road to London, bounded north by the said road, east by land belonging to Miss Boulton and others, south by the river Chelt, and west by lands of John Tombs (the cottages), General John Hughes (Hamilton House) and Sir William Wraxall (Wraxall House)".

Pruen (who siad he was baptised under the name of Ashmead) made a will in 1837. His duaghter was to inherit property in Cheltenham provided she surrendered her claim in this house to her brothers. So Elborough Cottage came to Edward and Henry Pruen jointly when the will was proved in 1838. James Tonière esq. was the occupant.

None of the legends attached to Elborough Cottage by Dobell seem to have any basis in fact.

5) Ellis's tenement

This tenement was the only one in Cudnall to pay a sizeable rent to the lord (6s. 2½d), bedreap money (4d) and tithing silver (3d); and these charges upon it prove it to have been an ancient holding. On each transfer, £1. 7s. 7d. heriot was payable, showing that it was one of the more substantial tenements. Daniell Ellis held it by 1701, and on 22 May 1714 David Ellis as son of Daniell claimed some of his father's land.(7) He was already holding the messuage itself.

David was ambitious for his children and in 1739 apprenticed his eldest son Richard to Thomas Price, a Gloucester goldsmith (8). On 21 July 1759, David surrendered all his customary property to uses of his will and on 13 April 1761 his daughter Mary, then wife of William Overbury (son of Thomas Overbury of Charlton Kings yeoman) produced the will in court. She was executor. Her father had entrusted her with the task of selling the property within one year and dividing the proceeds equally among all his children. So William Overbury, Mary his wife, and Richard Ellis as eldest son and heir of David, surrendered to use of Daniel Quarrington of Gloucester, maltster. The latter was buying up property in Charlton as an investment.

Quarington surrendered to uses of his will, and at his death in 1770, his widow Margaret was admitted to part of his copyhold and his two daughters, Mary and Amelia, to a moiety each of the rest. Amelia married Samuel Bagster of Hucclecote, gentleman. In 1774 she and her husband surrendered to use of Walter Lawrence of Sevenhampton esq. her moiety of her father's property in Ashley manor, paying 13s. 11½d. heriot; Mary surrendered her moiety separately, paying the same. The two sums would amount together to the original £1. 7s. 7d. plus 4d for the bedreap money.

Lawrence wanted the property because he already held Elborough Cottage and other land in Cudnall. It paid him well later, when the new turnpike road was cut through his land on Cudnall Bank, and he was able to sell building plots.

The Ellis family parted with their Cudnall tenement but did not leave Charlton Kings, for a David Ellis (died 1783 aged 30) and his son Guy are buried under a handsome tomb near the west end of St. Mary's.

The name lingered on in Cudnall. On 9 July 1832, Walter Lawrence Lawrence, his parents, and attorneys acting for Howston Wallace (perhaps a mortgagee) surrendered £800 worth of property in and near Cudnall, including a half acre plot of "Cook's Ground adjoining the New London Road ... known as Old Orchard, with the messuage and farm house both formerly occupied by one Ellis". This tantalizing reference suggests that Ellis's tenement may have been the timber-framed farm house formerly called Ryeworth farm, now Little Manor, standing on the northern edge of Ryeworth field.(9)

6) A tenement by Ryeworth field

In the early 18th century, the Ballinger family held a tenement with an adjoining close and orchard, the whole described as having a field called Ryeworth on the north and east, and land late of Mr William Harrison, subsequently of Mr Portrat, on the west. On 17 April 1721, Thomas Ballinger surrendered this dwellinghouse, in which Elizabeth Ballinger had been living, with a single ridge in Ryeworth field, to use of Thomas Symons of Charlton Kings and his heirs.(10) The heriot paid was only 4s. 4d. This may have been one of two small buildings marked by Mitchell near Grove Cottage west of the site of the 19th-century Porturet House.

Thomas Symons and Sarah his wife either sold or mortgaged their holding on 25 May 1725; the surrender was to use of John Prinn, clerk, and Samuel Sloper, so a mortgage seems most probable. If so, it was foreclosed. On 30 May 1750 Mary Sloper spinster as eldest daughter and heir of Samuel Sloper gentleman deceased, the survivor, claimed this copyhold; and having been admitted, surrendered to use of Thomas Robins of Charlton Kings, painter and his heirs. He was the Thomas Robins who had just painted a picture of William Prinn's house and was noted for his views of Bath. At this time he was about 34 and at the height of his fame, yet he still described himself as "of Charlton Kings" (where he was born and baptised in 1716) and was putting his money into property in his native parish. Mary Sloper retained the seignior of land. Robins only bought the house, garden and orchard. He may have enfranchised the property subsequently for no further surrenders can be traced.

7) Overbury's tenement

On 29 May 1708 (11) Joseph Hall surrendered a tenement

to use of himself for life and after to use of his nephew Richard Overbury and his heirs. The property was described as a messuage in Charlton Kings in or near a street called Cudnall, in which Hall then lived, and another house in the same street occupied by Sarah Greville as his undertenant, with all the outhouses, shops, gardens, orchards, backsides and ways belonging to the said messuage and a $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre close of pasture. A proviso was added, that Richard should pay Joseph's wife Jone Hall 20s a year for life if she would agree to accept this annuity instead of her dower as directed in her husband's will. If she refused, the surrender was to remain in force but the proviso be void. The heriot paid on this surrender was 15s. 6d., a reasonable sum to ask for two dwellings, though only $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land was attached.

Hall also held a messuage in Up End, and when he died in 1721, the homage presented Thomas Hall his kinsman as heir to that copyhold. On the same day, Thomas Hall and Margaret his wife surrendered to use of Richard Overbury 2 closes called Henmarshes, previously part of the Up End tenement, and Richard was admitted, paying 14s. $1\frac{3}{4}$ d. heriot for them. (12) They adjoined some other land of his on the south, which he must have acquired and not inherited.

Richard left a brother William as his heir, and on 16 May 1726 a second Richard Overbury, as son and heir of William, claimed the Cudnall messuage with close, garden and orchard adjoining and 2 closes of pasture called the Henmarshes. On the total holding he duly paid £1. 9s. $7\frac{3}{4}$ d. heriot. (13) This Richard Overbury also inherited his uncle Richard's mortgage on Thomas White's holding; by the time he transferred it to another mortgagee in 1744, he had left Charlton Kings for Gotherington.

It is not yet clear whether Thomas Overbury of Charlton Kings yeoman, whose son William married Mary Ellis before 1761, should be linked with this holding, but it seems probable.

In the 1820s, a parcel of land on the north side of Cudnall Street was called Overbury's Piece, and a piece to the north of that, Overbury's Field. Both belonged to Conway Whithorne Lovesy and his mother; and when this area was surveyed in 1824 for the new turnpike road, plot 27 was entered as Mr Lovesy's, with Hamlett as his tenant. Two years later, William Hamlett paid £160 for a plot of land, part of Overbury's Piece, measuring 90 feet along the old turnpike road from the boundary of Mr Lawrence's land, plot 28.

Plot 26, lying to the east of Lovesy's plot 27, and extending as far as Greenway Lane, was Mr Gale's. In 1828, the Lovesys (mother and son) sold the rest of the Cudnall Street frontage, with 2 cottages, to Mary Ann Bolton, one of the three Bolton sisters of Hetton Lawn, directly opposite.

She paid £450 for a piece stretching from Gale's land on the east to a new cross road on the west. So it would appear that the new road still called Overbury Street was driven through the middle of plot 27.

Her purchase included the two cottages, described as cottages and blacksmith's shop, occupied in 1828 by John Herbert and James Sheyler, formerly by William Togwell and John Greening. So the "shop" of 1708 was presumably a blacksmith's. Two buildings are shown on plot 27 on Mitchell's map.

8) Samuel Simmon's cottage on Cudnall Bank

Simmons was a labourer who held a cottage without land on Cudnall Bank. By 1745 he had saved £11 and persuaded his wealthy neighbour Samuel Sloper of Charlton House to sell his two ridges on the Bank, adjoining the cottage. The sale was made subject to an agreement that if Sloper ever succeeded in buying up all the arable on Cudnall Bank, Simmons would reconvey and be reimbursed, though he might keep for ever that part of the land he was incorporating in his garden. As it happened, Sloper died in 1747 without achieving his ambition.

Simmons surrendered to uses of his will in 1761, and in 1765 his widow Hester was admitted. She immediately surrendered to uses of her own will. There were apparently no children. Hester left the messuage, garden and ridges to John Eycote of Southam, yeoman, and Sarah his wife; and Sarah Eycott widow claimed the property in 1775.

9) Dean's cottage on Cudnall Bank

This was one of the larger tenements, for it paid £1 7s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. heriot on each surrender.

On 11 January 1723, Humfrey King surrendered it to use of himself for life, his wife Mary for her life, and afterwards to use of William Dean of Sandhurst his cousin, and his heirs.(14) The property had come into the hands of the Dean family by 1729, when John Dean exchanged a ridge in Ryeworth with Edward Gale.(15) John died in 1750 and his brother Thomas Deane of Sandhurst, yeoman claimed and was admitted.

Thomas then surrendered to use of himself for life and after to use of his son William and William's intended bride, Ann, daughter of Walter Jelf of Ashleworth, husbandman. This was to be Ann's jointure. However, after the couple had inherited the Sandhurst property, they jointly surrendered the Cudnall tenement to use of Daniel Cook of Cheltenham, tallow-chandler.

Cook kept the arable, and surrendered the dwelling-house, garden, and orchard to use of Edward Turner of Charlton Kings, gardener, in 1774. The heriot on the house without such land was reduced to 10s. Turner surrendered to uses of his will in 1800 and in 1807 his widow Mary was admitted, still paying 10s.

The next stage must have been a surrender by Mary Turner, either to use of Gale or Higgs, who owned respectively the two possible sites in 1824. Billing's 1798 map does not show any dwelling on Gale's plot 26, though there was a house there by 1806 (now demolished).

Now the three freehold tenements

10) Grove Cottage (now Grove House)

This house was already called Grove Cottage in 1829, taking its name from the grove of trees on the north bank of the Chelt. Land belonging to the tenement went down to the stream.

It was freehold, but a single butt of $\frac{1}{4}$ th acre of copyhold land had become attached to it by 1706. Thomas Mansell and Anne his wife then surrendered the butt (formerly held by Thomas Mansell deceased) to use of Thomas Lawrence, owner of the cottage. It was already part of his garden, lying on its western edge, with land of John Tanty (of Spring Bottom) on the east.

In 1713 William Lawrence claimed the butt as son and heir of Thomas; and in 1757 John Lawrence as son and heir of William.

John then sold cottage, garden, and butt, and half an acre in Ryeworth field, to Richard Haynes of Charlton Kings cordwainer. The lease and release for the freehold were dated 28 and 29 October 1762, and the copyhold was surrendered to Haynes' use in 1763. Haynes made some alterations to the house, for the date 1763 can still be seen on the plaster of a chimney and about 1800 he covered the outside with brick and added rooms of the south. He had surrendered the butt to uses of his will in 1796, and by that will in 1806 left a widowhood interest to his wife Elizabeth and a fifth share to each of his children - Richard a baker, Betty (wife of Thomas Smith), Mary Ann, William, and Anna Louisa (wife of William Stephens). Richard died in 1813, leaving a widow Elizabeth, and Mary Ann in 1819, after bequeathing her share to William. In 1829, the survivors decided to sell and their Cudnall neighbour Richard Pruen affirmed that Richard the father had resided here as owner for at least 30 years.(16)

11) Bank Cottage

This cottage is still timber-framed at the back. On the 1806 map it is shown with its inclosure which it shares with a new house, not there in 1798, now called Charlton Lodge. The whole property is marked as "Mr Rogers".

All we know for certain is that in 1818, when Charlton Lodge was sold, the owner could produce no title deeds and the purchaser had to be content with an affidavit that he had been in possession for 30 years.(16) This shows the holding to be freehold. A copyholder could always get a certified copy of an entry in a court book. The man who

bought Charlton Lodge and Bank Cottage in 1818 was Charles Cooke Higgs, who still owned both in 1824. He was living in the new house, on plot 31, and the cottage with its inclosure was "in hand".

It is tempting to identify this cottage with a freehold cottage which in the 15th century was called Gaylers. (17) It had belonged to Edmond Bendlowe and was inherited by his daughter Alice who married Richard Pennall of Buckland. In 1583, the couple granted a lease for three lives to Gyles Crumpe, Margaret his wife, and Gyles their son, describing the house as bounded west by a meese place or site of a messuage, late John Martin's, and east by land sometime William Ball's. Very little land went with the tenement, only the adjoining croft, one acre in Ryeworth field and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in Cheltenham or Coltham field.

Richard and Alice Pennell had two children, Alice, and Edmond who became a mercer in London. On 4 March 1607, these two enfeoffed Alexander Packer of London, skinner, and Packer on 12 February 1608 conveyed to John Jones of Charlton Kings, husbandman. He raised the money by a mortgage to Richard Powlton of Dowdeswell, yeoman and in 1619 was able to pay off the £22 and get a reconveyance. The witnesses were all well-known locally - John Stubbs, steward of the manor, Thomas Wager of East End, and John Roggers, perhaps one of the Rogers of Dowdeswell since Powlton was a Dowdeswell man.

12) The tenement next to the beedle messuage

This was the freehold in possession of Robert Sollis in 1795. Thomas Billings of Charlton Kings, bricklayer, bought part of the garden soon afterwards, to add to the ground going with his new house next door, and Sollis was still said to live here in 1808.

Thomas Billings' plan of the turnpike road shows this house as a substantial one, on two sides of a courtyard, with outbuildings and stables as well. Mitchell's map eight years later offers a very different picture - two new houses on the site, the two houses still standing, No.6 Cudnall Street and Langton Lodge. So it may be that Billings bought up the whole property c.1798 but allowed Sollis to live there for some years afterwards, developing the property c.1805. In 1830 the house now No.6 was known as Charlotte-ville. It looks very much like Billings' work.

The size of the old house, the largest in the street after Charlton House, suggests that it may be linked with the freehold messuage called Walters in 1421.(18) An agreement between John Hore the younger and Thomas Dowdeswelle of 'Codynulle' and Isabel his wife, tells us that Hore had made over his property to the couple on the understanding that they should provide him for life with food, shoes, laundry, church oblations, a pair of wheels (but not the tyres) for his cart, keep for 2 pigs in winter, and an annuity of $4\frac{1}{2}$ marks or 60s. He was to have a lodging in the chief room in the house at his pleasure and

freedom to use the hall. This suggests a hall house, with several rooms besides the principal one; and only this tenement in Cudnall Street seems to fit.

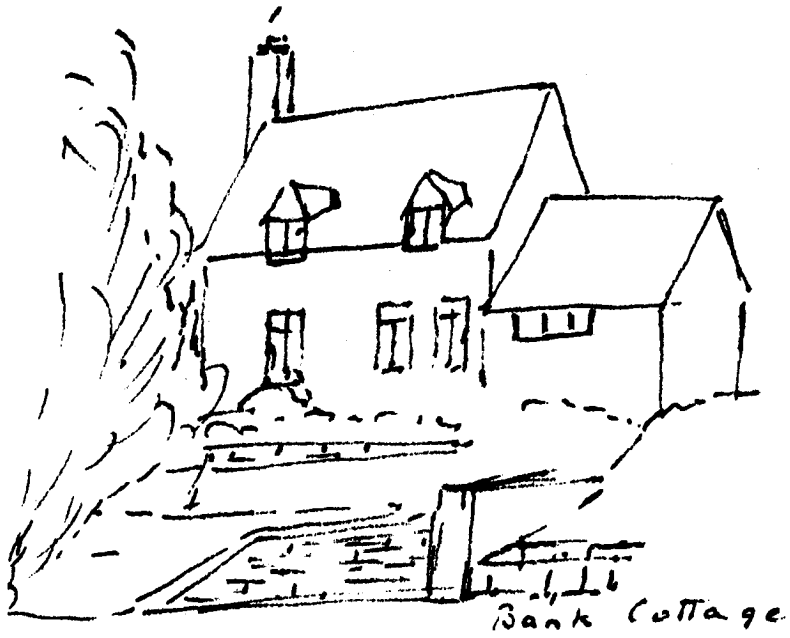
If the Dowdeswells could afford to pay John Hore his 4½ marks a year, in addition to his keep, they must have had a fair amount of land and the name "Walters Acre Length" for part of Charlton Lower Field in 1720 may be a reference to land belonging to this tenement. There were Dowdeswells in Charlton at the time of Smyth's Men and Armour of 1606.

Some general conclusions may be drawn from this study. First, that the amount of heriot paid (which was adjusted when part of a holding was sold off) is an indication of the amount of land held, relative to other tenements. Second, that though the 18th-century tendency to subdivide the older houses into small dwellings is less evident in Cudnall than in Church End or East End, many ancient tenements had lost all or most of their arable by 1800 and were becoming either labourers' cottages or, with extensions and rebuildings, gentlemen's residences. The strong yeoman element in Charlton Kings, so important at the time of Men and Armour in 1608, was rapidly disappearing.

References

1. This study is based on the court records for Ashley alias Charlton manor. They consist of
 - i. two books, 1742-1811 and 1812-1842
 - ii. original surrenders, fastened into a cover. The first 126 go back to 1696, but most belong to the period when William Sloper was steward, 1706-1715. They are not arranged in date order, but are numbered. The next 58 begin with Samuel Cooper's first court and are roughly in date order, with numbers. A few earlier papers have been inserted, however, and after no.58, dated 1722, the remainder have no numbers. I have added a C to numbers in the 2nd sequence to distinguish them
 - iii. a book of wills, mainly 19th century, but not entered in date order
(Gloucestershire Record Office, D109/)
There are three maps showing Cudnall Street; Thomas Billing's Plan of the turnpike road from Gallows Oak Pike to the 5th milestone out of Cheltenham, made in June 1798, seen by kind permission of Mr. Bayley; Mitchell's map of Cheltenham in 1806 (of which the Charlton Kings section was also done by Billings); and the plan and reference for the line of the new turnpike road to bypass Cudnall Street in 1824
(G.R.O. Q/RUM 97)
2. R. Atkyns, Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire (1712) says of Samuel Cooper "Mr Cooper has also a good House and Estate in this Place"
3. Original surrenders C 28

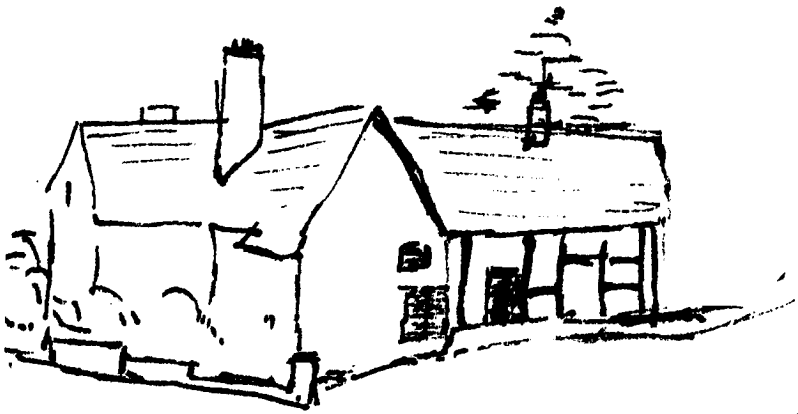
4. Original surrenders 13
5. Original surrenders 68 and C 34; surrender of 3 June 1720 presented in court 3 June 1743
6. Original surrenders 9, 103; John in a surrender of 16 May 1757 is said to be eldest son and heir of William
7. Original surrenders 5, 119
8. C 10/3 f.742
9. The house on the corner of Ryeworth road and Greenway Lane, Roadlands, which had already been built by 1798, stands on 2 ridges of arable in Ryeworth field which Thomas Mansell and Anne his wife surrendered to use of William Goodrich and Edith his wife in 1706 (Original surrenders 11), and they surrendered to use after their deaths, of their son Richard and Mary his wife (Original surrenders 84). Richard enclosed the ridges with his other land, and surrendered to uses of his will in 1752; his son Richard was admitted in 1778, and at his death in 1798, the property was described as $\frac{1}{4}$ acre lying behind his house. There was no ancient tenement on this site.
10. Original surrenders C 49, C 72
11. Original surrenders C 45
12. Presentment of homage (between original surrenders C 40 and 41); original surrender 57
13. Original surrenders C 76
14. Original surrenders C 78
15. Original surrenders C 104
16. Original surrenders 9, 10, 103; title deeds in possession of present owner.
17. Deed of 1619 recited the history of the property from 1583 G.R.O. D 640/T76
18. Deed of 1421, G.R.O. D 1252



Bank Cottage



Ivy Cottage
or Raiseney
House built c. 1796



Elborough Cottage

The Duke of Norfolk's Lodgings
No.95 (144/48), Westgate Street, Gloucester

by B.J. Drake

On 4 October 1971 'One of Gloucester's historic buildings tumbled to the ground as demolition workers moved in on the Duke of Norfolk's lodgings' (1). This house was situated on the north side of Lower Westgate Street, adjoining the White Swan Inn to the east of Swan Lane, an area demolished for the construction of the Westgate Flats completed. In the Ministry of Housing, Lists of Buildings of Architectural or Historic Interest, it was scheduled as Grade 2, 'the most elaborate 18th century facade in the city'. For eight years historical bodies had urged restoration, but finally, on 14 September 1971, the Secretary of State for the Environment announced to the City Housing Committee, who then owned the property, that demolition had been approved, 6 months after the committee had pressed for this decision. 'If preservation was ever to have been a serious proposition then the time to have considered it would appear to have been 30 or 40 years earlier'(2).

A description of the building, known for a period as Eagle Hall or Spa House, is to be found in John Clarke, Architectural History of Gloucester (1850) p.99, 'The Old Spa House ... is built of freestone, in the Italian style of Palladio. The design of the front is rather overcrowded but the details are very passable. It consists of two fluted Corinthian pilasters supporting an enriched cornice, surmounted by an ornamental balustrade; the windows are adorned with architraves & pediments. (i.e. ornamental mouldings and lintels surrounding the windows.) The interior was originally very richly fitted up, many of the rooms being panelled with mahogany. (This house is now divided into two and disfigured by the projection of two unsightly shops in front.)' These remained, spoiling the frontage, throughout its subsequent history, until its recent demolition, though when they were added is as yet unknown. Projecting wings ending in ornamental urns formed a little forecourt, with railings at the roadside. From an early 19th-century print, 'South-west Prospect of City from Llanthony Causeway', by J. Lewis, (3), can be seen to the west of St. Nicholas Church the stone eagle on the roof of Spa House, flanked by more urns along the balustrade. It appears to have been a quite considerable feature in Westgate Street. The house was formerly known as Eagle Hall.

The Duke's coat-of-arms, carved in stone were attached above the central window of the first floor, '... but H.Y.J. Taylor reports that one day as the local worthy Mr. G.S. Wintle was passing by, he saw the arms come crashing down'(4).

The actual date when this imposing mansion was built remains uncertain. In the title deeds of 1801 (5), it states that the former messuage was taken down, 'and the present messuage erected on the site by Anthony Freeman, deceased, now better known by the following description: Capital stone fronted messuage known as Eagle Hall or Spa House with a malt house, corn chambers, brew house and premises with appurtenances on the north side of Westgate St., having a new built messuage belonging to Thomas Cooke, corn factor on the east, and a certain public house known as the Royal Oak on the west ... together with court and garden (belonging) to said messuage formerly in occupation by his Grace, the Duke of Norfolk ...' This Anthony Freeman, a maltster (6), took possession of the property on 24 June 1724 from Robert Frampton, maltster, and died 9 October 1750 (6a), though the property remained in the Freeman family until 1801. At the time of Frampton's ownership from 1716, it was divided into 4 tenements, valued at £160. In the conveyance of 1724 to Freeman it is described as being an undivided property, valued at £330, (7), showing that Frampton made considerable improvements.

A possible reference to its date of construction, though it would appear to be rather later than expected, comes in Dr. Hemming, Mineral Water discovered in Gloucester (1789) (8), a booklet analysing the medicinal virtues of a spring of saline water found at Spa house, Westgate St. 'This water was first taken notice of about 40 years ago, by a gentleman' (Mr. Freeman) 'who, when building the mansion now occupied by Mr. Lewis, ordered a well to be sunk; and soon found that the water of this spring differed much from that of the town'. This would seem to date construction around the 1740s.

Though the spring was discovered when the well was sunk, '... the gentleman, being advanced in years, did not think it an object worthy his attention, although well appraised of its medicinal virtues'. His daughter, Mary, who continued to live there after his decease, also totally neglected it, 'as unfit for domestic purposes'. When Mr. Lewis, cornfactor, became tenant in November 1787, he used this spring water for the first 8 months, the other source of water being at some distance, and being unacquainted with the reason for its peculiarity, found it totally unfit for every purpose for which he used it. 'Linen washed therein was spoiled; and the water, when boiled for tea, used in brewing or other culinary purposes produced such disagreeable effects as to defeat the intention for which it was used.

Later his wife used it and found relief from a nervous disorder from which she suffered. Also, his daughter, suffering from scrofula, for which physicians prescribed Malvern water to no avail, was greatly relieved by using this water. 'From this time it was suggested to Mr. Lewis to have the water conveyed into a small room by means of pipes, which he did, then advertised its virtues and free access to all who came; and upon a moderate calculation, as I am told, 400 persons assembled a day, most of whom received great benefit and many cures were accomplished. Since the last summer there has been added a very large and commodious pump room for the nobility and gentry; the former pump being reserved for the poor, who by applying will still receive great attention as before'(8).

Ownership, 1455-1716

The 1455 Rental of the Borough of Gloucester states that the site of the Duke of Norfolk's House belonged to the Prior of St. Oswald who 'holds a tenement with a bakehouse wherein Thomas Bour, a baker, dwells'. The records of St. Oswalds being unavailable, the subsequent history of the site has to be traced through the lease-books of the Dean and Chapter (D936 E 12/1-20, 1550-1870). Their property included the tenement immediately to the west of the Duke of Norfolk's House, on the corner of Dockham Lane, and orchards or gardens at the rear. Leases of these properties frequently refer to the occupant of the Duke of Norfolk's House, and have been used to trace occupation from 1574 until title deeds become available in 1693. In 1574 William Webbe, baker, was tenant; in 1629 Elizabeth Willshire; in Oliver's Survey (D936 E/1), 1649, Widow Collett, and from 1666 to c.1689 the house was in the occupation of William Cook, baker.

Title deeds of the house are available from 1693, when Thomas Sexton, gent., of London, sold the property to Joseph Webb, woolcomber. Sexton's wife, Sarah, was daughter of Henry Norris, of Gloucester, and his sister married John Hallett, a Gloucester victualler (7).

Joseph Webb was born about 1659 and died between 1693/98. He was a Quaker, or became one when he married Hannah Hoptop in 1684. He had five children, Joseph being the eldest. On his death, his widow married John Lea and in 1699 Mr. & Mrs Lea, plus all the Webb children sailed on the 'Canterbury' to Philadelphia. (The Ancestry & Posterity of John Lea, Philadelphia, 1906).

As a merchant from Philadelphia, Joseph took possession of the property on 3 February 1714. By October 1716, with the consent of his mother as executrix of his father's will, and step-father, he sold the property to Robert Frampton, maltster (7), who conveyed it to Anthony Freeman in 1724.

The Freeman family

Anthony Freeman, the maltster responsible for the construction of Eagle Hall in the 18th century, married Elizabeth Field, grand-daughter of Rowland Freeman of

Saintbridge, Upton St. Leonards, gent. and one time freeman of the city, on 19 May 1713 (9). Anthony Freeman may have been a descendant of Anthony Freeman of Badgeworth who died in 1671 (10). In 1713 Anthony Freeman lived at Freeman's Farm, Badgeworth. By Elizabeth he had two sons, Anthony and Rowland, baptised February 1713/1714. Both children died, Rowland 4 months later and Anthony on 13 March 1721 (11).

He remarried, possibly in 1718, and it appears he may have married Mary, the sister of his first wife (12). Rowland Freeman bequeathed to his wife and grand-daughter Mary, jointly, his many properties in Upton St. Leonards and Barnwood (9), which on the death of his wife 7 October 1717, became Mary's alone. On 7 November 1718 Mary granted to Anthony Freeman all rights to this property. This could represent a marriage settlement, or may have no relevance. It is known, however, that his second wife was called Mary.

By Mary he had 2 sons, Anthony baptised 26 December 1726, and Thomas baptised 13 January 1728/9, and a daughter Mary (13). Anthony Freeman senior, died 9 October 1750, his wife about 1757. It would appear that Anthony Freeman must have been a cultured man from the style of the elaborate building erected by him in Westgate Street with its urns, eagle and Palladian design, and also from a reference in his will dated 1747 to the collection of coins and medals he wished his eldest son to inherit.

His eldest son matriculated at Oxford at Pembroke College at the age of 16, July 1743, gained a B.A. at Magdalen College, 1750, and an M.A. at St. Alban's Hall, 27 February 1749/50 (14). He became curate of Elmstone Hardwick 24 November 1763, vicar there 6 April 1773, and vicar of Badgeworth with Shurdington, 12 June 1780 (15). By his wife, Mary, he had Rowland, Thomas, Rebecca and Elizabeth. He died 27 June 1789, and was buried at Cheltenham (16).

The Revd. Anthony Freeman's eldest son, Rowland, became a surgeon and apothecary, living in Cheltenham, after a spell in Stratford-upon-Avon.

Mary Freeman, daughter of Anthony Freeman, maltster, who held Spa House after the death of her parents, was married to a Gloucester man, Charles Payne by June 1765 (17). A document dated 24 June 1765 recounts that money bequeathed to her in her father's will had not been received. Along with her husband, she applied to her brother the Revd. Anthony Freeman for payment. He replied that there was insufficient money left by his father, only enough to pay the debts and funeral expenses. A loan was arranged with a Sarah Jenner of Hasfield (12).

After Anthony Freeman had died in 1750, his wife continued to live in Eagle Hall until her death in 1757. It was then jointly owned by his daughter Mary and son,

the Revd. Znthony Freeman, until the latter died in June 1789; his son, Rowland, continued the joint ownership with his mother Mary, until 1801 (17).

In the Gloucester Journal, 7 October 1760, the Revd. Anthony Freeman advertised for tenants: Charles Payne who married Mary Freeman, became tenant 1763-1778 (18), and his wife until her death in 1787 (19). Thomas Lewis, cornfactor, became tenant following the advertisements in the Journal, 19 March and 15 October 1787, from November 1787 until 1791. This announcement appeared on 21 April 1788: 'This is to inform Ladies and Gentlemen, that the commodious House, known by the name of the Mansion House . . . lately in the occupation of Mrs. Payne, is now in the possession of Thomas Lewis, Cornfactor, and is completely furnished for the purpose of a Lodging House for respectable persons, with a pleasure garden, and elegant summer-house'. Another advertisement 14 July 1788: '... acquaints the nobility and gentry that the Ladie's Boarding School is removed ... One of the largest dining rooms has an excellent view, and there is also on the premises an excellent water, proved by the faculty to be a steel mineral, and recommended for internal weaknesses, which persons inhabiting the lodgings have the free use of without any additional price'.

An advertisement in the Gloucester Journal of 10 August 1789 reads: 'Gloucester Spa. The Proprietor begs leave to inform the Nobility and Gentry of this City, and its environs that this day (Mon. 10th) the Long Room in the Garden will be opened for their accommodation with Tea and Coffee, morning and afternoon. Newspapers will be regularly taken in. Lodgings and Board at the Spa'. There is another on 30 August 1790: 'Gloucester Spa, Hotel and Tavern, in the Westgate-Street. The Proprietors ... beg leave ... that the Hotel is neatly fitted up for the reception of such as please to honour them with their company ... Good stabling and Coach-houses. Genteel apartments to Let for the Music-meeting. There will be a Public Breakfast on Tuesday, at 1s. a head. The garden will be opened every day for the reception of company, and Tea provided morning and evening at 8d. a head'. It was announced on 6 December 1790: 'To be sold by Auction, by Mr. Read, on the 16th day of December at the Horse and Groom Inn, in the city of Gloucester ... the Beneficial Lease of all that spacious stone-built Dwelling House in the Westgate Street, late in the occupation of Thomas Lewis, cornfactor ...' St. Nicholas rate book shows that the Revd. Mr. Chamberlain was tenant in 1791, followed by the Revd. James Commeline, 1792 (20), until the Duke's tenancy (24).

In a conveyance dated 23 June 1801, Rowland Freeman and his aunt, Mary, leased all their many properties to Spencer Newcombe Meredith of Gray's Inn. These included Spa House (Thomas Bach Nott, tenant), Freeman's Farm of 50 acres in the parish of Badgeworth, a messuage with a 4 acre garden in Rea, Hempsted, and 3 acres of meadow at Minsterworth (21). They finally sold to George Worrall Counsel in October 1801.

When Clarke wrote his Architectural History in 1850, he felt his readers might be surprised to find such a good house in Lower Westgate Street for by then the courtyards of those fashionable houses were being filled by 'miserable hovels and the houses themselves converted into "lodgings" for the lowest descriptions of characters'. He accounts for this by stating 'that 100 years ago the lower end of Westgate St., the Island and St. Mary's Square were the most fashionable parts of Gloucester. Many gentry had town houses in these parts to which they came to spend their winter. They were constructed of solid brick walls, and oak panelling, and the staircases were of solid and ornamental workmanship, and the rooms large and lofty'.

A notice in the Gloucester Journal, 15 October 1787, illustrates this point: 'To be Lett that large stone Mansion lately completely repaired and fitted up, with a handsome new staircase, together with a Garden and elegant Summer-house, situate in the Westgate-Street ...'

The Duke of Norfolk

It was to this fashionable area that the Duke of Norfolk came, to the Spa House, in October 1798 for his year of office as Mayor of Gloucester for the second time. Charles Howard, 11th Duke of Norfolk, 1746-1815, was Mayor in 1783, 1798, 1809, 1815, and was Recorder of the city from 1792 until his death in 1815. He was first elected Mayor when Earl of Surrey, but as Duke of Norfolk in each subsequent election (22).

The Duke's association with Gloucester began with his marriage in 1771 into a landed family, the Scudamores of Newark House, Hempsted. He was an intimate of the Prince Regent and there is evidence in his correspondence that his political activities at Gloucester and Leominster, also a Scudamore (23), preserve, were motivated by his desire to aid his Royal friend in building a party.

When His Grace was elected Mayor in 1798 he gave a most elegant dinner at the Spa House, '... which the Duke has taken for the period of his Mayoralty'. This was most welcome as the Corporation had 'suspended all public entertainments during the War'. It appears, from accounts in St. Nicholas parish rate book (24), that he only leased the Spa House at the time of his Mayoralty in 1798, there being no entries relating to him either previously or subsequently. The interior of Spa House during the time of the Duke's residence is well described in the Gloucester Journal for 9 September 1799, in an advertisement for the sale of 'that large Capital and elegant Stone-built Mansion-house, most desirably situated in the Centre of Westgate-Street, in the City of Gloucester, in the Occupation of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk ... 2 large Parlours, a Drawing Room and 9 Bed-chambers over, Hall, large Kitchen, Brewhouse, and Back Kitchen, with excellent cellars under ... a delightful Pleasure Garden and Summer-house walled in, with a large Kitchen Garden behind, and Malt house adjoining ...'

His genial nature and generous hospitality made him much respected, and the dinners he gave to the Corporation livened up local affairs. The King's Head Inn, Westgate St., then at the height of its importance, was often used, and at one sumptuous turtle-feast reported in the Gloucester Journal on 1 October 1810, '... the dinner, which consisted of every delicacy of the season, was arranged with the taste characteristic of the house ... The evening was particularly distinguished for festivity and harmony and the company departed highly gratified with the elegant hospitality of the Noble Mayor, whose period of official duty closes this day'. A full-length portrait was painted of the Duke by Sir William Beechey (1753-1839). It hung in the Old Tolsey, until it was removed to the Guildhall (25) and is now crated in store there for want of hanging space.

Subsequent ownership of the house can only be given here briefly in the following notes:-

George Worrall Counsel, author of The History of Gloucester, 1829. October 1801-May 1805 (7).

Margaret Smith, widow of a wealthy barge-owner, William Smith, to 1807. (7).

Richard Brown Cheston, doctor of Physic, to 1809 (7).

Henry Edwards, architect and builder, 1820-1823. (Directories).

Mr. R. Gilkes' 'Spa House Preparatory School and Finishing Academy'. From 1823 (Directories) to 12 January 1824 (Gloucester Journal).

David Lundie's Day & Boarding School, 10 January 1825. (Gloucester Journal).

J. Creed, New Auction Mart, 17 February 1827. (Gloucester Journal).

The Spa Hotel & Boarding House, 27 May 1827. (Gloucester Journal).

William Jackson, callenderer & calico glazier, February 1828-1840. (7).

? Void 1840-6 (26)

Edwin Bick, shoemaker, 1851 (formerly of Southgate St.) (7)

Robert Reece, shopkeeper, 1852-53. (Directories).

B. ownsend, cabinet maker, 1865-70. (Directories and 1865 Poll book).

T.A. Summerhayes, baker, 1873-75. (Directories).

Edwin Trigg, baker, 1876-77. (Directories).

B. King, butcher, 1879-83. (Directories).

95a W. Preedy, greengrocer. 1884, 1887-91. (Directories).

John Earl, tinman, 1886-91. (Directories).

28 February 1880, Gloucester Mercury - 'The Old Spa House ... was converted into barracks for the 14th Light Dragoons & 8th Hussars ...'

Henry Preedy, cab Proprietor, 1893-97. (Directories).

A. Preedy, greengrocer, Co-op Stores, Branch 3
Hannah Preedy, 1897. (Directories).

Mrs. Young, shop and lodging-house keeper, 1902
(Directories).

95a A. Green, china-dealer, 1902

W. Lee, shop and lodging-house keeper, 1905-1939.
(Directories).

95a Void

Mrs. Elizabeth Lee, 1939-40-1952. (Directories).

Mr. F. Chapman, to 1971.

From a gentleman's town house, the residence of a Mayor, a Spa with hotel and pleasure gardens, to an auction mart selling household furniture; next an establishment 'for Bleaching, Dying, Calendering, Glazing, Cloth pressing and embossing ... & Paper Hangings which consist of beautiful Flock and Gold Papers, Satin Grounds, etc....'; then the slow run down and resultant decay leading to demolition.

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22. B.G.A.S. Transactions, Vol. XC, p.174 and (2).
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BONDEND and CREED PLACE (BOWDEN HALL),
UPTON ST. LEONARDS

by John V. Ruffell

In his account of the parish of Upton St. Leonards, Samuel Rudder wrote: "Creed's Place is a very handsome new brick house, the property and residence of Robert Campbell Esq., who built it upon an estate which he purchases of John Guise, Esq., about the year 1770" (1)

Creed's Place, later to be known as Bowden Hall, was to become the most important house in the village, and its occupants were to play a leading role in its life until the 1920s; being responsible for building the school, the club and the village hall. The Hall itself, although extended and internally much altered, still stands in a well-wooded park in a dominating position over-looking the village.

The manorial history of Upton is complicated: there were three manors in the village itself, but the manor of Dudstone also had some land within the parish belonging to the Guise family. One manor house, Grove Court, alone survived; but Prinknash House and Park were also in the parish, as was Whitley Court, the home of the Small family, and we may well wonder how a new house came to be built where it was.

The original village was situated close of the Sudbrook along the present High Street, with the church on her ground to the north east. Open fields were extensive, but by the time of the inclosure in 1897 had degenerated into fourteen fields of various sizes. Other fields were marked on the Inclosure Award map (2) as old inclosures, and the visual evidence of ridge and furrow would indicate that in the middle ages the common fields were much more extensive. A little to the east of the Sudbrook is another small valley, formed by the river Twyver, and to the east of the Twyver there is Nut Hill, an outlier of the Cotswolds like Robinswood and Church-down hills, but much smaller, rising some sixty metres above the stream. This hill was too steep for easy cultivation and probably formed thirty or forty acres of waste surrounded by cultivated open fields. On the Twyver is Upton Mill, the oldest part of which is half-timbered. Nearby are two handsome half-timbered cottages with stone tiled roofs, and both of which could well have been yeoman's houses. Part of another house is also timber-framed, and within a quarter of a mile there stood, until it was demolished about twenty years ago, a fifth half-timbered cottage. This group of houses, together with some more modern buildings, forms the hamlet of Bondend.

In his description of Upton, Bigland (3) states: There is a place called Bondend in Upton where once stood a farm house and now stands an Alms House (4). In the Subsidy Roll Edw,iii, among the Tax Payers is John le Bonde, a name denoting servitude. A Deed of manumission by the Abbey of John Donde, is in the Register of Abbot Braunche". There were certainly Bonds living in Upton in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (5). It would seem that the descendants of the freed John became landholders in this detached part of the village which came to be called after them.

A survey, by Edward Hill (6) dated 21 April 1589, and copied in 1718, of the estates of Lord Cobham lists the tenants and described their houses and holdings. These were on the Bondend side of Upton (7). Johanne Bond paid a rent of £1. 15s. 4d. and Ricd. Bond £1. 13s. Od. these amounts are greater than those paid by the majority of tenants, some of whom are described as "Gent". There is a fairly full description of each holding, as for example, of Richard Bond's :-

"... a convenient Dwelling house being built crossways contg 6 Bay 5 thereof Being Lofted tolher Bay being an oxhouse unlofted 2 Barnes Distint contg 6 Romes & one being a wayne house Distint with a hey backside Cherry hey & Orchard adjoining contg per est 2 acr. And one little Close of pasture called ye ffour Rudges ...". There is also reference to: "... one sheepe house & a little Curtillage called Phelpahay ... being a Mesuage the house cont. 2 romes acituate & being between weaver's streem & Pridam's lane" (8).

The various fields are catalogues, some of these being strips in the open fields, and their exact situation is described with some difficulty; thus in Church Field a close: "... called ye hume ... abutting on a Close of psture of himself called ye hurne in the end N.W: on a house built on ye land of Tho. Ockoll on ye side N.E. adjoining to ye highway & on ye side S.W. to land of Rich. Copner". Other fields include a "Close of pasture called Clatterly" and "a Close of psture called Tweenstreet ... abutting on ye highway". These two fields are shown on the Brooke Hunt estate map of c.1850 and are easily identified today. The total area of Richard Bond's land is given as 50 acres.

There are two later references to the Bond family: one appears in an "Abstract of title of Sir B.W. Guise, Bart, and Jno. Phillpots to lands at Upton St. Leonards" (9) dated 1624, referring to an "Indenture between Jno Bond Yeoman of the one part and Tho. Field, Gent, of the other part". The other reference is to an "Inventory of goods and chattels, 27 Mar. 1649 belonging to William Bond 'late of Upton St. Leonards in the County af the City of Gloucester yeoman'" (10). The principal items listed are:

" a flock bedd, fower bolsters, a coverlette, one rug, one payer of blankettes, two pillowes, fower payer of sheets, one dozen and a half of napkins, hand towels, two carpetts, two brass potts, one brass pan, two brasse kettles,

one warming pan, one basting ladle of brasse, one pewter flaggon, pewter drinking cups, one dubble salt of pewter, two pewter candlestiks, one dozen dishes of pewter, spitte one iron dripping pan with iron implements, one Malt Mill halfe a dozen of joyned stools, one long table board, one cupboard & three coffers, one silver spoon, one ladder and lumber". In contrast to the substantial amount of household goods, the number of animals is small, but the heading of the inventory suggests that William Bond had already left Upton and had probably given up active farming.

This is the last reference to the Bonds, although further research may reveal more about them. It is evident that for three or four hundred years the Bond family were yeomen with substantial holdings in this corner of the parish, and the indications are that fifteen to twenty acres of land on the west and steepest side of Nuthill were waste surrounded by arable and pasture land. At the time of the inclosure four open fields Rooksmoor, Stanley Churchfield and Botton Field make a complete semi-circle from the south to the north west; Timberland was to the north, but the gap between it and Bottom Field was filled by four old inclosures. The large gap on the eastern side was broken in the middle by Nuthill common field. Traces of ridge and furrow suggest that in medieval times the patch of waste land was completely surrounded by cultivated fields, and it was on this piece of land that Robert Campbell Esq, built his home.

Archedeacon Scobell in his "Parish Gleanings in Upton St. Leonards", (1905) wrote: "Creed Place ... is said to have been built by a retired grocer from London, Robert Campbell c.1770 to whom the estate was sold by John Guise, Esq. He called the house "Creed Place" after his wife, who was Miss Creed". By 1907, however, in "Letters From Upton St. Leonards" which he composed for the young Birchalls, Archedeacon Scobell stated (11): "I must not forget to tell you about the family of Creed who once lived in your house, after whom it was called Creed Place. When they left Upton they went to Greenwich, and lived there at a house they also named "Creed Place".

There seems to be a slight discrepancy in these two accounts but enquiries show that Robert Campbell was married to Ann Creed, daughter of Sir James Creed of Greenwich who is buried there. In 1799 Robert Campbell took out a lease on property in Greenwich and moved there in 1803 to Park Hall. As Canon Scobell also told the Birchall boys; Ann, the third of Robert Campbell's daughters, married a Lieut.Col Campbell who had been wounded fighting under General Wolfe at Quebec in 1759: he raised the Loyal Greenwich Volunteers during the Napoleonic Wars and died at the age of 90 in 1828 (12).

In 1776 Robert Campbell, Esq., was one of the 33 voters 14 only of whom actually lived in Upton, in an election (13) for a member of Parliament (14). His name also appears in the Land Tax returns (15) for Dudstone and King's Barton Hundred. It is interesting to note that his property is listed as "Creed farm" until 1789 (16), except that in 1784 it is referred to as "Creed Plas". In the year 1786 only, Robert Campbell himself was one of the three Commissioners for the Hundred. After 1789 it would seem that Campbell was beginning to build up the estate: Seat Burrows, Clatter Leaze, part of Loaders, Claytons, The Rans are all named, but at the same time that Creed Farm became Creed Place the house and fields were let to various tenants - 1789 to B. Long, in 1791 to Mumbee Goulborn, Esq., in 1792 and 1793 to Richard Land and from 1794 to 1798 to William Greening.

A manuscript survey of the estate (17) in 1792 gives a more complete picture. The tenants are listed with a description of their holdings, both in the open fields and in severalty, three being marked with an asterisk referring to a marginal note: "N.B. The Grounds marked thus are haind at Candlemas Commonal Opentale" i.e. originally fenced for the admission of cattle on common fields.

The twelve tenants listed are: Mr. Henry Frankis, Mr. Rodway, Mr. Turner, Mr. Wells, Mr. Morris, Mr. Abel, Mr. Browning, Mr. Cook, Mr. Bishop, William Smith and Mr. Whitcombe. Their holdings vary in size from the 57 acres 3 roods 10 perch of Mr. Frankis to Mr. W. Whitcombe's 16 perch; and rents vary from £76 to £1. Some of these include a house and orchard, or house only. Two are described as follows:

"No. 10 William Smith (Lifehold)
Cottage and Garden 0a 1r Op
Wm Smith holds this by Courtesy for his own
and his Wife's Life they are both Aged near 80.

No.11 William Whitcombe Tenant
Cottage and Garden 0a Op 16p
N.B. This is at Rack Rent" (18)

Robert Campbell's own land "In Hand" amounted to 56a 1r Op valued at £247 per annum; the whole estate including this, amounting to 220a 1r 20p: but rents paid out came to £22. 10s. 1d. leaving a total annual income of £446. 19s. 11d. "Including Furniture estimated at £70 p.ann". This brings us to another difficulty as the 56 acres 1 rood of Mr. Campbell's land "In Hand", rent £248 has a note beside it "As Let to Mr. Long, including the Furniture".

There is therefore some uncertainty about the early tenancy of Creed Place. It was evidently built by Robert Campbell who owned it for thirty years. The Land Tax returns for Upton for 1799 and 1800 are missing, but in 1801 the owner and occupier are given as Thos. Jefferis, Esq.

Archdeacon Scobell (19) having described Robert Campbell, and Creed Place, continues: "A Mr. Powell once owned it, and carried on some amateur handicraft, his forge and workshop are still remembered. He was an East Indian Planter, and had negro servants ... It was said that he made jewels for the then Prince of Wales and could not obtain his money. He went to law with the Government, losing his suit and his house. Mr. Jefferies, an eminent London goldsmith, followed ..."

This implies that Mr. Powell owned Creed Place after Robert Campbell but it seems unlikely that the estate was bought, occupied and sold within the two years 1799 & 1800 for which there are no land tax records. It would seem that the estate was let to Mr. B. Long 1788-1789, no record for 1790, to Mumbee Goulborn 1791, to Richard Land 1792-1793, to Mr. Greening, 1794-1796, to Mr. Witcomb Laves (?) 1797, to Mr. Greening 1798; then is the gap until Thos. Jeffreys in 1801. This incredible list from the tax returns is complicated by the entry in the Creed Place survey of 1792, stating that Creed Place, "including the furniture " was let to Mr. Long". Thomas Jeffreys is listed as the owner and occupier of Creed Place in the Land Tax returns from 1801 to 1812, paying annually £4. 14s. 6d. It is interesting to note that eleven landowners paid more, not only families like the Snells, but the farmers at Lower Farm, Kymsbury Farm, Actons Farm and Gastrells.

According to Archdeacon Scobell, after Mr. Jefferies came Madame Rucker, "who built a School in the garden, where the coachman's cottage now stands ... She was succeeded by a Miss Whisker from Hartpury. She kept various animals, buffaloes, giraffes etc. in the grounds, Mr. Byles ... also lived there" (20) The tax returns show that by 1821 Mr. J.H. Byles was owner of the estate which consisted of the house, now called Bowden Hall and several fields, some of which were rented. In 1827 Mr. Byles still owned the house, but had let it to D.H. Rucker. Mr. Byles is buried in Upton churchyard where his tombstone records that he died on 23rd January 1837 aged 62.

In the late 19th century additions to Ralph Bigland's Collections it states: "Bowden Hall ... has passed through successive ownership of Campbell, Jeffery, Byles, Vansittart and Hunt. It is now Mr. Dearman Birchall's, and the Estate attached to it very enlarged". The The Tithe Award of 1840 (21) gives the name of the occupier of "Bowden Hall, Lawn, Plantation, Pool etc." as Charles Brooke Hunt, so that Mr. Vansittart's ownership or tenancy must have been short - between 1837 and 1840. The property belonging to Brooke Hunt consisted of fifty fields or plots, more than half being less than an acre in extent; the largest, Aspen Grove, 7a 3r 12p and the smallest a plantation of 5p. Only one field, New Tynning, 6a 19p was described as arable. Five gardens are listed: two of these make up the walled garden which still exists, but now uncultivated. One, 16p in

extent, described as a cottage and garden, let to Saul Organ, may well be the cottage and garden of 16p let to William Whitcombe in 1792 "at a Rack Rent". Brooke Hunt himself is given as the occupier of one house and garden of 1r 0p which may have been the dwelling of the lifeholder William Smith. The third cottage is probably today's Home Farm. The total area of the estate was 109 acres 2 rood and 28 perch.

An estate map of the Bowden Hall estate dating from about 1850 (22) shows the estate much as it was in recent times, including the walled kitchen garden, the grounds and lake, but the small stretch of parkland between the road and the house is shown as "The Orchard" dotted with fruit trees, although a roadway on the lane of the present drive already crosses it. The legend in the top right hand corner reads:

M A P
 OF the Bowden Hall Estate in The
 Parish Of
 UPTON ST. LEONARDS
 and
 COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER
 the property of
 C. BROOKE HUNT ESQre.

and lower down

	A	r	p
Total Acreage	104	3	7
Added Tween Streets	3	1	20
Garness Orchard	3	0	6
Kimberland		2	15
Garden and Orchard to Old Smith's Cottage		1	16

this makes a grand total of 112 acres and 24 perches. Tween Streets was bought of Arthur Rodway 17 March 1848, Garness Orchard and Kimberland from Mrs. Howell. Old Smith's Cottage may have been the half-timbered house referred to earlier.

The estate passed into the hands of the Birchall family who must have added to it considerably as it comprised 512 acres when it was sold in 1925 (23). More research is necessary to record its history in any detail between 1850 and the present day.

References

1. Samuel Rudder, A New History of Gloucestershire (1779). The brick must have been covered with plaster at some subsequent date.
2. Gloucestershire Record Office, P347b/SD1
3. Ralph Bigland, Historical, Monumental and Genealogical Collections of Gloucestershire, Vol.III (1791)
4. Not identified
5. In 1540, for instance, of eighteen baptisms, four were surnamed Bond. Upton parish register 1539-1678
6. Glos. R.O. P347/MI 1
7. A note in the margin of Glos. R.O. copy reads "Upton St. Leonards alias Barton Upton.
8. Possibly between the Twyver and the "back land" leading from Bondend to Cooper's Hill, but only half-timbered house in this position is too large to be described as two roomed. There are references to Weaver(e) in 1351 and Wyver in 1537: probably from wafer, 'a winding stream'; 'at Wyver' became 'a Twyver'. A.H. Smith, The Place Names of Gloucestershire, Vol.II
9. Gloucester City Library, RV 321.3
10. Gloucester City Library, Ms SX2.3
11. These two articles, were bound together and published in 1921 under the title Records of Upton Leonards. By The Late Ven. E.C. Scobill, Archdeacon of Gloucester, (reprinted by request) together with other Records of the Parish, and three illustrations. There is a forward by Archdeacon Brewster, successor at Upton, Arthur J. Brewster, 1912-1920.
12. Local History and Archives, Blackheath
13. One account gives the total poll as 33, the other as 31 - one vote less for each candidate.
14. Gloucester City Library (H) D8.2 & D9750, An Accurate Copy of The Poll... At the Election Of A Knight of the Shire ... in the Room Of The Present Lord Clifford Begun on Monday May 6 and ended on Friday May 17 1776, Printed And Sold by R. Raikes.
15. Glos.R.O., Q/RE1
16. The Upton returns for 1785 and 1790 are missing.
17. Glos. City Library, RF 321.21 "A Survey of Creed Place Estate ..."
18. E.C. Scobell, Records of Upton St. Leonards (1921) p.24
19. The rent in question was £1 per annum and seems to have been in line with the others: William Smith paid £2. 10s. Od. for his rood and Mr. Cook £8. 8s. Od for his 2 acres which makes it difficult to understand William Whitcombe's £1 being described as a rack rent.

20. E.C. Scobell, Records of Upton St. Leonards (1921)
p.24. "His daughter, Marianne Caroline Byles, married
Mr. Coventry Patmore ... Mr. Bules son wrote an
important book 'Byles on Bills'". Miss Byles was
Patmore's second wife, not "the angel in the house".
21. Glos.R.O., P347a/SD2/1
22. Now in the possession of Mr. H. Cannon of Home Farm.
One field, Garness Close, is inscribed "Bought of
Mrs. Howell 17th March 1846-7 Tithe free". This has
recently been built on.
23. Glos. City Library, sale catalogue, RX321.6

"...A MANIAC'S CHAIN"

An interim note concerning the
Parish Workhouse in Charlton Kings
1826 - 1842

by M.J. Greet

I. Introduction: Poor Relief

By acts of 1597 and 1601 two churchwardens and up to four overseers of the poor in each parish had to care for the poor (under the direction of the local magistrates). They had to maintain them, set them to work, and arrange for poor children to be apprenticed. A poor rate for their support could be levied on all householders.

An act of 1723 enabled single parishes to erect workhouses in which the able-bodied might be employed, and the children, sick and aged maintained. Parish officials could purchase buildings, and enter contracts for dealing with poor relief matters, which could include the care of lunatics. From 1793 out relief could be provided to the poor without them residing in the workhouse. (No evidence has yet been found, however, to indicate that Charlton Kings possessed a workhouse earlier than 1827, and one must assume, therefore, that the Charlton poor received occasional outdoor relief, as happened for example in 1773-4).

Finally, in 1834, the parochial system of relief was abolished, and parishes were compulsorily amalgamated in Unions. The workhouse in Charlton Kings, built in 1827 joined with the Cheltenham Union, and the building until given up by the Cheltenham Guardians in 1842, was used for accommodation of poor children.

II. Erection of the Workhouse (1)

By 1826 a contract for the erection of a workhouse in Charlton Kings had been placed with a local "bricklayer", William Turner. The estimated cost was £170, but this was expected later to rise with extra costs. The site chosen was central - in Charlton Road, now Church Street, some 225 feet from St. Mary's Church, near the site of the present Nursery School (2), and the bill for erection includes the cost of demolition of an "old Church House", presumably on the site. At least part of the land seems to have belonged to the trustees of the Charlton Kings Charity Estates, but it seems no trustees were appointed (and available to defend its interests) between 1824 and 1834.

Work was apparently in progress by July 1826 and from then until July 1827, Captain Stevenson (3) 'Visitor of the Workhouse', under indemnity from the builder, made 10 staged payments on account of sums varying between £10 and £60 to Turner, on behalf of the Parish officers. £170 had been advanced by 3 February 1827, and £360 by 7 July 1827. (4).

By then Turner had submitted his bill for the extra work arising (£276. 0s. 11½d), and on 7 July authorised Capt. Stevenson to pay the balance of his account to Pitt Gardner and Co. (5). The bill provides interesting detail concerning the construction of the property.

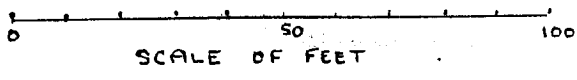
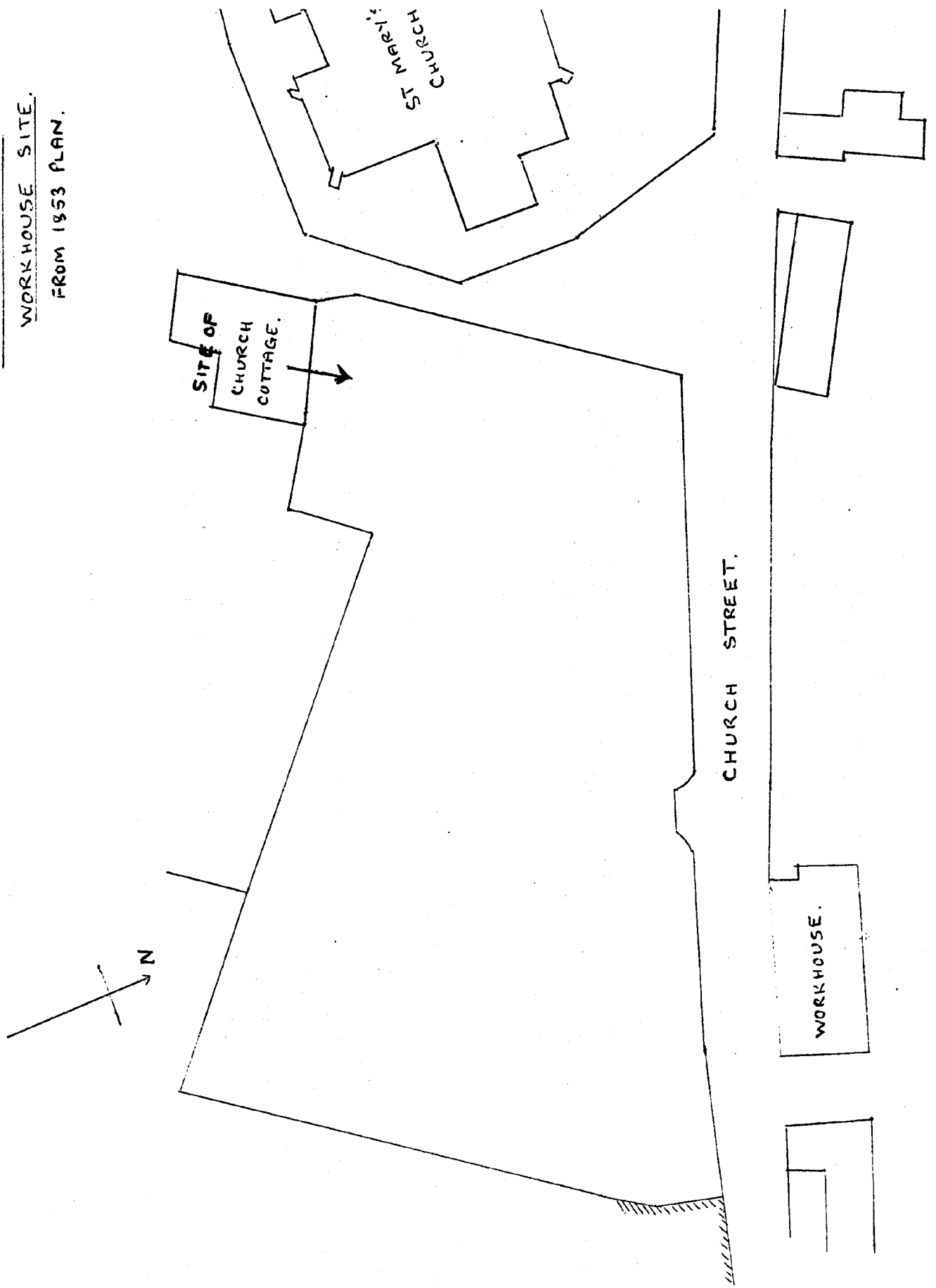
	£.	s.	d.
"To all materials to laying Floors 4-7" Forest Stone steps to Doors, 8 hearth stones 14 Stone Chimney Fronts & Coves Stone Fronts to Grates & paving laid at the outer doors with water grate & stones over the drains.	109.	2.	0.
Digging Foundations to Walls and Vaults to Privys. Building Yard Walls, Privies, Bake house & Oven including all Brick work to Work house	108.	8.	0.
To Day bill for pulling down old Church house. Cleaning and stacking bricks and hauling away rubbish	20.	12.	10.
To day bill for hauling sand to fill up floors in New house, wheeling in, setting grates, hanging furnace, finding bricks and mortar.	19.	13.	1.
To bill for putting in Culvert & drains finding bricks Lime and Paving	18.	5.	0½
	<u>£276.</u>	<u>Os.</u>	<u>11½d</u>

The total bill thus amounted to £446. 0s. 11½d, for what seems to have been quite a substantial building some 50 feet x 25 feet. Unfortunately the bill seems to have been disputed, as a second, undated, bill exists, and payment was evidently delayed for a long time - a further payment on account, being made by Capt. Stevenson to Turner of £30 on 30 November 1829.

The second bill for the extra work was for a reduced sum of £257. 15s. 0d, £253 of it being made up as follows.

	£.	s.	d.
Stonework	98.	10.	0.
Brick (work)	118.	15.	0.
Setting grates	10.	10.	0.
Pulling down Poor house	25.	5.	0.
	<u>£253.</u>	<u>Os.</u>	<u>0d.</u>

SKETCH PLAN OF
WORKHOUSE SITE,
FROM 1853 PLAN.



The different figures are not apparently reconcilable, and the difference between £253 and £257 is not explained. It does appear from an annotation on an accompanying document that Turner's account also puzzled those who had to pay it at the time, since he did not charge for putting in culverts and drains in his second account, and it is still not known if these were in fact constructed.

A letter to Capt. Stevenson in March 1830, however, makes it fairly clear that the parish officers were concerned about the state of the building. A survey of the building had revealed

"Many cracks in the internal walls which are in consequence of the Foundation not being of a sufficient depth to get a sound bottom, or else from the footing courses not being of a proper width to carry the weight of the building as the Walls appear to have gone down a little out of their places".

The surveyor did "not think the building would get worse" as the weight of the walls"(had) "by this time taken a proper bearing".

Turner received his final payment of £37. 15s. Od. on 10 December 1830 for work done "at the Work and Poor Houses". The reference to both "Work" and "Poor" houses is puzzling since this amount of money was exactly that required for the final payment for the workhouse. (Possibly Turner had also been doing work on one of the three cottages in Charlton Kings which belonged to the parish, (these were let and the rents applied to the reduction of the poor rate - hence the name 'Poor houses') and was guilty of some confused thinking in presenting his account).

As well as possible worries about the quality of the work, a more cogent reason for the delay in payment may well have been shortage of funds. An undated letter (probably early 1830)(6), from G.S. (George Stevenson?) to a person called Streford says

"There is no end to our troubles. I enclose you William Wheelers accompt £4. 3s. 2d., he is a bankrupt, and the village of Charlton will soon be the same if our bills are not more regularly discharged".

Another request for parish payment "forthwith" as it was of "very great consequence" was sent on 21 June 1830 "being waiting so long".

III. Operation of the Workhouse

The workhouse started to operate in May 1827. Accounts are available from then until 1 January 1836, and enable a number of deductions to be made concerning the way the workhouse was run.

At the beginning its officials were:

Visitor: Capt. Geo(rge) Stevenson

Deputy Visitor: one Greenwood, who acted sometimes for Stevenson

Guardian of the Poor: William Robinson (replaced by Samuel Herbert in May 1829)

Governor: (resident with his wife, at the workhouse) John Wilton (or possibly Hilton). Wilton was paid 12s. a week board wages, but only after he had apparently worked for six months. Wilton was replaced by one McGregor from March 1828.

Records show the name, age, sex, marital status, and occupation of the workhouse residents and dates of admission and "dismissal". (A detailed analysis of these records and workhouse accounts is still in progress). Thus the first two (male) residents were:

Henry Russell, aged 67, "Taylor", admitted 9 May 1827
John Varnish, aged 78, "Carpenter", admitted 9 May 1827

The monthly accounts of the workhouse which follow are fairly typical of its first years of operation.

Extract of monthly 28 day accounts 1827

<u>Bill for:</u>	Period starting:											
	8 May 1827			5 June 1827			3 July 1827			31 July 1827		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Butcher:	1.	3.	9.		18.	6.		18.	0.		18.	0.
Baker:		18.	8.		16.	0.		13.	4.		13.	4.
Flour:			6.			8.			8.			
Butter:		2.	8.									
Milk:		3.	0.		3.	0.		3.	6.		3.	6.
Beer:		11.	8.		11.	8.		5.	10.		5.	10.
Coals:				2.	9.	0.				1.	6.	6.
Sundries:		15.	10.		19.	4.		17.	6.		19.	6.
Fagotts:											15.	0.
<u>Total:</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>16.</u>	<u>1½.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>18.</u>	<u>10.</u>	<u>2.</u>	<u>18.</u>	<u>10.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>1.</u>	<u>8.</u>

Extras:

Bacon												
Cheese		6.	1.					7.	4.			
Clothing		9.	4.	2.	15.	6.				1.	11.	6.
Utensils								16.	3.	2.	10.	8.
<u>Total</u>	<u>4.</u>	<u>11.</u>	<u>6½.</u>	<u>8.</u>	<u>14.</u>	<u>4.</u>	<u>4.</u>	<u>2.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>9.</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>10.</u>

Bread (per quartern loaf)												
			8d			8d.			8d.			8d.
Mint (per pound)			7½d			6d.			6d.			6d.

(In this period the workhouse contained the governor and two male residents).

The workhouse seems to have been thought a success to judge from a note in the Cheltenham Journal of 19 October 1829.

"The Workhouse has been productive of immense advantage not only to the Parish in point of a reduction in expenses but even to the morality of the poor and of course to their well-being. Cases are there properly investigated and ... the guardians have a legal right to insist upon applicants becoming inmates of the Workhouse or to forgo all charitable assistance. Rather than be subjected to the discipline of a workhouse, the poor will sometimes waive all claims to relief, and will necessarily trust more to their own exertions, become more industrious ... nay even ashamed to become a burden to their parishes."
(7)

IV. The End of the Workhouse

In December 1835 the churchwardens and overseers of Charlton Kings were told that a survey made jointly by the parish and the Cheltenham Board of Guardians had valued the poorhouse and its fixtures and fittings at £850, and the annual rental at £42. 10s. 0d.(8). The cost of the survey was £5.

The survey was undertaken prior to the transfer of responsibility for the workhouse to the Cheltenham Union. On 1 January 1836 the four existing residents including "one idiot" were transferred to Cheltenham.

On 6 February 1836 an inventory of the "Furniture Fixtures Utensils and other effects in the Poor House" put the value at £81. 1s. 0d. Details of this property make interesting reading, and are given in the Appendix.

For some years after this "the ... old Charlton Kings workhouse (was used) for the children" (9) It was apparently usual for (older) children in workhouses to spend half their time in school subjects and half learning a trade (10). In June 1837, for example, it was decided "a Basketmaker would attend at the Charlton Workhouse at the rate of 3s. per day to teach the boys there to make baskets."

Finally, in 1842 the Guardians of the Cheltenham Union gave notice of giving up the possession of the workhouse premises. The building was sold in 1851.

References

1. Gloucestershire Record Office, P.76. OV8/1; and P76a OV/81 Charlton Kings Workhouse Accounts and Correspondence, 1826-42
2. Local History Centre, Old Bakery, Cheltenham
W.H. Bridgman: "Old Charlton Kings Records" (WHB)
3. G. Hart, "A History of Cheltenham" Leicester University Press (1965)
4. The Poor Law in Gloucestershire. Glos. R.O. (1974)(PL)

5. Edited B. Smith, Gloucestershire Historical Studies, IX, page 50 "Rodborough Workhouse" University of Bristol, 1978, M. Walstan (M.W.)

Footnotes & References

1. Glos. R.O. P76. OV8/1 and P76a OV 8/1 records are the main source for this paper.
2. Oral information from local inhabitant, the late Mr. W. Keen.
3. The spelling is given variously as Stevenson or Stephenson. The former is used here. Capt. Stevenson lived at Bafford House (WHB Vol.III p.25) and apparently had founded a school for the instruction of children of the working classes (Cheltenham Journal, 12 October 1829 quoted by WHB, Vol.III,p.25). He was Visitor of the workhouse. (Under Gilbert's Act, 1782, a salaried Govenor of the workhouse and a salaried Guardian of the Poor, were appointed by the J.P.s and were subject to an unsalaried Visitor of the Poor).
4. New workhouses were also built at Cheltenham in 1809 and at Rodborough. The old one at the latter place was pulled down in 1818, the new one being opened in 1820. (There is a reference to a Church House subsequently turned into a workhouse at Rodborough)(M.W.)
5. A firm of Cheltenham Bankers
6. A solicitor's letter of 14 January 1830 refers to the account of William Wheeler, a bankrupt, and requests early payment (from the parish).
7. Quoted WHB, vol.III, p.25
8. For comparison, the new Cheltenham Workhouse, from 1809, was to be rented at £246 for 7 years, and was then bought for £2,578. (Hart, p.276)
9. Hart, p.287
10. PL, p.xii
11. PL op.cit. p.27 from original reference, G.R.O. G/CH 8a/1.
12. WHB in Vol.V,p.53 explains about the acquisition of the workhouse site. A meeting of the trustees of the charity estates of Charlton Kings held in the vestry room (on 22 December 1851) to determine the course to be taken to recover the lands of the charity on which the building lately used as a workhouse still stood. From this meeting it appeared that after the death of Samuel Higgs in 1824 (who had survived all his co-trustees of the charity) until 1834 there were no trustees of the charity appointed to protect its interests.

During this interval under the authority of the vestry the ground of the charity was taken over and used as a site for part of the workhouse.

Appendix: Inventory of Workhouse Contents. February 1836.

<u>Room</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Govenors Room	4 Rush seated chairs, 1 Iron Fender Fire,Irons 2 Deal cupboards in recess Hot (or Hat) rail and 4 Iron pins. 26 in(ch?) stove grate. Twin screw hammers Sundry tools (small)	A salaried govenor of the workhouse was appointed under an Act of 1782 by local J.P.s
Committee Room	1 Square Deal table 1 Tin fender poker and shovel 1 Tailors Bench 1 Shoe Makers Stall 4 Stools 2 Elbow Chairs 12 Ash Ditto 2 Deal cupboards in recesses with shelves and 6 drawers in each 1 Stove grate 2 ditto in <u>Schoolroom</u>	
Kitchen	12 Tin Breakfast Cans 12 Pint Cans 6 Half Pint Cans 12 Tin Candlesticks 13 Iron Spoons 7 Small Ditto 1 Long Sqr(?Square) Deal framed table 4 Deal Forms Deal Dresser & shelves Small Kitchen Grate Iron Sway and Links	
Pantry	4 large elm shelves and (?bearers) 4 angular ditto A stout meat Block 1 pair of (7 inch) copper scales 1 set of Iron weights from 2lb to ½ oz 1 pair of steel 210 lb 1 cleaver & 1 cheese knife 1 iron water can 1 bread pan and cover 11 plates, 8 basins 4 cups and saucers Pepper and Salt box 2 tumblers 1 grater	

Brewhouse 2 Washing Benches
 A 2in elm shelf
 2 Washing Tubs
 1-40 gallon Iron Furnace with stack
 and cover
 1-25 gallon ditto ditto
 A 4 fold deal clothes horse
 1 iron boiler
 2 iron saucepans
 1 tin boiler
 2 buckets
 1 bowl
 Towell roller
 Broom & mop
 Coal box
 1 stone jug
 Frying pan & ladle
 Brass skimmer
 a stout cooking grate
 a crane

Bedroom on an iron bedstead
Ground Floor a straw bed & flock bolster
 an elm box
 a maniacs chain

Yard & 6 line posts
Garden 3 tons of coal
 47 hurdles
 8 sacks of potatoes
 wheel barrow
 1 shovel
 2 spades
 2 spring forks
 2 hoes
 1 rake

Bakehouse An oven
 Baking trough
 scraper & pell (sic)
 a poker and shovel
 a beam and scales
 3 shelves & knifeboard
 coal riddle
 a hatchet & coal hammer

Passage Dinner bell
 Cloak rul & 9 pegs

Storereroom Windowframe partly glazed
 3 door bars
 2 stout elm shelves
 Straight waistcoat
 Whitewash brush
 9 Towels
 2 Table clothes
 2 square hand baskets
 Ironing blanket

2 Flat irons
2 battered marking irons
1 bush of onions
1 brass (cask)

Bedrooms 4 cold (?coloured) sacking bottom stump
bedstead
2 plain lath bottom ditto
2 half tester ditto
2 sacking bottom Iron Bedsteads
1 'sml 9?small) Turn up ditto
9 flock beds and 8 Bolsters
3 straw pallets
31 Blankets
8 coverlets
1 White Counter pane
3 pairs of stout sheets
8 pairs of very old ditto
2 Night Commodes
6 Elm Cloths boxes
2 Deal Dressing Tables
An Oak Chest of Drawers
A Basin Stand with blue Ewer basin and
chamber
3 White Chambers
7 Various Grates

(The amounts of furniture and utensils listed above suggest that the workhouse was intended to accommodate about a dozen people at a time. In fact the numbers resident between 1827 and 1836 varied from 2 to 27).