

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

DEPARTMENT OF EXTRA-MURAL STUDIES



# Gloucestershire

## Historical Studies

X11

1981

GLOUCESTERSHIRE  
HISTORICAL  
STUDIES  
XII

Essays on Local Historical Records  
by the University Extra-Mural Class  
at Gloucester 1979-1980

Edited by Nigel Wratten  
and Margaret Richards.

1981

## FOREWORD

When Brian Smith left Gloucestershire at the end of 1979 to take up his new post with the Historical Manuscripts Commission in London, the class lost a tutor whose scholarship and long association with the Gloucestershire Record Office made him uniquely qualified to guide its members in their studies and who inspired a high standard of achievement. As his successors, our aim is to maintain the tradition he so ably founded.

The joint tutor arrangement proved to have many advantages. In future we shall be able to increase the size of the class to include many for whom this will be their first experience of historical research.

Since this present class (1980-1981) began we have learned with regret of the death of John Wyatt, a long-standing member, who was unable to attend this session because of ill health. He contributed many valuable studies, particularly of John Smith's Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608, and the paper included in this volume was to have been the first of a similar series analysing Gloucester city musters books. He will be greatly missed by the tutors and his companions in the class.

This present selection of studies reflects the wide range of interests of our members who have again achieved the high standard of work which makes their papers of value to future historians.

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.

Nigel A. Wratten  
Margaret E. Richards

## CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword	1
Flour Milling in Gloucester	3
by Hugh Conway Jones	
Some Historic Houses in Westgate Street	9
by Barbara Drake	
The Last Days of the Cloth Trade Along the Painswick Stream	24
by Colleen Haine	
Gloucester & The Spanish Armada	37
by John W. Wyatt	
Struggles in the Early Development of Nurse Training at the Infirmary in Gloucester	43
by F.H. Storr	
The Lord Cobham Survey of Upton St. Leonards, 1589	51
by John V. Ruffell	
The Lovesy Family of Charlton Kings	59
by Jean Paget	
Charles Baker - The Work of a Nineteenth Century Surveyor	68
by A. Bailey	
Tenements & Tenants in Charlton Kings, 1557-1564	73
by Mary Paget	

FLOUR MILLING IN GLOUCESTER

by Hugh Conway-Jones

Until the nineteenth century, flour milling was carried out by small water powered mills wherever there was a suitable stream, and there were ten such mills on the four mile stretch of the River Twyver from Upton St. Leonards to the northern outskirts of Gloucester (1). A further mill within the old Abbey precincts was sited on a branch of the Twyver known as the Fullbrook. These early mills would mainly have processed corn from the local farmers using the traditional method of grinding between specially prepared millstones.

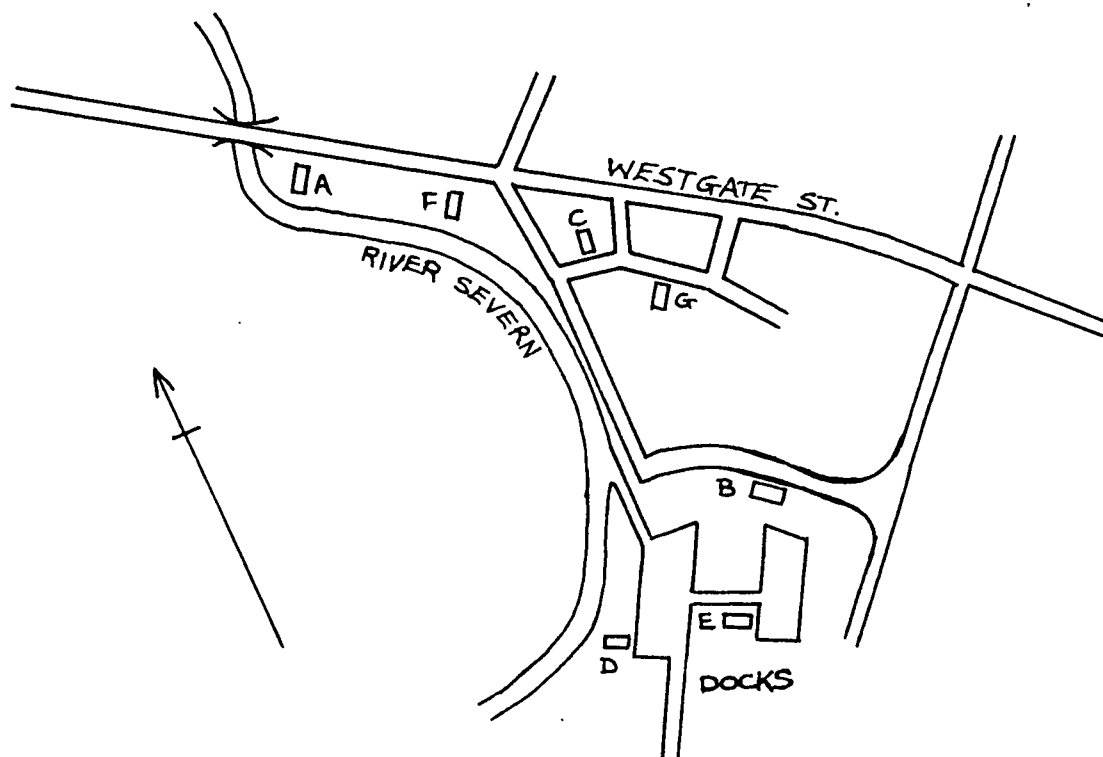
The opening of the Gloucester and Berkeley Canal in 1827 encouraged a significant growth in corn imports through Gloucester docks to help feed the developing industrial towns. Initially this corn was transhipped at Gloucester and sent on to mills that had reasonable access to a navigable river or canal. Several of the old cloth mills in the Stroud valley were converted to flour milling and the corn was brought in along the Stroudwater Canal. During the 1830s, the largest miller in the district was John Biddle who ran Stratford, Ebley and Wallbridge Mills. He built his own warehouse at Gloucester docks to store the imported corn, and he had a large wagon drawn by eight horses for making deliveries of flour to Gloucester and Cheltenham (2).

As the demand for flour increased, new steam-powered mills began to be established where there were good transport facilities to bring the wheat and coal in and to move the flour out. In about 1840, a baker named Thomas McLean established Gloucester Steam Mills which backed on to the River Severn fifty yards to the south of Westgate Bridge (A). Apparently he took over an existing timber-framed building and added on a four storey brick building to the north. At least by a few years later, the mill had eight pairs of stones and other machinery powered by an 18 h.p. engine in the old building and by a 14 h.p. engine in the main building (3). With an eye to even better transport facilities, J. and J. Hadley built the City Flour Mills in 1850 in the main docks area just to the north of the recently opened Victoria Dock (B). The original building is the easternmost of the existing group, and would have contained just a few pairs of stones and some flour dressing machines much like those used in the country mills.

In 1859, the Hadleys moved on to greater things in London, and converted an old water mill in Upper Thames St. to steam power. Meanwhile John Biddle's extensive business around Stroud had mainly been taken over by Joseph Reynolds and Henry Allen, and they were wanting to extend their interests to Gloucester to minimise transport costs. They therefore took over the City Mills in 1860 and also the

Gloucester Mills at about the same time. Unfortunately the latter were seriously damaged by fire in 1863 (3), and it does not appear that they were ever fully rebuilt, although other operators carried on milling there for many years.

The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 led to a large increase in corn imports through Gloucester. From an average of 53,000 tons per year in the early 1840s, the corn brought up the canal rose to 94,000 tons per year in the early fifties and to 154,000 tons per year in the early sixties (4). Much of this was sent on to the industrial towns of the Midlands and South Wales via the inland waterways and the new railways, but there was also a growth in the amount milled in Gloucester and six new mills were established between 1863 and 1871 (5). The Quay Steam Mills on the north side of Quay St. (C) were started about 1863 by Samuel Luker who had previously run Grove Mill between Painswick and Stroud. About the same time, a baker called George Cox established the County Steam Flour Mills in Hopewell St. (off Barton St.). Around 1867, William Hall & Sons moved from Over Mills to start St. Owens Mills in a converted warehouse on the west side of the docks (D). Their place at Over was taken by



Reynolds and Priday, although not for long. James Reynolds (the son of Joseph Reynolds at the City Mills) converted the Albert warehouse in the docks (E) to a flour mill in 1869, and his former partner Charles Priday took over St. Owens Mills ten years later. After Samuel Luker died in 1867, the Quay Mills were run jointly by his sons for a few years, but around 1870 Henry Luker started the Island Steam Mills in Lower Westgate St. (F) and in 1871 James Luker started the Victoria Steam Mills on the south side of Quay St. (G),

leaving John Luker to continue at the Quay Mills. From the limited evidence available, it seems that most of these new mills had between three and five pairs of stones. Grinding was followed by sifting using either reels covered with silk or a cylinder covered by a wire mesh inside which brushes revolved at high speed.

During the 1870s, there was growing competition from the import of foreign flour of high quality, particularly from Hungary. This so concerned the British millers that a party of about forty visited Budapest in 1877, and they found that the Hungarians had developed an improved means of milling using iron rolls (6). With this method, the wheat first passes between pairs of fluted rolls to break the outer skin of the wheat grain and scrape away the endosperm inside. Between each set of rolls impurities are separated by sifting in conjunction with air currents. The separated endosperm is then broken down by passing through pairs of smooth rolls, again with sifting between each stage, to give the required grade of flour.

One of the party that visited Hungary was T.W. Hibbard who had become chairman of James Reynolds & Co when the founder died in 1876. He was so impressed with what he saw that he arranged for a four sack per hour roller plant to be installed at the Albert Mills in 1880 and a larger plant was installed two years later. (A standard sack of flour weighed 280 lbs.) At this time, the City Mills were being run by the sons of the original Reynolds and Allen, and they soon followed their neighbours lead by installing a ten sack per hour roller plant in 1883. Maybe this overstrained their finances as they went bankrupt in 1886, and the business was taken over by Priday Metford & Co. This firm was formed by Charles Priday who had been running St. Owens Mills, F.K.S. Metford from Bristol and F.T. Pearce who had been associated with Reynolds and Allen. The new company suffered a setback in 1888 when a serious fire gutted the wheat cleaning department (7), but fortunately the fire did not spread to the main mill building and they were soon back in business again.

It does not seem that the other Gloucester mills made the change to roller milling. Most of them carried on into this century (5), but increasingly they were used for making animal food rather than for producing flour. The Quay Mills closed around the turn of the century, although the building was only demolished recently to make way for a proposed shopping development. The Victoria Mills closed around 1906, and the site was later used as the Vulcan Works of the British Carbonising Co and is now part of the Shire Hall car park. St. Owens Mills were used by Priday Metford & Co for making wheatmeal flour and animal food until 1921 when the plant was transferred to the North Warehouse in the docks. The Island Mills passed through several hands until they were taken over by West Midlands Farmers around 1920 and they still occupy the site. The County Mills were operated by E.J.C. Palmer until about 1930 when the building became part of the Co-op Bakery, (the original building still stands on

for many years by the Evans family, but the building was burned down around 1940 and the site is now occupied by Westgate Motorhouse.

The two mills that did continue to develop were the two that had made the change to roller milling, and it is probably significant that both had prime sites in the docks. It is possible to follow the fortunes of the Albert Mills in some detail because many of the papers of James Reynolds & Co have recently been deposited in the Gloucestershire Record Office (8). It was noted earlier that the Albert Warehouse was converted to a mill by James Reynolds in 1869, and that after Reynolds' death T.W. Hibbard arranged for the installation of roller milling plant in the early eighties. The mill manager at this time was W.R. Voller, and he started an evening class in 1884 covering the use of the new methods. Later, men from other mills were allowed to join in, and Voller went on to write what became the standard book on milling. In later years, the firm prided themselves on the number of well-known millers at home and abroad that had received their training in Gloucester.

To augment the main mill building, a wheat cleaning house, boiler house, engine house and various workshops had been built to the south of the mill. Then around 1886, the adjacent warehouse to the west was taken over for wheat and flour storage, and this was connected to the main mill by a footbridge. During the summer of 1889, the mill was usually operating 143 hours per week and produced around 2200 sacks of flour from around 275 tons of wheat (an extraction ratio of 71%). Around 1898, Reynolds & Co started using the old stone plant again to make wholemeal flour which was sold as Pure Digestive Wheatmeal. This quickly established a high reputation, and at the London Bakery Exhibition in 1902, it was used by the winners of the gold, silver and bronze medals in the open class for wheatmeal bread.

In 1900, the firm became a limited company with T.W. Hibbard as chairman and W.R. Voller as one of the directors. The share capital was £80,000. Unfortunately the new company made a loss in the first year, and the chairman paid a dividend out of his own pocket. This was only a temporary setback, however, and the firm was soon making steady profits. Their account books show that the milling operation was only a small part of the business, and the profitability of the company depended mainly on how clever they were in buying their raw material and in selling the product. For example in 1901-2, the cost of the wheat comprised over 80 per cent of the selling price of the flour:

Expenditure:	Foreign wheat	£139,000
	English wheat	£41,000
	Carriage and storage	£12,000
	Mill operation, depreciation and interest	£12,000
	Staff salaries and expenses	£8,000
	Profit	£7,000
Income:	Flour sales	£219,000



The foreign wheat came from Canada, Russia, America and the Argentine, and part of the skill of milling was to blend together the different types of wheat to give the required grade of flour. An interruption in supply from one source could upset the balance as their warehouse could only accommodate a few weeks throughput. To minimise this problem, some use was made of Beards warehouse by the main basin and this was linked to Reynolds wheat cleaning department by a conveyor belt in 1905. Nevertheless, it was still difficult to keep the wheat mixture regular in 1912 when there were poor harvests in Russia and Manitoba, and again the following year when Russian wheat was unsatisfactory and there was also a poor English harvest.

By 1910 the company was in a sound financial position with debentures paid off and £10,000 in a reserve fund, and the opportunity was taken to modernise the mill. A new boiler was installed, the wheat cleaning machinery was improved and the roller plant was remodelled to give an output of 20 sacks per hour. The company purchased a steam wagon, and it ran 11,500 miles in the first year and made a profit compared with paying railway freight charges. During the first World War, the whole industry was put under Government control. By 1915 there was a complete absence of Russian wheat due to the closure of the Dardenelles, and other supplies were limited by lack of shipping. After the war investment began again, and the 1920s were a time of re-adjustment and fluctuating fortunes. In 1927 the company took over the lease of Beards warehouse and it became their flour bagging and storage warehouse with their earlier warehouse retained for wheat storage. Around 1934, the old steam engine was replaced by electric motors, although the chimney remained a landmark in the docks until recently. During the second World War, the industry came under Government control again. At times it was necessary to use rather low quality wheat, and the extraction ratio was increased to 85 per cent for several years. In 1962, the company was taken over by Allied Mills and although there were plans for expansion, the company decided to concentrate their activities in Tewkesbury, and the Albert Mills were closed in 1977. The ancilliary buildings to the south of the old mill were demolished recently.

With the closure of the Albert Mills, only the City Mills remain to represent an industry that once was of considerable economic importance to Gloucester. The survival of Friday Metford & Co must be partly due to them having remained a private company with all the shares held by the three founding families. The wheat no longer arrives by ship, but is mainly brought down from Liverpool by road. The flour is delivered to independent bakers over a wide area. Their buildings and plant have been extended and modernised over the years, and their current output of 25 sacks per hour is probably not far short of the total of all eight mills of a hundred years ago.

#### Acknowledgements

I am grateful for information received from Mr. W. Ellis

(ex Friday Metford & Co) and Mr. W.A. Roberts (ex J. Reynolds & Co).

#### References

1. L.E.W.O. Fullbrook-Leggatt, 'The River Twyver and the Fullbrook' . B.G.A.S. Vol.83 (1964) p.78. Transactions
2. Glos,R.O. IN 45.
3. J.J. Powell, Gloucestershire Extracts Vol.2 p.87.
4. J. & C. Sturge, Annual Corn Circulars 1831-86. Gloucestershire Collection No.12199.
5. Directories and Glos.R.O. D3833/7.
6. W.R. Voller, Modern Flour Milling (1892), Gloucestershire Collection No.15969.
7. Gloucester Journal, 7th Jan., 1888.
8. Glos,R.O. D3039/1-35.

#### Addendum

Since the main article was written, a further reference to an early corn mill has been found (9). This shows that in the first few years of the nineteenth century, a steam powered mill was established in Lower Westgate Street backing on the River Severn. The four storey building contained six pairs of stones together with an apparatus for dressing and preparing oatmeal. The business was established by a group of proprietors and provided a service to those who brought their own corn to be ground. The project was not successful, however, and in August 1810 the premises were advertised for sale.

#### Additional Reference

9. History of Cheltenham (H. Ruff, Cheltenham, 1803).

SOME HISTORIC HOUSES IN WESTGATE STREET

by Barbara Drake

1. "THE HOUSE OF THE TAILOR OF GLOUCESTER",  
9 College Court, Gloucester.

"Messrs. F. Warne are pleased to announce the opening of a Beatrix Potter Centre, 'The House of the Tailor of Gloucester' ..." December 1st, 1979.

25 years earlier Frederick Warne & Co Ltd., publishers of all Beatrix Potter's works, had made an unsuccessful bid for the shop when it came on the market. Following the retirement of the well-known antique dealer, Mr Percy Zatman, who owned the shop from that time, Warne's were successful (1).

The tiny shop built on to the ancient Abbey Wall lies in the narrow medieval lane leading to St. Michael's Gate, an entrance used by pilgrims to the shrine of King Edward II. It has been restored to simulate the illustrations in Beatrix Potter's book, 'The Tailor of Gloucester' (1902), and includes a new shop front with small paned windows and panelled wooden surround. Inside, false beams and fireplaces all help to create the atmosphere of the Tailor's 18th century kitchen. The displays include all manner of things 'Potterish'. (2)

"It will be not so much a museum as an international Beatrix Potter Centre to create interest in her work at home and abroad. Because people like to take away a souvenir we will be selling mementoes." (3)

This intriguing children's story was based on a true tale she heard whilst staying with Cousin Caroline Hutton at the family home of Judge Crompton Hutton, at Harescombe Grange, near Stroud. A Gloucester tailor. John Pritchard, used to make suits for the Mayor and Corporation for the Annual Show of the Root, Fruit & Grain Society. A richly dressed procession went from the Guildhall to the Boothall in Westgate St., where the show was held.

On this particular occasion, Pritchard, struggling to get the orders completed on time, found that the suits and waistcoats had been completed whilst the shop had been empty after the week-end break, all except one buttonhole, attached to which was a note, "No more twist". Following this incident, he put an advertisement into the local paper and the shop window: "Have your suits made by the Tailor of Gloucester (the name under which he traded) where the work is done by fairies."

However, the son of the original tailor, Mr Douglas Pritchard, has exposed the truth behind the myth, writing from Bahrain: "The true story of the waistcoats was not quite so romantic. Two or three years after the incident, with my father still puzzled as to how the work had been done, one of his workmen told all. Two or three of them got drunk one Saturday night and could not get home. They went to the shop and slept off their excesses in the workroom. Waking on Sunday morning, unshaven and in their working clothes, they did not dare to leave the shop exposed to the view of the people walking in the Cathedral precincts and were thus trapped until darkness could cover their movements. To pass the time they finished the waistcoats, but ran out of twist. Subsequently they were ashamed to admit they had got so drunk, and did not wish my father to know they had a key to the shop. So the truth spoils the fairy tale!" (Beatrix Potter so much preferred mice to fairies!) (4)

John Pritchard was 'moved' to this romantic setting in College Court by Miss Potter, but actually lived and worked at No.23 Westgate St. in 1906, moving to Hardwick by 1910. In Kelly's Directory of 1902, it appears he was living in St. John's Lane at the time the book was written. By 1929 he was living at No.2 Ashley Cottages, Croft Rd., Charlton Kings, where he died in 1934, aged 57, from T.B. He was buried in Charlton King's Cemetery, Plot 2 No.35, with 'Tailor of Gloucester' inscribed on the headstone. (5)

Research into the earlier uses of this site in College Court reveals the following information:

The Rental of the Borough of Gloucester for 1455 states: "The Prior of Llanthony holds in fee 4 tenements ...", to the north west of the then Crafte Lane (formerly called 'Turries Lane').

The Rental of Llanthony property, 1535, states for Crafte Lane: "Jhohan Backer occupies a tenement next to the Abbey Gate on the west side of this lane." (6)

The Corporation lease book for 1606 refers to permission given to Abel Angell, baker, to enclose an area to the west of the gate and to maintain "the gutter and goute ..." (7)

Abel Angell also leased the vineyard outside the Southgate, between the City Wall and Gooseditch, adding to an existing "old building now standing on the premises ... 2 good rooms for habitation with a chimney in each, and keep all in repair. To place in the rooms infected persons during outbreaks of the plague ..." The 'old building' had been a pest house previously, owned by Ald. J. Woodward. (8)

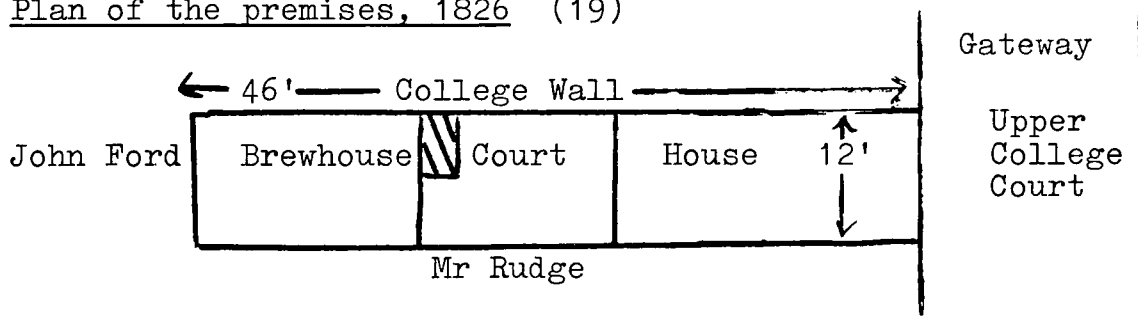
In 1650 William Angell, merchant, leased "a tenement, orchard, garden ... inclosed with a New Brick wall ... adjacent to the uppergate called St. Michael's Gate ... containing in length 10 yds, breadth 5 yds 1', with a court length  $8\frac{1}{2}$  yds, breadth 6 yds, and garden length north to south 22 yds 8", breadth 21 yds 1' in occupation of Henry Winkcombe ... which said premises ... have been by indenture bearing date 13 Nov., 1639 demised by the late Dean & Chapter ... to W. (---)rench ... last passed at a yearly rent of  $\frac{3}{4}$ d ... to be upon improvement ... £5. Os. Od." (9)

In 1693 Elizabeth Bayley leased the site, having The George Tavern lying to the west (10). From 1712-1769 it was occupied by the Gregory family, (11) beginning with Ald. Edmund Gregory, followed in 1726 by Rev. John Gregory, who was vicar of Sandhurst in 1724 (12) and instituted to the Rectory of Rudford in 1729 (13).

Subsequent leasees were

- 1740 Mr John Gregory, followed by Mrs Dorothy Gregory, spinster in 1729 (14).
- 1769 William Prater, City of London, linen draper (15).
- 1788 Charles Taylor, baker (16)
- 1801 Ellis Taylor, baker. ' ... part of the premises having been sold off (by the Corporation) to Paul Martin' (for Land Tax redemption) (17).
- 1816 Joshua Ellis, grocer (18).

Plan of the premises, 1826 (19)



- 1822-1852 James Whitehead, boot & shoe maker; property owned by Mrs Ellis (No.5 as it was then numbered) (20).
- 1853-1856 William Whitehead, Registrar of Births, deaths and marriages (21). (In Gell & Bradshaw's Directory, 1820, Whitehead appears as a straw hat manufacturer.)
- 1857-1861 Ann Groves had a French cleaning & general dying establishment at No.5, where she remained until 1889. Here the gentry were able to get their kid gloves cleaned free of smell, and their feathers, shawls, moreens, damasks, furs, merinoes, etc., cleaned or dyed 'equal to new' (22).
- 1893 Mrs M.A. Byron, confectioner.
- 1897 The Broadway Oyster Co.
- 1902-1910 H.G. Norton & Co., cycle depot (22).

At the time Norton's owned the premises, it was linked to No.138 Westgate St. and formed a 12'6" shop frontage. Motor showrooms fronted Westgate St. where Norton's sold Humber, Wolsey and Panhard cars. (A price quoted in 1910 for a 4 cylinder Humber was 225 guineas, an expensive proposition in those days) (22). There was a driving entrance from College St. (23).

The entire premises were auctioned on 6th June, 1913; No.5 College Court was purchased by W.H. White, antique dealer, and No.138 Westgate St. became the Palladium. Miss Alice White remained in College Court from 1936 until the shop was sold in 1951 (24).

Mr. Zatman, antique dealer, remained at No.9 (as it was renumbered) from 1953 until his retirement at the age of 85 years, in October, 1978. As a Manchester gold and silver salesman, he attended a Gloucester house sale in 1928 and opened a shop of his own in Market Parade. Later he opened a further two shops in Barton St., and finally moved into No.9 College Court (25).

#### References:

1. The Citizen, Oct. 1978
2. F. Warne's descriptive pamphlet, The House of the Tailor of Gloucester (1979)
3. The Citizen, 21.2.79
4. The Daily Telegraph
5. Charlton Kings Local History Society Bulletin 2, Christmas 1979 Gos. R.O., EN/Sampson 1979
6. Gos. R.O., GBR 1314/1368
7. Gos. R.O., GBR 1406/1521 f.39
8. Gos. R.O., GBR 1406/1521 f.147
9. Gos. R.O., D936 T/4
10. Gos. R.O., GBR 1409/1524 f.154
11. Gos. R.O., GBR 1659
12. Gos. R.O., GDR 279A f 89
13. Gos. R.O., GDR 279A f 221
14. Gos. R.O., GBR 1662 f 8 & f 94
15. Gos. R.O., GBR 1662 f 157
16. Gos. R.O., GBR 1663 f 90
17. Gos. R.O., GBR 1663 f 250
18. Gos. R.O., GBR 1664 f 36; & GBR 1413/1527
19. Gos. R.O., GBR (uncatalogued), Plans of houses & lands, 1826, p.21.
20. Gos. R.O., GBR 1751; P 154/4 OV 1/3-6; GBR 1755A, 1755, 1756; Hunt's Directory, 1849
21. Gos. R.O., GBR 1756; 1851 Census
22. Gos. R.O., GBR 1756; Directories
23. Gos. R.O., D2299/1042
24. Bruton, Knowles & Co., sale particulars, 10 Aug. 1951
- 25.. Gloucester Journal, 14.10.78

## 2. ST. NICHOLAS HOUSE, 100 Westgate Street, Gloucester

Immediately to the east of St. Nicholas Church, Westgate Street, stands St. Nicholas House, one of the last reminders of the fashionable 18th century town houses of the gentry that were built in the western side of the City.

The fate of this house hung in the balance during 1977/78 following masonry falling on to the busy pavement below from the crumbling early Georgian facade. Also the high boundary wall at the rear collapsed on to garages, damaging cars within. By this time many slates were missing from the roof (1). Its rapid deterioration recalls to mind the final days of the Duke of Norfolk's Lodgings, on the north side of Lower Westgate Street, which was demolished in 1971. Would St. Nicholas House suffer the same fate? (2)

After just over 3 years behind scaffolding, thanks to the Gloucester Civic Trust, restoration of this house in which Queen Elizabeth I is thought to have stayed, seems in sight, provided a grant can be obtained from the Historic Buildings Council (3).

St. Nicholas House is a building of some architectural importance to the City, being any almost unique example in Gloucester of this type of early Georgian facade; "... a two storied house of red brick with stone dressings ... The ends and slightly projecting centre are emphasised by chamfered stone quoins, and all the upper windows have moulded architraves and keystones, the pediment is flanked by balustrading supporting 5 very handsome carved urns. This is a good example of Georgian provincial architecture." (4) The rear part of the house is a timber-framed 5 bay building, possibly dating from the 15th century.

It is a Grade One listed building and an ancient monument. "... Experts think that because of the large rooms inside it, the building was probably a medieval Guild Hall of some sort" (5). In one of the rooms was once a fine carved fireplace and overmantle of pretentious proportions bearing the royal coat of arms of Elizabeth I, with tiling within the fireplace. The entire room was panelled, with a carved frieze around the top of the walls, and around the doorways. This was sold, along with the fireplace, for £750 to a London firm in 1907, and is believed to have gone to Chicago (6).

The 1455 Rental of the Borough of Gloucester states: "The Prior of Llanthony holds all those houses and buildings ... from the said Lane of Abbey Lane to the common and processional way there near the chancel of the Church of St. Nicholas, and the tenements of Richard Whittington, Lord of Staunton, which are called 'Raton Row' and 'Ashwell's Place', and which in the old landgavel are called by the name of 'the 8 booths and land of W. Banbury'; wherein divers tenants dwell. Landgavel '12d"

The Richard Whittington, Lord of Staunton, is a relative, possibly a nephew of Dick Whittington, made famous by his legendry cat, Mayor of London in 1397, 1398, 1407, 1420, who lived in the village of Pauntley, 9 miles north of Gloucester. Part of the Whittington's manor house still remains. Richard (or Dick), youngest of 3 brothers, was only two years old when his father, Sir William Whittington, Squire of Pauntley, died in 1360. He is definitely identified with the Pauntley branch of the family by the left light in the west window of Pauntley Church, where his arms appear impaled with the Fitzwarren arms (as they also appear, in colour, in the ancient frieze of the 14th century reredos of St. Edmund's Chapel, Gloucester Cathedral).

At the age of 13, Dick was sent to London to be apprenticed to Sir John Fitzwarren, a merchant adventurer, himself a west-country man and a friend of the family. He married Alice, daughter of his master, but outlived his wife; they had no children and he died in 1423. He was buried beside his wife in the Church of St. Michael Royal, London (his local parish church), which was rebuilt in 1694 by Sir Christopher Wren's workmen, according to an ancient custom "... whereby a living sacrifice was made at the time of building; a fowl or other bird was commonly used for this purpose. But for Whittington's church, the obvious choice was a cat".

In 1862, in the course of repairs to St. Nicholas House excavations were made in the cellars. A broken stone was found, probably part of an old chimney piece, on which is represented the figure of a boy with a cat in his arms.

The Richard of 1455 might well be the son of Dick's remaining brother, Robert of Pauntley. (Pauntley and Staunton lie within a few miles of each other on the Herefordshire border) (7).

In the 1535 Rental of Llanthony property is a reference to a mansion house on the site: "Alice Messenger occupieth one great tenement above our 2 tenements at St. Nicholas Church end, next unto Abbey Lane, some time in divers parcels and in decay occupied by Isobel and 16 or 17 others ... She payeth by year £6. 10s. 0d." (8).

In 1545 John Hawkins, vintner, occupied the mansion house, referred to in a Corporation lease of vacant ground "extending from the corner of the bulke end of the mansion house to the butress end of the Lady Chapel of the Church" (9). It is assumed that this ground continued to be leased by the occupant of the mansion house (St. Nicholas House). In 1555 John Taylor, vintner, was permitted to enclose the vacant ground, yet allow St. Nicholas parishioners to have their customary processional way through (10). The lease of the ground was granted by the Corporation in 1598 to John Taylor, presumably his son. He became an Alderman and later Mayor, 1613/14. His conduct came under severe censure when in April 1604 he not only concealed the fact that one of his servants lay dead of the plague in his house for 3 to 4 hours, but also that



another servant had plague boils under his arm. A goodwife Clark administered medicines to break the boil which discharged for a whole week, during which time both Taylor and his servant came into the presence of the mayor, aldermen and chief men of the City; and entertained many in his house. This was considered extremely dishonest for a person of his rank and standing. "As a result, other persons and houses were already infected and it was feared many more would be infected ... to the great and dangerous hurt of the state of the whole City and hazard of many lives." He was expelled from the Council and fined £100 for the relief of those to whom he had caused such suffering.

It was also ordered that since a number of people were living in the house at the time of this incident, including his son, John, they were "... to keep themselves in and that the door should be shut up". Taylor's son "... did in great scorn and contempt of the said order not only break up the door of the said house and offered to discharge firearms against such as were appointed to keep them in, but also delivered railings and rude terms against the said Mr Mayor". He was ordered to pay 100 marks and to be put in the stocks in the Wheat Market on 3 separate market days. (11)

Whilst Taylor was Mayor in 1613/14, he was again guilty of misconduct resulting in his removal from office under the provision of the Charter of James I. He had already been disfranchised four times and imprisoned several times; this time he was accused of embezzlement, receiving bribes, extortion, drunkenness and for refusing to swear in the newly-elected Town Clerk (11).

In 1655, Elizabeth Robinson, widow of Robert Robinson, the next owner of the mansion house (11), leased "All that Gatehouse with a parcel of ground being a little Garden ... next adjoining said parish Church" (12). T.D. Fosbrooke, in his Original History of the City of Gloucester, (1819) prints a monumental inscription which states that Robert Robinson, son of Anthony Robinson, died 6th March, 1653.

In 1684 the property was leased to Mrs Anne Arnold, widow of Anthony Arnold (11). She was previously Mrs Anne Guise, of the College in Gloucester, a widow, who married Anthony Arnold at All Hallows, Bread Street, London, Nov. 1678 (13).

In 1704 the nextlessee was James Pitt, of Gloucester, innholder (18). The alehouse licences give Pitt as licensee of the King's Head Inn, which abuts on to St. Nicholas House. It would appear that whoever leased the gatehouse, also occupied the mansion house as in the 1545 lease to Hawkins. The gatehouse would have been far too small for a dwelling house being a mere 3 yds x 11', and the lessees were gentry (17). It would also seem, that they may have also owned the King's Head Inn - both Hawkins and Taylor were vintners.

Three members of the family of Hemming were the next occupants of St. Nicholas House. Benjamin Hemming (23), gent., in 1742, then his wife Margaret, from 1756, leased the gateway, garden and shop: " ... next the church ... a small shop or room is now built containeth in the forepart next the street, 3½ yds 4" (14).

His son, Benjamin Hemming, clerk, lived there from 1770. He matriculated 27 April, 1757 at Pembroke College aged 17; B.A. 1761, M.A. 1764, and died in 1824. He was appointed curate of Pitchcombe Church, 16 December, 1776 (15). (His son, also Benjamin matriculated at Trinity College 10 October, 1785 aged 16; M.A. 1792, B.D. 1802, D.D. 1807, and fellow until 1815.) (16)

The next occupant, during the period 1823-34 could possibly be James Whalley & Co., linen and woollen drapers. The name in the St. Nicholas parish Poor rate book (19) is very indistinct, and this name does appear in Gell & Bradshaw's Directory for 1820. From 1835-42 the property was owned by William Powell, with Thomas McLean, as tenant. In the 1841 Directory McLean is listed as a baker, grocer, tea dealer, miller, having his Bakehouse and mill in the Island, next to The Boot public house south of the street, adjacent to the Gloucester Iron Foundry (20).

In July 1842 the house is called Church Court, with John Powell as occupier, followed from 1846-51 by Charles Tasker, a wines and spirits merchant. His wife continued there in the wine trade until 1855. (It was then No.116 Westgate Street) (21).

William Johnstone, furniture dealer, lived there from 1867 until 1893 (then No.11 ), followed in 1897 by George Merrylees & Co. (then No.115). He was joined by Mr Pugh and from 1910-73 the firm continued in its manufacture of leather, balata and cotton belting. It also dealt in machine requisites, as it still does today, in Quay Street (22).

Lastl came Jelf & Langston 1973-78, coach trimmers and upholsterers, now in St. Oswald Road Market. Now is the time for much needed restoration, before yet another of Gloucester's old buildings is beyond repair.

## References

1. The Citizen, 7.12.76.
2. Gloucestershire Historical Studies XI, 1980, pp.73-81.
3. As 1, and The Citizen, 2.3.78.
4. David Verey, The Vale & Forest of Dean, p.246.
5. As 1.
6. Gloucester City Library. Glos. Collection 40. 15
7. Hope Costley-White, Gloucestershire Stories, p.43
8. Glos. R.O. GBR 1314/1368.
9. Glos. R.O. GBR B2/2, f. 45.
10. Glos. R.O. GBR B2/2, f. 103.
11. Glos. R.O. GBR 1406/1521, f. 18; GBR B3/1. 'Abuts on ... great Mansion House of Robert Robinson.'
12. Glos. R.O. GBR 1407/1521b, f.570.
13. Glos. R.O. GBR 1408/1522, f. 758.  
Gloucester City Library, Hockaday Abstracts, Parish of St. Nicholas, Nov. 1678.
14. Glos. R.O. GBR 1411/1525; GBR 1662, f. 106.
15. Glos. R.O. GBR 1659, f. 5; GBR 1663, f. 248;  
GDR E 2 Priests 1776; Alumni Oxonienses
16. Alumni Oxon.
17. As 12.
18. Glos. R.O. GBR 1409/1523, f. 347.
19. Glos. R.O. P 154/15 OV /1-5, 6-9; OV 8/1-11.
20. Glos. R.O. PC 1086.
21. Gloucester Directories 1820-1973.
22. Advertisement in 1910 Directory.
23. Benjamin Hem(m)ing was keeper of the County Gaol c.1724 (see Glos. R.O. Q/SO 5, 1724, Trinity Sessions). Also referred to as 'of the Castle of Gloucester, gent.'

3. THE CROWN & SCEPTRE INN,  
No.122 (105) Westgate Street, Gloucester.

On the 10th October, 1754, a meeting of the nobility and gentry was held at the Tolsey '... to support an Infirmary in the City of Gloucester'. Those who subscribed to this worthy charity for the sick of the City formed a committee, whose next consideration was a suitable site. It was felt that the Crown & Sceptre could well be fitted out as an Infirmary, but, "Mr Tulley ... is of the Opinion that it would be more beneficial to the Charity to erect a New Building than repair any place he can see and that the Talbot Ground is the most proper for such erection".

By 23 January, 1755, the committee agreed to 'The County Infirmary' being erected in the Talbot Ground near the South Gate of the City of Gloucester. The Crown & Sceptre would be used for immediate reception of patients following any repairs and alterations necessary, thanks to Mr Benjamin Hyett generously offering to lend the Inn for 3 years rent free in December 1754 (or to sell for £300).

It was officially opened on 14th August, 1755, 10 a.m. followed by a service in the Cathedral, where the Vice-President (of the Infirmary Board), Rev. Dr. Atwell preached upon the occasion. Afterwards the whole company dined at the Bell Inn.

The Infirmary is well described in the fire insurance policy taken out with the Sun Fire Office, 14 May 1756: '... the Dwelling house situated in the Westgate Street, Gloucester, known by the name of the Gloucester Infirmary with Brewhouse, Laundry, Apothecary's shop, Laboratory, Surgery and Store room with 3 wards all adjoining. All Brick and tiled except a small part of the dwelling house'. (1) Odd glimpses appear throughout the minute books of the Weekly Board meetings. It had 40 beds, with wards both up and downstairs (though this does not tally with the policy). "Mr Roberts is to prevent the Dust and Water from falling through the floor of the Upper to the Lower ward."

Reference to its layout comes in an entry for 14 Dec., 1758, when it was: "Ordered that the Casements of the windows in the Upper Long Ward next the Lane (now known to be Archdeacon Lane) be made to open on the inside with wire lattice on the outside". On the front of the building was an inscription reading "The Gloucester Infirmary, supported by voluntary contributions".

An advertisement in the Gloucester Journal for 28 August, 1755 gives notice " ... that this Infirmary will be ready to receive such patients as come properly recommended and upon examination shall appear fit objects as far as the accommodation of the House will admit, on Thur., September 11th. And it is desired of the Board that the Patients may be sent as clean as possible".

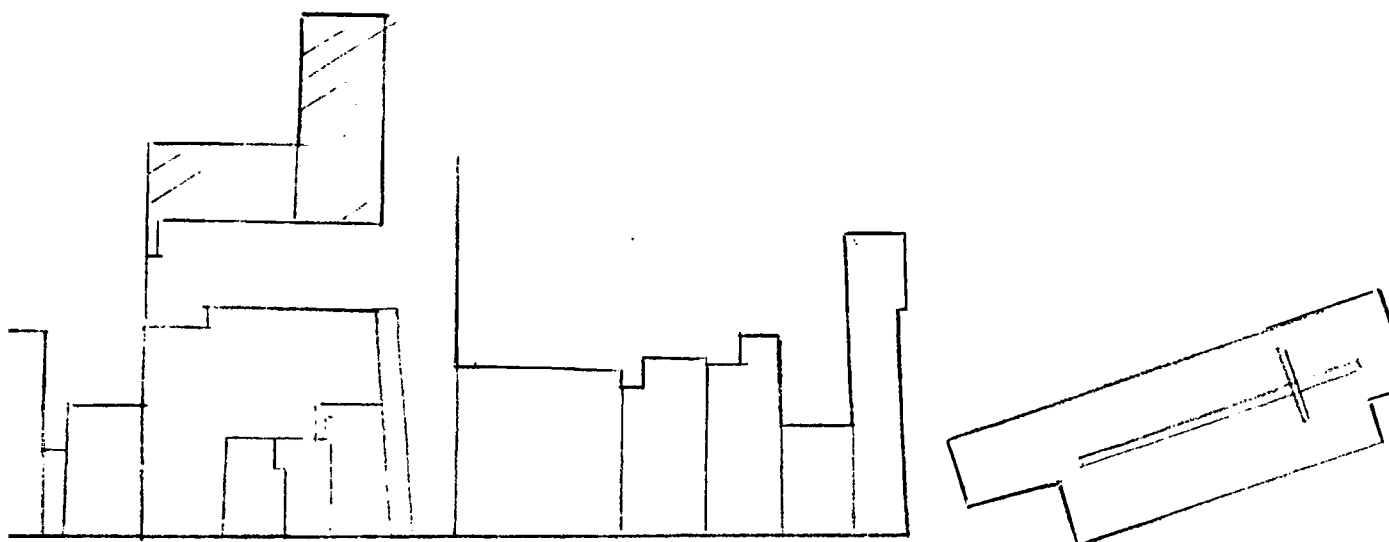
By 15th January 1756, bed shortages were apparent in a statement that patients cured and discharged continued to occupy beds for want of friends or officers of the respective parishes to fetch them away. 16th February, 1758, "It is desired that subscribers will recommend no more women patients to the Infirmary till further notice be given in this paper, the Women's Ward being now quite full and several beds engaged to patients who could not be taken in for want of room", Not until 6th April were vacancies announced.

When the Infirmary first opened in 1755, Mrs Hester Partridge of Painswick was appointed Matron, at £20 per annum. The nurses, one for each ward, received £4, which became £4 10s in 1759, by which time a porter was receiving 4 guineas.

On the 14th August, 1760, the Infirmary was advertised as being for sale in the Gloucester Journal. The New Infirmary, in Southgate Street, was officially opened on 18th July, 1761.

It has long been known to local historians that the Crown & Sceptre Inn was used as an Infirmary, but its whereabouts has posed a problem. Further detailed research has finally placed this inn at No.122 (105 as it formerly was), on the north side of Westgate Street, west of Archdeacon Street. It was demolished c.1963 to make way for the present Westgate Flats.

Detail from Causton's map of Gloucester, 1843, showing site 100 years later. (Glos. R.O. D1740 P23)



The property belonged to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and in the Charity Trustees' survey books Nos. 39-41 the site is accurately measured and recorded. It is noted that Dean and Chapter property abuts on both sides. Turning to Dean and Chapter lease books, a reference was spotted in a lease in 1743 to Benjamin Hyett of a stable in St. Nicholas parish " ... in a lane called Archdeacon Lane together with a way or passage at the south end of said stable leading to an Inn called the Crown & Sceptre ..." (3). Turning to a copy of Causton's map of the City, 1843, belonging to the Dean and Chapter on which Dean and Chapter property is marked, No.105 Westgate Street was clearly an odd shaped plot that fitted the measurements in the surveys, with a passageway into a courtyard leading off Archdeacon Street, having Dean and Chapter property on either side. Following this tentative positioning of the inn, the title deeds of No.122 (105) Westgate Street were examined. These confirmed the site, and covered the period 1839-1906.

The 1455 Rental of the Borough of Gloucester states: 'The Prior of St. Bartholomew holds a tenement near (there) which Christina, daughter of Thomas Ovenat, formerly held, wherein John of Mitton dwells. Landgavel 18d'. Next to this property lay Powke Lane according to the Rental.

Not until 1682 is the Crown & Sceptre mentioned as such in the Corporation alehouse licences. In that year Thomas Cobb was Innholder (4), followed by Richard Robinson until 1686 (5) and James Browne in 1687.

In November 1700 Benjamin Hyett leased property in St. Nicholas parish, (6) on the north side of Westgate Street, though it was not actually called the Crown & Sceptre. He was the grandfather of Benjamin Hyett who lent the Inn for an Infirmary in 1754 (7). The Hyetts are a well-known Gloucestershire family even today, both in the City and the County. The first Benjamin was born March 30, 1651, in Dursley and is thought to have been related to Richard Hyett of Wootton, clothier. He married Elizabeth Morwent in 1674, daughter and heiress of Joseph Morwent of Tetbury. She died in 1708, having given birth to 6 sons and 5 daughters, 4 of whom survived: Charles, Benjamin, Elizabeth and Mary.

"He was an attorney, who after his marriage, passed his life in Gloucester. He resided in different quarters of the City for he had children born in the parishes of Holy Trinity, St. Mary de Grace, St. Michael, and St. Nicholas. He seems to have had a large practice and to have taken an active part in local affairs. He was Deputy Clerk of the Peace for the county of Gloucestershire 1673-78, then appointed Clerk of the Peace until 1689. In 1678 he became one of the Sheriffs of the City .... He must have found his profession lucrative for, at different times in his life, he purchased land in the parishes of Badgeworth, Haresfield, Hasfield, Longney, Westbury-on-Severn and Upton St. Leonards, a house and garden adjoining Gloucester Castle, Maribon Park, and two ale-houses called 'The Pyed Horse' and 'The Crown & Sceptre'." Benjamin died in 1711 at the age of 60 (8).

In 1726, Charles Hyett, his eldest son, leased the Crown & Sceptre (9). He was born in 1686, and was the first Hyett of Painswick. He was married in Gloucester Cathedral, 11th March, 1707, to Anna, daughter of Ald. Nicholas Webb. "He succeeded to lands which his father had purchased and during his life added to his estates by purchasing lands in Longhope, Badgeworth, Ashleworth, Bulley, Hempstead, Upton and Painswick. ... On May 27th 1715, the Constablenesship of Gloucester Castle was granted by Letters Patent to Charles Hyett for his life, with the remainder to his sons Benjamin and Nicholas for their lives successively ... He represented the City in Parliament from 1722-27". He became a Justice of the Peace in 1725 and was "very regular in the performance of his Magesterial duties".

His wife gave him 3 sons, Benjamin, Nicholas and Charles, who died at one year old. She died on the 20th October, 1728.

In April 1733 Charles purchased of the Adey family, a farm house called 'The Herrings', on the site of which he built Painswick House. "He did not enjoy his new residence for he died on the 17th February, 1738, and was buried in the family vault in the Cathedral." (8)

Benjamin Hyett, eldest son of Charles, leased the Crown & Sceptre in 1743 (7). He was born in Gloucester on the 17th December, 1708 and matriculated at Pembroke College, Oxford, 1724, aged 15. "He became a member of the Inner Temple and was called to the Bar on July 3rd, 1731, but there is no record of his ever having practised." After his father's death he became Constable of Gloucester Castle. In 1741 he contested the City in the Parliamentary election. He married Frances, only daughter of Sir Thomas Snell, knt., a London merchant, 15th May, 1744. "On a pane of glass in one of the windows at Painswick House the words 'Ben & Francis Hyett, 1744' apparently scratched with a diamond ring, may still be seen." They had only one child, whom they called Frances, born 1745, but she died aged 9 months.

In 1761 he was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for Gloucestershire and in the same year he had the degree of Doctor of Common Law conferred on him (frequently conferred on country gentry). He died on the 15th December, 1762, aged 53, and was buried in the Cathedral. His brother, Nicholas, perpetuated the family name, having a son in 1743 whom he called Benjamin. (8)

From 1722-38, John Braithwaite was the tenant innkeeper of the Crown & Sceptre, followed in 1740/41 by John Woodman. An advertisement in the Gloucester Journal for 6th July, 1742, announced that: "The Crown & Sceptre Inn in Westgate Street, Gloucester, lately kept by John Woodman, is now kept by Thomas Hooper and Ann his wife (daughter of the late William and Mary Powell of Frog Mill) where all gentlemen and others may depend upon meeting with good Entertainments and Civil Usage". They remained until 1744 which is the last year the inn was licensed. Though it remained known as the "Crown & Sceptre" until at least 1905 (in the title deeds) it was never again used as a public house. (10)

Following its use as Gloucester Infirmary from August 1755 to July 1761, John Pitt leased the property in 1771 (11). On the 3rd October, 1799 the Corporation sold the inn to Pitt (for redemption of land tax). Pitt was an attorney at the King's Bench and also stood for the City in Parliamentary elections. " ... Opposing the Duke of Norfolk and the Corporation was John Pitt, former steward of the Yorke family estates at Hardwick and collector of customs at the Port of Gloucester." Pitt had been active in City politics as early as 1754, on behalf of the Yorke interests supporting Barrow and George Selwyn. With the death of his patron and a quarrel with Selwyn, Pitt's politics became decidedly more partisan; he sided with the local blues, as Gloucester Tories described themselves. This brought him into direct conflict with the Corporation, a confrontation that was to engage his energies and passions for the rest of his life, and was to animate the local Tories until the Municipal Corporations Act allowed them to elect a majority to the corporation for the first time. "Pitt in 1780 became an antagonist of the Duke of Norfolk, who, as Earl of Surrey, assiduously promoted the Corporation-sponsored Gloucester Gaol Bill in the House of Lords. Pitt lobbied mightily but unsuccessfully to defeat this bill, which he feared would raise the rates to a ruinous level and give the Corporation additional patronage through control of police and prisoner". In 1786 he determined that he would stand for the next vacant seat. However, Selwyn's nephew, Charles Townsend contested the seat, but in the face of stiff opposition from the Duke, he retired. "Pitt then announced his candidacy, resisting financial blandishments offered by Norfolk to keep him from contesting the seat." In 1789 Pitt won the seat by one vote, and as a result Gloucester Tories formed a True Blue Club, which met each year in early February to celebrate the anniversary of their victory over the Corporation.

According to the Gloucester Journal, 15.7.1805, John Pitt, Gloucester's largest private landlord, was reputed never to have raised his rents. He died in 1805 (12).

Following Pitt's death, the property passed to Thomas Bayliss, grocer in 1839. The stables and brewhouse were used as a warehouse, and the whole was valued at £1995. In June 1847 it passed to William Brown Wells, of Gloucester, hardware dealer, valued at £1400. After Wells died on 15th July, 1854, the property, now known as No.105, passed to George Kent, of Gloucester, baker, valued at £1000. After a period of financial difficulties, by 15th December 1862, Kent was declared bankrupt in the Bristol District Court and the property was offered for sale by public auction on 21st August, 1866, at the Greyhound Hotel, Gloucester. Insufficient offer was made, so the sale could not be effected. William Stephens of Highnam, gent., who had originally loaned Kent money, arranged with Kent's creditor, Charles Cooksey of Tuffley, provision merchant, that the property should be made over to him.

By 1 March, 1888, Stephens was also declared bankrupt and the Official Receiver contracted with James Wheeler, of Gloucester, marine store dealer, to sell the property for £475.



Wheeler died 7th September, 1905, having appointed as his executor Albert Seymour of Westgate Street, a shopkeeper and picture frame maker. He conveyed to Samuel James Long, of 23 St. Mary's Square, a forgerman, on 23 December, 1905, 'All that messuage with yards, warehouses, outbuildings adjoining and formerly used as a public house known by the name of the Crown & Sceptre, but lately used as a shop and lodging house, occupied by James Wheeler until his death .. having a frontage to Westgate Street 23' and containing in area 504 sq. yds. .. together with a driving way and entrance from Deacon Street ...'. In October 1906 Long made the property over to his wife, Clara (13).

The Gloucester City street Directories of 1867-1963 fill in the remaining details. Despite George Kent's bankruptcy in 1862, the Directories mention him in occupation until 1870. In 1875 the premises were the grocery branch of the Co-op Stores. Void in 1889, the property was occupied in 1891 by Joseph Mills, bicycle and tricycle manufacturer. James Wheeler is listed as a furniture broker from 1893-1905, who offered accommodation for travellers. In 1906/7, the property became known as Snell's Tea Store at the time of Mrs Long's ownership. Samuel Long ran a lodging house there from 1910 until 1930 when W.H. Salcombe took over, followed by his wife in 1945. Albert Salcombe took over the lodging house from 1959 to 1963.

E. Baldwin ran a provisions shop in part of the property until 1918. Then the Co-op are again mentioned as having a bread shop there. H. Peters became the shopkeeper from 1930 to c.1936/40, after which the shop as such ceased to exist.

Some time after 1963 the site was demolished and remained a car park, along with many other sites in the area, until the redevelopment of the Westgate Street / Archdeacon Street region began in January 1970. The building of the present Westgate Flats complex, which includes the site of the Crown & Sceptre, began in 1972 (14).

## References

1. Glos. R.O., HO 19/11/1
2. Glos. R.O., HO 19/1/1
3. Glos. R.O., D936 E 12/10, f. 153
4. Glos. R.O., D936 E 12/5, f. 245
5. Glos. R.O., D936 E 12/5, f. 427
6. Glos. R.O., D936 E 12/7, f. 58
7. Glos. R.O., Gloucester Charity Trustees, Survey book 41, f.14; GBR 1417/1536, f.481
8. Francis Adams Hyett, The Hyetts of Painswick, (1907)
9. Glos. R.O., D936 E 12/9, f. 85
10. Glos. R.O., GBR Alehouse Licences
11. Glos. R.O., Gloucester Charity Trustees Accounts 1774-95
12. B.G.A.S. Transactions, Vol.84, p.141
13. Glos. R.O., D 3117/1333-1351
14. The Citizen, 15.10.69.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE CLOTH TRADE  
ALONG THE PAINSWICK STREAM 19th CENTURY

by Colleen Haine

Times of Change from 1800 to the early 1830's .

At the beginning of the 19th century there was trouble between the weavers and the clothiers. The clothiers of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset, in 1802, decided to petition Parliament for repeal of restrictive laws concerning gig-mills, unapprenticed weavers, and the number of looms allowed in one shop (1). It is unlikely that Painswick weavers would have been against the gig-mill, as one was in use at Stratford Mill in 1688 (2) and they were in use at a number of mills in the 18th century. It is understandable that weavers were against more than three broadlooms or six narrow looms as they were obviously afraid of the coming factory system and it is equally understandable that clothiers wanted these restrictions removed. It is also clear why weavers were against the employment of unapprenticed weavers and why the clothiers, with increasing machinery, wanted freedom in such matters.

The apprenticeship indentures among Painswick parish records, contain only 6 apprenticeships to weavers from 1800 to 1829, and after this date no more are recorded. In order to meet the expenses of the petition to Parliament, 78 clothiers contributed according to the extent of their businesses, paying £20, £12, or £6. No Painswick clothiers are quoted in the first group paying £20. In the second group paying £12 the following are recorded: Robert Wight (Brookhouse Mill), John Stanley (Rock Mill) and N. & B. Butler. In the third group, paying £6 are named: John Baylis, John Cox for E. Cox & Son, Charles Loveday, Charles Horlick, Henry Loveday, Zachariah Powell, John Packer and William Baylis (3). The repeal of the constricting laws about which the clothiers petitioned did not take place until 1809.

In spite of many fluctuations and troubles the cloth trade along the Painswick stream and its tributaries was generally expanding up to the early 1830's. The census of population shows a considerable increase from 1801 to 1831:

<u>Persons</u>		<u>Persons</u>	
1801	= 3,150	1821	= 4,044
1811	= 3,201	1831	= 4,099

The 1831 Population in Painswick was the highest until nearly the end of the century (4). The total numbers of houses in the census returns were:

1801	-	625 inhabited and 18 uninhabited.	Total = 643
1831	-	837 " " 118 "	" = 955

Why so many should have been uninhabited in 1831 is not clear, but there was certainly a great deal of building taking place in Painswick in the early 19th century. For one example, in 1809 there were 13 men paying rates "for his new house" in Edge Tithing and you have only to walk around Painswick to see that in Gloucester Street, New Street, and Vicarage Street many houses are obviously of the early 19th century and must have been built or rebuilt at that time.

In the parish registers occupations of parents are given in the baptisms from 1813. In the cloth trade there are clothiers, clothworkers, weavers, spinners, shearmen, cloth dressers, clothmakers, dyers, slopers and a wool broker. The totals for the years 1813-30 are given below:

	<u>Total</u> <u>Baptisms</u>	<u>Parents in</u> <u>Cloth Trade</u>		<u>Total</u> <u>Baptisms</u>	<u>Parents in</u> <u>Cloth Trade</u>
1813	87	28	1822	111	27
1814	81	25	1823	108	27
1815	102	31	1824	112	26
1816	93	25	1825	132	32
1817	98	25	1826	105	27
1818	101	19	1827	131	25
1819	112	32	1828	104	22
1820	105	23	1829	95	27
1821	125	42	1830	92	19

This only shows Anglican baptisms, not the whole population, but more people belonged to the Church of England at this period than to other religious sects, so it gives some idea of the numbers in the cloth trade (5).

Churches of other denominations were built during these early years of the 19th century which also indicates prosperity among some classes. The Congregational Chapel, now the U.R.C. was rebuilt on the site of a previous chapel in 1805; a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, now the Baptist Chapel, was built in 1806. Sheepscombe Church was built in 1820, and the Quaker Meeting House just off Vicarage Street was there by 1829 (6).

Five new mills were built for the cloth trade, before 1820, along the Painswick stream and its tributaries. Baylis's Upper Mill or Lodge Mill, now Highgrove was first recorded in the rates for 1806-7 (7). Little's Mill, on a small stream which is a tributary of the Washbrook, on the north side of Edge Lane, formerly Blakewell Lane, was listed in the rates for 1809-11. Lower Doreys Mill, built by Thomas Wood and called his New Mill, was in the rates for 1811-12, and later, Lower Mill. This was on the Washbrook which is a tributary of Painswick Stream. Zachariah Powell built workshops on the Washwell Brook (not to be confused with the Washbrook) by 1809, and his mill is recorded in the rates for 1818-20 (8). This entry is unusual, for no other man is recorded for his mill.

Pitchcombe Mill, or Wades Mill, was also recorded in a document dated 1816 (9). As this was a sale notice it must have been there earlier, but no record of it has been found. Some other mills are recorded as 'New Mill' but they were not completely new, having been rebuilt wholly or partially on the site of an older mill. Lovedays Mill was recorded as a 'New Mill' in 1829 (10) but part of the building which still survives is 16th century. 'The Bittle Mill' which was worked for many years with Washbrook Mill is called a 'New Mill', but there was a mill on that site in the previous century (11).

As well as new mills, new roads were built. The road to Gloucester through Pitchcombe and Edge was opened in 1818. Pitchcombe was connected to Painswick (now part of A46) in 1819 and in 1820 the road was continued to Prinknash Corner and on to Cheltenham (12). When this last section of the road was opened on August 1st by Commissioners, they afterwards "sat down to a sumptuous repast at the Falcon Hotel, Painswick". The following day over 100 of the workmen were "regaled with a dinner at the Bell Inn" (13). These new roads probably made transport easier for some of the mills, especially to the Stroud area, for the previous main route by Stepping-Stone Lane was a very difficult one.

However all the changes in the first 30 odd years were not good ones. A number of clothiers went bankrupt. The following is a list of bankrupts recorded in the Painswick area: (14)

1804	John Gordon	1813	O. Stanley
1805	William Keene	1814	Samuel Wood
1805	Barnet Hole	1816	R. & T. Gyde
1806	Jeremiah Cother (Pitchcombe)	1816	John Packer
1807	N.I. & B. Butler	1819	Thomas King
1807	Charles Loveday	1822	Henry Clift
1807	Thomas Skerret	1823	Edward Baylis
1811	Benjamin Butler	1826	Henry Hester
1811	Jacob Chamberlain		& E.P. Miles
1812	William Carpenter	1828	Nathan Driver
	(Pitchcombe)	1831	Robert Wight
		1840	Philip Foxwell

Although these men are listed as clothiers of Painswick it is not certain that all were working along the Painswick Stream and its tributaries; some may have been in the Slad area.

As one would expect in connection with the bankruptcies, some of the mills experienced considerable changes in owners or tenants. A number of mills, workshops etc. were put up for sale. In 1804 Cook's Mill (also called Mason's Mill, Reeds Mill and now Painswick Mill) was for sale with "New Whole Stock" etc. (15). In 1808 Thomas Wood had for sale, 2 messuages in the centre of Painswick with shear lofts and a Wool Stove (16). The same year a Mr D. Merrell had for sale "machinery of person leaving the business". His list included 2 engines, 26 in. scribbler and carder, brass mounted

with mahogany cylinders, 2 fifty spindle billies, 3 eighty spindle jennies, reels, baskets, press papers, perch handles, gig-mill, work shears and weights etc. There was also a counting house, wool-loft and sufficient water for driving machines, milling, or rowing. A new-built house in New Street was included in the sale (17).

In 1812 Cook's Mill was for sale again with 2 pr. stocks, a gig-mill, machine shops, dyeing house, rack close, 5 racks, "shell of dwelling-house lately erected which may be completed" and "easy communication with Turnpike Road from Stroud to Gloucester" (18). (The Turnpike Road mentioned was of course via Stepping-Stone Lane at that time.) Beacon House was also for sale on this same advertisement as it was owned by the Mason family as well as the mill.

In 1817 two mills, Kings Mill and Cap Mill, owned by John Packer, were up for sale as he was bankrupt. Both are recorded with stocks, gig-mills and water wheels. Cap Mill was held copyhold and Kings Mill freehold, with a tenant, Mr. King who would "quit at Lady Day next" (19).

In 1815 Mr. William Wood had premises for sale in New Street which had outbuildings, a wool-loft, warehouses, etc. (20).

In 1826 Rock Mill was for sale for the third time this century; (it had been for sale in 1812 and 1815). Included in the sale was a dwelling-house and five cottages. There was a long list of machinery which included: 5 scribbling and carding machines, 10 shearing frames, wool-willies, tuckers, moosing, washing and brushing machines, 3 fifty and seventy spindle billies, several seventy and eighty spindle jennies, reels, spooling tommies etc. Gallipoli oil was also mentioned (21).

In 1832 all the clothing machinery and stock of Robert Wight of Brookhouse Mill, bankrupt, was for sale (22). It included a steam engine, a dyeing copper and dye-wares. Among his household goods is listed "a horse and 4 wheeled-phaeton".

It is quite possible that many more mills and workshops were sold, but the ones quoted above are those advertised in the Gloucester Journal.

During the late 1820's there was much trouble in Gloucestershire between the clothiers and their workers. There were strikes and rioting in 1825 and again in 1828, but no evidence has been found of Painswick taking part in these. In February 1834 there was a strike against the Playnes of Longford and Dunkirk Mills and many places in the Stroud area gave contributions to help the strikers. Painswick contributed £2 5s. Od. and Pitchcombe and Smalls Mills £6 16s. 3d.(23).

That these strikes occurred is not surprising as the wages of many of the workers had fallen rapidly. Below is a table showing the fall in wages for spinners and weavers: (24)

EARNINGS	1808-15	1816-18	1819-28	1829-35
Spinner at Jenny (women)	14s	14s	12s	10s
Master Weavers	16s	16s	13s	12s

This shows that even if the cloth trade was expanding, the weavers were suffering and there was worse still to come. Cloth production in Gloucestershire had expanded from 1822. Broadcloth reached its highest level of production in 1834 and cassimere in 1835, but there is no actual record of exact amounts produced in Painswick (25).

Only one mill is proved to have gone out of the cloth trade in the early 30's. This was Washbrook Mill described as a Grist Mill in 1833-4 (26). It may have been a Grist Mill even earlier, as a man named Pegler was paying rates for it 1826-30 and there is no evidence then that it was a Cloth Mill. After 1830 only 1 mill instead of 2 is recorded for (27) Doreys, but this was probably due to the mill pond bursting (28). Ebworth Mill (Hoare's Mill) was used by T. Gordon who is listed as a clothier, for a year after Edwin Hoare died, but was vacant in 1835-6 and until 1841 after which date it is not mentioned (29).

#### The Decline and Fall from the late 1830's to the 1860's

The population of Painswick, after reaching its highest level in 1831 began to decline as the census returns show: (1)

1831 = 4099 persons	1851 = 3464 persons
1841 = 3730 "	1861 = 3229 "

In 1861 it reached the lowest level since 1811 and would have been even lower, if the population of Stroudend Tithing had not by then been increasing.

In 1838 W.A. Miles was sent to Gloucestershire to make a report on the conditions of the outdoor weavers (2). He shows that a fall in the earnings of master weavers and of spinners had continued.

EARNINGS	1829-35	1836	1837	1838
Spinner at Jenny (women)	10s	8s	7s	6s
Master Weavers	12s	11s	10s	10s

Mr. Miles visited 41 families of outdoor weavers in Painswick but he says this was not the total number in the parish. The total number of persons who made up these families was 154, of whom 36 were male children and 46 female children. The average weekly income for the 41 families visited was:

<u>Average Weekly Income for 41 families</u>		<u>Weekly Payments for 41 families</u>	
Factory	£1 8s. 0d	Rent	£2 17s. 9d
Handloom	14 19s. 6d	Rates	6s. 7d
Other		Candles, Fuel & Soap	2 17s. 9d
Occupation	1 6s. 3d	Food & Clothing	11 11s. 8d
Total	<u>£17.13s. 9d.</u>	Total	<u>£17. 13s. 9d</u>

This shows that the average weekly income for 1 family was 8s. 7½d.

Out of the 154 persons in the 41 families, 57 was the total employed.

In factory	10	} Total 57
Handloom	39	
Other		
Occupation	8	

82 persons were described as children, so this means there were 15 persons not employed. The children who attended school in Painswick are listed thus:

Pay School	2
Free School	6
Sunday School	53 (3)

The Dissenting Minister of Painswick is quoted as saying about the handloom weavers "Their pecuniary state is deplorable and it has been so for many years though not equally so .... I know some who during the last three or four years have not had work more than half their time and when working they have not earned more than 6s. or 7s. per week. Their looms seem to have rendered them unfit for other labour when they have followed weaving for many years. The condition, therefore of many aged men whom I know is very distressing" (4).

Mr. Miles quotes the population of Painswick in 1838 as 4,099. This was, of course, from the 1831 Census, but he says the total of paupers in 1837 was 1,322 and in 1838 it was 1,366 (5).

The occupations of parents given in the baptisms in the Painswick parish registers to the end of the century, give an indication of how work in the cloth trade was declining. The occupations mentioned are mostly weavers, clothworkers, a few dyers and one woolbroker. The last clothworker recorded in 1876, was a mother, Catherine Mills. It is quite possible that the workers in the cloth trade in the last two decades, although living in Painswick parish, could have been working in the Slad Valley or in Stroud, for the expanding area of Uplands was still in the parish of Painswick until 1894 (6).

Very few bridegrooms in the marriage registers are recorded as workers in the cloth trade, but occupations are only

number of workers in the cloth trade was 7 in 1838 and the next highest was in 1872 when 5 brides, not bridegrooms, were cloth workers. After that date no more Painswick brides or bridegrooms are recorded as workers in the cloth trade (7).

Number of Parents in Cloth Trade in Baptism Registers

Year	Total Baptisms	Parents in Cloth Trade	Year	Total Baptisms	Parents in Cloth Trade
1831	87	19	1854	52	1
1832	60	18	1855	42	1
1833	92	11	1856	31	-
1834	93	23	1857	53	-
1835	84	12	1858	45	-
1836	72	10	1859	63	2
1837	80	14	1860	47	-
1838	74	10	1861	52	-
1839	63	9	1862	49	-
1840	71	8	1863	35	1
1841	48	4	1864	45	1
1842	45	2	1865	31	-
1843	53	6	1866	38	-
1844	29	3	1867	40	-
1845	75	5	1868	40	1
1846	56	2	1869	50	-
1847	57	3	1870	36	-
1848	52	-	1871	27	-
1849	54	-	1872	40	1
1850	48	1	1873	30	3
1851	62	2	1874	29	-
1852	58	1	1875	25	1
1853	46	1	1876	37	1

No more in the cloth trade are quoted after 1876.

A letter from Charles Baker to W.A. Miles, esq., states "I consider the decrease in the value of Mill property in this county, employed in the wollen cloth industry is very nearly one half, or about in proportion as three to five" (8). Baker's opinion is confirmed by the valuations of mills in 1822 and 1838 (9). Rock Mill was valued at £250. 0. 0. in 1822 and £160 in 1838. It was the most valuable one listed. The lowest was Zachariah Powell's Mill which was valued at £25. 0. 0. in 1822 but was only worth £10. 0. 0. in 1838.

It is hardly surprising that about this time many of the clothiers started to give up the cloth trade. Zachariah Powell had his clothing machinery for sale in 1837. He was "declining the cloth industry and removing from his premises" (10). There is no evidence that his mill was ever used again. In 1841-2 it is described as "Mill now down" (11). Robson's Directory of 1839 lists eight clothiers along the Painswick Stream and comments, "The manufacture of cloth is extensively carried on in the town and neighbourhood, although by comparison with its former state, it may be



considered on the decline". All the clothiers mentioned are described as "Broadcloth and Cassimere Manufacturers," except Nathaniel Iles Butler who was a "Wool manufacturer". By 1842, the churchwardens' rates listed 12 mills as vacant in the parish (not including Slad Brook) and 206 houses vacant - the 'Hungry Forties' must have been a truly distressing period.

Sheepscombe Mill, also called Wights Mill because it was owned by John & Edward Wight who were listed as "Principal Manufacturers of Woollen Cloth in Glos." (12) was for sale with two powerful steam engines in 1840 (13) and in 1841 (14). Evidently it was not sold as it was offered again as a "bargain" in 1848 (15) and John Wight was still paying rates for it in 1855, listed as "vacant" (16) and when his will was proved in 1858 his property still included the mill although the total value quoted was 'under £450' (17).

Another clothier on Miles' list was Philip Foxwell who was bankrupt in 1840 and his clothing machinery was for sale at Lovedays Mill and Baylis's Upper Mill (Highgrove). William Fluck of Pitchcombe Mill, also a clothier on Miles' list, had left his mill by 1841 when it was 'To be Let' (20) and was used for "Umbrella Stick Manufacture" in 1842 (21).

Joseph Wathen, of Rock Mills, also on Miles' list, had left the mill by 1842, when it was for sale (22) and in 1847 it was offered "To be let" (23). By 1852 it was a pin mill (24). Cook's Mill (Mason's, Reeds, Painswick Mill) was "To Let" and all the clothing machinery was for sale in 1840, when Joseph Wight gave up the cloth trade (25). A steam engine is mentioned and it is said the premises "are suitable for a corn, silk or paper mill".

The machinery and stock of Nathaniel Iles Butler at Cap Mill was for sale in 1841 (26) and the mill itself was for sale by the owner Samuel Wood, a few months later (27). In 1845 Charles Baker in a letter to T. Sheppard Esq. about a survey of Cap Mill describes it as "a large Building formerly used as a Clothing Factory (but now out of use)". In 1847 he was still trying to let Cap Mill and when he succeeded in getting a tenant named Clark, that tenant only stayed about one year, for in 1848 he was leaving Cap Mill to take a mill lower down the stream. (This was Smalls Mill and Clark and Son were umbrella stick manufacturers). In 1847 Charles Baker, writing to William Palling says, "I hope for your interest as well as my own that the business will take a turn and that you will be able to make up the loss this year". The next year, writing to Sheppard, he expresses the opinion that property in Painswick is getting dangerous and he must be allowed to do that he thinks best.

In 1844 Charles Baker was offering Olivers Estate, including the mill, for sale (28), and it seems that the Cox family had given up the cloth trade because other tenants are listed paying rates and both mills were vacant in 1842-3 (29). Little's Mill was for sale in 1845 (30) and had been vacant since 1841 (31).

The last two mills remaining in the cloth trade were Baylis's Upper Mill (Highgrove) and Kings Mill. In 1856 Thomas Cook is recorded using Baylis's (also called Lodge Mill) as a "wadding and flock manufacturer" which is rather different from "broadcloth and cassimere" which most of the mills made earlier (32). In 1865 it was for sale by William Baylis Baker, Charles's son, as "the scite and materials of a mill". There is no evidence that it was ever used again (33).

The last evidence recorded of Kings Mill in the cloth trade was in 1859-60 when Edward P. Sampson, shawl manufacturers, were using it (34). By 1863 it was a pin mill (35).

There is not space hereto give the history of all the mills, but during the 19th century there were 30 mills recorded along the Painswick Stream and its tributaries. It must be noted that the Painswick Stream rises in the woods well above Cranham Village and continues to the River Frome, just above Lodgemore Mills. It is joined by many other streams like the Sheepscombe Brook, the Washwell Stream, the Washbrook and the Pitchcombe Brook which all had mills on them. Out of the 30 mills recorded there is clear evidence that 20 were at some time during the 19th century cloth mills, (36) but after 1860, no cloth mill survived.

#### The 19th Century Painswick Clothiers

Many new names of clothiers appeared in the 19th century but a few old clothier families were still in the cloth trade. A list of 19th century clothiers is given at the end of this paper.

John Palling, whose family had been recorded in the cloth trade in the late 17th century lived at Sheepphouse and worked Kings Mill from 1820 (1). William, his son, still had it in 1852 (2). When John Palling died in 1848 his property was valued at "under £4,000" (3).

Lovedays, another very old clothier family were recorded until the early 1820's (4). The Cox family, recorded at the mills in the mid 18th century, still had Damsells and Olivers mills in the 1840's (5). William Cox, who had Tochnells Farm and a corn mill, and was described in his will as a farmer, left to his sons among other bequests his "stock in trade in the Clothing Business", so he must have been involved with others in the family in the cloth trade (6). Some other names of old clothier families were Cook, Gardner, Hoare, Parker and Packer. It was surprising to find John Packer paying rates for Cap Mill from 1806 (7) as in the previous century his father Richard had died in 1774 and the widow with her small son and daughter had left Painswick and moved to Gloucester. John Packer had been made a freeman of the City of Gloucester in 1814 (8) but in 1817 he was bankrupt and Cap Mill and King's Mill (tenant Mr. King) were offered for sale (9).

One of the most interesting families in the 19th century was the Baylis family. This name had been recorded in the 18th century, but only in connection with the Slad Brook until 1799 when John Baylis bought Washbrook Mill and the Little Mill (also called Upper Mill)(10). John Baylis died in 1818 (11). A few years later his son Edward was working the mills in the cloth trade until 1823 when he was bankrupt (12).

John Baylis's brother, William, lived at Castle Hale and by 1806-7 he had Baylis's Upper Mill (Highgrove)(13). In 1812 he was recorded as making cloth for the East India Company (14). His sister had married William Loveday of the Mill who died in 1820 (15). He had a son, also named William Baylis who in 1823 had invented a machine for "pising as for scouring Black or other descriptions of cloth" (17). This son died before his father in 1826, aged 29 years (18). His sister Ann had married Charles Baker in 1825 (19), a man with a considerable reputation as a cartographer. When Ann's father, William Baylis senior died in 1837 aged 78, (20) Charles Baker took over the management of the Baylis estates.

Another important family in the cloth trade in this century was the Wight family. Robert Wight married the widow of William Knight, a clothier of Cap Mill, in 1802 (21). By 1807 Robert Wight was at Brookhouse Mill until 1832 when he was bankrupt (22). Joseph Wight was paying rates for Cooks Mill (also Mason's Mill, now called Painswick Mill) from 1827 to 1840 (23). John and Edward Wight had Shepscombe Mill (now called Sheepscombe) from 1806 but it was up for sale in 1840 (24) with two powerful steam engines and it evidently was not sold as it was offered to be let in 1841 (25). J. & E. Wight in 1831 were making "fine clothes" and "low Blacks" which they were selling to Mr. J. Heilbrunn of 22, Basinghall Street, London (26). In letters to this London wool merchant it is stated that John Wight was "dreadfully ill". Sheepscombe has a church opened in 1820 which was designed by John Wight (27).

Another clothier family was the Wood family. Thomas Wood had Doreys Mill in 1807 and by 1811 he had a New Mill also (28). William Wood had a workshop from 1812 to 1836 (29) and Samuel Wood had a shop and also a mill (Cap Mill) by 1820 for which he paid rates until 1826-7 after which another tenant is listed but he was the owner. He also had a malt-house (30), but when his will was proved in 1848 his property was valued at "under £100" (31). In 1812 he was listed as one of the clothiers making goods for the East India Company (32).

There were many other new interesting clothiers like Philip Foxwell, Zachariah Powell and Nathaniel Iles Butler and some of the names which were new along the Painswick Stream belonged to well-known families in the cloth trade in the Stroud area or elsewhere in Gloucestershire, such as N.S. Marling, Joseph Wathen, and Weston Hicks.

Another man of great interest connected with the cloth trade although not a clothier, was Charles Gyde. He was a wool-dyer and he had his dyehouse by the Painswick stream at the bottom of Stepping-Stone Lane where a modern house, 'Little Bridge House' is now built (33). He was paying rates for his dye house there until 1836 (34). Afterwards he moved to Arundels Mill in Stroud but he still lived at his house in New Street. He certainly made his trade pay for he left £9,000 when he died in 1856 (35) and it was his two sons Edmund and Frederick who left so much money to Painswick for the building of the Gyde Orphanage (now National Children's Home), the Gyde Almshouses, and many other things for the benefit of Painswick (36).

The name Gyde was also recorded at Little's Mill. A Thomas Gyde and later a Henry Gyde were tenants there (37). When Thomas Gyde died in 1833, in his will he is described as a clothier and his property is recorded as "Under £300". In his will he wrote "I have so little to leave" (38). Whether these Gydes were related to Charles Gyde is not known.

In Gell & Bradshaw's Directory of 1820, 18 clothiers are named in Painswick but two of these were working in Slad. On a list of voters of 1832, (39) at least 20 were clothiers. They are not all so named since some are recorded as 'gents'. By 1839 only eight clothiers (not Slad Brook) are recorded and in Kelly's Directory for 1856 only Thomas Cook and Henry Fletcher are named; after that no more are recorded in Directories. In Painswick church registers the last one recorded is Thomas Cook, a parent, described as a clothier, at a marriage in 1867 (40).

Below is a list of clothiers in Painswick in the 19th century which has been compiled from Directories, parish registers, wills, the Gloucester Journal and family papers and deeds in the Gloucestershire Record Office.

#### 19th Century Painswick Clothiers

Adey	John	Foxwell	Philip	Miles	Hester & Son
Baylis	William	Fletcher	Henry	Merrell	(or Merrett?)
Baylis	William (Jun)	Freeman	James	Palling	William
Baylis	John	Freeman	William	Palling	John
Baylis	Edward	Goddon	Thomas	Palling	Charles
Baylis	Thomas	Gardner	Edward	Packer	John
Butler	Nath. Iles	Gyde	Richard	Parker	W.
Butler	Benjamin	Gyde	Thomas	Powell	Zachariah
Burdock	Nathaniel	Gyde	Henry	Perrot	Thomas
Cox	John	Hoare	Edwin	Rice	Thomas
Cox	Daniel	Horlick	Charles	Stanley	J.
Cox	Charles	Hicks	Weston	Stanton	Charles
Cox	William	Hogg	?	Skerrett	John
Cox	James	Holder	Caleb	Wathen	Joseph
Crisswell	John	Harmer	Luke	Walker	Thomas
Cook	Thomas	Harris	Thomas	Wight	Edward
Cook	?	Loveday	Charles	Wight	John
Cother	Jeremiah	Loveday	Henry	Wight	Joseph
Dighton	Issac	Little	John	Wight	Robert
Fluck	George	Marling	Nath. S.	Wood	Nathaniel
Fluck	William	Mason	E.	Wood	Thomas
				Wood	Samuel

## References

### Times of Change from 1800 to the early 1830's

1. Mann J. de L. The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880 (1971) p.144-5
2. Gos. R.O. D.149/F.72
3. Gloucester Library J.F. 13.6
4. Gloucester Library Census Returns
5. Gos. R.O. P244 IN 1/7, 1/8
6. Hyett F.A., Glimpses of the History of Painswick, (1928)
7. Gos. R.O. P244 CW 2/3
8. Gos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4
9. Gloucester Journal 18 Mar. 1816
10. Gos. R.O. D2957 229/16
11. Gos. R.O. D1241 Washbrook Mill Deeds
12. B.G.A.S. Transactions, Vol.LXXXIII p.128
13. Gl. Jnl. 23rd Oct. 1820
14. List of Bankrupts at Painswick 1804-1840 in possession of Mr. L.F.J. Walrond, Stroud Museum
15. Gl. Jnl. 1st Oct. 1804
16. " 7 Mar. 1808
17. " 13 June 1808
18. " 27 April 1812
19. " 20 Jan. 1817
20. " 12 Dec. 1825
21. " 15 May 1815 and 3 Mar. 1812
22. " 28 Jan. 1832
23. Miles W.A., Report on Handloom Weavers, (1839) p.451
24. Ibid " " " " " p.381
25. Ibid " " " " " p.366
26. Gos. R.O. P244 CW 2/6 and D1159
27. Gos. R.O. " " "
28. Hyett F.A., Glimpses of the History of Painswick, p.77
29. Gos. R.O. P244 CW 2/6

### The Decline and Fall

1. Gloucester Library Census Returns
2. Miles, W.A., Report on Handloom Weavers, (1839)
3. Ibid. p.406-7
4. Ibid. p.501
5. Ibid. p.411
6. Gos. R.O. P244 IN 1/7, 1/8
7. Gos. R.O. P244 IN 1/17, 1/18
8. Miles, W.A., Report on Handloom Weavers, p.63
9. Gos. R.O. P244 CW 2/6
10. Gl. Jnl. 18 Mar. 1837
11. Gos. R.O. P244 MI9
12. Miles W.A., Report. p.381
13. Gl. Jnl. 4 July 1840
14. " 23 Jan. 1841
15. " 27 May 1848
16. Gos. R.O. P244 OV 1/33
17. Gos. R.O. Will of John Wight 1858
18. Gl. Jnl. 22 May 1841
19. Gos. R.O. P244 CW 2/6
20. Gl. Jnl. 25 Sept. 1841
21. Pigot's Directory 1842
22. Gl. Jnl. 5 Feb. 1842

23. Gl. Jnl. 22 May 1847
24. Slater's Directory 1852
25. Gl. Jnl. 18 July 1840
26. " 23 Jan. 1841
27. " 26 June 1841
28. Glos. R.O. D3917 (2)
29. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/6
30. Gl. Jnl. 2 Aug. 1845
31. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/6
32. Kelly's Directory 1856
33. Glos. R.O. D1388 SL4 No.39
34. Book of Manchester Fire Agency, Stroud,  
Order Book No.3, No.165858
35. Kelly's Directory 1863
36. Personal Knowledge of all 30 sites since childhood  
plus sources here quoted.

#### The 19th Century Painswick Clothiers

1. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4
2. Slaters Directory 1852
3. Glos. R.O. Will of John Palling 1848
4. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/3, 2/4
5. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/3, 2/4, 2/6, 2/8
6. Glos. R.O. Will of William Cox 1836
7. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/3
8. Gl. Jnl. 26 Sept. 1814
9. " 20 Jan. 1817
10. Glos. R.O. D1241, Washbrook Mill Deeds
11. Glos. R.O. P244 IN 1/20
12. Glos. R.O. D1241, Washbrook Mill Deeds
13. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4
14. Gl. Jnl. 27 Apl. 1812
15. Glos. R.O. P244 IN 1/20
16. Glos. R.O. D2957 229/16
17. Gl. Jnl. 10 Feb. 1823
18. Glos. R.O. P244 IN 1/6
19. Glos. R.O. P244 IN 1/15
20. Glos. R.O. P244 IN 1/20
21. Glos. R.O. P244 IN 1/14
22. Gl. Jnl. 28 Jan. 1832
23. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4, 2/6
24. Gl. Jnl. 4 July 1840
25. " 23 Jan. 1841
26. Letters in possession of Mr L.F.J. Walrond Stroud Museum
27. Glos. R.O. D1392
28. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/3, 2/4
29. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4, 2/6
30. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4, 2/6
31. Glos. R.O. Will of Samuel Wood 1848
32. Gl. Jnl. 27 Apl. 1812
33. Glos. R.O. P244a MI 1/1
34. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4, 2/6
35. Glos. R.O. Will of Charles Gyde 1856
36. Hyett F.W., Glimpses of the History of Painswick, p.95-99
37. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4, 2/6
38. Glos. R.O. Will of Thomas Gyde 1833
39. Gloucester Library 9931 (H) g.3.9
40. Glos. R.O. P244 IN 1/17

GLOUCESTER AND THE SPANISH ARMADA, 1588

by John W. Wyatt

(1) The Ships

'A book containing briefly the order of the musters and taxations of money and other service done within the city and county thereof ... during the time of the attempt of the Spanish king and his associates for invading the realm. And of the setting forth of a ship and pinnace upon the charges of the towns of Gloucester and Tewkesbury to encounter the Spanish fleet, of the arming and setting forth of three hundred footmen and five and twenty lance and light horses with petronels within the said city of Gloucester and county of the same city for that service against the forces of the said Spanish king.'

(1)

This book in the Gloucester city records is known as the Musters Book and consists of copies of letters and other documents from 1587 to 1617. These refer particularly to the city of Gloucester and the Inshire, that is the twenty or more villages and hamlets surrounding the city and forming the hundreds of Dudstone and Kingsbarton.

The city council exercised jurisdiction over the Inshire by virtue of the charter granted by Richard III in 1483. This area is variously referred to as 'the liberties' of the city or as 'the county of the city' - which must not be confused with the whole county of Gloucestershire. Generally, and sometimes for good reasons, the gentry of the Inshire resented the city's jurisdiction: Sir William Cook of Highnam wrote to Lord Salisbury in 1609 that the corporation of Gloucester possessed larger liberties than any other city, and abused them (2). Another peculiarity about the local government of Gloucestershire was that it came under the jurisdiction of the Council of the Marches of Wales. This was a matter of some dispute even after a declaration by James I in 1608 to that effect (3).

Though the Musters Book is concerned with the city and Inshire, it gives some information about the whole of Gloucestershire sometimes by direct statement, sometimes by implication, and is of particular value because no documents relating to the military affairs of the county for this period are readily available. The documents copied are not all in strict chronological sequence and some are ambiguous. Notes in a different and later handwriting - though still in early 17th century style - are occasionally added in the margin, and, in a few instances, in the text. Unfortunately there are a number of annoying gaps omitting names or dates, and sometimes longer blanks. Perhaps the scribe who copied the documents into the book could not decipher the writing of the original documents

though sometimes one suspects he decided that it would be diplomatic not to preserve some item of information for posterity.

As it was the navy which defeated the Armada - aided, as Queen Elizabeth stated, by God's wind which scattered it - it is fitting that this account should begin with naval affairs.

The provision of ships for the royal navy had traditionally been the duty of the ports, and early in May 1588 the towns of Gloucester and Tewkesbury were ordered to pay jointly £440 for the arming, provisioning and setting forth to sea for service under the Lord High Admiral of a ship the Bark Sutton of 80 tons, commanded by Captain Nicholas Webb (4).

A conference, evidently unofficial as it was held 'at the house late of Mr Thomas Best' and not at the Tolsey, was held between the Mayor and certain Aldermen of Gloucester and the 'Bailiff with certain others of the discreet inhabitants of Tewkesbury ... where it was agreed as followeth.' This statement is followed by an omission in the manuscript and then continues: 'Upon the end of which conclusions it was agreed that certain for Tewkesbury and certain for Gloucester should repair up to the Privy Council as petitioners for release of part of so great a charge ... being four hundred and forty pounds' provided that the rest of the Tewkesbury council would agree; their answer to be returned the following day. Without making any reply 'those of Tewkesbury subtly as it seemed regarding not the duty and bond of honest neighbourhood' sent Edward Barston and (omitted) Milton to treat with the Privy Council for more favourable terms. Gloucester immediately sent a similar deputation to the Privy Council consisting of Richard Hande, Henry Machin and Jasper Stone 'to (omitted) the proceedings of them of Tewkesbury and seek for the relief and ease of the charge' or to ask the Privy Council to order some neighbouring towns or the Inshire to contribute to the cost. The Privy Council agreed that the Inshire should share in the cost, a decision which the Inshire resented and which is of peculiar interest in view of the furore aroused less than fifty years later when Charles I ordered that ship money should be paid by inland places as well as sea ports (5).

The representatives of Gloucester and Tewkesbury appear to have then resolved their quarrel and agreed to a joint attempt to carry out their obligations at less cost by offering to 'furnish and set forth at their own ... expenses, for the employment of their own men, one good and serviceable ship of the burthen of 75 tons and a pinnace of 25 tons ... by reason they can afford victuals and munition of their own at better price and vessels of greater force to assist her Majesty's navy'. The Privy Council agreed to this suggestion, released the two towns from the charge of supplying the Bark Sutton and ordered them to levy the necessary taxation (6). There is no evidence, nor is it probable, that Gloucester or Tewkesbury did provide any



'victuals and munitions' of their own for the ship and pinnace or that any men from either place, whether pressed or volunteers, served in these ships or in the Bark Sutton.

Hande of Gloucester and Milton of Tewkesbury rode to Bridgwater and made arrangements with William Nicholls, captain of the White Hart of Northam, near Bideford in Devon, (7) to provide that ship and a pinnace of 25 tons at a cost of £260 to the city and Inshire and £42 to the town of Tewkesbury, and entered into bonds with Nicholls and a wealthy merchant of Bridgwater named Bockinge for performance of the service. A tax was levied in the city and Inshire to raise the necessary £260, and further taxation in the city to cover the cost of the appeal to the Privy Council (8).

The taxation in the city was speedily raised but the inhabitants of the Inshire refused at first to pay their share and, to avoid forfeiture of the bonds made between Hande and Milton and Captain Nicholls, Alderman Richard Webb personally lent the sum of £100 (9).

Meanwhile 'certain busy heads of the liberties' held a meeting of about 200 inhabitants of the Inshire at Painswick and sent representatives to the Privy Council in London to claim exemption from the charge, they 'having no use of the port nor using traffic'. Representatives of the city and Tewkesbury followed to 'attend their proceedings and to encounter their dowings the best they might', asserting that it would be hard for the city to raise so great a sum and that the liberties 'in respect that they were annexed to the city enjoyed thereby some great benefit'. The Mayor and Aldermen also appealed to the Council in the Marches of Wales to take action against those of the Inshire who refused to pay the tax, and those called before the council 'were dealt with in very sharp sort'. Then the Privy Council took the controversy out of the hands of the Council of the Marches and referred it to the Mayor and Recorder of Gloucester, and Sir Thomas Porter and Thomas Lucy Esq. of the Inshire, 'praying them ... to order this matter ... as there might be on neither part any occasion given of miscontentment or further recourse unto their lordships' and that the money might be raised as ordered. By this time most of the inhabitants of the Inshire 'seeing the dangers their neighbours were fallen into, drew in a-pace and paid their taxations. And in short time the whole was paid saving some few unpaid whereby further process from the Council compelled to pay' (10).

This, however, was not the end of the affair. On 16 October 1588, some weeks after the defeat of the Armada, the Privy Council sent a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of Gloucester and the Bailiff of Tewkesbury to say that controversy had arisen between Captain Webb of the Sutton and John Nicholls of the White Hart as to which of them 'should be allowed to have served with their ship ... for Gloucester ... and Tewkesbury and receive of the same satisfaction for their service' and ordered that Webb should

be paid £300. Gloucester replied that they had been released from all charges for the Bark Sutton by providing the White Hart and a pinnace under Captain Nicholls. On 9 December the case was heard before the Privy Council who asserted that Gloucester and Tewkesbury had misinformed them when chartering the White Hart that Captain Webb of the Bark Sutton was not at sea at the appointed time. The Council, however, found that Captain Webb had 'repaid to Her Majesty's Navy ... defraying the expenses of victualling and furnishing the said ship and his company himself for the service of the said city, county and town, and there acquitted and behaved himself the space of five months and ten days with such valour and discretion as thereby he did not only deserve great commendation for his faithful service but also to be rewarded for his careful pains and diligence'. On the other hand Nicholls, 'though he was appointed to serve (upon untrue suggestions that Webb was not in service) did ... not come unto her Majesty's Navy ... in any time of the service ... remained at his own pleasure, and, as their Lordships are informed, committed certain piracies'. They further stated that Webb alleged that £60 or more had been raised by taxation for the ships more than the £260 paid to Nicholls and claimed that this should be paid to him (11).

Meanwhile at the end of September 1588, Nicholls' ship and pinnace had been confiscated and held in the possession of the Mayor of Southampton as they contained 'certain goods unlawfully taken'. The Privy Council ordered that by command of the Lord Admiral the 'ship and pinnace, together with such munition, ordinance, tackling, furniture, etc., with all other things ... belonging to the ships' should be handed over to Nicholls and sold. The letter from the Council does not state who was to receive the proceeds of the sale but it appears reasonable to assume that the money was paid to Captain Webb as reimbursement of his expenses on the Bark Sutton, as the letter from the Privy Council to Gloucester corporation dated 16 October ends 'and whereas they had security from Nicholls to reanswer (to answer to) those sums they had paid unto him for his setting forth to sea, they are for their indemnity to recover and take their satisfaction thereof by virtue of the said security of Nicholls'. This evidently refers to the bond entered into between the representatives of Gloucester and Tewkesbury and Nicholls and the merchant Bockinge of Bridgwater (12).

The Privy Council further ordered that since Webb alleged that more than £60 over and above the £260 paid to Nicholls had been raised by taxation, a commission should be appointed to ascertain the truth, and any taxation raised above the £260 should be paid to Webb. The commissioners William Bassett and William Veale Esquires, held several meetings in Gloucester and Tewkesbury and magistrates and officers of both towns and the Inshire were called to give evidence. Representatives of the Inshire, resentful of having been taxed in the first place and, no doubt, further incensed that the whole of the taxes had not been used for the purposes for which they were levied, sided with Captain Webb. 'The matter grew so intricate that the commissioners were wearied therewith.' 'The very books of the taxations were found out, compared, and cast by the Town

Clerk, whereby it appeared that there was about forty marks (£26 13s. 4d.) taxed over and above that which was paid.' This was handed over to Captain Webb 'and the city by him generally acquitted and the said Webb to be at liberty for his advantage against them of Tewkesbury' (13).

The Musters Book records 'The charges of victualling, munitioning, and manning of the Barque Sutton for three months containing 84 days ... from the 17th day of April last ... with fifty men to join in service with her Majesty's Navy Royal and to attend upon the Lo. High Admiral.

Imprimis for fifty men's victuals 7d. every man per diem for 84 days		£122	10s	0d.
Item 12 barrels of powder weighing 12c at 12d. per lb.		£67	4s	0d.
Item round shot of all sorts, 10c		£6	13s	4d.
Item fire works, cross bars, langeril shot, chain shot, and other necessaries for the gunners		£10	0s	0d.
Item charges of the surgeon's chest		£6	13s	4d.
Item muskets, calivers, long pikes, short pikes, targets and swords		£30	0s	0d.
Item necessaries for the steward and cook		£5	0s	0d.
Item the ship's wages for 3 months tackled and furnished with 12 pieces of ordnance at £20 per mensem is		£60	0s	0d.
	The Captain	5s	0d	
	The Lieutenant	2s	6d	
Wages per diem	The Mr (Master)	2s	6d	3 months
	His mate	1s	6d	£63 2s 0d.
	The Gunner	1s	0d	
	The Corporal	1s	0d	
	The Surgeon	1s	0d	
	The Trumpeter	1s	0d	
And for 42 men at 10d. per mensem a month in three months to the sum of		£63	0s	0d.
	Summa	£434	11s	8d.
And for the press and conduct money		£5	0s	0d.
	(14) Summa totalis	£439	11s	8d.'

Sadly, the whole affair reflects little credit on the city, and after all the expense of litigation and travel to London to appear before the Privy Council, the cost was almost certainly greater than it would have been had the orders of the Privy Council have been carried out in the first place. Not for the last time had a city council paid dearly in the end for trying to do things 'on the cheap!'

Please note: In all quotations spelling has been modernised and Roman numerals rendered into Arabic.

### Glossary

BARK or BARQUE	- Usually denotes a three-masted ship
PINNACE	- Small, fast sailing ship for reconnaissance
CHAIN SHOT	- Two whole or half cannon balls joined by a chain for destroying masts and rigging
LANGERIL or LANGRAGE SHOT	- Shot with irregular pieces, also for damaging rigging
TARGET	- Shield

### Sources

Musters Book, Glos. Record Office, GBR 1471/1889 B

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-10

Acts of the Privy Council, 1588

### References

1. Musters Book, f.2.
2. Cal. State Papers, 1603-10, p.564
3. Ibid, p.466
4. Musters Book, f.14v.
5. Musters Book, ff.15, 15v.
6. Acts of Privy Council, 1588, p.99; Musters Book, f.15v.
7. Musters Book, f.16 (footnote)
8. Musters Book, f.15v.
9. Musters Book, f.16
10. Acts of Privy Council, 1588, p.143; Musters Book, ff.16, 16v.
11. Acts of Privy Council, 1588, pp.314, 387, 405
12. Ibid, pp.295, 388, 406-7
13. Ibid. p.388; Musters Book, f.17
14. Musters Book, f.39v.

STRUGGLES IN THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT  
OF NURSE TRAINING AT THE INFIRMARY IN GLOUCESTER

by F.H. Storr

The first training school for nurses founded by Florence Nightingale at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, had already been in existence for four years when Mr. Gambier-Parry made his proposal on December 8th, 1864 that the Weekly Board of the Gloucester Infirmary should consider "the admission into this hospital of young persons for the purpose of being trained as pupil nurses". Immediately the Board resolved "that the consideration of such a proposition be deferred to this day fortnight at 12.30 p.m. and that notice of this resolution be sent by the Clerk to each member of the Weekly Board". On December 29th 1864 the resolution was re-read and Mr. Parry then stated his views with regard to the proposed measure and moved the following resolution which was seconded by Mr. Lucy:

"that the Weekly Board accept the following proposal and that a sub-committee of this Board be appointed to consult with the Medical Board and report upon it, viz; that permission be given for the admission of pupil nurses in the wards of this Hospital subject to the following conditions:

They come from a recognised home properly supervised.

They shall be admitted by and be amenable to the authority of the Weekly Board.

They shall be designated Pupil Nurses.

They shall be at no cost to the Infirmary nor sleep nor have their meals there unless by special direction of any one of the Medical Officers.

Their attendance at fixed hours shall be obligatory.

They shall be regarded as auxiliaries to the permanent Nurses.

They shall be subject to the medical Officers, resident and non-resident, to the Chaplain and to the Matron in every particular and in the same degree as other servants and nurses in whatsoever concerns the duties and the authority of those officers as laid down in the Rules of the Infirmary now in force."

By the end of this meeting doubts were being raised about the very first of these conditions 'from a recognised home properly supervised' and after much discussion an amendment was finally adopted, "that pupil nurses shall not be introduced from any Institution that shall not have been

established by a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of the City and County of Gloucester (properly convened) and subject to public supervision". However, some of the Board were still not satisfied and it was proposed "that the resolution for the admission of pupil nurses be not acted upon until a special General Meeting of the Governors at large shall have been convened to consider and determine upon the question". But the proposal was rejected. At the normal General Quarterly Meeting on January 5th, 1865, further discussion of the Board's decision resulted in the following motion being carried:

"That in reference to the resolution as to pupil nurses passed at the Weekly Board Meeting of 29th December last, it be distinctly understood that the pupil nurses be admitted solely for the objects stated by the Promotors viz: to acquire a knowledge of nursing and to relieve and assist the regular nurses in the discharge of their duties but that any pupil nurse be liable to instant dismissal by the Weekly Board after proof of any kind of religious interference with the patients or other inmates of the Infirmary".

Herein lay the problem of starting training for nurses at the Infirmary at this time. The finances were very precarious and could not support the added cost of training nurses however ideal and necessary it was seen to be. The 'recognised home' in the original proposal was one of the many being founded by religious sisterhoods at this time and while supporters of the project saw it as a splendid source of pupil nurses at no cost to the Infirmary and bringing to it the standing that establishing a training for nurses would now ensure, those who opposed it saw it as a threat to Protestantism and as an infiltration of women with strong leanings towards the Catholic Church. They did not consider the conditions in the original proposal provided sufficient safeguard and all the fears that surrounded the development of Anglo-Catholicism in England entered into and added to the difficulties of establishing nurse training in Gloucester. Throughout January many of the Governors wrote letters published in the Gloucester Journal in support of, or in opposition to, the decision of the Weekly Board and the General Meeting and finally the Governors decided to call a special General Meeting on February 16th, 1865 because:

"We consider the Weekly Board to have exceeded its powers. The Resolution opens the wards of the hospital to pupil nurses from homes, private in character and subject to no public supervision whatever. The Resolution if acted upon will cause amongst the Governors and Subscribers an element of discord which must be most prejudicial to the administration and funds of the Institution".

This in spite of a letter of utter reason from the physicians and surgeons of the Infirmary published on January 21st:

"We the undersigned, being members of the medical staff who hailed with satisfaction the proposal that pupil nurses be admitted to the wards of the Infirmary believe that it is a duty to state at length the reasons that induce us to regard the same with complete and unanimous approval.

First as regards the Infirmary we have never stated, as reported, that the present nursing accommodation is inefficient. On the contrary, we believe that it is as good as the circumstances of the case admit, but we have said and we do say that it is insufficient. That so many duties extra to the proper duties of a nurse are required from each individual who holds that office that it is a simple impossibility for her to perform them all. In the event of each ward being placed under the management of two nurses, not only would the labours of the elder nurse be lessened but the comfort of the patients would be materially increased by closer attention being paid to their various requirements. At present it must continually happen that many poor sufferers are dependent upon their fellow patients for assistance in changes of position, in management of pillows, or in administration of food ... in many cases again unremitting attention by night as well as by day is a thing greatly to be desired: if this plan be adopted there would be no difficulty at any time of obtaining, in addition to our present very limited number of night nurses, young and active attendants. Moreover, the constant presence of a nurse in a ward would act as a check on the unruly propensities of some patients and prevent any infraction of the rules and regulations of the institution."

What a picture of life in a voluntary hospital in the late nineteenth century this conjures up, yet in answer to the criticism levelled at the doctors that they should have brought the matter to the attention of the Weekly Board before this they could only reply - "of what conceivable use would it have been to have reported such deficiencies, whose removal must be attended with a very considerable increase in the annual expenditure of the charity at a time when finances are in such a depressed and decadent condition. But by the scheme offered by Mr. Parry the problem is satisfactorily solved".

They go on to say - "With reference to the boon conferred on the community by the presence among it of trained and experienced nurses, very little need be said. It is difficult, nay impossible at the present time to obtain in this district a nurse upon whom both physician and patient may rely with implicit confidence".

The motion to be put to the meeting on the 16th February was "that the Resolution of the Weekly Board passed on the 29th December last for the admission of pupil nurses into the wards of the Infirmary be rescinded". The anticipated size of the meeting was such that the Mayor granted the use

of the Tolsey because the committee room at the Infirmary was not big enough. 124 Governors and subscribers attended and so controversial was the issue they had great difficulty in finding an impartial chairman. The discussion went on for four hours and was bitter and acrimonious yet of such public interest that it was reported in full in the Gloucester Journal. No one denied the need for additional nurses in the Infirmary. Three years before this, in December 1861, the Weekly Board had passed a resolution that "in consequence of the increased duties devolving upon the nurses it was desirable that two extra assistant nurses be appointed to relieve the nurses in their heavy duties". But it had not been acted upon because "no accommodation could be found for them".

Prior to the meeting on February 16th, enquiries had been made of several hospitals as to their practice in this matter of obtaining pupil nurses and the reply of Mrs. Sarah Wardroper, Matron of St. Thomas's was quoted in full. "The nurses of this institution are chiefly trained by ourselves. I neither select them from 'sisterhoods' nor 'homes' nor are we in any way connected with either. A training school for nurses is attached to St. Thomas's at the cost of the Nightingale Fund which, under the direction of the Nightingale Committee, I superintend. The number of young women trained annually varies from 10-15. I find considerable difficulty in obtaining suitable women for this work. The demand for our nurses is very heavy and increasing and far exceeds my power to supply". This reply was of little value to the Governors in their deliberations.

Lord Ellenborough's speech expressed the points of view of those who supported the admission of pupil nurses: "It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of having trained nurses and not merely women who can be hired by the day to attend to a sick person without caring or knowing what is necessary in order to diminish the suffering he must necessarily undergo. But people who understand, as Miss Nightingale has attempted to teach the world, all those things it is necessary to know in order to attend the poor man in order to diminish his suffering and aid his recovery".

Mr. Gambier Parry added "I may remark that nursing is no simple subject. There is a great deal in it that must be gradually learnt. The only way to secure this would be by means of women who should go to the Infirmary to be trained and thus to acquire a thorough knowledge of their work". Dr. Ancrum firmly reminded the meeting that "the duties of a nurse were harassing and sometimes revolting and therefore they must take persons for nurses from the lower classes".

The fierce opposition to the proposed scheme was entirely on religious grounds as expressed by Mr. Glegram. He objected strongly to the Home chosen to supply the pupils, "the like of which were invading the Protestant feeling of the country." He expressed the fears of many



present when he said that the Church of England was being replaced by the Church of Rome and this feeling resulted in the final resolution being passed that "The resolution of the Weekly Board of the 29th December last, as to the admission of pupil nurses into the Infirmary be not acted upon during the present year nor until the same shall have received the further sanction of a General Meeting of the Governors". A leader in the Gloucester Journal sums up the effect of this result. "The resolution therefore has affected its object and whether by rescinding the original resolution of the Weekly Board or by postponing it indefinitely is comparatively immaterial, since we are all satisfied that we shall hear no more of it." The writer was quite right and no such solution to the problems of training nurses and providing extra nurses for the Infirmary was ever proposed by the Weekly Board again.

However, the problems remained and on March 2nd, 1865, there was the following communication from the Medical Staff: "We the undersigned physicians and surgeons of the Gloucester Infirmary beg to bring to the notice of the Weekly Board the insufficiency of the nursing department and to request them to enquire into the causes of the insufficiency and to adopt means for its removal". A special meeting was convened at 12.30 on March 9th, 1865 and the Weekly Visitor to the wards was asked to observe the situation and report to that meeting. He said that he had found all the wards in a satisfactory state and upon questioning the nurses and patients was told that they were "contented with their position".

The Medical Officers continued to insist that they considered the nursing department insufficient and that the causes were "the low wages of the nurses and their being employed in scrubbing the wards and other menial offices not desirable to be performed by nurses".

On March 16th a rather harassed Weekly Board passed a resolution to receive a committee appointed by the Earl Ducie on March 4th to consider the question of the nursing system at the Infirmary.

Also on the 16th, a difference of opinion arose "as to the construction of Rule 12 with regard to the power of the Weekly Board in order to enable this Institution to avail itself of any proffered remedy for the present insufficiency of its Nursing Department".

Three changes were finally proposed which were confirmed by a special General Meeting on May 15th.

1. In the limiting the number of nurses to one in each ward.
2. In the restriction on the discretion of the Weekly Board to obtain assistance for the nurses only "in cases of pressing emergency".

3. In the rule that "each nurse shall clean her ward before seven o'clock in the morning in summer and before eight o'clock in winter" to "Each nurse shall be responsible for the condition of her ward".

The pressure of work on the nurses had obviously resulted in them asking the patients to do more and the Medical Officers wanted some supervision of this because Rule 27 was also changed from "The patients who are capable shall assist the nurses in attending to other patients and shall wash linen and do such other work suited to them as the Matron may direct" to "The Matron shall have the authority to employ the patients in such work as shall be sanctioned by each patient's Medical Officer". Four under house maids were appointed to do the extra work.

On March 30th, 1865, a special sub-committee to report on "the general subject of nurses with a view to promoting greater efficiency in that department" was appointed. This was the result of a conference held at the request of the committee that had been formed by the Earl of Ducie with the Weekly Board when the following proposals had been discussed.

That the Weekly Board would consider the formation of a Nurses' Training Department in connection with and under the control and management of the executive of the Infirmary. The object being to supply well trained nurses to the Hospital and to the public.

That new rules should be framed, examples of which were:

1. The 'Nurses' Training Department' to be under the control of the Weekly Board, The Medical Officers, the Chaplain and the Matron of the Infirmary.
2. Nurses to consist of two classes. Those undergoing a <sup>termed 'Assistant Nurses'</sup> and those qualified to undertake the duties of nurses to be called 'Nurses'.
3. Assistant nurses only to be admitted between the ages of 25 and 40 years except under special circumstances. Expenses of their board, lodging and medical attendance are to be defrayed by the funds specially devoted to the 'Nurses Training Department'. They must be able to read and write and certificates of age and character will be required.
4. One month trial when the unfit or unwilling should leave the Institution with a gratuity. If suitable, to continue on a monthly payment until they are qualified and recognised as nurses.
5. The duties of nurses are to attend the sick in the Infirmary and the sick and poor elsewhere as the Weekly Board (or in cases of emergency) the Weekly Visitors, shall appoint, and when not engaged elsewhere then at the Infirmary to perform such domestic duties as shall be assigned to them.

6. Each nurse shall receive in addition to board, lodging, washing and medical attention, for the first years wages £12 rising by £2 a year to £20 in the fifth following, plus an extra 5/- (25p) a month if employed outside the Infirmary.
7. Nurses may be engaged for attendance on patients in the City and County on payment of a charge for the nurse's services of a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of their going and returning and supplied with suitable food, lodging and washing.
8. Payment for services according to fixed scales so the rich defray the cost of nurses needed by the 'indigent sick'.
9. Money received should belong to the 'Nurse Training Department'.
10. Eventually to be self-supporting but for 'some years after its establishment subscriptions should be earnestly requested to assist in supplying what is generally felt to be a most urgently required want'.

The sub-committee reported in November but in the meantime several matters came up in the minutes that may well have not arisen if the supply of nurses had been more adequate.

On May 4th against the specific rules of the Infirmary, "Thomas Awford, a child under the age of five years, recommended by Lord Coventry, was admitted in charge of his mother conditionally for a week, it being hoped that at the expiration of that time she would be able to separate herself from her child". On June 15th the coroner suggested that the Night Nurse should hold the key of the gate, as a man called James Reynolds fell into the Docks and was brought out alive but died at the gates of the Infirmary which were not opened for several minutes after he was brought there. The Board were reluctant to allow a nurse to hold the key but were willing to "make it more accessible to her", and on June 29th "it having been made apparent to this Board that due SUBORDINATION is NOT maintained in the Infirmary amongst the patients, it was proposed that any patient who disobeys the orders of the Matron or of the House Surgeons will be dismissed by the order of the Weekly Board. That this resolution be communicated to all the patients and they be informed that it will be strictly enforced. Also that it be communicated to the several Medical Officers and they be respectfully requested to assist in enforcing on their patients the necessity of strict compliance with it".

However, the nurses could not have helped to prevent the problem discussed by the Board on November 9th 1865: "In consequence of the candidates for admission to the Infirmary recommended from the different (Poor Law) Unions presenting themselves constantly without a proper supply of clothing,

viz: 3 shirts for men or shifts for females and 3 pairs of stockings, it was proposed and resolved that such candidates should not in future be admitted until they possess the necessary clothing and that a letter be addressed to the Chairman of each Union conveying the information of this resolution of the Weekly Board".

Financially the Infirmary was barely holding its own with an annual income of £3079 8s. 7d. and an expenditure of £3073 15s. 2d. in 1864 and it can be clearly seen that an increase of just one pupil nurse at £12 per annum would present problems. The report of the Sub-Committee appointed to enquire into the system of nursing at the Infirmary at Gloucester was therefore anxiously awaited and when it came was so comprehensive that it warrants a study in itself.

#### References

The Minute Books of the Gloucester Infirmary, Glos. R.O. HO 19/1  
Glos. R.O. HO 19/1/19  
Glos. R.O. HO 19/8/19  
Gloucester Journal, February 1865

THE LORD COBHAM SURVEY OF UPTON ST. LEONARDS 1589

by John V. Ruffell

"The View of the Manr of Upton St. Leonards Taken the 21 Day of April in Anno Reigne Elizabeth 31st By Edward Mill Esq Srveyor to the Right Honrble Lord Cobham Lord of the same with the assistance of the tennants there according to his Honors warrant in that behalfe Directed"

The terrier prepared by Lord Cobham's surveyor, Edward Mill, formerly in Upton St. Leonards parish chest, is now in the keeping of the Gloucestershire County Record Office (1). Although originally prepared in 1589, it was copied on to foolscap paper in 1718; thumb-marks and the odd pencil note testify to its usefulness for reference purposes in later times. More recently it has been handsomely bound and the cover bears the lettering "The Manor of Upton St. Leonards 1589". The contents are as follows:

- Pps. 1 & 2 "The Table of the Second Survey ....."  
(The list of landholders with the number of the page on which the description of their holdings begins)(2)
- P.2. "The View ....." as set down above as the opening paragraph of this paper and "The Circute" a description of the parish boundaries.
- Pps. 4 - 6 The tenants listed under two headings, "Libri Tenantes" and "Customary tenents".
- Pps. 7-119 The survey itself with a description of the dwellings and land held (3).
- P.126 A summary of the total acreage and a statement that the book was copied in 1718.
- P.127 A list of some of the names of the Elizabethan tenants and the present (1718) holders of the same land where known.
- Pps.128 &  
129 blank
- Pps.130 -  
135 "Terrier of Glebe lands and charities" (4)

At least one page is missing: on page 112 we have details of the holding of John White and on page 113 that of William Wyman, but in the index there appear, between these two names those of Thomas Seames and Thos. Woodcock De Barton Street.

Lord Cobham was the instigator of the plot to place Arabella Stuart on the throne instead of James I - "to kill the king and his cubs". Sir Walter Raleigh was implicated, and after a trial by Sir Edward Coke, "conducted with a ferocity perhaps unequalled in English courts of law until the time of Jeffreys and the 'Bloody Assize'" (5) he was condemned to death and imprisoned in the Tower. The Manor of Upton passed to Walter Paye and William Beale.

In the terrier there are forty-eight tenants named, including Thomas Seames and Thos. Woodcock, ten of whom were freeholders, thirty-five customary tenants and three not specified. Four people had holdings but no house, leaving forty-four householders if we include Seames and Woodcock. There are nine extra houses, belonging to various tenants, bringing the total to fifty-three. According to Sir Robert Atkyns (6) writing in 1712, there were in his time 110 houses in Upton and about 450 inhabitants "whereof 40 are freeholders". It is unlikely that the number of houses had more than doubled in 120 years, so that "the Manor" referred to in the title did not include all, but only one of the Upton manors, although the holdings described were scattered throughout the Parish, from "Prinknash pale" to "Sudmeade" (7) and included land now in the Barton area of Gloucester. As Atkyns wrote "... it is probable that the large Parish contains divers Mannors, which may help to explain the Intricacy ..."

Most tenants are listed as having "A Dwelling House" but there are variations, for example:

- "a faire mansion House freestone".
- "a Reasonable Dwelling House".
- "A fair Dwellinghouse well repaired".
- "a convenient Dwelling being built crossways"
- "a faire house newly and faire Built".
- "A Dwelling house Orderley built of Late".
- "A Dwelling house & watter mill in one end thereof a worke house & a shoppe".

Other property did not come up to these standards:-

- "And Old House in Decay".
- "he (Henry Whyteing) holdeth by Lease from ye Queen an Old Decayed house"
- "A Decayed Messuage"
- "A Little Cottage built on the waste adjoining the N.E. Corner of Mr. Bardnards Farm Ground" (8)

There follows a list of the outbuildings, the orchards and closes, and finally a careful description of the strips in the common fields. Finally the total area of pasture and arable land held by the tenant.

Unfortunately the descriptions of the houses give little detail, but it is possible to make certain deductions about their size, and, in a few cases, about their construction.

It can be assumed that the majority of the houses were half-timbered; it was probably during the sixteenth century that stone began to be used in house construction as timber became more scarce and expensive.

In three cases only is the material used in the houses mentioned. Heironimus Barnard had a "faire mansion House freestone", and Thomas Baylie "A faire Dwelling house well repaired & Under Built in much Part thereof with Stone" implying that the sole plates of the timber frame rested on a stone wall. This house also had "a Chimny of stone", an improvement that was appearing in the larger farmhouses, while cottages still had open fires, sometimes with a timber smoke hood. Balchaser Evenishe had a "Reasonable Dwelling House Tiled". It is noteworthy that these descriptions all occur amongst the first half dozen houses listed; it may well be that Edward Hill, who gave a detailed description of the size of the houses, the out-buildings, the closes around them, and the scattered strips in the fields, was primarily interested in rents and mentions only casually the three details of construction cited above. It would be strange if only one house had a tiled roof and one only stone footings, especially as this was a period when houses were being re-built and new houses constructed. Three new buildings are listed - a "cottage lately built", "a faire house newly and faire Built" and "A Dwelling house Orderly built of Late".

It is possible to obtain some idea of the size of the various houses because in most cases we are told how many bays there were, and how many of these were lofted.

No. of Bays	9	7	6	5	4	3	2
No. of dwellings	1	3	6	8	13	8	8

These figures, of course, can provide only a very rough guide for several reasons:

1. In some cases a bay could consist of two cross frames close together making a passage-way and not a room (9).
2. About ten of the buildings are described as having "buttends", some of them "lofted". Thus Elizabeth Nurse had "4 Bay & a buttend lofted being Hall and other necessary Rooms and one buttend unlofted & a wattermill in the one end of the sd. house in tother End a Kitchen & a buttend 2 Romes of the sd. Dwelling house being Lofted ..."
3. The descriptions of the buildings are not always clear, but it is evident that the kitchen was frequently a separate building (10). In six cases the kitchen is definitely described as "distant" or "distint".

William Grauntson had "A Dwelling house cont. 3 bays Lofted with Kitchen Distant cont. 2 Bay & a little Pigstie adjoining".

Thomas Baylie " ... 5 Bay 2 thereof Lofted with a chimney of stone in the midst with a Kitchen Distant & a Court thereunto adjoining".

John Bicke had a house of three bays "with a kitchen & Barne Distinct".

Henry Whyting possessed " ... a Kitchen & Other necessary Romes Distint".

On the other hand Thomas Carter had a "Reasonable Dwelling house ... a hall 3 chambers & kitchen".

It must be remembered that some rooms were used for storing corn, or were used as workshops.

In a few cases we gain a glimpse of the internal arrangement of the bigger houses. The most imposing must have been the dwelling of Hieronimus Barnard which is the only one to be described as a "faire mansion House, Freestone". This comprised a "Hall, Parlor, Buttery, Closett & other convenient Rooms also a Kitchen & Faire Malt house". According to M.W. Barley (11), the word "parlour" came into use in the Midlands for a ground floor room, which was used for entertainment, but always contained a bed. In the buttery were kept the butts or barrels for beer etc.

The dwelling house of Richard Rogers is described as having "4 Romes 2 thereof Lofted being the hall & Chambers". This would seem to be the common pattern for a medieval house. We are not told how many bays there were, but the house might well have consisted of a hall of perhaps two or three bays, with an extra bay at each end, each having one room up and one down. It is true that the four rooms are described as chambers, which M.W. Barley (12) states was "the only word for a bed-room", but in this instance the two upstairs rooms may have been bed-rooms, while the ground floor rooms were a parlour at one end and a service room at the other.

Thomas Carter's house was similar, having "4 Bay & 2 buttend being all Lofted containing a hall 3 Chambers & Kitchin"; Henry Whyteing's "Faire Dwelling" had "5 Bay all Lofted being a hall & other necessary Romes"; John Bond's (13) had "a hall nether chamber & Backhouse with 2 Romes Over the sd hall & chamber lofted"; Elizabeth Nurse "4 Bay & a buttend lofted being Hall & other necessary Romes & one buttend unlofted". In one case only, that of Anthony Rixe, there was "a hall & 3 or 4 sev.r.all p.titions being lofted".

In a few cases there are indications that trades or crafts were carried on in some houses in addition to farming. Margery Littleler's house had "3 Bay with a mill-house & a watter Mill in the end of the sd house ..." Thomas Woodcock J de le Mill had a dwelling with "4 bay one thereof lofted and in tother Bay thereof a water mill". John Thorne



had "A water Mill & a Dwelling house 4 Bay unlofted". William Barnes also had a "Dwelling house with a watter-mill in the end thereof". Those familiar with the rivers Twyver and Sudbrook, which run through Upton, may be surprised that they were able to drive water-mills. Both are no more than streams and there is no reason to believe that they were any bigger three hundred years ago (14). All three of the millers were also farmers: Margery Littleler had 31 acres, Thomas Woodcock Junior had 8 acres, William Barnes 13 acres and John Thorne had six acres.

Thomas Forte had a house of "3 Bay & a shopp adjoining cont. One Bay" and 13 acres of land. Presumably this was a workshop of some kind, but we are not told which (15).

Not only are we given these brief descriptions of the houses, but the outbuildings and closes are listed as well. These are similar in most cases as the requirements of the land-holders would be the same.

As we might expect, Hieronimus Barnard had not only an imposing house, but "2 Barnes whereof the one is very large Built of Freestone & covered with Tile".

Richard Rogers had "A Dwelling house a Barne in the end thereof w.th 2 buttends cont. 4 Romes 2 thereof lofted being the hall & Chambers with a Little sheep house distance".

Thomas Baylie had a "Barne & Oxhouse & one Wayne house distint with a hey or Backside & a little Paddock adjoining".

Henry Whyteing: "...also 2 Barnes Distinct with a stable in the end of one of Them And an Oxehouse in the end of Tother cont. one Bay & one Pigstie adjoining Also a wayne house distint cont. 1 Bay".

Anthony Rixe, amongst other buildings had "... one Barne & a shipping in the one end thereof".

John Cudd had "a Barne newley Built cont. 4 Bay on the end thereof Being a Beasts house".

Thomas Blisse had "... a stable a wayne house cont. 3 bay & a Pigeon house".

Finally, Margery Milton had a buttend to her house described as "being a stable and a Little Old Cowhouse".

There were also "closes" or "heys" near the farms. Anthony Rixe had "a hey Orchard & Close there adjoining called Furr house close"; Margery Littleler "mill hey Orchard & Garden adjoining"; David Vaughan "a hey orchard cherry hey (16) & little close adjoining called the Croft"; Thomas Woodcock Sen "... a wayne house with a Volt hey, woodhey 3 little orchards & a Grēne adjoining".

Thomas Blisse " ... a Pigeon house with the heys Garden & Orchard".

Humphrey Roberts " ... a volt hey a little Orchard & cherry hey ... Also one sheephouse over the way cont. 5 Bay with a Volt hey & fair Garden adjoining".

With regard to the size of the farms belonging to the householders, there are three groups. The smallest, four in number, had an acre or less: John Window had one rood only, although his dwelling was " ... Orderley built of late 3 Bay, 2 lofted". William Dandie and Mr. Walker each had four "dayworks" (17) each; both lived in little dwelling houses of 2 bays only so that it is possible that they were labourers, a growing class in Elizabethan times.

The second group, the majority of the tenants, had holdings of 10 acres or more, six of them over 50 acres. Hieronimus Barnard of the "faire mansion" was the largest landholder with 79 acres, but there is a rough correlation only between the size of the farm and the number of bays in the farm-house. The other five had houses with 5, 6, 4, 5, and 9 bays. As overall the largest group of houses was that with four bays, it seems that, as might be expected, the bigger land holders had houses above the average size. On the other hand eight people with houses of more than four bays has less than fifty acres of land, but one only with less than twenty acres.

The third group was composed of those who seem to have been engaged in some trade and might have been expected to hold less land. Four were millers, but of these Margery Littler had 31 acres, the others 8, 13 and 6. Thomas Forte who had a "shopp", probably a workshop, had 13 acres. The most intriguing is Mary Milton, who is described as a "Fishmager"; she had only 3 roods of land.

It is evident that at the end of the sixteenth century, the manor at Upton had largely preserved its traditional character, with the tenants holding most of their land in strips in some twenty common fields (18). The houses, on the other hand, seem to have been in a stage of transition. Many were still of the medieval pattern, with a hall and chambers and a sparate external kitchen. One or two were "ruinous" or "decayed" and probably about to be replaced. A few were "lately built" or "newly and faire built". In three cases stone is mentioned: Hieronimus Barnard's "faire mansion House freestone", Balchaser Evenishe's house was tiled and Thomas Baylie's was "well Repaired & Under Built in much part thereof with stone with a chimney of stone in the midst". As materials used in the construction of the other houses is not mentioned, we may assume that the majority were timber framed with thatched roofs, at least eight or nine of which still survive.

## Footnotes & References

1. P 347 MI 1
2. As this is a copy of an older document which almost certainly had a different pagination, these page numbers differ from the originals. It is possible of course that the entire index was a useful addition by the clerk who made the copy.
3. The first six pages are unnumbered and the seventh is page 1.
4. This is almost certainly a 1718 addition to the original as it states in one place "In Bondend, Wid. Erenice, one House & Orchard since the Restauration".
5. Godfrey Davis, The Early Stuarts (1937)
6. Sir Robert Atkyns, The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire (1712).
7. Sudmeadow "within the Parish of Hempstead" was inclosed in 1814: 54 Geo III.
8. It is interesting to note that there is still a small group of cottages in the middle of Upton common at Sneedham's Green, but none of these date back to 1589, and this common is not the "waste" referred to here. There are still Barnards living in Upton.
9. A "bay" may be defined as the space between the principal rafters holding the building together across its span. See Richard Harris, Discovering Timber Framed Buildings (1978) p.5.
10. Ibid.
11. The House and The Home (1963 & 1971).
12. Ibid.
13. Of the family which probably gave its name to the part of Upton St. Leonards still called Bondend.
14. There are still three mills, all within one mile, on the Twyver in Upton. One is partly half-timbered and may be one of those described above.
15. In John Smith's Men & Armour for Gloucestershire, 1608, there is listed a Richard ffort Taylor. As Richard was about twenty years old, he may well have been the son of Thomas, who may also have been a tailor.
16. Cherry heys or orchards are frequently mentioned, but there are none in Upton today, although there are still old cider and perry orchards.
17. I. Norden in The Surveiors Dialogue (1610), p.138, explains "You must know, that there goe 160 perches to one acre, 80 perches to halfe an acre, 40 perches to one rood, which is  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre, ten daies worke to a roode, foure perches to a daies worke, 18 foote and a halfe to a perche".

measurement "was rarely used outside Kent and Essex ... but it ceased to be used after about 1615". Lord Cobham lived in Kent and it would seem that his surveyor, Edward Mill, naturally used this measurement when he came to make his survey of the manor at Upton.

8. At the time of the Inclosure in 1897 there were still fourteen open fields. Some of those listed in the Cobham terrier, such as Tredworth and Ryecroft, were enclosed earlier and absorbed into the city of Gloucester.

THE LOVESY FAMILY OF CHARLTON KINGS

by Joan Paget

The Ashley manor court books date from 1742 and there are 297 loose admissions, 1697-1742 (1). Members of Charlton Kings Local History Society have been working on these, among other records, in an effort to trace their village's past.

Since court books deal only with copyhold property, it is necessary to supplement the information in them from other sources. In tracing the lands held by the Lovesy family, I have used the following additional sources - wills, transcribed by Mr Eric Armitage (2), deeds abstracted by Mary Paget (3), parish registers and tombstones and memorials in the parish church and churchyard, most useful for the verification of dates. It is helpful to use these additional sources because lands of the manor of Ashley have no clear geographical division from lands of the parent manor of Cheltenham. For example, at the court held on 21 April 1854, Miss Elizabeth Lovesy (the third lady of that name to whom reference will be made) was admitted to "two ridges or selions of arable land ... situate ... in a certain field called Reyeworth" on the surrender of Henry Walsh of Oxford and Iffley and Susannah his wife. In fact the lady had bought a substantial messuage (called at that date Charlton Villa), as the deeds show; however, the house and front garden lay in the manor of Cheltenham, the back garden in the manor of Ashley, and land on the east side was freehold. Thus the entry in Ashley manor court book gives an incomplete picture of the transaction, although it does say that the two ridges had been incorporated into a garden.

The entries in the court books relating to property held by the Lovesy family illustrate all the activities of the manor court - admissions, surrenders, and mortgages. The Lovesys were not of old Charlton Kings stock, but came into the manor because Elizabeth Whithorne married William Lovesy sometime in the 18th century; and on 31 October 1797 the court book shows that John Whithorne, Elizabeth's brother, surrendered land in Castlefield and the house known as the Knapp and Penn to their use. The Whithornes had been considerable landholders in Charlton Kings from the 15th century but when John Whithorne senior died in May 1797, he had only two surviving children, the John and Elizabeth mentioned. John the younger was probably a widower and certainly childless.

In his will dated 2 August 1814 and proved in 1816, John Whithorne divided his property between his sister Elizabeth and two of her sons, Conway and William Whithorne Lovesy.

These lands fell into three main blocks. The first was in the area of Coxhorne, including the house, then known as Coxhorn Farm, and a considerable area of land. This they regarded as their chief property. It was left to the eldest son, and in all that followed it was the one property which was never mortgaged. The second block centred on New Court at Moorend; and the third was the area mentioned above surrendered to William and Elizabeth Lovesy. There was also a parcel of land called Overbury's Piece lying on Cudnall Bank. Under the will, Conway Whithorne Lovesy was to have Coxhorn Farm with all that belonged to it, whether buildings or land, and all the lands in Charlton Kings which he held as his uncle's tenant at the date of the testator's decease. He was also to receive three closes; two, known as Broad Ditch and Little Howbreach, were meadow or pasture, and the third, called the Hitchings, was arable. The other nephew William Whithorne Lovesy was left a number of parcels of land in the area of Little Herberts. Much of this area falls in the manor of Cheltenham and therefore outside the scope of the Ashley manor court books. In any case, the devisee died single and intestate and his property fell to Conway as his eldest brother and common law heir. All other properties in Charlton Kings, whatever their nature, John Whithorne left to his sister for life and on her decease to Conway Whithorne Lovesy her son.

In 1816, Overbury's Piece (which Elizabeth Lovesy held for life) was farm land of no great value. This was changed in 1825 when the new turnpike from Cheltenham to London was cut across the field, making Overbury's Piece an obvious site for building development. The will was proved in 1816, the road was cut in 1825, and in 1826 Elizabeth Lovesy at last claimed admittance. The dates speak for themselves. Elizabeth did not claim the land until she wished to sell it off as building plots. The court books shows eight surrenders of plots in Overbury's Piece in the next three years. In all these transactions, Elizabeth acted jointly with her son Conway because her interest was for life only.

One entry that for 16 November 1826, is typical of these surrenders. Elizabeth Lovesy and Conway Whithorne Lovesy, in consideration of 10s paid to Elizabeth and £125 paid to Conway by William Baldwin of Charlton Kings, coal merchant, at the request of William Baldwin, severally surrender to the use of John Prince in trust for Baldwin, a parcel of ground in a field called Overbury's Piece in Cudnall "on part whereof William Baldwin hath lately erected a messuage - with out offices, which he now occupies, containing in front of the New Turnpike Road from Cheltenham to London forty one feet, in depth N-S on the east side one hundred and ten feet, on the west side eighty two feet, and bounded on the north by land belonging to Mr Gale, on the south by the New Turnpike Road, on the east by land and premises belonging to Theodore Gwinnett Esq., and on the west by land belonging to Walter Lawrence Esq., to which Elizabeth Lovesy was admitted tenant at a court held on February last on her claim as devisee named in the Will of John Whithorne late of Charlton Kings".

This abstract raises a number of interesting points. In the first place it shows that a nominal value was put on Elizabeth Lovesy's life interest and there may have been a private agreement between mother and son which does not appear in the court book. Secondly, and most importantly, it shows that the manor court was being used to register, rather than make, a change in tenancy. This was one of the chief functions of a manor court by the late 19th century; where copyhold land was concerned, it was a cheap and easy way of making a legal land transfer and establishing a title. William Baldwin was already in occupation of his new messuage and out-offices. John Prince was the developer, and since the land was surrendered to his use in trust for the occupier, there must have been articles of agreement between them which had not yet been completed. John Prince appears in a similar capacity in other surrenders, and all the premises with which he was connected were of a similar type - small business developments which the new road made possible, and, hopefully, profitable. By plotting these surrenders on a map, it is possible to make a fairly accurate plan of the area and to recognise the plots, and indeed some of the buildings. William Baldwin's messuage and out-offices are almost certainly a builder's yard.

The Lovesy holdings in Castlefield were next in importance after Coxhorne and a large percentage of the entries in the court books deal with them. An earlier improvement to the London road had divided the Whithorne land into Upper and Lower Castlefields and a small parcel called the Hundred Acres. The house known as the Knapp and Penn included a barn, stable, garden, orchard, and other closes. In 1807 William Lovesy died, so by the time she took up her inheritance in 1826, Elizabeth Lovesy had been a widow for many years. In that year, to establish a clear title to her own property, she went through a legal procedure called suffering a recovery to the use of herself and her heirs - another example of the way in which a manor court could be used to establish a clear title - and then surrendered the whole property to Samuel Lovesy of Cheltenham, who may have been her brother-in-law, and John Packwood, who was certainly a solicitor, in trust for her children. This setting up of a trust was very usual and the court books show many instances. After her death, Conway Whithorne Lovesy was to have part of Lower Castlefield, in length 114 yards in front next the turnpike road, running from the end of the bridge crossing the mill stream in an easterly direction, and in depth from the turnpike road in a straight line to the east end of a small grove in a field adjoining the mill stream, with a messuage built thereon and intended as a public house (probably the house later known as Conway House, now The Close). Richard Lovesy of Newent, surgeon, Thomas Lovesy, Samuel Lovesy, and Elizabeth Lovesy the younger, spinster, were each to receive one undivided fifth of The Knapp, and the remaining fifth was to be sold and the proceeds invested for the benefit

of Margaret, who had married William Ireland Newman, a farmer of Walton Hill, Glos. William Lovesy, to whom his uncle had left land, was already dead, and on 13 February 1827 Thomas Lovesy died. His memorial in the church shows he was a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. He was unmarried; apart from a few small legacies including £100 to his sister Margaret, he left his real estate to be divided equally between his brothers. One would dearly like to know what had been happening in the family, as Thomas stated in his will that he was leaving no more to his sister Margaret because of the great expense he had been put to on her behalf and that of her husband. He stipulated that whatever happened, none of his property was to pass to his sister Elizabeth or any of her children. Unfortunately, this is not the sort of question court books can answer.

It appears from the court books that Conway Whithorne Lovesy attempted to consolidate the family lands which were scattered. At the court held on 26 February 1830 he disposed of certain outlying properties and in their place acquired others contiguous with Coxhorne. Conway and his wife Margaret with the consent of Elizabeth his mother, in consideration of £275, surrendered to the use of Charles Cooke Higgs a messuage or farm called Sturmys at Neast End (East End), a close of meadow or pasture adjoining the farm house, and an inclosure of land called Ballingers, to which Elizabeth was admitted on 27 February 1826 under the will of John Whithorne. The land thus surrendered was under four acres in extent. There had once been considerably more attached to the farm, so what it amounts to is that the Lovesys kept the bulk of the land but surrendered the buildings for which they had no use. At the same court, in consideration of £1559, Charles Cooke Higgs surrendered to the use of Conway Whithorne Lovesy inclosures of meadow called Hanging Hill, New Loons or Lands, Sunday's Bush, and Crows Nest, and a parcel of land called Barlands which was reputed to be in the manor of Ashley though four ridges were reputed to be in the manor of Cheltenham - another example of the confusion of the manors. Perhaps Conway had difficulty in raising the money he needed for this and other transactions, for in 1831 the court book shows that the newly acquired fields, together with Kite Hill and Gunners Breach (which had been left to William Lovesy but on his death had passed to Conway) were mortgaged to John Buckle of Treddington.

Elizabeth Lovesy the elder died on 15 March 1835. On 30 April in the same year Samuel Lovesy and John Packwood, in consideration of £40, surrendered to the use of Conway Whithorne Lovesy one undivided fifth part of and in the inclosure called Castlefield; and in a separate transaction at the same court the trustees, in consideration of £260, surrendered to his use all that undivided fifth part of the messuage called the Knapp and Penn and also a close of meadow called King's Mead. In fact, as the deeds show, this property was let and what Conway received was one fifth of the income.



Before this date the trustees had raised several mortgages on different parts of the estate. These mortgages were held by James Fallon, and by Thomas Quarington (a Whithorne connection). Then on 20 July 1835 Samuel Lovesy of Cheltenham and John Packwood as trustees, Conway Whithorne Lovesy as part owner and Margaret his wife, Richard Lovesy of Newent surgeon, James Fallon and Thomas Quarington as equitable mortgagees, and Elizabeth Lovesy of Cheltenham spinster (Conway, Richard, and Elizabeth being beneficiaries under the trust) in consideration of £372 1s. 8d. paid by Conway (£134 11s 8d to Richard, £134 11s 8d to Fallon, and £102 18s. 4d to Elizabeth) in full for the absolute purchase of their shares and in full discharge of the mortgage, severally surrendered to the use of Richard Lovesy in trust for Conway Whithorne Lovesy, Castle field and the capital messuage called Conway House; and in a separate transaction on the same day, the Knapp and Penn.

A year later, on 7 July 1836, Richard Lovesy by direction of Conway Whithorne Lovesy, in consideration of £100 paid by William Hathaway, yeoman, surrendered to use of Joseph Overton of Apperley gentleman in trust for Hathaway, the parcel of land containing 28 perches which was known as the Hundred Acres. It became the site of the house now called Hilden Lodge.

In the last month of the life of Conway Whithorne Lovesy the elder, there was a rather curious transaction. At the court held on 28 October 1846 he, very belatedly, claimed admittance under his uncle's will to a small close of pasture called Howbreach. In the same court he surrendered this piece of land to the use of William Heathorn, in consideration of £50. This was done at the direction of John Packwood, who was sole acting devisee in trust of the will of John Bastin, who was the devisee of Richard Bastin of Charlton Kings yeoman, who on 6 May 1821 had contracted with Conway Whithorne Lovesy for the purchase of the plot described and paid the purchase money, but to whom no surrender was made. It was also at the direction of Joseph Cooper Straford of Cheltenham, who, shortly after the death of John Bastin, contracted to purchase the land from John Packwood as devisee but who agreed to relinquish in favour of William Heathorn. This is one example of the manor court being used to clear a title. Lovesy could not surrender land to which he had not been admitted, therefore the court could not take cognizance of any of the other transactions. To clear the title, Lovesy had first to claim his inheritance and then for a nominal sum surrender it to the use of the man who, in fact, but not in law, had already bought it. The question arises why Lovesy had not claimed admittance earlier. It is not possible to be certain but the account of the transaction says that Richard Bastin had been in possession of it for many years, first as the tenant of John Whithorne, and then as owner. It is possible that everyone had got so used to Richard Bastin holding the land that his lack of a clear title was ignored.

In November 1846 Conway Whithorne Lovesy the elder died. His will is dated 3 February 1838 and there is a codicil dated 7 April 1845. He appointed three trustees, Richard Lovesy of Cheltenham esq., William Bennett of Syde esq. and Edmund Dean of Weston co. Hereford clerk. He divided his property between his wife Margaret, his four sons and his four daughters. Not all the properties mentioned in the will are copyhold of the manor of Ashley - some are in Cheltenham manor and some, as in part of Castlefield, are freehold.

Mrs Margaret Lovesy had the right to occupy Coxhorne House or any other house, paying rent and keeping the house insured and repaired. She had absolute use of all provisions and wine, and the household stuff in the house. The trustees were to pay any charges on the messuage and to pay her £500 per annum clear.

John Whithorne Lovesy inherited Coxhorne House and so much land forming part of the Coxhorne estate as lies on the west side of the watercourse running from the London Road near Coxhorne House south to a barn called Hill Barn, and comprising the whole pasture called Kitewell, and the tithes of such premises. (It is outside the scope of this essay, but Coxhorne was charged with a yearly stipend of £40 to the perpetual curate of St. Mary's church Charlton Kings, of which Conway Whithorne Lovesy was lay impropriator.) If John died without issue, the property was to come to Conway Whithorne Lovesy II, and this indeed did happen.

Conway Whithorne Lovesy II was to have Hill Barn and the three pieces of arable land near the barn called Hill Pieces, as well as land lying to the north of the London Road called Bearlands (or Barlands), and all the messuages in Charlton Kings occupied at the time by the Rev. James Walker, with the tithes.

Richard Whithorne Lovesy was to inherit properties in the vicinity of Ham which were mainly in the manor of Cheltenham and therefore outside the scope of the Ashley manor court book.

Samuel Whithorne Lovesy received the Knapp, a cottage, and nearby land, with the tithes.

Elizabeth Lovesy was to inherit Ham House (in Cheltenham manor) and a messuage and building called Moor End, land let to Admiral Mansell at a rent of £20 per annum, and various cottages in that area. Part of the Moor End land had already been surrendered to use of Friend Cregoe, to form part of the garden of Moorend Park.

Georgiana Lovesy inherited Conway House, a malthouse and premises at Moorend let at £70, land and cottages in Pumphreys Piece let at £15, and another cottage let at £21.

Much of Louisa Lovesy's inheritance did not lie in Ashley manor, but Timbercombe and Kite Breach certainly did .

Fanny Margaret Lovesy received Waterloo Cottage in Church Street, various other cottages and gardens, a piece of pasture called Broad Ditches, and another called Alexanders near Timbercombe. The rents she would receive from these premises were not as great as those received by her sisters, but as a make-weight she was to have all great and small tithes or modus, or corn rent charges. Tithes were regarded as a form of personal property.

The residue was held in trust to pay issues to Margaret Lovesy for life, and then to be divided among the children as tenants in common.

The codicil, besides appointing new trustees, dealt with Conway Whithorne Lovesy I's interests as lay impropiator of the church, and changed Georgiana's inheritance. Instead of the cottage let at £21 per annum and tithes, the trustees were to raise £4000 out of the residuary estate and pay her £400 a year for life.

The next series of entries in the court book are endorsed in the margin with the following note by the Steward "The surrenders of E 49 and 50, although absolute in form, were in reality conditional, the same as E 47, and Bathe's Devisees were admitted as therein in one surrender and transferred all by direction of Lovesy's Devisees E 190 p.179 M.P." The numbers have been added in the margin in pencil in the same hand and refer to an Index.

E 47 states that at a court held on 28 March 1848 lands previously surrendered to John Buckle of Treddington were now surrendered to Richard Garlick Bathe of Purton co Wilts, subject to the same terms, but with the addition of Kite Hill, The Mead, and Gunner's Breach.

E 49 surrendered to use of Richard Garlick Bathe Upper and Lower Castlefield, the Hundred Acres and Conway House.

E 50 is a surrender by Richard Lovesy of all the Knapp and Penn complex.

The court held on 10 March 1855 was largely devoted to business connected with the hereditaments of the Lovesy family. Richard Garlick Bathe had died, and his devisees John Brown of Purton co Wilts, Edmund Naunton Ruck of Down Ampney, William Brown of Aldbourn co Wilts, and William Potts Bath of the London Tavern in the City of London, claimed and were admitted to the lands Bathe had held on mortgage. They then, in a number of separate transactions, disposed of them as follows-

i) land at Ravensgate and Little Herberts were surrendered to the use of Robert Grant of Money Musk, Aberdeen, and William Fielder Croome of Bagendon to secure £7350 at 4% interest (the rate of interest payable in all these Lovesy mortgages is unexpected, for most mortgages in the court books carry an interest of 5%).

ii) the Knapp and Penn and Castlefield west of the turnpike, adjoining the house, were surrendered to the use of the Rev. William Lutener of Harthill Rectory, co Chester, clerk (it is interesting to note how many clerics appear in the court books as lending money on mortgages, it was considered a far safer investment than putting money in a Bank, for the mortgagee was bound to receive back the principal or foreclose on the property). This was to secure £2560.

iii) a cottage near Conway House and land was surrendered to the use of Thomas Packer Walter Butt of Grovefield near Cheltenham, Charles William Lawrence of Cirencester (a solicitor) and the Rev. John Burrell Hayley of Brightling Rectory co. Sussex, clerk, to secure £1280.

However, not all the mortgaged lands passed out of the control of the family. Georgiana Lovesy had married John Bykyn, and he took up the mortgage on Conway House and the part of Castlefield lying on the east side of the turnpike, for £900. These lands were Georgiana's inheritance, so her husband was safeguarding them.

In the same court, the trustees of the Lovesy estates claimed admittance to various properties, including the malthouse and premises at Moor End, in the occupation of Charles Turk, as devised to Georgiana, and parcels of land mainly in the Ravensgate and Timbercombe areas to which Conway Whithorne Lovesy I had not claimed admittance in 1831.

The mortgages must have been a heavy charge on the estates, and not all were paid off. In the court of 21 August 1861 William Fielder Croome, the sole surviving devisee of Richard Garlick Bathe, and the Lovesy trustees, by direction of Conway Whithorne Lovesy II, tenant for life, in consideration of £600 paid to Croome by direction of the trustees, surrendered to use of George Pendull Mason of Chathwell Hall, Prittlewell co. Essex, in absolute purchase, Barlands or Bearlands and the coppice attached to it. So that mortgage was paid off but Barlands was lost to the family.

On 2 September 1865 Conway Whithorne Lovesy II and the surviving trustees under his father's will, paid off the £1750 to the Rev'd John Burrell Hayley, and with the consent of Louisa Partridge (Conway's widowed sister who under the will was tenant for life) surrendered Kitebreach to Sir William Russell (the lord of the manor) in consideration of £290. Louisa had left Charlton Kings and at this time was living in Harrow in a house she had called "Whithorne".

Sir William Russell lived at Charlton Park and was engaged on building up his estates. The entries referred to as E 190 p.179 in the Steward's note quoted above show this. At the court of 16 October 1866 William Fielder Croome, the last holder of the Lovesy mortgages, in consideration of payment and discharge to him of the principal of £7356 and interest, at the request of the trustees under the will of Conway

Whithorne Lovesy I, surrendered a number of parcels of land, including Hanging Hill, Woolen Breach, Ravensgate Leasow, Strouds, and Hither Strouds, to the use of Russell. In other words, the mortgagee had foreclosed and the lands were sold.

Finally, in the same court, the trustees in consideration of £3000 paid to William Fielder Croome by Sir William Russell, in discharge of the mortgage, surrendered New Loons, Sundays Bush, Crows Nest, Kitehill, the Mead, and Gunners Breach, with the remaining part of Kitewell, now part of Poultbrook, Stubbs Grove and the Coppice and Hill Piece "to the intent that the copyhold tenure of the premises now surrendered be absolutely merged and extinguished in the freehold ..... and shall remain part of the demesne lands of the lord of the manor". Here is an example of the manor court being used to make a change in the nature of tenure in such a way that the property is henceforward outside the competence of the manor court.

That appears to be the last entry relating to the Lovesy family. Conway II died in 1885. He had had a son Conway Whithorne Lovesy III, who died as an infant. No other names appear on the family tomb. Louisa had a son but he died childless, leaving his property to his Aunt Elizabeth.

The entries in the court books relating to this family show all the activities of a manor court. They show what can be learnt from such sources. They also show how partial that information is, even when supplemented from the will books and deeds. The actions are there, but not the motives for the actions.

### References

1. Gloucestershire Record Office D109/1-6, 17
2. Ibid D109/9-10
3. Ibid D181 III T 15; deeds of "Charlton Villa" seen by kind permission of Mrs Littlewood.

CHARLES BAKER

THE WORK OF A NINETEENTH CENTURY SURVEYOR

by A. Bailey

Charles Baker, who describes himself as architect, surveyor and civil engineer (1), married Ann Bayliss and thus came to Castle Hale, Painswick. He was responsible for extensive alterations to the house from 1835 (2). His working practices can be studied from 1816 (a road map) (3) through to 1850 (a letter book 1829-1850) (4). In addition to maps, plans and the letter book, his account book (1836-1840) (5), is also deposited in the Gloucestershire Record Office.

His early work, 1816-1825, related principally to roads, for which there are seventeen of his maps. In addition there are parish maps of Paganhill, Lypiatt and Painswick; he also surveyed the town of Stroud. In his report on the condition of the handloom weavers, W. A. Miles mentions Charles Baker as an authority on local mills, but the only record remaining of his activities in this field is a plan of mills at Ebley.

During the period 1826-1835, he produced a lesser number of public works but these included the building of a church at Slad. However, from 1835 onwards Charles Baker was extremely active. In addition to designing and building estates at Oxenton and Alstone (1,200 acres), and King's Stanley, his work on estates and parish surveys led to an extensive practice in surveying and mapping for the Tithe Commissioners.

His first recorded tithe map, dated 1838, is for Nettleton in Wiltshire. His brother lived in Acton Turville and it was probably through him he obtained the commission. Tithe maps for Harescombe and King's Stanley dated 1838 are followed by several other maps yearly. Many of the tithe surveys had been preceded by parish or estate surveys, e.g. the parish plan of Painswick in 1820 and the later tithe map of 1839. Private surveys in Stroud and Rodborough of 1829 were followed by the 1839 tithe survey of Minchinhampton and Rodborough.

The letter book indicates that he took articled pupils and for his railway survey (6); the accounts mention charges for three assistant surveyors.

However, by 1843 business problems had arisen; in a letter dated March 9th, 1844, to his bank he states "...in consequence of not having had any profitable business for the last twelve months I am not able to pay anything at present in reduction of my account at your bank". He goes on to solicit the bank manager for business - his letter book is increasingly concerned with requests for work, details of timber valuations, estate and

house valuations together with the supervision of minor building works: e.g. in 1848 he surveyed the roof of Painswick church. The last glimpse we have of his activities is in November 1843 when he mentions in a letter that he has still not been paid for surveys conducted two years previously. A letter of December 1843 quotes his terms for pupils - "My usual terms for instruction are for three branches viz. land surveying, civil engineering and architecture, £300 paid at the commencement. As there is a possibility that your son wants land surveying only I will agree to thoroughly instruct him in that and give him a general knowledge and instruct him in the principles of civil engineering for £125, £100 at commencement and the remainder when he leaves". In December he also mentions going to law for the Randwick survey money.

In 1846 he mentions going to Ireland referring to himself as "a very poor man". His troubles were further increased by a letter from W. H. Hyett suggesting that he withdraw from the school business - a sorry state for one who had held the office of church warden. His financial worries had already forced him to let Castle Hale and live at Highgrove Cottage, and in 1847 he was in acrimonious correspondence with the tenant Mrs. Rollerton who wanted new furniture and carpets. By 1848 he had been joined in business by his son and they went looking for business far afield. He applied to clean and survey the streets of Winchester. In 1849 he pronounced work on Painswick church roof to be satisfactory but was quarreling with John Mills - "your sheep are in my ground". 1850 the last year of the letter book mentions the re-letting of Castle Hale.

His account books give a further idea of his work and life style - there are all the accounts of the rebuilding of Castle Hale, records of expenses, costs of buying books in addition to survey work undertaken but not mentioned in the letter book. His charges for surveys range from 9d per acre in the earlier years to a more standard 11d per acre reaching as high as 1s 3d per acre in later surveys, and tithe commutations at 1s 6d per acre. Poor rate valuations of a parish were 1s per acre; in 1838 he presented a bill for the Nettleton poor rate of £98 15s. He also undertook a considerable number of small surveys and valuations in the Painswick and Cheltenham areas. He was particularly involved in the building of houses in Suffolk Square, Cheltenham, and he executed a map of Cheltenham for Griffiths' book on Cheltenham published in 1826. Unfortunately the account book stops in 1840 and so we have no idea of his fortunes in the years of trouble from 1841 onwards.

It is tempting to speculate about the reason for the decline in Charles Baker's business from the prosperity of the middle years when he was married to Ann Bayliss, rebuilding their home, a churchwarden, charity trustee and contented family man. Certainly the letter book shows that he increasingly quarrelled with everybody, be it client or fellow parishioners. He was asked by W. H. Hyett to withdraw as a charity trustee and increasingly he had to look far afield for work. The letter book

gives several instances where he submitted estimates for major public surveys and in the later years others were awarded the contract. Correspondence relating to the Stroud workhouse and subsequent payments is quite acrimonious though whether due to the parsimony of the managers or the personality of their surveyor it is impossible to ascertain from a one-sided correspondence.

### References

1. H. M. Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects (1952), p.52
2. St. Clair Baddeley, A Cotteswold Manor (1929), p.218
3. Glos. R.O. Q/RUm 58
4. Glos. R.O. D3917/1
5. Glos. R.O. D3917/2
6. Glos. R.O. Q/RUm 147

CHARLES BAKER - An analysis of his principal business taken from his letter book (Glos. R.O. D3917/1); an account book (Glos. R.O. D3917/2) and maps deposited in the Gloucestershire Record Office:

- 1816 Road: Gloucester/Stroud (Q/RUm 58)
- 1817 Road: Gloucester/Stroud (Q/RUm 61)
- 1818 Road: Pitchcombe/Prinknash (Q/RUm 63)  
Road: Minchinhampton/Tetbury (Q/RUm 64)
- 1819 Road: Cheltenham/Upton St. Leonards (Q/RUm 66)  
Road: Stroud/Bisley (Q/RUm 69)  
Parish: Stroud (Paganhill) (P320 VE 1/9)
- 1820 Parish: Stroud (Lypiatt) (P320 VE 1/10)  
Parish: Painswick (P244 MI 1/1-5)  
Estate: Awre (D1430b/29)
- 1821 Road: Tetbury/Minchinhampton (Q/RUm 74)  
Estate: Kemble (Photocopy 1061)
- 1822 Road: Stroud/Bisley (Q/RUm 79)
- 1823 Road: Cheltenham (Q/RUm 83)  
Road: Broadland Pitch/Stroud (Q/RUm 91)
- 1824 Road: Whittington (Q/SRh 1824 D/2)  
Road: Cainscross/Minchinhampton (Q/RUm 93)  
Road: Dowdeswell/Shipton (Q/RUm 97)  
Railway: Stroud/Severn (Q/RUm 100)



- 1825 Road: Cheltenham/Gloucester (Q/RUm 105)  
 Road: Cheltenham/Tewkesbury (Q/RUm 112)  
 Road: Cheltenham/Gloucester (Q/RUm 104)  
 Road: Whittington (Q/SRh 1825 C/2)  
 Parish: Stroud Town (Photocopy 333)
- 1826 Estate: Nettleton (Wiltshire Record Office)  
 Mills: Ebley (D873 T20)  
 Map: Griffith's New Historical Description of Cheltenham
- 1827 Road: Stroud (Q/SRh 1827 C/3)
- 1829 Road: Stroud/Rodborough (D3917/1)
- 1830 Road: Cheltenham (Q/RUm 122)  
 Enclosure: Milbourne (Wilts.)  
 Mill: Fromebridge Mills (valuation) (Wilts.)
- 1831- Church: Slad
- 1834 Parsonage House: Slad (D3029/3)
- 1835- Church: Cainscross (P263 MI6)
- 1837 Vicarage: Cainscross (P86 IN 8/1)
- 1836 Railway: Ireland/London (Q/RUm 147)  
 Estate: Stinchcombe (1,200 acres, D3917/1)  
 Estate: Ozleworth (580 acres)  
 School: British School, Stroud (D2186/120)
- 1837 Road: Dursley  
 Estate: Oxenton/Alstone (1,200 acres, D3917/1)  
 Estate: Stonehouse (409 acres, D3917/1)  
 Estate: King's Stanley (D873 P22)
- 1837- Workhouse: Stroud
- 1838
- 1838 Tithe: Nettleton (Wiltshire Record Office)  
 Tithe: Harescombe (GDR TI/93)  
 Tithe: King's Stanley (GDR TI/169)  
 Parish: Oxenton (D2079/V1/6)  
 Parish: Hardwick (D3917/1)
- 1839 Tithe: Avening (GDR TI/11)  
 Tithe: Eastington (GDR TI/73)  
 Tithe: Corsham (Wiltshire Record Office)  
 Tithe: Minchinhampton and Rodborough (GDR TI/120)  
 Tithe: Newington Bagpath (GDR TI/127)  
 Tithe: Painswick (GDR TI/137)  
 Tithe: Stonehouse (GDR TI/172)  
 Hope Mansell (Hereford)  
 Parish: Stonehouse (D1347)  
 Parish: Nettleton (Wilts.)  
 Inclosure: Saul and Fretherne (D3917/1)
- 1840 Tithe: Pewsham, Wilts. (Wiltshire Record Office)  
 Tithe: Owlpen (GDR TI/136)  
 Vicarage: Eastington (D3917/1)
- 1841 Tithe: Swindon (GDR TI/175)  
 Tithe: Brockworth (GDR TI/39)
- 1842 Tithe: Fretherne (GDR TI/83)  
 Parish: Fretherne (P152 VE 1/1)  
 Tithe: Randwick (GDR TI/146)  
 Mills: Kings Grist Mill, Dudbridge (D3917/1)
- 1843 Inclosure: Fretherne (Q/RI 69)  
 Parish: Randwick (D3917/1)  
 Vicarage: Randwick (D3917/1)
- 1844 Estate: Olivers, Painswick (D3917/1)  
 Estate: Peg House (D3917/1)  
 Estate: Cord Hill (D3917/1)
- 1847 Estate: Ozleworth (D3917/1)

Bill to the Land Owners and Rate Payers of the Parish of Hope Mansel

1840

To Charles Baker

Surveying and making a first class map of the Parish of Hope Mansell, copies and valuing appertaining to rent charges in lieu of tithes and valuing the houses and making as assessment for the relief of the poor, 1175 acres at 1/4d per acre	£83	12	11
To journey 20 miles to Ross to lay the appointment before them	£3	3	0
Expenses and fly hire and pikes	£2	9	0
To journey and expenses to Hope Mansell at the request of the rate payers for the purpose of examining and finally settling and arranging the new assessment	£3	3	0
Expenses of fly hire and pike	£2	4	0
Postage and carriage of parcels from London and Stationary	£12	15	0
Engraving 3 copies of rent charges	£9	3	0
		14	0
	£106	4	5

TENEMENTS & TENANTS IN CHARLTON KINGS, 1557 & 1564

A Collection by John Stubbs

by Mary Paget

John Stubbs, who became under-steward for the manor of Cheltenham in 1607, was a Charlton man - at least two generations of Stubbs had preceeded him here, holding land under the subordinate manor of Ashley alias Charlton. Stubbs himself, through his marriage, held an Ashley tenement at Wellinghill. He was an ardent advocate of inclosure and a party to several lawsuits resulting from it. So when the dust had settled, he collected all the information he could about the movement, starting in the mid 16th century when permission for partial inclosure was first given, on the basis of one acre for every ten in 1557, and on the basis of three acres for every twenty in 1564, and continuing till the idea had won reluctant acceptance.

Stubbs' work has given us two lists of Charlton Kings tenants (1) and their holdings. The first lists those holding under Cheltenham and Ashley, but does not include Ham, where a semi-independent manor was being formed from Cheltenham about that time. The second list includes Ham "under the hill" but not Northfield. However, these omissions are a minor matter. Thanks to Stubbs, we know the size of the main holdings in this parish and the location of the first inclosures. Many field names can be identified from the tithe map and apportionment of 1848 (TM), and that identification gives a clue to the real purpose of the inclosure movement and what it actually achieved. In the tables that follow, holdings have been re-arranged according to size.

The first point to be noticed is that the holdings were substantial and far from uniform in size. The largest were over 100 acres, many were 40 acres or over, yet the smallest were under 10 acres. We cannot conclude from this that some tenants, base or free, lived off holdings of 5 or 7 acres, for some at least of the base tenants and all the freeholders had land in other townships and there were opportunities for employment in Cheltenham. What we can say is that nearly all the freehold land was divided into very small units, in part the result of breaking up Mr Compton's tenement. The only sizeable freeholdings were those of John Rogers (63 acres) and Robert Goodrich of Ham (48 acres); the latter was shortly to become lord of the manor of Ham with a considerably increased estate. The largest tenements in 1557 were held in base tenure, and, with one significant exception, this remained true in 1564.

TENANTS & (OCCUPIERS)	MANOR	HOW HELD	AREA	TO CLOSE	LOCATION
Giles Roberts & Rt. Alexander (Jn Alexander)	C.A.	B	109a	11a	in the Furlong & at Sapercombe
Nich. Holder (himself)	C.A.	B	100a	10a	in Carishmoore, Howbeach, & the croft in the nether end of the lye
(Rd Rogers)		tot	5a 105a	$\frac{1}{2}$ a	in Strowde next Sapercombe
Wm Keeke (himself)	C	B	83a	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Longhey & pt of Sapercombe slade
Rt Symons (himself)	C	B	83a	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	Richel croft, Hanging Hill, little orchard nr the old barn
Hy Alexander (himself)	A	B	65a	6a	in the more beneath the house & Huntmore
Jn Rogers (himself)	A	F	63a	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in the Marlebrooke, the Nether Penny Howbeach, pt of Pennybreach at the upper end
Wm Rudgedals (himself)	C	B	55a	5a	in Richol croft Little Roells, pt of Blackdole
Wm Pates (himself)	A	B	52a	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in pt of Colpitate & pt of Hawbeach
Jn Pates (himself)	C.A.	B	47a	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ a	in Ravensgate mead
Wm son of Thos. Dowdeswell jr (Thos Dowdeswell)	C.A.	B tot	38a 9a 47a	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ a	in Moores meade in Ravensgate, in the Logge
Philip Smyth (himself)	C	B	44a	35a	in the further side of the Frith & the little home

TENANTS AND (OCCUPIERS)	HOW HELD	AREA	TO CLOSE	LOCATION
Giles Grevill jr gent (himself)	F	37a	5a	in Milkewell
(Giles Grevill sr gent)	F*	36a	5a	in Hartley meade, Frecon- hill & part of Awcotts
(Nich. Kematt)	F*	40a	6a	in Broadlease & pt of Blackmore
(Thos. Dowdeswell sr)	F*	20a	3a	in Winterbarne hedge & Snells meade
(Jn Wyllys)	F*	4a	$\frac{3}{4}$ a	in the meade platt in Stannetts Foorde
(Rd Millard)	F	2a	$\frac{1}{4}$ a	in the Hunts
	tot.	139a		
Rt Alexander (Jn Alexander)	B	109a	16a	in the Furlong, 2 closes called the Hanging Hills, 2 little closes called the Hitchins next Higgins hey
Edmond Cartwright (Thos Lucas & Rd Bourton)	B	80a	12a	in Collerdon, Boulton hill, Horshill, Little Badleton
"under the hill" (Rd Tychett & Wm Ballinger)	B	14a 15a	$2\frac{1}{4}$ a $2\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Lucas Hill in Harriotts grove
Nich. Holder (himself)	B	65a	$9\frac{3}{4}$ a	in Cadulls meade in Howbeach, Cadulls meade in Deepmore, pt of Henmarshe
(Jn Holder sr)	B	40a	6a	Nethercombe in Milkewell, in Cutham butts, Nine lands in Cuddenhill, close called the Plox
	tot.	105a		
Alice Keeke wo (herself)	B	83a	12a	in Longhey, pt of Long- meade, Broadbreach
in Ham	B	7a	1a	Rosecombe, in Goryfurlong
	tot.	90a		
Wm Pates(himself) in Badleton	B B	52a 33a	$7\frac{3}{4}$ a 5a	in Hawgrove in Badleton
Rt Symons (himself)	B	83a	12a	in Honging Hill, Richall croft & Milkwell
Walter Goodrich (himself) "under the hill"	B	67a	10a	in both the Shackbreeches both the Nether Rodwaies, a parcel of leynes next Greeneway called the Logges

Hy Smith(himself)	A	B	42a	4a	in Foster's Ronysborne
Katherine Gale (herself)	A	B	41a	3a	in Oldole
Thos Stubbe (H'sf)	A	B	40a	4a	in Newland Grove
Nich. Kematt(H'sf)	A	ch	40a	4a	in Broad Lease
Rt Johnson (Jn Daffy)	C.A.	B	38a	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Footeshill 5 rudges in Elershill 2 rudges in the Logge
Thomas Wye Esq (Edmond Benbowe)	C	F	37a	4a	in the Barley meade
Jn Martyn (H'sf)	C	B	33a	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in the Netherhay
Edw Wager (himself)	A	B	31a	3a	in 2 corners of How- beach & pt of Brockholde
Jn Wells (himself)	C	B	30a	3a	in the Home more & Newland next Greenway
Walter Corier (himself)	A	B	28a	3a	pt of Milkwell, the nether end of Broad- breach next Colpityate
Rt Clutterbuck (himself)	A	B	28a	3a	in the upper end of the meade next Jn Reynolds' meade called Lewynsmeade
Thos Cherington (Jn Hale & Wm Rynolds)	A	B	28a	3a	in the meadow called Noldhill
Rd Gooderich gt (Eleanor Hewes)	A	F	28a	3a	in Freemans brooke next Blackmore
Thos Bond (H'sf)	C	B	28a	3a	in Alexander's breach
Thos Whithorne (himself)	A	B	27a	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ a	in Horshill & Little Milkewell
Gyles Grevill gt (himself)	A	ch	27a	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ a	in Hartley meade & pt of Awcotts
Edmond Cartwright (Rd Tytchett) (Wm Ballinger)	C	B	14a 13a tot. 27a	1a 1a	in Lucashill next Freconhill & in Herycotts Grove
George Ballinger (himself)	A	B	26a	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ a	in Pylymeade

John Rogers (himself)	F	63a	9a	in Oakenchurchey, Pellins Howbeach, close at Ludmore, pt of Pellinsbeach
Hy Alexander (himself)	B	61a	9a	in the Home close, Molle- croft, Poultbrook & Huntmore
Wm Rudgedall (himself)	B	55a	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in pt of Blackdole, Niffeneshe, Little Well, pt of a close at Home, & Stanley
Thomas Higges (himself)	glebe	55a	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Parsonsfirst in Badleton
Rt Goodrich gt (himself) "under the hill"	F	48a	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in the Ryddings & Warden Hill
Jn Pates (himself)	B	47a	7a	in Ravensgate meade and Pennybreach
Katherine Dowdeswell wo (Thos Dowdeswell jr)	B	38a 9a in Ham tot. 47a	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ a	in Mooresmeade, Flanch- breach, Winterbarne hedge, and in the Logge
Hy Smith (Wm Butler)	B	44a	6a	in Overdole, Howbeach, pt of the upper end of Barretts Hill & in Olddole
Rt Whithorne (himself)	B	44a	6a	in Niffeneshe, the Coombes & i little close at his house
Jn Blycke (H'sf) "under the hill"	B	30a 14a tot. 44a	4a 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Longhay & Badleton in Kytewell
Jn Gale (H'sf)	B	41a	6a	in Ravensgate & Old dole
Jn Stubbs (himself)	B	40a	6a	in Ravensgate meade, close in the Breache, the nether end of the Home close, pt of Bunhall, parcel of Leynes in the Breach, 4 layes at Coltam
Thos Wye esq (Wm Milton)	F	37a	5a	in pt of Barleymeade & pt of Milkwell

John Hawthorne, Partridges meese (Rd Hicks)	A	B	26a	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ a	in the further Partridge breach
Wm Dowdeswell sr (himself)	A	B	23a	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Nether Depemore
Thos Dowdeswell jr (himself)	C	F	20a	2a	in Trapenhill & Kyte half acres
Thos Dowdeswell sr (himself)	A	ch	20a	2a	in Winterbarne hedge
Ed Brevill (Wm King)	A	B	14a	1a	in the buttes & at the close end
Thos White (H'sf)	A	B	14a	1a	in the buttes
Hy Hall (himself)	A	B	14a	1a	in Dunhall & the croft next Geo Ballinger's
Thos Wye Esq & heirs of Compton (Hy Brevill)	C	F	13a	1a	in Howbeach
Jn Gosling (H'sf)	A	B	13a	1a	in Kytewell
Jn Oatridge (himself)	A	B	13a	1a	in Newes meat at Ravensyate
Wm Reynolds (H'sf)	A	B	11a	1a	in Caner croft
Reginald Cliveley (himself)	C	B	10a	1a	at his close end
Heirs of Compton (Jn Lewyke)	C	F	7a	$\frac{3}{4}$ a	in Milkwell
Rd Grindell (H'sf)	A	B	7a	$\frac{3}{4}$ a	in the breache
Thos Fowler (himself)	A	B	7a	$\frac{3}{4}$ a	in the upper end of Kytebreache
Jn Wyllys (himself)	A	ch	7a	$\frac{3}{4}$ a	in the Nether pt of Stanette Foorde
Hy Clivelay (H'sf)	A	B	5a	$\frac{1}{2}$ a	in the Slade
Wm Hicks (H'sf)	A	F	5a	$\frac{3}{4}$ a	in Gatersbreach
Rt French (H'sf)	A	F	2a	$\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Blackdole

Total acreage: CHELTENHAM MANOR (base 393a, free 77a) 470a  
ASHLEY MANOR (base 681a, copy 94a, free 98a) 1343 acres.



Jn Martin (himself)	B	33a	5a	in the Hay, the Little Hay, lower end of Mason's close, close at Bonhall, close at his close-end, 2 butts at the Nine Leynes
Rt Johnson (Rd Daffy)	B	33a	5a	in Gunley & pt of Whitfurlong
Rouland Gooderich gt (Eleanor Hewes wo)	F	32a	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ a	in pt of Freemansbroke next Blackmore, parcel of meade at Stanetts Foorde
Edw Wager (himself)	B	31a	4a	in Brockhold & a corner in Howbeach
Jn Welles (himself)	B	30a	4a	in the moores & at Well- breach in Ham field, at Rodway
Wm Combe (H'sf)	B	28a	4a	in Grassy Lease
Walter Coriar (himself)	B	28a	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Milkewell & pt of Broadlease
Thos Charrington & Jn Strawford (themselves as land-makes)	B	28a	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Oldhill & Sweattenhills
Wm Bonde (Rd Hall) (Thos Crumpe)	B	5a	1a	in Swetynhill next Alexander's breach
	tot	23a	3a	in Alexander's breach
		28a		
Jn Hawthorne, Partridge's meese (himself)	B	26a	4a	in the Further Partridge breach pt of Gter Part- ridge breach next the other
Thos Whithorne sr (himself)	B	26a	4a	in Little Milkewell, Horsehil and pt of Henmarsh
Wm Newman (himself)	B	26a	4a	in Oldhill & pt of a close Symons peece
Wm Dowdeswell(H'sf)	B	23a	3a	in Deepmoore
Rt Clutterbuck (Thos Whithorne jr)	B	23a	3a	in Little Henmarshe & pt of Lewyns meade at the lower end
Thos Dowdeswell jr (himself)	F	20a	3a	in Trapenhill and Kyte half acre

Jn Strawford (for another meese) (himself)	B	14a	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Cannynge area & pt of Pennybreach
Hy Hall (Wm Yate)	B	14a	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in 8 leynes in the Breach 4 leynes in Coltham, & 2 leynes next Nine Leynes
Humfry Oatridge (Jn Powell)	B	14a	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Ravensgate meade & pt of Rockes new land
Thos White (himself)	B	14a	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in his close ende, the Butts, & 6 leynes Coltham
Thos Wye esq & Hy Compton esq (Rt Adams)	F	14a	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Overdole, in Howbeach pt of a close called the Harpe in Badleton
Rd Brevill (himself)	B	14a	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	at his close-end, the Buttes & leyes at Coltham
Rd Reynolds(H'sf)	B	11a	1a	in Reynoldesmeade
Jn Holder (H'sf)	B	10a	1a	in Badleton & the Crofte
Wm Badger gt (himself)	F	7a	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Langthony peece
Rd Grindle (H'sf)	B	7a	1a	in the Breache
Rd Fowler(Jn Lewes)	B	7a	1a	in Kytebreach
Hy Compton esq (Johan Lewycke wo)	F	7a	1a	in Milkewell
Wm Hicks (Thos Whithorne)	F	6a	1a	in Gatersbreach next Truebreach
Rt Symons (H'sf) in Hamfeilde	F	6a	1a	in Sturmyesbreache
Edmond Benbowe (Wm Haule)	F	5a	$\frac{3}{4}$ a	in the upper end of Capull
Hy Clyveley (himself)	B	5a	$\frac{3}{4}$ a	in 3 little closes in the Slade
Thos Packer (H'sf)	F	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ a	$\frac{1}{2}$ a	in Copsych
Rafe Bourton of Mr Compton's(H'sf)	F	3a	$\frac{1}{2}$ a	in Symons breach
Giles Goodrich (Thos Gooderich)	F	2a	$\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Broadsiche meade

---

Rt French (Rt Symons)	F	2a	$\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Little Blackdole
--------------------------	---	----	-----------------	---------------------

---

Walter Lane (himself) in Footeshill	B	2a	$\frac{1}{4}$ a	in Footeshill
---	---	----	-----------------	---------------

---

Total acreage measured 2044 $\frac{1}{2}$  acres - taken up in severalty  
291 $\frac{1}{2}$  acres.

C = held of Cheltenham manor

A = held of Ashley manor

F = freehold

B = base tenure

ch= "copyhold

\* formerly "copyhold

---

That exception was the holding of Giles Grevill junior, a total of 139 acres freehold, which did not exist at all in 1557.

Back in 1246, as we know from an inquisition, the lords of the manor of Ashley held only one virgate of land in demesne and had no manor house (2). That was still true when William Grevill of Campden bought Ashley in 1386-7. In the 15th century (3) according to a survey of the manor of Cheltenham (not including Ashley), John Grevill senior and after him John his son held in the tithing of Charlton within Cheltenham manor a freehold messuage and half virgate called "the Nethir-howse" (possibly on the site of East Court) and in the tithing of Bafford a freehold messuage with a virgate, formerly Thomas de la Forde's (possibly on the site of New Court). In the tithing of Sandford they held in base tenure a toft and land formerly Juliana Bradstoke's. To all these, John Grevill junior added a Charlton messuage with 6 acres of land, previously Thomas Snell's.

Not one of these properties corresponds to the house we know as Charlton Park, later the Grevills's home. If it existed, it must have been as a tenement of the manor of Ashley standing on the edge of the Lye field and Huntsmoor, by a secondary road called Forden Bank, which ran on the west side of the house till it was stopped in 1784 (4). Till c.1800, this house was known as Forden House. In the 16th century, it may well not have been freehold.

By 1557, the manor of Ashley had twice passed from the main line to distant cousins, and the Grevills had given up all the tenements they held in the 15th century. In Charlton Kings, the only Grevill holding anything in 1557

was Gyles Grevill gentleman (uncle or brother of Francis Grevill then lord)(5) who had 27 acres of "copyhold land". He was one of four "customary tenants holding by copy of court roll" - these were tenements formerly base dependent upon custom and the lord's will, but held on leases granted in the manor court and so protected by the record in the court roll. Similar forms of tenure (though not so named elsewhere) are found on many manors between the late 14th and the late 16th centuries - they represent a transition from base tenure protected by custom but liable to duties, to a simple leasehold either for lives or years. On some manors, such modified tenures had taken over completely by 1600, and where this did not happen by 1600, customary tenure remained entrenched till the 20th century.

In Charlton Kings, base or customary tenure remained; it was the so-called "copyhold" that disappeared. By 1564, the position of the Grevills and their "copyholders" was very different. Giles Grevill junior gentleman, who had inherited the lordship, was holding a total 139 acres of freehold, none of which had been freehold in 1557. He occupied 37 acres himself. The rest was occupied by tenants, including Giles Grevill senior gentleman; and of his 5 tenants, 4 had been "copyholders" seven years before. The 5th held a mere 2 acres, taken, apparently, out of another holding.

From this beginning, the Charlton Park estate was built up. The messuage occupied by Gyles Grevill senior in 1557 and previously a base tenement, may have been Forden House. If so, we may tentatively attribute its reconstruction in the later 16th century to Giles the younger (6); up to this point, the Grevills had always been called "gentleman" never "esquire". Giles the younger with his improved estate and his new house was given the title for the first time in 1584, when the parish register recorded his burial.

As to the original virgate of Ashley demesne, we can only speculate that the Grevills had given it to a tenant or tenants before 1557. If so, it is easy to see where it went. Only 70 acres in that manor were freehold in 1557 and John Rogers held 63 of them. His holding could represent a virgate of demesne added to another freehold.

The second point to notice is that practically all the land to be kept in severalty in 1557 and 1564 lay on or just below the escarpment. The occasional tenant was to inclose "the little orchard near the old barn", "one close at his close-end" or "a little close at his house"; but 90% of inclosures were to be made in the breaches - the last land broken for cultivation. By the time Stubbs wrote, only 100 acres in the whole of Charlton was still open waste - 50 acres on Hartley Hill (Charlton common) and 50 acres on Ravensgate (7); and there was no woodland left at all. Sometime during the 14th or 15th centuries, the woods had been cleared and arable pushed to the very summit of the hills, where the ploughlands are still visible. This

expansion of arable was followed by a period of prosperity in Charlton Kings, evinced by the building or rebuilding of several substantial houses c.1500, by the addition of the south aisle to the church, and by the building of a tower absurdly out of scale with the rest of the church as it was then. The size of the Charlton tenements in 1557 and 1564 is further evidence for prosperity based on extra land. What we see in these lists are not fixed tenements held as they had been in, say 1300, but ancient tenements largely supplemented by intake of new land. Every tenant held some land in the old fields in the valley and some land on the hillsides.

Many of the inclosures named in 1557 and 1564 can be located - under Charlton Common lay Pilley mead and Hartley mead; below the north-facing slope of Timbercombe, the Furlong (tithe map 303), Awcott (TM 287) Sapercombe leynes and slade, and Strouds (TM 288, 216); above them, Penny Breaches (TM 384-5, 301-2), Sapercombe (TM 215, 220) and Lucas Hill (TM 213); over the ridge, Milkwell, Kite Breach (TM 294), The Coombs (TM 324) Rose Combe (TM 325); further east, Hanging hill (TM 223), Blakemore (TM 226), Freconhill or Fracknell (TM 212), Rocks or Rooks mead (TM 207), Trapenhill or Trabonhill (TM 206), Poultebrook and Kite Well (TM 203). Ravensgate mead seems to have comprised Ravensgate leasow (TM 208) and untithed closes by the road to Pegglesworth. Against Red Wood (or Line-over Wood) tenants might inclose at Old Dole, Kite Hill (TM 197), Gaters or Gunners Breach (TM 196), Newlands or New Loans (TM 194, 193, 182). North of the Chelt lay Howbeach or Howbridge field (TM 160, 161, 162), Butts (TM 164), Home Ground (TM 167) and Colesgate (TM 175-6). Above Ham, inclosures called the Riddings or Reddings (TM 125-6), Warden or Wanders Hill (TM 123-4), Cutham Butts (TM 118) and the Roadways by Agga Hill (TM 113-4), continued inclosures to the boundary of the parish. Below Ham, Badleton or Battledown, Coversdown, and the upper portion of Coltham field completed the circuit.

It was in these areas, and these only, that Charlton tenants were to be allowed to hold their land in severalty. Their holdings were surveyed and measured, and the inclosures allotted, by appointed surveyors. They could not choose for themselves (8).

Why, then, did Stubbs and his friends fight so hard for the right to inclose and why did the majority of the tenants so strongly oppose them?

The crux of the matter was the tenants' right to put unlimited numbers of beasts on the arable after harvest. Until the introduction of root crops, this right was held to be basic. Without winter grazing on the open fields, stock could not survive until spring. So when the new land was first developed, it too became open arable, and the rules governing the ancient common fields applied there also. But by the 1550s, too many beasts were being kept in the parish; sheep from Ham that did not even belong to

Charlton men were being introduced. The fields, said Stubbs, were "oppressed".

Two solutions were possible. The number of beasts kept could be restricted according to the size of the tenement, and a strict watch kept to exclude "foreigners". This was tried and was, naturally, unpopular. The other was to permit inclosure of the hillier land and especially the meadows. Then tenants could turn some of their arable to pasture, fence their meadows, make more hay, and winter-feed their own stock in the farmyard from the produce of their own land. This was the idea behind the inclosure movement.

Nearly everyone was to be allowed to inclose meadow (called a mead, a dole, a lease, lea e, a hay) and part of a moor. Land which had been arable, like the Penny Breaches or Lucas Hill, would soon be put down to grass. The move to convert ploughland to pasture, which has preserved the ridge and furrow on the hillsides, began here. It went on, slowly but surely, till all the escarpment was under grass. But arable in the valley was not touched (9).

The inclosure solution was nearly as unpopular at first as the order to stint. Displeasure was expressed by hedge-breaking and by angry tenants, such as Mrs Ann Grevill, putting their cattle into other people's closes. But we can judge how far the process of inclosure had gone by 1610 when we look at Stubbs' list, showing how much land each tenant still had open. It had been decided that for every 20 acres uninclosed, tenants might keep 20 sheep, 4 beasts, and 2 horses. Mrs Grevill, for instance, had 66 acres still open and John Stubbs himself 30 acres, but Adrian Clutterbuck had only 10, John Whithorne 13 and Thomas Wager 13. One tenant, Walter White "did not consent to the said Order".

"Sithence which tyme all the said enclosed groundes have byn kept in severall accordingly without the gainesaying of any person, and many other groundes have byn lykewise taken up in severall, to the greate profitt and quiett of the Inhabitants".

#### GLOSSARY

BASE	- land held by custom as opposed to free tenure which was not subject to the custom of the manor
VIRGATE	- variable measure depending on soil quality, but usually about 30 acres
DEMESNE	- land of the manor held in the lord's own hands
MESSUAGE	- a house, its outbuildings and yard
TOFT	- land where a house once stood
SEVERALTY	- land held by an individual as opposed to land held in common
STINT	- right to graze a fixed number of beasts on the common

## References

1. Glos R.O. D 855 M 68, ff.21-32
2. F.B. Welch "The Manor of Charlton Kings, later Ashley" Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions LIV (1932) pp. 145-165  
Though Mr Welch insists that the name "Ashley manor" was never used till 1625, Stubbs uses it regularly and so does the Cheltenham court book for 1596-1602 (D 855 M7)
3. Glos. R.O. D 855 M 68, ff.39-43v
4. Glos. R.O. QS Q/SRh 1784 6/1
5. The Grevill pedigrees given in the 1623 Visitation (ed. Maclean and Heane 1885) and the 1682-3 Visitation (ed. Fenwick and Metcalfe 1884), and Mr Welch's amended pedigree are all unsatisfactory and do not square with the evidence of the parish register.
6. See the architectural account of the house by E. Scott-Skirving, W.L. Mellersh and Leslie W. Bayley, in Old Houses of Gloucestershire Nine Hundred Years of History at Charlton Park, a paper written for Cheltenham Civic Society.
7. Norden's survey in 1617, copied into D 855 M7, pp. 339-427
8. Mrs Hart, writing about the inclosure disputes, implies that any 3 acres of a 20 acre holding might be inclosed; she links the movement with the growing of barley, but for this there seems no warrant. (History of Cheltenham) (1965) pp. 80-3
9. The order of 21 September 1608, which allowed tenants to keep in several all their new land, expressly excluded "all arable lands lying in the common fields underwritten, viz Middlefeild, Barland, Beach, Castlefield, Lower Feild, Hencrofte, Lylly, Milfurlong, Long Furlong, Pycked Land, Coltham, Yewyn Breach, Bancke, Ryworth and Le Lye".  
Glos. R.O. D 855 M 68, f.24