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FOREWORD

This is the thirteenth collection of essays on Gloucestershire history which has been compiled from studies completed by members of the historical research class held in the Gloucestershire Record Office under the auspices of Bristol University Department of Extra-Mural Studies. We are grateful to the University for its continuing encouragement and support. For many members of the class this has been their first opportunity to learn the techniques of research from original material. Others return year after year, having found an enduring interest in a field which they continue to study in depth, developing and expanding their research. The essays are the result of hard work and application for which we are grateful to the contributors.

Thanks are again due to Gloucestershire County Council for allowing the class to meet in the Record Office, and to the Extra-Mural Department for publishing the work of the class.

Nigel A. Wratten
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THE CLOTH TRADE ALONG THE PAINSWICK STREAM

THE CLOTH MILLS (part 1.)

by Colleen Haine

Along the Painswick Stream (formerly Wycke Stream) and its tributaries, the Sheepscombe Brook, the Washwell Brook, the Washbrook and the Pitchcombe Brook, documentary evidence has been found for 31 water mills, but not all of these are recorded as being involved in the cloth trade.

The lowest mill recorded on the Painswick Stream before it joins the River Frome near the Stroud-Cainscross Road (A419) is:-

STRATFORD MILL

Edward Stratford who died in 1607 had an estate which included "1 water-mill and 1 fulling-mill and 2 acres of meadow in the tenancy of Thomas Merryatt for 30 years, all in Paganhill". A deed mentions a fulling-mill there in 1597 (1). In 1627 John Stratford leased a "tucke-mill and a grist-mill" to Gyles Davies together with other land; "4 racks for broad woollen cloth" are mentioned (2). (A tuck-mill is another name for a fulling-mill).

In 1636 when a final concord was made between Giles Davis and Henry Mayo and the Stratford family 3 mills were mentioned (3) but not described. In 1688 Giles Gardner, clothier, was owner of the Stratford Estate which included 2 fulling mills and a gig-mill (4). This is interesting, because gig-mills were banned in the reign of Queen Mary in 1555 (5) so whether our local clothiers defied the law, or were using some different type of gig-mills is not clear. In 1689-90 Giles Gardner de Stratford was recorded as a ratepayer in Painswick (6). No mill was mentioned but this is not surprising as most of his property, as recorded earlier, was in Paganhill, so these rates were probably just for land on the Painswick side of the stream. In 1692-3 a James Stratford was paying poor rates but again no mill was recorded (7).

In 1735 the mill was held by William Little, a baker, from the Gardner widow (8) so this seems to imply that it had left the cloth trade. It is one of the earliest mills where documentary evidence has proved the existence of a fulling-mill and it seems to be one of the earliest to leave the cloth trade, as after 1735 no further evidence of its involvement in the cloth trade has been found. A Nathaniel Jones of Stratford, Stroud, who died in 1786 was recorded as a clothier, but no evidence has been found to connect him with Stratford Mill (9).

In 1801 the Stratford Estate was advertised for sale by auction, and Lot 2 offered Stratford Mill with 2 dwelling-houses "eligible either for a miller or clothier." It was described as a grist mill with an "Ample Supply of Water," and it was also stated that "at an easy expense it could be converted to a Cloth Mill" (10). No evidence has been found that it ever was converted to a cloth mill. During most of the 19th century it was recorded in the corn trade. In 1839 and 1844 Biddle and Bishop, millers and mealmen, were there (11). William Lane, miller, and Reynolds and Allen, corn merchants were recorded at Stratford Mill in 1856, 1858-9 and 1860-65 (12) William Lane was recorded as manager 1865-7 (13). In 1870 it was described as "Flour Mills" (14). In 1879 Butt and Skurray, millers, were there (15) and were still there in 1885 and 1889 when "Steam and Water Mills" were recorded (16). In 1894 and 1897 Kemble and Dash used Stratford Mills (17)

but by 1902 Townsend and Co. had the mills (18). In 1962 Townsends were absorbed into the firm of Rank, Hovis, McDougall Ltd. (19). In 1967 the mill was mainly used for dressing wheat, barley and grass seeds, and also "corn-feed", and was producing c. 30,000 tons. About 38 workers were employed on the production side. In 1976 a fire destroyed the feed mill, but a new one was built on the site and opened by H.R.H. Princess Ann in 1978.

In 1981 animal feed is the main production and about 60,000 tons are being produced annually. The firm employs c. 150 people and of these c. 30 are employed in actual production work on animal feed and seed corn (20).

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SALMON'S MILL (Salmon's Spring)

The next mill up the Painswick Stream is Salmon's Mill, also called Salmon's Spring and Blisses' Mill.

It was held in the earliest recorded days by the Blisse family (also spelt Bliss and Blysse). In 1327 a John Blisse is recorded, but no mill (1). In 1439 William Bliss held the mill from the Manor (2) and in 1486 Thomas Blysse owned the mill, and William Bliss had it in 1487 and 1496 (3).

In 1525 William Bliss transferred the copyhold to his son Thomas and later it was occupied by a John Gardner and then by George Fletcher in 1574 (4). Thomas Fletcher was seized of one messuage and one fulling mill on his marriage to Rachel Archard in 1602 (5). He died in 1621.

The date 1607 and the initials E.F. and a cloth-mark are on the wall over the entrance to the old mill-house (6) and in 1608 Edmund Fletcher and Thomas Fletcher were recorded as clothiers (7). A William Blisse and a Thomas Blisse are on the same list as clothiers, but no evidence has been found to connect them with the mill at that date. In 1624 Thomas Fletcher and his brother Henry inherited their father's estate (8). In 1641 Henry Fletcher and George Fletcher were named on a subsidy roll, but no mill is mentioned (9) but this was possibly the George Fletcher whose initials G.F. and a clothier's mark are over the entrance to "Wick Street House" (10). Two Blisses were also named on the same subsidy roll at "The Well" and "Brownsgreen" (now Brownhill). In 1664 Henry and Edmund Fletcher were recorded in Stroud Tithing (11) and in the same year 1664 Thomas Bliss "de Mill" was paying rates in Stroud Tithing (12) so whether the Fletchers at this time were owners and Bliss a tenant is not clear. Thomas Bliss "de Mill" was again recorded in 1674 when he was churchwarden. From 1690 to 1699 Edward Gardner de Salmons was included in the rates lists (13).

Samuel Cole and his heirs were ratepayers for Salmons from 1704 to 1733 (14) but John Ellis "de Salmons" was Overseer of the Poor in 1714 and a John Pinfold "de Salmons" was in the Reeve's book of 1717 (15) and again in 1740. In 1749 he was named a clothier of Salmon's Mill (16) in a deed about the sale of land to him on Spring's Borough Estate, which was later called Skinner's Mill.

From 1754 to 1760 Mr. Pinfold was the ratepayer for Salmon's Mill and Springs Borough (17) and he was also mentioned as "of Salmon's Mill" in 1764 (18). Samuel Webb de Hill was paying rates for Salmon's Mill from 1776 to 1781 (19) but from 1781-5 Mr. Berwick was quoted for the mill, possibly as tenant (20). In 1786 it was advertised for sale and included a dwelling house and garden and "an excellent mill containing three stocks, one gagg mill and a very good grist mill, good cloth racks in a meadow near the mill, a very good store rack, lately built with burling shops, wool lofts, sheer-shops, press house, dye-house, stables." Meadow land and orchard were also included. It was also described as a "most desirable situation for a Clothier or Miller" and claimed that a large trade had been carried on for many years past to the present time (21). In the same year, 1786, Mr. Edward Cutts appears as owner on the land tax assessments (22) and for 1786-9 as a rate payer (23). Samuel Webb was still a rate payer for "part of Salmon's" well into the next century, but this probably means that he still owned some of the land, but not the mill. It is quite likely that the sale mentioned above was the end of the cloth trade, for by the year 1799-1800 William Drew had Salmon's Mill (24). He had married Mary Cutts of Salmen's Mill in 1789 (25). He was still referred to as owner to 1839 (26). In 1820 it was described as a corn mill (27) and in 1822 was valued at £105 and the malt-house at £10 (28). Biddle and Bishop were recorded as tenants from 1832

to 1844 (29) and in the 1838 valuation, the house not included, its annual value was £140, so unlike most cloth mills its value had increased (30). In 1839 Nathaniel Marling was owner (31). In 1844-7 Luker and Son were tenants, (32), from 1848-50 William Hale was tenant, (33), and in the 1851 census it is called "Biddle's Mill" (34). By 1853 Thomas Godsell was tenant (35) but Marling still the owner.

Godsell's continued at Salmon's Springs Brewery until 1928 (36), when Stroud Brewery took over (37). In 1938 the mill was replaced by a bottling factory (38). In 1969 it was used as a storage depot by Whitbreads (39), who ceased to use it in the late autumn of 1980. In January 1981 it was advertised "To Let" as factories and warehouses (40). The old mill-house is still there.

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GROVE MILL

The next mill recorded upstream was Grove Mill, so called after the Grove estate which was owned by the Capel Family through most of the eighteenth century and part of the nineteenth (1). The Grove was on the eastern side of Wick Street on Wickridge Hill and is now Hawkwood College (2).

Only a slight connection with the cloth trade has been found. In 1763 a lease was granted by Elizabeth Capel and Daniel Capel to Robert Ellis of a cloth or fulling mill on or by the site of the oil mill (3). From 1815-20 it was William Capel who was paying rates for the oil mill (4). In 1820 it was referred to as the paper mill and John Ward was tenant (5). In 1822 it was still a paper mill valued at £47 (6). It was still called a paper mill in 1824 (7). In 1827 it was recorded as a grist mill, late paper mill, and T. Creed was tenant (8). He was still tenant in 1835 for mill and malthouse (9). In 1836 William Capel was still owner and Richard Capel was tenant of the mill and malthouse (10). This same year 1836, William Capel made an agreement with Watts and Marling to exchange the Grove Mill and some land on the Stroud parish side of the Brook for 4 pieces of land at Salmons (11). This piece of land on the Stroud side of the Painswick Brook is interesting because it became the site of a malt-house used later by Godsells Brewery, but the malt-house already recorded in 1835 was in Painswick parish. In 1838 the value of the mill, not including the dwelling-house was quoted as £90 so it had increased in annual value which was very different from the cloth mills (12). Several tenants were listed in the next few years: 1839, William Bick; 1841, Thomas Vick; 1842, W.B. Price, miller and mealman and again in 1844, when another tenant, John Biddle, was also recorded (13). From 1845 Luker and Son were tenants (14) and Samuel Luker was still there in 1858 when it was offered for sale described as a corn mill with "a water-wheel on a never failing stream", a 12 h.p. steam engine and 3 pairs of millstones. Various other buildings are mentioned and a dwelling-house in occupation of Mr. Samuel Luker. The property is described as "in the Parish of Painswick about 1 mile from the Great Western Railway in Stroud" (15). It is interesting to note that this sale offer did not include the land on the Stroud side of the Painswick Stream by the A.46 road. In 1860 Joseph Washbarn was tenant and J.W. Hallowell owner (16) but in 1863 William Lane had it along with Stratford, Wallbridge and Ebley Mills (17).

In 1865-7 Stratford Flour Mill Co. was recorded at Grove Mill and for the same years Godsell's Brewery was recorded at Grove Mill, as well as at Salmon's Springs Brewery (18). This has led to some confusion in the past, but although the whole area there is called Grove Mill, the malthouse used by Godsell's was not on the site of the old mill owned by the Capel family, but was on the Stroud side of the Painswick Stream. In 1870 and 1876 millwrights and engineers were recorded at Grove Mill (19). In the present century Alfred Silk, miller, was there until after the first World War (20), and the malt-house which Godsell's used was still in use until the 1930's (21). A few years ago it was converted into a private dwelling-house. Of the old Grove Mill, nothing remains except the dwelling-house nearby.

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ROCK MILL

Rock Mill, next upstream, was possibly the Hammonds Mill recorded in 1486 (1), as it is the only mill site recorded in that area. Hammonds Farm is still today just a short way up the hill, and there is a public footpath which goes from the mill site to Hammonds Farm and across the Wick Street, over Wickridge Hill and down to the Slad Valley, where the ancient route can be joined via Catswood to Bisley and Cirencester (2). No further evidence has been found until 1679 when Edward Gardner "de Mill" was Overseer of the Poor (3) and the initials E.G. and date 1681 can be seen above a door at the millhouse (4) with a clothier's mark, so it seems that the mill was by then in the cloth trade. Gardners were recorded "de mill" as ratepayers until 1696 (5) and in 1699, the Painswick register recording the baptism of Sarah, daughter of Daniel Gardner, refers to him as a clothier (6). Although Gardners were recorded on rates assessments through much of the next century they were not paying rates for the mill.

In 1738 Rock Mill was advertised, "To be Lett" and was described as a fulling-mill with dwelling-house, outhouses, orchard and pasture land, "now in possession of Mr. William Packer" (7). This William Packer was the father of Mary Packer who married her cousin Daniel who wrote the letters about his cloth trade (8). In 1743 Rock Mill was again advertised, "To be Lett" and the description was much the same but it was said to be in the tenure of Mr. Anthony Bidmead, clothier, and "N.B. The mill is in good repair" (9). In 1744 the mill was again advertised for letting, still in the tenure of Anthony Bidmead, so it seems that it had not been taken by another tenant (10). In 1752 there was a notice in the newspaper that someone had broken into the Bee-House in the garden of Mr. Richard Ellis of Rock Mill and a reward of two guineas was offered for information (11). By 1754 it seems that Zachariah Horlick had bought Rock Mill for he was referred to in rates assessments until 1785 as owner (12).

In 1766 Edward Gardner, senior, of the Rock Mill died aged 79, according to Bigland (13) but in his will he left a dwelling-house at Rock Mill to his son Edward and a dwelling-house "where I now live" to his son Job. No mill was mentioned, so this confirms that he must have sold the mill at an earlier time (14). Job Gardner of Rock Mill, clothier, died in 1768 (15) intestate and his widow agreed that "all goods, chatels, credits, be granted to Will. White the principal creditor of the deceased" (16). In 1769 Edward Gardner was offering for sale a house with 3 acres of meadow by Rock Mill but not the mill (17). Monumental inscriptions recorded by Bigland can cause confusion because although these Gardners are described as "of Rock Mill" it is obvious that they had not owned the mill for quite a number of years before they died.

In 1776, in less than a fortnight, the Horlicks suffered from two thefts from the tenter-hooks at Rock Mill. The first is described as "seven or eight Ells of scoured Say-Cloth, Eight and a Half-Quarter wide, the property of Zacharias Horlick, senior." The second theft was "fourteen yards of blue and white feathered strip list Worcester Cloth, the property of John Horlick". A reward of ten guineas was offered for information leading to a conviction (18)

In 1785 James Stanley was the ratepayer for Rock Mill (19). He had married Hannah, the daughter of Zachariah Horlick (20), and continued to be included in the rates assessments until he died in 1810 when he was described as "late of Rock Mills, Clothier" (21). In 1791 and 1797 in the Painswick register of baptisms, John Adey was described "of Rock Mill, Clothier". Whether he was in partnership with James Stanley, or tenant for all or part of the mill is not clear.

In 1798 Zachariah Horlick who lived at Hambutts House in Painswick died and in his will he left only one quarter of his household goods to his

daughter Hannah Stanley, as she had "already had her portion given to her". He left a great many houses in Friday Street, Vicarage Lane, near the Churchyard, Longridge etc. but he valued each of his children's portions at £550 (22)!

In 1811 Rock Mill was for sale (23) and again in 1812. Various buildings were described, also a dwelling-house and 5 cottages. The waterfall was 12 feet; the mill contained 3 stocks and a gig-mill and was capable of rowing 1500 cloths per annum. Particulars could be obtained from Mr. Jeremiah Stanley at Pitchcombe or Mr. John Adey at Rock Mills (24). This advertisement shows that John Adey was still there.

In 1815 Rock Mills were offered for sale by auction and included a capital store for drying wool, shear shops, wool-lofts and other outbuildings, a dwelling-house, 5 cottages, orcharding and pasture land, with newly erected tenter-racks. The waterfall was described as nearly 12 feet with abundant supply of water and the mill had 2 stocks and a gig-mill and was described as lately occupied by Mr. James Stanley deceased. Particulars could be obtained from Mr. John Adey or Mr. Thomas Holder at Rock Mills (25). In 1820 Mr. Hicks owned the mill and other property (26) and in 1822 in the valuation of mills in Painswick parish, Rock Mill was valued at £250, which is the highest annual value quoted (27); Mrs. Miles was shown as tenant. In 1826 when Mrs. Hester Miles and Son were bankrupt, their stock for sale 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, press with iron screw, press papers, blocks and fences and Gallipoli oil. There was also a horse and cart, cow, hay, household furniture etc. (28).

Mr. Henry Hicks was referred to as owner up to 1837 (29) and Joseph Wathen as tenant from 1833-7 (30), then as owner up to 1841 (31). In 1839 he was on the list of Principal Manufacturers of Woollen Cloths in Gloucestershire (32). In 1841-3 Mr. Price was ratepayer for Rock Mill (33) and in 1842 "The Whole of the Valuable Clothing Machinery" at Rock Mill was "To Be Sold Peremptorily by Auction" (34). From 1843-4, Rock Mill was vacant (35). In 1844-5 two other tenants were listed, but no trade was mentioned (36). In 1847 it was offered to be let by the Stroudwater Pin Company "free of taxes and poor rates". Stock and gig water power was quoted, "capable of milling and rowing 6 pieces of cloth per week." A 12 horse-power steam engine was also listed (37). It is probable that this period marks the end of the real cloth industry, because although Tabram and Co., flock and shoddy manufacturers, are recorded at Rock Mills in 1889, this was very different from the broadcloth manufacturing (38).

In 1850 the rates were reduced on Rock Mill because the steam engine had been removed (39), and in 1851 it was recorded as a pin factory (40). By 1869 tyewood manufacturers were there (41) and were still there in 1885. A sports company had the mill in 1894 and a chess company in 1897 (42). Soon after this it was demolished. In 1981, the 5 mill cottages can still be seen, but are no longer occupied as 5 but 3, and the Mill House, which according to the date over a doorway, is 300 years old, is being thoroughly renovated; some enormous ingle-nook fireplaces have been uncovered and restored there (43).

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PITCHCOMBE MILL

The next mill up the Painswick Stream from Rock Mill was Pitchcombe Mill, also called Jenner's Mill and Wade's Mill. It was on the western side of the Painswick Stream and was in the parish of Standish, which was in Oxlinch Tithing of Whitstone Hundred until 1884 when it became part of the parish of Pitchcombe (1). Little's Mill on the Pitchcombe Brook is sometimes named Pitchcombe Mill, which can cause confusion.

In 1771 Pitchcombe Grist Mills were to be let and were said to be "on a large stream of water, consisting of 3 pairs of stones, 2 of them French, a Boulting-Mill and 2 large rooms for granaries." The premises also included a dwelling house, garden, stable and 4 orchards, and were "Situated near the Turnpike Road between Painswick and Stroud." Enquiries were to be made to Mr. Nathaniel Jenner at the Mill (2). The Turnpike Road at that time was the Wick Street, which is entered from the mill by Wade's Lane, so this proves that it was Pitchcombe Mill on the Painswick Stream. Mr. Nathaniel Jenner owned and worked the mill himself still in 1776/7, and Mrs. Mary Jenner, from 1778 to 1780. From 1783 to 1794 Mr. Thomas Huntley was owner (3). In 1786 it was advertised to be let and was described in almost the same terms as in 1771, but a large pond was mentioned with a constant supply of water; it was again described as near to the Turnpike Road between Painswick and Stroud and was said to have been in the possession of Mr. Edward Cutts who had "carried on large and extensive trade for about 15 years." Applications were to be made to Mr. Thomas Huntley (4). The mill was again advertised to be let in 1790 by Mr. Thomas Huntley, and the advertisement contained a similar reference to the Turnpike Road (5). In 1791 there was a notice in the Gloucester Journal stating that sundry articles of furniture, the property of Mr. James Cook, had been left at Pitchcombe Mill and if they were not taken away before 8th December they would be sold (6). In 1795/6 Mrs. Huntley owned the mill and William Cook was listed as tenant (7); in 1797 the tenant was John Cook.

A partnership between John Cook and James Wood of Pitchcombe, cloth manufacturers, was dissolved in 1795. No mill is mentioned but as John Cook was a tenant of Pitchcombe Mill it is possible that by this time it had entered the cloth trade (8). From 1800 to 1803 Mrs. Huntley still owned the mill but Jeremiah Cother occupied it. In 1804 "William Carpenter for Jeremiah Cother" is referred to in the Land Tax assessments, and in 1805 "Jeremh. Cother for William Carpenter's " (9). In 1806 there was advertised for sale the clothier's estate and stock-in-trade of Jeremiah Cother, bankrupt. It was offered in 2 lots. Lot 1 contained a large dwelling-house, a large mill, garden, orchard etc. and Lot 2 was a "Capital Clothing Mill near Pitchcombe called Jenner's Mill" with 2 cottages, buildings, 10 acres etc. (leasehold) (10). Another sale advertisement a few weeks later gave more details of Lot 2 (the clothing mill). It referred to 2 stocks and a gig-mill and a rack hill with new racks situated at Pitchcombe near to Lot 1. The stock advertised included a 28" double scribbling engine, one 30" single ditto, new carders, 3 billies, 7 spindle jennies, six 60, one 70 ditto, four long reels, brushing machine, press and oven complete, 10 pair fences, 36 dozen new press papers, 23 old ditto, 25 iron plates, large and small, willow or wool-mixer, 3 shearing frames, pair of shear boards, 43 pairs of shears drilled for frames etc (11). This is absolute proof that Pitchcombe Mill was a cloth mill used by Jeremiah Cother who had been tenant there from 1800.

It seems that the mill itself was not sold, as William Carpenter was still listed as owner to 1824, and as occupant with Charles Davis and others from 1810 to 1814; Messrs. Davis, Beard and Co. were tenants to 1823 (12). In 1823 "Jenner's Mill, commonly called Pitchcombe Mill" was advertised to

be sold or let, described as a clothing mill with 3 stocks and 2 gig-mills etc. (13). In 1824 William Carpenter still had it (14) and on Bryant's map it was named as "Lower Pitchcombe Mill". By 1825, Carpenter had managed to sell it, as from that year to 1832 "Hawkins esq." was listed as owner. Benjamin Wood was recorded as tenant 1825-6 and William Fluck from 1828 (15).

On the 14th May 1833 William Fluck answered a number of questions for the Factory Commissioners about Pitchcombe Mill. He described it as a "Woollen-cloth manufactory," with sixteen horse water power in winter, varying to eight horse power during four months in the summer, when it was irregular. Sometimes they commenced work at seven o'clock in the morning, but at other times they could not start until nine or twelve o'clock and then the water continued to flow to midnight. He also said the milling process had occasionally been carried on for 24 hours, but a prohibition of night work would cause considerable loss to manufacturers who depended on water power. He also said it was indispensably necessary to drive the stocks the entire 24 hours for milling cloth.

William Fluck stated that dangerous parts of his machinery were fenced off and that all workpeople had access to water to wash themselves, or change their clothing. He had occasionally employed children as low as seven years of age and said that children of seven to twelve were as capable of "piecing and feeding the machines also quilling to weavers as those above twelve years." No children had been employed for night work. He believed that those brought up from infancy to work, made decidedly the best workmen. He had "no objection to a limitation of hours from nine to fourteen years of age provided the legislature will adopt means for the maintenance and education of such children" (16). In 1839 it was reported that William Fluck had 38 looms at Pitchcombe Mill, 3 of these were steam and water power looms, 2 were unemployed and 33 were handlooms. The weavers employed on the 3 power looms were 1 man, 4 women and 9 children, and on the handlooms there were 30 men and 8 women, which made a total of 52 persons employed just on the weaving. William Fluck himself was recorded on the "List of Principal Manufacturers of Woollen Cloth in Gloucestershire" (17).

In 1841 when Pitchcombe Mill was advertised to be let, the occupant was still William Fluck (18) and he was included in the tithe apportionment, 1842, for house, cloth mill, buildings etc. (19), but this year was the last recorded in the cloth trade; in this same year Pitchcombe Mill was used by Ebenezer Durdin, "Umbrella Sticks and Manufacturing Chemist" (20). Frederick Barron was also recorded with Durden and later a Charles Barron of London until 1849 (21); the property was leasehold. In 1851 John Randall was recorded at Pitchcombe Mill as a "Naptha Manufacturer". He had been born in Somerset but his wife Mary was from Painswick (22). Charles Barron was leaseholder to 1854 (23), but that same year Peter Mathews was recorded for "leasehold mill and land, Pitchcombe Mill" and with his son Augustus, the Mathews family remained there to 1885 (24). In 1863 the Mathews family were described as "Agricultural Chemists and Manufacturers of Oil of Vitriol, Superphosphate, Lime, Bone Dust and Artificial Manures" (25).

In 1884 "Steam Manure Mills, Pitchcombe" were for sale by auction, on instructions from A. Mathews (26) and that was the year when the mill and land formerly in Standish parish was transferred to Pitchcombe parish (27). In 1885 Pitchcombe Mills were shown on the ordnance survey 25 inch scale map on both sides of Wade's Lane and the buildings are referred to as "Chemical and Manure Works - Disused".

In 1889 Charles Willoughby Ladd, miller (water), Pitchcombe Mill was listed, (28) and in 1894 John Broughton, miller, was there (29). By 1902

James Gibson Wade had Pitchcombe Mill as a corn mill (30) and from that time it was known as "Wade's Mill". About 1930 local farmers were still driving their horses with loaded carts of corn to Wade's Mill (31) but soon after that it was disused and the actual mill buildings have been completely demolished. The mill house may be seen there now (1981) and some cottages on the other side of Wade's Lane which were shown on the 1885 ordnance survey map.

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SMALL'S MILL

Small's Mill, the next mill recorded upstream, has also been named Ayers' Mill and Seagrim's Mill. In 1327 Alice Segrym and John Segrym were recorded in a lay subsidy roll (1).

In 1348 land in Painswick was granted to Flanesford Priory, later identified as land above Seagrimsbridge (2) and there are still cottages today called Seagrims and fields near the site of Small's Mill (3). Why the mill was called Small's is not clear. Smalls were recorded as ratepayers from 1681 (4) but no mill was mentioned, and the Pallings who owned the mill for so long were in the parish in 1642 at Greenhouse (5). An Edward Palling was a clothier selling cloth to a factor in London in 1673, 1678 and 1681 (6). The first evidence to connect the Pallings with the mill was in 1717 when Thomas Palling "for the mill" was referred to in the Reeve's book (7).

From 1718-22 William Palling of Painswick was sending to London about 230 cloths a year of the type exported to India and the Levant (8) and in 1720 he was being supplied with yarn from Devizes and Cirencester (9). From 1730-46 "William Palling for his mill" was recorded in the rates (10). Since the mill was known as Small's it is possible that they were working the mill for the Pallings, but no proof of this has been found. In 1735 Sarah Palling, widow, made a surrender of copyhold property to her son Thomas. It included 1 messuage, 2 fulling mills, 1 gig-mill, the rack-leaze and all houses thereon, 2 orchards, 1 shear-shop lately built, 1 dyehouse, and a lot more land. This property was transferred the same year by Thomas to his brother William Palling (11). A William Palling, senior, was churchwarden in 1735 so he must have died that year (12). Thomas Palling, however, was a ratepayer "for his mill" from 1740-77 (13).

In 1769 William Palling of Brownhill, clothier, left his estate to his brother Edward Palling (14) but details are not given. In 1771 on January 26th, there was a theft from Small's Mill of one piece of "shurn Spanish Stripe List Cloth, very thin, about 36 yards six quarters and a half, marked, Edward Palling best Superfine." A reward of 10 guineas was offered for information by Edward Palling (15). In the same year, 1771, Edward Palling made a settlement of his estate on the marriage of his daughter to William Carruthers, to Mrs. Carruthers for life after her father's death, or to her children (16). In 1777 Small's Mill was so named on Taylor's map (17). From 1777-81 Thomas Palling was paying the rates for the mill (18) and from 1781-90 Edward Palling was recorded as ratepayer for the mill (19).

In 1784 the William Carruthers who had married a Palling was recorded as a clothier (20). Another theft from Small's Mill took place in 1787, of scarlet cloth worth about 9 shillings a yard from the tenters and also the drying house was opened by someone picking the lock, and about 29 yards of a stout seven quarter white cloth in full wool worth about 8s. 6d. per yard were cut off and stolen. The weaver's mark in the forrel was N.K. and close within the forrel in blue yarn No. 7260. Again a 10 guineas reward was offered by William Carruthers of Brownhill (21). William Carruthers died in 1790 (22) and Small's Mill was "To be Let"; there were also several tenements, four stacks, a gig-mill, dyehouse, press-house, workshops, wool-lofts, a dwelling-house and land (23). The same year all the stock of the late William Carruthers was offered for sale at Small's Mill. It included super scarlet cloth, Spanish green cloth, long liveries, Spanish wool, yarn, teazles, 100 gallons of Gallipoli oil, and 2 spinning machines (24).

From 1790 Mrs. Carruthers was owner of Small's Mill; James Stanley, who also had Rock Mill, was tenant until 1805 (25) and Clutterbuck was tenant until 1810. In 1810 Small's Mill was for sale, described as a Clothing Mill and Factory with 2 stocks, one $\frac{1}{2}$ stock, gig-mill, dyehouse, press-house,

drying-house, stable, 2 cottages and other buildings, rack ground with 7 racks and 13 acres of land (26). In 1811 Small's Mill was conveyed to the Rev. Joseph Jones by Mrs. Grace Carruthers (the widow of Edward Palling Carruthers of Brownhill) (27). From 1814-20 John Palling, who lived at Sheepphouse was tenant of the mill and for many years he also had King's Mill (28). He was described as a clothier in 1820 (29) so although the Palling family who owned Small's Mill had left it to their relatives the Carruthers in the late 18th century, there was still a Palling in the cloth trade. In 1820 Mr. Nathaniel Jones was recorded as owner and Mr. Mills as tenant (30). In 1822 the mill was valued at £180 and Mr. Mills still occupied it (31). In 1824 the mill was named Small's on Bryant's map (32) and in a baptism of 1825, the parent Thomas Gillman was recorded as a "Slaymaker, Small's Mill," which shows it was still in the cloth trade (33). From 1827 a Rice was paying rates (34) and Mathew Rice of Small's Mill was recorded as a clothier in 1832 (35). In 1833 John Papps of Small's Mill was referred to as a clothier (36), although the Rice family were still ratepayers to 1837 (37).

In 1837 at Small's Mill, "Clothing Machinery and Household Furniture" was for sale. It included 6 scribbling and carding machines, 9 broadlooms and tools, 120 sets of gig-mill work, 12 packs of prime teasels, a 210 spindle-mule, 60 spindle-billies and much more. The sale was "by order of Mr. Mathew Rice who is returning to London" (38). In 1837-8 Samuel Williams, Small's Mill, vacant, was recorded in the ratebook (39) and in 1838 the valuation was £115, so like other cloth mills, owing no doubt to the depression in the cloth trade, it had decreased in value since 1822 (40). In Robson's Directory of 1839, Thomas Rice and Sons, Broadcloth and Cassimere Manufacturers, were listed at Small's Mill, but this does not seem to be correct as in 1839 Ann James was owner and Philip Foxwell was occupying the mill (41). Philip Foxwell also used Lovedays Mill from 1829 (42) and in 1839 was listed as one of the "Principal Woollen Manufacturers of Gloucestershire" (43). In 1839 Small's Mill was for sale by auction at the Falcon Hotel, Painswick, described as a "Valuable Clothing Mill" with a dwelling-house, cottage, other buildings, a rack-hill and drying ground. The premises are described as "in excellent condition" and it is stated that "a large sum of money has been spent in the last 3 years enlarging the mill." The advertisement also says that it could easily be converted to a grist mill and refers to Philip Foxwell as a yearly tenant (44). Philip Foxwell was bankrupt by November 1840 (45) and all his clothing property was for sale in 1841 (46). In 1840-41 Philip Foxwell was paying rates for a "Wool-Drying Stove" in Pitchcombe parish which is interesting because it shows that the stove must have been on the west side of the Painswick Stream which was, and still is the parish boundary in this area (47).

The mill was recorded as vacant until 1844 (48). In 1845 Jenkins and Shipton had Small's Mill (49); in 1848-50 Biddle and Buck were recorded there (50), but for what purpose these firms were using the mill is not shown. In 1851 William Clark, Timber Merchant, had Small's Mill and was employing 3 men and 5 boys and girls (51). In 1852 Clarke and Son were described as "Umbrella Stick Manufacturers" (52) and in 1855 Mrs. James was recorded as owner (53). In 1856 William Clark and Son were still tenants and had "Steam Sawing Mills" (54).

In 1858 William Ridler, another umbrella stick manufacturer, used the mill (55) which was called Lenall's Mill, as it also was in the 1852 Directory, but why this name was used is a mystery, as it was never used in church or parish records. William Ridler remained at Small's Mill for many years (56) and was still there in 1876 (57). Thomas Hooper, another umbrella stick manufacturer was there in 1879 (58). By 1885 John Ayers, Timber Merchants, had Small's Mill and were still recorded there in 1910 (59); there are still some people in Painswick who can remember this "Ayer's Mill" as they called it still working (60). The Ayers family lived at Prospect House by Bull's Cross for many years (61). The mill buildings soon after

this time became derelict, but a few years ago the water-wheel was fully restored and a dwelling built on the mill site. The overshot water-wheel may be seen working now (1981). Some old mill cottages have also been renovated and extended and are used as dwelling-houses, but no other mill buildings remain (62).

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GLOUCESTER QUAY 1780-1820

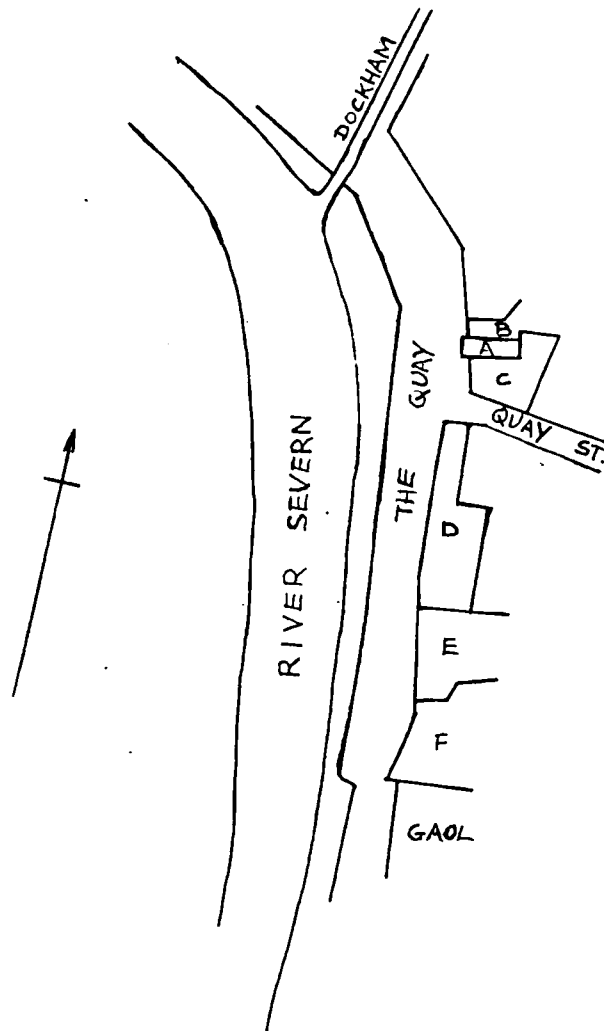
by Hugh Conway-Jones

The Quay by the River Severn at Gloucester used to be a busy place, with piles of merchandise waiting to be loaded into boats or transferred to the nearby warehouses. Occasionally, sea-going ships came up to the Quay bringing wines and spirits from the Continent, but most of the boats were trows or barges trading up the river as far as Shrewsbury or down the river to Bristol and South Wales. Most carriers worked to fairly fixed routes, and at each regular port of call, they either had their own warehouse or a local wharfinger acting as their agent. These wharfingers helped to arrange cargoes and provided any temporary storage that might be required. They also often stocked coal and building materials etc., and usually kept a good supply of seasoned timber for making barrels which were used for many of the general cargoes.

In the 1790s there were five trows operating between Gloucester and Bristol once a fortnight on the spring tides (1). Four of them belonged to Wakefield and Co. who operated from the old glasshouse yard north of the Quay, and one was run by William Smith. There were also weekly boats to Tewkesbury and Upton, to Worcester, Stourport and Bewdley, and to Bridgenorth and Shrewsbury (where there was an overland link to Chester and the North) (2). By 1802, Smith had become the chief carrier to Bristol, and Leonard Dark had started running boats to Swansea (3). The principal wharfingers were John Lewis, Charles Parker and George Harmer, and their properties will be referred to below.

The Quay itself and much of the adjoining land belonged to the Corporation, and some indication of the various properties and their occupiers can be obtained from the lease books and the Chamberlains' accounts preserved in the Gloucestershire Record Office (4). The only old building still surviving is the Custom House (A), and by 1800 this was nearing the end of its original use. In 1724, the City Council had been told that the Custom House Office needed rebuilding, and they agreed that the upper floors could be extended forward on pillars "for the more commodious re-edifying and building the said Custom House and making the offices therein more useful" (5). In fact, only the upper floors were occupied by the customs officers, the ground floor being used as a storehouse. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the storehouse was leased by John Pitt, a big landowner who became the Collector of Customs and later a Member of Parliament for the city. A lease in 1794 refers also to a dwelling house and this may have been the building in the court behind the storehouse. In 1799, Pitt bought the freehold. With the general increase in trade at this period, the customs officers found their accommodation rather cramped, and within a few years they had moved to larger premises in St. Mary's Square.

Just to the north of the Custom House was a small piece of city land (B) that was usually leased to the owners of the adjacent freehold premises. At the end of the eighteenth century, it was leased to Thomas Rudge, but was probably occupied by the Harmer family who were wharfingers (6). Certainly George Harmer was the tenant in 1808, although William Kendall had taken over the lease by 1810. Harmer and Kendall were in partnership for a short time, and they were among the first to advertise Forest of Dean coal that had been brought down to the river on the Bullo Pill tramroad (7). Kendall continued to occupy the premises for many years and became one of the main wharfingers on the Quay.



To the south of the Custom House and on the corner of Quay Street was the Star (C), one of the many public houses in the area. The adjacent property in Quay Street was the Duke, across the road was the Three Kings and there were several other public houses further up Quay Street. No doubt they were a welcome sight to the cold and thirsty boatmen who braved wind and tide to bring the trows up from Bristol and South Wales. Also in Quay Street was the coal yard of Charles Parker.

Along the Quay to the south of Quay Street, there was a row of properties all leased as a group during the eighteenth century (D). When they were leased to John Ready in 1791, they were described as three tenements, a storehouse and three lofts one over the other. One of the buildings had a projecting porch at the front, and another had a garden at the back containing a storehouse. The total frontage was nearly sixty-six yards, and a footway in front was described as being formerly twenty inches above the Quay with railings. In 1805, the group was split up and leased as four separate properties. The northern one was occupied by Robert Dadd pattenmaker, for a few years and then became the Mermaid public house. The next was a warehouse and large yard which was leased to William Price, timber merchant. The next became the Ship, where the present public house of that name now stands, and the southernmost property of the group was a large warehouse. This was leased to John Saunders, a soapboiler, but may

have been used as a bonded store for the wines and spirits being imported from the Continent.

Further south along the Quay was another group of properties that were usually leased as a block (E). When they were leased to Samuel Lysons in 1799, they were described as a messuage, a large storehouse, several small storehouses etc. and a yard. They were probably occupied by John Lewis, a wharfinger who had certainly taken over the lease a few years later. He built up an extensive business forwarding goods to all parts of the country via the river and canal carriers. When he died, his wife carried on the business and advertised that stocks of coal, alabaster, fire bricks, tiles and coopers' timber were available for sale (8). Mary Lewis went bankrupt in 1813, but it seems that the business was continued by one of her family for a few years. Around 1820, however, the frontage of the property was rebuilt and a covered gateway was formed through to the new gas works yard behind.

The next property to the south (F) was outside the city boundary in the precincts of the old castle, and because of this, it had its own right of wharfage. It was probably leased by John Walker from 1803, and when he bought the freehold in 1816, it was described as a messuage with outbuildings, warehouses, storehouse and yard. Walker's main business was as a wharfinger, and after the failure of the Lewis family next door, it appears that he took over much of their trade. For a few years he also ran boats to South Wales in partnership with James Charter.

The Quay continued to be a busy place during the early nineteenth century. The building of tramroads down to the river at Lydney and Bullo Pill allowed Forest of Dean coal to be landed at the Quay at a competitive price, and a similar tramroad between Gloucester and Cheltenham had a branch running along the Quay. The number of boats using the river increased, and some carriers built up extensive fleets. The development of the docks just to the south of the Quay did offer some competition, but there was enough traffic to keep both busy. In the middle of the century, however, the coming of the railways started to take the traffic off the river, and the importance of Gloucester Quay declined.

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TEWKESBURY LOCAL BOARD OF HEALTH 1848 - 1855

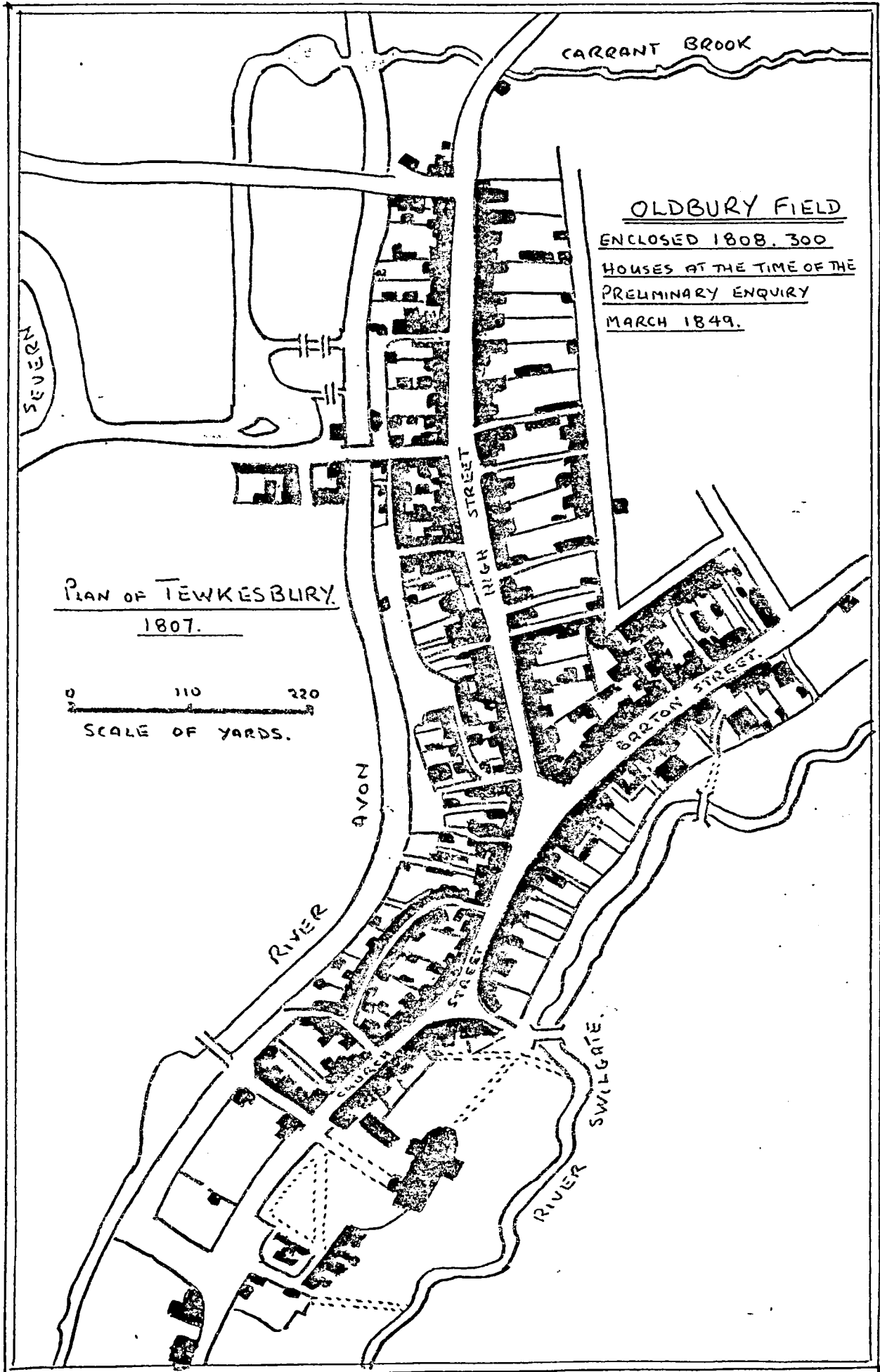
by R.J. Lyon-Smith

The Enclosure Acts, at their height from 1760 - 1820, did much to create effective improvements in agriculture. Gone were the old medieval practices of narrow cultivated strips and common grazing, and in their place the compact farms, neatly hedged and ditched. The age of the agricultural entrepreneur had arrived, but the social consequences of such changes were undeniably harsh. The smallholder, unable to bear the cost of enclosure, the agricultural labourers and perhaps the most unfortunate of all, the squatters who had enjoyed in practise some of the priveleges of the old medieval system, were one way or another driven from the land. They in turn, with their families, drifted towards the towns in search of work. Some succeeded in creating new enterprises, but the majority became little more than town labourers. It was therefore fortunate that in Britain industry expanded at the same time as the population; both increased and changed from being predominately rural, to being almost equally divided between town and country. In 1800 over seven million people lived in the country and only three million in the towns and cities. By 1850 the numbers had changed dramatically. Eleven million were now living in the towns and cities and ten million in the country.

There were of course marked social changes as a result of such increases and redistribution of the population. Many of the new towns that grew directly as a result of the Industrial Revolution, in an effort to absorb a growing work force, carried on apace the late 18th century practice of building houses back to back, constructing what were quickly to become "urban slums". Others like Tewkesbury had to accommodate its rising population within its existing natural boundaries. It was this change from a largely rural population to an urban one that placed an intolerable burden upon the existing totally inadequate water supply and drainage systems. This decline of even elementary sanitary conditions, the increased housing density and the ever present threat of cholera, prompted Lord Russell on behalf of the government of 1839 to ask the then secretary of the Poor Law Commission, Edwin Chadwick to enquire into the living conditions of the labouring classes.

It was three years later in the summer of 1842 that Edwin Chadwick presented his report to the House of Lords entitled "The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain". It was the result of an energetic and searching enquiry and although its presentation came at a time of high unemployment, social protest and stirring public conscience, it was not until six years later in 1848 that the Public Health Act came into being, a direct if somewhat belated result of the report submitted by Edwin Chadwick.

For the very first time the British government charged itself with a measure of responsibility for public health. A central Board of Health set up by the Act, was to have three members, Edwin Chadwick, Dr. Southwood-Smith and Lord Shaftesbury. The board soon earned great unpopularity through its interference with local authorities, for both Chadwick and Lord Shaftesbury were not noted for their tactful dealings and by 1854 opposition had rendered the board almost totally ineffectual. Public health then became the responsibility of a newly formed committee of the Privy Council. Although the collapse of the central Board of Health would at first seem a retrograde step, the now motivated local authorities accepted their responsibilities and pursued, albeit often slowly, the social reforms so clearly directed by the Act of 1848.



PLAN OF TEWKESBURY.
1807.

0 110 220
SCALE OF YARDS.

OLDBURY FIELD
ENCLOSED 1808. 300
HOUSES AT THE TIME OF THE
PRELIMINARY ENQUIRY
MARCH 1849.

Tewkesbury, unable to benefit from the Industrial Revolution, suffered as much social distress from decline as other towns did from expansion. Situated in the northernmost part of Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury has from its earliest times had its outward growth severely restricted. Sited just eastwards of the confluence of the Rivers Severn and Avon, and having the Carrant Brook to the north and the River Swilgate to the south, and with low lying land to the east, the town is at the time of flood almost completely insulated. These two navigable rivers, the Severn and Avon, which did so much to stimulate Tewkesbury's early growth, were now the main obstacles to further urban development.

The town consists of three main streets, High Street, Church Street and Barton Street. Branching out from these streets are numerous alleys and courts, so closely built together that the houses of many of them stand back to back. Most of the dwellings are of 18th and early 19th century origin, being made of local brick. But there still remain however, many examples of earlier timber framed buildings, forming altogether a conglomeration of four centuries of development. This unique urban plan had evolved from both the need to house an increasing population and by the limits imposed by its position.

During the early part of the 19th century, the town saw prosperity; industry and trade easily absorbed the increasing population (4,199 in 1801, reaching a peak for the 19th century of 5,878 by 1851). The bypassing of the town in 1840 by the main Gloucester to Birmingham railway hastened the decline of local industries. The collapse of the hosiery industry in particular caused great distress as this report by Felkin, a government statistician, from an 1844 enquiry into the hosiery industry so clearly illustrates:

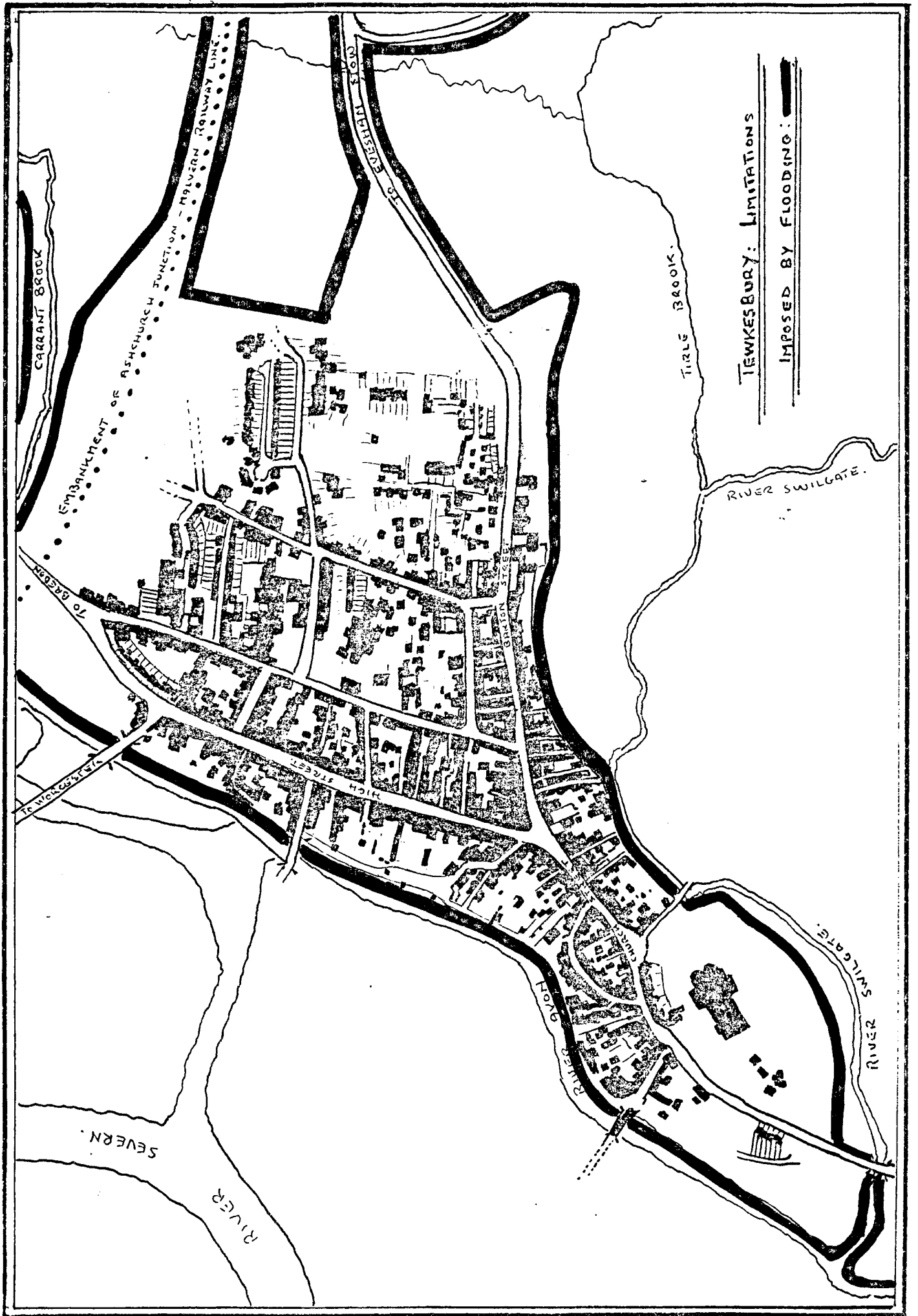
"At this seat of excellent cotton hose fabrication, more than half of the frames are standing idle. Wages are exceedingly depressed. Distress amongst the framework knitters of this town is greater than supposed. Such scenes of wretchedness as those I have witnessed this day, I never saw before, and hope never to see again".

Thus Tewkesbury had by 1848 a large under-employed working class population, crowded into the narrow alleys and courts, many of which were without water or sanitation. It was these extremely unsanitary conditions that led a general remark about the "filthy state of the town" to become a subject for discussion by the town council.

In the Autumn of 1848 the attention of the more influential members of the community became focused on the recently passed Public Health Act:

Whereas further and more effectual provision ought to be made for improving the sanitary conditions of the towns and populous places in England and Wales, and it is expedient that the supply of water to such towns and places, and the sewerage, draining, cleansing and paving thereof, should as far as practicable be placed under one and the same local management and control, subject to such general supervision as is herein after provided.

This would in effect make the local board of health an integral part



TEWKESBURY: LIMITATIONS

IMPOSED BY FLOODING:

of any town or borough council. Any local board of health so formed was to have its own seal, which would legalise all documents signed by two or more members and would be prima facie evidence in court.

A major clause of the act was that a preliminary enquiry into the sanitary state of a town or borough by an inspector of the central Board of Health could be carried out:

Upon the petition of not less than one tenth of the inhabitants rated for the relief of the poor, not being less than thirty in number, or where the average number of deaths over the past seven years was greater than 23 per 1000 of the population, notice of such enquiry to be affixed to churches, chapels, public buildings and places where public notices are fixed, and in newspapers circulating within the area of the authority.

Those rated for relief of the poor were by no means the majority. Their numbers probably represented somewhere between 20 - 25% of the total inhabitants. It is interesting to note that should an election be needed to form a local board of health, there was laid down by the Act a sliding scale of votes directly linked to the valuation of property.

Rateable value less than £50	1 vote
Rateable value between £50 - £99	2 votes
Rateable value between £100 - £149	3 votes
Rateable value between £150 - £199	4 votes
Rateable value between £200 - £249	5 votes
Rateable value exceeding £249	6 votes

An owner/occupier was able to vote in respect of both ownership and occupation. It is therefore important to note that it was the signatures of more than 10% of those rated and not the value of their franchise that could bring about an enquiry by the central Board of Health. Those whose property had a rateable value of less than fifty pounds would be living in circumstances vastly different from those whose property was valued in excess of two hundred pounds. It would therefore be the owners and occupiers of those properties in the lower order of valuation who would gain most from sanitary reforms and their signature would be of equal value as those rated in the higher orders, even if their voting rights were not.

On October 24th 1848, the Mayor of Tewkesbury, Henry Eustatius Strickland, convened a meeting of the borough council for the prime purpose of discussing the recently passed Public Health Act. After lengthy debate it was proposed by Mr. Richards and seconded by Mr. Hanford and resolved,

"That in the opinion of this meeting the Act 11 and 12 Victoria Cap. 63 for the promotion of public health ought to be brought into operation within the borough and that for this purpose the council recommend that pursuant to the provisions of the Act a petition of the rated inhabitants of the borough should be presented to the General Board of Health praying that the preliminary enquiry directed by the Act may be made"

There was however within the town considerable opposition to the borough council's recommendation. Interference, as it was considered then, by Central government in local matters often aroused anger and suspicion, and Tewkesbury was no exception. A month later on November 24th a public meeting of the ratepayers was called by the churchwardens and overseers, and such were the numbers attending that it was necessary to transfer the venue to the National School Room for want of sufficient space in the vestry. After many heated exchanges of opinion, the majority were clearly against the petition. In spite of this opposition, on December 19th, 1848 a fully attended council meeting decided unanimously to forward the petition of 163 signatures to the central Board of Health.

The preliminary enquiry, conducted by Thomas Webster Rammell Esq., inspector of the central Board of Health, took place at the Town Hall, Tewkesbury on March 26th 1849. In attendance were the Mayor, Henry Eustatius Strickland, members of the town council, influential ratepayers and members of the general public. On the following two days, the 27th and 28th, the Inspector personally examined the town under the guidance of the Surveyor, members of the council, and representatives of the street commissioners.

In his report submitted to the central Board of Health, Mr. Rammell commenced with an examination of the returns of the registrar. It was evident that Tewkesbury had a death rate:

"Being in excess beyond the average rates presented by even the most crowded districts of large manufacturing towns and denoting most unequivocally the existance of local circumstances strongly unfavourable to health"

The average death rate being nearly 28 persons per 1000 of the population if taken over the seven years till the end of 1848. Tewkesbury had in fact fulfilled both requirements of the Public Health Act for the setting up of a preliminary enquiry, having submitted a petition of more than 10% of the ratepayers and having a death rate exceeding 25 persons per 1000 of the inhabitants.

YEAR	BIRTHS	DEATHS	DEATHS UNDER 1 YEAR	DEATHS UNDER 5 YEARS	DEATHS FROM EPIDEMIC & CONTAGIOUS DISEASES
1842	217	210	45	100	51
1843	173	149	22	43	15
1844	157	127	31	45	2
1845	174	157	29	45	7
1846	208	162	53	64	18
1847	189	182	57	64	13
1848	177	157	20	42	23
Totals	1294	1144	215	403	129

Population 1841 = 5,862

Population 1851 = 5,878

Mr. Rammell was in no doubt about the causes and states that

"The filthy state of the alleys in which the poorer classes dwell and the bad ventilation consequent upon the manner in which they are crowded together, is in no doubt in great measure the cause of the high rate of mortality, and the general bad sanitary conditions which so strikingly marks the social history of Tewkesbury"

To remedy these unsanitary conditions was of course the prime purpose of the enquiry, and there emerged two directly linked major areas of concern. The first was the lack of adequate drainage, the second the absence of an unpolluted water supply.

Prior to 1824 there had been no drainage, that is to say no system of covered drains. There was of course a series of open gutters and ditches which hitherto served the town as drains, flushed all to infrequently by heavy rains, which were in reality little more than open sewers. In 1824 Mr. Abel Pointon of Worcester was contracted to build a system of covered drains (between 12 inches and 21 inches in diameter) along the lines of the three main streets. On completion of the contract in 1831 the major part of the town still remained undrained. Subsequent improvements carried out spasmodically until 1843 followed the same principles, neglecting those areas most in need, namely the alleys and courts occupied by the poorer classes. Those living in the better class properties adjacent to the main streets did have access to these drains and there were those enterprising enough to construct their own private culverts leading to the river, but the bulk of the properties in the alleys and courts were without even these basic amenities, and at the time over two hundred properties lacked even a privy and those that had one allowed them to overflow, or even emptied them into the alleys and courts, hoping that the "scavenger", whose duty it was to remove any night soil deposited in the street between the hours of midnight and 4 a.m., would at least keep the problem within manageable bounds. Strangely the opinion of Mr. William Brydges, Relieving Officer for the poor was that:

"The privies of the houses of the poorer classes are in many cases a nuisance. I do not see what advantage it would be to the town for the poorer houses to be provided with privies. The filth in the alleys is a nuisance to those persons living in the alleys, but not to the town in general."

But Mr. Rammell stated that:

"It will be seen from earlier evidence in regards to privy accommodation that from the almost destitute conditions of the poorer inhabitants in this important particular, the streets and alleys are much loaded with offensive filth, that the labours of the scavenger if he performed his duty would be of no light kind"

What was objectionable about the drainage system was that the outlets of these drains passed directly into the Avon, (five outlets) and into the Swilgate (three outlets) polluting what had become for many their primary source of a water supply.

The more prosperous parts of town were served by an adequate number of

wells, giving a good continuous amount of clear hard water. The poorer more densely populated areas had to rely on the public pumps. These pumps were frequently out of order, the one in Post Office Alley and Merretts Yard had remained useless for 3 years and that in Townsend Alley for 7 years. This delay in repairing them forced these unfortunate people to resort to the rivers or beg even the most meagre quantities of water from their neighbours.

The Avon having a sufficient level of water even in summer was nevertheless heavily polluted by sewage and more than one witness at the enquiry complained of privy filth floating in the pail or jug. Mary Hawkins of Smiths Lane said:

"I get water for washing from the river and very often find lumps of nastiness in the pail. I went down once to get some water to boil peas and found a lump of this stuff as I was putting it in the pot".

In summer the River Swilgate is reduced to "a slow and stinking stream diminished to the narrowest of limits". The cost of water obtained from this polluted source is by no means inexpensive. Mr. Turner said that:

"The rate for fetching water in our neighbourhood is one penny for 3 buckets, about 10 gallons, sometimes it is 2 buckets for a penny. The average family pays about 6 pence a week. Laundresses sometimes pay a shilling but most have water butts to catch the rain. There is plenty of water to be obtained by sinking wells, but the present number is insufficient. I have not the slightest doubt a good supply of water could be obtained at 2 pence per week. It would be considered a great benefit to the poorer classes".

These two main problems of drainage and water supply were of course aggravated by the problem of overcrowding. The limiting factors described earlier led to this maze of alleys, lanes and courts that made up the habitation of the poorer classes. This following description, again by Mary Hawkins, vividly portrays the magnitude of the problem which was general throughout these destitute areas of the town:

"There are eighteen houses in the lane. No house has a privy. I keep a lodging house, but we are a heavy family ourselves, nine in all. We have got four rooms, the kitchen and three above. Sometimes I have six or seven lodgers, at others more. I have only two beds and have two regular lodgers who work in the town. My eldest boy is eighteen, my eldest daughter sixteen and the next fourteen. All the little ones sleep together in one room, the eldest girl along with me in our bed. We have sometimes four in a bed".

On completion of his enquiry Mr. Rammell recommended that the following improvements would greatly assist the comfort and health of the inhabitants:

- a) A thorough system of surface and refuse drainage.
- b) Adequate privy accommodation.
- c) A plentiful supply of water of purer quality.
- d) Improved ventilation of the dwellings of the poor.
- e) Increased burial accommodation at a greater distance from the habitations.

One final piece of evidence from a surprising source might suggest that the problems were not necessarily confined to sanitation. Dr. Frederick J. Prior, Surgeon:

"More frequent cases of fever in Wilkes Alley I attribute this to inferior diet and that the measures for improving drainage and water supply will not much alter the character of the diseases of the town. I have an impression that the Public Health Act is not calculated to produce any great benefit here and I have opposed the introduction of it".

Ironically before any of the recommendations of the central Board of Health could be acted upon the town was threatened by a second epidemic of cholera. (The first being in 1831 with 76 deaths). Cholera spread rapidly, it was extremely contagious and amongst the poor often fatal. Being a waterborne disease it was also a direct threat to the more wealthy classes who had more liberal access to a water supply and in consequence led these more prosperous ruling members of the community to embark on a vigorous campaign of action.

In June 1849, cholera was already prevalent in Worcester and Gloucester. With the disease in such close proximity precautionary measures were taken in Tewkesbury in an attempt to arrest its progress. Hastily formed committees from the town council, street commissioners and guardians of the poor were grouped together to form a temporary local Board of Health, their immediate action was to embark on a programme of cleansing the streets, lanes and alleys, white-washing (a suspension of lime in water) the cottages of the poor, often at public expense, repairing and scouring the drains and removing all nuisances that were a danger to health. But these efforts were in vain. The first death from cholera taking place on August 1st. The outbreak lasted just over two months during which fifty-one people died, the majority of them from the more destitute parts of the town. With the passing of the epidemic, the temporary local Board of Health became redundant and it was not until the late summer of 1850 that any further moves were taken in respect of a more permanent local Board of Health.

On August 26th 1850, exactly eighteen months after the preliminary enquiry, the Tewkesbury Borough Council met to consider the powers, duties and authorities imposed upon them by the Public Health Act of 1848, and for the council to act as a local Board of Health.

A week later on September 2nd a committee of five headed by the Mayor, Nathaniel Chandler, was elected to interpret that part of the Act which related to the improvement of private properties and which in future ought to be enforced. They were also to carry out a general survey of the town with a view to recommending such action that required the Board's more immediate attention, and to clearly define the exact duties of the Surveyor and Inspector of Nuisances. (The Surveyor and Inspector of Nuisances was responsible for ensuring that both public and private works complied with the regulations imposed by the local Board of Health, and to examine all reported nuisances and recommend appropriate action and to ensure the adequate performance of those contracted by the board).

A fortnight later this sub-committee submitted its recommendations to the local Board of Health. They were:

- 1) A general survey of the public works of the town and prepare a report of the state of flagging, paving and pitching of the public streets.
- 2) A contract for keeping in repair all flagging, paving and pitching.
- 3) In any future works which might be undertaken by the local Board, regard should be had to the ultimate prevention of the discharge of sewage and drainage of the town into the Avon and Swilgate.
- 4) That a floodgate or gates be constructed in the stancheon of the Swilgate in Mr. John Martin's property in order to effect the scouring and cleansing of the stream by the action of its own waters.
- 5) A contract to clean the bed of the Swilgate.
- 6) Surveyor to inspect the several localities mentioned in the report of Mr. Rammell as being destitute of privy accommodation and that the owners be instructed under the powers of the Act to erect privies so far as may be practicable and consistent with future works to be undertaken by the Board.
- 7) That the Surveyor be instructed to intimate to the public scavenger that the Board will henceforth require the exact performance of the existing contract with him and that he do report from time to time to the Board all violations and omissions on the part of the contractor with a view to enforcing the penalties by such contract imposed. (The scavenger was reprimanded in January 1851 for using the water cart for other than public purposes suggesting that perhaps he may have been acting as a water carrier for personal gain).

The state of the River Swilgate was without doubt of major concern to the Board. Notices were affixed near to both the Avon and Swilgate cautioning people against throwing rubbish into them and thus making the task of clearing them even more burdening than it already was. An ambitious plan was proposed to build a culvert linking Carrant Brook with the River Swilgate for the dual purpose of increasing the water level of the Swilgate in summer and draining the Oldbury. But by far the most practical and feasible proposition was that suggested by the sub-committee to erect floodgates across the river, and that by allowing the water level to rise upstream to a controllable height and then by opening the gates and releasing this extra volume of water it would effectively scour both the banks and the bed of the river. (The idea was not new for the same principal had been used for carrying boats over shallows by introducing a sudden rush of water controlled by a crude form of lock gate sited upstream). These floodgates were situated at the bottom of Gander Lane adjacent to the bridge and on the 1st July 1857 a report in the local Board of Health minute asks that the surveyor cause the floodgates at Swilgate Bridge to be opened as often as may be necessary to clear off the impurities of the River Swilgate, but it is recorded on August 1st 1859 that the floodgates be repaired and locked, the key with the surveyor and one with the owner of the land.

Although the newly-formed local Board of Health was not inactive, they were concerned mainly with enforcement of the building and improvement regulations, it was in the late autumn of 1851 that they became more purposeful in their interpretation of the Act.

A period of greater activity commenced with the acceptance of the

bye-laws by the local Board on December 11th, 1851. These were then submitted to the central government for ratification and were duly returned by the Secretary of State, in their original form on April 5th, 1852. Some of these bye-laws would not be out of place today, but there were some that were wholly indicative of that part of the 19th century and that in whole or part best illustrate the determination of the Local Board to remedy the evils so clearly indicated by the preliminary enquiry.

"All occupiers of any premises within the district shall whitewash, wash or otherwise clean and keep cleansed the interior of all premises occupied by them so that no offensive smell shall be caused by or proceed from the same"

This next bye-law covered the widest range of nuisances and was referred to as the second bye-law.

"No person shall deposit, throw or allow to run to lodge or accumulate upon the surface of any street, alley, court, highway or place, or on any waste ground or any uncovered drain or ditch, watercourse, sink, pond, or other collection of water, or expose or cause to be exposed in any other manner whatever within the district any animal, fish, offal, blood, bones, manure, shells, broken glass, china or earthenware, dust ashes, house refuse, runnings from any manufactory or any other offensive or noxious matter".

There were circumstances especially in winter when the surface of footpaths and the courses of water pipes were effected by frost and this particular circumstance was covered by the following:-

"Provided always that no person shall be liable to penalty for throwing or depositing any sand or ashes at the time of frost upon any footway to prevent accidents or any manure or other material in the time of frost upon the courses of water pipes in order to prevent the water therein from being frozen of any clean litter or other material in order to prevent noise in cases of sickness"

"Provided also that nothing in the second bye-law contained shall be taken to the limit in any manner the power conferred by the 59th section of the Public Health Act upon the Inspector of Nuisances to order the occupier of any premises whatever whereon there shall be accumulations of manure, dung, soil, filth or any other offensive or noxious matter to remove the same within 24 hours after notice duly sent to such occupier requiring such removal".

Some of the services with regard to refuse collection would be the envy of many a present day householder and would have no doubt required the greatest of organising abilities on the part of the Local Board of Health.

"That a cart shall at least once in every 24 hours pass through every street in the district with the words "scavenger's refuse cart" painted thereon in legible characters, the driver of which shall ring a bell before each house, into which the scavenger shall place all refuse that shall have accumulated since the last passage of the cart".

"That when any house in the district shall be without a dust bin accessible to the scavenger the local Board of Health shall provide one. The occupiers of such house shall every day bring or cause to be brought such dust box to the outside door of the said house or to such other place the Inspector of Nuisances shall direct at the hour appointed by the Local Board of Health which shall be notified to the occupier or occupiers by notice in writing left at the house."

Should any dust box contain any offensive or noxious matter the dust box was not permitted to stand in the street for more than fifteen minutes prior to collection by the scavenger. No night soil, sewage, contents of any cesspool or in fact any noxious or offensive matter could be transported through the streets between five in the morning and midnight, except in properly covered carts secured against any accidental spillage.

"In case any privy water closet or cesspool shall be in a foul or offensive state, notice under the hand of the Inspector of Nuisances shall be given requiring such occupier to cleanse or empty the same within the time to be therein mentioned" (Not being less than three clear days)

Any person offending any of the bye-laws shall forfeit and pay for every such offence, a penalty not exceeding five pounds and for continuation of the offence a further penalty of forty shillings a day after written notice of the offence from the Local Board.

There were similar bye-laws relating to the cleanliness and management of slaughter houses, the penalties being similar, five pounds for the offence and ten shillings per day for continuation of the nuisances. The bye-laws relating to lodging houses were in principle for the control of the number of occupants, to ensure that no rooms below ground level were used for sleeping quarters and that there was an adequate and accessible water supply; the use of a water closet or privy and that the premises were kept clean and orderly. The need for the free circulation of the air was perhaps imperative in these insanitary times:

"The keeper of such lodging houses shall cause the windows of every sleeping room in such lodging house to be kept open to the full width thereof from nine to eleven in the morning, and from two till four in the afternoon unless prevented by tempestuous weather and during the time the windows are open as aforesaid he shall cause the bed clothes of every bed in such room to be turned down and exposed to the air."

"And shall cause the walls and ceilings of every room to be thoroughly cleansed and well

and sufficiently lime washed twice (at least) in every year during the months of April to October, and the blankets, rugs, covers used in such lodging house shall be thoroughly cleansed at least four times a year, that is to say at least once sometime during the first week of several months of March, June, September and December"

In January 1852 the Surveyor, having no doubt read the bye-laws, handed in a letter alleging that his salary was inadequate for the work involved. But the board was of the opinion that until some time had elapsed from the introduction of the bye-laws it would be impossible to evaluate the exact amount of labour involved and accordingly postponed further discussion of the matter. The salary of the Surveyor was fixed on October 1st 1852. It was proposed at a meeting of the local Board that £30 per annum would be agreeable, but an amendment suggesting that £25 (£10 as Surveyor and £15 as Inspector of Nuisances) would be a more satisfactory rate was carried.

On January 1st 1852 the Surveyor reported that thirteen properties in Bank Alley were without privy or water closets and in consequence notice was served upon the owners that they construct privies of suitable water closets without delay to conform to the new regulations regarding drainage improvement schemes. On April 5th of that year the Clerk to the Board reported that those owners of property in Bank Alley had completely disregarded the notices served upon them. The street committee had in the meantime enquired of several of the owners at what price would they be prepared to sell a cottage with a view to the Board pulling it down and constructing privies for the use of the inhabitants of the alley. Only three replied, a Mr. Jelf prepared to sell at £60, a Mr. William Freeman at £20 and Mr. George Freeman at £19. The Surveyor on examination of the three sites, provided an estimate of the probable cost of erecting privies on the site of the two cottages, the property of George and William Freeman. The Board ordered,

"That notices should be given to the owners of several houses stating the estimated expense of the purchase of the site and the erecting of privies amounting to about five pounds per house and unless they would adopt a plan to provide themselves with privies to the satisfaction of the Surveyor within 21 days from this date the Board will proceed to erect privies at the owners' expense"

In spite of this directive to the owners they continued to ignore all efforts by the Board to enforce them to carry out the work and on October 8th 1852 the Board ordered the construction of the privies to be commenced and the costs defrayed by a private improvement rate. The completion of this contract and the costs were recorded in the local Board of Health minute book on the 26th June 1854, two and a half years after the Surveyor had first reported the deficiency, and after repeated notices had been served upon the owners. The Board had now provided these privies on the site of the two cottages of George and William Freeman purchased for £19 and £20 respectively. (They did not receive payment until 9th November 1857) and at the following costs:

Purchase of site	£39	0	0
Conveyance	2	15	0
Plans and Specification	1	5	0
Building Contract	30	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£75	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Progress by the Local Board of Health in implementing the directions of the Health Act were slow and laborious, nuisances were reported and acted upon, street cleaning had barely shown any improvement, work was being carried out on new drainage schemes, but overall there had been disappointingly little progress.

A select committee of the Local Board disturbed by this lack of progress undertook a survey of the town on Friday 23rd and Saturday 24th September 1853 with a view to determine the seriousness of the problem.

"That in the course of such survey they had found a great number of heaps of manure, soil and filth, which they directed the Inspector of Nuisances to remove by notice under the 59th section of the Act, and that a large number of houses were still without privies or water closets or the right to use them and many were without any supply of water, that the lodging houses and slaughter houses required more efficient inspection, the bye-laws respecting them not being observed, that many pigs were kept in the town which ought to be removed and that a great number of houses in the town required cleansing and white-washing"

Following this survey and report there emerged a period of more determined endeavour. A second Inspector of Nuisances was to be employed and a new post, that of Officer of Health, was to be created whose duty it was to recommend to the Board those properties that would benefit from white-washing and cleansing. Edwin Mutlow, surgeon, was duly appointed Officer of Health for an initial period of six months commencing on the 29th September 1853. The salary was to be 10 Guineas. (This initial period of six months was followed by a further period of six months, 17th April 1854, and then for a further period of twelve months from 9th November 1854). He was instrumental in producing a pamphlet entitled "Plain Advice During The Visitation of Cholera", of which 500 copies were circulated within the district. The Surveyor at this time presented his report of the number of houses without a privy, 171 in number, and those without a supply of water, 63 in number.

During the period between the 29th September and the 3rd November 1853, the Officer of Health presented a certificate that white-washing, cleansing and purifying the following houses (91 in number) would tend to prevent and check the spread of infectious and contagious diseases, and ordered that they be cleansed within 3 days. The Inspector of Nuisances also reported 30 persons for keeping pigs so as to be a nuisance and ordered that they be removed within 24 hours.

This activity continued throughout 1854 and in November of that year it was resolved that all members of the Board were to be a committee to superintend the repair of the streets and roads, the removal of nuisances and the general purposes of the Public Health Act. This committee was to be called the Street Committee and was to meet every Wednesday at 7 p.m. without notice and hopefully, by such regular meeting perpetuate this period of activity.

Although the local Board's primary and most pressing problem was that of sanitation, one of its functions was to ensure adequate lighting of the streets. Good relationship with the local gas company was essential, but in practice this was not always so.

In February 1853, the gas company offered to light the streets from 1st January 1854 for the cost of £340 - less than 5/- per 1000 cubic feet. But the local Board of Health gave instruction to a sub-committee, formed to negotiate favourable terms, that the amount of the cost of gas under any new contract must not exceed the present cost. The gas company on hearing of the Board's attitude immediately withdrew the offer. Several meetings took place between the Board's representatives and those of the gas company. But no agreement was reached. An offer to supply 20% more gas at no extra charge was deemed "not sufficiently advantageous to the public". On the 2nd January, 1854, at a local Board of Health meeting the Mayor stated that he had personally guaranteed the gas company the payment of thirty shillings, the cost of lighting the lamps on the night of the 1st, the contract having expired the previous day. A contract proposed by the Board was submitted to the gas company, but once again it proved unacceptable to them. Eventually agreement was reached on the 6th February for a one year contract.

This uneasy relationship between the Board and the gas company deteriorated even further in 1855. It was the duration of the contract which proved to be the major issue. The gas company refused to enter into any contract of a duration of less than three years, although every other part of the contract was acceptable to both parties. The Board in its reply to the gas company considered such duration "incompatible with the interests of the town", and therefore declined the offer.

A committee was formed to superintend the temporary lighting of the town by naphtha (inflammable oil produced by distillation from coal tar). Twenty lamps were purchased and the total cost of this temporary lighting was £141. 9s. 9d. Agreement was reached with the gas company on the 30th September, 1855.

The following extracts from local publications might in conclusion sum up the progress that the Local Board of Health had made in these difficult first few years, in a town unique in its structure, generous in its charity and conscious of its weakness.

September 6th 1854, Tewkesbury Monthly Record.

"And it is not to be denied that our streets and indeed the whole town generally presents a far more cleanly appearance than it used to be, nevertheless to any person who will take the trouble to walk through the principal thoroughfares in the evening of the present hot weather it will be soon apparent from the frequent puffs of disagreeable odour which will meet him at many of the alley entrances that a frequent swilling down of the water courses and thorough lime washing of the cottages inside and out would be both salutary and economical. We commend the swilling to the housewives and white washing to the Board of Health".

Letter to the Editor of the Tewkesbury Weekly Record, dated 18th August 1855:

"Sir,

We have an Inspector of Nuisances, whose duty it is to cause to be removed all obnoxious smells within the Borough. I don't know whether that individual ever takes a morning or evening walk along the Gloucester Road on a warm day. If he does not, I would suggest that he at once walks about a quarter

of a mile beyond the turnpike, and from a field on the right hand side of the road, he will have his nasal organ opened by one of the most abominable stenches and nuisances that is possible to imagine, on a view of the nuisance complained of he will find an immense manure heap which either belongs to the Board of Health or else their Surveyor, Let Mr. Inspector do his duty honestly and order its removal forthwith.

I am Sir, yours obediently,
One who has smelt it.

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THE COURT ROLLS OF THE MANOR OF UPTON ST. LEONARDS.

by John V. Ruffell.

The Court Rolls are literally rolls of parchment, sewn together at the top, rolled tightly and tied with ribbon; the outside and edges somewhat blackened by their long rest in the Upton Parish Chest. (1). During the last six months, they have been unrolled and held flat by iron bars many times, but on each occasion there is a feeling of excitement in handling these rolls, set down in the reign of Elizabeth I, a feeling tinged with melancholy at being brought, as it were, into contact with the people who farmed the fields of Upton, and some of whose descendants still live in the village to-day.

Faced with the text, the writer found the difficulties in reading and interpretation as great as expected. After a few minutes of panic and indecision whether to proceed, an odd word here and there seemed to be recognisable. The heading of the roll contains the name of the village, the name and honours of the Lord of the manor and of the Queen, so that it was possible to pick out words such as "Cobhams", "Elizabeth", "Hibernia", "honorabilis" and, calling to mind our coinage "fid. def". Then follow the names of fourteen jurors, names already familiar because they occur in the contemporary Lord Cobham survey, (2) which had been transcribed into an easily readable hand in 1718. This list was useful as a key to other letters in the text of the rolls, because these did not always resemble any of the three hundred specimen letters in Wright's Court Hand Restored.

A few words in the court baron decisions of the rolls did offer little difficulty - words such as "debet" or "pena", but others resisted any attempt to form the letters into recognisable words. Some letters were easier to master than others; for example the letter "r" frequently resembles "q", so that "terra" is invariably "teqq". On the other hand "s" and "d" are difficult to distinguish, and "t" has no ascender and is very like "c". The greatest difficulty is caused by "i, u, m and n", minims, looking exactly the same; F.G. Emmison (3) writes: "If in doubt about minims try various combinations". Many words are contracted: "psents", with a suspension stroke above the "p", for "presents"; "qd" with no suspension mark for "quod". The letter "p" with a straight or curved stroke through its tail, can signify "per, par, por or pro". The case endings are frequently omitted. In the Upton rolls "terr" never has an ending supplied, nor has "dm", for "domin (us-um" etc.), but this presents little difficulty in finding the general meaning of the words.

The Latin vocabulary is simple and many words are self-evident: e.g. "manerum, messuagium, cotagium" etc., but difficulty arises of course where the words are abbreviated. The task becomes easier in the case of court rolls, because certain phrases are constantly being repeated: e.g. "in hanc curiam", "consuetudo manerii" etc.

Patience and persistence is needed. The writer spent some six hours a week over several months, and is still far from proficient. In fact he could have made very little progress indeed without the help of the Gloucestershire County Archivist, Mr. David Smith and his assistant, Mrs. Margaret Richards, to whom he constantly turned for help; without them he might well have given up in despair and have lost the opportunity of acquiring an absorbing new interest.

Upton St. (4) Court Baron of The Honourable William Broke, knight of
 Leonards. the right honorable Order of the Garter, Lord Cobham,
 Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and the honorable
 Frances his wife, held on Monday namely ~~xxix~~ day of
 March in the thirty third year of the reign [1591] of
 our Queen Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England,
 France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc., before
 Thomas Good, gent, [Steward] of the same, thus enrolled.

Homage (5). Roger Morgan Gent)
 William Gransham) Jurors John Bycke)
 Thomas Carter) Thomas Woodcocke, Senior)
 Thomas Forte) William Wyman) Jurors
 Baltaser Evenes)
 William Barnes)

Thomas Woodcocke, Junior)
 Thomas Blisse)
 Thomas Keylocke) Jurors (6)
 John Whyte)
 Thomas Baylie)

Essoins (7) Thomas Seames William Lygon, Knight, Elizabeth Nurse, widow.

Amercements. (8) The jurors^{6d.} say on oath that Henry Lord Berkeley,
 William Massinger^{6d.}, Gent., and William Lygon Esq., (9) and the
 heirs^{8d.} of Richard Pates, lately deceased, are free tenants of
 this manor and owe suit of court : they have made default and
 are liable to a fine as appears above their names.

Penalty for felling timber without licence. The jurors also say on oath that no customary tenant of this manor may cut down any "maheremium" in English "timber" growing on the customary lands, without permission of the Lord or his Officer, or one of them, of the Manor, under penalty of forfeiting his customary land or tenement.

Penalty for demise of land without licence. The jurors also say on oath that no customary tenant of this manor may demise or grant any customary land or tenement without licence from the Lord of the Manor or his Steward for a longer time than for one year less a day under the same penalty.

Heriot after the death of a tenant. The jurors say that every customary tenant of this manor at his death must pay to the Lord of the Manor his best animal for each messuage that he holds of this manor whether meadowland or other.

Penalty for living away from customary land. In the same place they say that no customary tenant of this Manor may live away from his customary land or tenement without permission of his Lord under penalty of forfeiting the same land or tenement to the Lord.

Penalty for failure to repair a customary property. They also say that if any customary tenant of this Manor after two fines imposed in open court of this Manor does not sufficiently amend or repair his tenement or tenements, and has a third fine given in respect of the repair of his tenement or tenements, if immediately after the same

third offence, he does not sufficiently amend and repair his same tenement or tenements so remaining in decay, the same tenement or tenements shall be forfeited into the hands of his Lord.

Due (tackum) for feeding swine in the forest.

The aforesaid jurors also say that the custom of this Manor from time out of mind is that every tenant of this Manor must pay to the Lord of the Manor annually at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel (10) for every pig, one year old and over, one penny, and for every pig less than one year, one half-penny at the same feast.

Repairing enclosures by tenants.

They also say that tenants of this Manor must repair at their own charge the Manor enclosures as often as necessary from time to time as they say that this has been the custom time out of mind.

Common rights for tenants.

The aforesaid jurors also say on oath that the tenants of this Manor are also accustomed, and from time past were accustomed to go with their beasts with the tenants of Manor of Barton Regis in and on the common land belonging to the free tenants of this Manor.

Death of a tenant.

Likewise the jurors say on oath that John Wyndowe, one of the tenants of this Manor, died since the last court; nothing is due to the Lord because he held his land by indenture.

Penalty.

In the same place a penalty was imposed that in future any tenant of this Manor must keep young pigs "jugat", in English "yoked" (11), from the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary (12) until the end of harvest, and during the next year following his pigs must be properly "annulate", in English "ringed", under pain of a fine of 3s. 4d. for every offence.

Death of a tenant.
Heriot.

They also say that Richard Bonde, one of the customary tenants of this Manor, died seized of two messuages with appurtenances, (13) since the last court, whence there fell due to the Lord of the Manor two oxen for heriot, which were delivered for his use: furthermore they say that Alice Bonde, the wife of the aforesaid Richard, should hold those two same messuages with appurtenances during her widowhood according to the custom of the Manor.

Penalty.

The aforesaid jurors present that John Bonde and Humphrey Roberts blocked the "viam jugalem", in English "a yoke way" (14) between Brimps (15) and Okeley to the serious inconvenience of the tenants of this Manor so that the tenants cannot go along it with their carts. The penalty was imposed that the aforesaid John and Humphrey "deponerent", in English "laye open" the way before the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (August 29th) under penalty for each of them of 10s.

Assessed. Thomas Carter
Thomas Woodcocke Senior.

[The next Court Baron, was held on the 28th of May 1591. Except for the date, the opening is the same as for the previous court.]

Homage.	Henry Whytinge) Thomas Woodcock) Thomas Blisse) William Gransham) Thomas Carter) William Danbye)	Jurors	William Wyman) John Whyte) Thomas Baylie) Nicholas Lewes) John Bycke) William Barnes)	Jurors
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Anthony Bycke) Thomas Woodcocke, Junior) Thomas Forte) John Cudde) Thomas Keylocke)	Jurors
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Essoins. William Messinger, Gent., Thomas Seames, Gent., William Lygon, Esq., Sibilla Barnwood, widow, Balthazer Evenish, David Vaughan, Elizabeth Nurse, John Thorn, Gent., Alice Heyes, widow, the heirs of Richard Pate, Esq., deceased.

Rent 13s. 4d. At this aforesaid court, the Lord through his aforesaid Steward, granted to Rose Wyndowe, widow, John Wyndowe and Anne Wyndowe, children of Rose, one cottage and one garden with appurtenances in Barton Street, now in the occupation of Rose, to have and to hold by Rose, John and Anne for the term of their lives, according to the custom of the Manor, paying annually to the Lord thirteen shillings and four pence at the two usual terms and rendering all other services and customary dues owed. And the aforesaid Rose paid fealty to the Lord and was admitted tenant.

[Many of the following leases for lives employ the same wording except for details which are summarised below]:

Rent 10s. ".....granted John Wyman, senior, William Wyman and John Wyman, sons of John, senior, one garden with appurtenances in Barton Street, now in the tenure of the aforesaid John Wyman, senior, lying between the tenement of Richard Pates, Esq., deceased, on the eastern side, and a tenement lately of John Machin's on the west....."

Rent 50s. Richard Rogers, Katherine his wife and Sibilla their daughter were granted for their lives at a rent of 50s. a year, a messuage and ten acres (16) of meadow and pasture with appurtenances, lying and being within the Manor, rendering heriot and other customary services.

Rent 30s. Isabella Wilshere, widow, Laurence Wilshere and Sarah his wife paid thirty shillings annually for a cottage, apple orchard and half an acre of meadow with appurtenances in Barton Street.

- Rent £8 George Burrell, Esq., Elizabeth Huntley and George Huntley, Gent, paid eight pounds annually for two messuages and half a virgate of land near Senbrydge (18) formerly in the tenure of John Bodnam, with permission to sublet to a tenant or tenants as long as they behaved well towards the Lord and his tenants of the Manor.
- Rent 16s. David Myller, William Myller and Anne Myller, children of David Myller paid sixteen shillings annually for one cottage, one close (19) and one garden with appurtenance in Barton Street.
- Rent £8 Thomas Keylock, Anne Keylock, daughter of Thomas, and Anthony Keylocke paid eight pounds annually for one messuage and half a virgate of customary land (20) lying in Snedham (21) now in the tenure of the aforesaid Thomas, rendering heriot and other services.
- Rent £8 John Whyte, senior, Humphrey Heynes and Margaret Heynes, children of Humphrey, paid eight pounds annually for one messuage, one water mill, called Stonemill (22) two 'londinate' (23) of land, two acres and one rood of land near Holstreate (24). two acres of pasture in Sudmeade (25) and six "selions" (26) of land lying in Tridworth, (27), and also half an acre of meadow in Sudmeade in a place called Longefurlong (28), now in the tenancy of John Whyte rendering heriot and other customary services.
- Rent £3 4s. John Cudd, Thomas Cudd and Richard Cudd paid three pounds four shillings annually for one messuage with an adjoining close and eleven acres of customary land, rendering heriot and other customary services.
- Rent 46s 8d. Thomas Forte, Joan his wife and Thomas Forte his son, paid forty six shillings and eight pence annually for one messuage, ten acres of land, one acre of customary land called 'le pen' with appurtenances, with heriot and other services.
- Rent £8 William Franks, Thomas Franks and Richard Franks, junior, paid eight pounds annually for one water mill, three closes of pasture adjoining the same, and two acres of customary land (29) in Ryecroft with appurtenances within the aforesaid Manor of Upton, now or lately in the tenure of John Thorne or his assigns, rendering heriot and other customary services. They were licensed to let to a subtenant without paying a fine.
- Fine 20s. William Barnes was granted licence for his life to sublet a messuage in Barton Street to subtenants.. For this licence he paid twenty shillings to the honourable Lady Frances (30) through the Steward.
- Fine 40s. Alice Bonde, widow, was granted licence, during her widowhood, to sublet a close containing four acres of pasture now occupied by Alice. For this licence she paid forty shillings to the honourable Lady Frances through the Steward.

Fine 40s.

Elizabeth Nurse, widow, was granted licence during her widowhood to sublet a messuage and a virgate of land, formerly Constables, and another messuage (31) and one 'londinate' of land now occupied by Elizabeth. For this licence she paid forty shillings to the honourable Lady Frances through the Steward.

Assessed Henry Whytynge, jun.
William Gransham

Footnotes

- (1) Glos. R.O. P 347a FMI.
- (2) Glos. R.O. P 347 MI 1 : "Gloucestershire Historical Studies" XI & XII
- (3) How To Read Local Archives 1550-1700
- (4) The following does not profess to be an exact transcription, but should provide a guide to the general sense of the contents.
- (5) Homagium. The tenants of the Lord of the Manor.
- (6) The number of jurors varies from court to court.
- (7) People excusing themselves from attending.
- (8) Fine.
- (9) Sir William was son of Richard Lygon who married a daughter of Richard Pate and had the manor at Matson (Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions Vol. II, "Some Records of Matson" by Rev. Willism Bazeley M.A.). In his will Richard Pate does not mention a Lygon. (Ibid. Vol. LVI "Richard Pate, M.P. for Gloucester" by Rev. A.L. Browne, M.A.).
- (10) Sept. 29th.
- (11) Possibly some kind of wooden frame on the animal's neck to stop it getting through a gap in a hedge, such as is occasionally seen on sheep in Europe ?.
- (12) February 2nd.
- (13) Cobham Surrey 1589. Richard had a six bay house "crossways", a messuage with two rooms, and 50 acres of land.
- (14) Presumably a cart-track wide enough for a yoke of oxen.
- (15) Brimps - the former common field on Upton Hill.
- (16) In the Lord Cobham survey Richard Rogers is described as having a "dwelling house" and ten acres of land.
- (17) A virgate was a quarter of a hide and could vary between 15 and 60 acres: - usually about 30 acres.
- (18) Saintbridge.
- (19) A small enclosed field near the house, not an open full strip.
- (20) Customary Land or Frank Tenure, held by custom and not by the will of the Lord. Abolished 1922.
- (21) Sneedhams Green.
- (22) Not identified.
- (23) Probably a 'ludinarium' - a quarter of a virgate.
- (24) Not identified.
- (25) The outlying part of the parish on the other side of Gloucester, was enclosed by an Act of Parliament in 1813 - 14. Gloucester City Library JF 6.42 (1-2)
- (26) Strips of open fields.
- (27) Tredworth.
- (28) Not identified.
- (29) "Terras", but presumably arable strips in Ryecroft field, in contrast to the pasture closes which would have been near the mill.

- (30) It is not clear why this should be paid to Lady Frances, rather than to Lord Cobham.
- (31) According to the Cobham survey of 1589 Elizabeth Nurse had "a dwelling house of four Bays being a Hall & other necessary rooms" and "Also another Mess(uage) called Escott hay severed from the hay of tother Tenement with a lane leading to and from handgrove with a house thereupon cont. 4 Bay & a Rome & a buttend". There is a field at Bondend still called Angrove.

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THE BOOTH HALL, WESTGATE STREET, GLOUCESTER

by
Barbara Drake

During the week of 18th May, 1957, another link with Gloucester's past history was destroyed with the demolition of the Booth Hall Hotel in Westgate Street (1). Behind this old coaching inn stood a mediaeval great hall, which was Gloucester's mediaeval Guild Hall or 'Exchange'.

The term 'Boothall' (Bohalla) denotes a covered place or market hall for the sale of wares and provisions. 'Guild Hall' (Gihalla) denotes a town hall where the borough courts were held and municipal business transacted. It was used by both the guild merchants and the community (2).

Merchant guilds were chartered 'Chambers of Commerce' with certain legal powers, and came into being with the Norman conquest. By the end of the 12th century some 28 of these trading associations were in existence. Possibly the Merchant Guild in Gloucester was amongst the most ancient, as it already had its Guild Hall in 1195: "The Burgesses (of Gloucester) purchased leave to buy and sell in their Guildhall, for which they paid ccc lampreys for royal protection" (3). (Dover had one in the 10th century, and Beverley (Yorkshire) the 11th century). In 1200, Gloucester had acquired sufficient standing to be granted a common seal for the common business of the town: "The seal of the Burgesses of the Gild Merchant of Gloucester".

The primary aim of the Guild was to promote the trading interests of its members and to exclude strangers from a share in the benefits that Guild association gave. Members were exempt from payment of tolls or dues on any goods bought or sold within the town. All trading within their Guildhall was carefully regulated, prices were controlled, and the King's weights and measures were used as being correct. As a result, they monopolised all trade in town, making it impossible to prosper in any trade by remaining outside the Guild.

The two bodies, the Burgesses of the town and the brethren of the Guild, who were after all very largely the same people, associated mutually. Under their chief officers, known as Aldermen, the Guild helped towns to draw nearer the concept of a Corporation during the 12th century. The Guild generally came to be associated with the governing body of the Town.

Henry II was aware that there were associations or Guilds forming naturally in many towns without royal consent and therefore making no annual payment for the privilege to him. Feeling deprived of his rights, he made a special effort to trace all unlicensed associations and fined them (4). In Gloucester we find in 1170 Ailwin the mercer being fined £100 for setting up a community in the borough of Gloucester, Henry Hund 20 marks and other citizens 17 marks each (5).

There was one occasion when traders could sell their wares other than in the Boothall, and this was the time of the Great Summer Fair, June 25/29th. It was granted to the burgesses of Gloucester by Edward I towards the end of the 13th century. Lasting the week, it was held in Westgate Street (6).

Here in Gloucester we find the Guild Hall and Boothall under the same roof, and from 1230 regular entries occur in the Corporation records of leases and grants of land in which they are mentioned, either as the 'Boothall' or 'Common Hall'. In 1230 there was a demise from Richard the Red, Richard the Burgess, David Duning, John the Draper, John of the Gooseditch, and all the other Burgesses of Gloucester of the Guild Merchant to Master Hugh the farrier of a part of their land of the Gihalla lying between the land that belonged to Ralph of Tudenham and the door of the Boothall (7). This parcel

of land realised 4s. annual rent to St. Bartholomew's Hospital for the 'sustentation of the infirm' from 1270 (8).

The 1455 Rental of the Borough of Gloucester (p.47) states: "The Community of Gloucester, by their Stewards, hold a tenement with appurtenances called 'the Bothall' or 'Gild Hall' for holding the pleas of our Lord the King and of others there; and there is an inn, which Philip Fleet, draper, holds there by deed, for which tenement called 'the Bothall' they rendered in the times of Kings Henry III and Edward I, 31½d; and in the time of Edward the Second for the said Inn thereof and for the workshop of the cellar, with appurtenances then adjoined, formerly belonging to Hugh the Farrier, which used to be collected by itself 10d. for enlarging the same, and for having the shop that Thomas Fleet, son of Philip, holds near there: and to this time they pay 3s. 7½d. (for landgavel)..

In Richard II's Charter of 1397/8, he granted to the Burgesses of Gloucester the power to deal with pleas relating to land or tenements within the Town, also debts, trespass and personal pleas at the Borough Court to be held in their Gildhall (9).

In 1499 it was decreed that any cloth, woollen, or linen brought to the town could only be sold within the Boothall. A fine of 6s. 8d. was imposed on anyone acting contrary to this Act for every piece so bought by them. This was reinforced in 1514: 'No stranger or foreigner to open their packs to sell in their houses but only at the Boothall. And no wool, woollencloth, lyncloth or other merchandise to be bought other than at the Boothall'. By 1527 the weighbeam at the Boothall was the only place for the weighing of wool, 1d. duty being levied on every 'tod' (28 lbs.) or 'wey' (14 stone) of wool. A fine of 8d. was imposed on anyone found weighing in their own homes. The Chamberlain gave merchants who traded according to these Acts tokens whereby they were able to redeem their pledges from the porters on the gates (10).

In 1528 the Boothall was rebuilt. In the Council Memoranda Book (GBR B2/1) there is an entry stating that the House of Justice (Assize Courts) is in such disrepair it is no longer fit to be used. King Henry VIII had a letter sent to the Constable of the Castle in which he said that the Courts were in "extreme ruin" and that he gave the mayor permission to use such stone as was necessary from the Castle - leaving sufficient for repair of the County Gaol. This was despite the fact that in 1493/4 the sum of 4s. 8d. was spent on a boat load of stone, bought at the quay, for paving the Great Hall (11). £80 from the bequest of Thomas a Gloucester was to be spent on the rebuilding of the Boothall.

An almost unique incident in ancient judicial history occurred at the Boothall when Anne, Lady Berkeley, sat as a judge under a special commission of Henry VIII. She impanelled a jury, received evidence, found Sir Nicholas Poyntz and Sir Maurice Berkeley and their fellows guilty of divers riots and disorders, and fined them (13).

In 1548 (GBR B2/1 f.46) Burgesses found guilty of offences were confined in the Boothall until they had paid the fines imposed; other townspeople were sent to the Northgate.

In the 1552 city rental, James Webbe was in possession of the Boothall Inn and the tenement on the east, the weigh beam and custom toll at the quay, for £6 13s. 4d. By 1558 (GBR B2/2 f.114) Robert Ingram of the City of Gloucester, innholder, and his wife Edith were leasing 'all that Inn or great tenement', the great hall, or Common Hall of which was used by the Corporation, where the Assizes and other meetings for the city and county of Gloucester were usually held, and the Election Chamber. The tenant had to allow J.P's and Sheriffs free access to the chambers, and to provide at his own expense on the day of the election of officers, cake, wine and ale.

From 1559 there is evidence that the Boothall was being used as a theatre. In the Chamberlain's accounts are many entries relating to the construction of a scaffold on which travelling players could perform. John Battie, carpenter, received 8s. for 108 quarters of 'elme bourdes' for the scaffold, 2s. for a piece of timber to place under it, 7d. for 100 'bordenayles', and 4d. for the actual construction. The players would receive about 10s. for their performances, plus a banquet given in their honour. They included the Queen Majesties' players, Lord Ambrose Dudley's, the Earl of Warwick's, the Earl of Worcester's, the Earl of Leicester's, the Earl of Sussex', and the Lieutenant of the Tower's players. There are also references to performing bears, wine or ale being supplied for the 'bearwards'. Ingram was paid 3d. for 1lb of candles at one performance (14).

By 1580 there seems to have been an extensive restoration and enlargement to the Boothall, with 4s. additional rent on the rebuilding of the stables. In 1592/3 amongst other works done, a filthy well in the stables was cleansed, and 2 cagements in the Election Chamber were installed. £34.10s. 0d. was paid out in 1593, including 5s. 4d. spent on 800 Cornish tiles (16).

About 1567, Robert Ingram died and his son, Robert, took over the lease on the Boothall (GBR B2/2 f.138) with usual conditions that the Great Hall and little hall commonly called Shire Court Hall and Election Chamber to be freely accessible. The Corporation were to be allowed access and use of a room at the head of the stairs going into the Election Chamber, for City business. In 1606 the Inn was held by a Mr. Lawrence Wiltshire. At this time the Boothall was rebuilt - made more spacious and convenient for the Justices of Assizes and J.P.'s. Two Assize courts were made. (GBR B3/1 f.220). In the London Illustrated News, 23rd January, 1847, is a sketch showing the lath and plaster building that was 'full of windows'. Fosbrook describes the inside as "barnlike and uncomfortable". The interior was one large hall supported by 2 ranges of timber pillars, probably chestnut (17), having at one side a gallery and (by 1847) some remnants of hangings (18). Clarke, in his Architectural History of Gloucester suggests that in its perfect state it was a spacious and lofty room.

References in the Corporation minutes show that the Boothall was still being used as a prison for offending Burgesses in the time of James I (GBR B3/1) and in 1659 (GBR B3/3 f.103), the stewards were ordered to "raise the bar at the Boothall for the safe keeping of prisoners". One incident illustrates the kind of misdemeanour that could end with imprisonment. Alderman Smith called Sheriff Robinson a "sawcie fellow and a baggage fellow", and was commanded to the Boothall to await the Mayor's pleasure (19).

When Mr. Lawrence Wiltshire died in 1612 the lease was taken by Mr. Jesse Whittingham, at £64 annually. The Boothall was held by his widow, Elizabeth Whittingham from 1647 at a rent of £50 a year (20). This lease passed on to a Mr. John Smallwood, but by 1700, he was so in arrears in rent, had neglected necessary repairs of the premises, and was in 'mean circumstances', so that proposals for a new lease were put before the Council. A man of 'substantial' means, Mr. Thomas Ady, had offered to buy the lease, and to lay out £50 in repairs (21).

From Thomas Ady's leases (GBR 1409/1523 & 1411/1525) more information relating to the interior of the Boothall can be noted. It describes the Election Hall as being over the Great Hall, with the Gallery leading to it, and 2 chamber reserved for the jurors situated to east and west of the gallery. Included is an inventory of furnishings: in the Election Chamber, 'One long table, one elbow chair and 4 long forms'; in the City Grand Jury Chamber, 'One oval table and 2 formes'. The weigh beam, consisting of 3 iron cranes, beams and wooden scales, were still in use for the trade of cloth, wool, leather, lead, iron and tin. Cattle were impounded in the Boothall yard for the required time taken

to settle trespass or debt offences. There was a yearly rent payable for use of water coming from Robins Wood Hill.

In 1701, Ady was given leave to erect a staircase at the north end of the premises leading to the Election Chamber. In 1716 £30 was given by the Corporation towards making the Crown Court at the Boothall more convenient, the county having to make up the remaining sum (22).

Rowland Pytt, woollen draper, took over the lease from 1714. In 1721 a proposal was put before the Corporation that £10 be spent towards making a Court of Nisi Prius. (GBR B3/9 f.117). From that time, "the criminal and nisi prius courts were divided by a thin partition against which the judges sat back to back, and it happened that the silence of one court, hushed while the judge was passing sentence of death on some poor wretch for robbery, or sheep-stealing has been broken by the roar of laughter from the other court, provoked by some sally of counsel, or an incident of a funny case" (23). The inventory for 1739 included 'irons for branding criminals'.

On the 14th/15th April, 1739, George Whitefield preached at the Boothall in a great campaign of religious 'revival'. He claimed an attendance of "near 5000 people". Though that number could by no means have been in the Great Hall, such were Whitefield's powers of oratory, those standing out in the yard could easily hear (24).

In 1741/3 the Boothall was repaired and rebuilt, the Corporation footing the bill. (GBR B3/9 f.464). At this time the lease changed hands, to Mr. William Rayer, of the city of Gloucester, innholder. By the time carpenter Roberts, bricklayer Ingly, pargeter Randall, glazier Wellavize, plumber Powell, ironmonger Coles (who incidentally in c.1750 owned with Robert Raikes some Welsh tin works in the Neath Valley, and whose daughter married Rowland Pytt (25)) had been paid, £595 had been spent on the rebuilding. The frontage of the Booth Hall Hotel that remained a feature in Westgate Street until 1957 was added at this time, complete with armorial bearings, the work of a well-known sculptor, Thomas Ricketts, erected in the portico for which he was paid £12 8s. 0d. The group was composed of the City coat-of-arms, a boy on a lion, and a boy on a unicorn, carved in either Cotswold or Bath stone. When the Boothall was demolished, this group was renovated, repainted and placed in the gable end of the block of shops on the north side of Westgate Street at the junction with Three Cocks Lane (26).

The Gloucester Journal, 27th July, 1742, carried the following notice: "William Rayer is removed from the 3 Cocks in the City of Gloucester to the Boothall Inn... being now new built and made very commodious for the reception of Gentlemen and Travellers who may depend upon meeting with good entertainment and civil usage. N.B. The wool market and stamping of Leather are kept in the Hall". It had become a busy coaching Inn, with stabling. For 40 years it was leased to William Rayer, at a rent of £40 p.a., one of the leading hotels in Gloucester. Royalty does not appear to have stayed there, however (27).

The Gloucester Journal, 21st July, 1761, had the following item of news: 'Monday a.m. 2 o'clock. About 2 hours ago a Fire broke out at the Boothall in this City. It began at the Crown Bar; the west corner of the House is nearly consumed. The Engines are all playing and we hope it will be extinguished before it reaches the adjacent houses. 5 o'clock. The Fire is entirely suppressed, and the Damage sustained is not very considerable. The Grand Jury Room and the upper end of the Hall are the only parts that have suffered and none of the adjacent houses are hurt, nor do we hear that any Accident has happened. The Assiduity of the Magistrates and the Courage & Alacrity of the Workmen cannot be too highly commended.' The Corporation had to meet the expenses of rebuilding the south end of the Boothall, a sum of £189. It was decided to rebuild in brick only. (GBR B3/11 f.20)

"On the night of March 7th, 1769, the Boothall was so crowded with members of 'The Histrionic and Musical Academy for the Improvement of Learning and Literature', that there was scarce room for the players to come upon the stage. Suddenly someone in the pit heard a board crack and called out, "The gallery is coming down". Others in fright called out, "Fire, fire", which threw the whole gallery into confusion and many who were in the front jumped down into the pit. The number of people pressing to get down the stairs also broke the rail, and the confusion existed for 10 minutes until the audience could be convinced that the danger existed only in their imagination." (The Citizen, 18th March, 1952). At this time Oratorios were in vogue, and sacred dramas such as 'Joshua', 'Israel in Egypt', 'Judas Maccabaeus' were being performed at the Boothall (28).

Rayer was in occupation of the Boothall until 1781, to be followed by George Hinks, at £105 rack rent; 1796 to 1829 saw John Spencer at £110 and later £150. During this period £327 was paid by the Corporation for entertaining the Gloucester Infantry; £1000 was spent on the erection of the Shire Hall Courts (the famous Polygonal Courtrooms designed by Robert Smirke); and a further £234 spent on repairs and improvements. In 1803 Sir George Onesiphorous Paul had delivered an address at the General meeting of the County of Gloucestershire with regard to considering the necessity or expediency of erecting a new Shire Hall or adapting such measures as the delapidated state of the Boothall might require (29).

"After the erection of the present Assize Courts, the Boothall was converted into a hay-loft and coach shed, but becoming too dilapidated even for these base uses, the Corporation pulled it down a few years since, and built a commodious Club room on the site of it." (Gloucester Journal, 2nd February, 1861.)

"Adieu, thou dreary pile! old Sessions Hall!
Where for so many hundred years
Blind Justice, with her well wigged ears,
Has heard the dronings of the legal drawl,
Besides that ancient range of stable
Whence all the sounds of pristine Babel
Brought their wild notes to swell the suitor's din,
And horses neighed without, and asses brayed within..."

Horace Twiss, the wit and politician. (30).

Spencer advertised his retirement in the Gloucester Journal, 2nd June, 1827 calling the Boothall a 'well accustomed Inn & Coffee House.' He mentioned that 'coaches to & from all parts of England & Wales stop at the House, which is also a Sleeping House for passengers by coaches from London to Carmarthen & all parts of Wales.'

A plan of the Boothall drawn in 1826 shows the Hall measuring 163' x 50' (34).

John Rawlings answered the advertisement in 1828/9, to be followed in 1841 by R.W. Holtham at £105 rent, Fred Biscoe in 1860, and William Morris from 1862 to 1867 at £80 (31).

From the reports of the City Council meetings 1865-70 a picture emerges of a declining phase in the city. Difficulties arose over the Boothall tenancy on September 29th, 1866; Morris was insisting that before he signed the lease, the Corporation had to pay the insurance. He continued to refuse to pay it

himself so it was proposed that he should be given notice to quit the Boothall. He claimed that he had spent £300 on repairs to the property, but Alderman Riddiford pointed out that he had been paying half the former rent of £120 in order that money could be spent on substantial alterations and improvements. The Mayor suggested that such an unprofitable property ought to be sold off, and if Morris liked to buy it there would be no need for him to go at all. 'In reality the Corporation had laid out £200 seeing that they only received the miserable rent of £66.'

In 1867, there was talk of the School of Art and the Museum purchasing the property, but no further action was taken. Mr. Hawkins spoke strongly against the shutting up of the house as an Inn, saying that such a course of action would greatly injure the tradesmen of Westgate Street.

A report on the Boothall was made for the Corporation 1867: 'The buildings are very old, entailing a great expense despite £200 outlay within the last five years in repairs. The part used as a Dwelling House now requires extensive repairs or to be wholly rebuilt..... consequent upon the opening of the South Wales and other Railways on the western side of Gloucester, or from other causes, the Traders' business of the premises as an Inn has very much declined in common with that of other Hotels in the same locality, one of which has already been permanently closed (i.e. The King's Head Inn, opposite) and there is every reason to believe that Hotel property in that quarter will continue to decline it appears undesirable that Inn property should be held by the Municipal Corporation, the Mayor as well as other members of the Body being magistrate and cases relating to Inns frequently arising before the bench We propose that the property be offered for sale by auction, the sum of £1200 being fixed as reserve price, with liberty afterwards to sell by private contract at that price if not sold at the auction. On September 28th, 1867, permission was granted by Her Majesty's Treasury to sell the Boothall, but meanwhile, in the November, part of the premises were let to Ephraim Lloyd at £4 a month.

It was sold in August 1868 for £1500 to George Barrett, wine and spirits merchant, the highest bidder, complete with Club/Ballroom in rear, yard, stabling, coach houses, and a tenement in Upper Quay Lane to be used as a Tap (32). On Christmas Eve 1869 the Old Hall was opened once more, this time as the Alhambra Music Hall capable of holding 1500 people, equipped with a bar and promenade. It soon acquired a bad reputation and in 1874 it burnt down. (Gloucester Journal, 23.10.1948.) Barrett died on 15th February, 1882.

Thomas Maslen, licensed victualler, leased the Inn off Barrett's trustees, for £200 by quarterly payments, also the Skating Rink adjoining the Boothall, stables, loft over the coachhouse, and the yard situated at the rear. He could have purchased it for £4000. (DC/F 24) Maslen surrendered the premises back to the trustees in 1887, and it was sold for £2000 to Arnold & Co. Ltd. In 1916 it finally became the property of Arnold Perret & Co. Ltd. (The Cheltenham Original Brewery), until its demolition in 1957.

The Old Hall took various names in its final years:

1886 - Royal Albert Hall Palace of Varieties; 1889 - Royal Albert Theatre;
1902 - King's Theatre and Opera House; 1910 - King's Hall;
1918 - King's Hall Theatre; 1927 - King's Kinema;
1936 - King's Theatre Ltd; and finally just The Booth Hall Hotel, from 1939 (33).

The Citizen, 23.10.48 reported: "It stands now neglected, dusty and depressing....Today little is left of the old Assize Hall, save a small amount of timbering on the short side; and the front in Westgate Street with the pediment. The building is suffering a lingering death, but before it goes, steps could be taken to rescue those parts that are worthy of being retained and a photographic record made of those that are not." There are photographs at

the Gloucestershire Record Office taken prior to demolition (GPS 154/467/471)

The Citizen, 24.1.50, carried a further report: 'After recent discussions between the Council and the Cheltenham & Hereford Breweries Ltd., it was decided that on termination of the existing tenancy the building shall be demolished, and the site cleared ... It was compulsorily acquired by the Council some years ago when it was thought likely they would be able to extend the Shire Hall buildings in the near future..... now it is used by the County Council as a stores. Estimated restoration is in excess of £20,000 and the Brewery are not prepared to carry out any scheme for restoration unless the Council can grant a long lease, which it is unable to do, not knowing when they might need the site Mrs. Lucy Marmon had over 50 years association with the premises, from 1896, and recalls the day when there was a considerable number of stables attached to the house (now a stores) and the stabling of horses for dealers and other people coming into the market was the chief business.'

And so, about the 18th May, 1957, this site on which the Boothall had stood for at least 800 years, was lost to view under a later extended Shire Hall complex.

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CHARLTON KINGS WILLS 1547-1553: SOME CONCLUSIONS.

by M.J. Greet.

One of the best sources of local and social history in the early modern period is the wills of local people. This is true of Charlton Kings (near Cheltenham) no less than elsewhere. The following conclusions are drawn from a study of the nine wills of Charlton people who died between 1547 and 1553 (seven men and two women), which are deposited in the Gloucestershire Record Office (1). All nine wills had preambles in the non-traditional form (2). One of the witnesses to the will was normally the local priest (3).

As in the reign of Henry VIII the content of the wills reflects the very great importance of agriculture in Charlton at this time. The inheritance of a son or daughter (apart from any land) was essentially agricultural, e.g. a cow and hog (young, unshorn) sheep; a heifer; a weaning calf; a corn wain (cart) and 'all that belongeth to him' etc. Other legatees could receive, for example, a dung wain, or a 'heifer to his marriage.' God-children often received a sheep each. It is apparent that while some men raised cattle, others raised sheep (Richard Wele, husbandman, left 20 or more sheep; Richard Lynet, gentlemen, left at least 50), while others had mixed livestock.

Since the social status of the testators varied, the amount of property varied also. Most testators held copyhold land which had to pass to the customary heir (the youngest son) (4), and thus generally only personal property, livestock or agricultural implements are specified. Wills usually contain a clause leaving all other goods not bequeathed to a residuary legatee and thus complete details of all property held by the testator are not available. It is thus difficult to draw firm conclusions about individual wealth. For illustration details are given in the Appendix of two pairs of wills listing details of property left (a) by a husband to his wife, and by the wife when she died three years later, (b) to a daughter by her father, and by the daughter in turn when she died a year later.

As in the previous reign bequests were made to:

- a) 'the poor men's box' (in the parish church) of amounts from 2d. (husbandman) to 12d. (gentleman), or a bushel of barley. Sometimes 13s. 4d. or 20s. was also left by the more wealthy for distribution at discretion of the overseers or the family among the poor
- b) 'the high altar' of a bushel of barley or 4d. for tithes forgotten
- c) the repair of roads (in one instance). This did not become a parish responsibility until 1555.

At this period the more wealthy often expected burial inside the church (e.g. Robert Grevyle, 'before the blessed sacrament'), while ordinary people had to be content with the churchyard.

Another difference was that the wealthy had servants; three or four were mentioned in Alice Lynet's will. One was left 'four sheep and a yearling calf to breed an ox.' Elizabeth, wife of John Hays was to receive 'a gown of mine own wearing.' One shepherd received one sheep.

In this group of wills almost no information is given about houses except in the case of Thomas Lynet. His house had:

- a hall: with a great table board
- a solar (upper room): with a great chest and feather-bed
- a court: with a well and 'cestorne' (cistern)

Little information either can be deduced about the state of the less well

off, though one husbandman owed 55s. 4d. at his death.

Appendix

(a) Wills of husband and wife

Thomas Lynet (d. 1548)

To poor men's box: 12d.

To poor of Charlton Kings at wife's
and friends' discretion: 20s.

To wife Alys: 1) all base tenure land
in Cheltenham hundred
(for 12 years after
his death)
2) residue of estate.

To daughters:

Elizabeth: Sanford Mill, Cheltenham
(after wife's death)

Agnes(wife
of Nicholas

Rogers): 1) lands at Kings Stanley
and elsewhere.
2) reversion of lands left
to Richard Stewe.

Richard Stewe

(son of daughter

Joys): various lands (after death
of wife)

50 sheep,
best cow and calf.

Great table board in hall,
great chest in solar,
feather bed and
appurtenances in solar,
cistern in court

Alice Lynet (d. 1551)

To poor of Cheltenham and Charlton
at executors' discretion: 13s. 4d.

Nicholas Rogers: iron-bound
corn wain.

William Pats: iron-bound dung
wain.

To daughters

Agnes and

Elizabeth: flock bed, canvas,
bolster, pair of
blankets and 2 pairs
of sheets to each.

Richard Stewe: all lands/goods left
by husband.

50 sheep,
cow and calf.

dung and corn wains
(iron-bound),
2 harrows, 2 oxen,
2 yokes, plough,
plough strings.

latten chafing dish,
best brass pot save one,
best brass pan save one,
2 cushions,
2 silver spoons,
4 platters,
2 pottingers(porringers)
2 saucers,
salt cellar,
feather bed and 2
feather bolsters,
a banker(a covering for
a bench or chair),
2 towels,
flock bed,
2 double canvas,
2 candlesticks,
2 says(say: fine serge
material),

2 bolsters,
4 pairs of sheets,

To
 Richard Stewe: 2 pair andirons,
 continued.... a broche (spit),
 dripping pan,
 great chair,
 folding stool,
 cauldron,
 possenet (small cooking
 pot),
 Alice Machyn: 6 sheep
 John Whitorne
 (Godson): 2 sheep
 William Corior
 (servant): 4 sheep
 yearling calf to breed
 an ox.
 Elizabeth Hays: gown of own wearing
 3 servants) : one sheep each
 1 shepherd)

(b) Wills of father and daughter

Richard Aleruge (d. 1552)

To son John: cow, horse,
 broche, pair andirons,
 best coverlet,
 2 tableboards,
 pair of trestles, a
 form, 2 flitches of
 bacon, (one of the best,
 one of the second(best))

Son's wife: best colander

Daughter Jane: his own bed, bolster,
 coverlet, pair of sheets,
 canvas, best brass pot,
 best coffer, 3 pieces
 of pewter, store pig,
 ? a ring, andiron,
 a broche.

Daughter

Elizabeth: cow, brass pot, 3
 pieces of pewter, pair
 of sheets, canvas,
 coffer.

Daughter Agnes: brass pot, 3 pieces
 of pewter, 2 sheets,
 canvas, kettle, coffer.

The will also lists
 various debts owed to
 and by the testator.

Jane Aleruge, singlewoman (d. 1553)

Thomas Goslyng: cow, brass pot,
 (The younger coffer, broche,
 son of John andiron, 3 pieces
 Goslyng) of pewter, salt
 cellar, red
 petticoat.

Margaret Goslyng
 junior: flock bed, bolster,
 pair of sheets,
 canvas,
 coverlet,
 a flannyn (flannel)
 petticoat,

Elizabeth Balynger
 (the elder): lockram (linen)
 kerchief,
 a violet cape.

Elizabeth and
 Masy Balynger : 2 corner- kerchiefs

Old Alice: lockram kerchief

John Goslyng
 (uncle): store pig

Jane Goslyng
 (aunt): residue of linen.

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1547/180
1548/76
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1551/7
1552/85
1553/40

Name:

William Gale
Robert Grevyle (gentleman)
Richard Wele (husbandman)
Thomas Lynet (gentleman)
Robert Regedale
Thomas Hewes
Alice Lynet (wife of Thomas)
Richard Aleruge
Jane Aleruge (single woman)

Articles

1. M.J. Greet: 'Early wills from Charlton Kings' (1537-1547)
Bulletin no. 4, Charlton Kings Local History Society (1980), pp. 5-16
2. M.J. Greet: 'A dispute over the will of Alice Lynet, widow, 1551-3'
Bulletin no. 5, Charlton Kings Local History Society (1981), pp. 7-10

Notes

1. For details of the format of wills see article 1 cited above.
2. Compared with a split between traditional (Catholic) and non-traditional forms of 3/2 (1537) and 4/4 (1542-7), see article 1.
3. Richard Elborow was described as curate on 6th December 1547 and 7th February 1548. William Hill, former chantry priest at Charlton was described as curate in another will of 1st February 1548, and from then regularly to 1st March 1553.
4. Though the widow had a right to her husband's land for her lifetime, and 12 years after.

THE POOR SCHOOL, GLOUCESTER

by J.M. Price

The school, originally at the Eastgate, was established for the education of poor children of the city, under the management of the Governor and Guardians of the Poor of Gloucester, by a series of local Acts from 1702 onwards. It was endowed by Timothy Nourse, whose will, dated 1698, devised land in trust for the building and maintenance of a workhouse and the education of poor children in reading and writing, and by Dorothy Cocks (1711) and John Hyett (1713).

The early history of the school is obscure since the minutes of the Governor and Guardians have not survived for the period 1749-1857, but the Charity Commissioners reported in 1826 that the school met in Lower Northgate Street, in a room built by the Revd. Richard Raikes [c. 1813], which could hold 'about 200 children, which is generally the number on the school-roll.' Parents were asked to contribute 1d. weekly towards the purchase of clothing, and at the end of the year the Governors contributed an equal amount, giving each boy a ticket entitling him to obtain clothing from a Gloucester tradesman. The education provided was 'agreeable to the system adopted by the British and Foreign School Society; reading, writing, arithmetic, and the elements of religious knowledge, being the major subjects of instruction.' The boys educated were the children of the poor, and were aged from 6 to 15 years. The School was inspected weekly by Visitors appointed by the Governor and Guardians. The report concluded: 'we have reason to think that the establishment is superintended and conducted in a very judicious and praiseworthy manner.'

Extracts from the minutes of the Governor and Guardians of the Endowed Free School, alias the Poor School, Northgate Street.

31st October 1870

The following extract from the will of Mr. Charles Lloyd, late of Surrey, was ordered to be entered in the minute book:

'I give and bequeath to the Trustees or others the Managers of the Poor School at Northgate Street, Gloucester, originated by the late Robert Raikes (in which I was when a boy) the sum of one hundred pounds to assist in carrying on or extending the benefits of the said school.'

13th February 1871

At a meeting of the Governor and Guardians of the Poor School a letter was received from the Headmaster:

'I beg to tender my resignation as Master of the above School which I trust I have managed to your satisfaction for nearly 57 years and beg to give a month's notice from the end of January.'

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Old and Obedient Servant,

Thomas Holmes'

[An advertisement for a Schoolmaster at a salary of £65 a year was inserted in the Gloucester Chronicle, Journal, Mercury, and News. Mr. Frederick Charles Blackman was appointed Headmaster on 29th September, 1871.]

1st May 1871

It was agreed that the school should be for poor children and should be carried on as before, as far as this could be consistent with the Education Act, 1870. The poor children were to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic.

10th August 1876

A general meeting of the Governor and Guardians was held to consider the desirability of purchasing a site for building a new school, it being agreed that the present school was inadequate, ill-ventilated, and had a stone floor which became damp in winter. The site considered was situated in Park Street, 'a district thickly populated with the class of children likely to attend the school.'

19th September 1876

It was decided to purchase four plots of land in Park Street as a site for a new school building. [It was never erected because premises in Deacon Street became available (see below)]

28th December 1876

The Governor and Guardians of the Endowed Free School decided to place the school under government inspection and to make it an efficient school to enable scholars to obtain the Certificate of Competence under the First Schedule of the Elementary Education Act of 1876. They stated that 'the Conscience Clause is adopted and a register of attendance is kept, and the education is free of charge in accordance with the will of the donor.' Enclosed with their letter to the Department of State was a summary of the education returns of the city of Gloucester showing that the schoolroom contained space for 130 scholars.

[The school was inspected in 1877 but found to be inefficient because of the lack of qualifications of the staff. The inspector's report stated that 'Mr. Blackman is unfairly weighed in this large school of rough boys without any proper or efficient help.' The school was therefore refused recognition and threatened with closure.]

The Deacon Street Premises

10th May 1877

A letter was received from the Managers of Gloucester Industrial Ragged School who originally wanted to hand over their premises [closed 1876] to Gloucester School Board. The Dean and Chapter, who gave the site for the Ragged School, had objected that the terms of the deed of gift of the site stated that the premises were to be used as a school for the education of children of the poorer classes, "preferring children who were destitute or without other means of earning an honest livelihood." Gloucester School Board declined to accept the transfer on such terms and suggested that the terms of the foundation deed would be met if the school was transferred to the Governors of the Endowed Free School. Such an approach was now made.

27th July 1877

The Managers of the Industrial Ragged School resolved to convey the school to the Trustees of the Endowed Free School, to be used as a school for poor and destitute children in accordance with the original trusts of the Ragged School, 'the instruction at the said school comprising the Holy

Scriptures, reading, writing, arithmetic and geography, but
no child shall be required to learn any catechism or other religious
formulary or to attend any particular Sunday School or place of worship.'

16th August 1877

The Governor and Guardians of the Endowed School resolved to accept the
transfer on these terms.

30th November 1877

The trust deeds of Gloucester Industrial Ragged School were handed over
to the Governor and Guardians, who afterwards went to inspect the Deacon
Street school, and drew up a list of repairs and alterations necessary to
meet the requirements of the Education Department.

21st December 1877

Mr. Blackman, who had failed to pass the examination for his certificate,
was dismissed, and Mr. R.A. Rogers was appointed Schoolmaster on
27th December.

21st November 1878

[The Governor and Guardians had for some time been considering opening
an industrial training school]. Mr. T. Barwick Lloyd Baker attended the
meeting and explained his views on industrial training. He was in favour
of boys being employed on the land, considering it to be healthy exercise
which would strengthen the muscles and system generally. It was resolved
to add 'one or more branches of industrial training' to the curriculum.

Extracts from Deacon Street Boys' Free School log book

'The boys of the Endowed Free School, Northgate Street, were transferred
to the building in Deacon Street (now known as the Endowed Free School,
Deacon Street), under the Mastership of Robert A. Rogers, who opened the
school with 99 boys on 25th February, 1878.' [By the end of the year
there were 134 boys, and attendance rapidly increased until there were
217 boys on the roll five years later.]

19th May 1878

I commenced giving lessons to the Monitors this morning at 7 a.m., leaving
off at 8 a.m., this arrangement to continue during the summer months.

10th March 1879

I have 113 present this afternoon, and only one monitor to assist, therefore
I am obliged to disregard the real Time-table work for the present and work
by a temporary one until more assistance is obtained.

20th September 1883

The want of an Infants' School is greatly felt in this school, Standard I
being the drawback, At the beginning of the year the boys knew nothing,
the majority of them having been to no infant school.

23rd October 1884

The City Coroner, A.M. Sydney Turner, surgeon, paid a visit to School and
informed me of his intention to provide dinners three times per week to

twenty of the poorest boys in this school. He also mentioned that he would endeavour to organise penny dinners for the School as the majority of boys stand in great need of such.

27th October 1884

Doctor Sydney Turner....agreed to find free dinners for 60 boys each day next week provided the Managers would agree to continue the penny dinners. [The scheme was rejected by the Managers].

6th December 1886

School to be closed on Wednesday afternoon and the boys taken to the Albert Hall of this city to see Poole's Diorama.

6th October 1887

Some bigger lads and girls caused a great deal of confusion especially in Standard II by throwing stones at the doors, and rubbish in at the classroom windows, shouting etc.

3rd December 1890

The Soup Kitchen having been opened for the winter season, to enable boys to fetch soup, on Tuesdays and Fridays we commence with secular work.

9th February 1891

I decided to open and close school one hour early this afternoon in order to secure a good attendance, there being a strong attraction to keep the boys away - the grand Football Match, Gloucester v. Hull.

6th August 1891 [Abstract of a newspaper report]

The boys for the first time ever were given an outing. The gathering took place in a field near the Dog at Over, The boys led by St. Mark's drum and fife band marched through St. Mary's Square and Westgate Street to the field. Balloons were sent up, races were organised, each winner receiving an article of clothing as a prize.

6th November 1891

The number on the books is now 170 or about 20 less than the corresponding date last year. This is partly due to the fact that since the new Education Act (Fees Grant) came into force, several boys have left this for schools nearer their homes, and partly because lately there has been a scarcity of work in Gloucester, and many families have left the City to seek for work elsewhere. Sickness and 'boating' also affect the attendance of many whose names remain on the school books, so that I find it well-nigh impossible with present staff to maintain the efficiency of the School.

Staff for 1892: Headmaster, assistant, pupil teacher.

5th July 1893

In the afternoon the Governor distributed the medals and coins commemorative of the royal wedding to the boys and infants of whom there were altogether 191 present. The boys sang the National Anthem and "God Bless the Prince of Wales".

Thursday 6th July

A holiday for the royal wedding.

17th August 1893

This afternoon thanks to the kindness of the Governor and several of the Guardians and other friends of the School, the boys' annual treat took the form of an excursion by train to Haresfield Beacon. Here an ample provision had been made for the lads, who were well looked after by the Guardians and many ladies, who had attended in order to make the day a very enjoyable one for the young excursionists. Much of the time was spent in racing for prizes which had been presented by well-known friends of the boys.

5th December 1893

This being the date of H.M. Inspector's visit, the Governor and Mr. Farley very generously gave all the boys and infants a free breakfast. There was therefore a very good attendance and the children being well fed were in very good order, and answered the questions put to them much more brightly than I have seen them answer before, whether at an Inspection or in the ordinary school work.

1896. [Extract from H.M. Inspector's report for 1895]

The boys attending this school belong to the poorest and roughest class of the population, and cannot be properly controlled or taught by female teachers. [The staff were all female with the exception of the Master].

13th March 1896

This school is now beginning to feel the effect of the outbreak of small-pox. Till this week, the district and the homes of the scholars have been singularly free from the disease.

[The school was closed during April-June because of the epidemic].

1899

Two boys were found guilty of pick-pocketing. Having been previously convicted for stealing, both were sent to the reformatory for four years. An accomplice (Standard I), received twelve stripes with the birch rod. One boy sent to Harwicke Reformatory for stealing a bundle of Citizens.

Boys absent from school illegally working, carrying boards and walking horses along the towpath.

.....

In April 1899 the school ceased to be known as Deacon Street Boys' Free School and became Deacon Street Board School (Boys).

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NURSING IN THE GLOUCESTER UNION WORKHOUSE HOSPITAL

by F.H. Storr

While modern nursing was struggling to evolve at the Gloucester Infirmary there was another hospital serving the poor of the town with a rather different philosophy of care. Under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 the sick poor had to be admitted to the newly established Union Workhouse which replaced the old small workhouses of the individual parishes in which no particular provision had been made for the sick.

Under the Act the Gloucester Union Board of Guardians, who were responsible to the Poor Law Commissioners or Poor Law Board, met weekly every Tuesday at 10 a.m. from May 7th 1835. In the minute books kept of these meetings there are the records of many decisions made concerning the hospital and the persons appointed to care for the sick poor of Gloucester. Until a purpose-built workhouse was ready for occupation the building used was the old Gloucester Workhouse and the first Matron was the Matron of the old one, but her duties were primarily that of housekeeper responsible for all the inmates rather than only for the care of the sick. On July 7th it was ordered that "a contract be made with a midwife to attend all cases of midwifery that shall occur within the Workhouse". This was particularly important because all pregnant women were specifically excluded from being given care at Gloucester Infirmary.

A committee was set up to look into the whole state of the workhouse in the light of the new Act, and when it reported in August 1835 it recommended that the room formerly set aside for the sick should continue to be used as such "and be well ventilated". Two medical officers were to be appointed to attend the poor, including cases of midwifery in an emergency, for £500 per annum.

A further committee appointed to "examine the orders and regulations of the Poor Law Commissioners to find out how far they can be adopted with reference to the present workhouse" reported in December 1835. It was clear that there would not be enough room for all the sick and for the lunatics and idiots in the old workhouse. They did recommend however that "an able bodied young woman be appointed to act as a Nurse and as assistant to Matron". On January 12th 1836 the Matron reported that "there is in the workhouse a young woman by the name of Comfort who can act as an assistant". The Board ordered that "she be employed and if she conducts herself well she shall receive some pecuniary allowance by way of reward".

In May 1836 the Board advertised for a sub-matron to teach and take over the entire care and management of the children of the workhouse, and this post eventually evolved into that of the schoolmistress, but together with the nurse they were responsible to the Master and Matron.

In October 1837 the Board borrowed £5000 in order to start building the new workhouse, 1000 yards south from Northgate Street in what came to be called Workhouse Lane or Great Western Road since the workhouse was built next to the rapidly developing Great Western Station. In March 1838 it was decided that the Matron should be paid £30 per annum, and the nurse (Ann Wrenn at this time) should be paid £6. 10s. 0d. per annum.

In August 1838 the following rules were made for the workhouse hospital:
The medical officers to attend the Workhouse daily.
No pauper admitted to the sick wards to be discharged without a certificate from the medical officer.
A report on the general state of health of the inmates was to be made weekly but any contagious disease had to be reported to the Guardians at once and

steps taken to separate the diseased inmates from the rest. The report book of the medical officer had to be on the Board room table at the beginning of each meeting. A visiting committee was appointed with the particular responsibility of assessing the danger of any infection.

On September 11th 1838 the Master "this day reported to the Board the insufficiency of the present nurse at the workhouse to perform the duties allotted to her. It was directed that an advertisement be inserted in the next papers for an efficient person to undertake the situation of Nurse at the Workhouse".

On September 15th 1838 the following notice appeared in the Gloucester Journal:

GLOUCESTER UNION

Wanted - A steady middle-aged woman to undertake the care of the sick in the Workhouse, together with lying-in women. For reference apply to the Master of the Workhouse.

N.B. None need apply who are not thoroughly competent to perform the duties.

Meanwhile a room for the nurse was to be included in the new workhouse and on September 18th it was reported that "Mr. Bump and Mr. Taylor having adjourned, in compliance with a request from the Court, to the (Gloucester) Infirmary to ascertain the rate of wages generally given by that Institution to the nurses and which they find upon enquiry of Mr. Hill the Secretary to be as follows:- Ten guineas per annum for the first 3 years with an additional half guinea in every complete Quarter and also an additional sovereign per annum to enable her to provide all the basins and chamber pots necessary each year. And fourteen guineas per annum after the first 3 years with the additional sovereign as above mentioned. They therefore recommend that the same terms be adopted with respect to the Nurse appointed for this establishment". This was unusual since many workhouses continued to use paupers with no established salary for another 30 - 40 years.

On 25th September Mary Yeates was chosen from four applicants to start on September 29th, while the quarter's salary due on that day was to be paid to the present nurse and she was to be told that her services were no longer required. Mrs. Yeates resigned however on July 23rd 1839 and a more specific advertisement was put in the Gloucester Journal on August 5rd:

WANTED - A middle-aged active Woman as a Nurse to the Gloucester Union.

Salary £12 per annum with the usual establishment diet.

Testimonials as to character and competence (without which no application will be entertained) to be sent to me at the Workhouse on or before Monday the 12th day of August next and personal applications to be made to the Board the following day.

Full particulars as to the nature and extent of the duties required will be given on request to the Master at the Workhouse.

Clerk to the Board.

Elizabeth Higgins was appointed from two applicants at a salary of £12 per annum.

Mrs. Higgins remained in post for the next nine years during which time it gradually became clear that the hospital accommodation in the new workhouse

was totally inadequate. A major problem was the isolation of infectious diseases, often unidentified fevers but sometimes smallpox and cholera. A room was even needed for "the purpose of receiving paupers labouring under the Itch" (scabies). This must have been a very real problem especially because of the secondary infections that must have resulted from scratching. A report in 1847 says that the most troublesome disease among the children was 'sore heads' and a grim vision of impetigo scabs as a result of head lice arises. On one occasion the children suffered a severe attack of diarrhoea which was blamed on the new potatoes in the soup, so bread and cheese was substituted for a while. On another they were suffering from severe chilblains as "there was no heat to their feet in the school room". During a particularly severe attack of the itch amongst the children it was ordered that "one of the refractory cells be appropriated for the fumigation of the clothes of such inmates that be affected by the disease". However the main conditions that needed care from the nurse were the large numbers of inmates who were old, infirm and decrepit. They frequently took up beds in the hospital that could have been used for more acute conditions, and supplies bought for the hospital during this period were mainly for the infirm, such as a "bed chair and two cradles" and £5 spent on a fly(wheel chair) for "the use of the sick poor under the direction of the medical officer".

In 1845 the design of the 'dead house' was altered "whereby the indecency of the dead being carried through the sick wards might be avoided". On August 3rd 1847 appears the following entry:-

"Whereas it appears that the number in the hospital have been very heavy for some months past whereby the labours of the Nurse have been greatly increased; Ordered that in consideration of such additional services the nurse Elizabeth Higgins do receive a gratuity of £2 and the same to be paid and charged to the common fund of the Union."

However a year later it was resolved that "the present nurse who is old be retained in the Establishment as an assistant at a salary of £6 per annum with rations, and that the Board elect a Nurse this day fortnight." This time the advertisement was to indicate that she should be able to read and write, her age was not to exceed 40 years and her salary was still £12 per annum. On September 12th Ellen Wait, a widow, was appointed "she being the only candidate who had sent in the testimonials pursuant to the advertisement". Elizabeth Higgins died in the workhouse in June 1849.

In spite of the original advertisement that asked for someone able to care for lying-in women, midwifery remained a separate contract as it had been from 1835, and an entry in May 1848 clarifies the role of the medical officers in these cases: "With regard to midwifery cases it has never been the subject of agreement that the medical officers should attend these cases. In general a woman Midwife being employed for ordinary cases but that should any instance of difficulty or danger occur the Medical Officer should then be called upon and be bound to attend".

In 1849 Gloucester suffered a severe cholera epidemic, and at a meeting of the medical officers with other members of the medical profession in May of that year to discuss ways of dealing with it, one of the resolutions was "to provide proper nurses to wait upon the sick in each district". Nurses employed to take care of these cases were to be paid 3/- per day and 3/- per night or 5/- per day and night. This payment together with the other costs of dealing with the epidemic were the responsibility of the Board of Guardians since the majority of cases were occurring in the most destitute areas of the city where there were appalling housing conditions and the River Severn was the only water source. In June 1849 it was ordered that "tickets be printed and delivered to the 4 medical officers appointed to care for the cholera cases enabling them to supply a nurse in any case in which they may consider it necessary that one should be employed". There is no record of the source from which these 'proper nurses' who were prepared to work in such dangerous

conditions were obtained, but nurses were included in the expenditure on items such as bedding, drugs and cleansing materials that made up the heavy cost of the epidemic to the Union.

The burden and the risk to the nurse employed in the hospital must also have been great because her salary was raised to £15 per annum in August 1849 when the epidemic still raged. It was over by October but the nurse resigned then and the post was advertised at "£14 with the rations of the House". No candidate applied but it was re-advertised; there were two applicants and a Helen Eskins was appointed.

On December 11th it was ordered that "an American Clock be furnished to the Nurse not to exceed in price 20/-". There is no mention in the minutes as to why a clock was now necessary in order for her to fulfil her duties.

In June 1850 the nurse applied for an increase in salary but this was deferred to be reviewed after she had been in service for a year. In fact it was not until the new hospital was built and opened in September 1852 that the nurse's salary was raised to £20. As has been indicated this was for work that was different from that of her colleagues at Gloucester Infirmary. Their patients were acute cases admitted with a hope of cure, and the chronic sick, the contagious and the pregnant were refused admission. Under the 1834 Act the workhouse had to accept everyone in need, and the nurse had to care for the paralysed and infirm, skin conditions caused by dirt and malnutrition, and the infectious diseases rife in the nineteenth century slums. Nursing in the workhouse was a cinderella service, and as such affected the development of nursing well into the latter half of the present century.

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