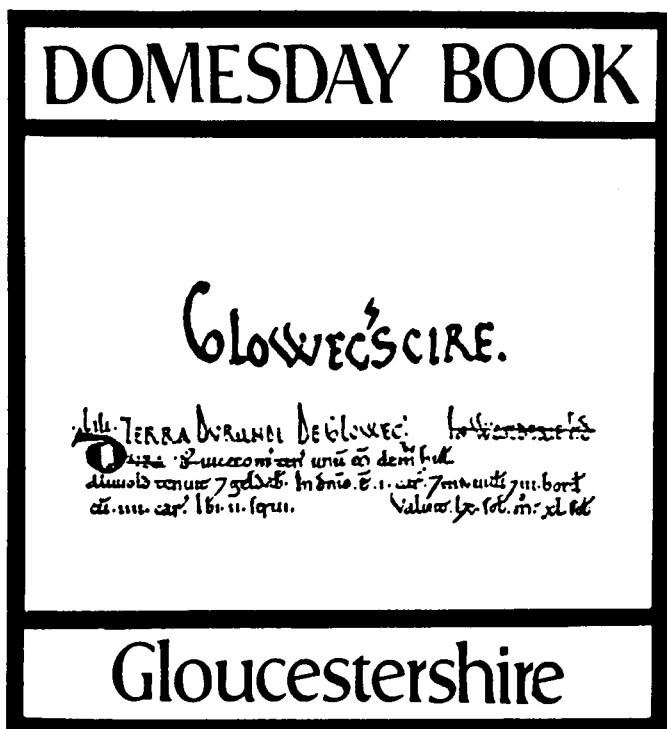


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EDITORIAL

The recent registration of the birth of His Royal Highness Prince William of Wales is an apt reminder of the connection between some royal Williams and Gloucestershire; the entry in the Westminster Register of Births, No. 115, gave the address as "Highgrove" Near Tetbury, Gloucestershire." The christening in Buckingham Palace, so the Lord Chamberlain's Office advises, was recorded in the Chapel Royal Register, the official register of all Royal marriages, baptisms and confirmations.

The first royal William, the Duke of Normandy, was closely connected with Gloucester since, as is well known, he regularly visited the City at Christmas time to hold court and, after "very deep speech with his Witan about the land," he instituted the Domesday Survey in 1085, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records. This year, 1982, has seen a modern introduction, analysis and comment on Gloucestershire in Domesday Book edited by Mr John Moore, a member of the Gloucestershire Local History Committee.

Stephen Reid's imaginative representation of the event at Gloucester in 1085, painted and presented to the Corporation of Gloucester in October, 1922, includes William I's son and he continued his father's custom of visiting the City to hold his court. In 1092, a sick man, he retired to recover at Alveston. In the next year, as peptic as ever, he refused to see Malcolm III of Scotland in Gloucester, but invested an unwilling Anselm, Abbot of Bec, to the vacant Archbishopric of Canterbury. Much later, when William III of Orange came to the throne, the inhabitants of nearby Bristol gave thanks in 1688 for the "deliverance from the arbitrary power" of James II and William stayed in that City in September, 1690. Eighteenth century parish registers clearly show the popularity of William as a name throughout Gloucestershire.

It is also of interest to note that the bride of the Prince of Wales previous to the present Prince, was brought from Denmark in the royal yacht "VICTORIA AND ALBERT" captained by Henry Christian, who later served as the second Chief Constable of the Gloucestershire Police (from 1865 to 1910) and when that couple visited Wales in 1881, exactly one hundred years and a week earlier than the visit made by H.R.H. Prince Charles and H.R.H. Princess Diana, they came by train through Gloucester, escorted in 1881 by the then EARL AND COUNTESS SPENCER.

I am sure that in years to come, local historians will be able to develop this theme. The articles in this issue reflect public records, ecclesiastical foundations and the role of the episcopacy, all three features present when Domesday Book was initiated, in Gloucester, some nine hundred years ago!

BRYAN JERRARD.

THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND LOCAL HISTORY

The student of this history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when handwriting is difficult to read, is helped by the existence of many printed records. These are the Calendars of State Papers Domestic and related series. The calendars summarise documents in the Public Record Office. They follow date order, which gives them their name of calendar. State papers are those belonging to the secretary of state's office, and include letters received, letters sent, and many other papers.

The first state papers to be printed were those of Henry VIII, which were published by the Record Commissioners between 1830 and 1852. Their edition quoted documents in full, and has now for most purposes been suspended.

After the establishment of the Public Records Office a fresh start with the publication of state papers was made in 1856. Three new series began at 1547, the first year of Edward VI. The state papers were divided into three groups, domestic, colonial and foreign. Publication has continued, and there is now an unbroken series of Calendars of State Papers Domestic till 1704 in the reign of Queen Anne.

Each volume of the calendar is a large one of about 600 pages, and includes a good index. In referring to the calendar it is usually only necessary to write C.S.P.D. and the date; if a more precise reference is needed, the volume and page number may be quoted. The arrangement and numbers of volumes can be seen in H.M.S.O. Sectional List No. 24, British National Archives, which can be obtained free from Government Bookshops. Many of the original documents have been pasted into volumes at the Public Record Office, known as class S.P., and the number of the S.P. volume is given at the top of each page in the calendar. Some documents are in different collections and have different references. These references should be used when referring to the original document.

One of the earliest documents in the state papers concerned with Gloucestershire is a letter from Bishop Hooper to William Cecil, opposing permission for one clergyman to hold two livings. Private letters have found their way among the state papers. There is a letter from Sir Charles Percy, an admirer of Shakespeare. He came to live at Dumbleton in Gloucestershire in 1600, and hated being away from London; he complained he would become as dull as Justice Shallow or Justice Silence — they were the Gloucestershire justices in Henry IV Part II. Documents from the time of the civil war include many letters from Colonel Massie, Governor of Gloucester; he complained of lack of men and money, and of obstruction from local politicians. During the commonwealth iron making was stopped for a while in the Forest of Dean, and ship building encouraged; the letters are preserved of Daniel Furzer, who built the frigate Forester in 1657. Letters from Henry Fowler the mayor and Thomas Vyner the dean reveal the political quarrel, between former parliamentarians and former royalists, which led to the surrender of Gloucester's charter in 1671.

For the years from 1542 and 1631 there are the Acts of the Privy Council. These volumes print in full the contemporary registers of the privy council, which recorded mainly the 'tenour' of letters sent out. For the years 1637 to 1645 facsimiles of the registers have been published. The

printed volumes have full indexes, but the facsimiles have not.

The Acts of the Privy Council are an indispensable source for Queen Elizabeth I's reign. Her three visits to Gloucestershire, in 1573, 1574, and 1592, can be traced from the meeting places of the council. Letters from the council in 1588 reveal the sad story of Gloucester's effort against the Spanish Armada; the city got permission to supply a ship of their own, instead of paying money towards a queen's ship; but their ship never joined the English fleet in the Channel, but went off on a pirate expedition.

There are a few references to Gloucestershire in the Calendars of State Papers Colonial. A letter of 1622 reported an Indian attack in Virginia, in which were killed Captains Barclay and Thorpe; they were leaders of the Gloucestershire settlement at Berkeley Plantation. A number of letters from Virginia merchants complained against tobacco growing in Gloucestershire, which interfered with their trade.

Two specialised calendars contain a wealth of information: these are the Calendars of the Committee for the Advance of Money and of the Committee for Compounding. Both committees were set up by parliament during the civil war, and imposed fines on royalists. The activities of many individual royalists are recorded in some detail. The Calendar of the Committee for Compounding includes evidence given in 1659 about the rising in Gloucestershire on behalf of Charles II, organised by Colonel Massie, who had now come to support the restoration of the king.

The Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII, published between 1864 and 1932, superseded the Record Commissioner's volumes of State Papers. The Letters and Papers include not only state papers, but other documents in the Public Record Office, and also documents preserved elsewhere, as in the British Library. The royal supremacy and the dissolution of the monasteries are illustrated by letters sent to Thomas Cromwell. Grants recorded in the patent rolls are listed every month; from these can be traced the subsequent sale of monastic property.

The records of parliament are not in the Public Record Office, but in the House of Lords Record Office. Many of them have been printed. The Statutes of the Realm have been collected and printed since the seventeenth century. Some acts are of local interest, for example the act of 1558 confining cloth making to towns, except in various places, including the villages 'near adjoining to the Water of Stroud.' The Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, between 1642 and 1660, were published separately in 1911; many individuals were named in them, as members of parliamentary committees, or as commissioners for taxes or militia. The Commons' Journal began in 1547, and the Lords' Journal (in Latin at first) in 1509. These journals contain much information about Gloucestershire during the civil war, for example the reward promised to Colonel Massie for his defence of Gloucester, and then withdrawn, and finally paid after the restoration.

After the prohibition on recording parliamentary debates was lifted in 1771, William Cobbett published contemporary debates, and also compiled the *Old Parliamentary History*. This was an account in many volumes of debates and votes in parliament, drawn from pamphlets published at the time. In this history we can read how Sir Nicholas Arnold of Glou-

cestershire spoke up for the liberty of the house of commons in 1571, and how Thomas Pury criticised the dean and chapter of Gloucester in the discussion on the root and branch bill in 1641. Petitions and other papers presented to the house of commons perished in the fire of 1834; those of the house of lords were saved, and have been printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Records published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission will be the subject of another article.

RUSSELL HOWES

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER

Mediator between the Farmers and the new National Agricultural Labourers' Union, 1872.

The bell rang. The doors were opened, and the guests were ushered in. They were led up a flight of stairs to be welcomed by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester. The eight labourers were nervous as they entered the great dining room (now King's School library) and saw four gentlemen standing, in conversation with the great cleric. He bade everyone sit down and began thus:

'I pray that God's blessing may rest on this meeting and that he may guide our counsels.'

'This meeting' was held in the Bishop's Palace at noon on September 27, 1872. It was the culmination of six months' controversy between landlords, labourers, clergy, farmers and 'agitators' as they were called. Since March of that year the GLOUCESTER JOURNAL had reported on the growing influence and following of the 'Agricultural Labourers' Union,' and since August there had been a plethora of letters exchanged between the Lord Bishop, the Rt. Hon. J. Sotherton Estcourt, a large local landowner, and many other small, country landowners and clergy, and Mr Yeates who styled himself the District Secretary of the Union. The feverish activity in Gloucestershire and the neighbouring counties of Wiltshire, Somerset and Hereford during this period, was publicised by the national press, a fact which only served to worsen an already bad situation. The Bishop recognised the problem as 'difficult and complicated' (GLOUCESTERSHIRE CHRONICLE) and Mr Yeates prophesied 'a serious and inevitable struggle' if the landowners and farmers did not 'come forward and raise the wages of the men,' and if they did as they threatened and 'starved them that winter.' Everyone realised the possible dangers of the situation in September, 1872, but most preferred, like Mr Kingscote of Wotton-under-Edge, to wait, obstruct and complain and 'follow the story in the newspapers with interest.'

The story had begun with a report in the JOURNAL on March 16 informing its readers that the Union was in the process of extending its influence to 'include the whole of the West of England,' beginning with a meeting at Staunton on March 11, at which, says the article, the labourers first showed their dissatisfaction. Some remarked that the labourer's life was not 'a living; it was but a lingering, a process of starvation, in fact.' The JOURNAL on March 30 reported a strike in Warwickshire for 16/- (80p) a week wages in retaliation against being sacked for joining the Union. It also said that 'there are no less than eight counties up in arms in the same "social revolution".' The strikers refused 'to reckon the cheap cottage, the plot of potato ground, the gifts of coal and meat

and clothing in winter, the charity of the squire and the help of the clergyman as part of their lawful guerdon. They demanded to be paid all in money and none in kind or kindness.' The Gloucestershire Chamber of Agriculture retorted that because of the 'improvement of the land' and the fact that he did not suffer because of fluctuations of trade, the farm labourer was infinitely better off than the town dock worker.' These two questions, of being paid partly by material extras as well as by money and that of the relationship between the town artisan and the farm labourer were to occur again and again in the Agricultural Labourers' Question, as it was by then dubbed.

The JOURNAL reported a second meeting at Staunton and the formation of a Union branch at Ross. The issue of April 27 announced that there had been 'more meetings last week than in any week since the agitation commenced.' The strike spread to Northamptonshire and Worcestershire, and a second large meeting was held at Ross, addressed by Joseph Arch, the movement's founder. With the lengthening evenings the Union meetings were becoming more popular and the Warwickshire slogan of 'United to protect, but not combined to injure' was also beginning to fire local enthusiasm.

The first Union meeting in Gloucestershire was in Newent on May 6, just three months after Arch's first meeting in Warwick. This was the first local branch to be established in the County and it encountered little opposition from the landlords. During June, however, there were mass meetings at Cirencester and Fairford and for the first time a meeting in the County town itself. This was held on Monday, June 10 in the Co-operative Hall. This was a vital assembly, since it attracted men from all over the County, important points were discussed and the Union Rules laid down.

The question of the migration of labour to equalize its value over the country, the labourer's lack of Parliamentary representation, and the state of his 'self-degradation,' were discussed. Mr Ward, a Union organiser, said that 'he never met with a more temperate, docile, modest class than the farm labourers. All they wished for was most modest indeed, and they bore oppression in a way that surprised him.' Joseph Smith asserted that 'every farm labourer had the RIGHT to live and be fed, and he had a RIGHT to clothe and educate his children!' The labourers were a most conservative class. All they wanted was a contented and quiet life, and a good employer. The idea of fighting for their rights was alien to their nature. Indeed, one of the 'masters' main arguments against the Union was that 'strangers' had invaded their lives and forced them to do something which they did not really want. The Unionists were agitators, thought many farmers; they were men with no genuine desire to help the labourers (who were thought to be contented anyway), but simply men who were seeking local power or publicity, and in a more sinister way, to exploit the labourers economically by abusing the Union funds.

The Union Rules stated the aims of the organisation: 'to elevate the social position of the farm labourers of the County, by assisting to increase their wages, to lower the number of ordinary working hours, to improve their habitations, to provide them with gardens or allotments, and to assist deserving and suitable labourers to migrate and emigrate.'

It was at the next meeting at Staunton that Mr Yeats, called 'a mechanic,' first came onto the scene. He said that: 'Success must never be achieved by coercion, by intimidation, or by using any extreme measures; success would only follow by their thinking and acting as men, by combining together one in heart and one in head.'

He quickly rose, and became a major figure at Union meetings, himself chairing some at Cinderford, Staunton, Newent and Stroud. He also adopted the five s's: Oppress, Distress, Redress, Progress and Success, which he popularised as a Union slogan.

By the end of July, 1872 suspicions and jealousies, prejudices and ambitions were coming into conflict. There were prosecutions in Warwick over Union-backed strikes, and a case in Hereford where three farmers granted concessions and agreed to pay 15s. (75p) a week, without cider — a practical rise of 3s. (15p).

On August 1 Mr Sotheron Estcourt published a notice in the GAZETTE addressed to his employees in the parishes of Shipton, Newton and Ashley, in which he enumerated ways in which the Union was doing harm. His first argument was that the 'mutual confidence hitherto existing among us will come to an end; jealousy and misunderstanding will take place of goodwill with old attachments from the moment the servant has ceased to be independent, by enrolling himself in the ranks of the Union.' This was strongly repudiated by Mr Yeats: 'mutual confidence never existed, as a rule, but only in the exception, between employers and their labourers, and the only reason why these poor fellows have borne so long and patiently the cruel wrongs imposed them has been the result of the overbearing, grinding-down process to which they have been subjected by the landowners and farmer.' Nevertheless, Mr Yeats does half admit that a situation of mutual trust and goodwill had existed, and one of the doubts of the labourers was that their ancient and somehow privileged agreement of honour with their employer would be damaged, doing more harm to themselves than to their 'masters.'

Estcourt's second argument was that by joining the Union the worker would lose his independence. Mr Yeats replied that without the positive organisation, motive force and drive of the Union, the labourer would not do anything to improve his lot and continue to linger on the road to starvation, as Tom Penny had said. The Union was indeed 'a sort of club,' as Estcourt had disparagingly called it — more of a guide than an end in itself. It did not have as its aim 'to dictate to employers,' to use Estcourt's emotive phrase, but demonstrated the Victorian doctrine of 'self-help' by encouraging a sensible and fair master-servant relationship.

Estcourt argued that the worker would be unfairly dictated to by the Union — itself composed of strangers, with no special knowledge of local conditions — who will 'handle the contributions' and tell them how to live. Estcourt was partly right in assuming that the union network would generalise over particularly local problems, but the problems of the agricultural labourer were largely the same all over the country. Although it was true that wages were distinctly higher in the north, the problems over cottages, being paid in kind, and having no adequate means of negotiating with the master, were universal.

The third point raised was the question of 'extras'. 'How can he

expect' says Sotheron Estcourt, 'those other advantages (e.g. low rent, sick pay, potato ground) 'ko be continued?' The friend of pre-Union days has become the spy. The truth was that cider, for example, was often watered down and was 'no better than water'. On being asked the question 'Did it (the cider) give you satisfaction?' one labourer replied, 'No; it hurt me. I could have had three quarts a day if I liked, but I could not drink it.' It was often sour.

Besides the cider, cottage and allotment rents were by no means low. Some labourers paid £4.10s. (£4.50p), others over £5 per year, in rent for what was sometimes little more than dilapidated hut. Taking an average annual income of a farm labourer to be about £28, the rent alone would cost him more than 20% of the total. Apart from this, Mr W. P. Price had commented at the meeting with the Bishop that 'if a labourer was required to pay three or four times as much for his allotment as a tenant paid for his farm, that was extortion.' Mr Price's example was certainly not a theoretical one. Mr Yeats is recorded as saying that 'for every man who had a free allotment, he could produce ten or twelve men who had to pay double the rent which the farmer paid.' Spare ground for growing potatoes would almost certainly be of bad quality, given the fact that the worker had enough time outside his own job to cultivate it.

The last point of Estcourt's notice was that the Union would 'put all men on a level' so that the good would lose and the bad not necessarily benefit—an argument that bears the traces of mind searching. Mr Yeats called the notice an 'extraordinary manifesto', as indeed it was. It did serve to lay down lines for later discussion, as well as presenting in concise terms the case for the landlords.

Estcourt's case was much admired, not only by the Bishop, but by many others who sent him letters of admiration, requesting permission to have it printed and distributed among their own employees.

When the notice was published in the DEVIZES AND WILTSHIRE GAZETTE, the editor composed this minor eulogy as an introductory heading: 'If there is any one person more than another who has claim to be heard by the agricultural population of Wiltshire (and Gloucestershire) it is Mr Sotheron Estcourt. Few men have devoted a greater portion of their lives to the work of ameliorating the condition of the labouring classes, both socially and materially, than that right honourable gentleman. He has on all occasions proved himself the poor man's friend.' But when Sotheron Estcourt—the poor man's friend—was invited to the meeting at the Palace fixed for the 27 September, to meet the poor and Mr Yeates, he refused to come.

In the same letter as the invitation to the Palace, the Bishop had mentioned that 'owing to my unfairly treated speech at Gloster recently, I have been brought into contact with a very decent fellow (Mr Yeats) It is a great opportunity for doing good. Accident has thrown me into this position. I must seek a good way out of it.' He was referring to an unfortunate joke he had made at the end of his speech: 'It is not for me, a man of peace, to say anything stronger than that I hope all my friends will keep the peace and remember the Bishop advised them that if the village horsepond stands invitingly near not by any means to

push these men (agitators) into it' Again, unfortunately for the Bishop, the DAILY TELEGRAPH got hold of the story and grossly misinterpreted it.

This incident, and the fact that the well-meaning but ill-informed Bishop had arranged this meeting without having informed him, or the Lord Lieutenant, and without having any direct connection with the problem at all, angered Mr Sotheron Estcourt, who thought that by the Bishop's unwarranted action, the Unionists had gained much favourable publicity where they should have got none.

By 17 August, the situation was worse than ever. Sotheron Estcourt thought the Bishop ignorant of the true facts, and regarded him as an influential but interfering busybody. Bishop Ellicot was 'seeking a good way out of it', but thought sincerely that by his unbiased mediation, at least some of the labourers' real grievances could be solved. Mr Yeats must have been fairly satisfied with the state of affairs, no doubt pleased about the Bishop's public intervention. But by this time new factors were appearing.

A meeting on the 14 August at Barley Close (inside the City boundary) was attended by nearly 500 people when Mr Yeats was described as 'secretary of the Gloucester district of the Union'. The disease had established itself in the City. The men now decided on 'justice not charity'. Another more ominous factor was revealed in the JOURNAL Agricultural Report. It forecast 'one of the most awkward seasons in remembrance': the 'potato crop was most fearfully diseased' and the fate of the wheat and peas was in the balance. On the 17 August the JOURNAL also published the correspondence passed between the Bishop and Mr Yeats, baring the forthcoming confrontation for all to see. On that same date the GLOUCESTERSHIRE CHRONICLE in an article entitled 'The Bishop and the Agricultural Labourers' gave the details of a Union meeting held in Gloucester Park on the 14 August. Mr Ward said that he had 'been stigmatised as an incendiary, a firebrand and an agitator. He had, however, borne all these hard names because he had in his conscience a sense that he was doing his duty to his fellow creatures'.

The WILTS AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE STANDARD introduced another difficulty when it mentioned that 'there was an undercurrent which hoped to turn the agitation amongst the labourers to some account in a crusade against the Church' and to 'hold up the Church as the Labourers' enemy, whilst the dissenting Minister is shown to be his friend'. This is important in trying to understand the unanimity shown by the country clergy against the Union. Any whiff of Dissenter support would not improve the Union's position with the clergy. This is partly why the Bishop was looked on with such disapproval in high quarters. The STANDARD also said that 'a trade union is in the very nature of things hostile to the interest of the master' and that opposition to change 'comes not from the master but from the men.' The question of whether the majority wanted change is not easy to answer, and the clergymen thought that by interfering with men's lives they were destroying an ancient and dignified way of life. But in the 1870s times were changing. The Bishop recognised that 'it was impossible for any of them to disguise the fact that they were passing into a new order of things,' and quoted

two lines of Tennyson to prove it:

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways."

(Morte d'Arthur)

On 24 August the GLOUCESTERSHIRE CHRONICLE published an article describing a Union meeting at Sandhurst that had been disrupted by violence. It was not caused by farmers, as had happened, but by an ill-timed and provocative shout from a passer-by, a Mr Organ. A free fight ensued. This incident caused some disquiet among the landowners who sensed latent revolution, all the more dangerous for them because the harvest was in the process of being collected in.

On 31 August Estcourt wrote to the Bishop stating his case, since he had refused in advance to attend the meeting at the Palace for the 27 September. In his opinion the agitation was caused by "the example of the strikes in London and by the 'International opinion'". He thought it better to allow the evil to work itself out, as it was doing day by day. It was an 'evil' because it set class against class, and because the Unions failed to realise that the employer was simply ruled by the principle of supply and demand,—the cost of living—and if he did not consider that he would go bankrupt. He also advised the Bishop 'to make sure that your information is correct and complete and not one-sided.'

The JOURNAL reported on the 7 September a bad harvest that year. 'Fallow and root land never in worse condition during my experience of 40 years. Hay a heavy crop, but much has been spoilt by floods and heavy and continuous rains Nearly one seventh of the average production had been lost.' The bad harvest had another effect—the labourers were driven to the Union because the security of their jobs was in question; the farmers became more irritable because of their lost revenue; the general atmosphere concerning the 'question' became acrimonious. Coinciding with this news was the fact that the National Union had 140,000 members 'with a large number' from Gloucestershire.

'The Labourers' Union is not unlawful, therefore the men have a right to join it, and support it if they please. But what is lawful to the employed cannot be unlawful to the employers, whose RIGHT to refuse to employ a Union man is equal to any right the Union man himself possesses.' That was the crux of the matter: that which was legal, moral, proper or fair for one side was not for the other; and since there was no tribunal or board of enquiry (apart from disinterested individuals who could mediate, like the Bishop) all the two sides could do was to smoulder away in their separate corners and wait and see with a 'hopeful patience' (JOURNAL 28 September). Meanwhile the days were fast approaching for the great meeting.

It was now noon on the 27 September, 1872—the time and date that had been arranged over a month before. A few minutes before the labourers anxiously and tentatively made their way up the staircase, the gentlemen had arrived by coach. They were Mr J. Curtis Hayward (Chairman of the County Quarter Sessions), Mr W. P. Price (M.P. for the City of Gloucester), Captain de Winton (Member of the Gloucester Board of Poor Law Guardians and a farmer), and Mr Edward Holland, a farmer. Eight farm labourers had come (six from Brant Green and Newent, one

from Ashleworth, and one from Pauntley), under the guidance of Mr Yeats, the District Secretary of the Union.

After a brief introduction, the Bishop enumerated 4 points of contention:

1. That labourers and their children should receive a proper education, in the widest sense of the word.
2. That labourers should be provided with better housing, which would mean a more healthy and moral background to a home in which they would bring up their children.
3. Labourers should be given a share in the land which they worked, perhaps by a development of the allotments system.
4. That labourers should receive less wages in kind, or in undefined privileges or exemptions, and more in cash payment.

To take the points in order, 'education' for all 'those present meant more than being taught how to read and write. It meant self-respect, dignity and independence; the knowledge that he had a 'defined position given him by God' (his 'place' in fact).

The second point of contention, concerning cottages, was freely discussed. Labourers 1 and 7 (their names were not given 'to protect them') each had seven children, while labourer 8 had 6; all cottages had but two bedrooms, so usually the girls slept in one room with their parents, and the boys in the other. Labourer 1 mentioned taking a lodger as well as keeping his large family. The labourers talked about their dwellings as 'more like a pigsty', and 'like a stable', 'neither comfortable nor decent'. In conclusion Captain de Winton held 'that 'the agricultural labourer should have three bedrooms in his house, one for his daughters, another for his sons, and the third for himself and his wife; that the cottage should have pure water; that no lodgers should be allowed; that the worker should join benefit societies, which would in the end render the Union unnecessary.' But, as always, it was up to the farmers to get things done. The difficulty was to get them so to act, the striking power of the Union being the only way to force things through to fruition.

The workers' share in the land and the migration of labour were more difficult problems. Allotments were popular, but too often, too expensive or just not available. Many labourers had heard that wages were higher in Birmingham, but said they could not afford the fare and, as a result, stayed in Gloucestershire and grumbled. Mr Yeats told them that one of the aims of the Union was precisely to help deserving workers migrate to another part of the country.

The question of being paid in kind was ambivalent and remained so. 'On one side Mr Yeats denied ever having 'met a man who would not rather have money than cider'; on the other Mr Hayward said 'he had never met a tenant farmer who would not be glad to pay cash in lieu of giving drink'; and Mr Price crowned the absurdity of it all by saying with perfect sincerity that he had tried to induce his labourers to take money instead of drink, but they preferred the drink. The only answer lay in that band of grey that ever lies between the emphatic black and white. The labourers must be given less drink and more cash. If this were solved, then so would what the Bishop had gravely called 'the serious sin of intemperance'. The only other main point of the afternoon was

one that Estcourt had made in his letter: 'that labour was a commodity, its price varying with circumstances beyond the control of the employer; that no-one could fix the standard of wages.

The meeting had been a success. Mr Yeats, however, was still concerned that men did not 'take for evidence what was in reality an assumption' as the Bishop had done, in thinking that 'the Gloucestershire farmers had for the most part dealt fairly with their men, and that he believed they were prepared to deal fairly, and to raise their wages to a point through which they were passing required they should be raised'. This lack of clarity and definition, leading to inevitable confusion and even suspicion, was the root cause of the conflict. It probed even deeper than the entrenched confrontation between the two groups—employer and employed—involving 'the conservative nature of the labourer, local fear and distrust of the 'stranger' and the whole question of the rights of men.

When everyone had gone, the Bishop returned to his dining room, alone in the semi-darkness and thought to himself about the evening's proceedings. He remembered his own words: 'those sufferings would be much less, if they all resolved in that matter to consider one another's interest, to make themselves, as the Scriptures said, really members one of another.' There was an amount of healthy popular feeling which he believed would carry them through these difficulties; but the great and golden rule they had to follow was that which their master gave in His blessed sermon on the mount, that they should 'do to others as they would others do to them.' If all obeyed that rule, there would be no bitterness, no dispute and no union. Man would care for man.

THE TELEGRAPH said that 'no excited Gloucestershire farmer, angry at remonstrance, from the "hinds" formerly so patient, could have more rashly touched upon the burning questions of the day.' This unfortunate incident prompted one M.P. to ask in the House of Commons a question to the effect that why hadn't extra constabulary been despatched to Gloucestershire in anticipation of the holocaust that would follow the Bishop's shocking statement. He was justifiably and ignominiously laughed at. But ever after, it seems, Bishop Ellicott will be wrongly branded as a reactionary cleric which, as we have seen, was far from the case. In 'THE HISTORY OF THE T.U.C. 1968—1968: A PICTORIAL SURVEY OF A SOCIAL REVOLUTION', pp32 and 33, there is a photograph of the Bishop with the caption 'Dr. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester, came out with the un-Christian recommendation that agricultural union agitators should be thrown into the village horse-ponds. Most country parsons also fell in behind the squirearchy.' This gives a misleading impression.

R. J. DAVIS

PRIMARY SOURCES:

GLOUCESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE—Letters of Sotherton Estcourt, the Bishop and Mr. Yeats and selected newspaper cuttings.

GLOUCESTER CITY LIBRARY—Gloucester Journal Collection.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

- Books: 1. J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay—AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION 1750—1880.
2. W. Hasbach—HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.
3. F. G. Green—HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.
4. J. R. S. Whiting—AGRICULTURE, 1730—1872.
5. Ministry of Agriculture—CENTURY OF AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1866—1966.
6. A. W. Filson and G. D. H. Cole—BRITISH WORKING CLASS MOVEMENTS, SELECT DOCUMENTS 1789—1875.

THE CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE, GLOUCESTER, AND ITS PREDECESSORS(1)

ST. CATHERINE'S Church at Wotton in Gloucester was built between 1912 and 1915 to serve the reconstructed parish of St. Catharine in place of a church in Priory Road on the north-west side of the city. Until then Wotton had been divided between the parishes of St. Catharine, St. Mary de Lode, and Barnwood and the conventional district of Longlevens created in 1907. Two chapels built at Wotton in the Middle Ages were attached to the hospitals of St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalen and were extra-parochial.

The Church of St. Catherine in Priory Road dated from the later 1860s. It stood north of the site of an earlier parish church and the ruins of St. Oswald's Priory. St. Oswald's Church exercised parochial functions by the mid 12th century and its parish as described in the mid 14th. comprised the area next to the priory (presumably including part of Kingsholm), land east of Gloucester comprising the Hyde (an area by the later London Road), the site of a Carmelite friary, and Brook Street, and to the north parts of Longford and Twigworth. Following the priory's dissolution in 1536 the parishioners acquired and converted part, the north transept and aisle, of the priory church for their own use. The other buildings were demolished or fell into ruin. The new church had been dedicated to St. Catherine by 1540 (the form St. Catharine appeared in the later 19th century) but for some time the older dedication to St. Oswald was also used.

St. Catherine's Church was served by a curate nominated by the dean and chapter of Bristol Cathedral. The dean and chapter paid the curate a stipend of £6 but by 1603 the church had been without a priest for a long time and was one of six in the city vacant because of poverty. In 1648 Parliament gave its sanction for a scheme of the city corporation to reduce the number of churches to enable those remaining to support preaching ministers. Ten of the city's eleven parishes were grouped to form four parishes served from the churches of St. John the Baptist, St. Mary de Crypt, St. Michael, and St. Nicholas. The largely extra-mural parish of St. Mary de Lode was left unchanged. St. Catherine's parish was included in the new parish of St. John the Baptist and the church was given to the corporation for public use. The corporation took part of the fabric for a new market house in Eastgate Street in 1655 and sold part in 1656. The masonry was also used in

repairing the churchyard wall and roads but part of the shell has survived.

With the Restoration of 1660 the reorganisation of 1648 became void but any changes following the reestablishment of the old parochial division of Gloucester were more apparent than real. No places of worship were provided for the six parishes lacking churches(2) and the pattern of church attendance laid down in 1648 continued in the main to be observed, although by the beginning of the 18th century inhabitants of St. Catherine's parish were going to St. Mary de Lode Church.

By the end of the 17th century St. Catherine's parish again had a priest, a position filled between 1737 and 1788 by the vicar of St. Mary de Lode. The dean and chapter of Bristol paid him £10 a year to perform baptisms and burials and to visit the sick. The benefice, the value of which was later augmented, became styled a perpetual curacy in the later 18th century and a vicarage in the later 19th. Baptisms were conducted in private houses or St. Mary's Church. The churchyard, on the north side of which a schoolroom was built for St. Catherine's and St. Mary's parishes in 1835, was closed to burials in 1858 when the municipal cemetery opened. After 1788 there must have been some confusion over parochial responsibilities. In the early 1820s the vicar of St. Mary de Lode performed most of the baptisms and burials and in 1825 he agreed to do so as long as the perpetual curate took the Sunday morning service in St. Mary's Church.

In 1837 the Gloucester and Bristol Diocesan Church Building Association enquired about a suitable site for a new church for St. Catherine's parish. The association had been established to provide churches for poor districts and a new parish church was presumably needed for the inhabitants of the new streets of artisan dwellings at Kingsholm and of the more prosperous Wotton area. Although nothing was done then to supply a parish church the association continued to concern itself with the spiritual needs of the growing Kingsholm and Wotton areas. For Kingsholm it bought land in Worcester Street in 1841 and built St. Mark's Church there in 1846 and 1847. For Wotton the association wanted to buy the site of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, which was dilapidated, but the hospital's trustees had no power to sell it. In 1844 the association approved in principle a proposal of John Whitcombe, a local solicitor, for a church at Wotton with a district comprising the eastern part of St. Catherine's parish and an area extending to Innsworth. That idea also came to nothing.

The size and shape of St. Catherine's parish changed considerably in the 1840s. The transfer of Longford and Twigworth to St. Matthew's Church at Twigworth, consecrated in 1842, made it more compact and the creation of St. Mark's parish divided in two. The western part, which included the churchyard, mainly comprised meadowland and the detached part to the east contained most of the population in the increasingly populous London Road and Wotton areas.

The neglect of spiritual life in the parish arising from the lack of a church was brought to the attention of Charles Baring, bishop from 1856. Parishioners had considered the possibility of holding services in the coach house of the episcopal palace, which was near the church-

yard, when he was not in residence. It was under Baring's successor Charles Ellicott, bishop from 1863, that the parishioners secured a place of worship. That venture owed much to the enthusiasm of William Lucy, a parishioner, and was made possible by the generosity of Charles Monk, M.P. for the city and chancellor of the diocese. Lucy, a corn merchant, lived at Claremont House in London Road until the mid 1860s when he moved to a country house built for him in Harescombe. Monk's interest in the parish derived from his childhood when he had lived in the bishop's palace. In a letter dated 20 March 1866 he expressed his happiness in giving £500 towards a new church provided it was built in the churchyard. That condition was accepted but for the vicarage a house at the corner of London and Heathville Road, in the more populous part of the parish, was acquired. Other arrangements connected with the building included the transfer of the patronage to the bishop in 1867 and the placing of the benefice on a sounder financial footing.

The building of the church was speeded by the appointment in April 1866 of a new churchwardens, including William Luck, and was funded by voluntary contributions and grants from official bodies. On 3 May local architects were invited to send in plans. The choice was narrowed to two designs and by 13 December Thomas Gambier Parry of Highnam, a man of High Church tastes, had at the vestry's invitation chosen that prepared for the firm of Medland and Maberly by Henry Medland. It was modified to reduce costs(3). The foundation stone was laid in 24 April 1867 and the church was consecrated on 13 April 1868. It was in an early 14th-century style and comprised chancel with rounded apse, north vestry, and south organ chamber, and nave with north and south transepts, north porch, and west bellcot(4). It was built of local red brick with stone dressings, and black and white brick from Staffordshire provided decoration. The patron saint was commemorated in the tracery of several windows representing wheels. Members of Monk's family donated some fittings, including the font, glass for the chancel windows, and plate. Charles Walker gave memorial glass for the windows of the south transept in 1870. There were major alterations in 1889, when the vestry was rebuilt, and 1898, when the organ chamber was enlarged. A new school was built in the churchyard for the parish in 1875.

The wisdom of building the church in the old churchyard was always in question and the unsuitability of the site was accentuated by continued residential development at Wotton(5). In 1906 the vestry pressed an episcopal commission looking into the city's spiritual needs to rectify the anomaly by reorganising the parish. The vestry's proposal, endorsed by the commission, was to give the western part, including the church, to another parish and to enlarge the eastern part to form a new district with its own church. The building of a church at Wotton for the reconstructed parish became one of the principal tasks of the Gloucester Church Extension Society formed in 1907 to implement the commission's recommendations (6).

The design for the new church chosen by completion in 1911 was by Walter Wood, a local architect. It provided for a church in a 14th-century style with a sanctuary, a chancel with north vestry rooms and

organ chamber and south chapel, an aisled nave with transeptal bays, a west porch, and a south-west tower and spire. As the funds raised were insufficient it was decided to leave the tower and spire until a later date(7). The foundation stone was laid on 28 May 1912. The ceremony was performed by Viscount St. Aldwyn, master of the provincial grand lodge of Gloucestershire freemasons, which had held its annual meeting in the city that day, and was attended by over 300 masons. Minchinhampton stone was used for the foundations and Painswick stone for the superstructure. The outbreak of war hampered the building but by the end of 1914 the church was ready to receive fittings, including some glass, from the parish church. The new church was consecrated on 21 June 1915 and was officially substituted for the Victorian Church as St. Catharine's parish church later. The reconstruction of the parish was completed by February 1917. The western part was given to St. Mary de Lode. In the eastern part the areas around the railway station (G.W.R.) and cattle market and around Heathville Road were given to St. John the Baptist and St. Mark respectively. The rest was consolidated by the addition of detached parts of St. Mary de Lode and Barnwood and extra-parochial pieces, and enlarged by that part of the Longlevens conventional district in the triangle formed by Barnwood, Cheltenham, and Elmbridge Road.

The Victorian church was demolished in November 1921. Some of its memorial glass was used in a restoration of the mariners' chapel in the city's docks and the seating was given to the schoolroom of the Rye-croft Wesleyan Methodist Chapel. Many of the Victorian fittings in the Wotton Church have been replaced but the font and some glass in the chapel and south aisle remain as material reminders of the church's predecessor. Evidence of the ancient origins survives elsewhere, in the ruins of that part of St. Oswald's Church incorporated in the first St. Catherine's Church.

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NOTES

1. This article is based on work prepared by the author for a volume of THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE to be published in the mid 1980s.
2. A church was built for St. Aldate's parish in the mid 18th. century.
3. A view of the church envisaged by J. P. Moore included a south tower and spire: see Gloucester Library, the Gloucestershire Collection, prints GL 15.32.
4. For a photograph of the east end before 1889, see Gloucestershire Record Office, GPS 154/178.
5. By 1883 a proposal had been made to enlarge St. Margaret's chapel as a church for Wotton.
6. The society also provided a mission church at Tuffley.
7. Wood's plans allowed for the addition of a second north aisle and vestry.