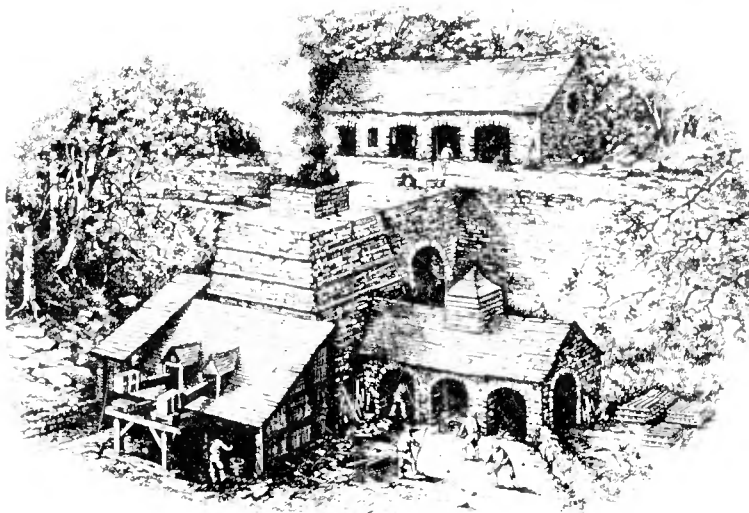


Local History Bulletin

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Reconstruction of a charcoal-fired iron furnace, with water driven bellows, similar to America's first ironworks in Virginia constructed by John Berkeley.

Reproduced by kind permission of the artist, Michael Blackmore.

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EDITORIAL

THIS EDITION ILLUSTRATES LOCAL HISTORY from Berkeley, Gloucester, Minchinhampton, Tytherington and Stroud and links the county to the wider world of America, Canada and the Crimea over a period of some 250 years.

The many connections between Gloucestershire and early American history are well known and Arthur Dunn's contribution from Ottawa on John Berkeley's iron-working enterprise in Virginia add another dimension; he will be researching the industrial archaeology of the site later in 1986. Richard Barton and Brian Torode lift the lid off a period of difficulty for Catholics in seventeenth century Gloucester, and the Toleration Act of 1689 did nothing to help them for a century.

Cyril Turk's paper on a revolt against the payment of rates for the poor in eighteenth century Minchinhampton illustrates at both social poles the aphorism that 'to him that hath shall be given and to him that hath not, from him shall be taken even that he hath'. The revised standard version of this experience will doubtless excite future generations of local historians when they come to study the detailed figures from the 1980s.

It is particularly useful to have Allan Baddeley's insight into the mixed fortunes of Tytherington immigrants in nineteenth century Ontario through a connection with a descendent of an original migrant, and this goes some way in answering John Powell's recent article on Chipping Campden paupers who also left for Canada. Finally, Jack Sollars unearths some interesting features in his cameo of Col. Hallewell of Stroud and the Crimea.

The G.R.C.C. and the Local History Committee have for some time been looking for ways to improve the Bulletin. One suggestion is an ANNUAL edition in a more attractive cover with larger print and format — perhaps with a new title "Gloucestershire History". Prices of materials are always rising and in order to keep the cost to £1 per annum some sponsorship/advertising would be necessary. However, enquiries are continuing and we will keep you informed.

BRYAN JERRARD (*Editor*)

JOHN BERKELEY — AMERICA'S FIRST IRONWORKER

The 16th Century brought many changes to England, indeed it may well be considered to have been the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, and some writers have so described it. Early in this century, and even in the later 15th Century, a movement of the more skilled artisans from the Low Countries began bringing with them skills that included the newer technologies in printing, glassmaking, paper and cloth manufacture, and probably above all the new advances in the manufacture of iron products.

They came to take the advantage of the freedoms, particularly that of the freedom to worship, that were not available to them in continental Europe. The skills that they brought with them were considerably advanced over that which had been there in England and as a result great concern was shown in the south-eastern part of the country where they located, which resulted in many riots and ill-treatment of these 'foreigners'. There were other problems resulting from this general increase in population that fed this movement and amongst those trades that made this westward move was notably the glassworkers, who were largely of Italian origin, and the ironworkers, both whom needed large amounts of fuel, charcoal, to supply their furnaces.

Towards the end of the 16th Century the urgency of these pressures of population, together with the need to provide those who were displaced by this movement, caused many to look for a solution in the Americas, and the explorations of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh and others gave them a hope that since here, in America, land was to be obtained freely. At the same time they would be denying to the hated Spanish, as well as the enterprising Portuguese, the toehold that they already had in those territories.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert directed his sights northward towards the Island of Newfoundland with the express hope of finding treasure — gold — that had been reported from that area. Sir Walter Raleigh, on the other hand, after his piratical strikes against the Spanish treasure ships, was much more interested in a *ped-à-terre* much farther south, where he could find a base for further forays against the Spanish.

And so towards the end of the century he made proposals for a settlement to be named Virginia, after Queen Elizabeth, that was to become the first serious attempt to create a settlement of Europeans upon the continent of North America.

The Spanish had, of course, developed a form of settlement in Middle America, and the Portuguese had several decades before established a thriving settlement in that area of South America which we now know as Brazil. They had already begun to industrialise that area to the point that they were already producing iron there.

In due course the Virginia Company was patented, and, in the early part of the 17th Century, a number of men were sent over to settle the area. We know very little about this first approach except to know that the result was a dismal failure. Those who were sent were totally unprepared for the type of life with which they had to be prepared to lead in this wholly undeveloped land. From the reports it also seems that they were mentally, physically, and technically incapable of undertaking the necessary activities that they were essential to the settlement's survival.

Some even complained that when they arrived at their destination that there were no places in which they could lodge, or servants to take care of their needs, while they prepared themselves for the future; a future it would seem to some to be solely of pleasurable experiences, and not of labour

essential to survival. These persons naturally perished and it is not known today exactly where they attempted to settle.

The problems associated with the setting up, and support, of these early settlements, seems not to have been of apparently great interest to the Virginia Company. The general impression seems to have been that once landed the settlers would be able to take care of themselves, and we have already noted the earliest settlers perished to a man.

One has, of course, to realise the significance of the times, to understand why the initial problems had not become known, and why the imperative of continued support from England was required until the settlers had had the time to create the necessary shelter, supply sources, etc., so that the stability of their future was reasonably assured.

It took an average of six months for a message to cross the Atlantic in those days, if, of course, it ever arrived; and despite there being a great number of ships afloat on the Atlantic, some estimate as many as 25,000, co-operation between them was minimal, or non-existent. Ships were often captured by privateers, and the occupants either killed or sold into slavery. A letter, or message, even if there was a ship to take it from Virginia might be much too late to be effective, and the slow and deliberate way that the Council of the Virginia Company moved to accomplish their tasks further increased this delay and the possibility of disaster.

Of course, such deliberation was typical of the operations of councils of that day, and was not necessarily specific to the Council of the Virginia Company, but as one reads the records one can sense a growing desperation of the settlers, and the ability of the Council to come to terms with the problems that they encountered. After all the Council had little real knowledge of the conditions that the settlers encountered, and while the manner of the Council's approach to these problems would have been quite adequate for local problems, they were totally inadequate for the solutions of problems that were occurring some three thousand miles away.

But around the year 1619 a sense of urgency seems to have been perceived. Samples of iron ore had been sent back to England and had been satisfactorily reported upon. So we read that the 'Council . . . intended very shortly to sett in hand with Ironworkes . . .'. Some six months later in 1620 a number of persons were sent out with a considerable amount of supplies to set up those ironworks. Leading the group was a person by the name of Mr Blewett, very possibly a Frenchman who had been a recent immigrant to the country.

But within a year Mr Blewett and all his key assistants were dead, and by May of 1621 this news had reached the Council, but this group that had been sent out with Mr Blewett had already indicated the potential needs of the settlers by including some persons who were stated to have come from Hamburrough, presumably Hamburg in Germany who were to set up 'Sawing Mills and divers skilful Millwrights . . . to sett vpp Corne watermills in seuerall parts of the Colony', and so at last we see that the Council had come to understand the necessity of the colony to be self-supporting.

It is interesting to note that the craftsmen appear to have been brought in from the Continent as waterpowered saw mills in those early days seems not to be known in England, furthermore water powered saw mills in North America are known as 'muley' mills, a corruption of the German word 'muhle' (mill).

The death of Mr Blewett and his fellows seemed to cause even more concern to the Council, and realising even more firmly the great importance of the basic industry to supply the settlers they sought for others even more adequately trained, and who had some authority, to

replace those whom they had lost. This time they found someone with those combined characteristics who seemed suitable to ensure that the development of an iron works would be carried out expeditiously, and that person was one by the name of John Berkeley, stated to be of Beverston Castle, near Tetbury, Gloucestershire. There is some doubt as to exactly where this John Berkeley was living at this time since while he once did live at that castle it had actually been sold in 1597 to Sir John Poyntz, with which family he was related. His mother was Francis Poyntz, and his father, Sir John Berkeley, who has been described as a 'dissipated man of talents, of great consideration in the House of Commons' had squandered the greater part of the vast estate with the exception of the castle and manor of Beverston leaving the estate to his son, John, in a position where he was unable to continue as its owner.

This John Berkeley was related to the better known family of Berkeley's who lived at Berkeley Castle, some thirty miles distant from Beverston, and one of the oldest families in England. They were also great supporters of the Virginia Company, and so it is rather to be expected that he, John Berkeley of Beverston, now seemingly rather impoverished would have valued the opportunity of rebuilding his fortunes in North America.

But it is also very intriguing that a person of the social stature of John Berkeley, for it is rare for a person of such an high rank becoming associated with the lowly, and also dirty, process of iron working, except possibly as a source of financial support. But John Berkeley was stated to have been 'in the judgement of those who knew well was held to be sufficient that way' and no reason has been given as to why he should have been considered so, and even of greater interest is where did he obtain that presumed experience.

It is possible that like his father he was a man of talent, and that he sought a means to rebuild his loss in fortune due to his father's squandering. At that time interest in the iron industry was growing and at the end of the first decade of the 17th Century the iron industry in the Forest of Dean was growing at a great pace and it is possible that his experience could have been obtained in that area some relatively short distance, across the Severn, from Berkeley Castle. However, there does appear to be some differences between those interested in ironworking in the Forest of Dean and those in the vicinity of Berkeley, which may not be too surprising as the Berkeleys seem to have been somewhat individualistic and possibly domineering.

The records of the Virginia Company indicate the care with which this new venture was planned since John Berkeley took with him some twenty skilled workmen whose particular skills are enumerated in the records — '2 founders, 2 keepers, 2 filers, 2 carpenters, 4 fyners, 2 servants (for the fyners?), 2 chaffery men, and 2 hammer men with their servants.'

It is interesting to note the superior status of both the 'fyners' and the hammer men. The fyners were of great importance as it was they who, with the help of the hammer men, converted the raw 'cast' iron into wrought iron and if necessary into steel. Their importance was critical to the full success of the venture. When Mr Blewett had been sent directions had been given to him to construct three ironworks, but we have no indication as to what type of ironworks were to be built. Possibly they were what we know today as 'bloomeries' but we cannot say for sure, however, the inclusion of founders, keepers, carpenters, fyners, chaffery men and hammer men indicate to us that it was the intent to develop a complete and up-to-date manufactory for all the settlers' needs in the form of iron tools etc.

Such a manufactory would inevitably consist of a blast furnace, with its associated waterdriven bellows for the production of the basic pig iron, and

the finery and chauffery operations with waterpowered hammers for the conversion of the raw 'pig' into wrought iron and steel, a not inconsiderable project for those days, and one that needed considerable knowledge for the construction of appropriate equipment for the site but also the necessary skills to operate it, and it seems that John Berkeley had knowledge in those skills.

In due course John Berkeley and his company arrived in Virginia possibly first of all at Jamestown where the first permanent town of the colony and its administrative centre was located, but then later found a suitable location for an iron works some sixty miles further up the James River from Jamestown at a series of falls on Falling Creek just outside the city of Richmond. Today the main highway to the south runs within sight of where the ironworks was built but sadly nothing of the original buildings remain.

Hardly had John Berkeley arrived when the authorities in Jamestown received a letter from England dated 25 July 1621 which stated that 'the advancement of the iron works we esteeme to be most necessarie, by perfecting whereof we esteems the plantation is gainer. We therefore require all possible assistance be given to Mr Berkley now sent, and all furtherence to his ship, especially good entertainment at their landing.'

On 12 August of the same year the company, in a communication to the authorities, wrote respecting the iron works and the saw mills which had been projected: 'We pray your assistance in the perfecting of these two works, the profit will redound to the whole collony, and therefore it is necessary that you extend your authoritie to the utmost lymitts to enforce such as shall refuse the help to a business so much tending to the general good.' On 5 December 1621, the company again wrote, enjoining 'all possible dilligence and industrious care, to further and accomplish those great and many designes of salt, sawinge mills, and iron.'

In January 1622, the authorities wrote to the company that 'the care we have taken of the iron works we reserve to be reported by Mr Thresurer and Mr Barkley himself', and the following 10 June the company wrote of 'the good enterance w^{ch} we understood you have made in the iron works and other staple comodities,' and added 'let us have at least by the next returnes some good qualitie of iron and wyne.'

But before the last letter had been written the colony had experienced the massacre by the Indians of 22 March, in which John Berkeley and all his workmen had been killed, and the iron works been destroyed. Maurice, the son of John Berkeley who had accompanied his father to Virginia, happened not to have been in the vicinity of Falling Creek ironworks when the massacre had taken place and survived, and we would suppose would have joined his relatives in Jamestown as soon as he had become aware of the situation.

The letter of 10 June 1621 seems to ensure that some satisfactory progress had been made in the construction of the ironworks, and later letters from John Berkeley had promised that 'the company might relye upon good quantities of iron being made by him' by Whitsuntide, 1622, but the unfortunate massacre occurred before that time. John Berkeley had earlier declared that 'a more fit place for iron workes than in Virginia, both for woods, water, mynes, and stone,' was not to be found.

Today we have little idea of the extent of the work that John Berkeley had carried out. As we have noted the whole ironworks was completely destroyed by the Indian attackers, and as if to add insult to injury some years later another ironworks seems to have been built on the same site, but this too was destroyed during the American Civil War.

The industrial history of North America can be said to have been initiated by this man John Berkeley, and it is so very unfortunate that so little is known about him. One wonders where he lived, and what he did in those years before his tragic entrance into North American history, and what were his motives in becoming knowledgeable in the techniques of ironworking, and from where he obtained that knowledge? We have reason to believe that a little of these questions are beginning to be unravelled but there seems to be some rather intriguing associations that have yet to be fully revealed.

Gloucestershire has much to be proud of as part of the development of industrial technology, and probably no more worthy son than John Berkeley who largely on his own initiated the New World into the technology of iron working.

ARTHUR D. DUNN

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Ottawa, Jan., 1986

GLOUCESTER AND ITS CATHOLICS DURING THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II

On the death of Charles II in 1685, his brother James II succeeded to the throne. Like his brother Charles before him, James had become a Roman Catholic and this was to have far reaching implications both on England and the English Church, which had only just recovered from the Restoration. Although James was a Roman Catholic, he was far from unpopular at the time of his accession. He deplored 'jack booted missionaries, both as impolite and unchristian . . . he thought it contrary to Holy Writ . . . at no time did he intend to impose Catholicism by force . . . and his respect for freedom of conscience was genuine.'

A contemporary account describes him as a deeply religious man, 'fully occupied with exercises of piety, good reading, constant meditation, cheerful, resigned, and never bored.'

In the 1660s there were about 60,000 Catholics in England, but in Gloucestershire the proportion was considerably lower than in many other places. At the time of James' accession, the Mayor of Gloucester caused a statue of the new King to be erected; 'John Hill then being Mayor of the City . . . caused the effigy of King James II (in full proportion, wreathed about the head with a laurel branch, holding a baton in his hand,) to be very finely cut in stone, and placed it upon the top of Trinity conduit, looking westward, where was written underneath it, in letters of gold, **Johannes Hill Praetori**.

This conduit stood in Westgate Street under the tower of Holy Trinity Church. The Church itself, and that of St Mary de Grace, had been demolished earlier in the seventeenth century.

John Hill became a Council man in 1681 and then Sheriff of the City. In 1683 he was created an Alderman, and from 1686—1688 he was Mayor of Gloucester. A parish register entry recording his burial on 20th December 1705, from St Michael's church reads, 'who declared himself a Papist in James' reign.' He had received dispensation freeing him from all oaths except that of Mayor.

Another Catholic member of the Corporation was Anselm Fowler, who was an Alderman in 1687 and followed John Hill as Mayor in 1688. The Earl of Sunderland wrote to the Corporation on 20 April 1687, insisting that Fowler be exempted from all oaths except that of Alderman of Gloucester. Fowler is thought to have been a Catholic for in his will dated 1696, he regretted that he could not provide as handsomely as he wished for his wife and sons, and he blamed 'a concurrence of misfortunes happened to me by reason of my persuasion.'

In 1686 and 1687, several memoranda and dispensations were sent by King James II to the Corporation. As well as those concerning Hill and Fowler, William Reeves and Isaac Lambard were also exempted from oaths except those appropriate to the office of Sheriff. The Recorder, three of the Aldermen and ten of the common council were to be turned out and others admitted in their stead, oaths being administered to those above. Some of these men were non-conformist while some may have been Catholic. Two had earlier been presented for non-attendance at Anglican services and failing to take Sacrament at Easter. The new Recorder, Charles Trinder, Serjeant at law, of Bourton on the Water, was elected to office on 8 January 1687. He was the head of a prosperous Catholic family which maintained periodically, a Chaplain.

In 1687 a Loyal Address was presented to the King, which His Majesty received very graciously.

'To the King's most excellent Majesty. The humble Address of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common Council Men, Grand Jury, and Borough Jury of your Majesty's City and County of the City of Gloucester, from the General Quarter Sessions there held this ninth day of January one thousand, six hundred eighty and seven.

Dread Sovereign!

The reason and equity of a general Indulgence for matters of mere Religion is so manifest in itself, and so clearly illustrated by your Majesty's Gracious Declaration for it, that all we can say on that subject can but resemble an eclipse of the sun, by the interposition of a meaner light.

Nothing then can be more our duty, both as Christians and Subjects, than first to render to Almighty God, in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, our hearty thanks for putting it into the King's heart to do so good things for his people. Next in all humility to express not only our acquiescence, but height of satisfaction in your Majesty's so pious, so prudent, so charitable and kind a demonstration towards all your subjects. To assure your Majesty of our united and utmost endeavours to elect for Parliament, when called, such members as we may reasonably hope shall joyfully and readily join with your Majesty therein; and likewise in the repeal of the Test Acts, so subject to dangerous interpretations. . . .'

The names attached to this address were not published in the **London Gazette** from which this extract is taken, but other sources provide the following information. The Mayor was John Hill and the Sheriffs were William Reeves and Isaac Lambard. John Hill had twice been Mayor but the others reached no higher Civic dignity. William Gregory was Recorder. This personage had been removed from his office by Royal Mandate, and by subsequent direction was reappointed and his signature to the address

was probably given most cheerfully if hurriedly, as an exhibition of his loyalty and zeal. John Powell was the Town Clerk. The Members of Parliament for the City at that period were John Wagstaff and John Powell. John Wagstaff had been Mayor in 1669 and again in 1678. Mayors were Mayors in those days and it was an easy step from Municipal to Parliamentary honours!

Despite hopeful beginnings, James' reign became increasingly unpopular, and in 1687 he attempted to restore his earlier popularity by means of a Royal Progress throughout England: 'the longest and most splendid that had been known for many years.' The last recorded visit of a Monarch to Gloucester had been that of Henry VIII and Ann Boleyn, the latter being described in the Council Books of the Corporation as 'his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife.'

King James left Windsor on 17 August and after a visit to Portsmouth and Southampton, he made his way to Bath. On 22 August he was met on the borders of Gloucestershire by the High Sheriff and a splendid retinue. He was entertained most sumptuously by the Duke of Beaufort at Badminton. He then proceeded to Gloucester. Fosbrooke in his 'History of Gloucester' of 1819 records, 'about two miles from (the City) the Bishop (Frampton) attended by many of the clergy, upon his approach drew near, in his own and the clergy's name, to gratulate his coming into that his city; but before he could do more than pay his respects, he, the King, without hearing him, says, "My Lord, it will be better for you to withdraw to your clergy." And then he drove off to Gloucester.'

At the South Gate of the City, the Mayor formally delivered to King James the Sword of Office and the Cap of Maintenance. From there, escorted by the Mayor and Corporation, and with all sorts of instruments playing, the conduits running with wine, the bells ringing, and the streets and windows thronged with multitudes of people loud in their acclamations of loyalty, His Majesty rode to St Edward's Gate where the Dean welcomed him with an elegant speech. The Parish Clerk of St John the Baptist Church, Abel Wantner, was present on this occasion, and he describes how His Majesty came to Gloucester in his Royal Progress when he was received most magnificently by the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Council men on horseback, in all their regalia. The main streets and lanes of the city had been covered with gravel, and sand and had been decorated with green boughs, branches and a variety of flowers. The King rode through the City to King Edward's Gate, being the main entrance into the upper College churchyard. Here the Dean and Prebendaries of the Cathedral greeted him in their vestments and on their knees, and then attended him to the Deanery where he resided.

Wantner continues that on the next morning His Majesty visited the Cathedral and the Whispering place. In the afternoon he was pleased 'to stroke and touch several persons that had the disease called 'struma' or King's Evil, in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral. He gave to each, a medal of gold to hang about their necks.'

James spent two nights at the Deanery and while there he attended Mass in a room over the Sheriff's room in the Tolsey, which had been converted into a chapel two years previously, and after the King's visit was known as the King's Chapel or Mass Room. A small church consisting of an aisle and Chancel, dedicated to All Saints once stood on the site of the Tolsey, and part of the church was converted into a chapel for the Corporation. 'In 1648' (according to Rudder) 'the north wall of the church was taken away and the whole church converted into a court for the sheriff and for other

public uses. The chancel was turned into a staircase leading to a room over it and to the Council Chamber. Land between the church and the street was purchased to enlarge the building, and in 1685, the chamber over the sheriff's court being made into a chapel, King James the second, coming to Gloucester in his Progress in 1686, and there being a throne erected for him at the City charge, attended service thereat, and from him the building obtained the name of the King's Chapel. But soon after the Revolution in 1688, most of the costly furniture thereof was burned and destroyed.' Mass was presumably celebrated by Father John Warner S J, a Court Chaplain who had been Provincial of the Jesuits from 1679—1683. He was to die in 1692 in King James Court in exile at St Germain. Fosbrooke stated that Bishop Frampton had been given free admission to the King's presence, but had been mortified at the same time when Father Warner had been called upon to say Grace. The Bishop withdrew.

Of the Mass Fosbrooke says that the King sat upon a throne erected for him at the City's expense. This throne was under a canopy of velvet and gold brocade and had cost £43 10s 6d. While in the city the Mayor and Corporation presented James with 'a hundred broad pieces of gold at £1 3s 6d. a piece and his officers with sums amounting to £36 6s 8d. The banquet provided for him cost £281 4s 10d. and the total cost of the visit came to £478 12s 0d. The King left Gloucester on 24 August, and went on to Worcester where the Mayor and Corporation declined to accompany him to Mass.

We can be sure that John Hill the Mayor of Gloucester would have been delighted by the success of the visit, but the whole proceedings must have been distasteful to many in the city with its strong Puritan leanings. Gloucester had supported the Parliamentarians against James' father at the time of the Civil War.

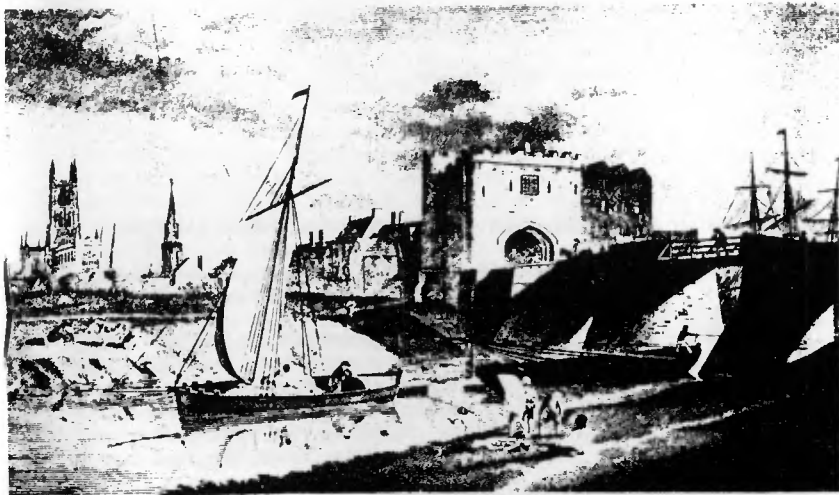
It is difficult to assess the extent of Catholicism in Gloucester during the 1680s. One hundred years beforehand Gloucester had been the place of execution of two priests and Tyburn had seen the death of one of the City's sons, Father Thomas Alfield. The Lampley and Webley families of Gloucester were also to provide martyrs. The community at the time of James II was large enough to warrant a priest, for James sent Father Pius Littleton alias Westcote to the City. Pius (Gervase) Littleton was born in 1649 of a Worcester recusant family. He became a Dominican and laboured on the English Mission for nearly forty years. He is described as being a fluent and eloquent preacher and he is referred to as diligent in fulfilling his mission in the city. Presumably he said Mass in the Mass room above the sheriff's court. He later worked in Northumberland and died in Yorkshire on 10 June 1723, aged 75.

Another Catholic sent to Gloucester by King James was Wilfred Reeve, who was born in Gloucester on 22 June, 1642, the son of William Reeve. A stroke 'when he was a quarter old' left him incurably lame. He spent four years at the school attached to St Mary de Crypt and then transferred to the Cathedral School. He went to Trinity College Oxford, where he graduated in 1665, and two years later he became a Roman Catholic. He taught at Oxford until 1673, when as a result of his proselytising he was ejected 'unless he conformed to the established church.' He went into exile and became a Benedictine monk. He was unable to take Holy Orders on account of his lameness. Despite his religion he was respected as a fine schoolmaster and as the 'best Grecian' in England. He was praised by all who knew him for the freshness and originality of his methods. James II brought Reeve back to England from France, and he was reinstated as

Master of Magdalen School, Oxford. He later declined this appointment and by Royal mandate was appointed Master of the Blue Coat School at Gloucester in 1688.

James' high handed actions were to culminate in his Second Declaration of Indulgence, designed to give liberty to Roman Catholics and Dissenters contrary to the law of the land. The refusal of a number of the Bishops to promulgate this led to their arrest and subsequent imprisonment in the Tower. The Bishop of Gloucester fully supported these Bishops and spent much time with them in the Tower. They were acquitted on 30 June and when the news reached Gloucester on 1 July, the bells of the Cathedral were rung in celebration. On 11 June the bells had also sounded at the news of the birth of the Prince of Wales. The birth of this child and the naive actions of James resulted in the Glorious Revolution when William and Mary were proclaimed joint sovereigns and a Protestant succession was guaranteed. The exile of James II until his death in 1701 was to result in the curtailing of Roman Catholic advances in the City of Gloucester. The Bishop of Gloucester, Robert Frampton, was later prepared to be deprived of his title rather than abandon his allegiance to the Monarch who had so sorely treated him.

Catholicism was once more forced underground. Anselm Fowler resigned as Mayor and Alderman at the end of 1688, William Reeve as Sheriff, and John Hill ceased to be an Alderman in 1689. Richard Reeve, who was possibly related to the sheriff, took refuge in the home of Charles Trinder at the outbreak of the Revolution. Trinder who had been Catholic Recorder of Gloucester, lived at Bourton-on-the-Water. Reeve was arrested on 12 December 1688 for being a priest and a Jesuit and he was later imprisoned in the city. He regained his liberty in the following August and returned to Bourton. After spending some time in Oxford he died in Piccadilly in 1693 and was buried at St Martin in the Fields. There is a tradition that in the course of his career he had educated sixty Anglican clergy and forty Catholic priests.



Gloucester and Westgate Bridge, from a 17th century engraving.

In 1689, Robert Brent, a lawyer and Magistrate of the city, was accused of being a Catholic and was forced to flee. A reward of £200 was offered for his arrest. It can be assumed that the Mass Room was closed, and Father Pius Littleton would have fled the city. As for James II, his 'effigy of stone was contemptuously abused and thrown down to the ground, and broken to pieces by some of the soldiers of the Duke of Bolton's Regiment and part thereof (in contempt of Majesty) was most scornfully and degradiciously put into a wheelbarrow and ruggled down to the quay, and there thrown into the River Severn.' The chair in which King James had sat and which was cherished by the citizens was set on fire, 'and had not the Mayor retreated he too might have been offered up to Moloch.'

New penal laws were enacted and old laws forced with new rigour. Catholics were ostracised and isolated. Deprived of all the externals of their Religion, a process of slow disintegration set in. Other than the occasional visit from a Jesuit priest from Worcester, Gloucester was not to have a resident Roman Catholic priest until 1788. The short reign of James II had proved a disaster for the Roman Catholic cause in Gloucester.

RICHARD BARTON
BRIAN TORODE

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A REVOLT AGAINST THE RATES IN MINCHINHAMPTON

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The Minchinhampton Vestry at successive meetings on 24 April and 1 May in 1758 noted that there had been little response to their notices in the Church of a meeting for a new and regular assessment for the Poor Rate; they adjourned again to 10 May. At that meeting it was ordered that a notice should 'be fairly written and affixed to the Church door the following Sunday' and that the following notice 'should be read by the Clerk after Evening Sermon.'

Whereas at a Vestry held the 10 May last for altering the Poor's rate after several Vestries called for this purpose a General Rate was unanimously agreed upon for making the same upon an equitable and just equality as

near as may be according to the annual Value of every Parishioner's Property in Lands, House, Mills and Woods liable to be rated in this Parish.

'Therefore all the said Parishioners for the more speedy and easie completing the said Rate are desired to give in the true annual Value of their respective Estates as near as may be to the Officers at a meeting to be held for receiving such Information on Friday 19th for accomplishing the same.'

What was the reason for this? To find out it is necessary to go back several years into the history of Minchinhampton Poor Rate.

The method of assessment for rates in this Parish was a very unusual one. Each rate-payer — 87 for the Town, 97 for the Tithing of Box, Amberley and Rodborough, and 37 for Hyde and Chalford — was assessed at a monthly figure. Thus Samuel Sheppard, Lord of the Manor, was assessed at 9/7d a month; Thomas Pinfod, a clothier at 1/1d a month; William Cook, proprietor of the White Hart Inn, at 8d a month; John Hill, butcher, at 1d a month; and so on down to the small cottagers, such as John Key, at ½d a month. When therefore the Overseers had decided how much money they needed for the care of the poor during the coming year — Easter to Easter — and had obtained the approval of the Vestry, they set a rate of so many months. In 1735, when the newly obtained workhouse at the far end of what is now Chapel Lane, was coming into use, they set a rate of 82 months.

Thereafter for the next eighteen years the demand varied between 69 months and 90 months, with two high exceptions of 100 months in 1740 and 118 in 1741. These higher rates were due partly to an increase in the workhouse accounts to over £250 but also to an increase in the number of those being given relief of rates because of poverty and of those poor whose rents were paid to their landlords by the overseers.

But in the 1750s the rate demands increased rapidly — 114 months in 1754, 114 months in 1755, 150 months in 1756 and 120 months in 1757 — with the workhouse account going up to £430 in 1756 because of the increase in the number of poor. In August 1756 the Vestry approved out-payments amounting to £8 15s 0d a month to 46 poor, mainly elderly women and widows with children. In June of that year they ruled that in order to 'defray the necessary Expences' for the upkeep of the poor in the workhouse now "much more numerous than of late they were" the Overseer should pay monthly the Governor of the Workhouse "the several sums following" the Town Overseer £15, the Tithing Overseer £9, the Chalford Overseer £6. Even so, in October, they had to order an extraordinary one month's payment to the Governor for the 'immediate and necessary support of the poor.'

Discontent was beginning to show in 1754 when the Overseers recorded that they had not collected rates from seven people, among them John Hall, the butcher and Peter Perrett, the Overseer in 1734. By 1757 the total of the defaulting rate-payers had reached 31, several of them quite substantial e.g. John Fowler a mercer, rated at 3d a month and therefore due to pay £1/10/- that year; Daniel Keen, also assessed at 3d and an Overseer in 1741, Samuel Remington of the Tithing who should have paid £3. In 1758 with the rate again set at 120 months there was widespread non-payment. Robert Harmer, Overseer for the town whose demand came to £321, showed £139/1/1d. not collected, Joshua Thomas for the Tithing failed to collect £72/1/6d out of a total of £203/12/6d, whilst John Teale for Chalford collected only £34/18/4d out of a demand for £98/10/-. By now, those not paying spread through the range of ratepayers. Samuel

Sheppard paid £57/10/- in 1757, nothing in 1758. John Blackwell, a clothier in Chalford paid nothing — he was rated at 9d a month. Others paying nothing ranged from Thomas Fewster, a breeches maker rated at 4d, John Hill at 1d and William Smith a clothworker, at ½d.

The Vestry tried, unavailingly to stop the revolt, and then on 10 May, with 12 members present, prepared the notice to be read in Church. At the same time they tried to ease the individual burden by extending the rate areas and making liable to rates

- (a) lands of a yearly value of 20/- to be rated at ½d a month.
- (b) ½d a month on houses and mills of a yearly value of 40/-.
- (c) ½d a month on every four acres of woodland. (This was to cause trouble later on).

On 19 May the Vestry met again, with 19 members now, and recorded that 'very few of the Landowners have complied with the said Public Request' to declare the value of their Estate. They therefore adjourned once more to 25 May in order then 'to choose and nominate proper persons to view and judge the annual value of each man's Estate.' So on that date 35 leading parishioners were appointed to determine 'each persons annual profit in Land, Houses, Mills and Woods' and were urged to begin work on 29 May.

Of these 35 Gentlemen, headed by Samuel Sheppard and Rev. Philip Sheppard, 14 had previously been Overseers, one, Edward Clutterbuck, was an attorney; three were substantial landowners like Samuel Heiron; six were clothiers such as Samuel Peach and Daniel Deverell; four were tradesmen such as the ironmonger Robert Pool and the mercer John Fowler; while one, John Clift, had been Sheriff's Officer.

But, on 30 May Quarter Sessions quashed the 1758 rate, and ordered that payers were either to have their money returned or to have it allowed against future rates. By now the shortage of cash in the Overseer's hands was beginning to show. Instead of receiving the ordered £35 a month, the Governor of the workhouse received in June £23/8/8d, in July £28/19/- and in August £19/10/8d; while from June no out-payments were made to the poor. There are no records of course, but one wonders the effect on Widow Clark of the Tithing with five children who lost 10/- a month, on John Stratford, blind, and Ann Mellard, 90 years old, both of Chalford who lost 4/- a month and on Richard Casey, bedridden, of Minchinhampton with his 80 year-old wife who lost 7/- a month. These are only a few of the 46 in receipt of out-payment whose lives, until the Poor Rate was settled, must have been one of miserable anxiety.

And they had a seemingly endless wait. The Vestry did not meet again until 24 July and promptly adjourned to the 26 and again to the 29. This suggests that the 'commissioners' were finding it difficult to get the information they sought. On 20 November the Vestry held a public meeting in the Crown Inn and agreed for 'avoiding further difficulties and delays' that 'the following seven be Chosen as a Committee for making and settling the said Rate upon the most equitable and just Proportion as they judge shall be most reasonable.' The seven were Thomas Deverell, Nathaniel Perks, Samuel Whitmore, Samuel Heaven, Joseph Mayor, James Chambers, junior, and John Clift.

Now a solution was in sight. on 15 January 1759 the charges for lands were agreed. On 4 April the Vestry accepted the Quarter Sessions order and at Easter 1759 the new Overseers, Thomas Saunders, Daniel Day and John Isles, levied a rate, now no longer at a monthly value, but at 3/6d in the £. It is difficult to assess the impact of the charge on individual rate-payers. The number liable to rates increased — the Town list shows 25 new

names. Some paid more — the Rev. Philip Sheppard, assessed at 7/3d a month paid £43/10/- in 1757, £43 in 1759 and a further £5/11/7d in 1759. John Blackwell, assessed at 9d paid £4/10/- in 1757, nothing in 1758 and £6/7/4d in 1759; while John Fowler assessed at 3d paid £1/10/- in 1757, nothing in 1758 and only 9/7d in 1759.

So the revolt was over. But the vestry was not clear of trouble. In April 1759 Samuel Sheppard appealed to Quarter Sessions that his rate was too high and that his woods should not be chargeable. In July 1760 the verdict came. The charge of £13/2/6d on his houses and tenements was too high and should be £9/7/6d and no more. As to the woods, Sessions found he had 250 acres of woods, with no coppice; much beech was cut for firewood at 23/- to 26/- a cord; and such wood was 30 to 80 years old and 10 to 20ins square. It was sold also for gun stocks, saddle trees, cardboard and building and pigs ran in the woods. They found therefore that the woods are not liable to Poor rate by law and the Vestry lost £11/1/-.

CYRIL TURK

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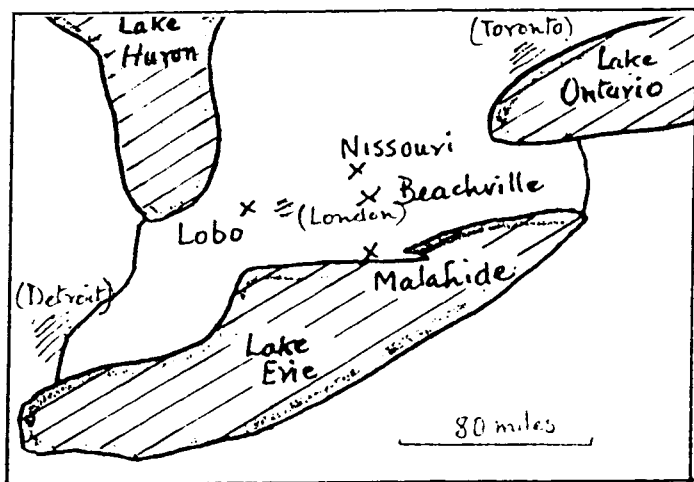
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PIONEERS IN CANADA

The Campden paupers (Local History Bulletin No. 52) arrived in Canada. But the question "What happened to them?" was left unanswered. Perhaps a brief encounter of the earlier ventures in Canada of a family from South Gloucestershire may not be irrelevant.

Robert Alway, senior, had been a tenant of Edwards Farm, Tytherington, from 1779, with Squire Hardwicke his landlord. When he died in 1792, his widow Anne and his son Robert, junior, age 34, continued with the tenancy and no doubt prospered through the war year. But by 1815 Robert, junior, then 57 and with a son Robert (the third) age 25, perhaps sensing depression ahead, set out from Bristol for Canada. Together with Joseph (17), George (15) and Amelia (6), they settled just outside a small early town of Beachville (see map), in what was then known as Canada West. Now we know it as that part of Ontario which lies between Lakes Huron and Erie, with London at its centre—though there was no settlement at London until 1826, and even Toronto in 1815 was no more than a small town called York (or 'Muddy York'). When old enough, Joseph and George established their own farms. But young Robert was active in other ways as well, first as a land agent and later as a Member of Parliament, elected on the Reform ticket in 1832 and again in 1836. For a while, his father would have kept the farm going during his absences, but later on, with failing health, the old man went to live with his daughter Amelia, who had married Col. Abraham Backhouse, a United Empire Loyalist. He died in Malahide in 1836, age 78.

The Reform party in Canada was supported by the farming community, who found little in favour of the administration, with its 'Family Compact' of nepotism, and lack of support for agriculture. Among their grievances were the absence of a secret ballot, the many disadvantages suffered by nonconformists, and, especially, the allocation of one seventh of all land to the Anglican Church to await rising land prices and a subsequent sale to finance the building of new churches. The Reform Party failed to influence



Nissouri and vicinity, Canada.

the administration, and in 1837 its frustrated and impatient leader, McKenzie, led an armed but poorly planned rebellion, which was easily put down. Hangings, imprisonment and deportations followed; Robert Alway had taken no part in the rebellion, but in 1839, anticipating arrest, fled to Texas with his wife and seven children. He intended to start business operations in this newly opening territory, but fate stepped in; he died of yellow fever in the following year.

While a land agent, Robert bought 200 acres of land in Nissouri township, very fertile but uncleared and therefore less expensive than land round Beachville. His intention was to sell this land later to his youngest aunt Hester, who had married an elderly widower Thomas Bedggood, and was busy bringing up a young family in Tytherington. Her husband died in 1818, and by 1835 the children knew enough about farming to risk survival in Canada. They set sail (we know nothing of their journey) and on 1 October 1835, the 200 acres at Nissouri were legally transferred to Mrs Hester Bedggood. Her eldest son Thomas was then aged 23 and between them—mother, two sons and four girls, all born in Tytherington—they built themselves alog cabin and cleared the eastern 100 acres.

The Montreal Gazette in 1836 recounted the details of a bizarre accident. A young girl had been visiting her ailing uncle. Having hired a wagon and a team, and a boy to drive her the 30 miles home she was overtaken by a severe thunderstorm. Sitting in a chair on the wagon, with an umbrella to shelter her from the rain she was struck by lightning, which killed her and the team of horses but left the boy unarmd. The girl was one of Hester's daughters from Nissouri, arrived from England only the previous year.

In 1837 Thomas Bedggood married Marilla Finch, grand-daughter of a veteran United Empire Loyalist, who had fought in the King's Regiment against the Revolutionists in 1776—9 and having to leave his home in New York State, became the first Baptist Minister in Upper Canada. Thomas and Marilla took over the western 100 acres of his mother's land, set up home there and reared eleven children. The youngest, Marilla Bedggood, died as recently as 1965, age 101, a remarkable link with the early pioneers. Her father, Thomas, had died exactly 100 years before, of typhoid.

After the abortive rebellion, supporters of the Reform party continued

to suffer severe harassment, so much so that several families sold the farms they had laboriously pioneered and moved further west, to Lobo, an area scarcely surveyed and comparatively empty. George and Joseph Alway moved to Lobo in 1838 or 1839; George took up 100 acres and became prosperous enough to build for himself a large brick house which he somewhat ostentatiously (or perhaps nostalgically?) named "Tytherington Hall." A photograph of it as it stands today shows that it bears a striking resemblance to the Vicarage in Tytherington, which his aunt had seen rebuilt in a late Georgian style in 1818—19. George died in 1879, in "Tytherington Hall," having married three times and sired 19 children.

There were Baptists in Tytherington in the early 1800s and a Baptist Chapel was built in 1842. But there is no record of the Always or Bedggoods having non-conformist tendencies; Robert Alway senior was a churchwarden and there are memorials to Bedggoods both in the church and in the graveyard. Robert Alway in Canada was exceptional in being a Reform party M.P. yet a member of the Anglican church. But the attitude of the established church towards the farmers seems to have antagonised both Always and Bedggoods, for by 1840 both families had joined a nonconformist church; the Always were Baptists but the Bedggoods—for want of a Baptist Church anywhere near—attended and took a prominent part in the Methodist Church. Their descendents have in general remained nonconformist to this day. Mrs Doris Strawhorn is a great-granddaughter of the Thomas Bedggood who, age 23, left Tytherington with his widowed mother to brave the unknown, and to her I am indebted for much information about these early settlers in Canada, culled from several years' correspondence.

ALLAN BADDELEY

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COLONEL HALLEWELL OF STROUD

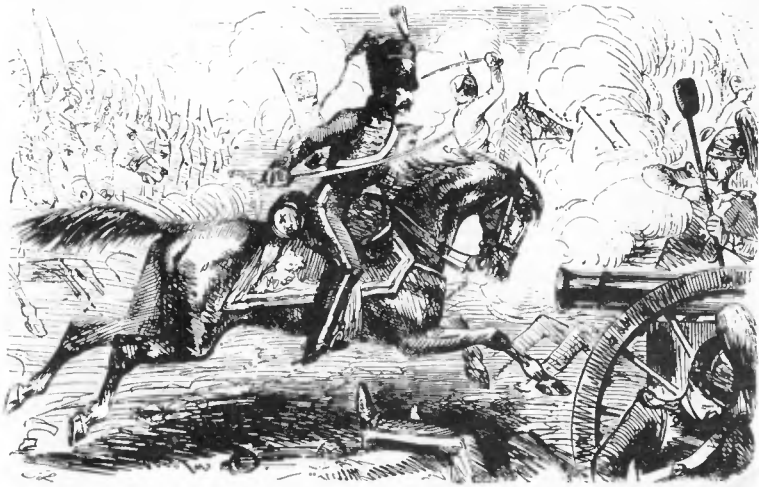
The recent acquisition on film of the first issues of the **Stroud Journal** at the Stroud Branch of the County Library in Lansdown, has opened up a real treasure house of information about this busy Gloucestershire town and surrounding district as it was some 130 years ago.

It was an important time for the town and the surrounding area because industry was showing great promise stimulated by the coming of the Great Western Railway a few years earlier.

Stroud had had its weekly paper, **The Free press**, for some time but this organ of local news and comment seemed to lack the necessary capital and local support and it did not last long following the introduction of the **Journal** in May 1854.

The new paper soon took root and continued to appear weekly until 1957 when it merged with its rival the **Stroud News**. Together they became the **News & Journal** which has continued to appear ever since.

However, in May 1854, when the **Journal's** first issue appeared the Crimean War had just broken out and the paper, which was partly printed in London then sent to Stroud to have its local items and news inserted, had much to tell its readers about the conflict. A map of the scene of operations was published and, in subsequent issues, appeared many steel engravings giving artists' impressions of the stirring events on the shores of the Black Sea.



Progress in the war was reported weekly and when things began to improve for the Allies, there were celebrations of victories, all fully reported. On one occasion cannons were fired on and off for a day at Rodborough Fort and then a blazing tar barrel was rolled down the Hill to Wallbridge and would have been trundled into Stroud had not the police intervened.

By the autumn of 1856 the Crimean War was moving to its close and Stroud men who had endured the terrible winter conditions in the Crimea or had fought in its battles, were returning home. The town was not slow to welcome them and show its appreciation.

Prominent among the returning heroes was Lieut. Col. Edmund Gilling Hallewell, of Stratford House (now Stratford Park), whose family was concerned in founding a successful brewing business in Stroud, afterwards turned into the Stroud brewing Company and then eventually, absorbed by Whitbreads and closed down. The cleared site can be seen at the junction of Cainscross Road, Wallbridge and Rowcroft.

In its issue of 13 September 1856, the **Stroud Journal** reported that Colonel Hallewell had returned home safely. He had, they explained, been present at the battles of Alma and Inkerman and that he had served well as Deputy Assistant Quarter Master of the Light Division. It was due mainly to the Colonel's exertions that the Light Division came through the first disastrous winter in the Crimea in a condition superior to many other units in the British Army a fact which had been commented on in **The Times**.

The Colonel was among the last of the English forces to leave the Crimea having served without interruption throughout the entire campaign.

The Journal, knowing a good story when they saw one, said their readers would be 'interested to learn that the Colonel's charger, Malt, after being wounded at Alma and losing all his hair in the winter from starvation and want of hay, had returned like his master in pretty good case and appears to be thoroughly enjoying the ease and plenty of Stratford Park, where we saw him quietly grazing a few days since.'

Unlike many others of his comrades, Col. Hallewell returned to his family in the best of health but the local paper came up with a unexpected piece of information about an aspect of his service in the Russian war.

'He wears next to his heart an amulet in the shape of a beautiful pencil-case set with diamonds and rubies, which was presented to him by the Queen (Victoria) in acknowledgement of some of his views of Sebastopol taken by himself and presented to her Majesty.'

This seems to suggest that Col. Hallewell was among the first of Stroud's amateur photographers and one wonders what happened to the plates he took in the Crimea. Nowadays they would be of great historical interest.

He featured prominently at a dinner staged by local gentry for returning soldiers. First the officers were entertained and then other ranks. Both events were held in the subscription Rooms and well reported in the **Journal**.

Col. Hallewell was also responsible for bringing to Stroud a trophy of war from the ramparts of Sebastopol. It was a 12lb carronade which was used as a wall piece on the great fortress. The gun was bronzed and fixed on a carriage, with its ramrod and other equipment, then displayed for many years over the fireplace opposite the main platform in the Subscription Rooms.

In more recent times it was rescued from obscurity, refurbished and given a place of honour at Lightpill Ironworks, near Stroud.

J. C. SOLLARS



