Cheltenham Local History Society

Journal 32 ~ 2016

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Introduction

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WELL, IT IS THAT TIME OF THE YEAR ONCE AGAIN! So welcome to the 32nd edition of the Society's Journal. This year I have been amazed at the amount of detailed and carefully researched articles that have been received - in fact, enough for two Journals. My thanks to all those who have contributed such excellent work and my apologies to those whose articles will have to be carried forward to next year - we cannot print more than 76 pages.

Our special thanks need to be recorded to the Wilson for their generosity in allowing us to use several early prints of St Mary's, Cheltenham (now Cheltenham Minster), and Charlton Kings, Leckhampton, Prestbury and Swindon churches, which have not been seen previously. Do try and make time to visit the Wilson's Paper Store – it is not the stock cupboard for the paper clips, but holds a wealth of previously unavailable delights relating to Cheltenham and the surrounding areas. I should also like to thank, Mike Turner of Topflight who always gives unstintingly of his time and has, this year, been particularly helpful.

As you will know the Society has been appealing for a new Journal Editor for some time without much success – it's a great job but one that I would like to relinquish, after eight editions. So it has been decided for the interim only, to recruit several Sub-Editors who will prepare the individual articles with the images and then pass them on to me for amalgamation, indexing and preparing the cover. This means that articles will need to be handed in earlier, to allow time for all the stages. The new **deadline for this year will be Wednesday 30 November 2016.** This is a little over one month earlier than this year's deadline and will give time for the sub-editors to format the text, gather together any images and prepare your articles to the 'ready' stage, and relieve the Editor of some of the preparatory work. If you are interested in helping please let me know.

This year the Society will be holding its Local History Day in the summer - the theme will be 'Women in Cheltenham', so your ideas on how to make the most of this aspect of the town's history will be welcome. And checking through the last eight Journals for articles on women, we do need to focus on them - women are under-represented!

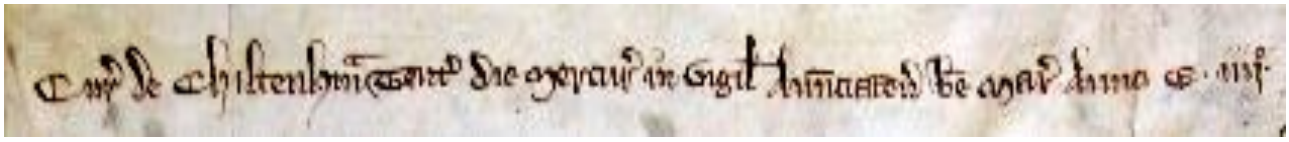
Also do not forget Cheltenham's BIG RED BOOK', Victoria County History, Volume XV - please, try to support the fund raising events. Also if you have any ideas for raising the thousands of pounds needed to complete the volume, please come forward.

From top left, clockwise, Alice Burns, Lillah McCarthy, Queenie Newall, and two unidentified women shoppers.

People and Places of Plantagenet Cheltenham

JAMES HODSDON

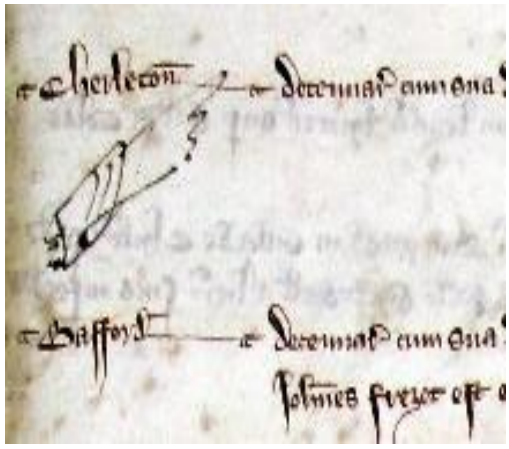
RECENT PAINSTAKING WORK BY A SPECIALIST document conservator has given us a unique window on Cheltenham in the reign of Edward I. A crumbling roll of parchment sheets, containing details of over 20 manor courts for 1275–7 and 1305, has been carefully taken apart, stabilised, cleaned, and photographed – thanks to extremely generous assistance from the Duchy of Cornwall archives, to whom the documents belong. The Society's Latin Group is still working through some of the knottier passages, but meantime we offer a flavour of the contents. Key points emerging from these records will be incorporated in the forthcoming Victoria County History (VCH) of Cheltenham and district.



The heading of the record for the 'Court of Chiltenham, held on Wednesday on the eve of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, in the 4th year of Edward' - 25 March 1276.
Images © HRH The Duke of Cornwall 2016.

General description

The roll consists of 13 sheets of parchment, most of them written on both sides. Apart from a very few words, mentioned later, it is all in latin. The roll's presence in the Duchy of Cornwall archives probably dates from the early 1600s when the then royal manor of Cheltenham was among properties made over by James I to his eldest son Henry. Prince Henry died of typhoid fever in 1612, and his brother, the future Charles I, became the next Prince of Wales. Now that the roll has been conserved, it is generally very legible, showing once again that if kept in the right conditions, traditional sheepskin parchment is a very durable medium. Some of the sheets have been affected by damp at the edges, leading to loss of text here and there, and of course these sheets are just a few survivors from many other years of records now lost forever. But we are grateful for what we've got, especially now they are available once more for study. It is worth noting that we are not the first researchers to have pored over these rolls in the centuries since the clerks dipped their quills in oak-gall ink to create them. Someone (perhaps John Norden, the Jacobean surveyor of royal estates including Cheltenham) has been through the records before us, carefully putting a cross in the margin against all the references to Leckhamptonthe subject of disputes in the early 1600s.[1] Other significant entries get a pointing index finger, such as this one highlighting a Charlton Kings return.



Note the pointing index finger.

This article mainly considers the material in the sheets covering 1275-7, as they give a fairly continuous coverage of some 24 months. The manor courts have often been referred to as 'three-week' courts, and that exactly describes their frequency at this time. At this period, the Cheltenham court day was always a Wednesday.

People

Personal names form a very prominent feature of the rolls – recording not just those who had committed offences, or had lawsuits to pursue, but those who presented 'apologies for absence', or had property transactions to record. In all, we have the names of about 350 distinct individuals in 1275–7. They are mostly from Cheltenham and its tithings, with smaller numbers from Charlton Kings, and just a handful from Swindon and Leckhampton. This is a much greater sample than we have from any other source for this period (the nearest comparison would be a 1327 list of taxpayers, which names 78 people in Cheltenham and 44 in Charlton Kings),[2] and therefore gives a fair base for some analysis. We should bear in mind always that the records generally only deal with adult tenants of the manor – people of at least modest means and substance. Servants, the young, and the poor (deserving or otherwise) rarely feature. Any estimate of total population is risky, but if we deduct from the above 350 those identified as spouses of people already named, those only just of full age, and strangers, and also deduct the dozen or so named people from Swindon and Leckhampton, we have about 315 residents, whom we might call heads of household. Using a standard multiplier which assumes that a household was 4.5 persons, we get a guesstimate of some 1,420 total for Cheltenham and Charlton Kings – appreciably higher than the roughly 1,070 in 1548, computed by Anthea Jones.[3] If the guess is valid, then one might look to the Black Death of 1348–50 to explain the drop. For comparison, the population of Gloucester in the early 14th century has been estimated at about 4,000.[4]

In the 1275–7 records, 11 deaths of tenants are recorded, but this gives little clue to the actual rate of mortality. Similarly, the recorded admission of four young men to tithings, upon their coming of age, provides no real guide to the birth-rate in the same period.

Personal names

The names themselves are fascinating. Taking first names first, if you wanted to pass for a local chap in 1275 Cheltenham, it was best to be a John (72 examples), William (58), Walter (39), Thomas (37), Robert (16) or a Richard (10). Moderately frequent are Adam (4), Henry (8), Hugh (7), Nicholas (5), Ralph (5), Reginald/Reynald (7) and Simon (7); all other male names have just one example, of whom perhaps only Sampson Grym stands out as a bit special. Women's names are also clustered around the early English favourites – Agnes/Anne (9 examples), Alice (4), Juliana (9), Margery/Margaret (8), and Matilda/Maud (6). There are single examples of Elizabeth, Felicia, Frideswide, Olivia, Rose, Sarah and the unusual Tilbe, perhaps a pet form of Elizabeth.

With Christian names so repetitive, surnames were vital, and indeed by this period it is pretty certain that in Cheltenham as elsewhere in England, all surnames were fixed and hereditary. They fall into four broad categories, derived respectively from location, occupation, personal characteristics, and 'other'.

Location names come in two categories: the really local, and the distant. There is a very distinctive clutch of local names preceded by *atte* (at), indicating that a forebear lived 'at' the site in question. Thus Ralph atte Broke (at the brook), Nicholas atte Churche, Agnes atte Cote, John atte Forde, Agnes atte Grene, Juliana atte Halle, Thomas atte Hauthorn, Thomas atte Mulle ('at the mill'), Philip atte Style, Walter atte Tounesende, and John atte Welle. Less obvious are John atte Colverhouse ('at the dovecote'), and John atte Vortheye ('at the dry ground within marshland'); [5] Luke atte Notherhouse is a puzzle, unless it means 'nether house'. Many of the same locality terms are alternatively prefixed with *de la* rather than *atte*, and we also see such forms as William in the Lane.

Surnames based on places as distinct from purely local features are frequent, as they are today, but at this time are usually preceded by *de* (in the record at least - in English it would be *of*). There are over two dozen of these, as follows:

Form in 1275-7	**Origin**
de Alre	Arle, Cheltenham
de Aytele	unexplained, unless a version of Hatherley
de Bargeston (de Barkeston)	Barcheston, Warwicks?
de Beckeford	Beckford, Glos.
de Calne	Calne, Wilts
de Cumbe	'Combe'; several possibilities
de Elkstone	Elkstone, Glos.
de Gravyndon	possibly from minor locality/field name near Cirencester, Glos.[6]
de Hardhurst	probably Harthurstfield, Cheltenham
de Hatherle(gh)(ygh)	Hatherley, Glos.
de Herdewike	Elmstone Hardwicke, Glos.
de Hibern (de Hybern)	Ireland
de Homme	Ham, Charlton Kings
de Hope	from Longhope, Glos?
de Malverne	Malvern, Worcs.
de Northfelde	Northfield, Cheltenham
de Okeleygh (de Okle)	Oakley, Cheltenham
de Opton	Upton, Worcs?
de Radberwe	Rodborough, Glos.
de Rodeston	unexplained
de Sandford	Sandford, Cheltenham
de Scypton	Shipton (Sollers or Oliffe), Glos
de Slougstre	Slaughter, Glos
de Tudyngton	probably Toddington, Glos.
de Wike (de Wyke)	Wick (several possibilities)
de Wittewelle	Whitewell (there is a medieval White Well in Hawkesbury, Glos, but there may be others)
de Wynchedon	Possibly erroneous for Winchcombe, but perhaps more likely from Winchendon, Bucks.

As the above shows, most such names can be traced to places within the county, if not within the manor itself, and except for Ireland. Of the rest, only one is more than one county away

There are a few names suggesting migration from further afield – rather neatly, one each from Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Davie le Waliche ('Welsh') is mentioned once, in Arle; Hugh Scot appears four times as a brewer of ale in Cheltenham, and Olivia de Hibern[ia], dwelling within the central borough, was also engaged in brewing. The Christian names Davy and Olivia are not met elsewhere in Cheltenham, at this period, so it's possible these two really were incomers. There are also people called Peytevyn ('from Poitou'), Franceys and French, but no sign of their being recent arrivals from across the Channel. Another surname, Muchegros, is known from several other medieval Gloucestershire locations, and is of Norman origin.[7]

Occupation names perpetuate the memory of what forebears did, but remain an indication of the continuing trades and callings of 13th century Cheltenham. Thus we have Baker, Carter, Chapman (vendor), Crocker (potter), Chaloner (maker of a type of blanket cloth named after Chalons in France),[8] Chaplain, Clerk, Cok (cook), Dyer (in many variant forms), Gater, Hayward, Irmongar (ironmonger), le Fevre (synonymous with Smith, which also occurs), le Mareschal (ie Marshall, 'farrier'), Parson, Pastor, Reeve, Shepherd, Taylour, Turnor (wood-turner), Walker, and Wympler (maker of wimples). Of these, it's notable that Chaloner, Dyer and Walker all have links to clothworking; interestingly, though there was plenty of brewing in the town, no-one seems to have a related surname.

Names expressing personal characteristics – sometimes called nicknames – are quite common, ranging from the straightforward 'le Yonge' (Young) to descriptives such as Grym, Sturdy and Sturmy (possibly 'stormy'), this last being one of the real survivors among Cheltenham surnames. Fowel, Partrich ('partridge'), Nightingale and Veysaunt ('pheasant')[9] might also fit here.

We are then left with a rather mixed bag of 'other' surnames, some not yet explained. To mention just a few:

Copping, Monek and Topas: all of these were later commemorated in the names of local land-holdings, of which only Monkscroft is still known today. There are one or two names, apparently compounds of the 'Shakespeare' type, such as Schutekute, borne by a father and son in Sandford, and Stikehare, whose significance is obscure. John Bonamy's surname is French for 'good friend'. Walter damIsabele, yet another brewer of ale in Cheltenham, carries a form of name that has attracted the attention of several experts.[10] It is known only in the South Midlands and West Country, and the current view is that one of Walter's ancestors would have been a servant in the household of a now-forgotten Dame Isabel. We can hardly pass over the surname Palte, borne by Henry and Walter of Cheltenham tithing: it seems very likely this is an early form of Pate. Plenty of puzzles remain: the really odd leftovers include Bawet, Chilbe, Choune, Kunyot, Mousgalon, Poddyng, Thurk and Wouh – names the Latin Group members are pretty sure they've read correctly, but which don't sound at all familiar today.

Place-names

These court rolls are virtually the only early source for minor place-names in the Cheltenham landscape. Place-names are far less frequent than personal names, so their forms are worth listing in full (all from 1275–7 unless marked otherwise). An asterisk indicates that this is currently the earliest recorded version of the name.[11]

1275-7 form	**Later or modern form, and comments**
Alre	Arle
*Alveston	Alstone
Ascheleigh	Ashley, Charlton Kings
*Bafford	unchanged
*Brokeferlong	Probably in Alstone; the 'brook' might be the Chelt.
Cherleton	Charlton [Kings
Chiltenham	Cheltenham was consistently spelled *Chilt-* at this period.
*Codenhulle	Cudnall, Charlton Kings
*Coppingsgrene	In Arle; named after one of the numerous Copping family, present in Naunton, Westal, Charlton and Bafford at this time.
*Dorbiesgrene	Common pasture in Arle or Alstone? Presumably from a personal name Darby
*Halfpenycroft [1307]	A small piece of land, near where Neptune's Fountain now stands
*Herdhurste	Later Harthurstfield
Homme	Ham, Charlton Kings
Lechamton	Leckhampton
*Lovel	Tithing name in Leckhampton, later known as Bradwell. Named after the family of John Lovel of Snotescombe, Northants.
*le Ryefeld	Probably in Alstone
Newenton	Naunton
*Northfeld	Name survives in Northfield Passage, Cheltenham
Sandford	unchanged
Swyndon	Swindon
*Tyntebrugge	unidentified bridge in Alstone. Middle English *tynte* can mean 'lost, destroyed, damned', so perhaps not in good repair?
Westhale	Now usually Westal
*Wymondbrech underhull	arable; recently-cleared land ('breach'), presumably 'under the hill' of Oakley, and near Wymans Brook
*Wymondlonde	A furlong ('londe') near the above
*Ychelynge	Compare later Itchlands, in Arle and Alstone[12]

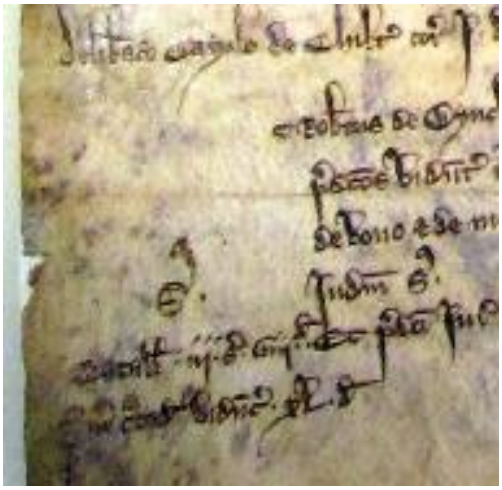
The general business of these early courts has been discussed in earlier articles,[13] so need be only briefly summarised here: lawsuits about trespass, debt, disputed inheritance; assaults and cases of hue and cry; damage to roads and waterways; the transfer of property upon sale or death, and routine fines for non-attendance at court, or for breaking the assizes of ale and bread by selling without licence or in short measure, and other related matters.

Bigger issues dealt with by the court at this time include a long-running case about the disputed ownership of the manor of Leckhampton and the advowson of its church. This will doubtless appear at greater length in the future VCH treatment of Leckhampton, but suffice to say here that it was resolved in favour of the tenant for life, John Lovel of Snotescombe. He was seemingly a scion of an aristocratic Northants family, and had some sort of connection with the Berkeleys. It explains the short-lived Leckhampton tithing name of Lovel – later Bradwell – but more research is needed.

Of various land transactions, one of the fullest is in January 1276, on the death of Thomas Dure, chaplain of the chantry in St Mary's church. He had been tenant of three houses in Cheltenham and Alstone, and a virgate of land, and would presumably have lived in one house and taken rent from the rest. On his death, a heriot of one ox was payable to the lord. There then follows a long and careful statement about the appointment of the new chaplain, which is worth quoting in detail:

'And upon this, with the assent of the lord and the said community [of the parish of Cheltenham], there is admitted to the said tenements for the said daily singing to be made in the said church Sir John le Wydewe chaplain, *that he should possess the holdings for his whole lifetime for as long as he is fit and honest for this chantry. Also that it shall not be lawful for him to make any alienation, waste or destruction of buildings gardens trees hedges or anything else whatsoever belonging to the said holdings, nor to take anything, unless for his reasonable [use]. And if the said John chaplain either by reason of promotion or of his own free will should cease from the said celebration, or make any destruction etc, then here in court by loyal men of the community it shall immediately be lawful for the lord and said community to enter upon the said tenement, and another suitable chaplain of their choice be admitted to the said chantry, without any reclaim or contradiction by the said John etc.*

The length of this entry, spelling out the terms and conditions, suggests that perhaps there had been problems with previous appointments; and it certainly shows that the parish had a definite say in the choice of chaplain. We get another little glimpse of 'local government' at work in an entry recording that Walter atte Touneshend was removed from the office of beadle 'by the whole community of the liberty', Walter le Erl being chosen in his place. Did Walter depart willingly? Was he incompetent or perhaps in poor health? We will never know.



The normal court records are dramatically interrupted in November 1276 by a 'gaol delivery' – in which a felon, Robert of Wynchedon (Winchcombe?), being held in gaol in Cheltenham, was tried for stealing five sheep worth 10s from a sheepfold at Didbrook. The twelve men of the jury found him guilty, and the margin of the record (*pictured*) carries a laconic S, short for '*suspendatur*' – let him be hanged. There are no other incidents of this gravity in the surviving records, and the general impression is of relatively peaceful times, at least locally.

Finally, as light relief from the Latin, it has been fun to find just a few scraps of English in the 1275-7 material. One is clearly a later insertion, probably of Tudor date. Against an entry about one William le Deye who had 'diverted the course of a certain water in the vill of Cheltenham' someone has added in English, as if to shed light on a problem of his own day, '*note that the water course hath ever beene used for the towne of Cheltenham*'. The other is just three words, but it is an authentic echo of the spoken language of Cheltenham in the century before Chaucer. On 8 May 1276, the tithingman of Alstone came to court and presented that all was well in his tithing. But instead of the usual '*omnia bene*' (all well), the clerk writes *noȝt bote god* – nought but good!

Acknowledgements and postscript

Thanks are offered to all who have contributed to the Cheltenham Latin Group, especially to Dr Beth Hartland who also imaged the originals (ref DC MR GC 1) at the Duchy of Cornwall archives. For arranging the conservation work which made proper study of these records possible, Cheltenham is greatly indebted to the good offices of Dr Elizabeth Lomas, the Duchy Archivist. The considerable cost of this work was partially offset by a grant from the Cheltenham Arts Council, to whom thanks are also due.

This article picks out only selected themes from the 20,000 words of transcript so far produced. The salient historical points are being incorporated in Beth Hartland's write-up of medieval Cheltenham for the forthcoming Victoria County History of the town. Once completed and checked, a full transcript will be placed online. It is intended that the technical aspects of the document conservation, carried out by Mariluz Beltran de Guevara, will be written up separately.

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[1] Problems with the Cheltenham estate were catalogued in the early 1600s, probably by Norden or an associate (TNA LR205).

[2] Peter Franklin, *The Taxpayers of Medieval Gloucestershire* (1993), p 37.

[3] Anthea Jones, *Cheltenham: a new history* (2010), pp 92–4.

[4] VCH Gloucestershire, vol 4, p 18.

[5] This also appears as *atte Fortheye*, and is likely to be the origin of the surname Fortey, famously borne by Mrs Fortey who dispensed the waters of the original Cheltenham spa. There is another example in North Nibley (Forthay, dating from 1371): A H Smith, *Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, 2, p 241. The surname also occurs in Oxfordshire: Richard McKinley, *The Surnames of Oxfordshire* (1977), p 48.

[6] Occurs as 'Gravyndon' and 'Gravenden' in 1318 deed detailing land in Chesterton, Cirencester: Peter Coss, *The Langley Cartulary*, Dugdale Society Vol 32 (1980), p 16.

[7] E.g., Bulley, Kemerton, Lassington; a Roger de Mucegros accompanied William the Conqueror in 1066, and is named in Domesday.

[8] One Hugh Chaloner features regularly in the records. It was a surprise to spot someone of exactly the same name among participants in the 2015 Cheltenham Half-Marathon!

[9] Commemorated in Greater and Little Feasants, later holdings in Charlton Kings.

[10] McKinley, *op. cit*., pp 235–7; P H Reaney, *Origins of English Surnames* (1967) p 84. Several other examples of Dame- names are listed in Franklin, *op. cit*.

[11] See James Hodsdon, *Historical Gazetteer of Cheltenham* (1997) for fuller details.

[12] James Hodsdon, *Cheltenham Manor Court Books, 1692-1803* (2010).

[13] See for example Jill Barlow's *Cheltenham Manor Court Rolls 1527–29*, in Journal **20** (2004), and 'Cheltenham Manorial Court 1608', in *Archives and Local History in Bristol and Gloucestershire* (2007).

‘A Man of Quick Sympathy’: Reverend John More, 1840 - 1910

CAROLINE SHERWOOD

‘His studious habits and his cultured mind, strong faith, abundant labours, deep Reverence and eager devotion, distinguished him among his compeers.’
Reverend John More, United Reform Church History Society.

JOHN MORE WAS BORN NEAR COLDSTREAM, Berwickshire on 29 March 1840. He attended the parish school of Ladykirk, going on to pursue an Arts course at the University of London. Swept up in the non-conformist revival of 1859,[1] More studied for the ministry at the Theological College of the English Presbyterian Church. After three sessions at Queen Square College, London,[2] he completed his fourth and final session at New College, Edinburgh, was ordained in 1867 and took up a ministry in Dudley, West Midlands.

Grace More (1872-1949), the third of the 10 children of John and Lucy More and the grandmother of the author.
© *Caroline Sherwood*

A year later, on 4 March 1868, John More married Lucy Horne, the youngest daughter of a prosperous grocer and tea merchant, from Moreton-in-Marsh.[3] They had a large family of ten children.

The Presbyterian community in Cheltenham was officially established on 11 June 1858 with 48 members.[4] In 1872 Reverend More moved to the town to begin his service as fourth minister; a ministry which was to see ‘many changes, innovations and developments’.[5] The family settled at 3 Wellington Square and his induction took place on 14 August at the Cheltenham chapel in St George’s Square.[6] The *Cheltenham Examiner* reported*, ‘there was not a very large congregation but those who were present appeared to take considerable interest in the proceedings’*. The address of welcome was inaudible to the *Examiner’s* reporter, but Reverend More’s favourable reputation was praised. The article goes on to say, *‘The Rev. Gentleman, whose ministry is highly spoken of, preached in the chapel on Sunday morning and evening, to attentive congregations’.* Sixty-three members were present at his first communion service, on 1 September. Twenty-two years later, 94 members were present, at his final service.[7]

In her short history of St Andrew's Church, Winifred Hart enumerates the many projects that John More swiftly put into action as part of his pastoral service. He recruited a band of ladies to collect pew rents - downstairs, 5s in the front, 3s in the back; the gallery, 2s 6d in the front, free at the back - and he divided Cheltenham into districts for these ladies to cover. Reverend Moore, also *'deemed it desirable to introduce instrumental music to help with the Psalmody of the Church'*. Donations and collections from various endeavours raised £36 to purchase an American organ,[8] and at a meeting in 1872, 50 new hymn books were ordered; reflecting the growing literacy in the congregation.

Cheltenham Chapel in St George's Square. Opened 2 August 1809 and capable of seating 800 people. The chapel was opened by the Reverend Rowland Hill.
© *Caroline Sherwood*

St Andrew's Church and His Ministry

St. Andrew's church, at the junction of Montpellier Street and Fauconberg Road, was the result of the Reverend More's vision and fund raising efforts. The archive of the United Reformed Church History Society notes that,

'The pastorate of the Rev. John More was a memorable one for during it, the present Church buildings were erected and the Presbyterian community of Cheltenham, for weal or woe, moved from the drab workaday world of the Lower High Street ... to the refined purlieus of Lansdown, the residential quarters of the well-to-do.'

However the process of fundraising, for the new church, was not without controversy and Reverend More wrote to the *Cheltenham Examiner* (he was a frequent correspondent) on 30 June 1875:

'Sir, In reference to the notice in the Examiner respecting a new Presbyterian Church, allow me to set you right as to the facts of the case. My people are about to purchase a manse which will cost about eight or nine hundred pounds. Towards this object one of them has given £300,[9] *and another £100, and the rest of them most liberally according to their several ability. The site for a new church referred to, is also being secured, and for that purpose Mr Wilson has given £100, a fund in Liverpool £200, and another fund in Manchester £100. That is exactly how the matter stands. We are in no hurry, and we mean to incur no debt, and we are not careful to trumpet our doings; but since you favoured us with a paragraph, which was kindly meant, though not correct, you will perhaps further favour me by finding room for this explanation.*

I am, Sir, yours very sincerely, J. MORE'

In July 1878, while essential repairs were being carried out in the old church, the congregation met in the Assembly Rooms (now Lloyd's Bank) at a charge of £1 11s 6d per Sunday. It also became clear that the Manse was in need of repair, (including the

provision of a new kitchen range), before the More family could relocate and so the Manse Repair Fund was launched.

It appears that the strain of his responsibilites (and perhaps some of the opposition he faced in building St. Andrew's), took its toll on the minister's health, for in 1883 a 'serious breakdown' necessitated Reverend More taking a four month leave of absence. At the beginning of 1884, after many hiatuses in fundraising and in planning for the new church, 'Mr More, ordered a prolonged rest, set out for Liverpool and a Mediterranean cruise for which his Liverpudlian friends paid.'[10]

The foundation stone for the new church, designed in Gothic style by Thomas Arnold, was laid on 29 September 1885. In January 1886 the new church was finally ready for use and a dinner was held at the Queen's Hotel for the Presbytery and later a quiet lunch at the church for members and visitors. On 11 January, the *Examiner* reported,[11] that the Servants of the Christian Association *'presented Mr More with a parallel Bible[12] handsomely bound in morocco and a letter balance for his study table'.* The Bible bore the inscription: *'Presented to the Rev J. Moore by the members of the S.C.A. as a small token of esteem and gratitude for the deep interest he has taken for the promotion of their true welfare.'* The article further reported that, *'Mr Moore was quite taken by surprise'* and acknowledged with much feeling the kindness of the members of the association. They provided a Christian sisterhood, he said, which was most helpful to him in one department of his work, that of taking strangers by the hand. He was always cheered to hear them well spoken of by those whom they served and he considered that any minister might be thankful for their cooperation and strengthenend by their steadfastness. The official opening ceremony took place on 11 May 1886. 'Mr Moore was a believer in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, and had a firm grasp of its promises and prophesies'.[13]

John More frequently gave lectures at the Corn Exchange, including one on the 'Literary History of the Bible', reviewed by the *Examiner,* on 24 January 1877.

'*He forcibly put the influence which the Bible had exercised upon the literature of the world, by asking his hearers to imagine the effect if from every book were expunged the passages which had their direct or indirect origin in the Bible, or if from every library were removed the books which owed their inspiration to the same source.'*

In December he gave a lecture on Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.*

'*The principal incidents in the work were very graphically described and illustrated by dissolving views of large size (coloured). The Rev J. A. Alston, incumbent of St Luke's, presided. The proceeds will be devoted to colportage work[14] work among the surrounding villages'* the *Examiner* noted.

Suddenly, and unexpectedly, in early 1879, Reverend John More resigned during negotiations to establish a new church building. The Session responded by appointing a Mr Workman to plead with him to reconsider, and *'touched by this strong evidence both of their affection and appreciation of his ministry, Mr More immediately withdrew his notice of resignation.'*[15]

Portrait photograph of John More.
© *Caroline Sherwood*

John Hawkes described Reverend More as *‘a man of quick sympathy for everything generous and lovable, and of grand indignation for things wrong or mean’.*[16] John More’s visionary and philanthropic nature was revealed in several letters. Throughout his life he was a champion for the oppressed and the marginalised. In one letter[17] he passionately expressed the grievances held by non-conformists as to burial arrangements available to them, making reference to a town where a colleague of his was unable to find a burial place for his child who had died before being baptised.[18] In 1884 he wrote again appealing for money for a widow and her six children, as well as for the mother of a borough rate collector who had died of a *‘sad mental affliction’*, leaving debts of £100. He mentioned in this letter that the Mayor had refused assistance, but that ‘another worthy gentleman’ had come forward with some funding.

Perhaps the most radical and forward-thinking of his letters was published in the *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 20 October 1880, when, 26 years after Cheltenham Ladies’ College had opened, he wrote to put the case for the provision of education for female children of poorer families:

‘*Will you kindly allow me a little of your valuable space to plead for the requirements of a large class of children in our community? We have a Ragged School for our street children; we have British and Parish schools for the children of the artisan; we have “Colleges” and boarding schools in abundance for the children of the privileged classes; and we have excellent Private Schools for the boys of the middle class. But the girls, whose parents are engaged in trade, … have to pick up their education by the most fragmentary and hap-hazard chances. Some schools, offering a superior education, take them in, where they are constantly made to feel they are not wanted … the question has long occupied my thoughts, why should there not be a Grammar School for girls in Cheltenham; modelled somewhat after the proposed plan of the re-modelled Grammar School for boys? It might be a Proprietary School belonging to the shareholders, and governed by a Council … there is no reason why it should not be as honourable for our girls to be educated in such a school, …* a *suitable house and grounds might be secured for a beginning, and if the scheme should meet with sufficient sympathy, I would be glad to use the influence I have and help in making it a success … ’*

Reverend More was also a committed advocate of sobriety, especially as promoted within a christian context, and, in June 1886, presided over a Temperance Meeting of the Gloucestershire and Herefordshire Baptist Association at Cambray Chapel.

The last years of John More’s ministry in Cheltenham were not without continuing stress and controversy. It was proposed that a new lecture hall was needed and some suggested selling the old church (renamed ‘The Central Hall’ to make it more marketable). This idea was bitterly opposed by five pillars of the kirk. Months of

wrangling and confusion followed, to the degree that Winifred Hart reported that the minutes of church meetings had become *'somewhat incoherent'*.[19]

The challenges of the Cheltenham ministry continued to affect John More's health: he is reported to have fallen ill again in May 1881 and was still not well a year later. In addition the now annual deficit had 'swollen to £60'.[20] Finally, to move matters forward and feeling the importance of the need for a lecture hall, Reverend More asked for work to begin, despite the fact that the Salvation Army (who were first in line for the purchase) had not yet bought the former church. Only a month later, on 11 July 1894, he decided to leave Cheltenham and move to a new ministry in London.

Winifred Hart summarises the situation at the time of Reverend More's departure, saying,

'...the office-bearers had a well loaded plate of troubles on their hands: a vacant pulpit, an uncompleted sale of the Hall, … [were] *baffled by the leisurely motions of the Charity Commissioners, an unbuilt, unfinanced New Hall, no place for Sunday School or weekday meeting, an unsold Manse, and a Testimonial for their departing Minister to be collected, no organist, and no money to pay one* [and] *a choir on strike.'*[21]

Finally, to add insult to injury, on 6 June 1895, the Salvation Army withdrew their offer to buy the Central Hall. The collection for John More totalled £147 6s. The *Cheltenham Examiner*, by contrast, praised*: 'Mr More's twenty-two years of self-denying labours in the town,'* and the congregation was said to meet the news with feelings of '*profound regret'*.[22]

His final years in Woolwich

On 16 September 1894 John More became the fifteenth minister in the pastoral succession at New Road, Woolwich.[23] In London his career was no less distinguished: in fact it moved from strength to strength. He continued to work as hard and devotedly as in his previous ministries, for an annual stipend of £330. His Woolwich congregation were *'the military, lower middle class & well to do artizans.'*[24]

Toward the end of the 19th century, Charles Booth, a philanthropist and social researcher, documented life in London, conducting wide-ranging interviews and creating demographic maps.[25] While living at *Riverview* in Woolwich, Reverend More was interviewed on 1 October 1900 as part of Charles Booth's research.[26] The interviewer recorded that More was a 'tall, angular, iron grey man who strongly resembles the General Booth of 10 years ago.'[27] The comparison was not without significance: in his book *In Darkest England and the Way Out,* William Booth had graphically outlined the desperate conditions of London's poorest inhabitants. Both men worked tirelessly to alleviate those conditions.

John More served as Presbyterian Chaplain to the Forces from 1898 to 1903, ministering

'... to thousands of dying and invalid soldiers, work that suited him immensely, and greatly did he enjoy contact at such close quarters with these men's souls. He was the soul of honour, ever ready to serve others even at the cost of great sacrifices to himself. Not a few in the ministry can trace their religious impressions to him.'[28]

The strain of chaplaincy during the Boer War was considerable and involved him in

‘… interviewing and exhorting men proceeding to the scenes of conflict, in caring for the wives and families left behind, and in ministering to the sick, wounded and dying in the Royal Albert Hospital at Woolwich’.[29]

With a *‘restless eagerness for His Master’s business’* he *‘often overtaxed his strength,’* wrote John Hawkes.[30] After continued ill health, he finally resigned in 1903. Yet, even in retirement, his devotion to the cause of the Jewish Missions continued and he was sent by the Jewish Committee to Aleppo in Syria where, *‘at a time of anxious difficulty, he exercised a tactful and kind influence upon the missionaries and saved the situation’*.[31] Although his last illness was long and difficult, there was ‘*no murmuring, no repining. He still had the brave, trustful, loyal heart that could ever count it a joy to be called to follow his Master through tribulation’*.[32] John More died on 24 January 1910, aged 69, at his home 32 Stodart Road, Anerley, after 43 years in the ministry. He was buried in West Norwood Cemetery.[33]

[1] Cairns, Rev. John, *John Hawkes, and His Successors. A Biographical and Historical Account, from 1662 to 1912, of the Presbyterian Ministry of the Congregation Now Known As New Road, Woolwich.* (W. J. Squires, 95 & 96 Wellington Street, and 39 High Street, Woolwich, 1913).
[2] Ibid.
[3] This is the same Horne family who produced the Congregationalist minister and Liberal M.P., Charles Silvester Horne, and the popular comedian, Kenneth Horne.
[4] Hart, Winifred, *A History of St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church Cheltenham 1858-1958* (1966), p. 8.
[5] Ibid, p.11.
[6] This had been converted to a Presbyterian church in January 1858 (formerly Congregationalist).
[7] United Reformed Church History Society Archives.
[8] Hart, Winifred, *A History of St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church Cheltenham 1858-1958* (1966), p.12.
[9] Mrs Lamb, the wife of a prominent church elder.
[10] Hart, Winifred, *A History of St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church Cheltenham 1858-1958* (1966), p. 19.
[11] *Cheltenham Examiner*, 20 January 1886.
[12] A parallel bible is one that has the text in more than one translation.
[13] Cairns, John, Reverend
[14] Colportage was the work of a colporteur: a pedlar of religious books.
[15] Hart, Winifred
[16] Cairns, John, Reverend
[17] *Cheltenham Examiner*, 11 April 1877
[18] *Cheltenham Examiner*, 11 April 1877.
[19] Hart, Winifred, p.22.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid, p.23.
[22] *Cheltenham Examiner*, 1 August 1894.
[23] Greenwich Heritage Centre hold letters from Rev. More concerning his Woolwich ministry.
[24] London School of Economics archives. *Nonconformists & Missions in Woolwich and Plumstead* District 48 Book 130 (cxxx) Doc: B289 pp. 164-179.
[25] These colour-coded maps can be seen at the Museum of London.
[26] London School of Economics archives, pp.164-179
[27] Booth, (General) William (1829-1912). Methodist minister and founder of the Salvation Army.
[28] URC History Society archives.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Cairns, John, Reverend
[31] Ibid. Aleppo, the largest city in Syria, was home to a significant Jewish population from ancient times.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Grave number 32684. The plot cost £4 4s. Lucy More died eight years later and was buried in the same plot.

‘Done is a Battell on the Dragon Black’? The Chapels of the Medieval Church in Cheltenham

MICHAEL GREET

Editor’s note: This is the first part of a paper by Michael Greet; the second part, ‘The Staffing of the Chapels of Medieval Cheltenham,’ will appear in the next Journal. The images are some of the earliest illustrations of the churches available and are used by courtesy of Cheltenham Trust and Cheltenham Borough Council.

Background

THIS PAPER[1] DESCRIBES WHAT IS KNOWN about the organisation of Cheltenham’s medieval church and its chapels, (in the diocese of Worcester) and how it was staffed and builds on the evidence about Cheltenham’s medieval church to which Doctor Ross drew attention in the introduction to the Cirencester Abbey Cartulary.[2]

Summary

The church in medieval Cheltenham is first noted *c.*773, or between 781 and 798 (or 800). It may have been a minster, (a collegiate body of secular clergy with a mission to the surrounding area), but this is not certain.[3] In 1086 there is said[4] to be evidence for a church in Cheltenham which had subordinate chapels, and a separate priory. The Domesday Book shows that there was a church in Cheltenham with priests, and that it held one and a half hides (an endowment, later part of the Rectory lands of Cheltenham). Since some chapels were later subordinate to St Mary’s, and to Cirencester Abbey (from 1133) it is likely that there were some so subordinated in 1086, and St Mary’s is not therefore to be identified with the priory. The plan and structure of the church may also suggest this. There is some evidence that the priory was sited away from the present site of St Mary’s. The parish of Cheltenham appears originally to have covered the hundred of Cheltenham and included the later parishes of Cheltenham, Prestbury, Swindon, Leckhampton, and Charlton Kings; the latter two, and possibly even four, originating as manorial chapels.

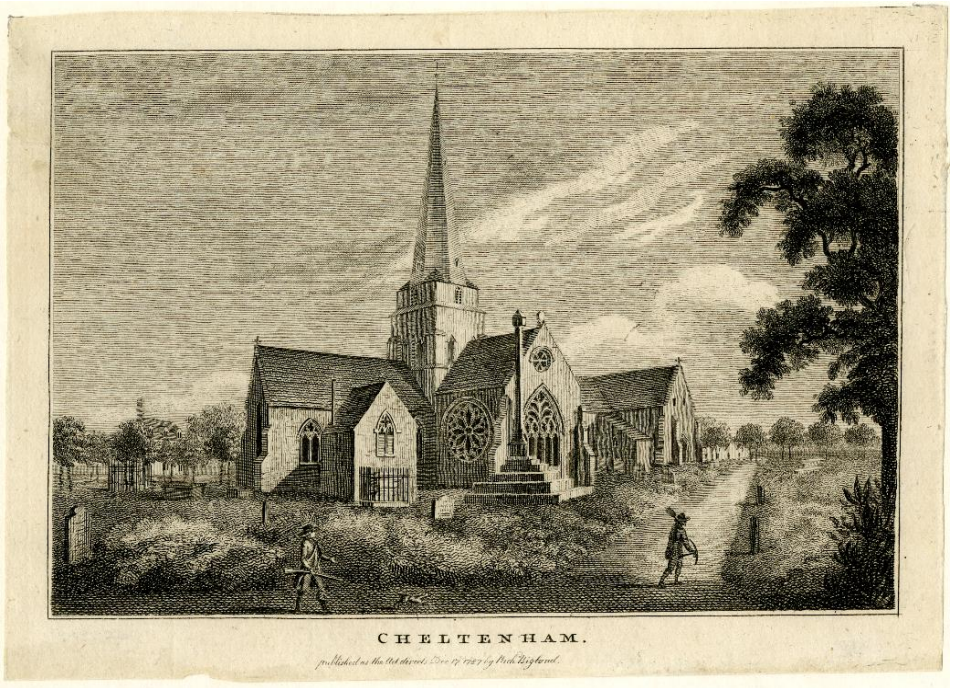
Subordinate chapels are known to have existed at: Leckhampton - earliest reference *c.*1137, then again in 1162-1164[5]; Charlton Kings - dedicated 1190-91 or 1193 and Up Hatherley - subordinate to Cheltenham for an unknown period.[6]

There were also two private chapels (one at Arle) served by the church at Cheltenham. There is also evidence for an oratory at Ham, Charlton Kings *c.*1340. There is evidence that both canons and chaplains served churches at Cheltenham.

Cheltenham and its Chapels

It has been suggested that all churches within the bounds of Cheltenham hundred[7] were originally subject to the ‘minster’ at Cheltenham, even if they later became independent, and that other churches/parishes may also have once been subject to Cheltenham.[8] One

aim of this paper is to put forward some evidence on the topic, and to examine the current state of knowledge about these early churches.



St Mary's parish church (now Cheltenham Minster).
The caption reads 'Published as the Act directs Dec. 17 1787 by Rich Bigland'

Cheltenham Hundred, Manor and Parish

Cheltenham was ancient royal demesne and, it may be presumed, was originally part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia. The Hundred appears to have included the later parishes of Cheltenham, Swindon, Leckhampton, Prestbury and Charlton Kings.

Dr Blair has pointed out that 'many minsters were founded near royal vills, their parochiae co-terminous with the territories which the vills controlled': and it will be seen that Cheltenham minster/parish church is extremely likely to have served all the land in the hundred until other parishes were created from it. (see below, p.24, Hatherley (Redgrove) manor). It is also likely that the original royal manor was similarly co-terminous until other manors were created from it. The Minster at Cheltenham is first mentioned in 803 and was then alleged to have existed for some 30 years. The composition of the manor is not certainly known, but a demesne farm at Leckhampton can be inferred, and probably a market in Cheltenham from *c.*770, with surrounding settlements, (dates of their first known appearance in brackets) at Arle (*c.*680), Prestbury (899-904), Up Hatherley (1022), Swindon and Leckhampton (1086), Naunton (1147), Charlton Kings (1152, though Ashley Manor dates from between 1141 and 1143), Alstone (*c.*1180) and Ham (before 1196).[9]

In 1287 Fecamp Abbey claimed Cheltenham manor and hundred in *Quo Warranto* pleas before the justices in Eyre. Vills and hamlets included in it were 'Chiltham, Swyndon, Lekhampton, Alveston, Westhale, Neuton, Alre'. Inexplicably, Prestbury, probably Bradwell (in Leckhampton) and the Charlton Kings tithings were omitted.[10]

Later on, by 1327, the manors of Swindon and Leckhampton had been granted out and were no longer ancient demesne as they had once been. The reasons for the grants are unknown: whether it was to reward a feudal lord, to increase his income, or to build an affinity is not documented. Perhaps it was instead an early example of 'Gloucestershire kindness'?[11]

The first evidence of a church at Cheltenham is at the Council of Cloveshoe in 803, when a dispute over a payment due from the church at Cheltenham *('monasterio in parochio Deneberhti Celtanhom')*[12] was settled. The Bishop of Worcester's predecessor Heathured (bishop 781-798 or 800) had allegedly received the profit from Cheltenham.[13] Barbara Rawes suggested that lands at Cheltenham may have originally been given, by the king, as part of the endowment for Gloucester Abbey. Atkyns indeed states that 'Ethelbald, King of the Mercians (716-757) gave to God and St Peter of Gloster and to the nuns there 20 Hides of Land in a village called Alre.'[14] Following the decay of the Abbey *c.*767, the king at that time may have resumed them and given the diocese 30 hides at Prestbury. A mortgage of these to the Bishop of Hereford, subsequently foreclosed, could explain the later food-rent debate already noted.[15]

Another synod, held at Gloucester in 1086, mentions the priory in its list of rentals, and also a *'church with chapels'*. These are mentioned separately in such a way as to imply that the church was independent of the collegiate foundation and this is borne witness to by the plan and arrangement of the church which seems to be purely parochial.[16]

The Domesday Book refers to priests at Cheltenham having one and a half hides, *'ad eccl'am p'tin 1 hid et dim. Reinbaldus ten eam.'* The lands held by Reinbald (who was 'Chanceller under William' and 'Dean of a College of Secular Priests at Cirencester) were later granted to Cirencester Abbey. They later reverted to the Crown and were granted to the Earl of Essex in the 17th century. They included the site of the former priory: 'Anciently within this towne was a priory which is now the house let by the Lord Capell [i.e. the Earl of Essex] to the person who farms his Tythes' on the site of the later '100 to 106 High Street',[17] now numbers 118-128.

Such a priory may have been merely the house where the priests serving the church lived under a superior (prior), subordinate to a mother house. It would then have been on the edge of Cheltenham.[18] The Cirencester Abbey Cartulary (CC) speaks in 1162-1164 of the priests in Cheltenham as a Chapter *('et capitulo de Chiltenham')*. This may mean no more than that the priests at Cheltenham had regular chapter meetings as they would have done at Cirencester. It may imply that before the church was granted to the Abbey there had been a group ministry at Cheltenham which acted as a body corporate. Cirencester Abbey had both a court and a grange in Cheltenham.[19]

In 1133 the church and its chapels *('et capellis')* were granted to Cirencester Abbey.[20] The locations of the chapels at this date are unknown, but while Charlton may be ruled out (it did not yet exist), Leckhampton may have been one and Up Hatherley the other, based on the obligation to pay pensions later established (see pp.22 and 24).

Manorial Chapels?

It appears that some (or even all) of the lesser churches in the Hundred had originated as manorial or private chapels. (And, it will be remembered, Bishop Wulfstan [of

Worcester 1062-1095] had *'urged on the lords of manors the duty of building churches'.* He *'built parochial churches on his own estates and also instructed them to be built elsewhere'*.[21]

Some support for this view is provided by the low valuations, given in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1291, for Cheltenham's three putative daughter churches (by then independent parishes), as compared with the mother church of Cheltenham. Cheltenham was valued at £24; Swindon at £4 6s 8d; Leckhampton at £5 6s 8d, plus Llanthony Priory's income of 4s 2d and Cirencester Abbey's 2s pension; Prestbury, £6 13s 4d, plus the Vicar's income of £4 6s 8d, with the Dean and Precentor of Hereford each receiving £1 13s 4d. For comparison the chapel at Down Hatherley of Badgeworth parish church was assessed at £5.[22]

Those chapels for which some evidence of their origin survives, and which were not independent of St Mary's by 1133, seem likely to be those most recently established. Those churches (Prestbury and Swindon) which achieved independence before this, and of whose origin little or nothing is yet known, presumably had much earlier origins.

From evidence below it will be noted that Charlton Kings chapel (dedicated 1190-91 or in 1193) was built following gifts from Walter of Ashley, Lord of Ashley Manor, (since between 1141 and 1143). Also it is noted that Arle and another chapel were private ones (of Walter of Brussels and Ralph Butler, respectively), dated 1141-50 and 1143-45, served by Cheltenham parish church in return for gifts of land. A deed in the Llanthony Priory Cartulary[23] indicates that Leckhampton also began as a memorial chapel, perhaps *c.*1137.

The dedications of the churches and chapels in Cheltenham hundred appear to indicate or reflect their ecclesiastical proprietors. The church at Cheltenham was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, as was Cirencester Abbey (by 1133 when Cheltenham and its chapels were transferred to it). Later the chapel at Charlton Kings, and probably that at Arle had the same dedication, the latter by 1334; as also did Prestbury, possibly copying that of Llanthony Priory. Cheltenham and Charlton Kings were appropriated by Cirencester Abbey in 1195. Two of the parish churches, both rectories, which became independent early on, carry different dedications. Leckhampton, subordinate to Cheltenham in 1162-4, was dedicated to St Peter by 1512. Swindon was dedicated to St Lawrence.[24]

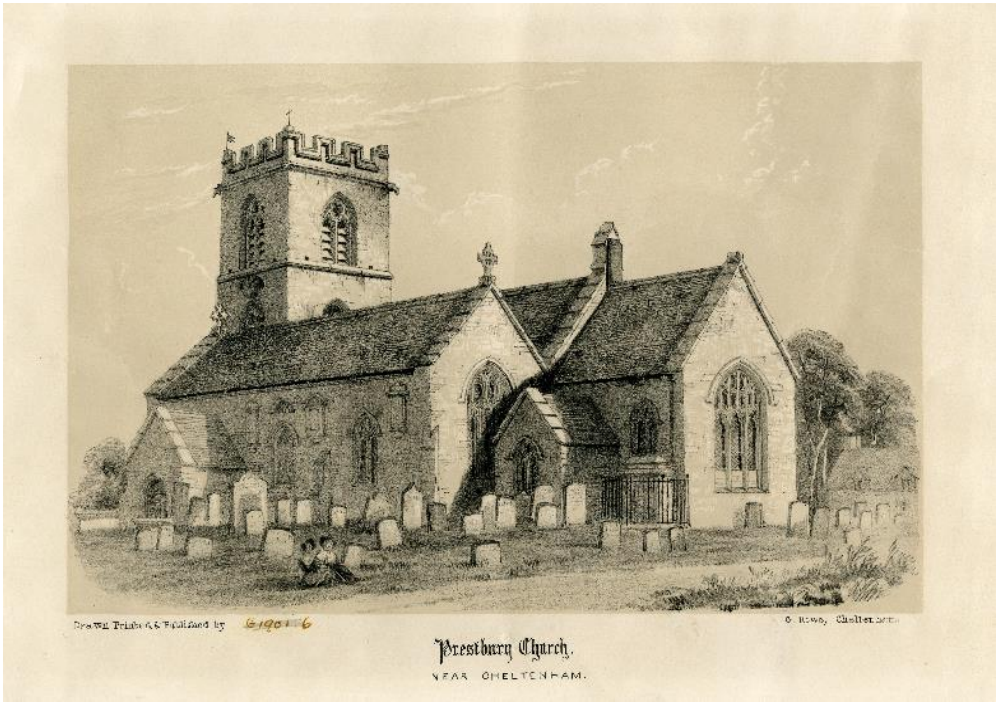
Church Activities and Events

Little is yet known, through lack of evidence, of church activities or events in medieval Cheltenham, but for some examples of what is known, see Appendix A, p.26.[25]

Prestbury and Swindon: the Earliest Chapels

Apart from the implications of the place name (Prestbury: 'priests' fortified place') [26] no evidence has been found of how the church there was instigated, and there is little to show how Swindon originated. While the Domesday Survey mentions, besides Cheltenham, the manors at Swindon, Prestbury (and also Leckhampton), all being in Cheltenham hundred, only at Cheltenham and Prestbury are priests mentioned. However, while the existence of manors and a resident population could imply the

existence of a chapel to serve each – the criteria being the existence of a manorial lord to give the church and a population to support it – the number of people listed in the Hundred in 1086 is low.



St Mary's, Prestbury. Drawn and published by G. Rowe

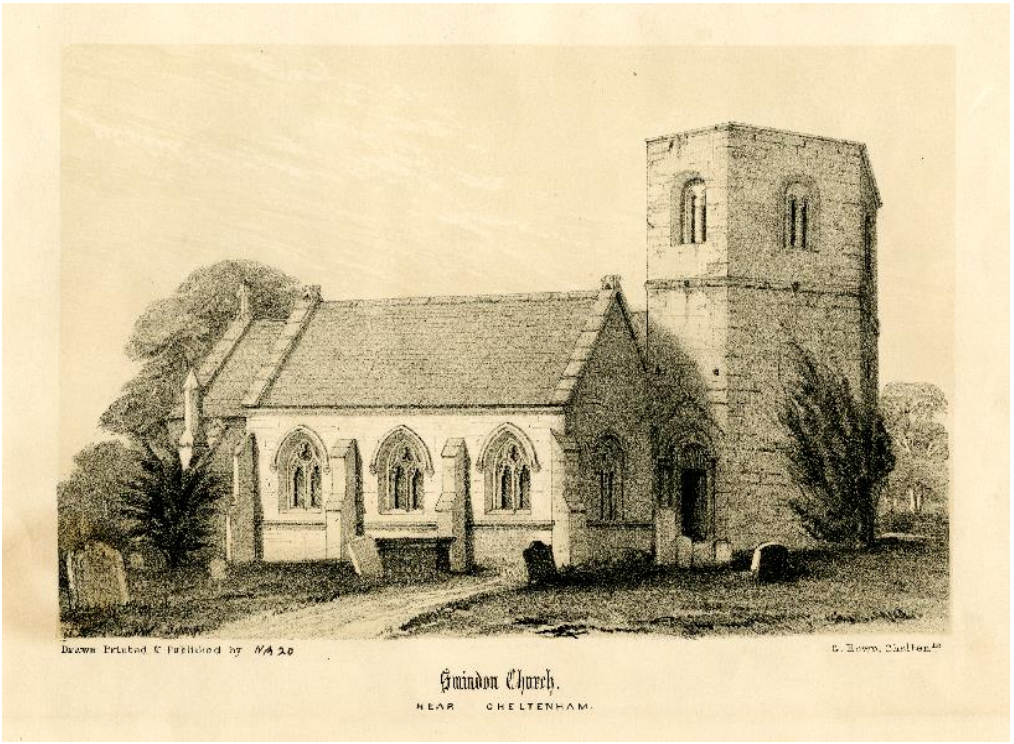
Cheltenham and Prestbury manors were the most populous with 24 villagers, 12 smallholders, seven slaves, and 18 villagers, five smallholders and 11 slaves, respectively, and had priests (and maybe or maybe not, churches). This compared with two villagers, 17 smallholders and seven slaves, and seven villagers, two smallholders, and four slaves, for Leckhampton and Swindon respectively, which may not have had priests or churches, though the existence of manors in the latter two, as early as 1086, argues against this view.[27]

In the 11th century a thegn with five hides was expected to possess a church, but though no lay manorial lord in Cheltenham held five hides, some held three and four hides (in Swindon and Leckhampton respectively), and this fact might also be linked with the lower populations of these places. The mention of the priest at Prestbury strongly suggests a church existed there and was then independent of Cheltenham. (Mrs M. Paget states that it was 'the unexplained dispute over some rent in 803 [that] resulted in Prestbury becoming separate manorially and parochially'.) The Bishop of Hereford gave Prestbury church to Llanthony Priory in 1136. The church was served by Richard the Chaplain at a date between 1219 and 1234. A chapel of Prestbury at Oakley was dedicated between 1151 and 1157.[28]

Since the church of Swindon was not acquired by Cirencester Abbey in 1133, and owed no pension to the Abbey, it had presumably become autonomous by then. (Mrs M Paget suggests it was 'Edward the Confessor's reorganisation of his Cheltenham manor between 1043 and 1066 that resulted in Swindon's separation from the royal manor'.) Swindon manor (previously part of the lands of St Oswald's Minster, Gloucester, founded 909) had been acquired by Archbishop Stigand in 1061. He held it

until 1070, when it was probably transferred to Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York. If there was a church at Swindon then, Stigand, who *'is known to have consecrated altars and a church on his lands in the dioceses of Worcester',* might have been the founder.[29] The church may have been built later, however, (if not by Stigand then by order of one of the Archbishops of York).

The similarity of the present Swindon tower to that of St Nicholas, Ozleworth which has *'a short Norman hexagonal tower dividing the nave and chancel'* has been pointed out by Simon Jenkins, who also names the builder. ('The only other such tower is at Swindon near Cheltenham, also owned by the Norman grandee Roger de Berkeley, who built Ozleworth in the early 12th century.') Roger died in 1131 and the lower part of Ozleworth is probably *c.*1110-20.[30]



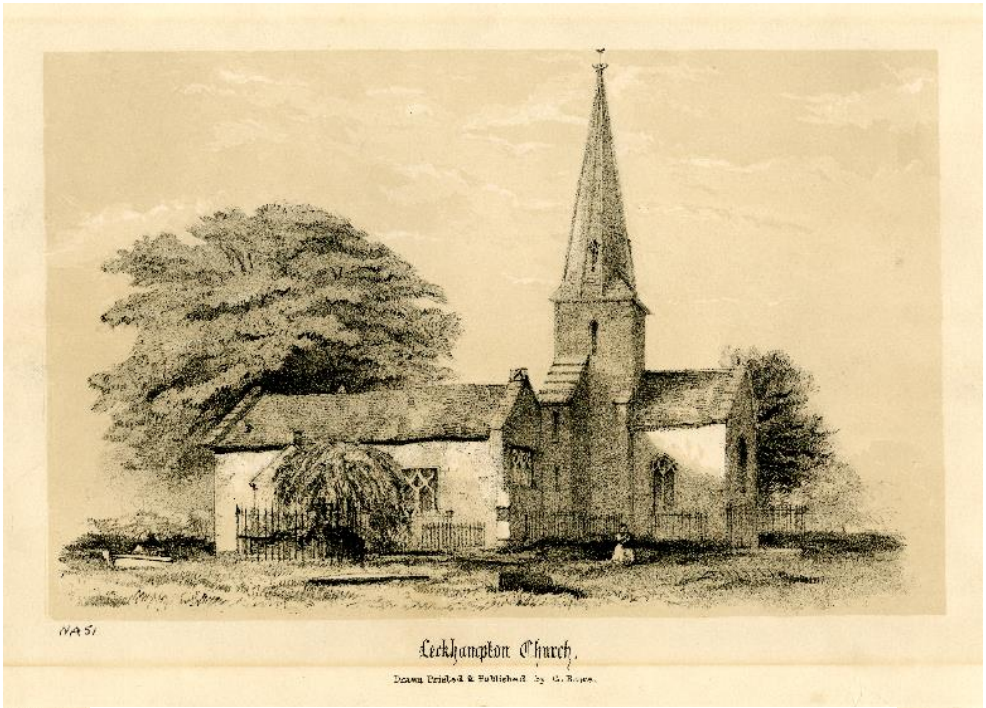
St Lawrence, Swindon. Drawn and published by G. Rowe

There is perhaps one hint of the early religious history of the area. About 1246-50, Simon the chaplain (son of Michael the former miller of Arle) presumably serving Swindon church or Arle chapel, granted to the Hospital of St Margaret and St Sepulchre, Gloucester, and the lepers there, his mill below Arle (probably Priest's Mill) and its land, which was mainly in Swindon. In the grant there is reference to half an acre 'at the stone cross against Brode bruge on both sides of the sandy way' to Cheltenham ('the old Gloucester Road', Rawes). The cross was presumably either a preaching cross (where clergy preached in the absence of a church, perhaps originally a preaching station of the former minster) or, less likely, a boundary marker.[31] In 1266 the Crown had the right of presenting a priest to the living, during a vacancy in the See of York, which then held the advowson. The Archbishops of York had held the manor from before the time of the Domesday Survey (in 1086 as 'land of St Oswald').[32] In 1318 William de Fontenaye priest was presented to Swindon by Robert Moryn, lord of Swindon.

Leckhampton

Simon the Dispenser, who lived during the reign of Henry I (1100-1135),[33] and who was lord of a manor at Leckhampton, gave to God, St Mary and the regular canons of the priory of St Mary at Llanthony by Gloucester (presumably after its consecration in September 1137) for the health of his soul, and in pure and perpetual alms, the demesne tithes which Audomarus, his chaplain, had had as a gift for his life.[34]

There is no mention of a church at Leckhampton in Domesday Book, but this is not necessarily significant. A chapel may have existed here (though unlikely) before 1086, as Leckhampton was presumably (from the place name) the home farm of the earlier royal estate, before it was granted out as separate manors. In 1162-64 its priest, Henry, was summoned before the Archbishop of Canterbury over a dispute with the Canons of Cirencester concerning a payment of dues. This may be the Henry, who in about May 1199, was later referred to as a [rural?] dean *(decanus).* He then acknowledged that the chapel and tithes of Leckhampton, with appurtenances, belonged to Cheltenham parish church. As a rural dean was a senior priest in charge of a group of parishes, ('in area a deanery corresponded closely with the hundred'),[35] Leckhampton may have acquired parochial status by 1199, a conclusion which could be supported by the creation of its priest as a rural dean. (It was certainly a parish by 1291.) Leckhampton, however, still owed dues to the mother church in 1303, but it then acknowledged that formerly the priest Henry had been a rector. There is a reference to Leckhampton having a rector, Fulk of Penebrigg, in 1270[36], and in 1286 the Bishop of Worcester again arranged for the induction of a priest, this time in the name of Adam the Dispenser, evidently the patron. A will of 1512 shows that the church was then dedicated to St Peter.[37]



St Peter, Leckhampton. Drawn, printed and published by G Rowe.

Charlton Kings

St Mary's, Charlton Kings.

The chapel at Charlton Kings, subordinate to Cheltenham parish church, was dedicated in the presence of William, Bishop of Hereford, and Richard, Abbot of Cirencester. This was evidently during a vacancy in the See of Worcester, (between 3 May 1190 and 5 May 1191 or between 27 June 1193 and 12 December 1193), before 31 July 1195 when Pope Celestine refers to the chapel. There were to be services on four days in the week (Sunday, Monday, Wednesday and Friday) and on festivals, saving the right of the mother church of Cheltenham.[38]

The rights of baptism and burial were indeed usually retained by the parish church. The font at Charlton is, however, early and assuming it is the original one, may be a 'twelfth century plain tub recut in the late fourteenth century' suggesting the chapel had such rights from the start. There are also records of burial from 1538, but burials must have taken place there from medieval times, since the chapel had been given to Cirencester Abbey, which would thus not have lost any fees from Charlton burials. If, indeed, the chapel had such rights, this would perhaps account for it showing signs of independence, though still a chapel, later in 1410, 1513 and 1603.

It is most unlikely there was any church in Charlton before the 1190s. The manor of Ashley (Charlton Kings) was created between July 1141 and December 1143, and the chapel was built on land given by the lord of Ashley. He also gave a hide of land to Cirencester Abbey, which may have helped to persuade the Abbey to agree to the building of a church.

Later, in 1410, land at Newmonnes Croft was leased to two tenants (by gift of Cesilie Morezend) for their lives 'with the assent of the parishioners of Charlton Kings'. This could suggest the *de facto* existence of a 'parish' there then. However, in 1343 Charlton had been declared to be in Cheltenham parish (see An Oratory, p.26).

By the Reformation Charlton Kings appears to be the only chapel existing in Cheltenham hundred.[39] In 1513 William Greville listed Charlton with Cheltenham, Swindon, Leckhampton and Prestbury among 38 parish churches where 'parish preestes' were due to pray for him after his death. In the 1603 Diocesan Population Return 'Charlton Kings is treated as an independent parish but is stated to be a chapelry of Cheltenham.'[40] The chapel ceased to be subordinate to Cheltenham Parish after 1814.

Hatherley

There is also evidence of another chapel at Hatherley. Dr Ross suggested that a chapel at Up Hatherley might have been subject to Cheltenham at first, then later to Badgeworth[41] but the basis for this belief is not clear. It may be as follows: a late 13th century document refers to an *'ecclesia'* at Hatherley, owing a pension of 12d to Cirencester (the lowest sum in the list of pensions payable by the churches and chapels mentioned). No *capella* is listed as such and perhaps the 12d reflects Hatherley's status. (In the same list Leckhampton paid 2s, the sum at issue in 1162-4.) The two churches are thus clearly associated.[42]

A marginal note in the Cartulary notes that 'Lekhampton and Hatherle' are bound to pay pensions to Cirencester, and cross-refers to another which reaffirms, in 1303, that Leckhampton is liable to pay the pension. The last sentence of this document, in a different hand, states that Hatherley also has to make a payment. As the canons saw the payments as similar perhaps Dr Ross saw this as evidence that Hatherley (in his view) had been subordinate to Cheltenham as Leckhampton had been.[43] The Taxation of Pope Nicholas 1291 shows that it was indeed Up Hatherley *(Hatherl' sup[er]iore),* a chapel of Badgeworth parish, that owed Cirencester the 1s pension. The same document also shows that the chapel of Down Hatherley *(Hather' inferior)* was also by then subordinate to Badgeworth.[44] Another document shows this had not always been so.

This document of 1251, refers to tithes owed to Cirencester by Llanthony Priory for its cattle at Down Hatherley in the parish of Cheltenham. A later document of 1279 indicates that Llanthony also owed tithes for sheep raised at Down Hatherley in the parish of Cheltenham *(infra limites parochie ecclesie de Chilteham)*[45]. From these two deeds it is evident that Llanthony's land in Down Hatherley was within Cheltenham parish, though apparently separate from the rest of it, for some period.

Llanthony Priory held its Down Hatherley land (and scattered land elsewhere) in its Hatherley (Redgrove) manor[46] which belonged to Cheltenham hundred, and owed service for it to the hundred court at Cheltenham.[47] This subordination provides a link between Down Hatherley and Cheltenham and appears to explain why a detached portion of the parish, which had seemed anomalous, existed. It is not known if other detached parts of Hatherley (Redgrove) manor (outside Arle, Alstone, Redgrove) were ever in Cheltenham parish. Domesday Book lists Down Hatherley as being in Dudstone hundred. The inference is that Cheltenham parish church did indeed serve all the land within the hundred, even detached portions of it (except for independent parishes, such as Swindon and Prestbury[48], perhaps by rights acquired when there was a minster or priory. (This is perhaps paralleled by the fact that *'the Borough was a part of the 'Hundred and Manor of Cheltenham'* … it would seem that this indissoluble connection prevented it becoming detached and independent'.)[49]

An earlier Cirencester Cartulary document dated 1148-1167 refers to a dispute over tithes *'de exsarto ad Chiltham pertinente'* involving Osbert the Clerk of Hatherley. It is not clear whether Up or Down Hatherley is referred to here, but I note that one Osbert Dapifer witnessed the confirmation, by Earl Roger, of Ralph Butler's grant (1143-1145, referred to below 'The Second Chapel'), and *Osb(ertus) filius Hugonis* (possibly the same man) witnessed the grant of the assarts in the fee of Cheltenham (also referred to note 56). Presumably such assarts could only be within Cheltenham manor as Roger held no adjacent manor. It is also possible that this Osbert was the 'clerk of Hatherley' which could explain his involvement and identify Up Hatherley.[50] It is known there was a church at Up Hatherley by 1200, when Liana of Hatherley gave an acre of land, a house and garden to the church there.[51]

Two earlier writers on Cheltenham's history, Sawyer and Goding[52], have also stated that there was once a chapel of Cheltenham at Hatherley. Of these Goding writes, 'The chapel at Hatherley was situated on the estate at present rented by Mr Pickernell (Up Hatherley House) [53] and tombstones, cross steps and other vestiges of the ancient structure have been discovered there'. This appears to locate the chapel within Cheltenham manor.

The available evidence does not, as yet, conclusively prove whether the third Cheltenham chapel was at Up or Down Hatherley once, at least partly, in Cheltenham parish, it is most unlikely for a chapel at Up Hatherley within Cheltenham hundred and manor[54] not to have been once subordinate to Cheltenham parish (as was Ralph Butler's chapel) even if it was later re-subordinated.

Private Chapels

In the Cirencester Cartulary there are references to gifts of land to the church at Cheltenham for serving private chapels. No other details, other than those given below, of the way the private chapels were organised or operated are known. Differences between them must be attributable to the differing wishes of their founders. It is also unknown when they ceased to operate. At the Dissolution the only chapel in the hundred was at Charlton Kings.

Arle

In 1141-1150 a virgate of land was given by Walter of Brussels so that services might be celebrated three days a week at Arle. The chapel had a graveyard, dedicated between 1141 and 1150, by Simon, Bishop of Worcester, and from remains found this must have been adjacent to the old Arle Court. Oblations and tithes were payable to the mother church at Cheltenham. Episcopal customs were to be observed.[55]

The Second Chapel

In 1143-45 there was confirmation by Roger, Earl of Hereford, of the gift by Ralph Butler to St Mary's Church, Cheltenham, for serving his chapel. This chapel was obviously in Cheltenham and may be the chapel known from other evidence to have been at Hatherley. Butler also gave land in Cheltenham (an assart at Oakley and land for a chapel there) to Llanthony Secunda.[56]

An Oratory

In 1339 a licence was granted for two years for John de Cheltenham to have mass celebrated by a suitable priest at his oratories at Woodcroft (almost certainly in Hawkesbury parish) and Charlton, without prejudice to the rights of the parish church. A grant in 1343 (applicable to the parish of Cheltenham) to Eleanor, widow of John de Cheltenham, suggests the 'Charlton' was Charlton Kings.[57] 'It seems likely that soon after 1327 (Ham) became one of the homes of the Cheltenham family …' and it 'seems the only location far enough away from (Cheltenham) parish church or Charlton chapel to justify this (Oratory) and some tradition of a chapel may lie behind the name St Quintans given to (a) small house in … 1617'. St Quentin was 'an early martyr recorded by Bede'[58].

Possibly also of relevance is the dedication between 1151 and 1157 of a chapel of Prestbury church at Oakley, which may have been some kind of a forerunner of the Oratory. Llanthony Priory had appropriated Prestbury church in 1136, and had held three holdings, located in Ham (relatively close to its Oakley chapel), from Ashley Manor since before 1196.[59]

Chantries

At the end of the Middle Ages there were two chantries - of St Mary and of St Katherine - in Cheltenham parish church, and one - of St Mary - in Charlton Kings Chapel. Charlton Kings chantry may date from the '13th century (when) the South Transept was extended and raised so there could be a Chantry'. Its 'slender' endowment tends to confirm the date. In 1548 it was stated the chantry priest serving 'ower ladye awlter' was also 'to assist the curate there'. While we have no evidence, he may also have taught children, as his colleague in Cheltenham did.[60]

Appendix A

Examples of Events Affecting the Church or its Activities in Medieval Cheltenham

In 1221 court records show John, son of Abraham of Cherleton, fled into the church (for sanctuary) and later admitted that he was a thief and abjured the realm. Separately, John of Brochampton (Brockhampton) killed Christina of Alre (Arle), fled into the church (at Arle or Swindon?), and later escaped. Also a servant of the Prior of Llanthony fell from his horse and died. It was also decided that no-one was to blame for this accident. The value of the horse was 3s which went, as was usual, to church funds.

Meeting planned at Cheltenham 1323

On 8 August 1323 Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury, asked Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, to enquire into the election (before 15 July) as Bishop of Llandaff, of Alexander of Monmouth, archdeacon of Llandaff, by the Cathedral Chapter. The pope had provided John de Eglescliff (former Bishop of Glasgow, who had been nominated as Bishop of Connor but failed to obtain the See) to the place, and later he quashed Alexander's appointment. On 23 August, presumably because he was then at his manor at Prestbury, Orleton therefore summoned the Chapter of Llandaff to

appear before him *'in ecclesia de Chyltenham'* on Friday 9 September *'cim omnibus et singulis actis, juribus et munimentis'.* In the event the enquiry was held at Bromyard on 4 September 'where the Elect, with the Proctor of the Chapter appeared'. Orleton wrote to the Archbishop about the enquiry on 8 September.

Ordinations at Cheltenham

Saturday 11 April 1340. No details given in the Register.
8 March 1343. By Wolstan de Bransford, Bishop of Worcester.
5 Religious and 28 Secular Acolytes.
12 Religious and 10 Secular Archdeacons.
8 Religious and 12 Secular Deacons.
9 Religious and 20 Secular Priests.
Total 114. Some apparently came from as far as Bristol or Hereford.

Notes and Acknowledgements

This paper is a very heavily revised and expanded version of two written for the *Cheltenham Local History Society Journal* in 1997 and 2001, together with much new information.[61] I am grateful to the late Mrs Paget, MA, FR History Soc. for her comments and suggestions on the first and one later draft of this paper. I am also grateful to Dr S. Bassett for his comments on an early draft of this paper, and to Mrs S. Self for her comments on the draft of this paper. Mr R. Beacham, formerly of Cheltenham Reference Library identified Mr Pickernell's residence. The quotation in the title is from William Dunbar,++ 'Of the Resurrection of Christ', *English Verse 1300-1500,* ed. J. Burrow (Longman, 1977, p 378).

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[1] Greet, M., 'The Church and its Chapels in Medieval Cheltenham: A Summary,' (Cheltenham Local History Society, 1997), Journal **13,** pp.34-8. As amended by Cheltenham Local History Society (CLHS), Journal **17**, (2001), 'The Appointment of Cirencester Abbey of Priests to Serve Cheltenham Churches', pp.44-9.
[2] Ross, C., *Cirencester Cartulary* (*CC*). Vol. 1. OUP (1964), p xxvii.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Middleton, J.H., Notes on the Manor and Parish Church of Cheltenham. Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, (TBGAS), 4, 1879-80, p.54.
[5] Dues were paid to Cirencester Abbey, to which Cheltenham parish church and its chapels were granted in 1133.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Rawes, B., 'The Hundred of Cheltenham and its Boundaries', CLHS, Journal **2,** 1984, pp.1-9.
[8] Paget, M., 'A Minster Church and its Daughters, Charlton Kings Local History Society Research Buletin, (CKLHSRB), Vol. **24**, 1990, pp.1-2. Bassett, Dr B. 'The Origins of the Parish of the Deerhurst Area', 1998.
[9] Rawes, B., 1984, pp.1-9. Blair, Dr B., 'Introduction: From Minster to Parish Church', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950 – 1200, 1988,* p.2. Osmond, S.E., *Chronology of Cheltenham, 200BC – 2000AD,* July 2000, p.1. Smith, A.H., *The Place Names of Gloucestershire,* Vol. 2, (CUP, 1964), p.110. Morris, J., *Domesday Book* (Phillimore 1982), 2.5, 38.1, 78.9. Greet, M., 'The First Evidence of Charlton (Ashley) Manor.' CKLHSRB **48** (2002), p 24. 'Early Landholders in Charlton and Naunton.' CKLHSRB **47** (2002), pp 28-29. 'No Hawlf Measures: Gifts to Cirencester Abbey and Llanthony Priory of land in Cheltenham in the 12th and 13th Centuries.' CLHSJ **18** (2002), pp 24-29.
[10] Hodsdon, J., *An Historical Gazetteer of Cheltenham* (1997). Greet, M., 'Hawlf Measures: Gifts of Land in Ham and Charlton in the 12th and 13th Centuries.' CKLHSRB **45** (2001), pp 2-4. Early Landholders. No Hawlf Measures. The First Evidence of Charlton. Mrs M. Paget. Letter to Author 2001. C. Ross, *CC* II/462. See footnote 21for Prestbury's hundred.

[11] Franklin, P., *The Taxpayers of Medieval Gloucestershire* (1993), p 116. "Gloucestershire kindness" is to give away what you do not want. F.P. Wilson (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (1970), p.305.
[12] Sawyer, J., *Cheltenham Parish Church: Its Architecture and History* (1903).
[13] "H.P.R. Finberg, 1964:158 (Lucerna: Studies of some problems in the early history of England) has suggested it was the rent for the lands of the minster church at Prestbury not Cheltenham as such that was the subject of the dispute." B. Rawes (1984), p 1.
[14] B. Rawes (1987), p 7. R. Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire*. Reprint (1974), p 138.
[15] M. Paget, Letter to author 1996: "It has been suggested that land in Cheltenham claimed in 803 by Wulfheard, Bishop of Hereford, from Denebeorht, Bishop of Worcester, included that 30 hides at Prestbury and Sevenhampton the Bishop of Hereford held in 1066 and 1086." C.R. Elrington, *Victoria County History (VCH) of the County of Gloucester.* Vol 8, p 72; based on C.S. Taylor, *Gloucestershire in the Eighth Century. TBGAS* 16, p 220.
[16] J.H. Middleton, 1879-80, p 54. Based on Spellman's *Councils I 386: Wilkins Concilia* I 168.
[17] G. Hart, *A History of Cheltenham* (1981), p 22. B. Rawes, 'Three Properties of Cirencester Abbey in the Cheltenham Area.' CLHSJ **1** (1983), pp 1-4; quoting J. Prinn, Gloucestershire Archives (GA) D855/M12, *Cheltenham Court Book* 1692-8.
[18] Op. cit. (footnote 15)
[19] Ross, C., *CC* II. OUP (1964) 412/433. Greet, M., 'Evidence for the status of Cheltenham Parish Church 1162 – 64.' CKLHSRB **12** (1984), p.43. *CC* III 473 (1288), 474 (probably 1288), 476 (1304). Greet, M., 'Aspects of Medieval Cheltenham'. CLHSJ, Vol. **17,** (2001), pp.43-4.
[20] *CC* I 28/1.
[21] *VCH Gloucestershire.* (1907) Vol II, p 5. Mason, E. *St Wulfstan of Worcester 1008-95*. Oxford (1991), p 165; and Darlington, R.R., *Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*. Camden Society, 3rd Series (1928) XL, pp xxxxviv 52. "Per totam parrochiam in sui juris prediis ecclesias struebat; in alienis et struerentur instabat." Taxation of Pope Nicholas 1291. GA Microfiche (PRO C115/6683 or A1). *Llanthony Cartulary (LC)* V 90.
[22] Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae, P Nicholai IV (1291) Record Commission 1802, pp.223-4.
[23] Op. cit. (footnote 21)
[24] J. Fendley (ed.), 'Bishop Benson's Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester 1735-50', *BGAS* (2000), pp 90-98.
[25] Cases 198, 200, 212. PP 49, 51. F.W. Maitland, *Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester (1221).* (Macmillan, 1884). M. Paget, 'Crime in Charlton 1221.', CKLHSRB **37** (1997), pp 1-3. A.T. Bannister, *The Register of Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford 1317-27.* (1907), Vol II, pp 261-4. R.M. Haines, *Calendar of Register of Wolstan de Bransford 1339-49.* (HMSO 1966), pp.30, 210-3.
[26] Smith, A.H., *The Placenames of Gloucestershire.* (CUP 1964), Vol 2, p 110. J. Morris, *Domesday Book: Gloucesterhire.* (Phillimore 1982), Sections 1,1; 2,5; 4,1; 38,1; 78,9. F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066.* (2nd ed. 1979), p 194. *VCH Gloucestershire VIII.* Ed. C. Elrington (1968), p 78. Prestbury was first in Cheltenham, later in Tewkesbury hundred. G. Hart could not find 'when or why this happened'. Hart, p 37. Prestbury was in Cheltenham hundred until at least 1221; see Case 205. Maitland, (1884), p 50. In *VCH VIII*, p 27 it is said Prestbury may have been transferred to Deerhurst hundred 'by 1274, and perhaps by 1248'. M. Paget, 'Celebrating St Mary's Octocentenary: A Minster Church and its daughters.' CKLHSRB **24** (1990), p 1. In Saxon times 'if a ceorl prospered … possessed fully five hides … church and kitchen … then was he henceforth entitled to the rights of a thegn.' *A Compilation on Status.* Par. 2 and footnote 3. D.M. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents (EHD):* Vol 1 500-1042. (Eyre and Spottiswood, 1955), p 432. Certainly 'Athelstan (924-939) could legislate that he who had four hides … a protected homestead, a seat at the king's table and his own church was … worthy to be accounted a thegn.' N.J.G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish.* (CUP 2000), p 29, quoting F.M. Stenton, Julia Barrow, *English Episcopal Acta VII Hereford 1079-1234.* (British Academy 1933), pp 278, 287. For Oakley Chapel see footnote 1.
[27] The approximate population can be assessed by multiplying the number of villagers/smallholders (heads of households), not slaves or priests, by 4 or 5.
[28] Smith, A.H., *The Placenames of Gloucestershire.* (CUP 1964), Vol 2, p 110. J. Morris, *Domesday Book: Gloucesterhire.* (Phillimore 1982), Sections 1,1; 2,5; 4,1; 38,1; 78,9. F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066.* (2nd ed. 1979), p 194. *VCH Gloucestershire VIII.* Ed. C. Elrington (1968), p 78. Prestbury was first in Cheltenham, later in Tewkesbury hundred. G. Hart could not find 'when or why this happened'. Hart, p 37. Prestbury was in Cheltenham hundred until at least 1221; see Case 205. Maitland, (1884), p 50. In *VCH VIII*, p 27 it is said Prestbury may have been transferred to Deerhurst hundred 'by 1274, and perhaps by 1248'. M. Paget, 'Celebrating St Mary's Octocentenary: A Minster

Church and its daughters.' CKLHSRB Vol. **24** (1990), p 1. In Saxon times 'if a ceorl prospered … possessed fully five hides … church and kitchen … then was he henceforth entitled to the rights of a thegn.' *A Compilation on Status.* Par. 2 and footnote 3. D.M. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents (EHD):* Vol 1 500-1042. (Eyre and Spottiswood, 1955), p 432. Certainly 'Athelstan (924-939) could legislate that he who had four hides … a protected homestead, a seat at the king's table and his own church was … worthy to be accounted a thegn.' N.J.G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish.* (CUP 2000), p 29, quoting F.M. Stenton, Julia Barrow, *English Episcopal Acta VII Hereford 1079-1234.* (British Academy 1933), pp 278, 287.

[29] Paget, M., 'A Minster Church and its Daughters', CKLHSRB **24** (1990), p 1. C. Heighway and R. Bryant, 'The Golden Minster: The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St Oswald at Gloucester.' *CBA* (1999), pp.12, 16.

[30] Jenkins, S., *England's Thousand Best Churches* (1999), p 223. A. Hamilton-Thompson, 'The Jurisdiction of the Archbishops of York in Gloucestershire.', *TBGAS 43* (1921), pp 85-180. D. Verey, A. Brooks, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire: I The Cotswolds.* (Penguin, 1999), p 538.

[31] The dates 1246-50 are from the witnesses. Hockaday Extracts GA. Swindon 1250 based on W.H. Stevenson, *Calendar of Records of the Corporation of Gloucester.* (1893), pp 474, 478. Rawes, B., 'Fields and Field Names of the Hundred of Cheltenham: Part 2 The Parish of Swindon.', CLHSJ **7**, pp 1-7. Simon Moryn, Lord of Swindon (son of Robert Moryn) gave the chaplain a release for the mill, the land, and a rent of 11d, part of a rent of 7s 7d which the chaplain used to pay to Robert Moryn, rendering 6s 8d to John of the Ford and his wife Sarah, daughter of Robert Moryn, which rent Robert gave with her in free marriage; Stevenson 474. Compare also C. Cox, 'The Lypiatt Cross', *Glevensis 19*, pp.16-23.

[32] Hockaday Extracts: Swindon 1266. GA. A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Jurisdiction of the Archbishops of York.* E.H. Pearce, *The Register of Thomas de Cobham, Bishop of Worcester 1312-27.* (Worcs HS 1930), p 228.

[33] F. Welch, 'Gloucestershire in the Pipe Rolls.' *TBGAS 57* (1935), p 99. Tithes from Leckhampton were still payable to Llanthony Priory according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. J.N. Langston, 'Priors of Llanthony by Gloucester.', *TBGAS 63* (1943), p 138.

[34] *VCH Gloucestershire.* (1907) Vol II, p 5. E. Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester 1008-95*. Oxford (1991), p 165; and R.R. Darlington, *Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*. Camden Society, 3rd Series (1928) XL, pp xxxxviv 52. "Per totam parrochiam in sui juris prediis ecclesias struebat; in alienis et struerentur instabat." Taxation of Pope Nicholas 1291. GA Microfiche (PRO C115/6683 or A1). *Llanthony Cartulary (LC)* V 90.

[35] *CC* II 416/417, 412/443. Pounds, N.G., *A History of the English Parish.* (CUP, 2000), p 294.

[36] *CC* III 484. Miller, E., *The History of Leckhampton Church*, 1987, p.59.

[37] Hockaday Extracts: Leckhampton 1269, 1270, 1286. Miller (1987), p 11.

[38] *CC* II 413. Greet, M., 'A More Precise Date for the Dedication of the 12th Century Chapel at Charlton Kings', CKLHSRB, Vol. **8**, 1982, pp.55-6. The Bishop of Hereford had a manor at Prestbury, and could be asked to officiate locally if required.

[39] Greet, M. 'The First Evidence of Charlton (Ashley) Manor.', CKLHSRB **48** (2002), p 24. CC II 568. Greet 1982. 'Charlton Chapel: Speculation.', CKLHSRB **9** (1983), p 32. M. Paget, *A History of Charlton Kings* (1988). Compare the gifts to Cirencester Abbey for the provision of services at Arle and Butler's Chapel. 'In 1814, when Charlton finally became independent of Cheltenham'. M. Paget (1988), pp 103, 127. Dr S. Blake reminded me the font might not be the original one. GA MF 199/27a in M. Greet, 'Some Medieval deeds from Naunton ca. 1250-1431.', CKLHSRB **23** (1990), pp 26-7. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* appears to omit all chapels save Charlton Kings.

[40] Dyer, A., and Palliser, D.M., *The Diosesan Returns for 1563 and 1603*, (OUP, 2005), p.332.

[41] Ross *ibid.* States 'Badgeworth, with its chapels of Shurdington and Up Hatherley, from which in 1291 the Abbot of Cirencester had a portion of 1s, and which may earlier have been a chapel of Cheltenham as Hatherley certainly was.

[42] *CC* I 8.

[43] *CC* II 412, III 484

[44] Viner, E., 'Badgeworth and its Church', TBGAS, 13 1888, pp.66.

[45] *CC* II 407/439, 408/440.

[46] John Rhodes in a letter to the author.

[47] Hart, G., *A History of Cheltenham* (1981), p 37. 'In 1333 the Prior of Llanthony who owned land in Arle (Redgrove)' had two animals confiscated for non-attendance at court. Leckhampton manor also owed suit of court, as did Ashley manor.

[48] Smith, A.H., et al, see footnote 28.

[49] Hart, G., p.37. 'Monasterium' could describe both a house of regular clergy and a minster, a body of secular clergy who had a mission to the surrounding area. J. Goding, *History of Cheltenham* (1863), p 35 states 'Nicholas. The priory is certified to hold an estate called Dunhatherley'. I cannot identify Nicholas.
[50] *CC* II 417/448.
[51] Royce, D., *Landboc sive Registrum de Winchelcumba.* (1892) I, p 158. 'Una acra quam ipsa legavit ecclesie de Hetherle et modico manso cum cortillo.' The evidence summarised under Up Hatherley in Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections Iv, p 1370, confirms the reference is to Up not Down Hatherley. Up Hatherley was confirmed as a chapel of Badgeworth n 1341; it was destroyed in 1640. C.R. Elrington, 'Assessments of Gloucestershire: Fiscal Records in Local History.', *TBGAS 103* (1985), p 10. A.C. Fryer, 'Gloucestershire Fonts XVII.', *TBGAS 49* (1927), p 125.
[52] Sawyer, J., (1903), p 65. J. Goding, *History of Cheltenham*. (1863), pp 155-6.
[53] Thomas Pickernell lived at Up Hatherley House. (R. Beacham from 1861 Census; in letter to Author).
[54] Rawes, B., 1984, pp.1-9.
[55] *CC* II 419/450. Welch, A.M., 'Old Arle Court.', *TBGAS* 36 (1913), pp 288-314.
[56] CC II 426/457. D. Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford 1095-1120. Camden Miscellany XXII. Camden 4th Series I,* pp 36, 46. Charter 73 also mentions a donation of another assart at Hatherley and a second one of eight acres at Oakley both in the fee of Cheltenham by one Richard. In Cheltenham Manor Llanthony Priory had 'Redgrove Manor (Harthurstfield originally in Hatherley) with a dovecote 1143-1155 SO 9122 and land at Oakley SO 9722'. J. Rhodes, 'Llanthony Priory.', *Glevensis* 23 *GADARG* (1989). The location of these assarts is not certain but R. Hawes noted that 'many of the field names (in Redgrove Manor, Up Hatherley) suggest a woodland environment and it is likely that this was one of the last parts of the hundred to be brought into cultivation.' B. Rawes, 'Fields and Fieldnames of the hundred of Cheltenham with some notes on the early topography.', CLHSJ **6** (1988), p 19. Greet, M., 'Oakley Chapel: an unlikely possibility?', CKLHSRB **48** (2002), pp 24-5. 'Hawlf Measures: Gifts of land in Ham and Charlton in the 12th and 13th centuries.', CKLHSRB **45** (2001), pp 2-4. *St Mary's Charlton Kings Visitors' Guide.* (n.d.), p 3. Paget, M., *A History of Charlton Kings*.
[57] Register of Wolstan de Bransford (1966), pp 13, 97, 448. M. Greet, 'The De Cheltenham Family and Charlton Kings.', CKLHSRB **52** (2006), pp 57-8. 'Was there an oratory in Charlton 1339 - 1340?', CKLHSRB **13** (1985), p 8.
[58]Paget, M., 'Ham Court: the story continued (1) Recapitulation.', CKLHSRB **20** (1988), p 16. John de Cheltenham, Lord of Hyldesleye (presumably Hillesley, in Hawkesbury parish), witnessed a deed in in Charlton Kings on 12 September 1330. GA D7661 Box 5. John de Cheltenham was Steward of Thomas (III) Berkeley in 1339, inter alia. M. Greet, 'The De Cheltenham family and Charlton Kings.', CKLHSRB **52** (2006), pp. 57-8.
[59] Greet, M., 'Oakley Chapel: an unlikely possibility?', CKLHSRB **48** (2002), pp 24-5. 'Hawlf Measures: Gifts of land in Ham and Charlton in the 12th and 13th centuries.', CKLHSRB **45** (2001), pp 2-4. *St Mary's Charlton Kings Visitors' Guide.* (n.d.), p 3. M. Paget, *A History of Charlton Kings.* (1988), p 103. Hockaday Extracts: Charlton Kings 1548, GA, D3439.
[60] Greet, M., 'Oakley Chapel: an unlikely possibility?', CKLHSRB **48** (2002), pp 24-5. 'Hawlf Measures: Gifts of land in Ham and Charlton in the 12th and 13th centuries.', CKLHSRB **45** (2001), pp 2-4. *St Mary's Charlton Kings Visitors' Guide.* (n.d.), p 3. M. Paget, *A History of Charlton Kings.* (1988), p 103. Hockaday Extracts: Charlton Kings 1548, GA, D3439.
[61] Greet, M., CLS, 1997, Journal **13,** pp.34-8 and CLHS, Journal **17**, 2001.

Remembering St James and Malvern Road Stations

DAVID ALDRED

ON THE EVENING OF NEW YEAR'S DAY 1966 I joined a crowd of onlookers in St James' station. We had gathered to witness the departure of the 10:15pm train to Gloucester for, on its departure, we would say goodbye to Cheltenham's most convenient railway station. Also closing that day was the town's other main former Great Western Railway station at Malvern Road. To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of that event I'd like to share some of my photographs with the readers of the *Journal*.

In hindsight it is remarkable how quickly these two stations lost their train services in the 1960s, and only partly as a result of Dr Beeching's axe of 1963. When I first took an interest in 1960 they were both much busier than Cheltenham's surviving station, then known as Cheltenham Lansdown. In fact, in November 1958 the daily through train to and from Southampton via Andoversford had been diverted from Lansdown to St James. I have a timetable from a year later which shows thirty-four departures from St James on weekdays with an extra seven on Saturdays and a similar number of arrivals. Two restaurant car trains to London departed at 8am and 4pm; the former being the Cheltenham Spa Express which in earlier days had been the Cheltenham Flyer. The Sunday services were approximately half those of the weekday services. In addition to the trains to London and Southampton, trains departed for Gloucester, Honeybourne, Kingham, South Wales (Cardiff and Swansea) and Swindon. Unlike St James, Malvern Road was a through station and so it additionally enjoyed a service of six Wolverhampton to South Wales diesel, multiple unit, express trains each way during the week, with two on Sundays.

The decline began in March 1960 when the stopping trains through Bishop's Cleeve, Winchcombe and Broadway to Honeybourne were withdrawn. Then the last train to Southampton through Andoversford and Cirencester departed in September 1961 and that to Kingham through Bourton-on-the-Water in October 1962. The diesel express trains through Malvern Road were diverted through Lansdown in September 1962 and the South Wales stopping trains from St James made their last journey in November 1964. By diverting all Sunday trains to Lansdown station from January 1965, the way was being prepared for the total closure of St James and Malvern Road stations a year later, when the number of departures had more than halved in the years since 1960.

I hope these photographs will stir memories for some and deepen an understanding of the recent history of the town for many.

St James' station in 1965. It was built in 1894 and today St James' House stands on the site.
Image © David Aldred

Left, on a wet day in January 1962 the 10:50am train to Kingham waits at Platform 2.
Image © David Aldred

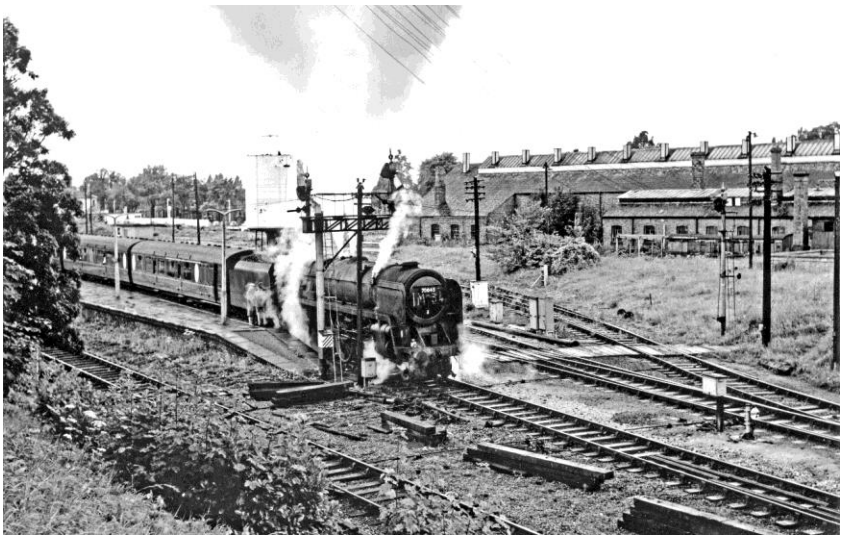
Right, the interior of St James' station in late 1965, with not a passenger in sight.
Image © David Aldred

Malvern Road station seen from a train arriving from St James' station. The route here is now the Honeybourne cycle path.

Image © David Aldred

Locomotive 7029 *Clun Castle* stands at the head of an excursion train to Weston super Mare organised by Charlton Kings St Mary's Sunday school in June 1965. This was the last steam-hauled train to leave the station. The extensive goods yard closed in October 1966 and the Waitrose store stands on much of the site.

Image © David Aldred



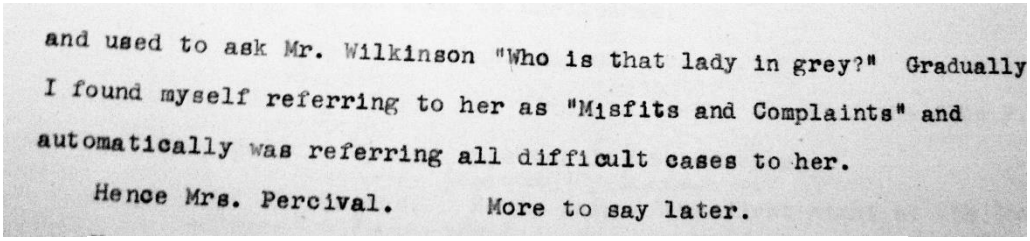
In the 1960s, during the school holidays, Malvern Road station saw five Saturday holiday trains travelling each way between Wolverhampton and the West Country. This photograph was taken on 4 September 1965: the final day of steam haulage. The large engine shed on the far side of the station had closed in March 1964 and Travis Perkins's yard now covers the site.

Image © David Aldred

‘That Lady in Grey’: Blanche Percival’s Contribution to Cheltenham, 1939-1966

VIRGINIA ADSETT

WHEN RESEARCHING CHELTENHAM’S WARTIME experience as an official reception area for evacuees, I came across the intriguing reference to ‘the lady in grey’ in one of Richard Board’s remarkably candid confidential reports. Initially, Mrs. Percival, ‘the lady in grey’, was number 194 of 204 volunteers, helping with the first batch of evacuees arriving in Cheltenham from Birmingham on 1 September 1939.[1] Although Richard Board had not met her before, he soon became aware of her. In his report he wrote that, ‘this is where Mrs. Percival began to thrust herself upon me. Thank God she did. I used to feel a slight irritation at first and used to ask Mr. Wilkinson “Who is that lady in grey?” Gradually I found myself referring to her as ‘Misfits and Complaints’, and automatically was referring all difficult cases to her. Hence Mrs. Percival. More to say later.’[2] In recognition for her significant contribution to the successful billeting of evacuees, both locally and nationally, she was awarded an MBE in the January 1944 New Year’s Honours.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automatically was referring all difficult cases to her.
Hence Mrs. Percival. More to say later.

Excerpt from a report of Richard Board, Reference CAMG, 200.50.2.1
Courtesy of Cheltenham Trust and Cheltenham Borough Council

Voluntary help played a huge part in all aspects of war work as individuals took on civil defence responsibilities requiring new skills and abilities. It was that contribution to the Home Front that interested me, especially as it was undertaken by a woman. But how had Mrs. Percival developed her pivotal role in billeting? Why had she chosen to volunteer for that particular war work and what had happened to her after the war ended? Through the local newspapers, references to her life can be traced, revealing personal interests, connections to local societies and her contribution to Cheltenham, both pre- and post-war, until her death in 1966. She was rarely referred to as Blanche Gwendoline Percival,[3] but more commonly as Mrs. Victor Percival, wife of the Cheltenham dental surgeon she had married in 1926, before moving to Cheltenham.[4]

Mrs. Percival was described in the press as;

‘One of those women whom the war has revealed as being most efficient and capable. She has had no business training whatever, and neither had she, before she was connected to billeting, any social welfare training whatever, except that gained by a little hospital visiting, although she has shown her organising ability in the National Council of Women and in musical circles.’[5]

Although Richard Board had not met her before 1939, Mrs. Percival’s name had already been regularly appearing in the local press as an accomplished soprano, with a ‘a fine, clear voice,’[6] a member of the Society of Women Musicians, a member of the Forum Club, London and vice-president of the music section.[7] Passionate that music and the arts should not stop because of the war, she continued to organise concerts in spite of the demands of her voluntary billeting work. In her letter published in the *Gloucestershire Echo*, October 1939, she urged,

‘… all those who belong to music societies to strive to carry on. For the sake of music and the professional musicians, let them advertise their activities and draw new members from among the large numbers who have come, and will be coming, to live in Cheltenham for the duration. Do not let Herr Hitler rob us of the very desire for fellowship and music-making.’[8]

Together with Miss G.E. Runge, head of music at the Cheltenham Ladies’ College, she initiated the ‘Hour of Music’ series ‘in the same spirit as the famous National Gallery concerts, to give good music[9] to as many people as possible and to help artists hit by war conditions.’[10] She was proud that Cheltenham was second, after Reading, to set up such a series, and delighted to be summoned to the National Gallery to meet Dame Myra Hess, Sir Kenneth Clark and representatives from Reading, Oxford, Bath and the Isle of Wight. Dame Myra Hess was ‘so impressed with the work of these provincial war-time concerts that she suggested Cheltenham link up with the Gallery pooling programmes, and using the same artists.’[11]

Because of her musical connections Mrs. Percival could book high quality musicians for concerts and talks,[12] and organise fundraising concerts for other causes[13] that she felt strongly about. She was no passive member of the town’s social scene, but always interested in political and social issues, particularly those affecting women; and actively raised awareness and campaigned for changes, within the local branch of the National Council of Women. In January 1939, at the same time as Richard Board was appointed Chief Reception and Billeting Officer, she attended a meeting to discuss the first steps to set up a Women’s Volunteer Reserve for civilian defence, before volunteering as a billeting officer. Billeting work was one of the hardest and most unpopular jobs to take on, full of pressures and frustration.[14] Only the original Operation Pied Piper was centrally planned and put into effect before the war began, subsequent billets had to be found in Cheltenham at short notice in response to emergencies from other parts of the country.[15] As well as dealing with those made homeless in Cheltenham’s own air raids, other people, not all entitled to official help, arrived - whole Government departments, war workers, American troops and those who simply appeared wanting somewhere safe to stay.

The initial problem was not so much the 1200 Birmingham school children who could be expected to do what they were told, but the 650 expectant mothers and those with young children who arrived on 2 September. Richard Board was appalled

‘… when we saw them troop in. They were obviously from the very poorest part of Birmingham. Well we billeted them, but our troubles then started. Some came back at once wanting billets in the Lower High street where they could get fish and chips. Many of the children accompanying the mothers were not even house-trained. Overwrought householders came in with pathetic stories.’[16]

It is at this point 'in the nightmare days of the early war period' that he became aware of Mrs. Percival. Within a week she had found her niche behind a desk labelled 'advice' in the supper room of the Town Hall, efficiently dealing with requests for help, 'stepped in and tackled anything that was put in her way', as Richard Board described her initiation into billeting work, taking on more responsibility until eventually becoming his Honorary Deputy Chief Billeting Officer, and working in partnership.[17]

She worked as long, if not longer, than anyone in the office, took no holidays and just got on with anything needed, from acting as mediator between householders and evacuees, to urgent appeals to the public for help either through initiating new ideas,[18] writing letters to the newspapers or through her public speaking to different societies which was also often quoted in the papers.[19] As she said,

'Many and curious were the things we were called to do. We had to provide milk to fill babies' bottles, and my husband was even called to help one night by purchasing a comforter for a baby. How we worked, but we did save the higher officials a lot of worry and saved a lot of time.'[20]

She was always aware of the value of her work, although in accepting her MBE she said she regarded it honouring the work of the billeting office as a whole rather than just herself.

'We had done and are doing, a good job of work … I have always felt that Cheltenham could stand for something quite unique, and I feel in this business of billeting it has shown how a town, utterly unaccustomed to a certain type of people, has been able to cope with them. Nearly two years ago we staked our office reputation on a gamble; we said that we would not take compulsory powers, and we have not taken them and I don't think we ever shall. That has been made possible because each of you had the same faith as I had, that both the Cheltenham householder and persons being sent here would behave properly if handled properly.'[21]

The Minister of Health, Walter Elliot, wanted billeting to 'be a matter of real human relationship and affection – a willing host and a willing guest.'[22] Mrs. Percival recognised that this ideal was voiced before evacuation actually occurred, and was a theory untouched by reality. Although evacuation was voluntary, billeting was compulsory, and Mrs. Percival was convinced that billeting had more chance of succeeding if like was put with like. In an interview for the press she elaborated on her view that,

'In spite of the great difficulty in finding suitable accommodation for evacuees and the urging of well-meaning people to use compulsory powers, I still maintain that the voluntary basis is best. Only by the willing cooperation of the householder and the evacuee can a happy amalgamation of two families be made. A large number of our householders had realised the opportunities for service and forbearing. Hundreds have taken in evacuees out of sheer gratitude for living in a reasonably safe area. I think these realised that however trying it may be … it is also a great joy to have a home to share rather than a heap of rubble to lament. Difficulties arise … because two families with entirely different standards and tastes are trying to use the same cooking stove, the same cooking pot and the same washing-up bowl.'[23]

She had pinpointed the main problem in billeting mothers evacuated with their young children - they were used to running their own homes, doing things

independently in their own way, in their own surroundings. If they were only billeted as lodgers, there could be quibbles and complaints about exactly what constituted a householder’s legal requirement to provide access to cooking and washing facilities. She saw the benefit of using larger houses, providing furniture and equipping a separate kitchen area. or as she wryly described it ‘enabling the evacuees to carry on their family life without interfering with the householder’s servants or disrupting the whole regime of the house.’[24] Many larger buildings were reserved for government work or as temporary schools, but Mrs. Percival set up four communal centres, and these worked well. There are photographs of Mrs. Percival at the baptism, at St Peter’s church, of two of the first babies born at Postlip Hall, and at the cutting of the christening cake at 221 High Street where the mothers were living.[25] Another of her successful initiatives was to persuade the Ministry of Labour to set up hostels for mainly transferred war workers,[26] to be run by the local branch of the National Council of Women in conjunction with the Ministry.[27] The hostels provided breakfast and evening meals as well as accommodation. When Richard Board spoke of her triumphs he applauded her energy and courage in carrying through the voluntary billeting scheme, but believed that establishing the hostels was something that would be remembered long after evacuation was forgotten.[28]

Mrs Percival cutting the cake at 221, High Street where the mothers were living.
Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic, 16 December 1939

From the beginning of the war Mrs. Percival put into place practical steps to stop problems arising and Cheltenham was one of the first towns to set up a system of regular welfare visits. She made a point of visiting billets, including those for schoolchildren, and these home checks gave opportunities for evacuees and householders to voice any concerns and resolve problems promptly. Richard Board calculated that over 3,400 home visits were carried out by Mrs. Percival and her team of three welfare workers between December 1940 and January 1942.[29] One has only to look at the number of staff in the billeting office to appreciate the significance of Mrs. Percival’s contribution. In 1941 Richard Board was still Acting Town Clerk as well as Chief Reception and Billeting Officer. His staff consisted of Mrs. Ennis, full-time Property Officer, Mrs. Price, Miss Sansom, the Records Clerks, Miss Budd and Mr. Arthur Cole, Bedding Officers, Mr. W. Borhgardt, and four voluntary Welfare Officers. There was also a corps of about ten voluntary drivers, who took war workers to their billets, plus other drivers, if needed, in the evenings.

Richard Board praised Mrs. Percival’s grasp of the complexities and the sensitive nature of billeting.

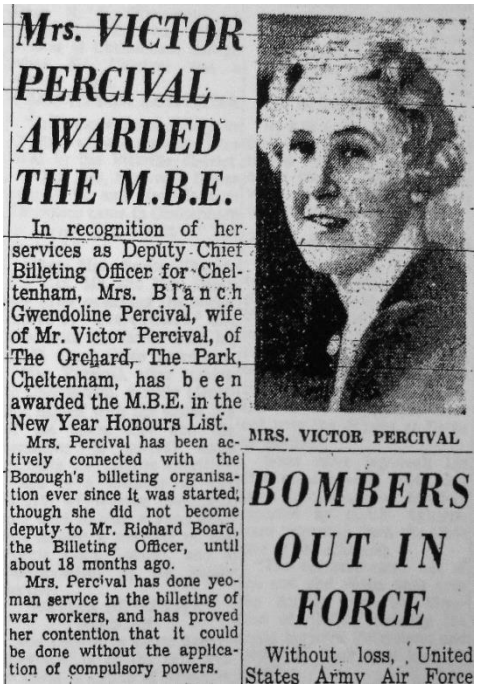
‘The general public hardly realise how arduous and how important a service is being rendered by Mrs. Percival and her small body of drivers. The finding of billets is hard enough, … The real work starts later. Evacuees have to accustom themselves to

separation, and householders to sharing their homes with strangers. The process … is hard and difficulties which seem trifling become magnified by the stress of circumstances into difficulties which at time seem overwhelming. Mrs. Percival has long ago proved that the success depends on being able to billet like with like. That she succeeds in this seemingly impossible task is a great tribute to her unfailing sympathy and tact.'[30]

In her talk to the Theosophical Society in 1941, she reflected on her experience, how,

'… there came, last autumn, the evacuation of the coastal towns, followed by the intensive bombing of London and our industrial cities. It was then that the resources of the billeting office staff were taxed to the utmost. The town, already full, became vastly overcrowded with entire families flying from ruined homes and devastated streets. I was struck by the bravery of these fugitives. …with kindness and encouragement these people succeeded in finding work and regaining something of their normality. But it is not easy for them … for the ways of Londoners and the industrial cities are not always the ways of Cheltenham folk.'[31]

Although known for her tact and sensitivity she was no pushover; she was regarded as a hard taskmaster, indeed admitting to being 'daunting', in order to run the billeting office efficiently and to a very high standard.[32] Her occasional sharp remarks show a realistic grasp of human behaviour and when people were wriggling out of their responsibilities. In connection to the response to taking in those made homeless through Cheltenham's air raid, she remarked that *'people who had dodged other types of evacuees were glad to take the people in when they saw them on their own doorstep'.*



Mrs. VICTOR PERCIVAL AWARDED THE M.B.E.

In recognition of her services as Deputy Chief Billeting Officer for Cheltenham, Mrs. Blanch Gwendoline Percival, wife of Mr. Victor Percival, of The Orchard, The Park, Cheltenham, has been awarded the M.B.E. in the New Year Honours List.

Mrs. Percival has been actively connected with the Borough's billeting organisation ever since it was started; though she did not become deputy to Mr. Richard Board, the Billeting Officer, until about 18 months ago.

Mrs. Percival has done yeoman service in the billeting of war workers, and has proved her contention that it could be done without the application of compulsory powers.

MRS. VICTOR PERCIVAL

BOMBERS OUT IN FORCE

Without loss, United States Army Air Force

Mrs Percival awarded the MBE
Gloucestershire Echo,
4 January 1944

It was her memorandum on her methods for billeting war workers that earned her national recognition and the MBE. The Ministries of Health and Labour were convinced her views on 'cooperation between the householder, the billetee and the official'[33] could not be achieved without resorting to compulsory powers. However, she had proved them wrong and her document went to the Bristol regional office and was passed on to Whitehall. The Minister of Health, Ernest Brown, was so impressed that he asked the Mayor of Cheltenham's permission to print and circulate the memorandum as the blueprint for other reception areas. When Warminster, another reception area taking in numbers of war workers, was struggling to cope, Mrs. Percival was seconded there with a small team for several weeks to advise and offer practical help.[34]

From 1943 preparations were being made, in secret and out of office hours, to billet up to 1500 Americans in Cheltenham in readiness

for the second front. Householders were only expected to billet one man if there was no male in the household, but could take more if the female householder agreed. Mrs Percival prepared, in Richard Board’s words, an ‘appropriate and rousing leaflet’, entitled ‘The Second Front’, allaying fears and contributing to a very successful operation[35]. She had a way with words, articulate and effective both in public speaking and writing, as well as enjoying, on a lighter note, writing detective stories for girls’ magazines.[36]

Would she disappear from the public eye after the war? Retire from the limelight and be glad to lead a quieter life enjoying her love of music and the arts without the stresses and pressures? Her reputation as a leading figure in the town kept her in the local press, and her voluntary status as Deputy Chief Billeting Officer did not seem to lead to less regard. Nothing seemed too trivial to comment on and in one article she was admired for looking particularly elegant wearing the new fashion for detachable sleeves.[37] In war time extra sleeves added welcome variety to wardrobes restricted by rationing. Mary Portas has re-introduced the idea recently to disguise the bingo wings appearance of untoned arms! But Mrs. Percival seemed to thrive on the pressure and did not seem to be looking forward to, ‘the time when billeting would not be so interesting, … but that period they would have to bear with. There would not be a lot of places for people to go back to, … and they would have to keep them [the evacuees] and the householder happy.’*[38]*

I had wondered whether her life would be defined by her billeting work, but interestingly when her husband died in 1950[39] and when she died in September 1966,[40] it was only one of many aspects mentioned in the obituaries. Far from withdrawing from public life, she devoted herself to new causes, always on a voluntary basis. Mrs. Percival, like many other women, who had proved their ability during the war, directed that energy to great effect towards other social issues. The creation of the post-war welfare state did not mean that voluntary help was no longer needed. Indeed, the role of the Third Sector continues to be as relevant and critical today, with individuals, churches and charities working alongside salaried social workers to fill the gaps in state provision. [41]

The National Council of Women provided a forum for debate, and a valuable source of information on local, regional and national political affairs especially relating to women. It continues to be a vehicle for change today, part of a group of six leading women’s organizations,[42] aiming to involve women in political decision-making. The Cheltenham meetings were reported regularly in the local press, with Mrs. Percival taking official roles, including president and secretary, and often giving votes of thanks or commenting on the speakers. The scheduled talks addressing contemporary issues included: the plight of refugees,[43] , ballet hit by the war,[44] literature’s part in the future,[45] Britain and the United States of America,[46] training of the disabled for war work,[47] women’s life in the United States and Russia,[48] women’s vital role in peace,[49] is theatre necessary?[50] and sound marriage as the key to welfare.[51] Mrs. Percival had founded the Refugees’ Club in Cheltenham, and also the Tuberculosis Care work with Miss Hart, as well as continuing to be involved with local handicapped aid,[52] but it was for her connection with marriage guidance that she is most valued.

There have always been families in difficulties and with marriage problems, but the war amplified them, with hasty marriages and long separations. The Council of

Women had already helped in various welfare schemes, as for example the running of the wartime workers' hostels, and were prepare to sponsor this and other new developments.[53] Even in 1949 marriage guidance was described as 'a comparatively new social science.'[54]The first marriage guidance centre in Cheltenham opened in 1945 after months of preparation and exploratory work. It was directed by a small management committee representing many Cheltenham organisations, with a panel of doctors, lawyers, and clergy acting as advisors. The key personality was the interviewer, who acted as liaison between the client and whoever on the panel, she regarded best suited to a particular case. Mrs. Percival agreed to be first interviewer initially for the first year, having been on a special residential course at Warlingham, where lecturers from London and Cambridge gave instructions on several aspects of marriage and its difficulties. Passionately committed to the possibilities of the centre, even at its opening, she was already planning what might be achieved in the future, not just restricted to 'remedial work', but developing courses 'for young married people, and people about to get married, on the spiritual, cultural and economic aspects of marriage. So many people do not realise that marriage is an art – a profession – and that it is the foundation of a healthy community.'[55] Within the first year the centre was running successfully, she had conducted 11 interviews, and was approached by Coventry who were anxious to set up a similar centre, wanting to use Cheltenham's model[56]. By 1950 she was an honorary counsellor, the centre had 104 clients and the value of the work was recognised by a government grant.

In January 1946 Cheltenham hosted the first national conference and when Mrs. Percival spoke about her experiences she showed the 'keen intellect and fine sense of human understanding'[57]that made her work so successful. She said it was non-denominational, but definitely on a Christian basis, explaining, 'we will not use the name Christian marriage guidance for fear that we shut the door to people who do not call themselves Christian but who still need help.' She also 'emphasised that the strictest secrecy was preserved, and that the records were so kept that it was almost impossible for an outsider to establish identification.' One incident remained secret until after her death. She was subpoenaed by one of the parties involved to give evidence in a divorce case, but when she knew the reason was to make her disclose confidential information, *'ill though she was at the time, she packed personal requirements … [and was] prepared to go to prison for contempt rather than to be forced into breaking, what was to her, a sacred faith.'*[58]

She developed her ideas and lectured on personal relationships to engaged couples, school leavers, as well as those at schools, colleges, clubs and organisations. She felt strongly that problems could be tackled early on, and that a concerted approach to sex education involving teachers and churches would help family life. Many parents found it difficult to talk to their children about sex, and preferred to leave it to schools, while children from broken homes increasingly relied on their teachers for guidance. In May 1948 she set up talks with local teachers to discuss teaching the facts of human reproduction as part of the school curriculum. In 1950 she produced a paper with Miss M.M. Roddan and circulated it to leading citizens in Cheltenham, as well as local organizations, associations, clubs and welfare workers, calling for a meeting to discuss her concern at what she saw as the slackening of family ties and diminishing sense of personal responsibility. She recognized the value of networking, of what we now call joined-up-working, and a new group was set up to coordinate and raise standards in social welfare. In June she wrote a report on combating juvenile crime,[59] suggesting

that heredity and conditioning were to blame, along with issues of bad housing, evacuation, war, decline of moral values and lack of religious awareness. She offered practical solutions in a two-fold plan, by coordinating the constant and positive teaching on family and community life given by clergy, doctors, youth organisers and health visitors, while focusing on the importance of the spiritual approach to sex and adequate biological knowledge. Her findings and suggestions are as relevant today.

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[1] Even as late as 30 August 1939, the *Gloucestershire Echo* printed an urgent appeal for help: ‘Billeting of evacuees - Volunteer officers wanted …. a stumbling block to proper progress is the lack of volunteers to act as billeting officers, and today Mr. Richard Board, the Chief Officer, makes an appeal through the Echo for men and women to come forward.’

[2] Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum, (CAG&M) now The Wilson, 200.50.2.1.

[3] One example of her full name is the entry in the New Year’s Honours list published in the *London Gazette*, 4 January 1944.

[4] Born in Sheffield she was the only child of Robert Saynor-Thompson, a Professor of Higher Mathematics at Sheffield University. Dean Waterfield, headmaster at Cheltenham College when Victor Percival was a pupil there, officiated at the Percivals’ marriage in 1926 in Sheffield. Her parents moved down to Cheltenham on her father’s retirement and had ’The Orchard’ built for them in the Park area of town. When her mother died in 1932 the house was enlarged and the Percivals lived there with her father until his death in 1940.

[5] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 20 November 1943.

[6] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 9 October 1939.

[7] Examples of the many reports of her singing include the concert to honour the Musical Guild’s founder, *Gloucestershire Echo*, 8 March 1933; ‘several charming songs’ at the tableaux of living pictures, *Gloucestershire Echo*, 20 April 1933; Sunday concert – afternoon treat in Winter Garden, *Gloucestershire Echo*, 12 June 1933.

[8] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 9 October 1939.

[9] An example of the calibre of the artists for the concerts she arranged were two members from the Sadler’s Wells Company, *Gloucestershire Echo*, 3 June 1940.

[10] Report of a concert she organised to support the Musicians’ Benevolent Fund, *Gloucestershire Echo*, 28 May 1940.

[11] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 31 January 1942.

[12] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 19 April 1941: Miss de Valois, Director of Sadlers Wells Ballet Company, which were performing in Cheltenham that week, was persuaded to address the National Council of Women. She spoke of the serious effect of the war on ballet, and in thanking her Mrs. Percival said ‘in these days when people were missing some of the material luxuries, Cheltenham was enjoying a feast of music, ballet, and other entertainment such as never seen before the war.’

[13] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 28 May 1938: At the National Council of Women’s request she was asked to arrange a concert to raise funds to keep the Cheltenham Child Guidance Clinic from closing down

[14] *Gloucestershire Echo*,7 July 1945, W.A.G. Acocks, Clerk to the Council and Chief Billeting Officer, said that ‘of the civil defence services billeting work attracted least honour and glory and was at times very distasteful’.

[15] The Government had paired Cheltenham with Birmingham, a decision that Richard Board criticised as causing problems by being too geographically close.

[16] CAG&M, now The Wilson, 2000.50.2.1.

[17] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 15 January 1944.

[18] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 12 January 1943; she aimed at getting at least 100 housewives to act as ambassadors under her new Mayor’s hostesses scheme, to find new billets among friends and neighbours. Mrs. Percival said ‘there is no doubt that this is one of the best ways of achieving the object, because housewives will naturally listen to the persuasions of other women whom they know and have themselves had the experience of what they are asking others to do.’

[19] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 2 December 1944, her letter appealing for billets for evacuees from Bristol. ‘Time is all too short in which to search out the many who would welcome children into their homes. Will anyone willing to help … write to me … stating whether they prefer a boy or a girl, and what age would fit in most successfully with their own young people?’, *Cheltenham Chronicle and*

Gloucestershire Graphic, 25 April 1942; Appealing to members of the Rotary Club for car owners to help with emergencies when her regular pool of drivers were depleted by the effect of petrol rationing.
[20] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 20 November 1943. He was presented with a silver cigarette box to honour his wife's MBE, in recognition for his support.
[21] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershore Graphic*, 15 January 1944.
[22] Wireless broadcast, 6 January 1939.
[23] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 11 October 1941
[24] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 11 October 1941
[25] *The [Cheltenham] Graphic*, 16 December 1939.
[26] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 8 May 1943.
[27] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 7 January 1948. Broadlands and The Garth Hostels for women opened in 1942, followed by Victory House for men the next year. In the five years until Victory House closed in 1948 an estimated 1500 men had stayed there. The hostels were described as being the most efficiently run in the area.
[28] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 15 January 1944.
[29] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 31 January 1942.
[30] CAG&M, now The Wilson 2000.50.2.1.
[31] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 11 October 1941.
[32] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 25 April 1942: an illustration of her attention to detail, when she described the plan in case of invasion in her talk to the Rotary Club, slightly tongue in cheek she explained 'everything was planned in duplicate so that if one set was blitzed, it could still carry on. I have even got a substitute for myself, so that if I got blitzed it would not matter.'
[33] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 20 November 1943.
[34] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 8 January 1944.
[35] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 4 April 1944: 'Everyone is happy about U.S. billeting'.
[36] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 4 January 1944.
[37] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 24 January 1942: 'One of the first I saw in Cheltenham was worn by Mrs. Victor Percival at a recent women's luncheon. 'It was a delightful example of the fashion, in black, which Mrs. Percival set off to perfection and wore with bracelets'.
[38] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 15 January 1944.
[39] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 15 April 1950.
[40] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 23 September 1966 (she died 22 September).
[41] Charities set up to address specific social problems such as Shelter for the Homeless in 1960s, more recently Food Banks, and Street Pastors.
[42] The six are The National Union of Women, Women's Institute, Townswomen's Guild, Soroptimists, Women Graduates and Business and Professional Women.
[43] *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 28 January, 1939.
[44] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 14 April 1941.
[45] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 1 March 1941.
[46] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 7 March 1942.
[47] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 19 May 1942.
[48] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 7 September 1942.
[49] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 20 February 1946.
[50] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 6 November 1946.
[51] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 23 May 1946.
[52] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 9 July 1950; the first rally in Gloucestershire for the handicapped.
[53] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 28 October 1948; such as the Mothers and Toddlers Club at 118 Bath Road. Mrs Percival, as vice-president and Miss E.W. Jones as chairman, devoted much attention to this experiment, by which toddlers and mothers are separately provided for - the toddlers in a playroom under qualified supervision and the mothers having a recreational activity of their own.
[54] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 21 July 1949.
[55] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 7 December 1945.
[56] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 12 January 1946.
[57] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 23 September 1966.
[58] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 23 September 1966.
[59] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 21 June 1950.

‘In the Mault House’: Four Centuries of Malting and Brewing in Cheltenham

SALLY SELF

Introduction

BREWING AND MALTING WERE AN INTEGRAL PART of the economy of Cheltenham for many centuries.[1] Which of us does not remember that heady and half-sickly smell from the Whitbread brewery in our younger days?

This article attempts to draw together the available information on malting and brewing, including some reference to the allied trade of inn or ale house keeping, from primary sources between 1275 to *c.*1755. The latter date has been chosen as the point when the town changed from that of a small, and only locally significant, settlement, to one that had begun to have a wider reputation. These major sources are: the manor court records, which were sparse in medieval times, but with a more consistent coverage from 1597 to 1755;[2] probate evidence;[3] the parish church records of St Mary,[4] and several other minor sources. Each record has its own idiosyncrasies and gives limited information, but when combined build a picture of economic activity in late medieval and early modern Cheltenham.

It should also be noted that ale and beer were, during this period, two different beverages. Prior to the beginning of the fifteenth century, the staple drink was ale (not water) and it was flavoured with spices or herbs. The introduction of hops, around 1520,[5] began a transition that saw the demise of ale (unhopped) by about 1720. The addition of hops meant that the keeping qualities improved, the previously rather sweet drink was made more bitter and the amount produced from each brew increased, thus leading to larger profits.[6] Cider was present in the town but was, seemingly, not popular,[7] and there are no records of perry being produced.

Background

During these 400 years, Cheltenham, with several scattered hamlets, was never more than a small town, with a central cluster of burgage plots (the ‘borough’), a number of other properties, and beyond them a few scattered hamlets such as Alstone. Many of the burgage plots, laid out in early medieval times, either side of the one street, became divided into halves or fractions. Most plots appear to have been well developed with the principal dwelling fronting The Street and further buildings, backside, gardens and orchards to the rear.[8]

The population was small, but slowly, if unevenly, increasing. In 1551, there was an estimated population of 700.[9] By the beginning of the 18th century, the town was stated to have 1500 inhabitants in 321 households[10] and by 1735 to have around 2000 inhabitants.[11] During all this time, the medieval layout of the parish was dominant: the borough and tithing of Cheltenham, with Alstone, Arle and Westal, Naunton and Sandford tithings, each having their own common fields,[12] and with affairs managed by the manor court and the church.

Apart from the daily need for a safe beverage for the inhabitants, the weekly market and annual fair[13] would have increased the need for inns and alehouses and expanded the production of malt, ale and later beer. This article investigates these early beginnings of an industry that became a trade mark of the town and which lasted well into the 20th century.

Evidence from medieval records 1275 – 1516

With two exceptions, all the early evidence concerning brewing appears in the court books.[14] These court records are concerned only with the ale that was being sold: many more people would have brewed for their households. During this period, records of 54 courts have survived, though some are incomplete. Of these, 84% note transgressions relating to the selling of ale. This figure may be on the low side, as several of the nil returns coincide with damaged records.[15] People were 'presented' to the court by the bailiff or tithing man and then fined. The numbers before the courts varied. The fluctuations could be explained by the increase in brewing for the fair or market, by church celebrations and by poor harvests. The last leading to an increase in poverty among the poorer classes and the need to supplement income by temporary brewing.[16] There is national evidence that widows, the elderly and those between 30 and 40 years of age with large, young families were the most likely to engage in the production of ale.[17]

In the court books, *'brewing and breaking the assize'* was the most common entry. The assize of ale (and bread) was fixed by Henry III in 1226/7: this set the price of a gallon of ale in relation to the price of wheat, barley and oats; [18] breaking the 'official' assize may have been relatively easy. Each offence led to a fine. For some this was such a regular 'payment' that it could be viewed as the manor court raising money - it was in fact a local tax on the activity. Each entry gives the name, the fine and the number of offences.

> 26 January 1378
> *'Chiltenham court held there Tuesday next after the feast of the Conversion of St Paul. Chiltenham bailiff presents for brewing and breaking the assize, Walter Cok 2d,1*[offence]*; John Kempere 2d, 1; John Persons 2d,1; William Cosley 4d, 2'*[19]

In total there were 34 names of offenders. Numbers varied but there were regularly between eight and 25 for Cheltenham, with one or two for Arle and one each for Alstone and Westal. The number of offences was usually one per year, attracting a fine of 2d or 3d. However, while many were one off 'offenders', perhaps indicating a temporary need to stave off poverty, others appear to have been setting up on a more permanent basis - are these an indication of the beginnings of more permanent ale houses and inns? William Chi(e)re was presented in five courts, over a six-month period and fined a total of 4s 9d for 11 offences. John Maltman was fined four times in five months. There were occasionally even larger fines, one of 40d for John Deiare, but no indication of why the offence attracted such an unprecedented fine.[20]

It was also usual for one or two female names to appear, sometimes preceded by 'widow'.[21] It was a recognised way by which a single woman could obtain a living, and may have been encouraged by the court. Indeed, most of the brewing would have

been carried out by women, though the husband, where present, would be fined. There are two mentions of where a servant was penalised - was this activity behind the master’s back, a case of ‘better you than me’ or just a record of dual occupation?[22]

There are also quite frequent references to those who ‘sold beer[23] at an excessive price without a tradesman’s sign and by unmarked containers’, attracting a fine from 4d to 40d and to those who ‘sold beer [ale] that had not been tasted’ and fined 8d.[24] Best practice would appear to be co-operating with the tithing man or ale taster, displaying a recognised sign, using the correct pots and measures and brewing to an acceptable standard.[25]

As previously mentioned, the fines can be viewed as a tax and from the 1470s the records show that licences had been introduced. While six brewed ‘against the assize’, eight paid for a licence.[26] Again in 1494, ‘*Isabella Taylour (12d) and Henry Lewyn (10d) [did] come and give to the lady as a fine for licence to brew this year.’* At the same court 12 others were presented for breaking the assize, so many thought it was not worthwhile being licensed. Nor was it a case that once licensed one could not be fined: Isabella, four months later, was fined for failing to get her ale tasted! Further year-long licences were granted in December 1515 and January 1516. In this two-month period, eight women were licensed, costing between 3d and 12d, possibly indicating an increase in poverty in the town.[27] The difference in fee is likely to be connected to the number of times brewing took place. There is only one record of a man being licensed.

There is no evidence of malt houses during the medieval period, though slender evidence from two wills points to their existence in the town: William Lane, (d.1501)[28] bequeathed to his nieces and nephews a bushel of malt apiece and a similar amount to a colleague, James Fortey. The other intriguing statement is ‘to Thomas Milner <u>of the malt mill</u> one of my coats.’[29] The frequency of malt mills, appearing in nearly 10% of probates and their small value, between 40p and 25p, leads one to believe that they were minor domestic items. This entry casts a different light on their size and value. Did Thomas Milner use one of Cheltenham’s five mills to grind malt? At a later date, a ‘horse malt mill’, was valued at £1 [30] and ‘old malting stones’,[31] suggesting that there were mills of a range of size and complexity. The earliest reference to horse mills occurs in 1527, when William Machyn and Andrew Grenehill were fined 3d.[32]

Although the medieval evidence is sparse and only records brewing and selling ale, the numbers of people involved points to a considerable trade, and therefore the need for malt. Although it depends on the brew, a rough guide is that 800g (28oz) of malted barley is needed to make 4.55litres (1 gallon) of ale. Transporting such heavy commodities to a town with no links to water transport and served by notoriously bad roads is unlikely, except over short distances and from the surrounding area - the inference being that the majority of the barley and malt was produced locally.[33]

The practice during this period indicates that brewing took place on several scales and served different classes of customers. Ale house tipplers usually brewed around eight to 10 gallons at a time in an outhouse or kitchen. This would, most likely, be for lower class drinkers, with consumption of the brew happening in a variety of places; in or just outside the ale house, taken away for domestic consumption or at a small stall set up for the market, fair or church celebration. Quick consumption was imperative, as it only stayed drinkable for a short time. Larger quantities would have been needed for the inns, which were serving the middling and better class of customer

who also needed food, lodging and stabling. These establishments would have had free standing brew houses.

Early modern evidence, 1527 – 1750s

During this period, documents become more numerous and consistent. The words 'malt', 'malt house', 'maltster',[34] and 'brew house' begin to appear, while the word 'brewed' disappears, almost entirely. The word 'brewer' or 'common brewer' is not used until after 1751. Many of those who malted and, or, brewed, also worked at other occupations; there seems to have been very few who were purely engaged in malting.[35] The Chestroe (Chester) family, demonstrate multiple occupations; Nathaniel (d. 1693)[36] and John Chestroe (d.1729),[37] were substantial yeoman farmers. Their two inventories, 36 years apart and recording the same sizeable dwelling, indicate that their main source of wealth was in their animals and crops - worth £55.70 and £171.15, respectively. They also, certainly by 1729, owned two malt houses, one at the farm and another, 'Pretty's Malthouse', with sizeable quantities of malt and equipment, indicating that they were malting on a large scale. This is a pattern that is clearly established throughout this period - dual and triple sources of wealth are frequent.

Infringements of the assize continued throughout this period. The official ale-tasters, appointed to serve for a year,[38] presented those who broke the statutes and this was now often associated with 'illicit games'.[39] People persisted in brewing without a licence and even the under-bailiff, John Holdy, was fined 6d for selling unlawful measures[40] and 'Arthur Packer, gentleman' was amerced for brewing offences three times during the early 1650s – was this a sign that even a 'gentleman' could be hard pushed to make ends meet during the Protectorate?[41] The office of ale taster may, or may not, have been popular, and the task could be pursued with less than enthusiasm - Richard Hayward, was fined 3s 4d for being *'negligent in presenting as pertains to his office'*[42] – possibly too fond of a draught himself!

In 1527 the court recorded that ale should be sold at 'tuppence halfpenny for best new beer and *deficat* for threepence and second beer both new and *deficat* for one and a half pence'.[43]

The leading maltsters and dealers in malt

The first quantitative evidence of the malting industry occurred in 1608, with the recording of 14 maltsters in the 'burrow' of Cheltenham.[44] However, evidence from the first parish register, 1558-1608, point to it having been a long established trade. There is the burial of a maltster and a maltster's wife, and the christening of seven children, with the burial of two infants. The Cox(e) family was particularly in evidence prior to 1653, with Richard, Thomas, John and Giles all listed as maltsters.[45] Other family names were Staple, Tony, Stevens, Milton, Stile, Lawrence and Church. Later parish records, 1676-1759[46] record only the Mills, Milton, Nichol and Spurling families in the trade. Many of the earlier names are no longer in evidence. This could be due to several factors, not necessarily a diminution in the trade.[47] The Cox(e) family were still in the town[48] and it is known that a Giles Cox '*obtained his substance thereby'* i.e. malting and that he was sufficiently wealthy to found a small charity.[49]

The Fleece: originally on the south side

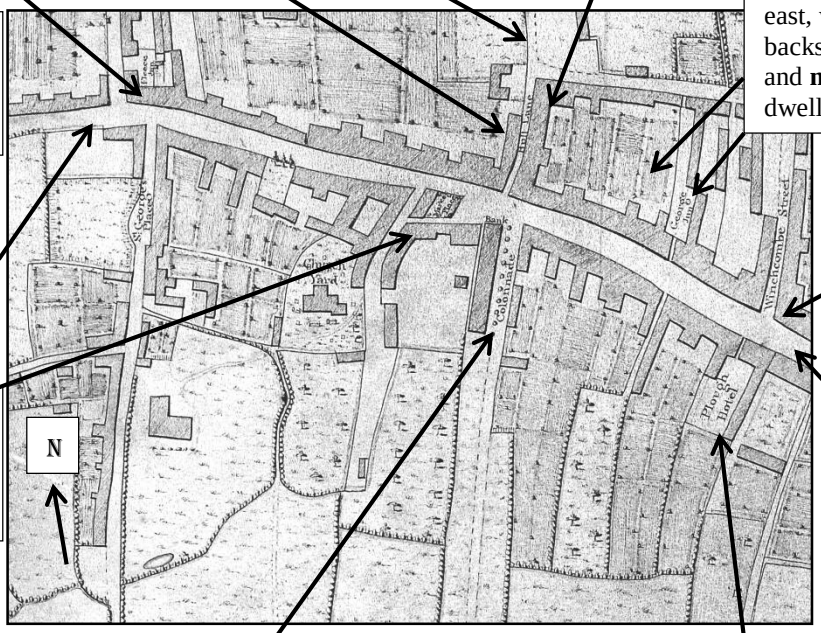
The Greyhound and **malt house**

North Street, from *c.*1763, previously Mill, Humphrey’s and Greyhound Lane

New Inn and **malt house**

The Bull, west and the George, east, with a joint and large backside; also several **brewing** and **malting houses** and the dwellings of several maltsters.

To the west, Hyett’s **malt** and **brew house**, Alstone



High Street, west

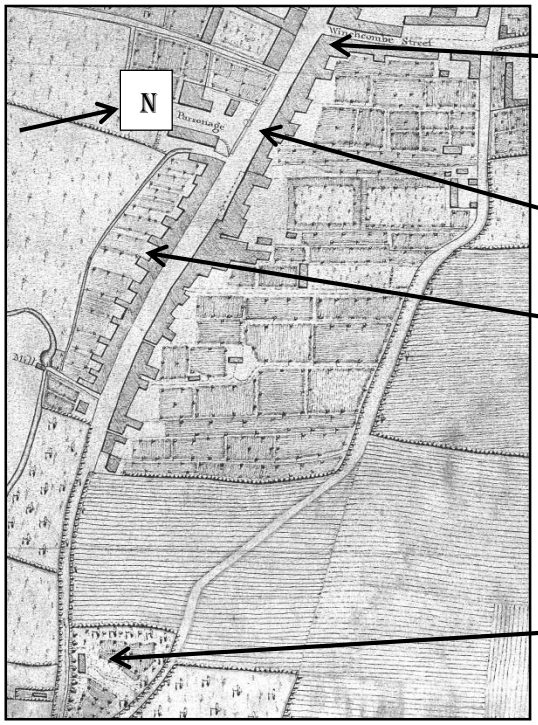
The Bell, **malt** and **brew house**

High Street - east

The Eight Bells. The site of an elusive southern **malt house?**

Colonnade, built post-1750

The Plough and Yard. Site of an elusive southern **malt** and **brew house**?



The Bell, with the Plough opposite

High Street

The Talbot or the Dog, in its southerly position. Site of another elusive southern **malt house?**

The Dowle cottage and **malt house**

Inns, Malting and Brewing Houses – pre 1750, Cheltenham

The approximate positions of the inns, with the sites of malt and brew houses, have been plotted on to a map, *c.*1800. No earlier map, with sufficient detail exists.

In general, wills give fewer details than inventories, but three early wills of maltsters give some information. William Goodcheape's will of 1588, [50] has a list of his debtors; some likely to be amounts owed for malt. The debtors have local names and owed between £2.90 and 60p. A longer lists occurs in the will of Nicholas Church, 1609,[51] including the names of several women who could have been buying malt to brew ale. One other entry is of interest: Richard Clarke 'of the Almshouse' owed 60p - was this an indication that the Alms house had its own brew house? These two wills with that of Richard Cox's, 1611,[52] all give an impression of comfortable wealth, with bequests of 'half a wayghe of malt' (about 7 stones), sums of money up to £40 and 'all the wares in the shoppe'.

Between 1622 and 1748 there are 86 inventories, with indications that those concerned were malting and brewing,[53] thus allowing for a deeper analysis of their economic circumstances. The inventory values had a range from £8.25 to £1,673.96. The mean value was £194.00 while the median value, at £87.05, gives a more accurate assessment of the 'average' wealth. Two individuals, Mary Ashmeade and Edward Johnson,[54] had goods valued at over £1,000, giving a skewed mean figure. The value of the household goods, of these 86, had an equally wide range, £0.00 to £141.3. The minimum value presumably indicating that they were dependent on others.[55] The mean value was £30.38, with a median value of £17.82. Again pointing to several individuals with a wide range of greater quantity and higher quality household good.

A larger and more diverse, national sample, gives broadly similar results. Lorna Weatherill's findings, in *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* gives a mean figure for the household goods of brewers and maltsters as £31 to Cheltenham's £30.38.[56] However, the total inventory wealth, of Weatherill's £143 compared to Cheltenham's £194, would indicate that the town had a relatively well-off population, when compared to a wider area. The malting and brewing trades may be the factor which influences this figure.

Ignoring the smaller quantities of malt (for now), large amounts feature in 25 inventories, and seven can be scrutinised in more detail.[57] Three were appraised when they had 'wet' or 'green' malt, either soaking in the 'uteing stones'[58] or 'kilning' on the drying floor of their malt houses. The value of the green malt per bushel varied from 13p (1687) to 14.9p (1700) and 20p (1729). All seven also held large quantities of dry malt. The price was again variable: two prices within four years of each other (1700 and 1704) were 16.5p and 12.5p, by 1729 it was 25p and in 1730 was 15p a bushel. Although nationally all prices were rising at this time, there may be little significance in these local figures. The difference in price could be caused by the type of grain, the quality, the type of malt produced, the scarcity of the product or the 'shelf life' of the malt.

At the individual level these seven inventories add details to these figures. Anthony Chester, gentleman, (d.1677), lived 'on the Street'. The majority of his wealth was in malt (£85), crops, cattle and horses. He was also owed the considerable sum of £611. Many of the debts, in neatly rounded figures, indicate that he was acting as a proto-banker. It is very likely that he was selling the malt produced in his brother's malt house.[59] Samuel Arrowsmith, haberdasher, (d.1687) owned a malt and a mill house, produced malt and used it to brew. The total value for malting and brewing came to £58, which was 50% of the total inventory value.[60] He lived in a four-storey, 16-roomed house, the contents of which seem to have been solid and well used. Cooking was

carried out in the kitchen and there were four chambers with beds. He owned silver – a 23 oz. tankard, a salt[61] and 13 spoons, valued at £7.75 and 20 pewter dishes, ‘both small and great about 50lbs’. With 16 rooms, including the cellars and attics, this appears to have been one of the larger houses in the town – could it have been one of Cheltenham’s inns?

Walter White, (d. 1689) - one of three Whites who were all engaged in malting - possessed 18 weys of malt (about 1600 Kg). His tenement was modest: he lived in four rooms, the hall, the ‘Roome adjoyning’ and the bed chamber. He also had a *‘malt chamber’,* used for the secure storage of malt and barley, both valuable commodities, and as a place of rest. He soaked the grain in an outhouse, in ‘two yeuting stones’. It is likely that the drying process was carried out in an adjacent malt house.

The Bell, (see also p51) owned by Richard Cowle (d.1702), had a malt and a brew house, and included in the inventory is a list of typical malting utensils.[62]

> *‘In the Maulthouse, ninety six bushells of wett barley & green malt att two shillings tenn pence per bushell £13 12s’*
> *In Severall mault Roomes, four hundred thirty five bushells of mault att three shillings four pence per bushell £72 10s*
> *In the Mault House, one mault try or screen, three hair clothes for the kill [kiln], two mault shovells, twelve mault baggs £1 15*
> *In the Backside, one malt mill & uting stone, two cowles and one forme £1 10s’*

His holding of over 500 bushels of malt, appraised at £96, was nearly 50% of the value of the inn’s contents. He was almost certainly acting as a dealer in malt, as well as brewing.[63]

John Kemet’s inventory lacks details, but indicates that his house had four rooms, with a brew house in the backside. Brewing was a relatively inexpensive operation to set up, but from the quantity of malt, to the value of £57, he, or his wife, were brewing in large quantities. With his pigs in the back yard, two cows and a calf and a main occupation as a carrier, he was relatively well off. James Wood, (d.1719) owned two malt houses, the old and the ‘new’, a brew house and when his goods were appraised ‘about 12 weys of malt’ valued at £84. His malting and brewing activities represented 18% of his wealth. He also possessed quite extensive lands in the Upper Field, producing valuable crops and supporting animals, which made up a further 66%. He also possessed ‘two hundred of cheese’ (nearly 100Kg?)[64] Edward Johnson (d.1670) owned Cheltenham’s 17th-century ‘supermarket’! His shop, part of the house, had items to the value of £874 and included woollen, linen and silken goods, haberdashery, hosiery, ironmongery, groceries and ‘a parcell of malt’ valued at £80. In his will he made bequests totalling £800 and occupied an eight-roomed house. The ‘Great Chamber’, one of four upper rooms, had furnishings to the value of £37. He owned plate and pewter worth £30.

These seven inventories show the differing circumstances of Cheltenham’s maltsters. There is a range from £144 to £1674, with a mean value of £666, one lived in four rooms, another in 16, apart from being maltsters and brewers, there was a ‘gentleman’, a mercer, a carrier and a haberdasher. But how does this compare with the ‘average inhabitant? Their inventories had a range of £2 to £1674, with a mean of £128

and the majority lived in four to six rooms.[65] If those others, who have left no probate records, were also included, this comparison would be even more stark.

Left, malting shovel;
right, malting fork.
© *Sally Self*

There are also another 60 inventory records of smaller quantities of malt or the equipment to produce it, often in conjunction with lists of cowles (pails), vats and barrels, indicating brewing. Two examples are John Dobbins, (d.1663) and Barbara Humphris, (d. 1696)). It is likely that John Dobbins, yeoman[66], with his '5 bease great and small, 43 sheepe, 5 lands of corne on ye ground' valued at £20 and 'malt and corn' valued at £8 was brewing for the family's and servants' consumption. Barbara Humphris, widow (d.1696) had 'barrells and tubbs belonging to brewing' and 'wheat and malt', valued at £1, probably making a subsistence living by selling ale. She does not appear in the court records, so either she was not selling ale or a blind eye was turned to save her from becoming a charge on the poor rate.

Though these two occupations brought much wealth to Cheltenham, they also spelt danger. Malt and brew house fires had iron doors and bars, but even so 'kilning' fires, burning throughout the night, green barley threatening to combust and fires under brewing vats left unattended, all needed regulation, and led to a series of court orders.

'Every malster within the town … shall pay and provide …one or more buckets of leather, … in their houses against any casuality of fire … and every other inhabitant … shall pay all such sums of money … for the buying and making of sufficient ladders, rooches[67] and other small hooks necessarily used at time of need'[68] and *'malsters not to make fires for drying malt after 10 at night'*[69]. Other regulations governed the safe construction of chimneys; '*every inhabitant … setting a house to a tenant, is to make sufficient chimney or flue, well daubed and plastered, 4 foot above the home, to prevent the danger of fire, '*[70].

The leading inns, malting and brewing houses

Whilst the lives of the people can be traced through the parish and probate records, the identification of property can mostly be found in the manor court books. However, a national record, *Return of Accomodation* (sic) *for Men and Horses,* 1686,[71] while not identifying specific inns, states that Cheltenham could offer 42 guest beds and stabling for 70 horses - a substantial number, but whether that is the total for all accommodation in the town, includes the larger inns or whether it is surplus to daily needs is not made clear.[72]

The earliest mention of inn keepers comes in 1527, when Walter Pate and Henry Corston are recorded as paying a fine of 3d and 2d, respectively. The inns are not named, but one at least is likely to be the *Plough.*[73] The first named drinking

establishment and its keeper, is that of the *Crowne,* held by Thomas Milton,[74] in 1611, when it played a leading role in the infamous story of Guy Dobbins and his group of actors.[75] The *Crowne* had a backside where the play was to be performed, but no other details are given. However, there are two fuller descriptions of inns and their associated buildings. The *Bell,* already mentioned, and another un-named building, held in 1686 by Robert Smyth.[76] This un-named inn, had individually named rooms, The Bear, The Flower de Luce, the Great Chamber and the Gatehouse Chamber. It also had what appears to have been a long term resident as one room is named ‘Mr John’s Room’. There were also several cellars, one set aside for ‘french wine and cannary [wine]’ butteries, a dairy and a brew house. Silverware to the value of £25 was in use and intriguingly, there was also a set of ‘pins and bowls’. Could this be the *Bull,* which is known to have had a skittle alley in 1720?[77] No mention is made of a malt house, but this does not rule out the *Bull* as that malt house had separate tenants.

The position of several inns is shown on the 1787 map of the Pate lands administered by Corpus Christi College, Oxford,[78] and on the 1800 *‘Town and Tithing’* Plan.[79] Three leading inns were the *Plough,* the *George* and the *Bell,* their central positions clearly indicating their importance. It is stated that *The Plough* was 16th-century,[80] though a very limited archaeological dig in 1979 found no remains prior to mid-19th century.[81] The first description of this inn states, *‘all that mansion house, with all houses, outhouses, edifices, buildings, stables, curtilages, gardens and orchards’.*[82] Unusually for a leading inn, there is no mention of a malt or brew house and extensive searching has left a blank, though its large yard, reaching nearly as far as the river Chelt and the numerous outbuildings, must surely have included at least one.[83]

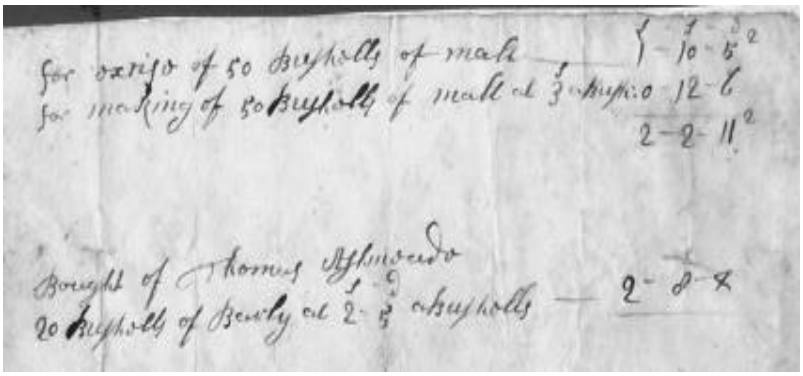
The *George,* referred to as the ‘old house of traffic’,[84] was to the north, diagonally opposite *The Plough*. It passed by a 99-year lease from Daniel Chester (Chestroes) to his brother Anthony[85] and continued in Chester hands until the 1780s.[86] As mentioned previously the Chestroes were a farming and malting family, and Daniel’s will bequeathed a *‘malt house … above the gate’.* Possibly referring to a way into the inn’s backside with its ‘stables, outhouses, gardens, backside, courts and ways’, Its inn keeper for nine years, was Thomas Harvey, before moving in 1751 to the *Swan.*[87]

The *Bell,* was on the corner of Bell Lane (Winchcombe Street) and the High Street. The main rooms, on the ground floor, appear to be modest, with cooking taking place in the Hall. There were six bed chambers on the first floor. A measuring room and separate cellars for ale, cider and cheeses completed the accommodation. The inventory mentions flitches of bacon in the malt heap – curing and adding flavour. The town had a preponderance of pigs: they could be fattened for nothing on the leavings from the malting and brewing.

Two other leading inns on or near the Street were the *Bull* and the *New Inn.* The first reference to the *Bull* is in 1660, when Elizabeth White leaves ‘a joint press and cupboard in the forestreet chamber at my house called the Bull’[88]. Later in 1688, Thomas Mansell transferred a ‘parcel of garden [in] The Bull backside’ and included in the abutments are the words, ‘the new house of Giles Ashmead to the collarpost of Mr John Ashmead‘s [house]’, both were prominent maltsters.[89] By 1749 it had changed its name Pope’s Coffee House.[90] The associated malt house, during these 90 years, was owned or tenanted by the Ashmeads, Joseph Ludlow, William and Mary Page, John Mills, the Hyetts, John and Jane and son John.[91] In 1719 there is a mention of a newly built malt house, ‘in the possession of Giles Head’. He was followed by maltsters

Benjamin Neale and John Macock.[92] The *Bull* and its backside, appears as a burgage plot on the '*Town and Tithing'* Plan.[93] The descriptions, given in the court rolls of the burgage plot, correspond to the layout shown on the plan. It is likely that the right of way from the Street to the back road, (now Albion Street), became Portland Passage, and was later widened into the present Pittville Street.[94]

The *New Inn* was in existence by 1722[95] and a year later the position of a malt house, in the possession of Samuel Barnard, was given as being in the 'east part of a yard called the New Inn backside.'[96] This is likely to have been the malting house that Edward Nicholls possessed when he died around June 1713.[97] The *New Inn* also had a brew house. [98] The property is described and can act as a model for the majority of the burgage plots: a mix of domestic dwellings, some facing the Street, with a collection of malt houses, brew houses, stables, barns, small outbuildings for wood, hay and coal, with open yards or gardens filling the length of the plots.[99] The whole of the plots were utilised to get the best returns. The malt house continued to be noted up to 1748,[100] and by 1758 was a brew and wash house.[101] William and later Thomas Harvey were the inn holders from 1726 to 1751, though Martha Owen continued to be 'in possession' throughout this period.[102] The record gives the measurement of the length of the whole site on its western edge as 150ft 10in (46m) and appears to correspond to a plot extending from the Street to the back side as shown on the map.



Right, a receipt, showing excise duty on 50 bushels of malt, *'for making of 50 busholls of malt, 3s a bush. 12s 6d',* and for barley bought from Thomas Ashmeade, *'at 2s 5d a busholls - £2 8s 4d'.*
D1949, uncatalogued box.

Other malt houses

The Talbot (often referred to as *The Dog*) with its malt houses was first noted in 1679.[103] Its owners can be traced through the Slatter and Taylor families. Confusingly there were *Talbot* inns on the south and north side. The one to the south later had a passageway through to the theatre, with its cellars *below* the auditorium.[104] Another malt house stood on the western side of Greyhound Lane (now North Street)[105]. Part of a burgage plot, it passed in 1740 from Francis French to John Milton, innholder and maltster.[106] The malt house may have been there before the *Greyhound Inn,* which was not so named until 1763.[107] It stayed a malt house until converted into offices in 1791.[108]

Records of another malt house, to the south, show clearly that malt (and brew) houses were shared property. A transfer of October 1699 states: '[a] malt house shared with 2 other houses, [...] lately Stephen Mitton now Walter Cox,' and 'lately Elizabeth Milton, widow, and now John Finch' [...] 'William Cole and now Edmund Wills'[109] The Cox(e)s have already been mentioned as connected to malting. This property had the use of 'water courses' which may have referred to the River Chelt, though it is some distance away, but could refer to a watercourse from or to one of the mills, or to a ditch to lead water away from the Street after its weekly cleansing - hopefully not used for brewing! There was also an 'out-of-town' malt house, approximately where Hewlett

Road leaves the High Street. This is the ‘Dowle malt house and premises’.[110] The site contained The Cottage and other outbuildings. Previously in the hands of the Wells and later Edward Booth,[111] in 1742 it belonged to Sarah Dowle, who retained it until 1773.[112]

Conclusions

This article has aimed at gathering all the evidence currently available on malting and brewing, during the medieval and early modern period. Inevitably more information will come to light on the buildings and the people, and further research could be undertaken into several aspects. Was the malting barley and wheat grown locally or were supplementary supplies brought in? If so where from? Did the slow enclosure of the fields affect local production of grain and malt? Why and how did the wide spread ownership of malt and brew houses reduce to a few individuals? Was the malted grain used only in the town or was it distributed further afield? Can those elusive records of malt houses be linked to specific sites? Further research is needed.

Agriculture was the principal occupation in Cheltenham, during most of the four hundred years, and the many of the probate and court records[113] show involvement in husbandry: either directly, by owning and working land themselves, or indirectly, through leasing the land to tenants, for whom it was a key, though not necessarily, the only occupation. The second most important economic activity was malting, brewing and operating inns and ale houses, with the presence of the weekly market and the annual fairs playing a major role. However, over the whole period, the records do not allow one to give any exact percentages of people involved, except in 1608 when 5% of the 262 names recorded in *Men and Armour* are listed as maltsters.

Of around 560 probate documents examined, 36% show some connection to the two trades, either on a full-time, or more likely, a part-time basis interspersed with agriculture or trades associated with the selling of commodities, the leather trade or other service occupations. The manor court records also indicate that many were brewing for sale on a regular basis, either by licence or illegally. Many of the town’s families had long associations with malting and brewing on a considerable scale, whilst for others it is likely that it was dependent on factors such as demand from the market, and with secondary factors likely to be poverty, age, or status. Over 90 names, (only four women), 1500-1750, connected to malt houses, or who were holding quantities of malt, have so far been discovered. And as previously stated, there were around 10 malt houses, the majority attached to the leading inns. Records of brewing houses either held at death or referred to in a conveyance, number 46, (six in the hands of women), 1680-1750: all presumably used for brewing at some point, though they also seem to be the place to store unwanted, old clutter – shades of the modern garage? There must have been hundreds more ‘brewing spaces’ in the 500 years. However, Goding’s assertion that in 1729, a quarter of the houses in Cheltenham were malt houses is difficult to substantiate and it appears that he may have included other outbuildings, such as stables, barns and possibly brew houses in this figure.[114]

The sites of the major inns can be established as the majority were still in existence at a later date and appear on maps; though caution is needed as some inns moved their sites, or even two, by the same name, existing simultaneously – the *Talbot* was one. Alehouses are more difficult to substantiate, as no named ale house is recorded. However, inventory references to quantities of hogsheads, half hogsheads,

barrels, glass bottles and pewter ware would seem to indicate that they were present – and offering the food as well as drink if the number of plates is to be believed. [115] That large quantities of beer were brewed and consumed is evident from the number of hogsheads and barrels recorded in the inventory of the *Bell:* its 27 hogsheads equate to around 6500 litres – true some of them were empty at the time!

The majority of the maltsters, often living in close proximity to the major inns, lived comfortable lives. Many appear to have resided in burgage houses fronting the Street. Their houses contained hall rooms, parlours, studies, a 'main' kitchen, with buttery and/or pantry, four or more bedrooms, often making good use of the roof space, and cellars. They possessed feather and flock beds, with valences and curtains, quantities of plate, pewter and brass, jointed furniture, wainscot panels, linen, table clothes, carpets and curtains, but there is no record of the latest consumer goods – no coffee or teapots, prints and very few books. The value of their apparel and the ready money 'in the purse' was considerable, and they could be owed large sums of money. They often owned or leased freehold and copyhold land, thus having a further income directly or indirectly from agriculture. Some had a third occupation: others were styled 'gentlemen', such as Richard Hyett, Thomas Packer, Walter Buckle, William Roberts and Walter Ireland. A few held positions of authority such as bailiff, under-bailiff or church warden. They were in this small market town those now often named as 'the middling sort'.

A view of a malt house, to the rear of a burgage plot, High Street, Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire.

The layout of this Campden plot repeats the layout of many burgage plots described in the Cheltenham manor court records. The rear of the long, narrow plot, often referred to as the 'backside', was developed with malt and brew houses, stables, barns with gardens or orchards. In Campden, the malt house, to the left of picture, now converted, is at right angles to the house. This long building is where the steeping and germination would have taken place. The kiln cannot be seen, but is where the main house abuts the malt house.

Image © Amber Patrick

Acknowledgements

I should like to acknowledge and express my thanks to John Chandler and James Hodsdon for their observations and suggestions which have been very much appreciated. Also to Amber Patrick for correcting my false assumptions on the details of the malting and brewing process, and the image of the Chipping Campden malt house.

Malting and brewing[116]

Malting was a process involving the artificial germination of grain, usually barley, and then its termination by killing the growth at a crucial point. Cleaned grain would be taken to a malt house, to be 'steeped' in stone cisterns - a process that needed easy

access to water. The water having been drained off and the grain was rested (‘couching’). The next stage was germination (‘growing’). This involved spreading the damp grain to a depth of between 5cm and 10cm on a floor, and could last between seven and 14 days. Careful surveillance was needed, and spreading or heaping was necessary to control the temperature and to prevent ‘bundling’ (rootlets matting together). The grain was then ‘kilned’, by applying gentle heat, this dried the grain and killed off germination. It was a highly skilled trade, needing considerable knowledge of the effects of temperature and humidity. Brewing began by grinding the malt and mixing it with hot water, (the ‘liquor’). This ‘mashing’, allowed sugars to be released from the starch. The resulting liquid (the ‘wort’), was then strained and the spent grain left behind. Herbs, or later hops, were added and the wort was boiled. The liquid was again strained, allowed to cool and put into a fermenting vessel, where yeast was added. When fermentation was complete, it was racked (strained from the sediment) and run off into casks.

While malting needed a dedicated area, often but not necessarily, a two-storey building, with a specialised kiln,[117] the majority of brewing, pre-1750s, took place in more domestic circumstances in the dwelling or in a brew house in the backside. Whilst malt making equipment, exclusive of the owning or leasing of a malt house, could be around £8,[118] brewing equipment could be as little as 50p.[119] The majority of the product would have been drunk as ‘small beer’, that is beer mixed with water. This was essential when many sources of water could be contaminated, as the river Chelt would have been. Many Cheltenham conveyances mention the right of free access to a pump - an important issue in a period when typically, several urban properties would share the same well.

Malting and brewing measurements: 1 bushel = 8 gallons = *c.*36.4 litres.
1 wey = 14 stones = *c.*90 kilograms. 1 hogshead = 238.5 litres.

[1] Brewing is again taking place in Cheltenham at the Battledown Brewery, Keynsham Street.
[2] Accessed via victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/explore/search/content/cheltenham (01/07/2015); also Hodsdon, J., (ed), *Cheltenham Manor Court Books, 1692-1803,* (Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 2010) GRS, Vol. 24.
[3] Accessed www.ancestry.com.uk; Gloucestershire Archives, microfilm records; Sale, A.J.H., (ed), *Cheltenham Probate Records, 1660-1740,* (Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1999) GRS, Vol 12.
[4] Accessed from St Mary’s Parish Records, Cheltenham 1558-1804, Compact Disc, (Cheltenham Local History Society, 2013).
[5] Sources disagree on the date when hops were first brought into the country, but agree that they were imported from the Low Countries.
[6] Some hops were grown in the vicinity, but it is likely that most were brought from Herefordshire or Worcestershire. A hop yard is recorded from 1679 to 1784 in Westall, Hodsdon, ref. 187.1, p.187 and ref. 2977a, p.398. Also at Winchcombe, D2202/2/9/3. Further information can be found at: http://www.britishhops.org.uk accessed 06/09/2015.
[7] Cider mills and cider houses are recorded in several probate records; Richard Hyett had a cider mill, with press and screw, Sale, pp.154-5.
[8] The majority of the properties were to the north of The Street. The burgage properties extended from what is now part of the Lower High Street to just short of Sandford Park. The conveyances of the properties are described as ‘North of …’ or ‘South of …’ the Street.
[9] Jones, A., *Cheltenham, a new history,* (Carnegie Publishing Ltd, 2010) pp.91-92, states that there were 526 communicants. A multiplier of 1.33 to include those not yet taking communion.
[10] Jones, A., pp.159-160, quoting Robert Atkyns.
[11] Jones, A., p.161, Bishop Benson’s Survey.

[12] For more information on the field systems see Cheltenham Local History Society, Journal 6, (1988), '*The Fields and Field-names of the Hundred of Cheltenham*, Barbara Rawes, pp.1-27.
[13] The Thursday market and the three-day St James's fair was confirmed by a writ of Henry III in 1226.
[14] Gloucestershire Archives, D7661/Box4/28, 1377-78*;* GA, D7661/Box4/29, 1384-85.
[15] The majority of the entries are for Cheltenham, with occasional entries for Bradwell, Ashley, Charlton Kings, Leckhampton and Bafford tithings.
[16] Sources differ on this point. Peter Clark, in *The English Alehouse, A Social History 1200-1380*, (Longman, 1983), argues that there was a strong link between poverty caused by poor harvests and temporary brewing, pp.22-3 and pp.74-7, while others quote government orders, in the 17th century, prohibiting the use of grain for malting during poor harvests.
[17] Clark, P., Chapt. 4.
[18] Accessed from The Assize of Bread and Ale, 51 Henry 3 [1266/7], via https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assize_of_Bread_and_Ale, (01/07/ 2015).
[19] Gloucestershire Archives, D7661/Box4/28, accessed (01/07/2015) via www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/explore/search/content/cheltenham. Punctuation has been added.
[20] The fines imposed at the manor court 27 April 1378 were particularly high.
[21] Gloucestershire Archives, D7661/Box4/28, 26 January 1377/8; 27 April 1378.
[22] Gloucestershire Archives, D7661/Box4/28, 27 April 1378; 6 May 1378.
[23] 'Beer' is the word used in the transcription, but in the medieval period it would have been ale.
[24] Gloucestershire Archives, D7661 Box4/28, 1377-78.
[25] In medieval time, the accepted indication of a drinking establishment was a long pole with a bush at the end. By Elizabethan times this was giving way to inn signs. Standard measures, the pint and quart pot, could be altered by the addition of pitch to the bottom of the vessel.
[26] DC/MR/GC8, May 1472.
[27] TNA SC2 175 27, 8 December 1515 and 6 January 1516.
[28] Worc RO, William Lane, 1501. The practice of leaving crops, goods and animals was relatively common, reflecting the scarcity of ready money.
[29] Worc RO, Andrew Grenyll, 1535 - author's underlining.
[30] Sale, pp.114-5.
[31] Sale, pp.86-7.
[32] PRO SC2/175/27 m8.
[33] Records of grain occur regularly in the inventories. Barley and wheat were widely grown in the area, and in some cases in considerable quantities.
[34] 'Maltster' has many variations – malster, maltman, maltmaker, maultman.
[35] There are one or two who are designated as maltsters and had no other discernible occupation; their inventory values were low. The White family is an example. It seems likely that they were 'retired' maltsters who had handed the day to day management on to others.
[36] Sale, pp.61-3.
[37] Sale, pp.163-7.
[38] The manor court books record their names in a fitful manner, but in the 1690s there was Walter Higgs and Richard Wells, April 1692 to October 1693; John Newman and Austin Halford October 1694 to October 1695.
[39] Possibly an indication of the changing values during the 17th century, including during the Civil War and protectorate.
[40] D855/M8, 1609.
[41] The National Archives, C116/143 pt1., source B.
[42] GA, D855/M8, 1611.
[43] *Deficat* from 'defecated' meaning freed from dregs and impurities, hence the greater price. Oxford English Dictionary (OED).
[44] *Men & Armour in Gloucestershire in 1608*, John Smyth. Facsimile ed. (Alan Sutton, 1980). Two of these are the sons of maltsters. This list recorded those who were of 'fighting' age, spanning those from 'around about 20' to 'those over 40', excluding those past the age for fighting, but not necessarily past the age of work.
[45] Parish records, St Mary's, Cheltenham, Book 2, March 1631-November 1653, GA, PFC 78/1. John and Giles were the sons of Thomas Cox; Richard Cox was probably a brother; there were several Robert Coxes.
[46] Parish Records St Mary's, Cheltenham, Books 3, June 1776-May 1703, GA, PFC 78/1; Book 4, June 1703-May 1745, GA, PFC78/1.
[47] As the families acquired wealth and status the term 'maltster' may have been replaced by 'gent' or Mr.

[48] Nineteen Cox burials in the parish churchyard are recorded between 1684 and 1767, Bigland, R., *Historical, Monumental and Genealogical Collections relative to the County of Gloucester,* ed. Brian Frith, GRS, Vol. 2, (BGAS, 1989)
[49] *Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities, 1819-37,* p.63, records that Giles Cox left £4 for boys of 'the meaner sort' to be taught reading and writing and for the apprenticeship of two boys, one from the parish and one from outside of the town. Giles Cox of Cheltenham should not be confused with Giles Cox of Abloads Court, Sandhurst who founded a much larger charity.
[50] Gloucester Diocesan Records, (GDR) 1588/269.
[51] GDR, 1609/109.
[52] GDR, 1611/144.
[53] Inventories only record goods and chattels, the contents of malt and brew houses. One cannot tell if the malt or brew house was owned or tenanted.
[54] Sale, pp.53-5, Mary Ashmeade, inventory value, £1030.94; Sale, pp.11-12, Edward Johnson, inventory value, £1673.96.
[55] Total household value was calculated on goods that would be stored in the interior, but excluded the value of malt, grain and cheese stored in the house.
[56] Weatherill, L., *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760,* (2nd ed. Routledge,1996), Appendix 2, Table A2.1 pp.209-211. Her sample included 2900 inventories from London, north-east and north-west England, east Kent, Cambridgeshire, Hampshire, north-west Midlands and Cumbria.
[57] That is quantities over 5 bushels, (40 gallons or 180 litres). The seven are: Sale, pp.195-7, pp.11-2; pp. 42-4; pp.49-50; pp.80-1; p.132; pp.142-3.
[58] Uteing, uting or yeuting stones were large stone troughs in which the grain was soaked.
[59] Sale, p17, Daniel Chestroe, brother of Anthony, bequeathed the *George* malt house, 1674, to his son.
[60] Excluding the money owed to him, a hefty £628.
[61] A silver salt – a small basin designed to hold salt. Often an indication of fine dining.
[62] Sale, p80. This is the only inventory that refers to an inn sign – 'The Signe of the Bell belonging to the house'.
[63] He was bailiff of the borough, 1694-5 and he also collected the farmed rents for the Dutton family, D678/1 E1/1/1-5, 3rd section.
[64] Hodsdon, p.xxxi, James Wood served two terms as bailiff, October 1701 to October 1703. His son, William, was Bailiff from 1725 to at least 1729. There were other Woods who were maltsters in Gloucestershire, but so far no link has been established between James Wood of Cheltenham and the others.
[65] Self, S.P., 'Pigsties or a green silk satin suit? Cheltenham 1660-1740', unpublished assignment, Advanced Diploma in Local History Via the Internet, 2007.
[66] Sale, pp.5-6, although styled a 'yeoman', the value of his inventory would normally place him as a 'husbandman'.
[67] The meaning seems to come from the verb, 'roche', to pull or tear apart, OED, accessed 06_10_15.
[68] Goding, Chapt. 6, p.58 quoting an order of 15 April Jac 12 [1614].
[69] Ibid, 18 October Jac 10 [1609].
[70] Ibid, Chapt. 6, p58.
[71] TNA, WO 30/48, Abstract of a particular Account of all the Inns, Alehouses in England with Their Stable-Room and Bedding In the Year 1686. For comparison, Cirencester could offer 109 guest beds.
[72] Inns would be expected to provide food, beds and stabling: the majority of ale houses would only provide ale or beer and possibly rudimentary food and accommodation.
[73] PRO SC2/175/27 m8. Henry again features when 'Reginald Clerke and Richard Bradburn broke into the house of Henry Corston through a hole in the roof [and took] 2 ladies [?gowns] decorated with silver thread'!
[74] Thomas Milton at the Crown in 1608, *Men and Armour*.
[75] For more information on this incident see Hart, G., *A History of Cheltenham',* (Leicester University Press, 1965) or D855/M8, 1611. The *Crowne,* may or may not be the *Crown* which later became the *George* and was situated opposite the *Plough* to the north of the Street.
[76] Sale, p.87.
[77] Hodsdon, ref. 1072, p.163. This skittle alley should not be confused with Bowling Alley Lane which was to the south of the Street.
[78] *Ram Inn, Fleece, Cross keys, Old Swan, Plough, Swan, Bell, 8 Bells,* Map of the Houses and Lands in Cheltenham and Swindon, Corpus Christi, Oxford, article 'A 1787 map of Cheltenham', Hodsdon J., Journal **15**, (Cheltenham Local History Society, 1999).

[79] The 1800 map names the *George, Plough* and *Fleece.* The position of other inns has been indicated on the annotated maps. Greet, C., & Hodsdon, James, *Cheltenham Revealed: The 'Town and Tithing' Plan, c.1800,* (Cheltenham Local History Society, 2012), Sections 8, 9 and 10.
[80] Verey, D., (series ed. Pevsner, N.) *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire, The Vale and the Forest of Dean,* (Penguin, 1970), 1st edition, pp.145-6. The 3rd edition, Vol. 2, (2002) leaves out this statement and refers to the *Plough* as 'always the most important [inn] in the town'.
[81] Glevensis 13 (1979) p.41; Glevensis 17 (1983) p.42. The area investigated was a very narrow strip 340m by 60m, so this is inconclusive evidence.
[82] Glevensis 13, 1979 p.41, B Rawes, 'The Plough Hotel Cheltenham'.
[83] D2025/Box112/Bundle1 (part), an abstract of title recording deeds from 1703 makes no mention of a malt or brew house. However, there are several conveyances, Manor Court Rolls, for brew houses to the south of the Street, and it is likely that one at least was in the *Plough* yard: Hodsdon, ref.218, 485, 1475, 1945 and 2118.
[84] Advertisement May 1725, *The Morning Post* quoted in Goding p.246.
[85] Sale, pp.17-8, his will gives a description of the layout of the *George* and its yards, which can be compared to the map, Town and Tithing, Section 9 p.37.
[86] Hodsdon, ref.no. 3055, p.408, April 1786.
[87] Advertisement, Whitehall Evening Post, 28 Feb-2 Mar,1751
[88] Elizabeth White, Gloucester DR 1660/1/4.
[89] Hodsdon, ref.no. 21, p12; also Giles Ashmead, Sale, p.85-6; John Ashmead, Sale, p.112.
[90] Hodsdon, ref.no. 2138, p290.
[91] Hodsdon, ref.no. 126, p.36; ref. 594, p.113; ref. 983-5, p.154 and others.
[92] Hodsdon, ref.no. 1176, p.174; Giles Head, GDR1735/154; Hodsdon, ref.no. 1492, p.214; Hodsdon, ref.no. 1602, p.227; Hodsdon, ref.no. 1634, p.231.
[93] Greet, C., and Hodsdon, J., Section 9.
[94] D2025: Box56/Bundle1 (part); Box58/Bundle4 (part); Box60/Bundle4 (part); Box63/Bundle5 (part).
[95] Hodsdon, ref.no. 1141, p.170.
[96] Hodsdon, ref. no. 1186, p.175.
[97] Sale, pp.119-20.
[98] Hodsdon, ref.no. 2206, p.300 and sequels.
[99] Hodsdon, ref.no. 742, p.129.
[100] Hodsdon, ref.no. 2103/4, p286.
[101] Hodsdon, ref.no. 2402, p.325.
[102] Hodsdon, ref.no. 1326, p.194; ref.no. 2705, p.365.
[103] Hodsdon, ref.no. 2229, 29 October 1751 refers to 27 October 1679; also Greet, C., and Hodsdon, J., *Cheltenham Revealed, The 'Town and Tithing' Plan c.1800'* Plan, (CLHS, 2012), p.62.
[104] Plan of the *Dog* and Theatre passage, D2025/Box37/2. The *Dog* was owned by John Bowles Watson, owner of numerous theatres.
[105] Variously named Mill Lane, Bull Lane and Humphris Lane.
[106] Hodsdon, ref.no. 1855, p.258.
[107] Greet, C., and Hodsdon, J., Section 8, p.49.
[108] Hodsdon, ref.no. 3231, p.430.
[109] Hodsdon, ref.no. 216, p.57; ref.no. 278, p.68; Hodsdon, ref.no. 485, p.101; and others
[110] Greet and Hodsdon, section 11, p.59 and p.63.
[111] Hodsdon, ref.no. 1652, p.234.
[112] Hodsdon, ref.no. 1924, p.266.
[113] It should be remembered that only those who possessed goods or chattels of sufficient value needed to have an inventory. The majority of the inhabitants, for whom no records exist, would have been agricultural labourers or servants.
[114] Goding Chapt 14, p244. His statement is based on a rate book (1729). Malt houses with stables and out-houses were all rated and these together may well have totalled around 25% of the town's buildings.
[115] Sale, p.172
[116] Sambrook, P., *Country House Brewing in England 1500-1900,* (The Hambledon Press, 1996), is one of several books that will give a good introduction to the subject.
[117] The bulletins of the Gloucestershire Society of Industrial Archaeology, have several very helpful articles on malt houses, in Gloucestershire.
[118] Sale, p.120
[119] Sale, p. 67

John Joyner, Photographer and Artist

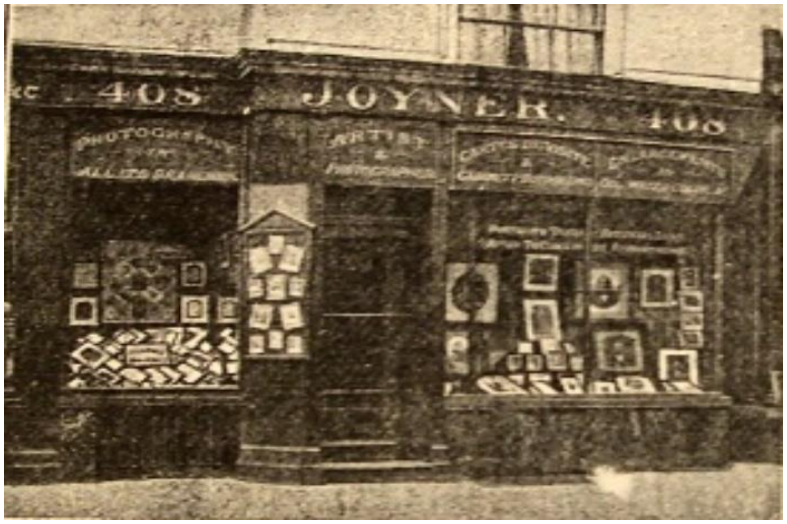
ERIC MILLER

John Joyner (1833-1901)
Image courtesy of Cheltenham Local Studies and Family History Centre

CHELTENHAM'S RESIDENTS WERE AMONG THE FIRST to want their portraits taken when photography became a commercial proposition in the 1840s. The earliest photographers in the town regarded themselves as 'Artists'. In *Slater's Directory* for 1858-59, for example, there were no separate entries for photographers, who came under the heading of 'Artists'; in that instance 12 out of 23 names were so identified. By the late 1860s more than 20 photographers were listed in the *Annuaires*.[1] Most of them had dropped out after a few years but one of the most enduring was John Joyner (1833 - 1901). His achievements truly qualified him as both a photographer and an artist, but he was of some note in the town and had wider interests too, as this article sets out to show.

Though John Joyner was not listed in trade directories before 1865, he says in his advertisements that his business had been established in 1863. He must have been practising the art even earlier than that, since in later publicity he boasted *'five medals obtained during the years 1858-60-61'*. These were local prizes awarded by Cheltenham School of Art[2], an achievement that reflects credit on one whose first employment had been as a paperhanger, according to the 1851 Census. Ten years later that was still his trade but he had also enrolled as a pupil teacher at the School of Art, where in due course he became a tutor, and he later described himself as an art photographer and portrait painter.

In 1851 John Joyner had still been living at his parents' home at 45 Norwood Street, but by 1861 he was married with an address at 4 Sherbourne Place. By 1865 he

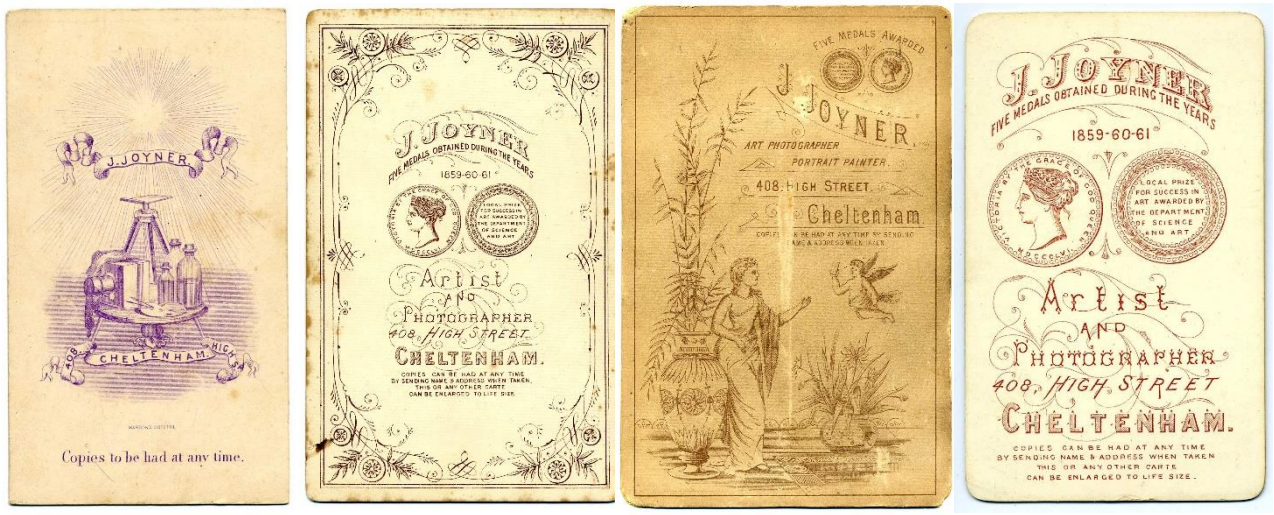


John Joyner's studio and family home at 408, High Street.

Cheltenham Annuaire
Image courtesy of Cheltenham Local and Family History Centre

had moved to 408 High Street, the family residence where he was to remain throughout his career.[3] The premises had previously been used by his older brother Edwin, a brush maker, one of several in the family, and John continued that trade as a side-line, selling brushes and combs.

During his career a number of different designs appeared on the reverse of the *cartes de visite* which he produced for his customers. *Cartes de visite* were portrait photographs mounted on card 2½in x 4in in size – marginally larger than the traditional visiting card – to be exchanged between friends and relatives and mounted in albums. Elaborate designs on the back, advertising the photographer's excellence, would have been supplied by a commercial printer.[4] Joyner used many designs over the years and a few examples are shown below.[5]



Some examples of the elaborately ornamented backs of the *cartes de visite* and other portraits.
(Note the photographer's equipment illustrated on the first of them.)
Courtesy of Ron Cosens – www.cartedevisite.co.uk

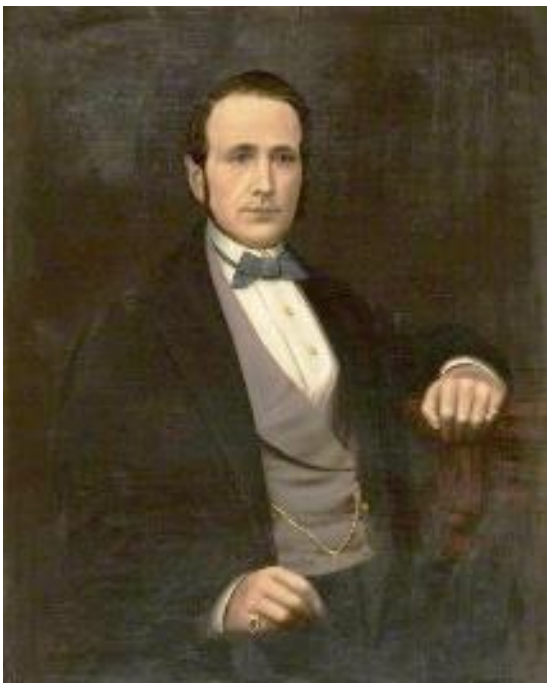
John Joyner worked closely with the engraver and publisher Edward J Burrow. In *A Pictorial History of Cheltenham and District* – an advertiser for local businesses published in 1892 by Walser and Grist of Hove – most of the illustrations were pen and ink drawings by Burrow based on photographs taken by Joyner. Particularly striking examples were of the Devil's Chimney and the Winter Gardens by Night, as well as the Gas Offices and Barnby Bendall's Depository complete with removal trailers. There was a photograph by Joyner of the sportsman W.A. Woof holding a cricket ball. The self-portrait shown at the beginning of this article is also taken from the book, in which it is stated that Mr Joyner would photograph single figures and groups, landscapes and equestrian subjects, and children and animals 'taken in the amazingly short time of the twenty-fifth part of a second'. His printing methods included silver, platinotype, autotype, sepia and carbon. He specialised in taking photographs at night, having invented his own technique of burning magnesium: 'large groups of more than twenty, as well as single figures, are rendered by it equal to daylight'. Enlargements even up to life size were available. Attention was also drawn to his art painting department. It will have been from there that in 1888 a trickster was reported to have stolen an oil painting, valued at £3.[6]

In another collaboration between the two men John Joyner supplied photographs and drawings for Edward J Burrow's own *Cheltenham Past and Present* (*c.*1900).

John Joyner was interested in new developments in other fields. He took photographs of the first railway in London to be electrified and his resulting lantern slides were used to illustrate a talk on 'The Wonders of Electricity' given by Mr H Matthews at the School of Science in 1890. One of the photographer's sons had made a model electric railway, which ran along one side of the lecture room and enlivened the proceedings.[7]

It was rare for the subject of a *carte de visite* portrait to be named, but there is one in Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum on the back of which a daughter has written *'Mr Rob^{t} Barnett, Pte in the 13th Co. of the Chelt^{m} Rifle Volunteers, Oct 1867'*. Another fine example shows a flautist holding what has been identified as a one-keyed flute in F. (Can any reader suggest his identity or the band or orchestra he might have played in?)

Left, an unidentified flautist, with a one-key flute, in F.
From the collection of Mike Brubaker-TempoSenzaTempo. blogspot.com



Right, Portrait in oils of the historian John Goding.
Courtesy of Cheltenham Trust and Cheltenham Borough Council

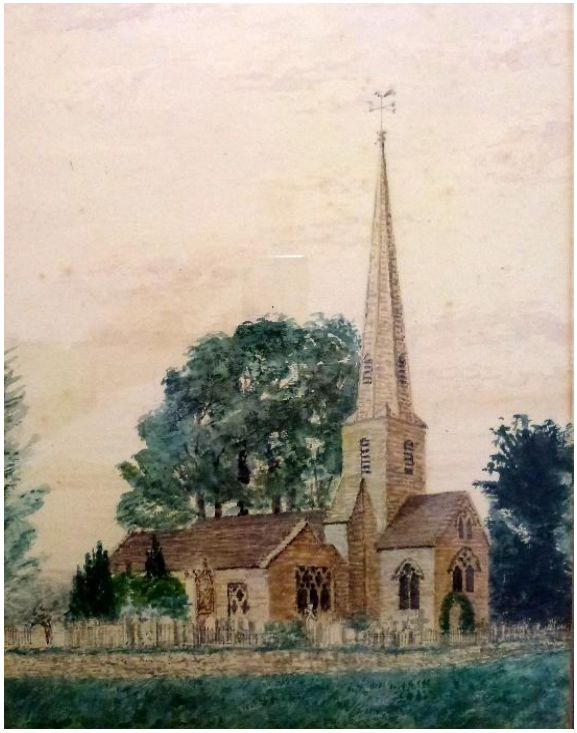
Perhaps the most significant of his portraits was an oil painting of John Goding (1816 - 1879), the great historian of Cheltenham. The two will have known each other well, as both were Unitarians and were Liberal in their politics (though Goding was the more extreme)[8]. For over 40 years he was a member the Bayshill Unitarian Church, during much of the time serving as its secretary. On the occasion of his marriage in 1895 (his first wife having died the previous year) he was presented with a purse of gold and an illuminated address.[9]

John Joyner was named as a shareholder in the Cheltenham Liberal Club[10] and in 1898 was one of the declared supporters of the Liberal candidate for the South Ward in the Town Council elections.[11] However, according to his obituary, 'he never aspired to a position of public trust'.[12] He regularly attended and spoke at meetings of the Cheltenham Debating Society, and his concern for the public welfare was reflected in

a letter he wrote to the *Cheltenham Examiner* about the connection between the poor state of the town's drainage and the prevalence of fevers[13].

He no longer took an active part in his business after 1898. His old studio was taken over by George Evans, an already well established photographer, though the Joyner name remained over the shop until at 1908. Joyner and his wife and a grand-daughter moved to *Lindenville*, an elegant detached house in Leckhampton Road.

John will have made himself known to the parish priest at Leckhampton, the Reverend Clifford Aston, who wrote in the Leckhampton Parish Magazine in November 1900 that, *'Mr Joyner (recently settled in Leckhampton) has presented a painting in watercolour of the old [Leckhampton] Parish Church. He copied it from a photograph taken in 1862, before the church was enlarged.'* It is one of the few illustrations showing the building in that earlier state. This and a companion picture showing the enlarged building together with a sepia photograph of the church were rediscovered a few years ago and have been donated to Cheltenham Museum, where they can be properly cared for and see by the wider public.



Left, St Peter's church, Leckhampton, prior to 1865: the oil painting presented to the church by John Joyner.
Right, the church after the enlargement of 1865.
Courtesy of Cheltenham Trust and Cheltenham Borough Council

John Joyner died on 2 July 1901, aged 68, and was buried in the churchyard at Leckhampton, the village of his birth. His second wife, who died in 1910, lies in the same plot (E.43). The funeral service was taken jointly by the Reverend Clifford Aston and the Reverend J Fisher Jones, Pastor of the Unitarian Church. In 1903, following his death, a brass tablet[14] was unveiled in the Unitarian Church in his memory.

[1] Those who were in business in 1865 are listed in *Capturing the Moment*, published by Cheltenham Camera Club, 2015.
[2] *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 28 October 1862.
[3] No 408 is now numbered No 92 High Street (in The Strand) and is currently occupied by the Farm Shop Café and Delicatessen.
[4] For example, A Marion & Co. of Soho Square. See Roger Vaughan's website http://www.cartes.freeuk.com/ for more information on this subject.
[5] A further nice example, in landscape format, was used to illustrate an article by Sue Rowbotham, 'Celebrating Cheltenham Photographers', Cheltenham Local History Society, Journal **31**, (2015).
[6] The court case was reported in the *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 2 June 1888.
[7] This will have been the City and South London Railway, now part of the Northern Line, which began operating electric services using a fourth rail system in 1890 (Wikipedia).
[8] For more on John Goding see Cheltenham Local History Society, Journal **12**, (1995/6).
[9] *Cheltenham Examiner*, 24 April 1895.
[10] *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 5 February 1898.
[11] *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 29 October 1898.
[12] *Cheltenham Examiner*, 10 July 1901.
[13] *Cheltenham Examiner*, 12 April 1882.
[14] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 26 July 1928 ('Echos of 25 Years Ago'). The church is now an auction room and the tablet has been given a protective covering, as a result of which the inscription cannot be seen.

Volunteering at Gloucestershire Archives

Architect's watercolour of proposed housing in Suffolk Square, *c.*1824
D2025/Box32/Bundle3 (part)
Courtesy of Gloucestershire Archives

A group of Cheltenham Local History members have been volunteering at Gloucestershire Archives for the last three years. They have been listing and entering into spreadsheets thousands of previously uncatalogued documents for the dual benefit of the Archive's digital catalogue and to assist the work of the Victoria County History editors, Alex Craven and John Chandler, for Volume XV Cheltenham. The majority of the work is routine, but we often turn up interesting documents such as this water colour of proposed housing in Suffolk Square.

Cheltenham's First Music Festivals

GRAHAM LOCKWOOD

THE ORIGINS OF MUSIC FESTIVALS CAN be attributed to the religious celebrations of the saints' days and, in particular, that of the patron saint of music Saint Cecilia. In late 16th century France, her saints' day in November also became a secular celebration of music itself and from such celebrations came music festivals, organised at other times of the year and usually with a charitable purpose.

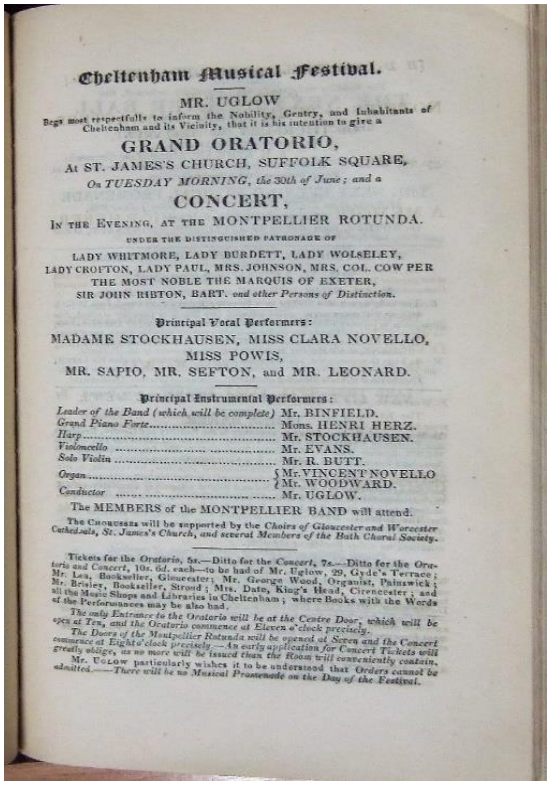
An early example in England was the first Birmingham Musical Festival held over three days in September 1768 with the aim of raising funds for the building of the Birmingham General Hospital. The second festival, with the same charitable purpose, followed ten years later and subsequently festivals were organised on a triennial basis. Until 1834 these were held in modest venues but the opening of the new Birmingham Town Hall that year ushered in an era of great expansion. Music festivals in Birmingham and other cities developed specific characteristics, including the celebration of the music of specific composers and abundance in the sense of lots of music, lots of performers and large audiences. They became manifestations of civic pride as well as a source of funding for local projects. Even the Annual Meeting of the Three Choirs, which had been going for over a century and had long had a charitable purpose, changed its name in 1838 to the Three Choirs Festival.

Cheltenham benefited from the relative proximity of the Three Choirs Festival in terms of both access and because a number of the soloists performing in those triennial events were contracted to stop over in the town to give performances. One of these appeared in the first Cheltenham musical event designated as a 'Music Festival'. This was on Tuesday 30 June 1835. Promoted as a music event *'upon a grand and extensive scale'* the whole festival programme consisted of just a morning concert of vocal solos and choral works in St James' Church and a miscellaneous instrumental concert at the Montpellier Rotunda the same evening. So it was a modest programme but still seen as an important initiative for Cheltenham organised by James Uglow, then organist at St James's Church. James Uglow was then still in his twenties but already playing an active part in a range of music making and teaching. He also saw a need for performances of orchestral music in Cheltenham and, in 1837, he set up the Cheltenham Philharmonic Society.

To give his event some credibility as a festival, Uglow ensured that the instrumental ensemble was on a large scale by Cheltenham standards and that the choir of his own singers was augmented by the choirs of Gloucester and Worcester cathedrals and the Bath Choral Society. Among his soloists was the young English soprano Clare Novello who was fast becoming a favourite in the town after her performances there following her first of many appearances as a soloist at a Meeting of the Three Choirs. When many years later, her farewell tour was announced in 1860, a fulsome tribute was paid to her in an article in Hale's *Musical Record.*[1]

Uglow's festival of 1835 may have been bold in its vision, but a few days afterwards an extensive review in the *Cheltenham Looker-On*[2] opined that the quality

of some of the performances, principally the choral singing, was found wanting and short of adequate rehearsal. The audience was disappointingly small for the morning concert but the evening performance was well attended and musically more successful. The featured pianist for that evening concert, Henri Herz, earned praise for his performances of two of his own works, including his piano concerto. Indeed at one point the same reviewer became quite ecstatic



Cheltenham Musical Festival.

MR. UGLOW

Begs most respectfully to inform the Nobility, Gentry, and Inhabitants of Cheltenham and its Vicinity, that it is his intention to give a

GRAND ORATORIO,

At ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, SUFFOLK SQUARE,

On TUESDAY MORNING, the 30th of June; and a

CONCERT,

In the Evening, at the MONTPELLIER ROTUNDA.

UNDER THE DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE OF

LADY WHITMORE, LADY BURDETT, LADY WOLSELEY,
LADY CROFTON, LADY PAUL, MRS. JOHNSON, MRS. COL. COWPER
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF EXETER,
SIR JOHN RIBTON, BART. and other Persons of Distinction.

Principal Vocal Performers:

MADAME STOCKHAUSEN, MISS CLARA NOVELLO,
MISS POWIS,
MR. SAPIO, MR. SEFTON, and MR. LEONARD.

Principal Instrumental Performers:

Leader of the Band (which will be complete) Mr. BINFIELD.
Grand Piano Forte..... Mons. HENRI HERZ.
Harp..... Mr. STOCKHAUSEN.
Violoncello..... Mr. EVANS.
Solo Violin..... Mr. R. BUTT.
Organ..... { Mr. VINCENT NOVELLO / Mr. WOODWARD.
Conductor..... Mr. UGLOW.

The MEMBERS of the MONTPELLIER BAND will attend.

The Choruses will be supported by the Choirs of Gloucester and Worcester Cathedrals, St. James's Church, and several Members of the Bath Choral Society.

Tickets for the Oratorio, 5s.—Ditto for the Concert, 7s.—Ditto for the Oratorio and Concert, 10s. 6d. each—to be had of Mr. Uglow, 29, Clyde's Terrace; Mr. Lea, Bookseller, Gloucester; Mr. George Wood, Organist, Painswick; Mr. Brisley, Bookseller, Stroud; Mrs. Date, King's Head, Cirencester; and all the Music Shops and Libraries in Cheltenham; where Books with the Words of the Performances may be also had.

The only Entrance to the Oratorio will be at the Centre Door, which will be open at Ten, and the Oratorio commence at Eleven o'clock precisely.

The Doors of the Montpellier Rotunda will be opened at Seven and the Concert commence at Eight o'clock precisely.—An early application for Concert Tickets will greatly oblige, as no more will be issued than the Room will conveniently contain.

Mr. UGLOW particularly wishes it to be understood that Orders cannot be admitted.—There will be no Musical Promenade on the Day of the Festival.

Cheltenham Looker-On Vol. 61, p.43,
27 June *1835*
Courtesy of Cheltenham Local Studies and Family History Centre

> *'... Mr Herz waved his hands rapidly one over the other, in the most dexterous and extraordinary manner, and in one of his cadences produced an effect such as we never recollect having heard before from a piano forte; by the judicious management of the pedals, he gave a close imitation of the softest musical glasses, and afterwards of a musical snuff box.'*

Herz stayed on in town for a few weeks to offer both piano lessons and his own recital in the Rotunda on 4 August.

Sadly for Uglow, who had underwritten the financial outcome, that first festival lost money. Any disappointment he experienced with that outcome would be compounded a few months later when he was declared bankrupt, stemming from his failure to manage successfully his endeavours to supplement his income from playing and teaching by selling music scores.[3] Perhaps for this reason Uglow left Cheltenham for a while in 1842, but he was soon back and earned considerable respect from his local music colleagues and pupils. When over 50 years later illness eventually brought his teaching and performing career to an end, a special concert was arranged for his benefit by a number of local musicians. This was on 19 May 1890 and the driving force behind this event was J.A. Matthews, who now plays a prominent role in this story of music festivals in Cheltenham.

John Alexander Matthews started to make his major contribution to Cheltenham's musical life soon after he settled in the town, following his marriage to a Miss Woods in 1866. He was then 25 years old and had just been appointed organist at the new temporary church, built to cover the period from 1859 when the parish church of St Mary's had been deemed unsafe and closed pending restoration work. Over the next 60 years he became a leading figure in the musical life of Cheltenham. When Matthews died in May 1925 his obituary in the *Gloucestershire Echo*[4] covered many column inches and was headed 'Our Musical G.O.M' - Our Musical Grand Old Man.

The obituary describes his musical life which had begun well before he settled in Cheltenham. From being a chorister at Gloucester cathedral he became an organist

and a modest composer. He later developed a fine baritone voice, good enough for him to perform at the 1857 and 1859 Handel Festivals in the Crystal Palace which had, by then, been moved to south London from Hyde Park. The 1857 festival there was effectively a rehearsal for the remarkable 1859 Festival which celebrated the centenary of Handel's death. It was exceptional by any standards. The choir alone comprised 2,700 singers many of whom were amateurs following the boom in choral singing from the 1830s. There were 450 musicians in the orchestra and the vastness of the Crystal Palace was needed to house these numbers as well as the huge audiences. Over 80,000 people attended the three performances.

When Cheltenham's Winter Garden was constructed in the late 1870s, Matthews must have seen that here was a venue in which he could hold a music festival that could replicate, on a smaller scale, those he had known at the Crystal Palace and which had continued to flourish after 1859. Cheltenham's Winter Garden in Imperial Square did not match the vastness of the Crystal Palace but it had large spaces and had been constructed with similar materials and design. Moreover, by 1887, Matthews had accumulated both the experience and sufficient musical resources to ensure a successful event, notably with his Cheltenham Choral and Orchestral Society, which he founded in 1870. This Society put on many concerts over subsequent years with a strong emphasis on oratorios, which had become very popular with the Victorians. For his choral concerts Matthews would secure good professional soloists and augment his choir and orchestra with singers and musicians from elsewhere. The society was to be under his baton for over 50 years from that 1870 foundation year. Its name was changed to the Cheltenham Festival Society at the time of that first festival in 1887.

J.A. Matthews at the time of the 1887 festival.
Courtesy of Mrs Patricia Young, his great great granddaughter

Once the festival programme had been announced, its large scale made an impression on the writers of the *Cheltenham Looker-On*[5] as well as providing them with an opportunity to comment on the unpopular design of the Winter Garden.

'... never, perhaps. have the general public felt so kindly disposed towards the originators and builders of our unsightly Winter Garden as they did on Tuesday evening when the whole length of the vast interior was utilised for the accommodation of the brilliant assembly who occupied it from end to end. The Orchestra also with its countless tiers of choralists, and a strong band of instrumentalists, presented in itself an almost unique and striking spectacle, the organ, especially erected for Mr. Matthews for the occasion, occupying a conspicuous position in the centre.'

That first festival began with a public rehearsal on the Monday followed by the first full concert on the Tuesday and two more concerts on the Wednesday afternoon and evening. In a remarkable foreshadowing of Cheltenham's first post-war festival in 1945, the opening concert featured a new composition conducted by its composer. The recently knighted Sir Herbert Oakeley who occupied the Reid Chair of the theory of music at Edinburgh and was also both a composer and accomplished organist, conducted one of his own compositions, a *Jubilee Cantata* marking the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign and specially written for the Festival. Matthews then took over the baton for a performance of the large scale choral work by Arthur Sullivan entitled *The Golden Legend*. Based on a Longfellow poem, this composition had been written for the Leeds Festival in the previous year and had already been performed in Cheltenham by Matthews and his choir earlier in 1887. This repeat performance in the Winter Garden festival was well received.

Another major highlight of that first festival was a performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* on the Wednesday afternoon in the presence of a robed Mayor and Corporation and a full house. According to *Cheltenham Looker-On* of 29 October 1887 those giving the performance came from *' ...a vocal and instrumental array of professional talent heretofore unattempted either in the Winter Garden or the Assembly Rooms'* The orchestra was said to number 300. The festival concluded that evening with a mixed programme of instrumental works, operatic arias and other songs. At the end an Illuminated Address was presented to Matthews by Sir Herbert Oakeley, shortly to become President of the Music Festival. Oakeley added that he had watched with satisfaction the musical career of Matthews who had now established a musical reputation for Cheltenham which was richly deserved and reflected in the support given to the festival just concluded.

Some idea of the height, construction and materials used to build the Winter Gardens can be gained from this photograph – making it so unsuitable for music.
Image © Roger Beacham from a picture supplied by Kenneth Hamlett

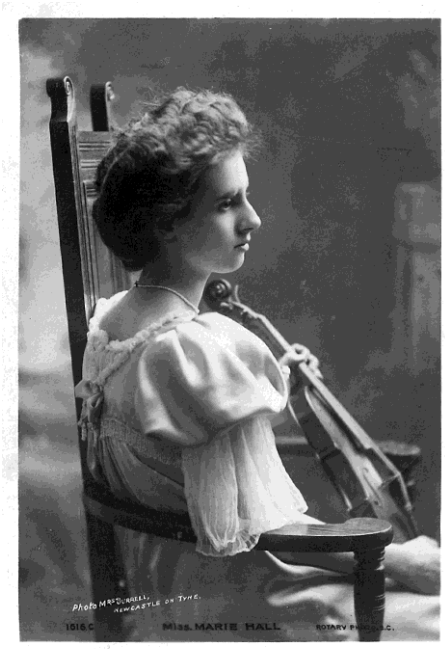
Following that success Matthews, directed two more festivals in the Winter Garden in 1890 and 1893. Each time the musical resources were increased from that initial 300 to 400 and 500 respectively and for the choral works the Festival Society choir was again augmented with singers from other choral societies in the county. These impressive forces massed to perform such works as two versions of *Stabat Mater* - by Rossini and Dvorák respectively - and the *Messiah* on all three occasions. The performance of the *Messiah* in 1893 was enlivened when the tenor soloist cancelled at the last moment. It was realised, belatedly, that his stand-in was scheduled to arrive after the concert finished. The day was saved by a volunteer from the choir.

The civic importance of each festival was recognised by the presence of the Mayor and other dignitaries from the Cheltenham Corporation and a recurring comment

in the critical reviews of all three festivals is that the large space of the Winter Garden was invariably full, despite its reputation as a poor venue for serious music. It had major comfort deficiencies and an acoustic that was poor at the best of times. For the music festivals, efforts were made to improve the austere interior. In 1890, for example, the walls were *'....beautifully fluted in pale green and pink, the pillars in white, the windows filled with panels painted in classic studies.'*[6]

It is hard to judge what the size of the audience seating capacity of the Winter Garden would have been, after allowing for the space taken up by the choir, orchestra and organ. However, the audience numbers were clearly large by Cheltenham standards. In 1893 the *Cheltenham Chronicle* [7] reported that the bookings showed that visitors to the festival had travelled from all over the country. The festivals also had a charitable purpose and collections were taken every day to benefit local charities. The newspaper noted that nearly £39 had been raised over the four days of the 1893 festival. This was slightly lower than the £46 collected in 1890 but these amounts are probably within the range of £3,500 to £5,000 at 2016 values.

The fourth triennial festival under Matthews took place in the Assembly Rooms in early November 1896. The change of venue was attributed to the Winter Garden being no longer available for large gatherings, although later events showed this was a temporary situation. The festival followed the format of its predecessors. There were new compositions written for the festival and each conducted by the composer, including *Morning* by Iliffe, *Spanish Scene* from Edward Elgar, part songs from H.J. Taylor and a choral work from Herbert Brewer. But major traditional works again were featured, notably Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, the first part of Haydn's *Creation* and, once more, Sullivan's *The Golden Legend*.



Marie Hall – 1905
© *Sue Rowbotham*

Despite claims that the band and choir were made up of 300 performers, that audiences were large and that special trains were again running from many places, there is a sense that this fourth festival was a scaled down version of the Winter Garden years. For whatever reason, Matthews promoted no more such festivals, although he continued to organise subscription series of concerts given by the Cheltenham Festival Society.

Nevertheless, the idea of a music festival, lived on in Cheltenham. On the afternoon of Saturday 24 October 1903 a concert, promoted as 'The Great County Music Festival', was given by the Queen's Hall Orchestra under Henry Wood, who was riding high in public esteem following the launch of the Promenade Concerts at the Queen's Hall in 1895. Henry Wood had also engaged the 19-year-old Marie Hall as the soloist to play Paganini's Violin Concerto, which she had performed triumphantly in London a few weeks earlier. Marie Hall was later to become a resident of Cheltenham following her marriage in 1911.

For its Cheltenham concert the Queen's Hall Orchestra was, according to the *Cheltenham Looker-On* ,[8] coming fresh - hardly an apt word in the circumstance - from playing in the final London Promenade concert the previous night and was going back to London after the concert, presumably by train. This would seem to leave little time for rehearsal in the Winter Garden of a programme that the journal described as modern, probably referring to Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony composed just a decade earlier.

Had he still been alive, James Uglow, who in the 1830s had been an advocate of more orchestral music in Cheltenham, would have been pleased to read, a week after the Queen's Hall Orchestra concert, that *'It cannot be denied that orchestral music is beginning to have a meaning for many to whom formerly it meant nothing'*. Attributing this to the regular concerts given in Cheltenham by the Philharmonic Society and others, it goes on *'If it were not so, over four thousand people would not have welcomed the Londoners in the Winter Garden last Saturday'*.[9]

Festivals on the grand scale continued at the Crystal Palace into the 20th century and many others on a much smaller scale were launched elsewhere. Some focused on a theme or composer. In Cheltenham there was one such day in March 1927 which, although not promoted as a festival, carried the same esteem and civic standing. The townsfolk of Cheltenham belatedly recognized the talent and fame of its locally born composer, Gustav Holst, who had achieved international fame following the composition of *The Planets*, first performed a few years earlier. The City of Birmingham Orchestra gave two concerts consisting wholly of Holst's compositions and conducted, in turn, by Adrian Boult and the composer. Holst wrote later that he had found the whole experience very moving and memorable.

So, when a new series of annual music festivals was promoted by the Town Corporation in June 1945, it was building upon a foundation of music festivals dating back over a century. With its platform for new music by British composers, opportunities for young artists and a sequence of exceptional festival directors, Cheltenham Music Festival soon attained an international reputation which it has retained for more than 70 years without a break.

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[1] Hale's *Musical Record* 7 May 1860.
[2] *Cheltenham Looker-On*, (hereafter cited as CLO) 4 July 1835.
[3] Announced in the London Gazette as quoted in the *Morning Post* of 20 February 1836 p2.
[4] *Gloucestershire Echo*, 5 May 1925.
[5] *CLO*, 29 October 1887.
[6] *CLO*, 1 November 1890.
[7] *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 31 October 1893.
[8] *CLO*, 24 October 1903.
[9] *CLO*, 31 October 1903.

'… an Intolerable Croud in the Streets …' the Correspondence of William Baker

ALEX CRAVEN Contributing Editor, VCH Cheltenham

Editor's note: This extract, from a letter, 6 August 1788, written by William Baker of Bayfordbury (1743-1824) to his wife, Sophie, formerly Sophia Conyers, describes Cheltenham during the royal visit. It includes a description of the Great House[1], and refers to the poor state of the connecting roads.

'…if it had not been for an intolerable Croud in the Streets of the Place attending a Fair, I should have supposed Cheltenham (notwithstanding Royalty) to be the quietest & most airey place in the World, for nothing can exceed the Lodging I am in, in both those respects.

It stands entirely out of the Town,[2] on which however it looks from the Front, & on the church, a very pretty Building, with the Interval of one Field. This is to the North – The Rooms to the South, look entirely over the Fields which lye between the Town & Falconberg House, & over the Walk leading to the Wells in an Oblique View, but at much Distance as not to be incommoded with the Company, but commanding them at a reason Distance, as a pleasing object… the Royal Family quitted the Place this afternoon at five in order to attend the Musick Meeting at Worcester tomorrow & the two following Days, & are expected to return on Friday even[in]g. The Inclosed Scetch[3] will give you some idea of the Disposition of our apartments – which are all on one Floor, that is, up one pair of stairs. The Stair Case an extraordinary good one, & belonging entirely to ourselves.'

Rooms are described as *'… a Commodious papered Room, ab[ou]t 18 by 15 to be used as a Sitting Room',* with four bedrooms, a kitchen, and two rooms for servants. '*The other wing is occupied by another family, and the ground floor by a third.*' He is concerned at Sophia's coming to Cheltenham with *'the Boys'* in two phaetons. *'… The Roads, especially on this side of Oxford … is [sic] so Hilly steep & shaking that I should dread the consequences to yourself in so light & open a carriage with two such volatile spirits to manage.'* Even in the post chaise he felt uncomfortable.[4]

[1] See also article, 'The Great House Delineated', Jones, Anthea, Cheltenham Local History Society, Journal **30,** 2014.

[2] The site of the Great House was not always 'entirely out of town'. It stood on the site of St Matthew's church. Erected in 1730, on or near the site of the Court House, the Great House was the 'centre of Cheltenham's social life for over 100 years', (Hodsdon, J., *An Historical Gazetteer of Cheltenham,* (BGAS, 1997) quoting, Hart, G., *History of Cheltenham,* p.122.

[3] The sketch is apparently lost.

[4] Hertfordshire Archives, DE/Bk/C24/1-4, 'Correspondence of William Baker of Bayfordbury, Hertfordshire'.

Recent Books and Articles on the History of Cheltenham - 2015

STEVEN BLAKE

Adams, Jane M., *Healing with water. English spas and the water cure, 1840-1960*, Manchester University Press, 2015. 290pp. £70.00 [includes many references to Cheltenham].

Austen, Catherine, *Little Book of Cheltenham*, G2 Entertainment Ltd., Hextable (Kent), 2014. 128pp. £9.99 [re Cheltenham Racecourse].

Beacham, Roger, *Prestbury: A Walk Through Time*, Prestbury Local History Society, 2015. 34pp. £2.00.

Bradbury, Oliver, *Sir John Soane's Influence on Architecture from 1791. A Continuing Legacy*, Ashgate Publishing, Farnham (Surrey), 2015. 455pp. £70.00. Includes information on two early 19th-century Cheltenham architects: William Jay and George Underwood.

Cheltenham Camera Club, *A Year and a Day. A Portrait of Cheltenham*, published by the Club, 2015. 79pp. A photographic record of the town, taken by camera club members between September 2013 and September 2014, to mark the Club's 150th anniversary.

Costley, Nigel, *West Country Rebels*, Breviary Stuff Publications, London, 2012. 210pp. £20.00. Includes brief sections on the Leckhampton Hill Riot (page 118) and the GCHQ Trade Union ban (page 187).

Gilbert, Robin Taylor, *Those who served. Casualties of the Great War in a corner of Gloucestershire*, published by Shepton Dragon, 2015. 66pp. Covers Badgeworth, Shurdington, Bentham and the Witcombes; the section on Badgeworth includes Hatherley and The Reddings.

Godwin, Les, *Lifting the Lid. Inside Cheltenham and Tewkesbury Council*, The Choir Press, Gloucester, 2015. 628pp. £19.95 [local politics, 1970s-2014].

Jackson, Dennis, and Price, Monica, 'Decorative stones in the church of St Gregory the Great, Cheltenham', *Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club* **46.3** (2015), 297-308.

Lambert, Martin, and Martin, Colin, *Fifty Years of Swanbrook 1960-2010. A history of the services and vehicles of a Gloucestershire bus company*, published by the authors, 2010. 96pp. £9.99.

Munden, Alan (editor), *The Religious Census of Bristol and Gloucestershire 1851* (Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Record Series Volume **29**, 2015). Includes (pages 315-30) full details of the census for the Cheltenham District, including Cheltenham, Charlton Kings, Leckhampton, Prestbury and Swindon Village.

Nye, James, *A Long Time in Making. The History of Smiths*, Oxford University Press, 2014. 375pp. £30.00. A history of Smith's Industries, including many Cheltenham references.

O'Connor, David (editor), *Charlton Kings Local History Society Research Bulletin* **61** (2015). 60pp. Articles on Charlton Kings by a variety of authors, including Virginia Adsett ('Emergency Rations' [re WW2]); Ann Hookey ('Sir William Joseph Jordan PC KCMG 1879-1959'); David O'Connor ('The Gale Family: What's in a Name' and 'A Voice from the Past' [re Sir William Russell of Charlton Park]); David O' Connor and Colin Jamieson ('The Reverend William Spencer Phillips' [incumbent of St John's church, Cheltenham 1829-32]); David O'Connor and Beverley Wisdom ('The Gales of Charlton Kings – where did they go?').

Prowse, Sandra (ed.), *Capturing the Moment. 150 years of photography in Cheltenham*, Cheltenham Camera Club, 2015. 76pp. £7.00.

Tudor, Philippa, *Isobel Holst (nee Harrison). Gustav Holst's Other Half*, published by the author and available from the Holst Birthplace Museum. 70pp. £5.00.

The **Pittville History Works** website (www.pittvillehistory.org.uk) has a number of articles based on original research into the history of Pittville. These include '"No Vote, No Census": Pittville and Women's Suffrage', by Sue Jones; 'Retirement from the East Indies – in Pittville', featuring biographical notes on four Pittville residents with connections to India (Lewis Griffiths, Mary Chapman, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Groube and Juliana Charlotte McDonell), compiled by John Simpson; and a short biographical sketch of the architect John Forbes, by James Hodsdon. The site also contains a wealth of other information on Pittville people and places, including an ongoing project to include and analyse data from the census returns and directories for Pittville from the 1830s onwards, linked (with permission) to the relevant sections of the 1855-7 Cheltenham Old Town Survey.

The **South Town, Cheltenham Spa. 200 Years of Local Trading History** website (www.cheltenhamsouthtown.org) contains much new material on the history of shops in that part of Cheltenham and is being regularly added to and updated.

Gloucestershire Archives: Cheltenham New Accessions 2015

JULIE COURTENAY

Details of all new 'accessions' (or batches) of archives are added to Gloucestershire Archives' online catalogue within 15 working days of their arrival. Gloucestershire Archives is very grateful for these donations and deposits, and for news of archives held elsewhere, whether in paper or digital format**. Items * -** access is by appointment only – these records may not have been catalogued in detail yet or may need written permission from the depositor to view them

Website: www.gloucestershire.gov.uk/archives **Email:** archives@gloucestershire.gov.uk

All Saints parish records (additional): parish magazines, 2014 (Archives collection reference P78/2, Accession 13740)
Arle Secondary School, later Kingsmead Secondary School (addl): albums of formal group photographs of various forms and tutor groups, with pupils and staff shown identified (for Arle School, 1986-1987, 1987-1993; for Kingsmead School, 1996-1997) (S78/29, Acc 13809)
Cheltenham Art Club (addl): newsletters, 2014 (D11487, Acc 13875)
Cheltenham Arts Council (addl): 'Perspective' newsletters, December 1997-September 2015 (D9314, Acc 13827) *[we are missing some issues in this series – please contact GA if you have any you could donate to fill the gaps]*
Cheltenham Auctioneers', Surveyors' and Estate Agents' Association: minutes, 1912-1988; annual accounts, 1957-1987; other files [1950] (D13953)
Cheltenham Borough Council (addl): Local Development Framework appraisal and management plans for 19 "character areas" of Cheltenham, 2008, and Urban Design Framework revision, and supplementary planning document, 2010 (DC148, Acc 13710)
Cheltenham and District Orchid Society (addl): newsletters, 1998-2014 (D9447 Acc 13490)
Cheltenham and District Trades Council, later Cheltenham and District Trades Union Council (addl): minutes, 1985-2013 (D3614, Acc 13792)

Cheltenham Methodist Circuit (addl): Quarterly Guide of the Gloucester and Cheltenham Circuit October to December, 1928 (D2689, Acc 13888.2); photograph of Circuit hike, 1966; "Circuit Voice" magazines, 2004-2006; Bethesda Chapel Sunday School class registers, 1971-1972 , annual directories, 1959-1965 and 1999-2007, photocopy of "Bethesdonian", magazine of church young men's club, (1920), "The Link" magazines, 1995-1998 and "Outlook" magazines, 1999-2009; St. Mark's Chapel minutes, 1996-2007, cradle roll registers, 1961-1989, "The Messenger" magazines, 2000-2005, 2012-2014 and Girls' Brigade records, 20th cent; Wesley Chapel Guild annual magazines, 1932-1935 (D3148, Accs 13742.3 and 13742.4); list of ministers (1812)-1947 (D3418, Acc 13932.1)

Cheltenham Technical High School (addl): a history of the school entitled "Cheltenham Technical High School: origins and development 1907-1972" (SM78/2, Acc 13920)

Deeds for several closes of land, including Wilton House on the Lansdowne and Hatherley Roads, Cheltenham [part of Westal Court Estate] and The Tything, Alstone, near Cheltenham, relating to the Winterbotham and Venables families, 1837-77 (D13791); property known as Pittville Cottage, 31 July 1857 and 13 Pittville Parade, Cheltenham, 24 December 1863 (D13931); freehold villa and land situate in the Park, Leckhampton, 1854 (D13998);

Delancy Fever Hospital: annual reports of the Committee of Management, 1874-1883 (D13930)

Emmanuel parish records (addl): include PCC minutes, 1980-2005; annual meeting papers, 1996-2006; parish magazines, 1925-2008; financial and property records, 1970-2012; papers relating to parish boundaries, 1989-1996; papers relating to the ordination of women, 1992; parish profile, 1988; papers relating to the creation of the united benefice of Emmanuel and St Stephen, 1995; electoral rolls, 2000-2006; photograph album for laying of foundation stone, 1936; Sunday School register, 1974-1993; Mothers Union minutes, 1945-1948; Cheltenham Deanery Branch, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, minutes, 1949-1965 (P78/13, Acc 13746)

***Everyman Theatre** (addl): programmes and publicity material for productions, 1930s-2000s; newscuttings, 1980s; correspondence concerning proposed closure of Opera House and public support, 1959; production administrative files, 2008-2009 (D6978, Acc 13839)

Horsleys of Cheltenham, estate and insurance agents: sales ledgers relating solely to property for sale and rent by Messrs Horsleys and Co. Ltd, 1948-1952; other records relating to Gloucestershire properties primarily in Cheltenham and North Gloucestershire areas, including insurance registers of the Royal Insurance Company with details of use of properties, details of ownership and tenancy arrangements, types of policy in force and lists of personal effects for each policy holder, 1905-1971; ledgers of property for sale or rent, advertised by multiple estate agents, 1911-1977 (D13954)

Leopold's of Cheltenham, bakers and confectioners: business records including wage books, 1924-1982; minutes of Cheltenham Master Bakers Association, 1930-1961(D13870)

Morse of Cheltenham: register of productions at the Cheltenham Playhouse kept by **Vernon Morse**, drama teacher and long-time member of the Cheltenham Little Theatre, 1945-2006; scrapbooks containing programmes of productions by the Cheltenham Little Theatre Company, 1943-2002; scrapbooks compiled by Morse entitled "One Man in his Time", 1949-2007; photograph album presented to Morse by Cheltenham Operatic and Dramatic Society, (1989)-2007 (D13908, Accs 13908 and 13921)

Presley [of Cheltenham]: commonplace books compiled by **James E Presley** mostly recording religious and spiritual matters, early 20th cent (D13715)

Probert family of Cheltenham (addl): details of family history of Charles Richard Probert, 1912-2014 (D13735, Acc 13780)

Stayt of Cheltenham: autograph album belonging to **Ethel M Stayt** including verses, messages and drawings by friends and family, 1908-1913 (D13711)

Wood family of Cheltenham: includes correspondence, legal papers and notebooks recording family births, marriages and deaths covering 1811-1928, early 20th cent (D13704)

***World War One resource:** maps and database containing details of soldiers from Cheltenham compiled by local researcher D Drinkwater, 2014 (D13759)

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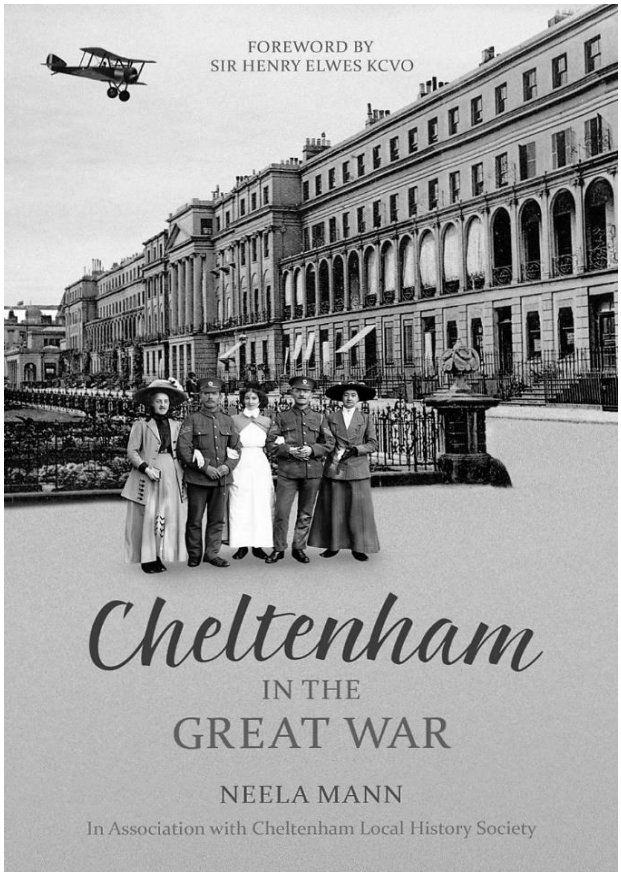

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