Cheltenham Local History Society Journal

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Contents

Cover Illustration: The Hyde, Prestbury - the site of the 18th-century Hyde Spa; from an original drawing by Aylwin Sampson. Beryl Elliott discusses the history of the Hyde Spa on pages 32-35.

Artwork by Aylwin Sampson

The now-demolished Fleece Hotel at the corner of High Street and Henrietta Street (formerly Fleece Lane), from an old photograph. Adrian Courtenay discusses the so-called 'Fleece Riot' of March 1840 on pages 36-41

Correction to Journal 5: in the article 'Printed maps of the environs of Cheltenham in the first half of the 19th century', page 34, the map shown is Lee's map of 1843 (No. 19 in carto-bibliography) and not the 1837 map (No. 15 in carto-bibliography) as stated. Please amend your copy accordingly.

The fields and field names of the Hundred of Cheltenham (with some notes on the early topography) Part 1 : the Parish of Cheltenham

INTRODUCTION

In an urban landscape, such as Cheltenham's, where almost all the fields have disappeared under development, there is little access to the early topography except through a study of the records of fields and their names. It is hoped that the following account will assist local historians to locate pieces of land they are studying. It must be regarded as a first attempt to describe the early topography of the tithings of the parish and will be subject to modification and change as more evidence is discovered from the sources. Putting the account together has been like working on a jigsaw. Some pieces are missing and always will be, so we will never see the complete picture; some are inaccessible to the writer because of the location of the records; but others have fallen into place and begin to show the outlines and provide a framework for future refinements. Much remains to be done. A glance at the Cheltenham Hundred section of Place-Names of Gloucestershire (1) will show how many field names, particularly those of early date, still remain to be located and understood. By no means all possible sources have been consulted, and much more study of court rolls, surveys, deeds and leases etc is required to expand and refine the models proposed below. If any reader knows of a field name not mentioned here, perhaps from a deed or abstract of title, the writer would be pleased to hear about it. All definite statements are based on researched and referenced material and it is hoped that it is clear which parts are speculative.

It is only in the last hundred years that it has been possible to describe the location of a piece of land by giving it a map reference. Our forefathers had to give a name to a place and describe boundaries. A typical description of a 17th-century land-holding follows: 'One land in Gratton furlong shooting north and south between the land of Robert Webb on the east and land of Walter Higgs on the west and butting on the way to Westall from Charlton on the north and on Gratton brook on the south containing 0 acres 1 rood 38 perch' (2). The location of Gratton (sometimes spelt Grotten) furlong is shown on Fig. 9; the 'way' mentioned is now Suffolk Road and shows the persistence of these old open field divisions.

In spite of the almost wholly urban nature of the area it is still possible to find traces of the earlier field systems. Property boundaries tend to remain unchanged as pieces of land are sold and, unless a very large area is purchased, development conforms to the existing alignments. For example, Montpellier Gardens conforms to the boundary of Red Acre Piece and, although cut by the railway, Maidenhorn Inclosure is defined by the present Marsh Lane, Marsh Gardens, Aldridge Close and Folly Lane (3).

It is still possible in certain streets to see the 'reverse S' of ridge-and-furrow ploughing where the ox-team pulled first to the right and then left to turn the plough at the headland. A particularly good example is near Westhall Green in the alignment of Lypiatt and Tivoli Streets; some roads leading north from St. Margaret's Road also show this curve. Certain roads and areas take their names from the field names. Examples of this are Kingsmead Avenue, Meerstones Drive, Whitecross Square and Rowanfield, though in the latter the original 'e' has been changed to an 'a'.

The layout of the field systems is by no means random. It is now believed that 'it is likely that the laying out of the open fields was substantially completed during the 8th and 9th centuries, continued pressures leading to their subdivision before the Norman Conquest' (4). The fields in the various hamlets of the parish of Cheltenham appear to follow a broadly similar sequence of development. In Arle in particular there is evidence of a planned layout in the alignments, (see Fig. 7) and certainly the soil type was a major factor in setting out the boundaries. By the 17th century a great deal of inclosure, particularly of freehold land, had taken place; a large number of closes are mentioned in records of this date.

The superficial geology of an area is obviously of great importance for its agricultural use. The whole of Cheltenham parish to the west of the Cotswold scarp is underlain by a stiff blue Lower Lias clay. There are numerous depressions in this clay which are filled with the wind-blown Cheltenham Sands and hill-derived gravels. In some places, for instance in Winchcombe Street, these deposits of sand are of very considerable depth (up to 12 metres). In other places, such as the land immediately south of Wymans Brook, the sand is quite shallow (less than 1 metre). The course of the Chelt through these deposits is filled with alluvium obscuring the original boundary between the clay and sand along its length. The only comprehensive discussion of the distribution of sand, gravel and clay in Cheltenham and neighbourhood is by Richardson (5). He states that 'the details have been acquired little by little over a period of at least ten years (c. 1900-1910). Their acquisition has been gradual because much of the ground is built over and temporary excavations in the road had to be awaited in order to see what was the nature of the underlying deposit'. In comparing Richardson's maps with field boundaries there is often a coincidence between the boundaries and the underlying soil types. It is now impossible to decide how much Richardson relied on field and property boundaries in making his map, but in view of his statement above, one must trust his evidence.

This coincidence of soil types and field boundaries suggests that in the original layout of the common fields there was an awareness of this factor. This is particularly noticeable in Alstone (see below). Sandy land is easy to work, but is susceptible to fluctuations in the water table due to seasonal variations in rainfall. Water drains very quickly through the sand to the top of the impervious Lias clays and in a dry year the moisture would be unavailable below the deposit of sand. In a wet season with only natural drainage the soil could become water-logged and sour with the water unable to escape through the Lias clay, especially where the sand is shallow. Thus the arrangement of the common fields according to soil type, where this option was available, would give strip-holders land of both clayey and sandy subsoil and even out the differences caused by variable water-retention and therefore productivity.

THE SOURCES

Most of the maps, plans and documents consulted are in the Gloucestershire Record Office. The Calendars and State Papers mentioned are in the library of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society and other material is located in the County Library's Gloucestershire Collection. I wish to thank both Record Office and Library staff for their assistance, in particular Mr. David Smith for his helpful suggestions. It must be emphasised that the field name sketch maps (which are based on the 1st edition 6 inch maps of the Ordnance Survey (1885)) do not show a contemporaneous picture as the dates of source material range from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century. Dotted lines indicate uncertain boundaries and approximate divisions into furlongs in the common fields. The chief sources used for the meanings of field names are A.H.Smith, Place Names of Gloucestershire (1965), Parts 2 and 4, (abbreviated as PNG) and John Field, English Field Names, A Dictionary (1972), (abbreviated as EFN). It should be noted that the element 'Leys' or 'Leaze' means meadow land, but that 'ley' can also mean a woodland clearing, or uncultivated land; 'hey' and 'hay' indicate a hedged inclosure; 'breach', land newly broken up and brought under the plough; 'ham' and 'mead', meadow land. In the lists of field names the meanings of self-evident field names, eg Barn Piece, have been omitted. Ownership names are most likely to change, though some, eg Maul's (Maud's) Elm, are remarkably persistent. A slight modification of sound sometimes occurred in the last century to 'improve' the name of the locality, eg Granley to Grandley. In the lists of meanings the number on the map appears thus (X) next to the name.

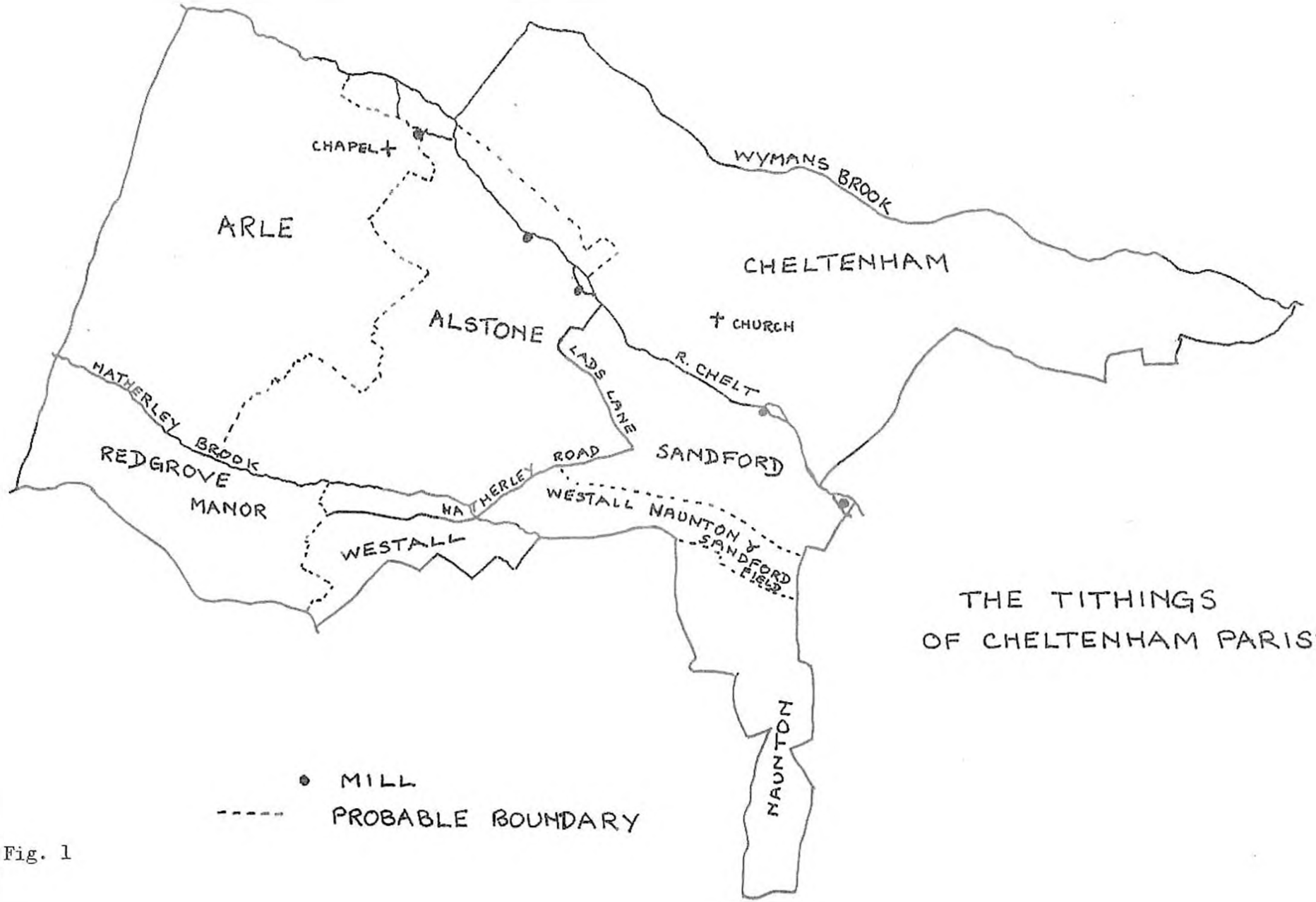
CHELTENHAM PARISH

Cheltenham parish was divided into three tithings, that of Cheltenham itself, Arle and Alstone, and Westall, Naunton and Sandford. The field systems of each tithing were in most part separate and will be dealt with separately. Fig. 1 shows the tithings and their boundaries. These boundaries show the antiquity of certain roads; eg Hatherley Road, which is the boundary between Westall and Alstone, and the back lane of Lansdown Terrace (formerly Lad's Lane) which represents the boundary between Alstone and Sandford.

THE TITHING OF CHELTENHAM

The tithing of Cheltenham stretches for just over two miles from east to west from the steeply rising Cotswold scarp edge with its typical upland pasture and scrub cover into the vale of the Severn. Here it lies on the very gently rising land between the River Chelt and Wymans Brook (and its northern tributary). Almost all the soil is sandy and although this made the land easy to work, it also made it very susceptible to drought in a year of poor rainfall.

The earliest post-Roman settlement at Cheltenham was probably close to the Parish Church, the Minster Church of the hundred. This stands about 375 m. north of the Chelt, up the very gentle slope above its alluvial deposits, on the easily cultivated sand. Recent excavations to the west of the churchyard on the site of the new library revealed some truncated features of the Iron Age, but no Saxon features or pottery. However such features could well have been removed by medieval and later activity.



THE TITHINGS OF CHELTENHAM PARISH

Fig. 1

From this nucleus the settlement probably spread eastward along the line of the High Street, towards the Abbot of Cirencester's grange at Cambray (6).

In 1226 Henry III took steps to develop the prosperity of his manor of Cheltenham. As well as the grant of a weekly market and yearly 3-day Fair, it is likely that this was the time when the burgage plots were set out to attract new inhabitants to the manor. The 1294 Extent of the Manor mentions 52 burgesses. In Norden's Survey of the Manor of Cheltenham (1617) (7), 62 separate burgage tenements are identified. Many are much smaller than the standard one acre, and in the confidential summary of his survey Norden states that 'Most of the burgages were dismembered into so many partes (sic) it is likely they cannot apportion their rates' (8). Some may always have been of a smaller size. Of the 62 burgage tenements only seven are said to be on the south side of the High Street, amounting to about 3 acres in area. These lie between what is now Ambrose Street in the east and Devonshire Street (formerly Elmstone Street, named for the burgage vested in the Churchwardens of Elmstone Hardwick who used the rents for repairing the church there). The plots range in size from the single house of John Mason, which probably lay at the corner of Ambrose Street and New Street to the 3 roods of Thomas Barnes, probably adjoining the Elmstone plot on the east. All the rest of the burgage plots appear to lie to the north of the High Street, stretching between the Street and the back lane (now Albion Street and St Margaret's Road). Besides suggesting a 13th-century or earlier date for the line of 'New Street', this also suggests that the south side of the High Street was already developed at the date when the plots were set out, especially in the areas around the parish church and old market place. and along the Street as far as Cambray.

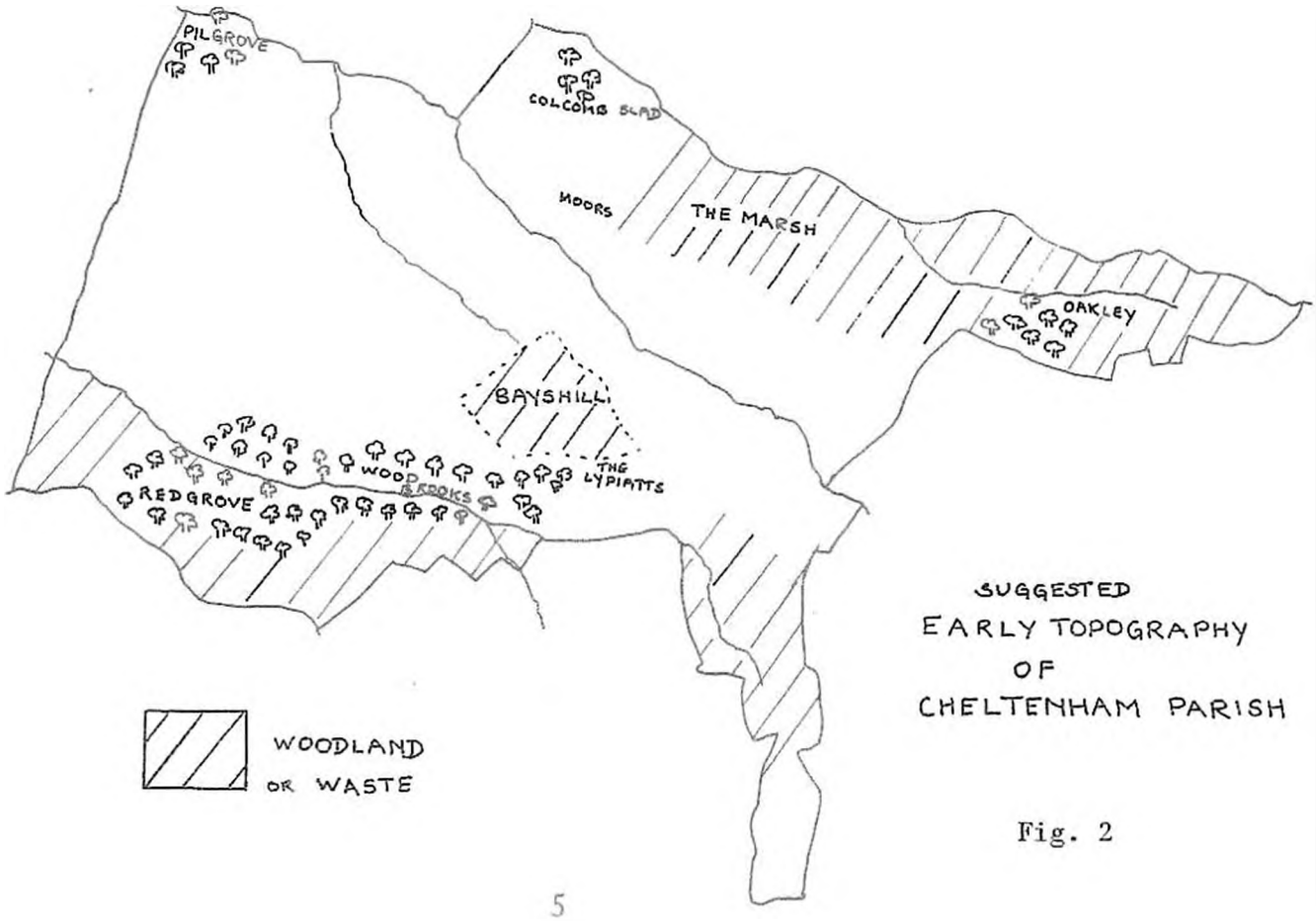


Fig. 2

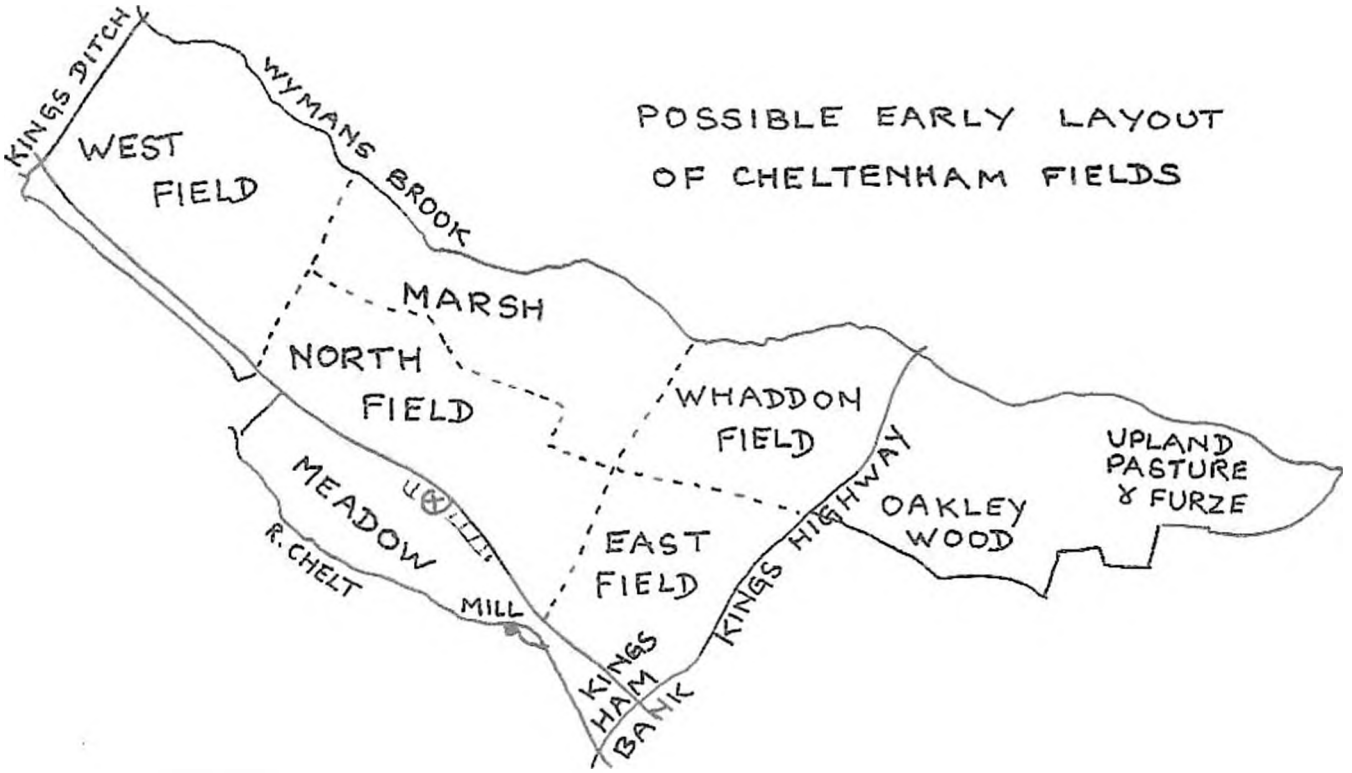


Fig. 3

Fig. 3 shows a model for the possible development of the common field system of Cheltenham tithing (9). We have evidence for the names East Field and West Field in the Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey. The name North Field survives in Northfield Terrace, part of an ancient footpath in that field. The Essex Estate, which possibly dates back to Domesday, owned land in all three common fields (10), which were divided up into strips in the usual way. All the common fields lay on a sandy subsoil; this area of sand comes to an end just over the Charlton Kings boundary in the east and becomes less deep the further north one moves. Land by the Chelt and Wymans Brook was meadow, as shown by the 'ham and mead' field names.

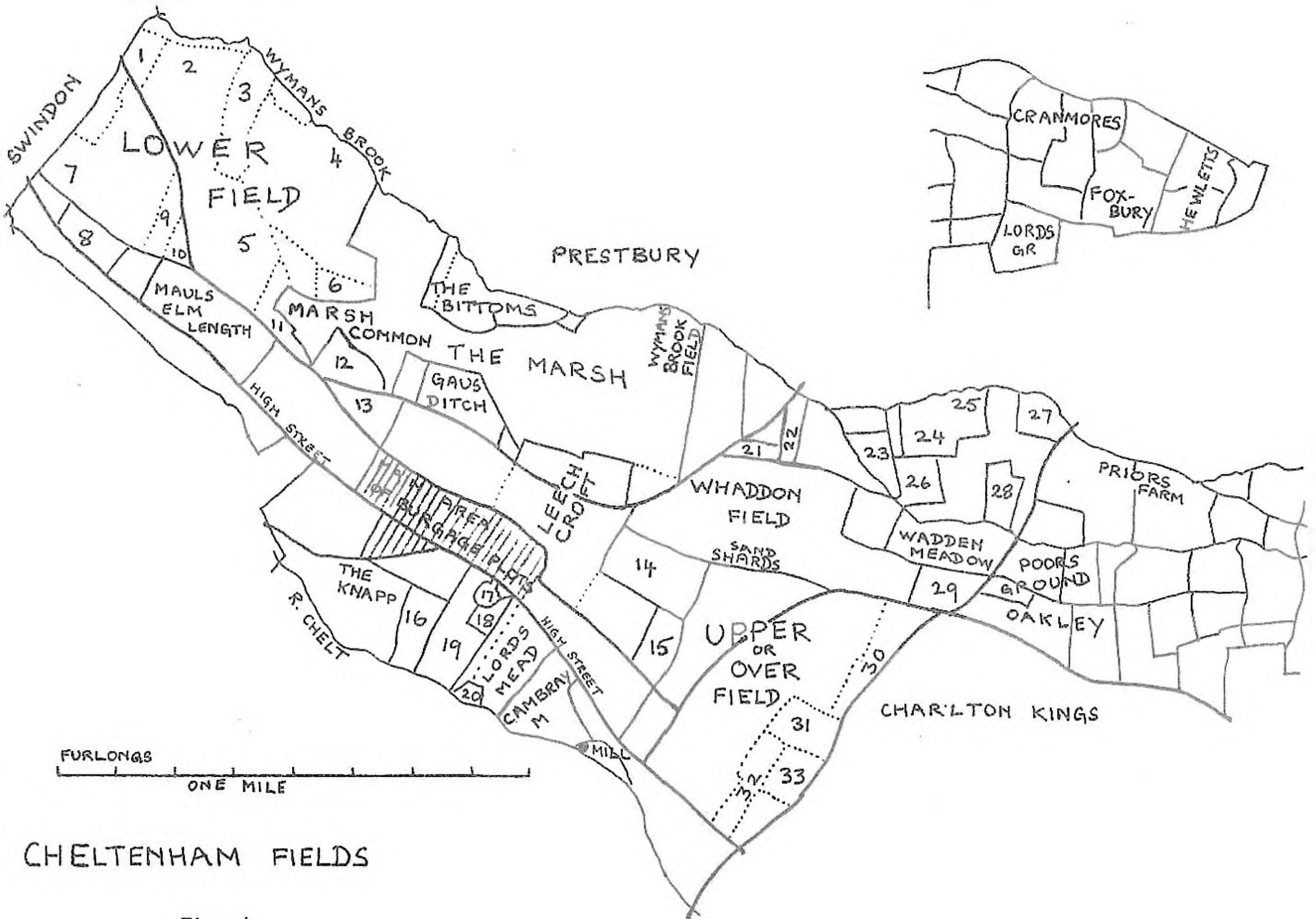
Whaddon common field may have been part of the original Eastfield, or was perhaps a later development when there was pressure for an increase in arable land. Two possibilities come to mind to account for the apparent four field system in Cheltenham tithing (which is paralleled in the Arle and Alstone systems) and an increase in developed land. We know of two occasions when there was a deliberate policy of developing the King's manor of Cheltenham. The first and more likely time was after the Norman conquest. The Domesday Book entry for Cheltenham suggests an increase in the productive arable land of the manor. The revenue more than doubled between King Edward's time and 1086 and by that date three mills had been added by King William's reeve. (It is noticeable that three mills are situated very near to tithing or parish boundaries; see Fig. 1).

The new mills would have required more cereal to keep them busy and a consequent extension of the arable land. The other occasion for deliberate expansion in the Cheltenham tithing was when the burgage plots were created in the 13th century, just before the Abbey of Fécamp acquired the manor and the pressure for development decreased. More than 50 acres were required to make the burgage holdings listed by Norden; all but three acres apparently lying to the north of the High Street. This land would have been taken from the original Northfield and a similar, even enlarged, area of arable would have been required to compensate for this reduction and the increased population. The strip system seems to have been less firmly entrenched in Whaddon and considerable consolidation of holdings and inclosure seems to have taken place by the 14th century. Northfield was later split into smaller areas of common field, known by their furlong names such as Gaus Ditch and Leech Croft.

Norden's Survey also tells us that the only common land in Cheltenham was a 20 acre area of 'moore or marshe called the Lower Marsh' (probably adjacent to the Lower field), and another 'moore or marshe' of 12 acres called the Lady Marsh, where the burgesses had rights to pasture beasts. One should not visualise a boggy area, or only occasionally so, in very wet conditions when the water table above the Lias clay rose through the sand. The name 'The Marsh' was attached to much of the area to the north of the town at the time of the Inclosure (1806), and a large part of it was probably always relatively unproductive pasture. However part of it may have been arable. In 1898 John Sawyer, using the Inclosure evidence, tells us that certain strips in a field called the Marsh 'were so small that hedges could not be planted between them and the divisions were to be distinguished by meer-stones. Some of these small strips still exist and so also do four of the meerstones by which their boundaries were marked' (11). The area near Evesham Road towards the brook was probably called Wymans Brook field. In the Cheltenham Hundred the name 'Moor' is used where peaty water-logged and unproductive soil is encountered. Richardson's maps of the soils in the area show that the few places where these conditions occur are 'The Moors' just south of St Peter's church on Tewkesbury Road, at Moorend in Leckhampton and Moorend in Charlton Kings.

To the east of Hales Road and Priors Road (the King's Highway) lay Cheltenham's woodland and upland pasture. The name Oakley (a clearing in a wood with oaks), is firmly attached to the land immediately east of the 'King's Highway'. A charter of Earl Walter of Hereford, dated about 1160 (12) confirms the grants made by his predecessors to Llanthony Secunda, of land in Cheltenham, including an assart (land newly brought into cultivation) of 8 acres at Acle (Oakley) given by Ralph the Butler. This gives a 12th-century date for active assarting on the marginal lands on the lower slopes of the Cotswold scarp. Llanthony's ownership is probably the origin of the name Prior's Farm and, if so, this assart lay just south of the parish boundary with Prestbury on the northern tributary of Wymans Brook. Norden tells us that by 1617 Oakley Wood was no more. 'The thornes and woods being now stocked and rooted up and the land now good upland pasture or meadow' (13).

Hewletts was probably sheep pasture from the earliest times. The field name 'Sheephouse' is found just to the east of the parish boundary (14) and continued chiefly as pasture until this century.



CHELTENHAM FIELDS

Fig. 4

The Field Names (Fig. 4)

Nearly all the field names on Figure 4 are derived from the Cheltenham Inclosure map and schedule of 1806, as are the reconstructions of the common fields (15).

Common Fields

Upper or Over	upstream, towards the hills.
Lower	downstream, away from the hills. Both names are still in use for the ends of the High Strect.
Whaddon	Probably hill where wheat is grown (PNG), though this does not fit the topography.

Furlong names and inclosures in the common fields

In Lower field -

Kingsditch (7)	A ditch defining the boundary between the King's manor of Cheltenham and Swindon.
Maul's Elm Field (9)	From the surname Maul/Maud derived from a diminutive of Matilda (PNG).
Cockham Slad (3)	A valley where charcoal was burned. (Colcomb in 1291) PNG. Woodland may have survived here in the Saxon period.
Holly Withies (5)	Probably a place where hollow, pollarded willow trees grew.
Maiden horn Piece (11)	A small, horn-shaped piece of land. This may have given access to the Lower Marsh common.
Maidenhorn Inclosure (12)	The 'Maiden' element is uncertain. There is a newspaper report of a suicide burial here in the early 19th century in which it was suggested that the area was frequented by prostitutes.
Derby's Pill (6)	The element 'pill' or 'pil' is related to 'arrow shaft, pile' (PNG), so perhaps means a place where straight wood could be cut, or may refer to the shape of the furlong.

In Over field -

Pecked Piece (30)	Peaked or pointed piece.
Kingsham (later Keynsham) Bank (32)	A bank near the parish boundary defining the King's water meadow.

In Whaddon field -

Cakebridge Piece (21) Keckbridge Inclosure(22)	Near the bridge over Wymans Brook, from the surname 'Cake'. (PNG).

Lammas Inclosure (8)	Land opened for grazing at Lammas tide. (1 August) after the hay harvest (EFN).
Great Lammy (25)	Possibly similar to above.
Oxleaze (27)	Grass land, usually enclosed (EFN).
Cow Leasow (29)	

In Northfield -

Gaus Ditch	A corruption of Goose Ditch.
Coneygree Common Field (14)	A rabbit warren, usually in a sandy area (EFN).
Leech Croft	Possibly a small inclosure (EFN) belonging to the Leech family. The 'inclosure' is not small, the name applies to a large area. A more likely meaning is that water 'leeched' away swiftly through the very deep underlying sand.

Other Inclosures

Laverham Meadow (16)	Rushy meadow (PNG).
Cambray Meadow	Named from the Cambray family (PNG). Possibly something to do with Cirencester Abbey.
Halfpenny Croft (20)	A very small piece.
Hewletts	Land belonging to the Hewlett or Howlett family (PNG).
Foxbury	'Fox Town'. Land frequented by foxes.
Cranmores	Moorland frequented by cranes or herons (EFN), or where cranberries grew?
Poors Ground (34)	Land invested in the churchwardens of Cheltenham for the benefit of the poor. About 15 acres of pasture (16).

Other fields numbered on plan

1. Bursetts Patch
2. Cheltenham Field Piece
4. Crabtree Furlong
10. Barn piece
13. Close Ends
15. Doctors Piece
17. Churchyard
18. Fletcher's Orchard
19. Church Mead
23. Whaddon Lammas Inclosures
24. Whaddon Inclosures
26. Whaddon Ground
28. Whaddon Leys & Lammas
31. 10 Acres
33. 12 Acres

THE TITHING OF ARLE AND ALSTONE WITH THE MANOR OF REDGROVE

The field maps are based on the Arle and Alstone Inclosure Map of 1832 and the common fields have been reconstructed from the evidence it contains (17). However, by this late date there had been so many inclosures and consolidations of ownership that it is not possible to reconstruct the complete picture. The names also tend to be last century, with older names surviving in certain areas (eg Bayshill) and as small separated sections of the once larger common fields (eg Wood Brooks).

ARLE

The earliest mention of Arle (Alre) is in the Cartulary of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, when Abbess Eafe held 20 hides in Alre (c. 680 AD). This is discussed in Journal 2 (18). It is likely that the Arle field system goes back to about this date and is part of a planned landscape, traces of which could still be discerned at the time of the Inclosure. Fig. 5 has been drawn to show the parallel layout of some major field divisions stretching over several miles. They run more or less parallel to the western boundary of the hundred and are prolonged to the north by the lines of Kingsditch and the western part of Swindon's boundary as far as Wymans Brook. The name Arle refers to alder trees which grow near water and the section of the river Chelt which forms the northern boundary was probably originally called Arle. This name for the Chelt persisted in Boddington until the beginning of the last century in 'Arle Meadow', bordering the stream (19).

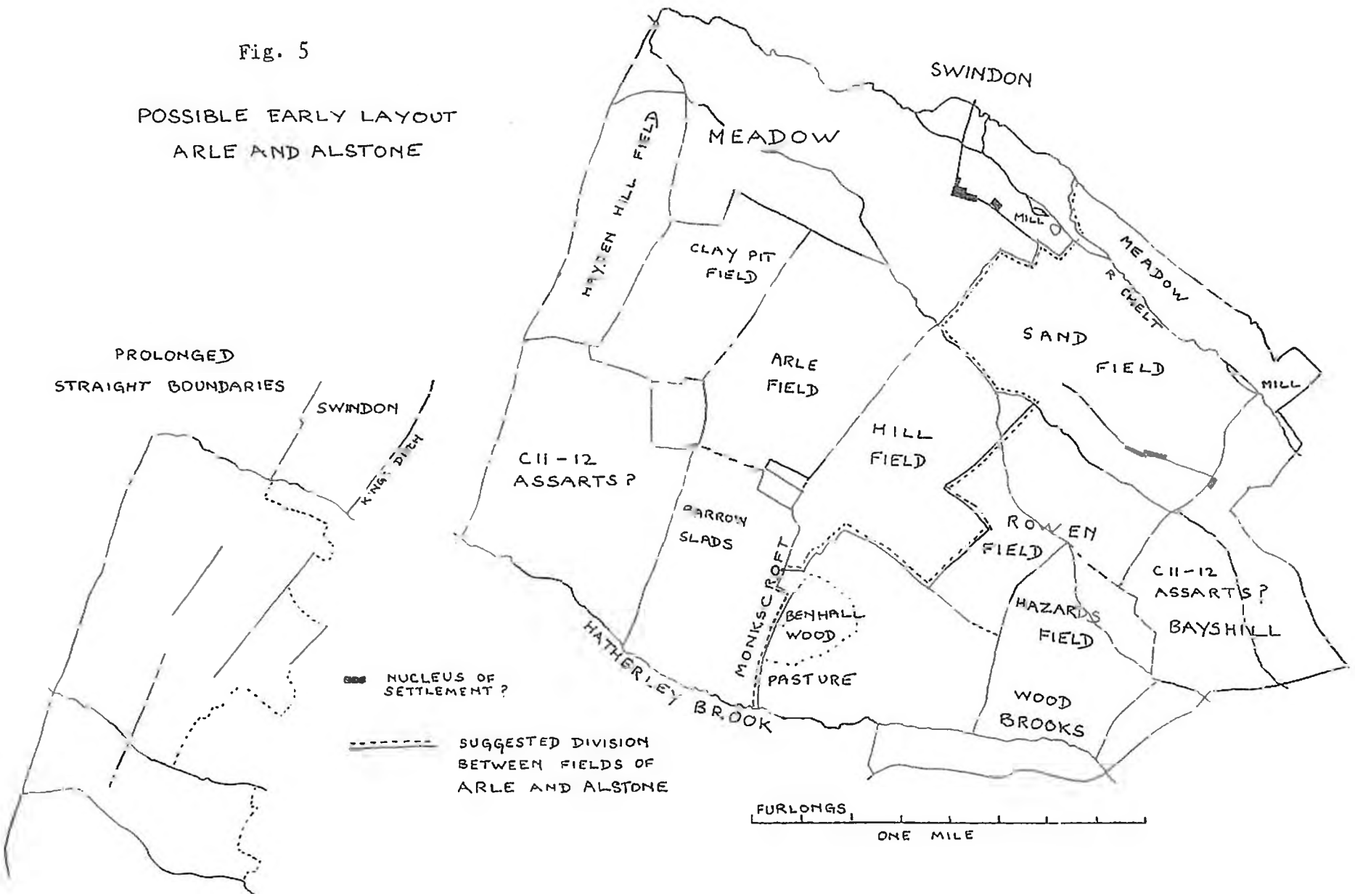
The three field system was possible 1) Haydon Hill and Clay Pits field, 2) Arle field (the original Middle field ?) and 3) Hill field, with a large area of common meadow south of the Chelt and an area of waste to the south. The very regular rectangular layout of the Arle field system is broken by Hill common field. That Hill field belonged to Arle is shown by the mention in the Demense Survey of 1635 (20) of 'Hill field in Arle'. It also mentions the 'grand meare (i.e. boundary) waie that divydeth Arle and Alstone fields'.

The names Bastards Breeches and Barrow Slads suggest assarting in the area north of the Hatherley Brook, probably in the early 13th century, in an area which was largely woodland. Sturmey's Piece may refer to the Adam Esturmi, mentioned in 1230. The Calendar of Charter Rolls, Vol. 1. 119 (14 Henry III) records the 'Gift to Adam Esturmi, the king's servant his heirs and assigns, of the virgate of land in Chilteham, which Robert Coygnee a fugitive and outlaw for the death of John Wudeman, held of the king in chief; and for half a virgate in the said town which Robert Ailward held, and of the king's wood called Benhale, and of half an acre called the meadow of 'la More', which Walter Haul essarted; paying yearly at the Exchequer by his own hand, 8s for the said virgate, 5s for the said half virgate and wood, and 2d for the half acre of meadow'. Descendants of Adam Esturmi must be the Sturmey family which appears in the 17th-century parish register, as does the name Haul (Hall).

It is likely that this southern part of the tithing was never part of the common field system. During field walking in 1975 some pottery of the 12th to 13th century was found at SO 916226 suggesting a small settlement at Fiddlers Green. Another early independent farm located

Fig. 5

POSSIBLE EARLY LAYOUT
ARLE AND ALSTONE



at SO 91172315 to the west of Fiddlers Green was Reynold Milton's house called the Brandyards (a name suggesting the burning which may have taken place during assarting). It is one of the boundary points given in Norden's Survey of 1617 and at that date it consisted of a house and an acre of land. The location is preserved in the field name Brandy Piece which appears in 1832 and until recent development a footpath led to the site. The centre of the manor was at Arle Court. Anne Mannooch Welch, writing in about 1912, thought that the Court had been a moated site.(21) But about 1150 Arle was of sufficient importance to have its own chapel, with burial ground, served by the church at Cheltenham (22). After the Reformation this chapel was demolished.

Field names (Fig. 6).

Common Fields

Hill Field

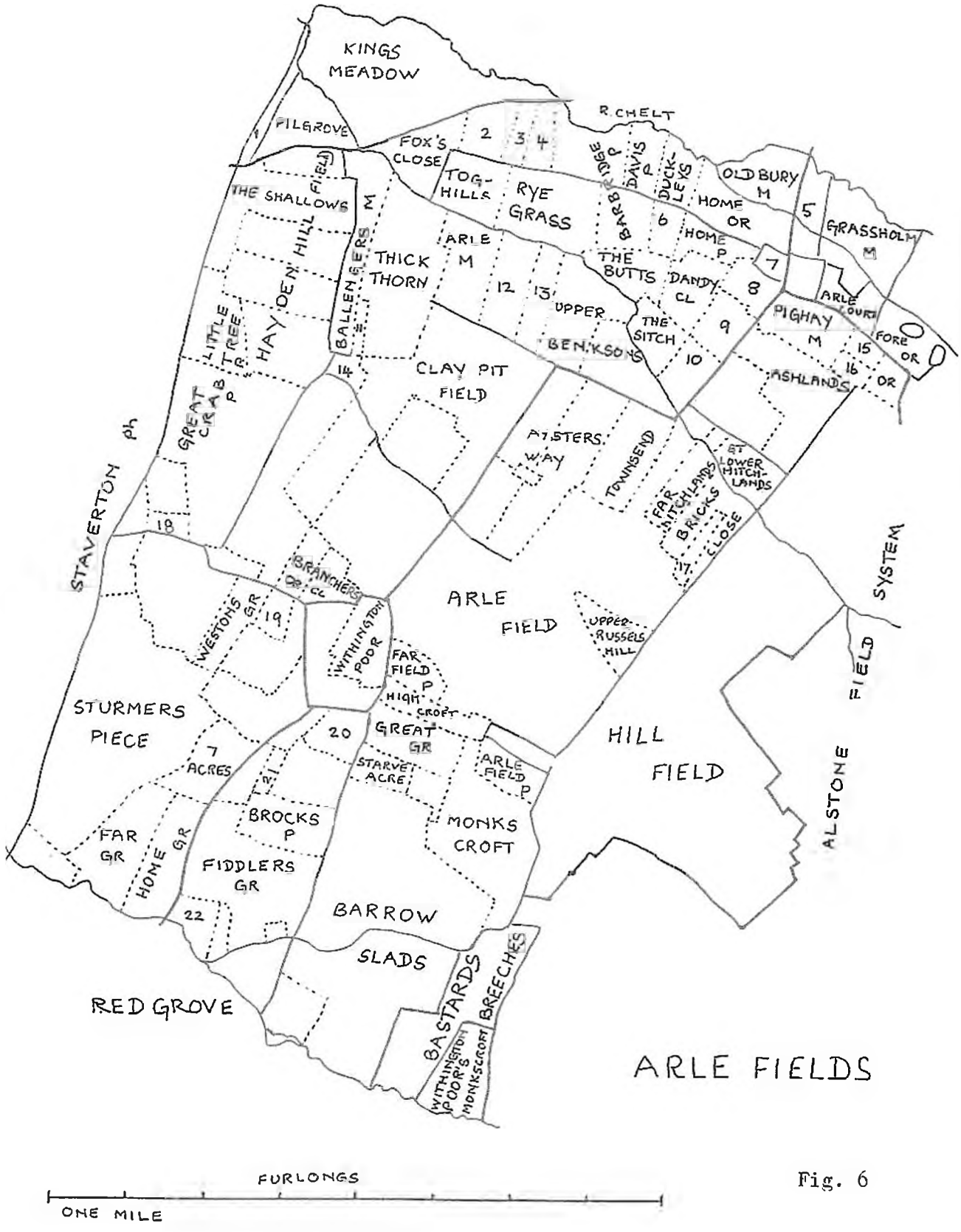
Arle Field

Hayden Hill/Clay Pit Field	these are probably furlong names. Hayden Hill took its name from Hayden in Staverton to which it was adjacent. The clay pits lay in the north-east corner of the field at SO 91922355 near the northern end of Spring-bank Road. The name occurs as early as 1627 in the Manor Court Books.

Inclosure Names

Pilgrove Coppice (1)	Coppice with straight-shafted pollards for making arrows etc (cf. Pilford Fig. 9).
Brick Kiln Ground (2)	
Barbridge	Various possibilities: a bridge over the Chelt.
Little Barbridge Piece (3)	with bar sides; or a bridge where there was a bar or barrier.
Duckleys	Perhaps meadow land with a duckpond.
Oldbury	Site of an earlier settlement. This name is sometimes associated with Roman remains, as at Tewkesbury, but nothing ancient is known here.
Grassholm	Water meadow.
Toghills	Sometimes appears as Foghills. Meaning unknown.
Pighay	Hedged enclosure for pigs.
The Butts	A piece of land butting against others.
Dandy Close	Meaning uncertain.

The Sitch	Meadow land beside a stream. Most of this tributary of the Chelt is now culverted below ground.
Benksons	Earlier Bankeston (PNG). Possibly refers to the bank or headland which built up at the northern end of the Middle field of Arle.
Ashlands	Where the ash tree grew. EFN points out that ash wood was sought after for making tools and farm equipment.
Gotheridge (10)	An ownership name.
Rump of Beef (11) and Shoulder of Mutton (14)	Humorous names referring to the shape of these adjacent enclosures.
The Shallows	A shallow place (PNG). Perhaps the topsoil was poor and shallow.
Crab Tree field	A notable crab apple tree nearby.
Ayster's Way	Now Hester's Way. Origin obscure, but unlikely to be from the romantic legend.
Townsend	Either ownership or land at the end of the hamlet.
Hitchlands (see also Hitchlands adjacent in Alstone)	Part of a sown field (PNG).
Withington Poor	See Journal 4 for the history of these fields (23).
Brandy Piece (11)	From Brandyards - see above.
Starve Acre	A poor piece of ground.
Monkscroft	Enclosure belonging to monks. Perhaps the land in this area belonged to Llanthony Priory or Cirencester Abbey before the dissolution.
Sturmers Piece	(earlier Sturmies Yate) Ownership - see above.
Culverhay (22)	Hedged field frequented by doves or wood pigeons.
Barrow(s) Slad	PNG gives Baron as an earlier alternative and suggests it is an ownership name from the surname Baron. It is possible that it was used to contrast with the adjacent Monkscroft. Alternatively it might mean a wooded valley where prehistoric barrows existed. Leslie Grinsell has suggested to me that the derivation is from OE 'bearu' meaning grove. A wooded valley certainly fits what is known of the early topography.


KINGS MEADOW
R. CHELT
FILGROVE
FOX'S CLOSE
TOG-HILLS
RYE GRASS
DAVIS P
DUCK-LEYS
OLD BURY M
HOME OR
GRASSHOLM M
THE SHALLOWS
HAY OEN HILL
BALLENGERS M
THICK THORN
ARLE M
THE BUTTS
DANDY CL
HOME P
ARLE COURT
PIGHAY M
FORE OR
ASHLANDS
LITTLE TREE P
GREAT CRAB P
CLAY PIT FIELD
ATSTERS WAY
TOWNSEND
LOWER HITCHLANDS
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7 ACRES
GREAT GR
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MONKS CROFT
BARROW
SLADS
BASTARDS
BREECHES
RED GROVE
WITHINGTON POOR'S
MONKSCROFT
ARLE FIELDS
FURLONGS
ONE MILE

Fig. 6

Bastard's Breeches	From the surname Bastard? Also surely humorous.

Other Numbered Inclosures

4. Sandford's Corner	13. New Meadow
5. Butcher's Meadow	15. Farm
6. Whithornes Piece	16. Barn Croft
7. Home Close	17. Collett's Close
8. Arle House	19. Doctor's Meadow
9. Whithornes	22. Hewitt's Orchard

ALSTONE

The place name Alstone is derived from the Old English personal name AElf and tun or farmstead (PNG), suggesting a settlement here in early Saxon times. Later the field system of the hamlet was laid out. This shows a similar pattern to Cheltenham. Three original open fields: Sandfield, Rowenfield and the Hazards/Wood Brooks field; an area of assarting around Bayshill, meadow to the north of the Chelt and woodland at Benhall and along the north side of Hatherley Brook where several 'woodland' field names are found. Richardson's map of the distribution of sand and gravel in the Cheltenham area shows that the location of Sandfield and Rowenfield is by no means haphazard. Sandfield lies between the Chelt on the north and one of its small tributaries on the south; the edge of the sand lies almost exactly along the line of this southern tributary. Presumably Richardson had noted carefully where the sand occurred in what was, in his time, a largely open area of market gardens where soil type could be easily observed. The furlong name 'Wet Furrows' is interesting in this context and must mark a place where the soil was less dry than usual. Rowenfield is largely clay and it seems the fields were laid out with this basic difference in mind, giving some land of each type to the cultivators.

As Sandfield came up to the southern bank of the Chelt and there was woodland along the Hatherley Brook, Alstone needed meadow and this was provided on the north bank of the Chelt. An area of pasture lay to the east of Benhall which was later assarted (High Breach). Benhall Wood endured into the last century when it was famous as a haunt of nightingales. Hazard's Field seems to have been broken up into inclosures early on, possibly not long after the assarting around Bayshill.

Alstone had two mills, one probably set up by the King's reeve after 1066. It had a well established tanning industry by the early 17th century; nearly all tanners mentioned in the first volume of the parish register come from Alstone families.

Field names (Fig. 7).

Common Fields

Sandfield

Rowenfield	Rowen = 'aftermath' (PNG), that is grass growing on after mowing.

Hazard's field	Middle English surname (PNG).
Wood Brooks	On north side of Hatherley Brook. One of several names indicating early woodland here.

Meadow

Beanham	Probably related to growing pulses.
Nettleships (2)	Ownership name.

Inclosure Names

'Bayshill Group' Two of the names attached to these fields appear among the 'Free tenants at Almiston' (Alstone) in an undated but probably 13th-century record: 'Thomas Anford and his fellows hold freely there one toft and half a hide of land with appurtenances lately of Henry Best (Bescroft) and his associates and formerly of Matilda Bayse (Bays Hill), and should carry letters as by ancient custom .....' (24). We are therefore dealing with an area of early inclosure and probably assarting.

Bald Hill/Ball Hay	Possibly these are also derived from an early surname.
Freeman's Breach	Breaking up land for the plough by one with this surname or status. The latter seems likely in view of the above quotation.
High Breach or Brakes	Other areas brought under the plough.
Dick's Breaches (11)	
Great Witherley Piece (5)	Probably a place where willows grew.
Little Witherley	
Langett (8)	Long strip.
Doctor's Paddock (12)	Land belonging to, or used by, a physician? cf. Doctor's Piece in Cheltenham and Doctor's meadow in Arle and Redgrove.
Granley Piece or 9 Lands (15)	Later 'improved' to Grandley.
Junction Piece and Harp Corner (19)	A late name referring to the tramroad junction. A harp-shaped piece of land was left after the development of the turnpiked Gloucester road.
Whitehorne's (22)	Owned by Whitehorne family.
Barrow Slads and Brock's Piece (29)	(see Arle names).


ALSTONE FIELDS
GRASSHOLM MEADOW
1
CHELTENHAM
2
3
THE MEADOW
SAND FIELD
SYSTEM
ARLE FIELD
5A
5
6
4
WET FURROWS
UPPER HITCHLANDS
7
8
9
10
HILL FIELD
ROWEN FIELD
14
15
ORCHARD
FREEMANS BREACH
12
11
31
30
UPPER CLOSE
WOOD GROUND
BENHALL WOOD
LARGE PASTURE
PASTURE
HIGH BREACH OR BRAKES
DUDLEYS
16
18
HAZARDS FIELD
19
20
LIME KILN PIECE
JONES PIECE
17
35
SMITH WELL
NOLT HAYES
BAYSHILL
SANDFORD
BALD HILL
BASCROFT
BRIDGE
BROOK PASTURE
32
NOD PADDOCK
22
THE 8 ACRES
21
WESTHALLS
GROVELEYS
BALL HAY
29
28
OAK GROUND
25
27
BROOK PASTURE
WOOD BROOKS
REDGROVE
26
LONG GROUND
24
WESTALL
FURLONGS
ONE MILE

Fig. 7

Other Numbered Fields

3. Miller's Piece
4. Home Orchard
6. 4 Leys
7. Pear Tree Orchard
9. Clarke's Orchard
10. Brick Kiln
13. The Vineyard
14. Arcott Piece
16. Wood Brooks
17. 9 Lands
18. Langett
20. Lower Dean
21. Gravel Piece or Hazard's Field
23. Little Dudleys
24. Little Wood Brooks
25. Little Orchard
26. Whitehorne's Folly
27. Benhill Piece
28. Benhall Farm
30. Gate piece
31. Benhill Piece
32. Brick Yard
33. Upper Close

THE MANOR OF REDGROVE

The manor of Redgrove was part of the Arle and Alstone tithing. It lies in an area of stiff blue Lias clay south of the Hatherley Brook in the south-west corner of the Cheltenham Hundred. Many of the field names suggest a woodland environment and it is likely that this was one of the last parts of the Hundred to be brought into cultivation. There is documentary evidence that assarts into woodland were being made on the margins of the cultivated area in the early-to mid-12th century. Redgrove first appears in the historical record about 1160 in the same charter of Walter of Hereford mentioned above, and confirms the grants made by Walter's predecessors of an assart at Hatherley in Cheltenham to Llanthony Secunda (25). Here the name Hatherley most likely refers to the brook rather than the area. Some of the 17th-century field names in the Gloucester Borough records, eg Black Stones Mead (unlocated) and Burnt Ground (later Great Tin Leaze), suggest the burning of under-growth which may have accompanied assarting.

The manor remained in the possession of Llanthony Priory until the dissolution of the monasteries. In 1540 it was granted to 'William Lygons of Arle, Gloucs for £52 8s. 4d at a rent of 6s per annum'. The Cheltenham Manor Court book for April 1597 states that Arnold Lygon Esq. was allowed to inclose and keep in several that ground called Grovefield in Arle (26). In 1616 King James I granted various properties, formerly possessions of Llanthony Priory, to the Corporation of the City of Gloucester for the repairs and renewals of Saint Mary Magdalen's Hospital at Gloucester which was maintained by the City authorities (27). The grants included 'one tenement, with all the arable land, meadow and pastures in the parish of Cheltenham, commonly called Redgrove, containing 32 acres of arable land and 18 of meadow'. This did not include the whole of the 'manor'; much of which had already passed into the hands of the Lygons and others. The Gloucester Corporation land is very well documented in the Borough records (28), with numerous leases and a survey of the land, with a plan, as it was in 1823, nine years before the Inclosure of 1832. This, and a plan of Hartisfield Farm in 1759 (29), shows strips in the common fields as well as inclosed fields. By the beginning of the 17th century the name Redgrove was being replaced by Harthurst and had become a 'lost' name by the time PNG was published, only persisting in the name 'Redgrove Cottages'. The name Harthurst appears as 'Artersfield' and 'Hartisfield' more often than in its original form. Modern road and rail developments, particularly of the Golden

Valley bypass, and recent building have altered the topography of the area so much that it is now difficult to envisage the earlier layout.

The original common field layout of the manor was possibly:
Field 1 Harthurst and Windmill fields.
Field 2 Tinley, Little field, Pease furlong and Horse Close.
Field 3 Grove field.
Meadow by the Hatherley Brook and the large Redgrove Wood.

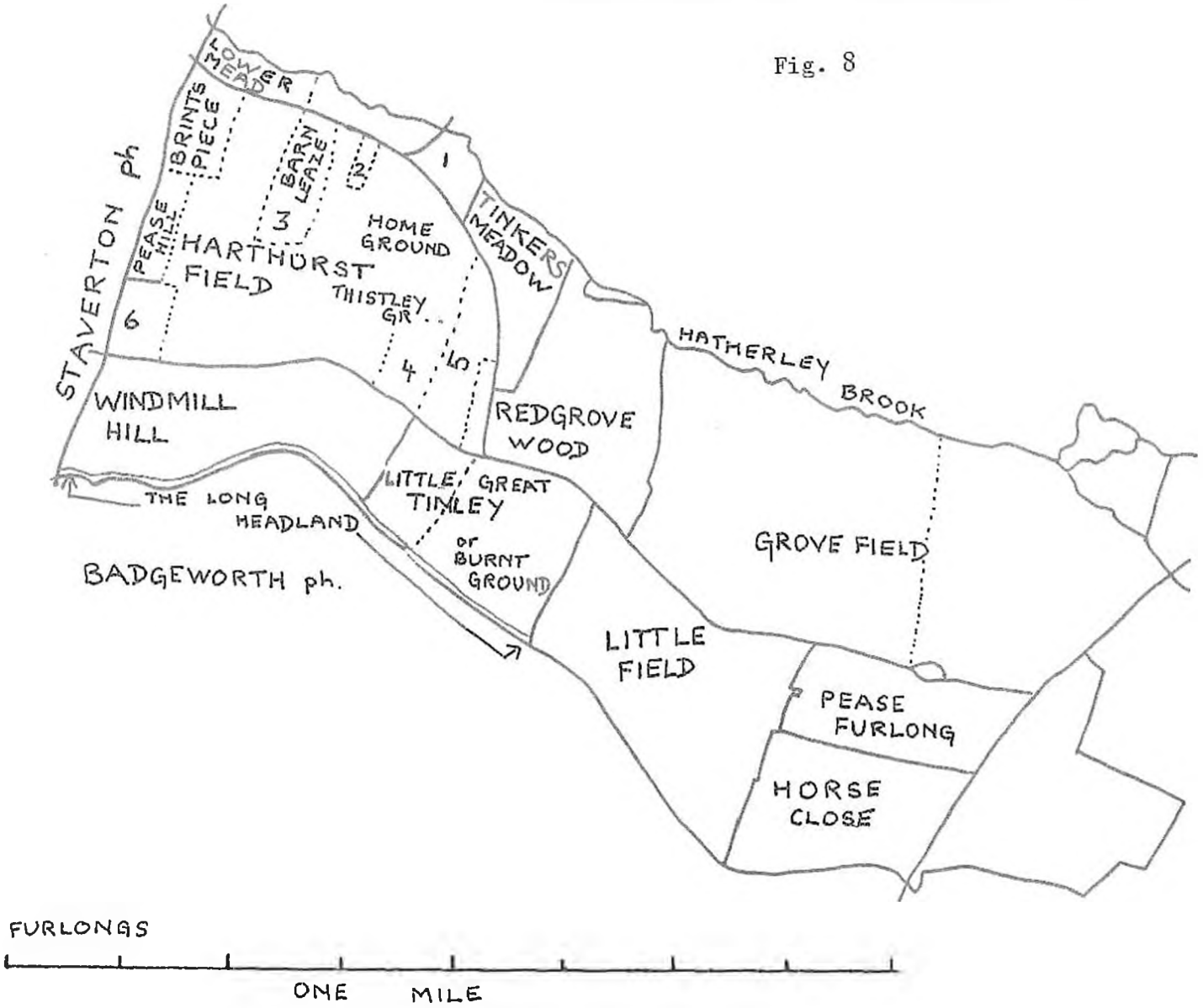
The Long Headland is an interesting feature. This is the place where the plough turned at the southern end of Windmill field. It may be a remnant of a deliberately built boundary bank between Redgrove and Badgeworth, although the natural action of the plough tends to build up a bank on the turn at the headland.

Field names (Fig. 8).

Redgrove	The colour of the trees (PNG). The name Redwood occurs on the eastern boundary of the Hundred in Charlton Kings and in both cases the 'Red' element more likely derives from OE 'rydding' - 'a clearing' which fits with the known assarting.
Common Fields	
Harthurst	A copse frequented by male red deer.
Windmill	It would be interesting to locate the site of the windmill.
Tinley	An enclosed or fenced clearing.
Grove Field	Another name indicating the wooded nature of the land before assarting.
Meadow and Inclosures	
Tinkers Meadow	Where itinerants camped.
Meadow Platt (8)	
Little Meadow (9)	
Doctor's Meadow (11)	cf. fields in Alstone and Cheltenham.
Pease Hill Plock (6) Pease Furlong	Several names in the area indicate the cultivation of pulses (cf. Benhall where the first element means beans). Plock is a small plot.
Maidenheart Orchard (3)	Named for the type of cherry grown.
The Pecked Piece (7)	A pointed piece of land.

THE MANOR OF REDGROVE

Fig. 8



Other numbered fields

1. Blacksmith's Orchard
2. The Cherry Orchard
4. 9 Lands
5. 18 Lands
10. Wheat Close Orchard
12. Over House ground

THE TITHING OF WESTALL NAUNTON AND SANDFORD

It is not easy to define the boundaries of the fields of the three elements of this tithing, although they may have been separate at one stage. Some furlongs in the centre of the tithing were held by Naunton, Westhall and Sandford together. The 'Naunton Meese' terrier names land 'in the field belonging unto Naunton and Westall' as Gratton (Grotten) furlong, Longe furlong, Fircombe furlong, Bottombe furlong, Naunton Hedge end, Whitecross furlong and Red (or Kid) Ditch furlong. The same furlongs are identified as being in Sandford field in a terrier of 1756 (see below). All these furlongs lie on sand, the other parts of Westall and Naunton being almost wholly on clay, thus all three elements of the tithing had a share of sandy land.

WESTALL

The place name means 'western nook of land' (PNG) and the plan of the tithing (Fig. 9) shows clearly how this name was derived. The long finger of land between Alstone and Leckhampton was apparently divided into three open fields. Westall's northern boundary follows the line of Hatherley Road, suggesting a considerable antiquity for this route. The southern boundary follows a zigzag around the edge of Mearstones field (the same name occurring in the adjoining field in Leckhampton) and may have been defined by the stones which gave the field its name. This boundary reflects the ridge-and-furrow ploughing of furlongs which lay parallel, and at right angles, to the zigzag. The other fields were the 'West field' (the true name of which has not survived) and which may have been woodland. The 'East field' around Westall Court Ground, probably as far east as the west side of Westall furlong and Morfords and adjoined the land held in common with Naunton and Sandford.

Westall was clearly a separate manor in the King's gift in the 12th century. King John was using it as a pawn in his efforts to raise money: 'Walo de Cotes held Westall; (which belongs to the said manor (ie Cheltenham)) and the said Walensis crossed the sea; and King John learning he was against him, took his lands into his own hand and gave them to Ralph de Munford (who held Cheltenham manor of the king) to receive a term's rent, but restored them to Walo on his return' (30). By the late 16th century there was a prosperous farm at Westall belonging to the Milton family. This, together with Gallipot farm in Sandford, passed to the De la Bere Estate in the 18th century and it is from a map of this estate dated 1765 that most of the field names are taken. (31).

Field names (Fig. 9).

The only name which has been traced apart from those on the map is Bushey Hay (9) a hedged inclosure with bushes.

NAUNTON

This part of the tithing stretches southwards to the lower slopes of Leckhampton Hill, between the Old Bath Road and the Leckhampton boundary. Its northern edge, where it meets the joint Westall/Naunton/Sandford field more or less follows Richardson's demarcation between the sand to the north and the clays to the south. The name first appears as Newenton, meaning a newly founded hamlet or township. There is an early record (32) of a gift in fee simple of 4 acres of arable land in the field of Newenton by Richard de la Hulle to his son. It records the locations of various sellions and mentions the following furlong names, only a few of which can be identified: Eggewey = Edge Way (probably Old Bath Road), Astlinge furlong (on the east?), Pilleye, Kingestre (Kings Tree), Le Tounesende (either at the Leckhampton or Sandford boundary?) and Codelye. The Naunton Meese terrier of 1632 mentions land in Benbridge field and Knavenhill field (both of which were in Charlton Kings), the field belonging to Westall and Naunton (above) and Oldmeade field (which was arable at this date). By the 18th century an indenture (33) describes the sellions in Naunton field by number, eg 'The fifty second to fifty seventh sellions west of Naunton beginning south from Whitecross furlong, having glebe land on each side and the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth and one and twentieth sellions west from Walter Cox's Naunton Close'. I have not found any good map of Naunton. Mitchell's map of 1806 shows most fields of that date, but although it shows the boundary of Naunton common field, there is no detail within it. Perhaps all those sellions defeated him.

Field names (Fig. 9).

Pilford field takes its name from the Pilley brook. The derivation is probably similar to Pilgrove in Arle.

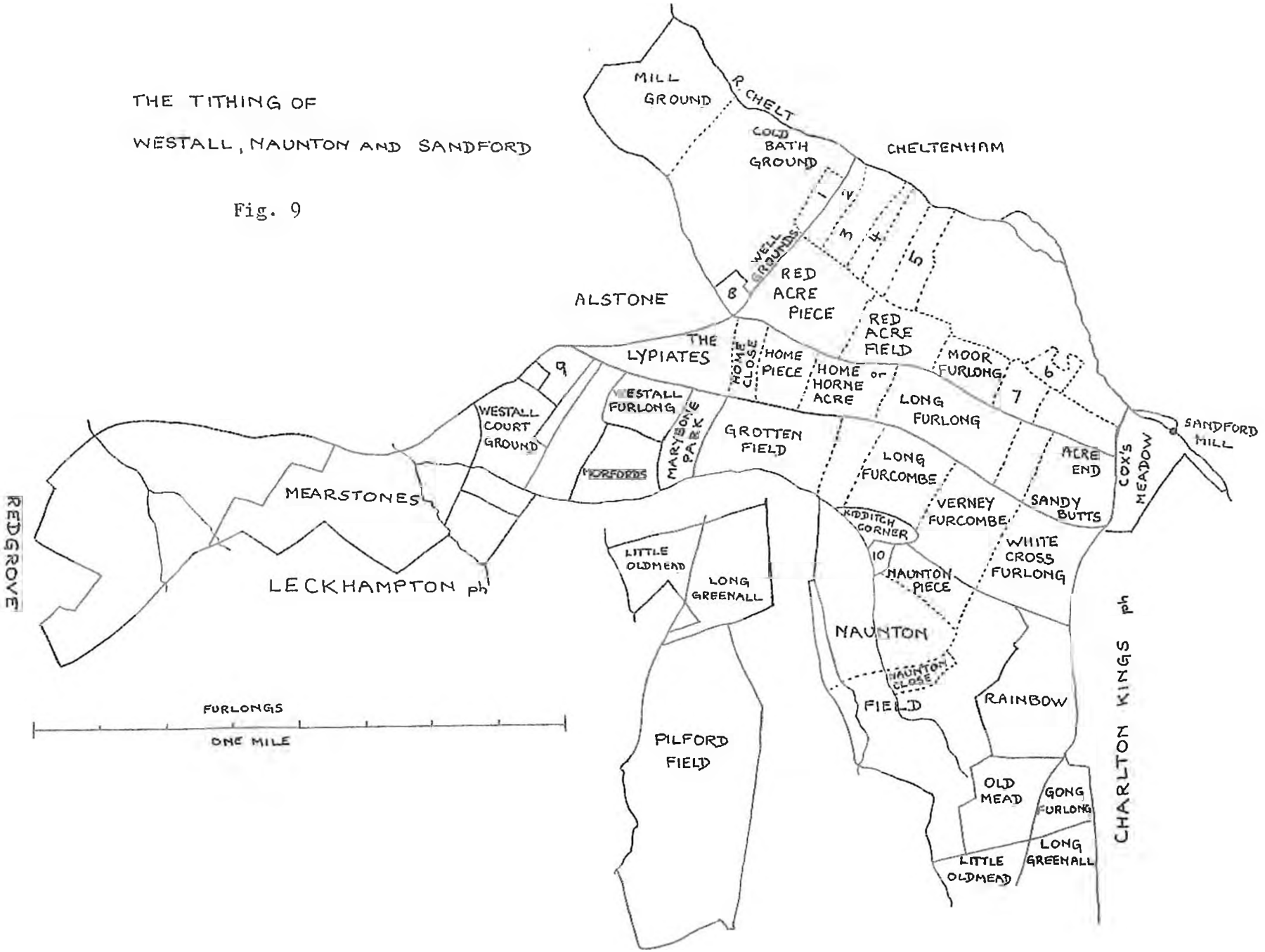
Furlong Names

Grotten Field	Stubble field.
Long Fircombe & Verney Fircombe	Meaning uncertain. Combe is usually a valley but does not fit the topography. Verney may mean 'ferny'. Fir trees grow well on sand.
White Cross furlong	The meaning is unclear. The name is found elsewhere in Gloucestershire. It may mean the pattern made by ploughing.
Rainbow	More than half this field (now allotments) lies on gravel, the other part being clay. The freshly turned earth shows a diversity of colour, hence its name.

THE TITHING OF

WESTALL, NAUNTON AND SANDFORD

Fig. 9



Old Mead	Originally pasture, later ploughed.
Long Greenall	A green or grass field.
Gong furlong	Meaning unknown.

Other named fields

Kid ditch Corner & Kidditch Close (10)	The meaning of Kid is unknown in this context.

SANDFORD

The lands of the hamlet were portioned out between areas of sand and clay. There is a sand subsoil under the whole area to the east of the present day line of the Promenade/Montpellier Walk. To the west of this line, which appears to be an ancient boundary, one finds clay. The field name Clay piece (1) appears on this boundary and the clay area continues up the slope to Bayshill in Alstone. By the time the area appears on a map the meadow land to the south of the Chelt was divided into closes and there is a hint in the names Oxstalls and Swinsalls that animals brought to Cheltenham market may have been stalled here. The furlong names of the large open Sandford Field(s) have survived. The northern part was called Red Acre (or Red Mitre in another version); the southern boundary lay approximately along the present Andover, Suffolk and Thirlestaine Roads. The Mill Ground in the north-west corner of the tithing refers to Alstone Lower Mill; Sandford Mill lying at the east end of the hamlet on the Charlton Kings boundary. This field, together with Cold Bath Ground represents the clay area of Sandford.

Mr. F. Baldwin of Charlton Kings (34) has in his possession a terrier of 'The Comon field Lands in Sandford Field Anno 1756 After my purchase of Mrs. Stokes'. This must have been part of the De la Bere estate papers, and shows the manner in which the De la Bere family was buying up strips to enlarge and consolidate the estate's Cheltenham farms. Some of the numbered strips were in two ownerships, which shows how small some of the individual pieces of land had become. Eventually the De la Beres acquired almost all the land in Red Acre, Moor Furlong, Horn Acre, Long Furlong, Grotten Furlong and Long and Short Fircomb, thus buying up the greater part of Sandford and some of Naunton/Westall. This land was worked from Gallipot Farm and later became the Suffolk estate.

Field names(Fig. 9).

Furlong names

Red Acre	Probably from the colour of the soil.
Moor furlong	An unproductive piece of ground, perhaps peaty.
Horne Acre	Usually taken as a pointed piece of land (EFN). It is difficult to see the relevance here.

The Lypiatts	'a gate in an enclosure fence which deer can leap over, but which restrains other animals'. It is a term found chiefly in woodlands and old parks of south-western England (PNG). There is evidence from the field names that parts adjacent of Westall, Alstone, Arle and Redgrove were woodland. (See Fig. 2).
Marybone Park	Perhaps a 'fashionable' name given by the De la Beres.

Other Names

Burford Mead (2)	The bridge over the Chelt here was called Burford's bridge. It is not possible to say if this came from 'the ford by the town', or from the Burford family.
The Swinsalls (3)	Probably a place where pigs were 'stalled'.
Brick Kiln Close (4)	Probably a late name.
Oxstalls Ground or Cambray Close (5)	A place where oxen were stalled cf. Swinsalls above.
Sandford Dread (6)	Meaning of second word unknown.
Sandford Orchard (7)	
Skeys Piece (8)	Probably ownership.
Cold Bath Ground	There was some kind of bathing place here, possibly a building by the Chelt, in the late 18th century.

BARBARA RAWES

Notes:

1. A.H. Smith, The Place-names of Gloucestershire 2, The North and West Cotswolds (1964), 96-113. Hereafter abbreviated as PNG.
2. From A Survey Particular and Terrier of a messuage called Naunton Meese....parcell of the Rectory of Cheltenham, 16, Gloucestershire Collection Cat. No. P.F.1.1.
3. See also Nigel Cox, 'An Ancient Road through Cheltenham', Glevensis 14 (1980), 21-2. The 'Sandy Lane' lay at the boundary between Whaddon and the old North field.
4. T. Rowley (ed), The Origins of Open Field Agriculture (1981), 37.
5. L. Richardson, 'Memoir explanatory of a Map of a part of Cheltenham and neighbourhood (Sheet XXVI NE 6 Inch Series) shewing the Distribution of Sand, Gravel and Clay', Proc Cotteswold Natur Fld Club 17, pt 3, 297-320 and 18, pt 2, 125-136.
6. See my article, 'Three properties of Cirencester Abbey in the Cheltenham area', Chelt Loc Hist Soc J 1 (1983), 2-5.

7. G.R.O. D855 M7.
8. British Museum Additional Ms 6027, f18 - 26.
9. Mr. David Smith, the County Archivist, has pointed out that some scholars believe that open field systems began with only two fields, alternately cropped and fallow, and that three or four field systems developed from this. This may have been the case in Cheltenham, with West Field being originally part of North Field or vice versa.
10. See note 6, above.
11. Lecture given by John Sawyer on 'Pre-Domesday Cheltenham' in 1898 and reprinted from the Cheltenham Examiner. Gloucestershire Collection Cat. No. 5992.
12. D. Walker (ed), Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095 - 1201 (1964), Camden Miscellany 22, Nos 69 - 73.
13. See note 8, above.
14. For an account of the fields in this area see J. Sale, 'Hewletts and the Agg family', Chelt Loc Hist Soc J 5 (1987), 11 - 22.
15. Cheltenham Inclosure Award 1806, G.R.O.Q/R1 40.
16. Charity Commissioners' Report 1826.
17. G.R.O. P78/SD1.
18. B. Rawes, 'The Hundred of Cheltenham and its boundaries', Chelt Loc Hist Soc J 2 (1984), 7 - 8.
19. Lord Craven's Estates Book. G.R.O. D184/P1.
20. G.R.O. D855 M51.
21. A.M. Welch, 'Old Arle Court', TBGAS 36 (1913), 288 - 314.
22. See note 12 above, No.55.
23. B. Rawes, The lands of the Withington Poor Charity', Chelt Loc Hist Soc J 4 (1986), 1 - 3.
24. G.R.O. TRS 115/12 (D855 M68).
25. See note 12 above, No.73.
26. G.R.O. D855 M4.
27. Charity Commissioners' Report 1826.
28. G.R.O. GBR J3/16 etc.
29. Scottish Record Office RHP 5353; GRO photocopy 934.
30. C. Inq. Misc., File 18 (15).
31. G.R.O. photocopy 432.
32. G.R.O. TRS 115/1 (D 1876/1).
33. G.R.O. D303 T11.
34. I am very grateful to Mr Baldwin for allowing me to make use of this terrier.

Farm labourers in the Cheltenham area : their conditions of service in the 18th century

This subject may seem rather remote to the problems of present-day Cheltenham, but a look at some of the old illustrations of the town, in particular that of Thomas Robins' 'West Prospect of the Spaw and Town of Cheltenham', dated 1748, reminds us that, at that time, the town was truly a rural one. Its market would have been the centre for the surrounding villages and, no doubt, the opportunities for work on local farms and the going rate for the job were important topics of the day.

The information for this article comes from the account books of William Baghott (later Baghott De La Bere) of Prestbury, which Beryl Elliott referred to in her article on Squire Baghott in Journal 4 (G.R.O. D1637 E1 and E2). My excuse, if one is needed, for returning to this source, is the scarcity of such material of that period - 1730 - 1745 - and its subsequent value. As with diaries and letters, account books can give us a close insight into the small happenings and everyday events of the time. They also provide a completely unbiased record, a straight entry of facts and figures, with no hint of propaganda or consideration for a buying public, which must have occurred, to some extent, in the case of newspapers and contemporary books.

What type of workers were employed and did they have agreements of service? How were they paid? Were there seasonal differences? What was the role of women in the work force? Were there any changes over the period covered by the books? These are the types of questions I hope to provide some answers to in this article.

The accounts show that there were three main types of workers - FARM SERVANTS - who were employed on a regular basis with an agreed rate of pay, usually for a year at a time.

DAY WORKERS - who worked as and when required at a daily rate of pay, or were paid for the amount of work done.

GROUPS OF WORKERS - under a leader, who came to the farm for certain tasks such as mowing, reaping and bean setting.

The first type, the farm servants, were mainly concerned with the livestock, where it was obviously important to have consistency of care. Their yearly rate of pay varied from about £6 10s. for a man in charge of the horses and oxen, to £4 15s. for an under-carter, with a shepherd getting about £6. Boys' pay ranged from £2 10s. to £1 10s., presumably according to age. A dairymaid was paid £2 for the summer half year, but

she was getting board on top of that, the only case where that is specifically mentioned. William Baghott was prepared to pay someone 2s. 6d. per week to board her. Wage rates did not vary much during the 1730s, but by 1745, the end of the period covered by the accounts, the men were getting about £10 and the boys £3.

One boy obviously had to prove his worth - William Baghott wrote 'Agreed with Will Rylands to be my cart boy, wages £2 15s. and 5s. more if I think he deserves it'.

Wage agreements sometimes included the hauling of a load of coal or wood, or a days work of the farm Team.

These agreements were usually made to start at Ladyday (in March) or Michaelmas (in September) and some of the workers were probably engaged at the local fairs - one was obviously not a local man - William Baghott wrote 'Agreed with George Hoan (I think'd his name) to be my shepherd for a year to commence at Ladyday'.

Throughout the period there was a worker, presumably a bailiff or foreman, who was paid at a higher rate - £10 10s. in the early 1730s, rising to £14 in the late '30s and £16 in the early '40s. Sometimes he was responsible for finding workers; an entry for 1733 states 'Walter Perkins agreed with John Pool to be my Carter the ensuing year'.

The second type, the day workers, did not usually have agreements, except sometimes to cover the harvest period to ensure their availability, or when they were to be paid for the work done rather than by the day. Their wage rates varied very little - 8d. per day in winter and 9d. per day in summer throughout the 1730s, and only a rise to 9d. in winter and 10d. in summer by the 1740s. Harvest rates were 1s. per day with food.

Women were employed for hoeing, haymaking, fruit-picking and harvesting, but their rate of pay was usually half that of the men - 4d. or 5d. per day. Boys were paid from as little as 6d. up to 1s. 3d. per week for jobs such as bird scaring, weeding and stone-picking. Their pay was always given to one of their parents rather than to them.

'Tasking' or 'task work' was the expression used when the day workers were paid for the work done, rather than by the day - William Baghott wrote 'Paid Ed. Print for 3 days work 2s. and for task work 14s. 2d.' And again 'Paid Thomas Newman Tasking 12s. 6d.'

Threshing was one of the jobs paid in this way - An example is 'I agreed to give Thomas Evans and G. Little for threshing all my wheat in the New Barn after ye rate of 4d. per bushel ye old and 3d. for ye new wheat, they to winnow.' And another example - 'Paid Thomas Evans. Thomas Perkins, William Lane and Richard Stoneham for threshing 1454 lbs of clover seed at ½d. per lb.'

Hedging and ditching too - Print and Fisher were paid 6d. a lug for cutting a hedge and ditching. Ditching alone was paid at 2d. per lug. (A lug was a measurement of length which varied locally between 15 and 20 feet).

Extra help was needed at haymaking and harvest times, apart from the regular farm servants, the day labourers and their wives and children. This was when the groups of workers under a leader were employed. The following entries are examples of this:-

June 1730 'Agreed with Ed. Newman and Company to mow Highbreach and Great Muscroft, 24 days Math at 1s.6d. per day Math, a pint of ale apiece per day and 1s. over in the whole.' (Math means mowing. William Baghott had presumably worked out that those two fields would take 24 days to mow. What happened if work stopped for rain I don't know!).

August 1732 'Paid Winchcombe Company of reapers, Tarsen etc., for cutting and binding 42 acres of Wheat at 5s. - £10 15.0.'

August 1744 'Paid M. Brown and Company Reapers 30 acres Wheat - £7 10.0.'

Note that 12 years has not made any difference to the rate paid, it was still 5s. per acre.

Groups of workers were also brought in for jobs that needed special skills or tools. After the enclosure of Prestbury Hill, 40 acres of old common land were prepared for cropping, by breast ploughing and burning of the sods. The breast plough, which was pushed by a man rather than being pulled by oxen or horses, skimmed off the top layer of grass and soil. Joseph Marchant and others were paid 16s. per acre for this work in 1732 and R. Avenis and others received 15s. per acre for ploughing and burning Wingmore furrows in 1739.

Bean setting was another example. The beans were set or sown in holes made by a setting pin, which was like a garden dibber but with a piece of wood attached to stop it going too deep, about 2 inches was considered the right depth. Bean setters were paid, in February or March of every year, at the rate of 2s. per bushel of beans.

I have talked about the rates of pay for the different workers but not yet about how they were paid - in cash or kind, and how frequently.

Looking first at those on yearly contracts, it seems they usually had a long wait before being fully paid, though they had some part of their wages at intervals during the year. There are frequent references to 'payments in part'. In some cases the intervals of payments are so long that one can only assume that the worker must have had some other means of support, perhaps a small-holding. For example Walter Perkins, who was the highest paid worker in the 1730s, was owed two years wages amounting to £20 16s. at one time. Maybe William Baghott was acting as banker for him. Another entry substantiates this idea - 'Reckoned with William Tombs and was due to him £3 8s., of which he left £2 in my hands'. Often a credit and debit account was kept between Baghott and his workers. An example gives us a clear picture of how John Evans, the head man in 1740, was paid over a nine month period.

March 25	1 Quarters wages due	4 0 0
June 24	1 Quarters wages due	4 0 0
Sept. 29	1 Quarters wages due	4 0 0
Sept. 29	Son's wages for year	7 10 0
	Total	19 10 0

During the nine month period John Evans had received the following

Feb	6	Cash	1	1	0
Feb	20	Ditto	1	1	0
March	14	Ditto more	1	1	0
Apr	12	Cash 10s Wood 8s 6d		18	6
Apr	19	Cash more	1	1	0
May	13	More to buy pig		15	0
May	29	More to pay for wood	1	10	0
Jul	10	Cash		10	6
Aug	26	More on reckoning for Coal		5	0
Sept	8	Cash	1	1	0
Oct	1	14¾ bushels of wheat at 7s 6d	5	10	0
		Total	14	14	0

Oct 1 'Balanced with John Evans and he was owed £4.16.0 which I paid'.

In the case of the day workers, the intervals of pay varied from a few days to several weeks. Sometimes there were cases when the worker's wife obviously got tired of waiting and came to William Baghott to demand some money - 'Feb 4 Reckoned with Nurse Marshall and was due to her husband since midsummer £6 1s.9d of which I paid £2.2s.' William Baghott could not afford to upset Nurse Marshall as she was the village midwife and attended Mrs Baghott at regular intervals!

Day workers were paid partly in kind too - wheat, barley, beef, beans and wood were entered as part payments with cash.

The group workers were paid very promptly, particularly the reapers, for example 18 August one year and 27 August another. No doubt this was to ensure that they would come again when required.

The above figures are, of course, taken from only one source. Whether William Baghott De La Bere was a typical employer of his day, we can only surmise, but it seems probable that similar conditions of service would have prevailed within the immediate vicinity. The situation in the more remote areas of the Cotswolds, or in the Forest of Dean may have been very different.

JANE C. SALE

The Hyde Spaw: an early rival to Cheltenham

In 1751, a pamphlet appeared in London entitled An Experimental Dissertation on the Nature Contents & Virtues of the HYDE Saline Purging Water commonly called the HYDE SPAW near Cheltenham in Gloucestershire (1). This document is almost the only evidence that there was once a serious attempt to establish a commercial spa in the farming country between Cheltenham and Bishop's Cleeve; the project apparently involved some financial investment, and the Dissertation itself seems to have been intended as publicity for the new enterprise.

At this date the spa in Cheltenham itself was just becoming established. Henry Skillicorne had erected a pump room over the well and planted the trees of his Long Walk in 1738; he kept a record of a number of visitors each year, and in 1748 counted 655 clients (2). This was to remain the only commercially exploited well in Cheltenham for 60 years, but it was by no means an isolated phenomenon in 18th-century England. All over the country local residents and landowners were discovering the health-giving properties of local wells and springs. Tunbridge Wells and Bath were of course long established, the Bristol Hotwell was fashionable and the pure waters of Malvern were attracting large numbers of visitors in the 1750s. Among many others, Glastonbury opened its own Pump Room in 1754 (3). Nearer at hand, there were already thoughts in 1746 of establishing a spa at Walton, just east of Tewkesbury, though the house to be known as Walton Spa (at SO 908328) was not built until 1787 (4). Cheltenham's Dr Jameson, writing in 1803, records that there had been another well at Walsworth Hall, three miles north of Gloucester (SO 842230) 'resorted to 50 years ago' (5).

The author of the pamphlet about Hyde was Diederick Wessel Linden M.D. His name, as well as a certain stiffness in his written style, suggests that he may not have been English by birth, but I have been unable to discover anything else about him. He locates Hyde Spa 'near Cheltenham in the Parish of Prestbury, in the Estate of the Right Honourable Lord Craven'. Hyde Farm is in the north-west corner of the parish, just west of the A435 Evesham Road (SO 949257); it was probably in existence as a farm before 1086 (6) , and at the beginning of the 18th century was leased out as a unit of more than 100 acres. It formed part of the very extensive Gloucestershire estates of Lord Craven, an absentee landlord whose main residence was at Ashdown House in Oxfordshire.

According to Linden, the 'Fountain of Health' at Hyde was in 1751 already 'endued with necessary and convenient Lodgings for all Sorts of Patients... a commodious Hot and Cold Bath has been erected and is constantly prepared

from these salutary Waters... now daily used to very great Advantage'. He quotes a comprehensive catalogue of ailments to be treated, including gout, costiveness, pain of hips and lumbar muscles, pimples, tumours and leprosy. Bathing was necessary for leprosy, scurvy, and the King's Evil, among other conditions. More often, the water was to be taken internally; the patient was advised to start his regime with '¼ pint on retiring, and on rising ½ pint with 1 to 4 drams of the salts added'. A course of 5 or 6 weeks was recommended, increasing the dose to 1 pint or more a day, but never more than ¼ pint at a draught, 'nor would I advise ever to provoke more than four or five purging stools each day'.

Linden is at pains to proclaim his scientific purpose and impartial judgement; after a thumbnail history of curative waters from Biblical times on, a large part of the pamphlet is devoted to a series of 'experiments' (most of which consist of adding some substance to a sample of the water and observing the reaction), and there are two full-page line engravings of the distilled 'salts' (much magnified). It is apparent, however, that his main purpose is to promote Hyde at the expense of other spas, and it seems beyond doubt that his authorship of the pamphlet arose from a commercial transaction, either a straight commission (from Craven or his tenant), or conceivably some sort of partnership in the exploitation of the Hyde water. In his opening survey of British mineral springs he specifically offers his services in respect of one (presumably undeveloped) spring in Anglesey: "whenever the Owners... will take the laudable Example from the noble Lord of the Hyde Spaw, & permit me the Power of introducing them to publick Knowledge, I shall gladly embrace the Opportunity as soon as Occasion offers'. His main criticism of other spas is that there is no scientific confirmation of their effectiveness, the proprietors are mercenary, and their clients gullible; it is a matter for astonishment that sensible people will 'greedily swallow such nasty stinking Draughts, without the least rational Account of their natural Properties'. Glastonbury, that near contemporary rival, comes in for particularly thorough disparagement as having been 'brought into Vogue by a Dream, or rather Romish spiritual Legerdemain' (the Chalice Well there is so called because Joseph of Arimathea reputedly buried the cup used at the Last Supper beneath the spot). When he tries to establish Hyde's superiority over its neighbour in Cheltenham, Linden finds himself with a delicate task, as the two springs were virtually identical in chemical composition. He maintains stoutly that Hyde is the same as Cheltenham, only better, even that the Cheltenham spring 'is but a Branch or String of the main subterraneous Current' which surfaces at Hyde. In spite of possessing more of the 'salutary Contents' Hyde is milder in its effects, avoiding 'Gripes, Tenesmus and other melancholy Inconveniences'.

At the end of the pamphlet are five pages of advertisements for mineral waters, both British and foreign, which were sold 'both wholesale and retail' in London and at selected provincial outlets. 'Hyde Purging Water' is sold 'by John Timbrell the Proprietor (who rents under the Right Hon. the Lord Craven)... The above Water, and the Salts, are to be had of Richard Fiddes and Elizabeth James' in Covent Garden, from named suppliers in Southwark, Gloucester, Cirencester, Warwick, Coventry, Sturbridge (sic), Worcester, Tewkesbury, and 'Mr. Clark's in Cheltenham'. The bottles were all sealed with Lord Craven's crest.

John Timbrell, named in the advertisement as proprietor of the spa, was possibly the prime mover in the development of Hyde, even though Linden does not mention him - perhaps he lacked advertising appeal. Timbrell seems to have been an established Prestbury resident. He, or a relative with the same name, was Overseer of the Poor in 1724 and 1734, Churchwarden in 1726 and 1737, received an allotment of land at the Inclosure in 1732, and appears on the 1751 church seating plan (7). Linden prefers to dwell on Hyde's aristocratic connection via its landowner. He dedicates the pamphlet to Lord Craven, and returns more than once to eulogise the 'most excellent Patron to the Spring'. It seems implausible that this rich aristocrat had any close involvement in devising the original scheme to exploit Hyde, though he no doubt welcomed the prospect of extra revenue from a more prosperous tenant, but he may have had a more positive role than merely permitting the use of his name. Linden says that it was thanks to Craven's 'Protection and Goodness' that the new spa was already equipped with lodgings and baths. Moreover, he had been of assistance when the project was under an unspecified threat: 'when the meanest Artifices were employed, to stifle its Success in Embrio, or to monopolize it; your Lordship ... disdained all such venal Attempts; and by that Means, devoted our salubrious Spring to publick Utility'. What lay behind these flowery phrases? It may be relevant that towards the end of the century the developers of Cheltenham Spa became nervous of the threatened rivalry of the Walton Spa scheme, where a building had just been erected to serve as a hotel, and money was paid to the promoters to discontinue operations(8). Perhaps a similar attempt had been made to buy out Hyde, and perhaps Lord Craven lent the developers there enough money to enable them to resist the offer - but this is no more than a guess.

With hindsight, the attempt to establish a spa at Hyde seems doomed to failure, yet at the time it was perhaps not such a wild scheme. True, the location was remote, but then rural simplicity was one of the main attractions for early visitors to Cheltenham; at Hyde indeed one could enjoy a more impressive view of the Cotswold escarpment. It was prudent to provide accommodation for patients, the lack of lodgings in Cheltenham remained a problem for some time; the hot and cold baths too were an extra facility which Cheltenham lacked. Moreover the sale of bottled waters and distilled salts in distant towns might bring in useful additional funds.

But Hyde was not a success. Perhaps the timing was unlucky, for Cheltenham itself went through something of a decline in the middle years of the century. By 1768 there was a new tenant at the farm, and a survey of the Craven estates in that year has no mention of a spa (9). 'John Timbrell, of Prestbury, yeoman' died in 1782, in debt (10); his principal creditor was his mother, then living at Tewkesbury, so if this was indeed the former spa proprietor, he must have been a fairly young man when he set up the venture.

Hyde Spa, with its baths and its lodgings, seems to have vanished from the landscape without trace. Or perhaps not quite. The only inhabited house shown on the 1841 Tithe map (11) is the one today called The Hyde; it originally formed one unit with the farm, but passed into separate ownership about 1905. Today it is an impressive double-fronted residence, with a walled garden and even a greenhouse which could well be as old as

the rest. It has a faintly Gothick look, but the style in general does not suggest a date before the early 19th century. However the present owners, who came there in about 1976, when house and grounds were in a very dilapidated state, consider that the house is not all of one period, the back part being older. An outhouse, since demolished, contained in 1976 an unusually large water boiler over a fire grate; it is an intriguing possibility that this could have been the original means of heating water for the baths.

Even the spring itself is hard to trace. Jameson speaks of it as being 'in the farmyard' (12), though there was another tradition of a spring a third of a mile south of the farm (13). A third possibility - perhaps not incompatible with Jameson's description - is the 'well' shown on the 1:25000 First Series Ordnance Survey at SO 950258, about 100 metres north of The Hyde. The field has since been drained, and the spot is marked by a manhole cover. On the Tithe map this point is in the middle of a narrow enclosure rather more than 100 metres long and only about 30 metres wide, running north to south between the house and Hyde Brook. The well itself is not marked, and there is no field name to explain the presence of such an odd little piece of land between 'Home Ground' and 'Little Meadow'. But supposing that this well was indeed Timbrell's spa, this strip of land could represent Hyde's own Well Walk from house to spring.

BERYL ELLIOTT

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Mr and Mrs Snape, of The Hyde, for information on the more recent history of their house, and for showing me the site of the former well.

Notes:

1. Gloucestershire Collection, HB17.1, Gloucester City Library.
2. G. Hart, A History of Cheltenham (1965), 126.
3. N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: South and West Somerset (1958).
4. L.Richardson, 'Walton Spa, near Tewkesbury', Proc Cotteswold Natur Fld Club 22 pt.3 (1926), 259.
5. T. Jameson, A Treatise on Cheltenham Waters and Biliary Diseases (Cheltenham 1803).
6. B.Rawes,'The Hundred of Cheltenham and its Boundaries', Chelt Loc Hist Soc J 2 (1984), 8.
7. G.R.O. P254 CW 4/1.
8. Richardson, 'Walton Spa'.
9. G.R.O. D184 P1.
10. Will of John Timbrell, G.R.O.
11. G.R.O. P254 SD2.
12. Jameson, Treatise...
13. L. Richardson, 'The Hyde Spa, Prestbury, near Cheltenham', Proc Cotteswold Natur Fld Club 3 (1926), 263.

Philip Strickland and the Fleece Riot of 1840

In a year when quite profound changes are being proposed in the way local rates are to be collected and raised it seems both appropriate and salutary to once again review the famous riot that took place at the Fleece Hotel in March 1840. Readers of Gwen Hart's excellent History of Cheltenham will be familiar with her description of these events, but what is less obvious is that Philip Strickland played a more direct part in the proceedings than she indicates.

The years around 1840 saw in Cheltenham not only a growing disillusionment with the town's Whig M.P., Craven Berkeley, but also an increase in the polarisation of political feeling within the borough. Most noticeable were the increased dissentions in the town's system of local government, more often than not along party lines.

The first effective local government in Cheltenham dated back to 1786 when an Act was passed appointing Commissioners to make changes essential for the development of the town. Of the other bodies in the town, although the Vestry Committee was a thriving institution its powers were of a limited nature and likewise manorial power had virtually disappeared in Cheltenham. The 1786 Act made provision for the appointment of 58 Commissioners (whose qualification was real estate to the value of £400 or an annual rent of £40) who were empowered to raise an annual rate. Their work was mainly concerned with the upkeep and building of roads, lighting and paving, and was supervised by officials including a treasurer, clerk and surveyor.

Because attendance at meetings was often low, and perhaps because the Commissioners were appointed and not elected, after the initial outburst of enthusiasm little was achieved. In 1806 a new Act was passed raising the number of Commissioners to 72 and making appointments from professional men willing to serve voluntarily and in the town's interests. However, the more active they became in improving the town, so the rate went up, and by 1811 it stood at 2s.6d. in the £1. An Act of 1821 increased the Commissioners' powers further and they were now able to start on more ambitious schemes such as gas lighting, a town sewer and a town police force.

It might seem that such an 'improving' body would have been welcomed by all in the town. However, by many they were considered an unpopular oligarchy. Not least reason for this unpopularity was the fact that they were unelected, they denied the public access to their meetings and they refused to make public their accounts. Jealous of their powers, they had also refused any suggestion that Cheltenham might have an elected town council along the lines of that proposed by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. Although the party lines were by no means clear-cut what

made matters sharper was that the majority of Commissioners were Tory and the group that opposed them mainly Liberals, such as James Boodle, secretary of the Liberal Association.

As Cheltenham continued to grow the Commissioners hoped to increase their powers and extend the rate to the new private estates, such as Joseph Pitt's Pittville, that had sprung up around the town. To do so the Commissioners decided in 1839 to apply for a new Act. This proposal was met by much opposition from Boodle and the Liberals who then drew up a petition with some 2368 signatures. The Commissioners countered with their own petition of 543 signatures. Although the opponents of the Bill had more names, the Commissioners claimed that their signatures represented rate-payers contributing some 13/14ths of the town's rate.

The Bill left Lord Segrave, patron of his brother Craven Berkeley, in an unenviable situation. Obviously, further clarification of the Commissioners' powers was needed if they were to tackle the demands placed on them, but many Liberals were opposed to the Bill and the Berkeleys might easily alienate their own supporters. As the town's M.P., Craven Berkeley agreed to introduce the Bill into the House, but could not pledge his further support for it. One particular clause that angered the Liberals was the Commissioners' demand for plural voting, and their insistence on this clause made a compromise impossible. Ironically, the most effective opposition to the Bill came from Joseph Pitt and other Tory property owners who did not wish to see the power of the Commissioners extend to their own private enclaves within the town. The Bill, despite various amendments and compromises was eventually defeated by nine votes, having only spent three days in the House of Commons, on one of which it was claimed, no business was done anyway.

Although the attempt to extend their powers had failed, the Commissioners were still left with the need to raise enough in the rates to maintain the town's essential services, such as the £993 needed to pay for the fire service. Because money was already owing in terms of contracts to the gas company and police wages the Commissioners had had to borrow £1885 at 4½% from the County of Gloucester Bank. Their total estimated expense for paving, cleansing, watching, and scavenger's work under the act (1786) was about £2400 (1). To meet this cost they decided, on 3 January 1840, to raise a rate of 9d. in the £1. This time their opponents attempted to thwart the power of the Commissioners by contesting their right to raise such a rate. What followed was an at times confusing and bad tempered episode that certainly did the town no benefit and in fact was seen as damaging to Berkeley's hold over his representation of the borough.

In what seems to have been a fairly deliberate and organised 'set-up' the notorious Fleece Riot took place. At the beginning of March 1840 the Commissioners met at the Fleece Inn where they were hearing rating appeals. One such appeal was from Philip Strickland, a painter of 36 Bath Street, and was presented in the form of a printed address which contained some eight grounds of appeal. The appeal claimed that the rate was not necessary, it was greater than that required by the Act, that the Commissioners had spent and borrowed money illegally and that the rate was being collected retrospectively to pay off old debts (2). A crowd had gathered to witness Strickland and others present their appeals. In fact it was reported that

a certain Malone (who sometimes acted as a runner for Mr Gyde, a solicitor who had recently opposed the new Town Bill) was standing at the corner of Henrietta Street handing out printed appeals to all who wished to sign them. Matters were made worse by the fact that the Commissioners were only letting those presenting appeals into the chambers one at a time, where, it was stated, they were cross-examined. The crowd outside got angry and impatient and feeling that they had been shut out of proceedings eventually burst in on the Commissioners with shouts of 'robbers and thieves'.

Although no bodily harm was being done, the Commissioners felt anxious enough to pack up their belongings and call out the police. The police were unable to dispel the crowd and the Commissioners were forced (somewhat thankfully) to close their meeting. One report stated that the appellants then elected a Chartist tailor into the chair and passed a vote of censure on the Commissioners; however there is little evidence that those present were Chartist in any way (3).

The notorious Fleece Riot led to the arrest and trial of several townsmen at the assizes in Gloucester. Liberals commented disparagingly on the fact that 'Tory malevolence' had blown proceedings out of all proportion by not letting these cases be heard at the local magistrates court and the men having the 'heavy matter of the trial kept hanging over their heads for a year' (4). The case for the defendants when it was eventually heard at Gloucester on 5 April 1841, hinged mainly on the fact that the 'riot' was not premeditated, that the actions of the Commissioners had made matters worse and that no bodily harm or damage to property was done.

Baron Gurney presided over the case with a 'special jury' and the Cheltenham solicitor Mr. H. Gyde acted for the defendants. Despite claims from the Commissioners that they had been intimidated and jostled, only two of the defendants were found guilty, a Mr. Bidmead and Mr. Spackman who both received a month's imprisonment and Bidmead an additional £10 fine. Strickland was one of the four other defendants who went unpunished, despite claims that he was in the forefront of those who had pushed their way into the chambers. What seems to have acted in Strickland's particular defence was that he could produce evidence of having paid his rate prior to the riot and that his presence at the chambers was not to refuse to pay his rate but rather to appeal against it.

Claims that many of those who had been present at the riot had not been rate payers were deemed not to be relevant as all those on trial were. In fact their professions (painter, plumber, auctioneer, tradesmen, greengrocer and currier) give us some idea of that class which supported the Liberals in the town, namely the skilled and financially independant middling ranks (5). In opposition to the Commissioners the Liberals made light of the charges (the result, they claimed, of 'Tory malevolence') by feting Bidmead through the streets of Cheltenham and honouring him with a public dinner at The Lamb after his release (6).

One significant point that does emerge from the evidence heard at the trial was that party feeling was running high both then and at the time of the riot. The 'rioters' were said to have shouted 'Tory robbers, Tory thieves' and the chairman of the Commissioners, Major Askew, was grabbed by Bidmead who said to him, 'I am astounded to see you keep such company:

you are now as bad as these Tory fellows'. Given its timing of just a few months before the election of 1841, the trial could only have served to have raised party feeling still higher in the borough.

Meanwhile, shortly after the event itself, on Thursday 9 March 1840 a number of opponents to the Commissioners' Bill called a meeting at the Athenaeum which was attended by over 150. The Rev. Jenkin Thomas was elected to the chair and a number of resolutions were passed. George Rowe, a founder member of the Liberal Association and a shareholder in the Liberal Cheltenham Examiner, pointed out that the new Bill would cost some £2900 whereas the existing one only cost £1200 and then drew attention to the fact that Mr Roy (the Commissioners' parliamentary agent and potential Tory election candidate) was charging £1500 for his general expenses. The chairman asked if there was a Commissioner present who wished to put their side of the argument but none came forward. Mr Bulgin proposed that a committee should be formed to appeal to the Quarter Sessions against the rate and Mr Dallaway censured the Commissioners for not publishing their accounts and for running up debts of £3000; both motions were carried unanimously (7).

Strickland's appeal against the new rate eventually came before the Quarter Sessions in April and the case was heard with much local interest and many magistrates, including Lord Segrave and Craven Berkeley, being present. Evidence was heard with Mr Talbot and Mr Gyde leading the appellant's case and Mr Kelly and Mr Greaves that of the Commissioners. The Commissioners' main defence against the charges relating to Strickland were that they were in fact hearing appeals before the meeting was interrupted and that the validity of Strickland's case was weak in that being a printed handout, it was not of an individual nature. Their view on the events that day was that the whole thing had been stage managed.

After an adjournment J. Cox, Clerk to the Commissioners, put the case for a necessary expenditure of £3000, which included such items as £446 for the police and £397 for the fire engine; even lighting the town clock, he told the court, cost £60. The case of the Commissioners found some sympathy with the chairman of the court and some four other magistrates but they were outvoted by Lord Segrave, Craven Berkeley and eight others (whom it was later implied were personal friends of the brothers, most of them having 'lately been put in the commission of peace by Lord Segrave himself') (8). The result of the hearing, much to the dismay of the Commissioners, was that the 9d. rate was quashed and a new one ordered.

Unable to pay its employees, the Commissioners had to lay off the police force (not a bad thing in some people's eyes as Cheltenham with its blue coated police officers had acquired the look of a garrison town). The gas company, pressing for payment, then threatened to cut off the town's supply. Later in April 1840 the Commissioners tried as a final measure an appeal direct to the Court of Queen's Bench, where Lord Chief Justice Denman reversed the decision of the Gloucester magistrates and established the Commissioners' legal right to raise the 9d. rate. In effect the Commissioners emerged from their setback with increased powers and the town recovered quickly. The rate was collected, the police re-employed and the gas bill paid! However, the one person to emerge rather less successfully from the whole affair was Craven Berkeley. Despite his claims that he had acted with the best interest of the rate-payers at heart, Berkeley found himself under attack throughout his election canvass, both by the

Conservative and Radical Press, for his part in the defeat of the Town Bill and the attempted quashing of the rate.

Predictably the Cheltenham Chronicle called his action a shameful instance of public interest sacrificed to individual selfishness. The defeat of the Town Bill, it was claimed, had inflicted great and lasting injuries on the town, had disturbed its peace and unnecessary litigation had cost the ratepayers £5000. Here, says the Chronicle, was sufficient reason why owners of property should earnestly desire a change of representation, and as we shall see, the eventual Conservative candidate (James Agg-Gardner) did much to bring to the voters' attention the fact that as new lord of the manor he was a man of substantial property within the town (9). Time and time again, the Conservative press made reference to the 'unworthy part enacted by Berkeley in his factious opposition to the Town Bill'; so much so that the affair must be regarded as playing a significant part in the eventual election result. Further criticism from Berkeley came from the Free Press. Its editor, Samuel Harper, seemed to have forgotten that he once had been against the Commissioners and had voted against their proposal to raise the new rate in 1839, for in an editorial of 26 June 1841 he now accused Berkeley of voting against a measure essential to the prosperity of the town. When it came to attacking the Berkeleys, any mud, it seems, was good enough to throw at them.

Essentially the 1841 election in Cheltenham was short on national issues; even Berkeley's announcement that he was now in support of the ballot seems to have made little impact within the town (10). Rather than considerations of the Corn Laws or the abolition of Church rates, both important issues, it was the struggle between the town's essentially Tory group of Commissioners and an outraged group of Liberal rate-payers that formed the background and in fact galvanised party politics into action. That final victory in the matter of the new rate had gone to the Commissioners was also indicative of the growing strength of the Tory party within the town. However it is also true to say that events left scars on the Tories as well. Their difficulty in finding a suitable candidate for the election was made worse in that their first hope was Mr Roy who had acted as the Commissioners' political agent at the time of the struggle with the new Town Bill. Disclosures that his personal fees were in the order of £1570 led to an outcry and his standing down (11).

Rather than seeing the Fleece Riot as a temporary outbreak of discontent and bad feeling amongst the artisans of the town, we should perhaps regard it as symptomatic of a growing two-party feeling and bitterness that was to reach its climax in the election contests of 1847 and 1848 (12).

ADRIAN COURTENAY

Notes:

1. G.R.O. Cheltenham Borough Records 1839-41, bundle 17.
2. Ibid.
3. Cheltenham Journal 9 March 1840.
4. Cheltenham Examiner 7 April 1841.
5. Ibid.
6. Cheltenham Examiner 5 May 1841.
7. Cheltenham Free Press 14 March 1840.

8. Cheltenham Free Press 9 May 1840.
9. Cheltenham Chronicle 19 May 1841.
10. Cheltenham Journal 16 June 1841.
11. Cheltenham Free Press 14 May 1840.
12. See my article, 'Beer, breakfast and bribery: electoral corruption in Cheltenham during the elections of 1847 and 1848'; Chelt Loc Hist Soc J 4 (1986), 45-52.

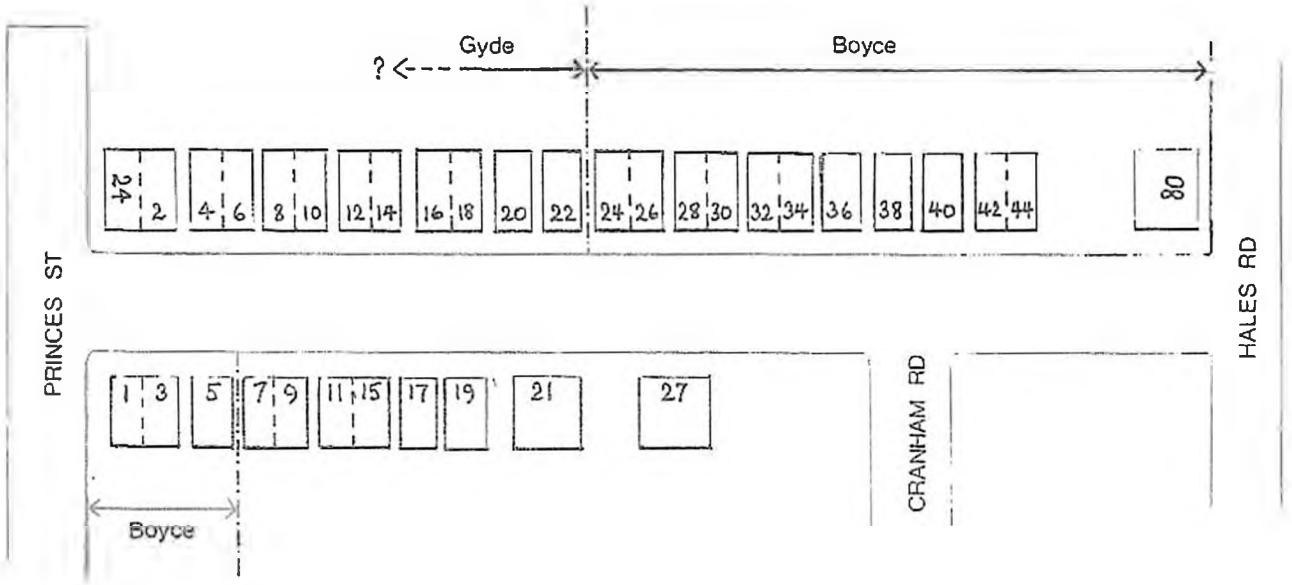
King's Road, Cheltenham: contributions to a history

In comparison with the old thoroughfares of central Cheltenham and the grand building schemes of the 'Regency' period, the residential streets that were steadily added to the periphery of Cheltenham in the second half of the 19th century get little mention in the histories of the town's development. This is not entirely surprising, but it would still be interesting to know more of how and when the Victorian Cheltenham that many of us live in came to be formed. The following remarks - no more than scratching the surface of this bit of history - consider one small example of Victorian speculative residential development, King's Road, which runs from Hales Road to Princes Street.

Shortly after we moved to King's Road, I had taken the obvious first step of the domestic historian, going along to the Reference Library to scan the good run of street directories kept at Clarence Street for details of earlier occupants of our own house, but it was not until last year, prompted by some copies of details from a neighbour's deeds, that I took the investigation any further. To my regret, I never took notes of our own deeds when we bought the house, and as I'm reluctant to part with the required inspection fee, the papers will have to gather dust in Halifax for a few more years yet.

In the spring of 1987, I completed a re-examination of the street directory entries for the whole street, which enabled me to compile a list of residents/owners, and an approximate date of construction, for each house. Before the 1890s, however, the consistency and completeness of coverage of the various street directories cannot be taken for granted, and a check with the 1885 1:500 map (surveyed in 1884) was very helpful. Copies of this list went to interested neighbours and the Reference Library, and as a result I was shown deeds to another neighbour's house.

A belated check of the 1871 and 1881 Census returns (again at Clarence Street) provided good benchmarks that it would have been useful to have had earlier. The census information underlines how unreliable the street



King's Road and its houses

King's Road, looking west towards Princes Street; on the left are nos. 1-5 King's Road.

directories can be in matters of detail - odd-looking surnames such as 'Mirse' and 'Pisher' in the directories (repeated over several years) were revealed in the census as straightforward 'Morse' and 'Fisher'.

What the above sources showed was that although laid out in the 1860s, King's Road is essentially a product of the 1870s and very early 1880s: all the Victorian houses are present on the 1884 survey (the only later building is in-filling, detailed below). In 1868 the road is described as 'a new road', 'lately made' by the Rev. William Boyce of Cheltenham, the then owner of about half the land on the northern or cricket ground side. Boyce's holdings were 450 feet, starting from Hales Road, on the northern side (in modern terms, even numbers from 44 down to 24) and 97 feet of the lower end of the opposite side (present nos 1, 3 and 5). In 1868 Boyce sold these two blocks of land for £1130 to John Sutherland Philipps, gentleman, of Cheltenham for development. The dwelling houses to be erected on the land were to be of not less than £25 rateable value. Philipps, who is shown by the census to have been born in Bombay, in about 1823, kept a sizeable plot for himself at the junction of King's Road and Hales Road, erecting there the large house called Eldersfield (now 80 Hales Road).

It is not known for certain who chose the name King's Road, which is obviously similar in association to the nearby, and slightly earlier, Princes Street and Duke Street, and the approximately contemporary Victoria Terrace; the Rev. Boyce, who 'made' the road, is a likely candidate.

The only other identified owner in the period before building started is William Gyde, the well-known Cheltenham landowner and developer - mentioned in Hart's History of Cheltenham - whose holding included the sites of the present nos 22, 20 and 18, and possibly extended down the remainder of the even side to Princes Street. Gyde died on 7 October 1867, and ownership of the King's Road land passed to his sons-in-law the Rev. John Hindes Groome, rector of Earl Soham, Suffolk, and John Moore Esq of 86 Buckingham Palace Road, London, and his daughter Mrs Sara Grey of Cheltenham.

When Gyde's successors came to sell the King's Road land, they too imposed a number of restrictive covenants: all houses built were to be set 14 feet back from the road, the elevations were to be approved by them or their surveyor, the houses were to be of an annual value of at least £20, and were to have iron railings set on forest stone plinths and 4 feet high, in front and between. Any other buildings were to be at least 70 feet back from the road. Use as a public house, or for the sale of beer, wines or spirits, was prohibited. Quaint as some of these covenants may now appear, they obviously did much to secure the general homogeneity of appearance that forms much of the visual appeal of these streets.

The exact sequence of construction of the street is hard to establish without access to more of the original deeds, but the general pattern is now clear. By 1871 four smaller houses (two pairs) at the bottom end of the even side (at this time called 'King's Road North') were occupied; another had been built but was untenanted. By 1872 there were four pairs of semi-detached villas. About two years later another pair, and two detached houses, were built, with the last Victorian gaps being filled by about 1878.

The odd side both started and finished a little later. No.1 went up in about 1875, followed fairly quickly by the two detached houses (and one half-pair, never completed) at the top of the odd side. This side was finished between 1881 and 1884, with the addition of two more pairs and two detached houses. Post-Victorian construction has filled a couple of gaps: at the top of the even side, a pair of semi-detached houses was erected in about 1935, on land that had been the vegetable garden of 80 Hales Road (Eldersfield). On the odd side, the last house to be built was no.17, first listed in 1969, on the site of the unbuilt half of the pair of villas mentioned above.

The individual differences of most of the houses in the street suggest that several different builders were involved. Only one of them is known at present, one Henry James of Charlton Kings, who in June 1869 bought from Gyde's successors the land on which no.20 now stands; he had already bought the site of no.22. On the site of no.20 he put up a carpenter's workshop, and by 1873 he had built no.22, which began life as 'Heightley'.

Henry James's finances were not healthy, and his progress over the next three years has an all-too-familiar ring to it. On 5 April 1873 he raised a private mortgage of £400 on the house from Jemima Lane, widow, of Deerhurst, and Edward Brydges, gentleman. of Cheltenham. The whole of the principal was still outstanding two years later, when at the builder's request, one Annette Susanne Hollis took over the debt, advancing him a further £50.

In early 1876, Henry James was obliged to file for liquidation, and on 19 May of that year Charles Winstone of Cheltenham was appointed trustee of his estate. Benjamin Hack, builder, and William Marmon, brickmaker, both of Cheltenham, formed a 'Committee of Inspection'. The latter two asked Winstone to pay off the mortgage - by then a total of £458 2s.6d. - and thus in August 1876 Winstone became the owner of 'no.22'. The tenant at this time was the Rev. John Leighton - possibly connected with the as yet unbuilt Leighton Road. Presumably not every house in King's Road had such a complicated early history.

The present house numbers were adopted in about 1937 (it is in that year that they first appear in the street directories). Up to that time, all the detached houses and some of the semi-detached houses carried names, only a few of which are still in evidence today. Although for the most part these names remained unchanged for as long as they were in general use, some houses have undergone several changes of label. Some changes seem quite arbitrary - Kurseong (no.2) becomes Ipplepen, then 14 years later reverts to Kurseong - while others clearly indicate a raising of tone: some of the smaller semi-detached houses - 'villas' - which started life as '1 and 2 Hillsborough Villas', for example, acquired separate names for each half of the pair.

The 1881 census information on occupations and ages of residents suggests that the new houses typically attracted the professional/genteel 'immigrant', many of them getting on in years, though trade and local people are also among the number. Of 23 heads of household, only four were Cheltenham-born. One came from Charlton Kings, six from elsewhere in Gloucestershire, and the rest from various counties of England, Wales and Ireland. The proportion of retired/widowed/annuitant heads of household seems fairly high - nine out of 23.

King's Road: house names and first known residents

Present no.	Former names	Residents
1	St Edwards Villa	1875 - Mr GEORGE
3	Cranham Villa	1882 - J.PAGE
5	Perrivale	1884 - Mr BASTIN
7	Cullendale	1888 - William PRESTON, schoolteacher
9	Coombe Lodge	1885 - Mr REA
11	Glencoe	1884 - Andrew SMITH, upholsterer
15	Charlcut	1884 - Willie John MERRETT, insurance agent
17	-	1969 - Jeffrey D.TAYLOR
19	Stoneville	1881 - William GRIMES, stonemason (see also below)
21	Deodar Villa ; Deodar House	1878 - Mrs Caroline STRICKLAND, ret'd umbrella maker
27	Borrowdale: Brentwood	1878 - George BARTLETT, grocer
(24 Princes St)	1 King's Rd North; Luxor Villa	1871 - William GRIMES, stonemason
2	2 King's Rd North; Kurseong; Ipplepen	1871 - Charles MORSE, carpenter & joiner
4	1 Hillsborough Villas	1871 - James HILL, commercial traveller
6	2 Hillsborough Villas; Hillsborough	1871 - Henry G. ENGLISH, riding master
8	1 Eden Villas	1881 - John GORE, retired hair dresser
10	2 Eden Villas	1881 - Richard WINTLE, hotel yard manager
12	1 Glendale Villas	1872 - Mrs STRICKLAND (later at No 21?)
14	2 Glendale Villas	1872 - Richard KENDRICK
16	1 Ferndale Villas	1881 - Edward NASH, retired wine and spirit merchant
18	2 Ferndale Villas	1881 - David WILLIAMS, master carpenter and joiner
20	1 Heightley Villas; Heightley	1881 - Mrs Delia FREND, major's widow
22	2 Heightley Villas; Sidcot	1881 - George VEARE, retired coach builder
24	1 Rosedale Villas: Ripley	1872 - Capt John TURNER, retired
26	2 Rosedale Villas; Rosedale Villa	1872 - Capt M. BOWIE
28	1 Avondale Villas; Avondale Villa	1881 - John R. BEDWELL, retired surgeon
30	2 Avondale Villas; Avondale	1891 - C.JEFFERSON, Esq
32	Floraville; Donourville; Donnerville	1874 - Mrs DICK
34	Hartwell	1873 - Mr LAKE
36	Glendale	1874 - Mrs GEORGE

38	Redland Lodge	1878 - Edward FISHER, tailor
40	Halbeath	1874 - Rev James LINDSAY, C of E clergyman
42	Kingsway	1935 - Stanley SMITH
44	The Holt	1935 - Walter W. HOLTHAM

JAMES HODSDON

No. 20 King's Road