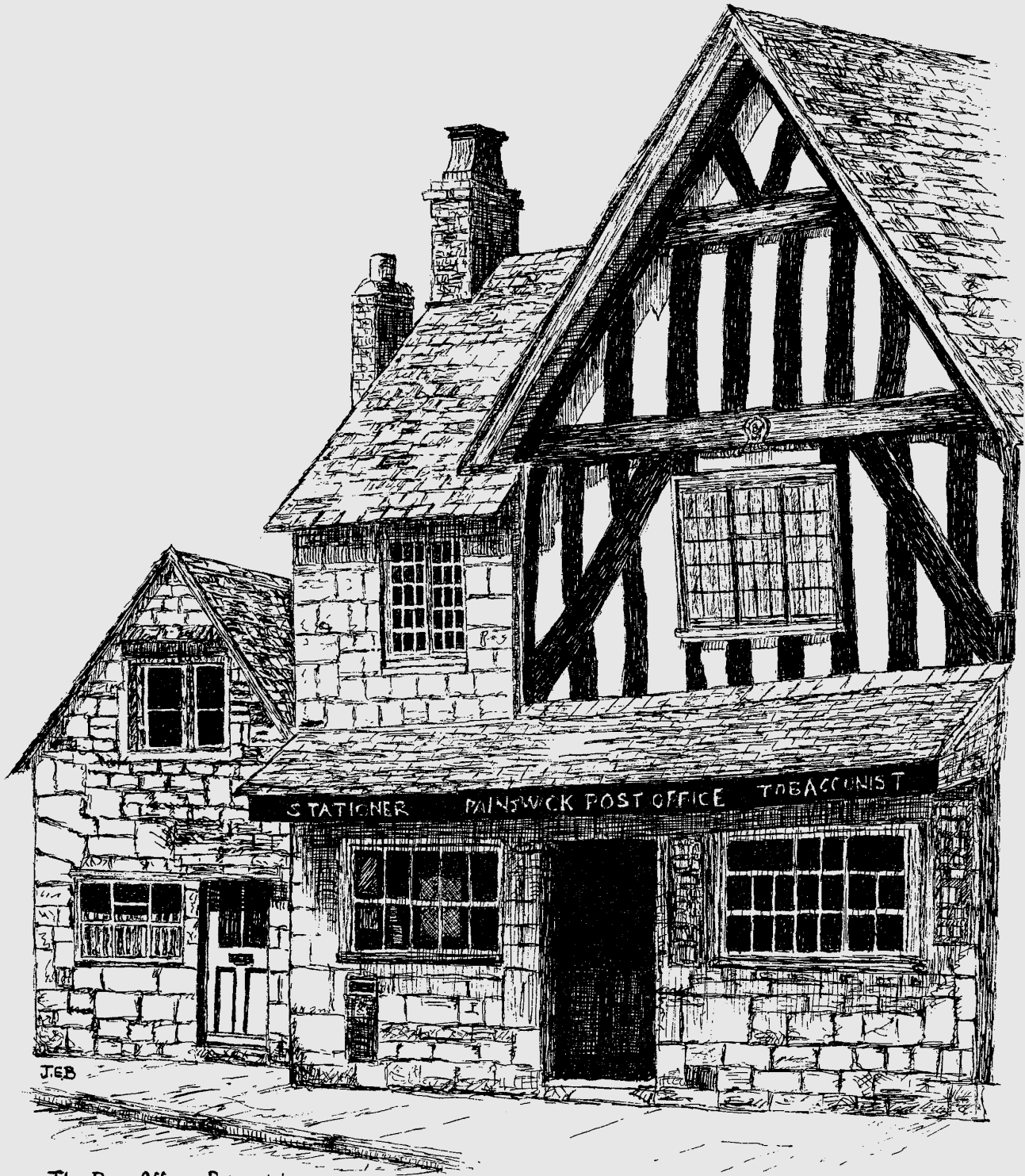


PAINSWICK CHRONICLE



The Post Office, Painswick

Painswick Chronicle is published by Painswick Local History Society. It aims to present articles on a wide range of aspects of Painswick's history. All contributions, including letters and comments, are welcome and should be sent to:

Mr J Bailey
Thistledown
Randalls Field
Kings Mill Lane
Painswick
GL6 6SA

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Mr P Rowe
The Churn
Painswick
GL6 6QF

Website
www.painswickhistory.org.uk

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PAINSWICK LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

President: Lord Dickinson

This is the tenth issue of the Painswick Chronicle and thus something of a landmark. From the outset the aim was to record a broad spectrum of local history and that aim has continued throughout to be realised. Eighty one articles and thirty eight authors have covered topics ranging from personal histories and anecdotes to academic studies and in-depth research on a variety of aspects of Painswick's history. These together with many interesting and illuminating illustrations and photographs, reports of Society meetings and many, often humorous, jottings can now be regarded as a permanent record and resource for future reference.

We would like to thank all those who have contributed to this issue and also to remind readers that we welcome correspondence and ideas for articles of any length on any subject relevant to the history of Painswick.

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PAINSWICK ROCOCO GARDEN

by

Richard Dickinson and Paul Moir

“We came to Painswick, a market town prettily situated and on the other side of the hill, and esteem’d an exceeding good air; just above it Mr. Hyett built an house of hewn stone, in a fine situation, and made a very pretty garden; before it is a court with statues and sphynxes, and beyond that a lawn for the grand entrance; the garden is on an hanging ground from the house in the vale, and on a rising ground on the other side and at the end; all are cut into walks through wood and adorn’d with water and buildings, and in one part is the kitchen garden.”

Bishop Pococke 1757

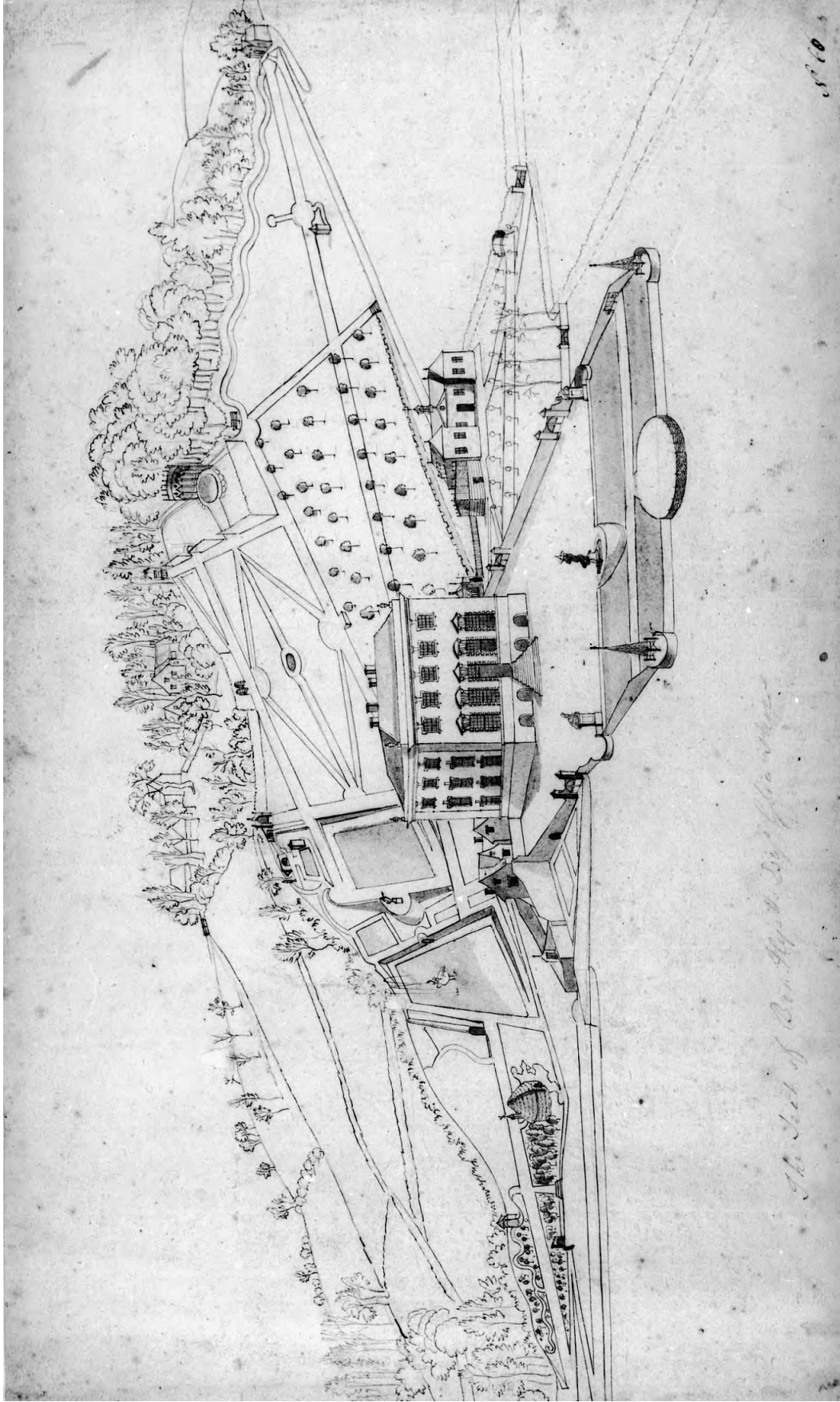
By the early 18th century the Hyetts had become a wealthy Gloucester family. For three generations they had been practising as attorneys and had acquired a number of properties in and around the city. One of these was Marybone House, a substantial building with large grounds on the edge of the city, not far from the river and the docks. It was from here that in 1734 Charles Hyett, who suffered from asthma, moved away to build a new mansion on the outskirts of Painswick where the purer air, he supposed, would enable him to breathe more easily. The house took three years to build and he named it Buenos Aires – literally Good Air. Sadly the move from Gloucester could not have benefited him much as he died a year after the house was completed.

His son, Benjamin, inherited the property and he was the “Mr. Hyett” to whom Bishop Pococke refers, and he it was who created the garden now known as the Painswick Rococo Garden. Marybone and its garden have disappeared; but, by the merest chance, the Buenos Aires garden survives.

Charles Hyett would have had little time to think about a garden other than perhaps to make the formal courtyards at the front and at the side leading towards an elegant stable building set discreetly back from the approach drive. But to Benjamin his son, the creation of a garden suitable for the impressive house his father built must have been an absorbing challenge.

That garden was completed within ten years. We know this because in 1748 Benjamin commissioned Thomas Robins to paint pictures of his properties in Gloucester and Painswick, and those paintings are still here. Robins was widely recognized in the West of England as a painter of fine houses and gardens and the few delicately drawn watercolours which survive testify to his fine draughtsmanship and minute attention to detail. The surprising thing is that, were it not for these paintings, the very existence of the Rococo period of garden design might never have been known. The painting of Buenos Aires and its garden is the key that unlocks that short, transitory phase in garden history. Here at Painswick we have the only complete surviving Rococo garden exactly as it was when first laid out.

The concept of the Rococo in garden design was short lived. It reflected the contempo-



Sketch for Robin's painting of the garden
 Reproduced by permission of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art

rary mood in the arts. Before the 18th century in England ordinary people did not have much in the way of gardens – gardens were for the elite for aristocratic entertainment and tended to be rather austere. By the early 1700s a reaction came with the introduction of lakes, lawns, temples and woods with classical structures of domes and pillars to form a romantic setting.

Soon followed a further change of emphasis with gardens becoming more compressed. While still retaining some classical influences they came to be designed to combine asymmetry with an arrangement of a series of pictures, not all visible at the same time. The intention was to delight the eye and create a mood, even to the extent of using superficial constructions not necessarily designed to last.

So gardens, even small gardens, were filled with buildings and unexpected features combined with vistas and geometrical



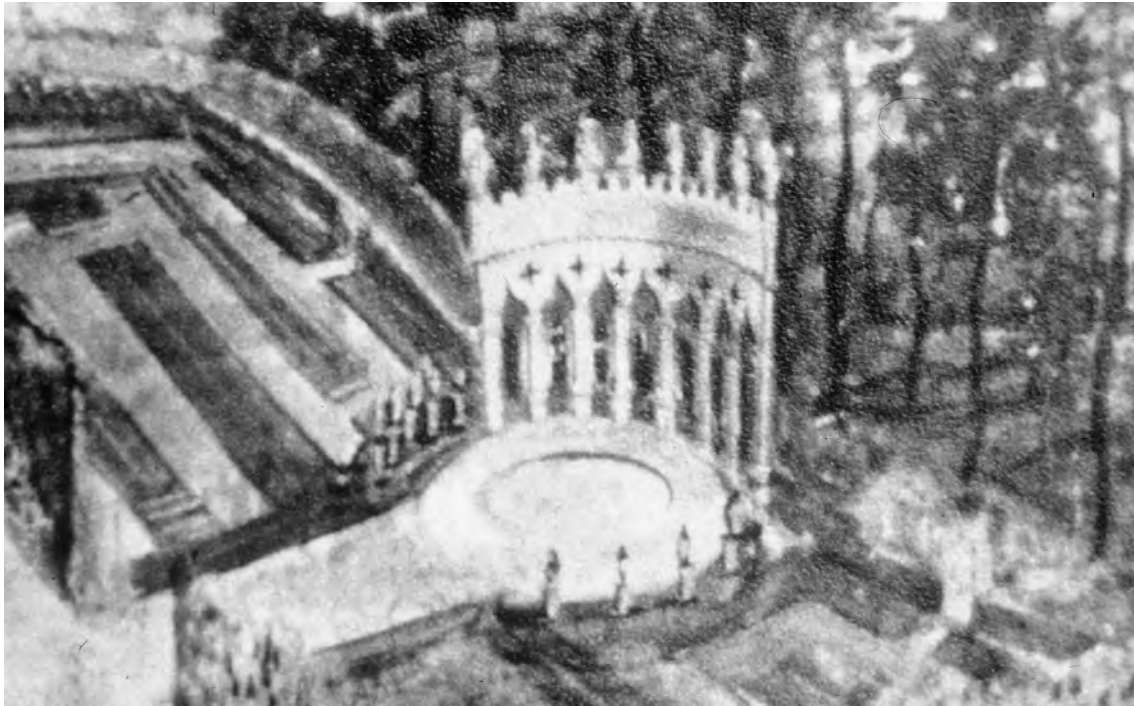
Detail from Robins painting - The Eagle House



The Eagle House after the rebuilding of the missing superstructure

formal shapes, all of which is perfectly illustrated in the Thomas Robins painting of Buenos Aires in 1748. Here there are many structures and statues, a fountain, a tunnel arbour, a plunge pool, orchard, kitchen garden, fish ponds, a formal flower garden and a serpentine path. Some features which perhaps were not intended to be more than ephemeral have disappeared; but the structure of the garden is unchanged and the visitor can now see a garden which Benjamin Hyett would have immediately recognised. Apart from the size of trees, the features and design are just as he would have known them.

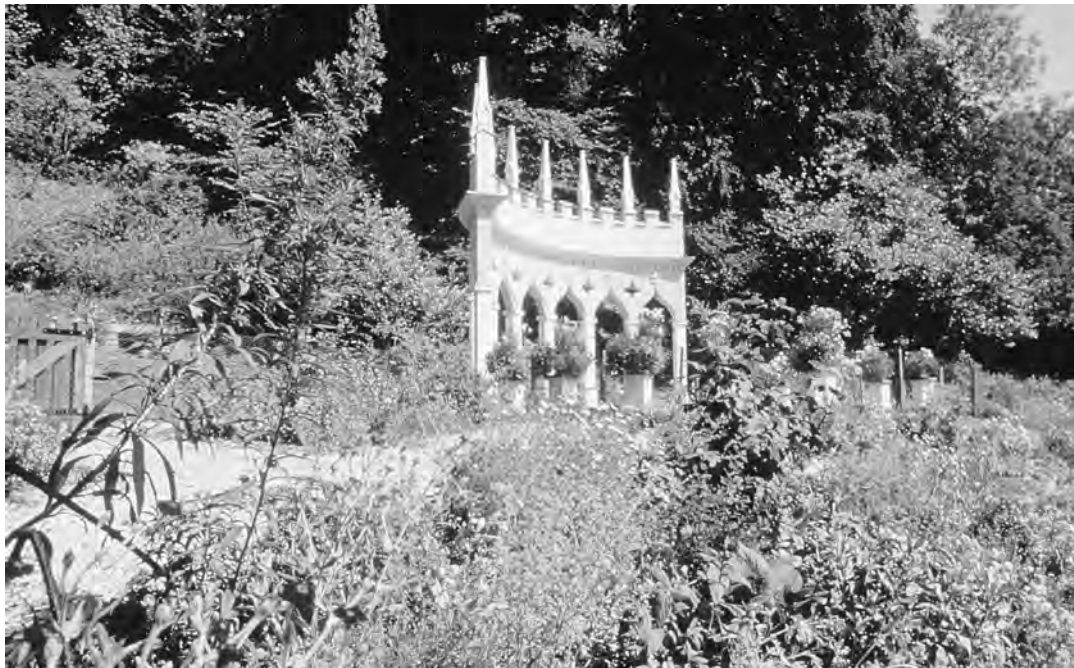
The Rococo was a garden style which turned out to be something of a passing fancy. Certainly this garden at Painswick did not remain for long in that format, as is borne out by the Charles Baker map of 1820 which shows it substantially altered,



Detail of the Robins painting showing the vanished Exedra

and it was in that altered shape that it continued for the next 150 years. But in that same 150 years the family fortune of five generations of Hyetts slowly eroded. With steadily increasing levels of taxation, rising costs and falling rental incomes, for many families survival was only made possible by selling off parts of their inheritance.

And this is what happened to the Hyett estates, until in the early 1960s there was not much left to pay for upkeep. Of the five gardeners employed, even all through the last



The re-built Exedra



Long vista after preliminary clearance

War, only one now remained, and when he left for a better job the inevitable decision had to be taken to abandon the valley garden. Had it then been known that no other complete garden of that period survived it is possible that efforts would then have been made at least to maintain it in outline and that a commercial woodland planting operation would not have been embarked on, which would also have made it much less of a task twenty years later when that same woodland had to be grubbed out. However, a wood was planted, and in the way that young plantations have, it soon became a jungle of bramble, old mans beard and liberated domestic blackberry which rampaged among new conifers, cherry, beech and oak saplings. Soon too, the paths

disappeared, buildings began to be submerged beneath the undergrowth, the pond silted up, windblown dead elms lay crisscrossed in the Grove and the whole area became impassable.



Long vista today

For twenty years this state of affairs continued with annual growth adding to the tangle, until the early 1980s when an increased interest in the works of Thomas Robins led to an investigation into whether any of the gardens he painted had survived. First upon the scene was John Harris who in 1976 had assembled a superb exhibition of Thomas Robins watercolour paintings and drawings at the Heinz Gallery in Portman Square, London. He was followed by members of the Georgian Group, Roger White and Tim Mowl who like John Harris came to Painswick and fought their way through undergrowth to see what they could find of the original garden. What they found was a neglected wood with a hardly visible pond contained within the same boundaries as the original garden surrounded by fields almost as Thomas Robins had portrayed them and five garden buildings and structures almost intact. The public interest generated by their subsequent publications directly led in 1984 to the decision to restore the garden to its 1748 format.



Kitchen garden area jungle before 1984

In retrospect that decision seems to have been somewhat reckless. We had no conception of the number of problems and headaches that lay ahead: no experience of restoration works; no idea of the amount of red-tape and obfuscation that we were in for, or where to begin, and little enough money even to get the preliminary clearing done. But we had friends, and those friends introduced others who were interested in the concept and willing to help. Improbable though it may seem, this group, who in effect became the first management committee, consisted of three garden historians, one restoration garden consultant, three others with expertise on 18th century garden structures and two local keen gardeners, both duchesses. They were a great lot and without their involvement it is doubtful that the project would ever have started.

The initial intention was that the necessary funding would be raised by appeals, as and when required, from charitable trusts concerned with conservation and restoration; but

this proved illusory. Without charitable status no charity was prepared to make any financial contribution. So, in 1988, the enterprise was converted into a registered charitable trust with a long lease of the garden. Since then, generous and substantial funding has been received.

The restoration was a formidable undertaking. Before any start could be made on the reconstruction of the garden the new wood had to be removed together with many other fallen trees; extensive tree surgery had to be done to make other trees safe; a chestnut had to be removed from where it had fallen across the pond, and that pond had to have two centuries of silt removed before being re-puddled with clay.

Apart from Bishop Pococke's reference to a kitchen garden, the Robins painting was the only clue to the original layout. In this painting a major feature is the long vista, stretch-



Kitchengarden today

ing from the Red House at one end to the bottom of the wood at the other and it was from this feature that the working plan for the restoration was planned. On the ground, part of the vista was still discernible and it was not too difficult to mark the rest out. From this base line it was possible to estimate the positions of other features. But this was no more than reasonable guesswork and it soon became apparent that the guesswork could lead to costly mistakes. Progress could not continue on that basis. Establishing beyond doubt the exact position of the kitchen garden became essential.

An archaeological team was engaged to see what they could uncover. Trial trenches were dug across the lines of where it was supposed that paths lay and at the corners as shown in the Robins painting. These digs resulted in the exposure of sections of the original paths – enough to verify exactly the position and shape of the kitchen garden. Not only did this discovery fix the layout, but also proved that Robins had painted what he saw on the ground and was not just producing, as some had supposed, a design for a garden.

Further archaeological digs followed in the course of time to locate the positions and shapes of other features shown in the painting. Among these were the upper round pond; the Exedra, for which no foundations were discovered; the Eagle House superstructure and the Hermitage in the Grove. No sign of this exotic building was uncovered, though the path layout in the vicinity indicated where it would have been.

Funding of repairs and further restoration takes an ever increasing proportion of management time as the work involved in applications seems to grow exponentially with each one. The Trust even had to withdraw from a Heritage Lottery application as the costs just to make the application were projected to rise well into six figures, with no guarantee of success at the end. Government agencies seem unable to make quick decisions and even change their minds along the way. In line with all businesses, the burden of complying with new regulations diverts time to unproductive tasks. Hours previously spent by staff in maintaining the garden are now spent behind a desk.

Volunteers are a huge asset. Not only is there a large team who look after the admissions desk, but there is also a growing number who get their hands dirty in the garden. Some come regularly weekly, or perhaps just once a month, but their help in keeping the Trust viable is invaluable.

Over the years annual visitor numbers grew until they levelled out at about 30,000. This reflects a general slow downturn in visits to gardens nationally. With a strong pound and cheap overseas flights people have been taking fewer short breaks in England and there is now increasing competition to attract leisure spending.

Although visitor numbers are static, other events attract an increasing number of participants. In particular, much use of the garden is made by schools who employ it as a base for practical exercises that fit in with their curricula, notably in numeracy problem-solving. Adult training courses in subjects such as pruning and dry-stone walling are also held throughout the year, and work experience students have been involved in national schemes for adults seeking training in horticulture. As a side-line painting classes are held every week.

Other events include theatrical productions performed both by children and adults, and the garden is becoming a popular location for weddings and civil partnership ceremonies.

All these events contribute towards the cost of maintaining the many listed buildings using traditional materials and skills which does not come cheap.

Provided that the level of public interest in visiting gardens remains constant the trustees are confident that the future of the garden is assured. When the restoration is completed with the reinstatement of the two major structures shown in the Robins painting – a classical seat and a hermitage – the garden will undoubtedly take its place towards the top of the list of the truly great gardens in the country.

JOTTINGS

“The Clerk instructed to draw the attention of Dr Ferguson to the fact that the amount of brandy ordered by him was more than that ordered in all the other districts of the Union combined and asking for an explanation.”

Board of Guardians minutes
8th February 1901
[Dr Fergusson was a Painswick
doctor living at Hazlebury. Ed.]

“Ordered that the Overseers do make an inquiry after all persons who reside in this Parish who have no Legal settlement therein and have them Examined and removed to their respective parishes.”

Vestry Minutes
14th February 1794

“Ordered the Officer do buy a Pot of Wheatleys Ointment for William Witts having the Itch.” [ie scabies]

Vestry Minutes
3rd September 1775

“It having been reported that a House situate in the Vicarage Lane is a house of Ill Fame it is ordered that Daniel Spring with any sufficient assistance enquire into the truth of the above report and take legal measures for suppressing the same.”

Vestry Minutes
5th September 1822

“...notice be given in the Church next Sunday that all persons who trespass in the Churchyard shall be prosecuted and any person giving information thereof shall be rewarded with Half a Guinea for defacing any tomb or cutting any Yew Tree.”

Vestry Minutes
1st August 1796

PIN MAKING IN PAINSWICK

by

John Bailey

INTRODUCTION

For at least 300 years cloth making was the major industry of Painswick and which was part of the area referred to by a traveller as “the land of the clothiers”.¹ Few however appreciate that from c1850 pin making became the major industry in the Parish and remained so for some 130 years.

ANCIENT PIN MAKERS

Pins are known to have been used as far back as 3000 BC by the ancient Assyrians and Egyptians and subsequently down the centuries by Greeks, Etruscans and Romans. It was probably the Romans who introduced pins into Britain. Those that survive are made of bone.



Fig 2

They were used to pin cloaks or dresses together and the ladies used them in their hair, as they were often finely decorated. A number have been excavated at various Roman sites, such as Caerwent (see Fig 1); more locally, some pins were found during excavations of the Roman villa at Great Witcombe. (see Fig.2)² It is said that the original patentee of ‘the safety pin’ took the idea from a Roman fibula (clothing clasp).³ He simply made the whole of the pin and its spring from one piece of wire. Pins from the seventh century and Viking style pins from late ninth or



Fig 1

Finely decorated bone hair pin found at Caerwent

tenth century have also been found at Caerwent. (see Fig.3)

Protective statutes passed in 1463 and later, prohibiting the importation of pins into England is evidence that pin making continued in Britain. Something of a trade war developed and the Dutch took retaliatory action against English cloth exports into the Low Countries. Import restrictions were eventually dropped but the importation of foreign-made pins into England was far from welcome and brought complaints in the early part of the 17th century from English pin makers. Despite the

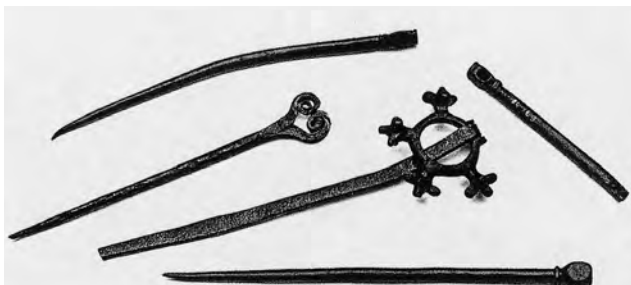


Fig 3

Newport Museum & Art Gallery

Medieval pins from Caerwent- spiral-headed type of the seventh century, and the Viking type with a ‘knobbed ring’ of the late 9th or 10th century

foreign competition, pin manufacture continued to expand in England. It has been estimated that, in 1605, there were as many as 464 pin makers in England.⁴

EARLY PIN MANUFACTURE

Bone, boxwood and ivory were used for making pins, but from the 16th century pins were made from brass wire. The Appendix lists the numerous processes involved in making a brass pin by hand. Figure 4 shows the two turns of coiled wire ready to be attached to the pin shaft. Figure 5 illustrates the pin shaft with the coiled wire loosely fitted ready to be fed into the 'heading ram', where, following a blow from the treadle-operated heavy iron weight or 'ram', the coiled wire is moulded on to the shaft to form the head secured to the shaft. Figure 6 illustrates a 'heading ram'.

Readers may have observed that some bollards in Northgate Street, Gloucester are designed similar to Figure 5 in recognition of the part that the industry played in the history of Gloucester.

PIN MAKING COMES TO GLOUCESTER

It is not known when pin making started in Gloucester but there were 'pinner' and 'wiredrawers' working in Gloucester at the end of the 14th century. Traditionally, however, the introduction of the pin-making trade to Gloucester is attributed to one John Tilsley. He was apprenticed in 1600 to a Gloucester 'wiredrawer', and he became a pin maker in Bristol. He was enticed however, in 1626, by the Mayor of Gloucester, showing some considerable enterprise, to return to Gloucester. The Mayor and Corporation wished to see the establishment of a new industry in the City and did their best to encourage the new enterprise. Tilsley was provided with a house and was promised to be supplied with at least 30 boys who should learn the trade.

Pin making took root in Gloucester and continued to grow during the 18th century. The establishment of the Bristol Brass Co in 1702 made brass easier to obtain for the Gloucester pin makers and by 1735 pin making was said to be the chief manufacturing industry of the City. By 1802 there were nine factories in Gloucester, employing some 1,500 people, supplying a countrywide home market as well as exports to Spain and America. Pin making had been the most important industry of the City for some two hundred years. The Tudor Merchant's House in Westgate Street,

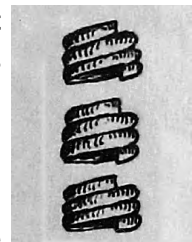


Fig 4 Gloucester Folk Museum

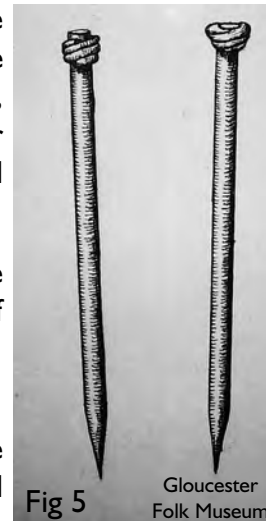


Fig 5 Gloucester Folk Museum

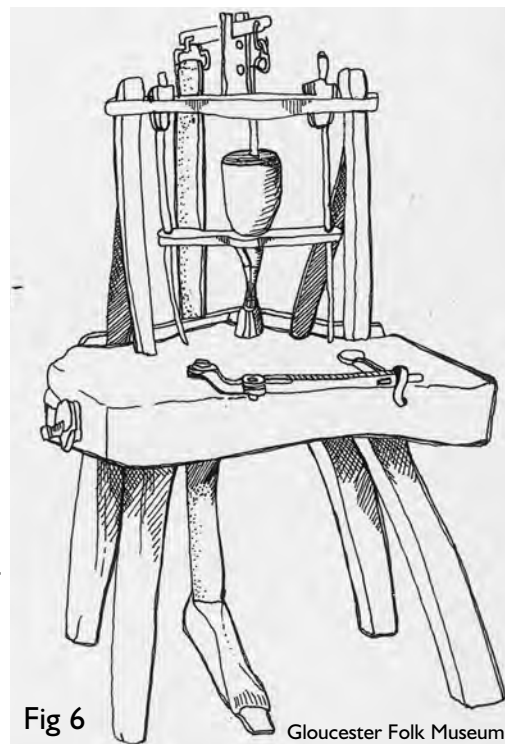


Fig 6 Gloucester Folk Museum
Heading Ram

Gloucester, which houses the Gloucester Folk Museum, was used for pin making from 1743 to 1853. It was started by one William Cowcher and was continued by a son, Richard Cowcher. The business subsequently succeeded to Kirby, Beard & Co.. Robert Kirby gave his name to the 'kirby' or 'kirby grip'. Gloucester pin manufacture ceased in 1857.

MECHANISATION

There had been various attempts to mechanise some processes in the manufacture of pins that had previously been done by hand, such as 'wire drawing' and 'wire straightening'. A major step in the mechanisation of manufacture came in 1817 when an American, Seth Hunt, patented a machine which would produce pins with the "head, shaft, and point in one entire piece". Another American, Lemuel Wright, invented and patented a machine that produced 40 to 50 solid-headed pins per minute. The head was formed from the same piece of wire as the shaft. Wright sold his patent to Daniel Tayler who operated for some years at Lightpill Mill, near Stroud and who incorporated his own improvements in the machine. This not only improved production but resulted in the first solid-headed pin being sold in 1833 in London. Tayler's business, however, although highly mechanised, was not a success and went into liquidation. The business and machinery was bought by John Williams, but he also found trading difficult and removed the business and machinery to New Hall Works, Birmingham in 1840 where he traded as D F Tayler & Co Ltd. Further improvements were made by James Lusty about 1860-1870. These developments marked the end of pin making by hand. Some machines used by Taylers and Lusty are on display in the Gloucester Folk Museum. With the cessation of pin making at Lightpill Mill it is possible that some residue of the business or expertise of its workers spread from Stroud, up the valley, to the Painswick mills round about 1848-1851.

INTRODUCTION OF PIN MAKING TO PAINSWICK

There had been an earlier venture into a process of pin making in Painswick about 1800. It was during the period of the expansion of the pin industry in Gloucester that one William Bartlett, a pin maker of Gloucester, made a proposal to Painswick Parish which was put before the Vestry Meeting on the 6th February 1796. The proposition submitted by Mr Bartlett was that up to 40 women and children in Painswick workhouse who were capable be trained in the branch of the pin trade called 'heading'. After the first month the workers would be paid the same rate of wages as he paid to similar workers employed in Gloucester. Mr Bartlett was to supply tools and instruction and supervision. Certain costs would be shared with the Parish. The employment of people in the workhouse had always presented the Parish with problems so Mr Bartlett's proposition was considered at the Vestry Meeting of 11th February 1796. The opinion was that it would be

“...a great advantage to the Parish to have the poor in the workhouse employed in heading Pins...”

and the proposition was agreed unanimously.⁵

In spite of this unanimous support of the proposition made by William Bartlett, I cannot trace any evidence that the scheme actually went ahead or how long it might have lasted. Whatever the case, there would not appear to have been any assistance from this source into the introduction of pin making into the Painswick mills.

Pin making started to take root in the Painswick mills around 1848-1851, and it is probable that it came up the Wick Valley, brought by redundant pin makers from Stroud. The expertise appears principally to have been brought by two men, Peter Watkins and Thomas Trotman. At this time the cloth industry had collapsed in Painswick and mill owners were looking for tenants who could use the mills for other businesses. The reason that pin making flourished may have been because Painswick had premises available, with power from the Wick Stream, a workforce on hand and good accessibility via Charles Baker's 1820 road.

Rock Mill was offered for letting in 1847 and by 1851 the mill was occupied as a pin factory by Buck and Holmes where Peter Watkins was factory manager. The census shows other people living in the Rock Mill complex also worked at the Pin Factory. Later, the 1859 directory shows Rock Mill was occupied by Stroudwater Pin Co as a pin mill. This did not last long however as by 1863 the mill was used for other purposes. Peter Watkins established his own pin factory at King's Mill, Painswick in 1860.

TROTMAN & COLE

In 1848 Thomas Trotman, described as Hook and Eye Manufacturer, occupied Cook's Mill, Painswick, now known as Painswick Mill. The 1851 census shows that Trotman, for a period, also occupied Pitchcombe Mill. However Cook's Mill must have offered



Cook's Mill c1904

better prospects of developing his business so Trotman vacated Pitchcombe Mill in 1859 to concentrate the business solely at Cook's Mill. Thomas Trotman entered into a partnership with Thomas Cole about 1863 and the business continued as Trotman Bros and Cole. With the death of Thomas Trotman, he was succeeded by his sons John and Adolphus Trotman. Adolphus, managing partner, who lived at The Rockery (part of the Cook's Mill complex), died however in 1873, the result of an explosion during an

experiment involving gas.⁶ The partnership was dissolved on the 3rd December 1874 and continued as Thomas Cole & Co as the business was being financed by one Thomas Cole. John Trotman, Adolphus's son, continued to work for the company superintending manufacturing at Cook's Mill, Painswick. By this time the business was described as 'hairpin and clothing fastener manufacturer'. The company had, however, been a losing concern for some time as it had been sadly neglected by Thomas Cole. He was a Baptist Minister and devoted little time to the business. By 1879 William Richard Cole was financing the loss-making business and, wishing to improve performance, in 1882 he presented Thomas Cole with the alternative of going into bankruptcy or handing the running of the business over to his nephew, William Henry Cole. Thomas Cole was reluctant to relinquish his control, but his position became untenable resulting in his resignation from the business. William Henry Cole became Manager, and the business continued from 28th February 1883 as 'William H Cole & Co'. Gradually the business was turned around and a small profit was made in 1885. About this time William Henry Cole made a big effort to get some part of the better-class hook and eye trade. I & R Morley gave an opening order for 1,000 gross hooks and eyes which they repeated after three months. Morleys remained a customer of Cole & Co for many years.⁷

In 1895 W R Cole died and ownership of the business changed, resulting in Edward Reed, W R Cole's son-in-law, being introduced into the business, and it was after him that the mill became known as Reed's Mill, even though, it appears, he played little active part in the business. William H. Cole continued to make improvements in mechanisation and work practices. For example the 'Blackening' department could not keep pace with demand and attempts were made to improve their working methods. Attempts were also made to automate the enamelling process but this proved to be a problem. The Company had made a name in the trade for quality products and the excellent finish of their enamelled and electro-plated goods. They had, however, kept to their main productive lines – hairpins, hooks and eyes and safety pins. The hairpins were produced in many shapes, sizes and finishes and a number of exclusive brands were produced including brand names 'Colbata', 'Arrow', 'Queen of Hearts' and 'Retento'. (see Fig 7) The 'Retento' was considered an innovation in hair pins, combining all the requirements of a perfect pin, and it became widely popular.

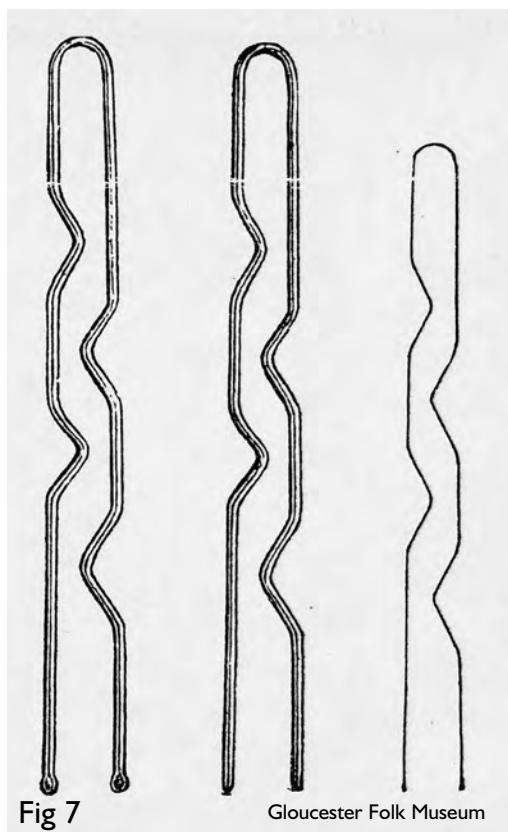


Fig 7

Gloucester Folk Museum

The "Retento" hair pins

The First World War years, 1914-1918, proved a very difficult period for the Company on account of the difficulty of obtaining materials and the rationing of wire.

They never recovered from the effects of the War and the mill buildings were demolished in 1920; only the mill owner's house remains having been converted into a private dwelling. The firm had new premises built in Cheltenham equipped with the latest automated machinery.

Whilst Trotman and Cole were establishing their business, pin making was gaining momentum in the Painswick Valley. The industry was also introduced by Peter Watkins into Cap Mill in 1853, into King's Mill in 1860, and by Harry Savory, a little later, into Brookhouse Mill.

WATKINS & OKEY

Peter Watkins was something of a pioneer among the hairpin manufacturers of England. He had for some years been connected with other manufacturers in the Stroud valley, acquiring an expertise in pin making very few possessed. He had previously been manager of the Pin Factory at Rock Mill. The economical manufacture of hairpins was largely due to developments made by Watkins in manufacturing machinery. He designed and made his own machinery for many processes that had previously been done by hand.



King's Mill c1904

Watkins formed a partnership with one Cornelius Okey, pin maker of Stroud and, in 1853, the firm of Watkins and Okey converted Cap Mill, Painswick, to pin making and established themselves there. By 1860, however, the business had expanded to such an extent that larger premises became necessary and the business moved to King's Mill, Painswick. King's Mill was the last of the mills in Painswick engaged in the cloth trade when Edward Sampson, shawl manufacturer, gave up the tenancy of the mill to Peter Watkins, pin manufacturer, in July 1860 when the mill was converted into a pin mill. About this time the partnership between Watkins and Okey was dissolved, but Watkins continued with the business until his death in 1901, still using the established name. It will

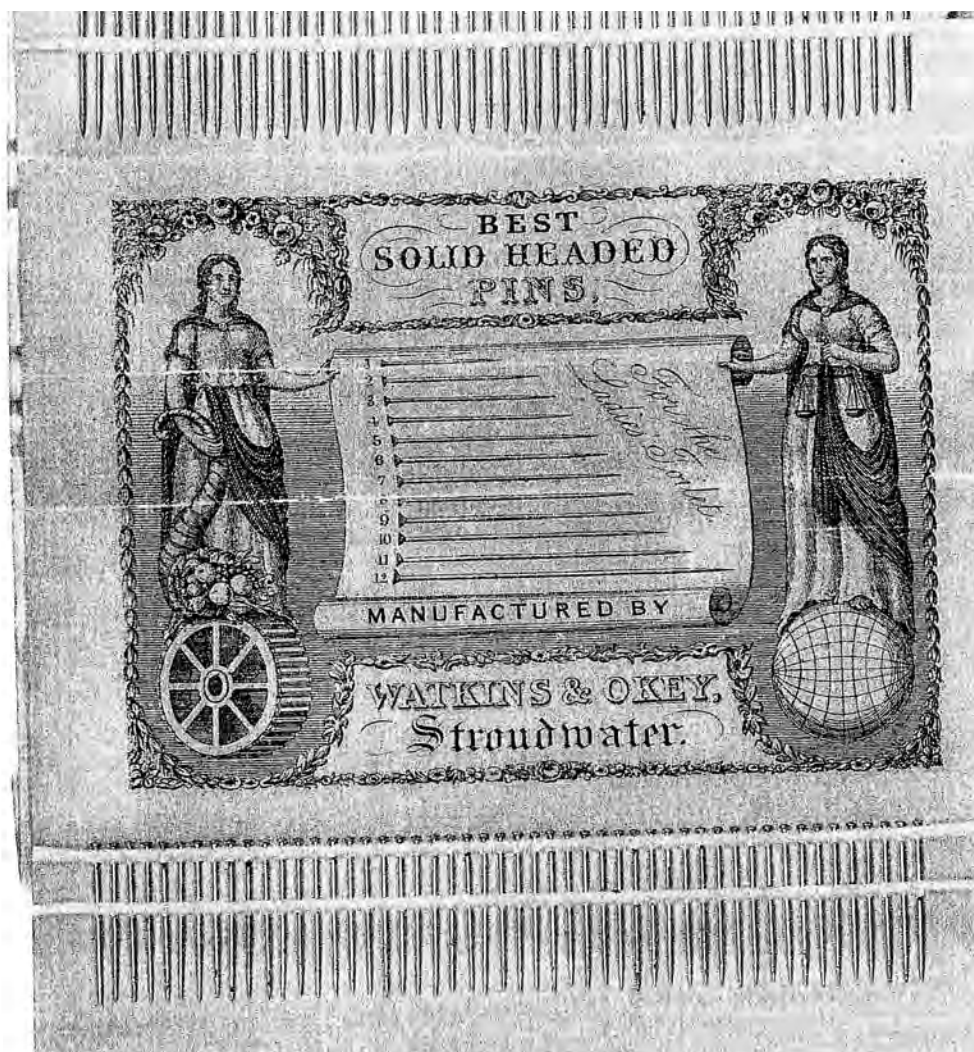


Fig 8

Part of pin package

Gloucester Folk Museum

be seen from the pin package (Fig 8) that Watkins also used 'Stroudwater' as a product name, a reminder of their former days at Rock Mill. It will be seen that the package contained solid-headed pins. Unfortunately the date of the package is not known so we do not know when they first made solid-headed pins. Upon Peter Watkins's death, his son George Price Watkins, who had long been associated with the business, took the helm, assisted by his brother Charles J Watkins. Nearly all the machinery in use at this time had been invented and made by Peter Watkins. George Watkins inherited his father's inventive traits and constantly strove to improve the quality of products, or reduce production costs by the introduction of specialist machinery.

The business of Watkins & Okey continued at King's Mill until about 1908 when the firm was taken over by Savory & Sons, Ltd of Brookhouse Mill. King's Mill ceased to operate as a pin mill after the First World War when building alterations were made and the old mill building was demolished.

SAVORY & SONS LTD

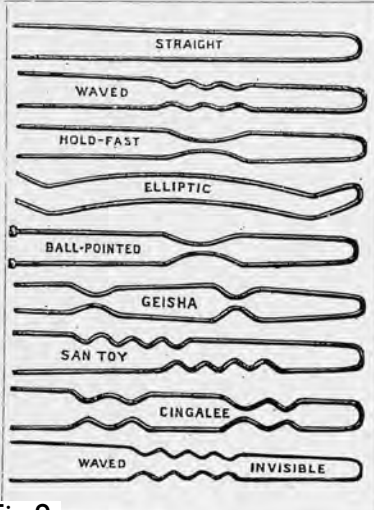
William Savory & Sons, millwrights and engineers, from 1847 occupied Brookhouse Mill, later known as The Pin Mill. Business from the cloth mills and watermills, upon which

they had largely depended, had declined and they made a major change in their operation. By 1876 the mill had been converted to use as a hairpin factory, when it was worked by H B (Harry) Savory, although William Savory remained the owner of the mill. The waters of Wick Stream continued to work the waterwheel which produced part of the power required, later supplemented by a gas-engine, until 1962. The wheel was dismantled and removed in 1964.

SAVORY & SONS, Ltd.

TELEPHONE— PAINSWICK, Near STROUD TELEGRAMS—
 11, PAINSWICK GLOUCESTERSHIRE ENGLAND "SAVORY, PAINSWICK"

Manufacturers of every description of Hairpins



¶ The illustrations here shown represent a few of our leading styles of Hairpins, which are known the world over for unvarying high quality and smoothness of finish.

¶ These Hairpins are finished in three qualities, viz.:—**Best Jet Enamelled, Double Japanned, and Bronzed**, each of which ensures a perfectly smooth surface.

¶ The firm specialize in supplying goods in any count, weight or make-up to suit the home and every foreign market.

Established nearly Half-a-Century
 Gloucester Folk Museum

Fig 9

Advertisement c1920

By 1904 Savorys was described as a “thoroughly modern factory”, and that
 “....in the actual mechanical processes in the factory but very little of the work is of a disagreeable nature, nearly all of the machines, of which there are scores, being automatic, and requiring but little attention,.....”

The automatic hair pin maker, for example,

“.... being fed with wire, cuts and shapes the pin at the rate of 60 to 80 pins a minute. The pins are then japanned whence they are sorted, counted, wrapped and packed before going into the warehouse. Female labour was restricted wholly to sorting, counting, weighing, wrapping and labelling the finished products.”

Savory’s policy was to have all processes associated with pin making on the premises and thus they were in complete control of their production. For example, they were said to be the only hair pin manufacturer in Gloucestershire to have a ‘wiredrawing’ facility of their own. This enabled the company to meet special orders from a customer that might require any thickness or weight of wire which may deviate from the normal gauge or

weight range. Another feature was the extensive printing plant consisting of modern presses with a complete set of type fonts and electrotyping equipment, all in daily use for the printing of millions of labels used for different sizes of packages or boxes. This necessitated the use of their own package and box-making machinery to meet all customer requirements.

The whole history of the company is one of continuous technical advance. In 1904 the Managing Director, Maurice Phipps had been identified with the business for some 24 years. It was under his leadership that the company became such a successful operation. The Company had a London depot and agents in nearly all the large centres in the kingdom. They catered for the wholesale trade only and were held in very high regard in the industry.

Savorys gained national fame when the Managing Director, Jack Smyth, was interviewed by Brian Johnston for the BBC programme *Down Your Way*, broadcast in 1975.



Provision and ticket pins

The Company continued at the mill, employing some 25 people, until 1982, although the business had been in decline for some years. The premises were old and confined; the machinery required modernisation. They found competition from Birmingham too great and the business ceased.

MODERN PIN INDUSTRY

At this point it should be understood that the industry's products had expanded far beyond the manufacture of the common pin. The term also extended to many associated products – hooks and eyes, hairpins, safety pins, tie-pins, paper clips, paper fasteners, snap studs etc. And, of course, the variety of pins vastly increased as each product could vary in size, in finish and in strength. The great variety was aimed at many different markets. The domestic market consumed a large number of pins, but there were also many industrial uses such as the clothing industry, all sorts of office work and many others. Manufacturers tried to discover new uses for their products to establish niche markets for themselves. Savorys, for instance, were very successful with their venture to provide meat-price pins for the retail meat business.(Fig 10) In later years, they also diversified into 'small metal goods' and manufactured calendar rims and handles for mushroom baskets.

THE 1904 WORLD CENTRE

According to a trade publication of 1904, the three companies , Watkins & Okey, W H Cole and Savory & Sons combined reached a pinnacle of achievement at this time. Together they produced more pins, hairpins and hooks and eyes than were produced in any other one place in the world. Their products found their way to many remote areas of the globe. The three companies together were said to employ some 300 hands who

operated hundreds of automated machines producing millions of hairpins and other products from many miles of wire. The three companies had in fact regained the prominence in the industry once held c1800 by the pin makers of Gloucester.

EPILOGUE

It is a coincidence that the Governors of the Bank of England have illustrated the reverse side of the £20 note, circulated this year (2007), with an illustration of some of the pin making processes along with the portrait of Adam Smith the economist. This is a measure of the importance still placed on Smith's analysis of market forces which he expounded in *The Wealth of Nations*. Smith's book was published in 1776 being the first complete work on political economy. One part of his thesis is that specialisation in labour is necessary to increase productivity. In order to illustrate his contention Smith used the pin-making industry as a good example. He describes a pin factory in which 10 persons, by specializing in various tasks, produce 48,000 pins a day, compared with the few, perhaps only one, that each could have produced alone.

Finally we should mention 'pin money'. It is thought that this expression goes back to the fact that some processes, before automated production, were performed by women in their own homes. The money earned was of course called 'pin money' and was often regarded as a woman's allowance for her personal expenditure.



Appendix

Processes of making brass pins by hand

Cleaning the wire: Brass wire was bought from a wire drawer. When it arrived at the pin-makers the wire was very soft and covered with oxidation. It needed to be pickled in sulphuric acid, washed, beaten and dried.

Wire drawing: Wire was bought in a standard thickness and had to be redrawn to the sizes required for the different pins. It was wound on to a reel or barrel, and pulled through a draw plate on to another barrel. This was repeated several times until the wire was the correct size.

Wire straightening: The wire was put on a spool with one end passed round a set of nails in one end of a 20-foot bench. The wire was pulled with pincers, through the nails and over the bench to measure a 20-foot length. A good drawer could pull 60 feet of wire in a minute.

Cutting into lengths: The lengths of wire were then cut into sections which would make about six pins. These lengths formed the shafts of the pins and were then passed to the grinders to be pointed.

Pointing: The lengths were pointed at each end by a machine called a mill, consisting of a circular file and a fine grit-stone, which pointed and polished respectively.

Cutting: Two pin-lengths were cut from the ends of the pointed wire and the remaining centre piece was then pointed. The ends were cut off this piece of wire and this in turn pointed. Thus six pin shafts with points were formed from the original six-length piece of wire.

Making pin heads: The pin heads were made from brass wire finer and softer than that used for the shaft. This wire was coiled into a compact spiral around a wire of the same gauge as the pins. Two turns of wire were cut off to form each head. This was done with a sharp chisel.

Annealing the heads: The heads were annealed (made more malleable) before they were attached to the shafts. This was done by putting them in an iron box, in a furnace at red heat. The box was then plunged into cold water to cool the heads quickly.

Fitting the heads: The loose heads were taken to a treadle-operated machine called a heading ram. The pin shafts were stuck into the heads, and the heads shaped and secured by a blow from the ram. Several blows were needed to fix the head firmly. An expert worker could head 500 pins per hour.

Cleaning the pins: The pins were boiled for half an hour in a vat of sour beer, wine lees or a solution of tartar, then washed.

Tinning: This process prevented corrosion. The pins were layered with tin granules in a copper pan. Water and cream of tartar were added and the whole was boiled for half an hour.

Drying and polishing: The pins were dried and polished, first in a barrel and then in a leather bag, both containing bran. The pins were separated from the bran by winnowing and were collected in bowls.

Papering: The finished pins were stuck into crimped paper sheets, a job often done by children.

Gloucester Folk Museum

Acknowledgements

Much of the information used in this article was obtained from the following sources –

Cloth Mills along the Painswick Stream by Colleen Haine, 1983/1984 *Glos. Historical Studies*

Pins, Hooks and Eyes, Industrial Gloucestershire, 1904 G R O.

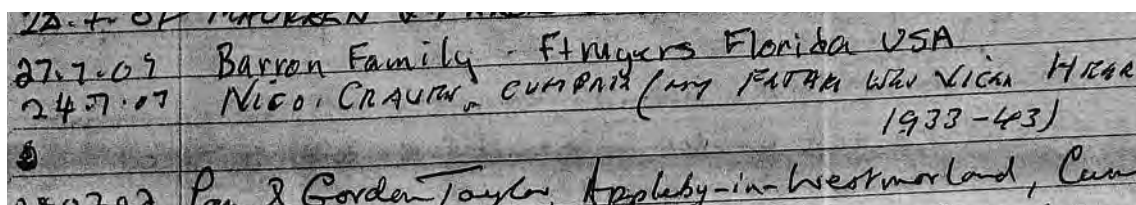
Records of Gloucester Folk Museum, Westgate Street, Gloucester

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FROM ST MARY'S CHURCH VISITOR'S BOOK



MY EARLY LIFE AT THE EDGE

by

Rosie Smith

I was born at Lilac Cottage, Edge on the 1st June, 1945 and named Rosalind Claire Birt. I lived with my mother Winifred Grace Birt and my grandparents, Oliver Henry and Clara Louisa Birt, and also later, my sister Jacqueline.

Lilac Cottage has the most idyllic setting you could ever wish for, overlooking the Sugar Loaf mountain in Wales and the 'horseshoe' bend on the River Severn. It was named Lilac Cottage because there were about ten huge lilac trees - some deep purple, some white and of course some pale lilac. The cottage must now be about 375 years old.



Lilac cottage

We had wonderful neighbours who were the local building firm of A.Berry & Son. They were not just the Berry family to me, they were always rampy Berry, Granny Berry, Auntie Gwen, Auntie Jessie and Uncle Ben. I well remember we just seemed to be one big happy family.

We had no modern conveniences so from the age of five to fifteen my jobs were to go into Stockend Woods to collect anything my grandfather could saw into logs for the fire. We had an open fire in just one room, the front of you was 'lovely and warm' and the back of you was 'frozen'. Bath night was once a week on a Friday night in the tin bath in front of the open fire. The water was heated up by a coal and wood fired copper in the old washhouse, then carried into the house by bucket. I always tried to be first as I did not like getting into 'second hand water', and it was lovely changing into clean and warm underclothes.

There was no mains water to the cottage so every drop of drinking water was drawn from a pump by the end cottage of Beech Tree Terrace on the Whiteshill-Gloucester road, above the cottage. It was another of my jobs to draw the water from the pump which I carried in a bucket, down the slope and about ten steps to the cottage - not good in slippery or snowy weather. I often spilt the water and had to return to the pump and refill my bucket and start again.

Games for me from the age of about three years was a gorgeous doll and a beautiful pram. I also made rooms of houses on the front lawn and pretended this was the house that my doll and I lived in. When my grandfather came to cut the lawns he was not well pleased to find a load of small stones which I used for making the 'house'.

Christmas was wonderful. It consisted of one of my grandmother's thick 'Lisle' stockings filled with oranges, apples, nuts and any other small things like

sweets, which were still on ration at the time. I had one main present every year and on one occasion I can remember seeing a red leather handbag in what was the Bon Marche, now Debenhams, at Gloucester. I received this as a present on Christmas morning and I treasured the red handbag until it fell to bits. I loved reading and always used to receive an Enid Blyton book which I really enjoyed. I read my books sat round the kitchen table in the light of an oil lamp which stood in the middle of the table. On reaching bedtime a candle was lit and I was taken up to bed by my mother. After saying goodnight, she took the candle back downstairs for safety's sake, which left me in complete darkness. Electricity must have been put into Lilac Cottage about 1952 because our first television was installed in time for the Queen's Coronation in 1953.

School holidays were great but all day on a Monday was laundry day. My job here was to put the blue bag into the white wash rinsing water and then turn the mangle handle to get some of the water out. To keep warm in bed I had a heavy stone hot water bottle wrapped in an old sock, which used to stay warm all night. I had such a happy childhood always fed well, clothed nicely and good shoes on my feet.

I can remember helping my grandmother beating the coconut matting out on a line with a beater shaped like a clover leaf. My grandfather was a wonderful gardener. We kept



The Pump

[Still working during water emergency of 2007]

pigs, chickens and basically lived off the land all year round. Bottled fruit and jams went from summer to summer.

My mother used to fill me a bottle with squash and sandwiches and you could go off all day walking through Stockend Woods on the other side to Haresfield Hill, then on to Cromwell's Stone and finish up walking over Haresfield Beacon. I feel sorry in this present time when children cannot have these pleasures of picking wild flowers, wandering the beautiful countryside we live in. My childhood was very simple but so happy.



Rosie Smith (left) and friend outside Stroud College

I attended Edge Church of England School at the age of five. Until I was seven my teacher was Mrs Curtis, who lived in Edge and in later years, moved to Ashwell House. Mrs Curtis was a lovely lady and was held in great respect through the discipline given by her. I was made to attend Sunday School at Edge Church which I quite enjoyed, being again taught by Mrs Curtis. At this time I used to go to Brownies, as far as I remember until aged about seven, in Edge Village Hall. At Edge School I then moved on into Mrs Gray's class until I was eleven years old when I took the Eleven Plus exam. It depended upon the marks given which school you would attend until age of fifteen.

I went to Painswick School although getting there was not easy. I used always to walk to school and back through Edge Road. If you caught a bus to Pitchcombe you had to wait for one hour for a connection, so it was much quicker on two legs. Whilst at Painswick School every lunchtime we all used to come through the Churchyard, in very orderly manner, for a lovely lunch at what was then the Painswick Institute. The main hall was laid out with tables and long benches, and the food was lovely good old-fashioned cooking, done on the premises. If time allowed I used to visit Brother Michael at the Lychgate, not every day, but I found it such an unusual little room. I was fascinated by it. He was my Godfather and this has always puzzled me in later life. I can only surmise why this should have been and how it came about. There was a private nursing home run by a Miss Richmond in the end cottage of Beech Tree Terrace, which was situated just above Lilac Cottage. My grandmother used to wash and iron the sheets for Miss Richmond. I often used to carry the sheets back having to be very careful not to crease them. Brother Michael was a frequent visitor to the home and I think must have met and formed a friendship with grandmother who was also a frequent visitor to the home.

My grandmother was a very special person, kindness itself. From a very young age I can remember people coming to the door and saying "Clara, would you come and sit with whoever it might have been at that particular time, because they are dying". Off she would go, missing for hours sometimes, and on her return she would say "I sat and held their hand until they passed away - they are now at peace". grandmother cleaned Edge Church for years and when she was too old and could no longer do it, my mother took it over and she did it for many years. Mum and I were in the Edge Church choir for about twenty years, I do not think we were much of an asset, but we enjoyed it.

Painswick School was followed by a two year secretarial course at Stroud Technical College, until I was aged seventeen. My first job on leaving the College was at Wicliffe Motor Company. I was Secretary to the Managing Director who was called Mr Shill. I do not think that my shorthand was all it should have been, but still I managed to get by.

There is twelve years between myself and my sister Jacqueline. This was something of a headache as Lilac Cottage only had two bedrooms. My father decided to buy a second-hand caravan which was placed on the lawn under the big apple tree at the side of the cottage. This made me feel self-sufficient and very grown-up as it was my very own 'bedsit'. Electricity was laid on so I had a radio, record player, electric fire – what more in life could I have asked for? I lived in the caravan until I was nineteen which was when I got married. For a short time I lived at Chalford but could not keep away and soon returned to Edge to live in a cottage in a tranquil spot in the middle of Stockend woods.

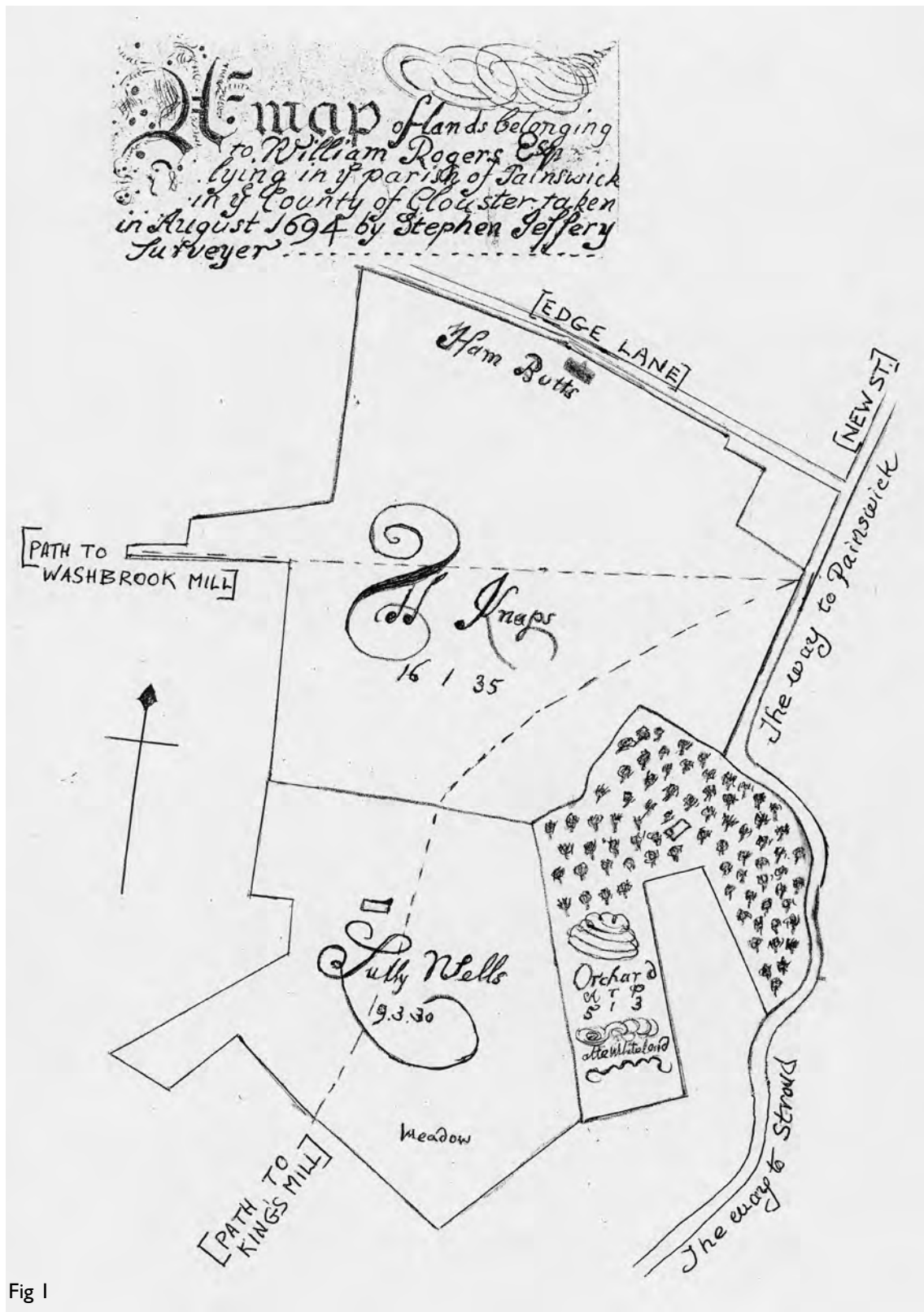


Fig 1

Stephen Jeffery map of 1694

THREE FIELDS

by

Hywel James

The recent building developments known as St Mary's and Richmond Village at the south-west end of Painswick have put it in mind to look at the history of the land that now lies beneath these houses. This part of Painswick, including what is now Lullingworth as well as Dry Knaps Field above, was all part of the Castle Hale Estate when Stephen Jeffrey made his survey for the then owner, William Rogers in 1694.¹(Fig 1) The total estate was not big, amounting to a little over 38 acres. Apart from Castle Hale itself the estate comprised a string of fields stretching from Edge Lane to the land now occupied by Culvert Cottage and then known as Mill Close. The three fields to be considered here were known then as "The Knaps", "Lully Wells" and "Orchard atte Whitelend".(Fig 1) The A46 did not exist and Stamages Lane was "The Way to Stroud".(Fig 1) The areas of these three fields were respectively 16 acres, 9 acres and 5 acres. At that time there were no buildings on them apart from the odd shed or barn. Today The Knaps (now Dry Knaps) remains much as it was then whereas the other two have disappeared, having been swallowed up by modern development. This account seeks to show how areas of land can be broken up and in some cases how boundaries can move.

THE NAMES OF THE FIELDS

Knap was an old English word for rising ground or summit of a hill. In the case of Orchard atte Whitelend there are a number of early references, "Whitewall End" in 1548, "Whitewalls" in 1608, "Orchard atte Whitelend" in 1694 (the William Rogers map) and more recently "Whitehall". It is possible that the word white refers to the site of a building or wall which was whitewashed in earlier centuries to make it conspicuous from across the valley. In later documents Lully Wells becomes "Lullywell" and then towards the end of the 18th century there are the first references to "Lullingworth". In this article the three fields are referred to as Dry Knaps, Lullywell and Whitewall Orchard. The name Lullingworth is used to refer to the house of that name and the part of Lullywell on which it was built, and Lullywell field for the area to the south of the road (the A46).

THE 17th & 18th CENTURIES

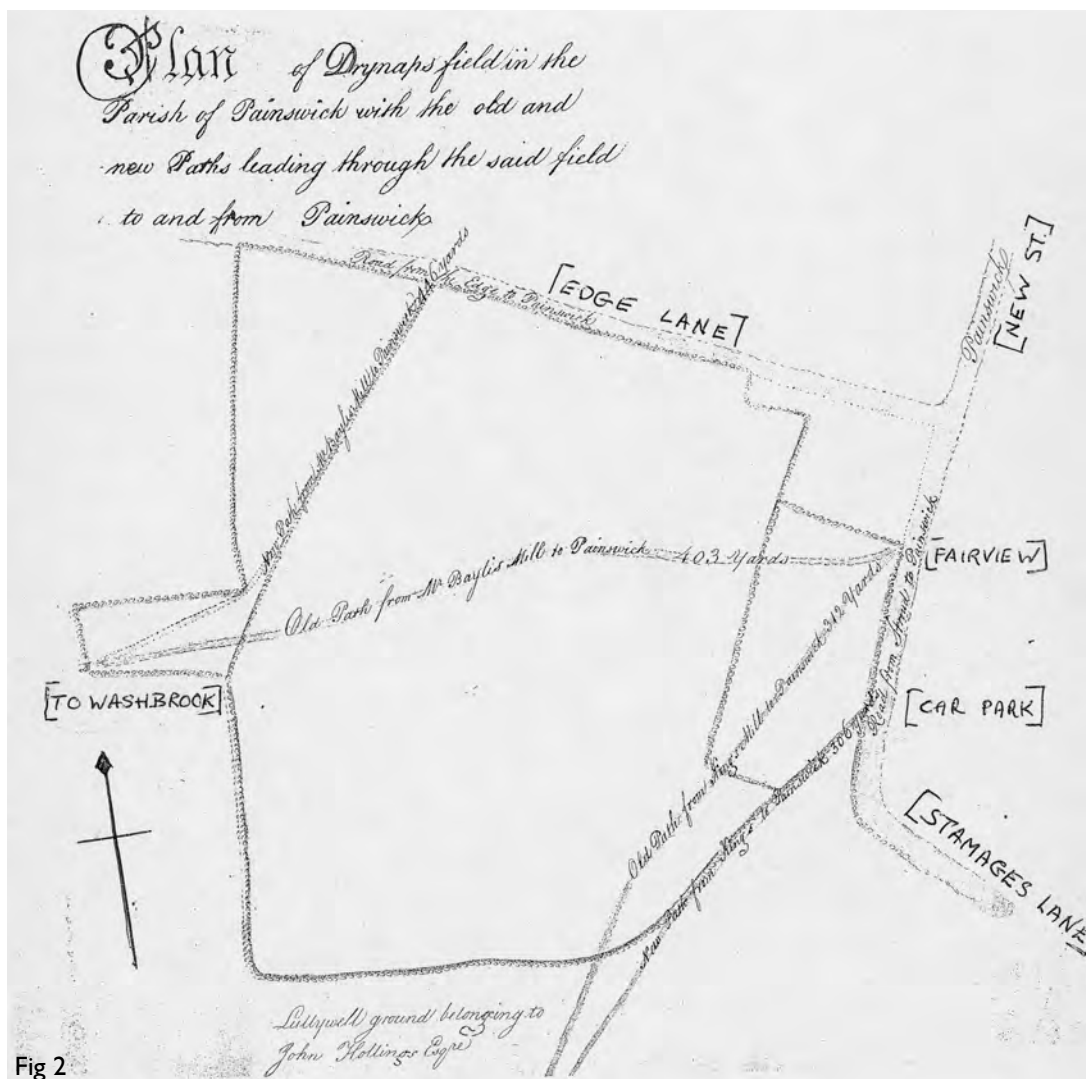
On the 1694 map a more or less rectangular block of an acre or so appears to have been carved out of Whitewall Orchard and was not in the ownership of William Rogers. However, in 1608 a Thomas Stamage had bought an acre of land from Castle Hale Estate to build a house known as "White Walls" on the road to Wick Street.² It seems reasonable to assume that this is the missing acre in Whitewall Orchard. The puzzle is that no house appears to have been built on the land either then or later. Of the house which we know today as Stamages there was no sign on the 1694 map; it was built later on a small adjacent site in a corner of Whitewall Orchard; the only other change in this period was that the boundary between Dry Knaps and Whitewall Orchard was straightened out.

THE BUILDING OF LULLINGWORTH (the house)

In 1800 the traveller to Stroud after proceeding along New Street and passing the end of Edge Lane would have seen some houses on the right, the last one being the house today

called Fairview. There was a small structure on the site of Court Barn on the left, but otherwise there were no buildings opposite. The road then skirted the land belonging to Court House (i.e. the area now occupied by the library, the car park and Court Orchard) and after turning to the left carried on down the hill which we know as Stamages Lane. Below Fairview there were apparently further areas marked out for building, but no development occurred there for a hundred years or more. On the bend in a corner of Whitewall Orchard were two cottages with gardens on the site occupied until recently by St Mary's Home. A little further down was a small cottage and then in the bottom corner of the orchard a small house or cottage on the site that we now know as Stamages.

In 1804 in what is likely to have been a preliminary to the building of the house at Lullingworth Mr Charles Horlick, who lived at Hambutts House in Edge Road and owned Dry Knaps as well as other garden plots on Stroud Road, had two footpaths that crossed Dry Knaps field diverted³ (Fig 2). One of these ran west across the field from Fairview to the point where Kingsmead now terminates and the other ran from Fairview across the field to the point where Lullingworth now stands. The first of these paths was replaced by the footpath that now runs from Edge Lane and across Hambutts Field, and



the second was replaced by a path which avoided Dry Knaps altogether as it made its way down to Kings Mill from a point which is across the road from today's car park. The second path presumably disappeared when the A46 was built. The plan accompanying the diversion orders shows the path to the south of Dry Knaps as "Lullywell Ground belonging to John Hollings". This land subsequently became the site of the house.

In the following year (1805) Samuel Flower Button who is variously described as "gentleman", "clothier" and "surgeon" purchased a parcel of land to enable him to build a substantial house on a site that would look down the valley towards Stroud.⁴ This is the house we know as Lullingworth. In that year he paid £2,200 to the executors of John Hollings of Stroud for sundry parcels totalling 30 acres. These were mostly fields that had been part of the Castle Hale Estate.

At the same time John Cook, a carpenter, purchased from the Lord of the Manor the five acres of land which he occupied, i.e. Whitewall Orchard, and on which stood the two cottages at the top of Stamages Lane.

"All that piece or parcel of pasture land called White Wall otherwise White Lend planted with fruit trees containing by admeasurement 5 acres, one rood and three perches being part of the copyhold land parcel of the said manor held by copy of Court Roll at the yearly rent of three shillings and sixpence which said premises are situated in the parish and near the town of Painswick adjoining the turnpike road on one side and adjoining to a ground called Dry Knaps on the other side thereof and also all those messuages or dwelling houses with the workshops and outhouses belonging thereto built and erected on the said premises some part of which land is converted into a garden for the use of the said dwelling houses all which said premises are now in the possession of the said John Cook or his undertenants".⁴

The rectangular insert (referred to above) was an orchard owned by Mr Horlick. This rather strange intrusion into Whitewall Orchard remained in evidence until the recent redevelopment of St Mary's Home; there was a large structure, the laundry, in the grounds of St Mary's, built at an angle of 45 degrees to the house but which certainly corresponded to the position of Mr Horlick's orchard plot.⁵

On 4th December of the following year (1806) John Cook sold on to Samuel Button

"all that piece or parcel of pasture land situated near the town of Painswick containing by estimation about 4 acres being the largest part of a close of pasture land called White Wall otherwise White Lend planted with fruit trees as the same is divided from the other part of the same lands by a fence now marked and running from the lower corner of the dwelling house hereinafter mentioned to the corner of Mr Horlick's hedge ...adjoining the turnpike road on one side and adjoining to ground called Dry Knaps and Lullywell on the other side thereof and are now in the possession of Samuel Flower Button and also all that messuage or dwelling house with the outhouses belonging thereto and erected on the said premises some part of which land is converted into a garden for the use of the said dwelling house which said dwelling house is now in the possession of the said John Cook..."⁴

Thus it was that John Cook retained that acre of land that ran down Stamages Lane. It is clear that Button wanted a piece of land abutting “the turnpike road” (i.e. Stamages Lane) in order that he could put in a drive to his new house.



The new drive to Lullingworth

THE BUILDING OF THE NEW ROAD (the A46)

Samuel Button had married Mary Ann Loveday in Painswick Church on 22nd October 1795.⁶ They had five children of whom one died in infancy and another son at 8 years of age, leaving three daughters, Ann Flower, Caroline and Mary Anne. Samuel Button himself died aged 42 in 1814. He and his wife are buried in Painswick churchyard next to the pyramid tomb of John Bryan, the stone carver. He may have been aware by then of the plan to drive a new road from Stroud to Cheltenham passing through Painswick, and that his property was likely to be severely affected. But it seems he was not able to take any effective action to defend his property and he died intestate, leaving his widow and three surviving daughters to face the difficulties arising from the new road and the subsequent sale of the property. This was indeed a devastating blow as the road after crossing Jenkins Lane on its way from Stroud then ran the whole length of the land which Samuel Button had so recently bought, before curving up the hill and running comparatively close below the new house, cutting Lullywell in two and thus dividing off the house from the lower part of the field and the rest of the estate.

It seems that Mrs Button did not wish to remain in the house and by 29th September 1821 there is an agreement to sell the property to a Mrs Ann Hicks, widow, for a price of £5,000.⁴ In this document Ann Hicks “will benefit from the sale of land to the trustees of the turnpike road”. By then a new shortened drive had been created and the old one stopped up. Of the land purchased from Mr Cook Mrs Hicks will get only the comparatively small area that lies on the west side of the new road. The deal could not be finally

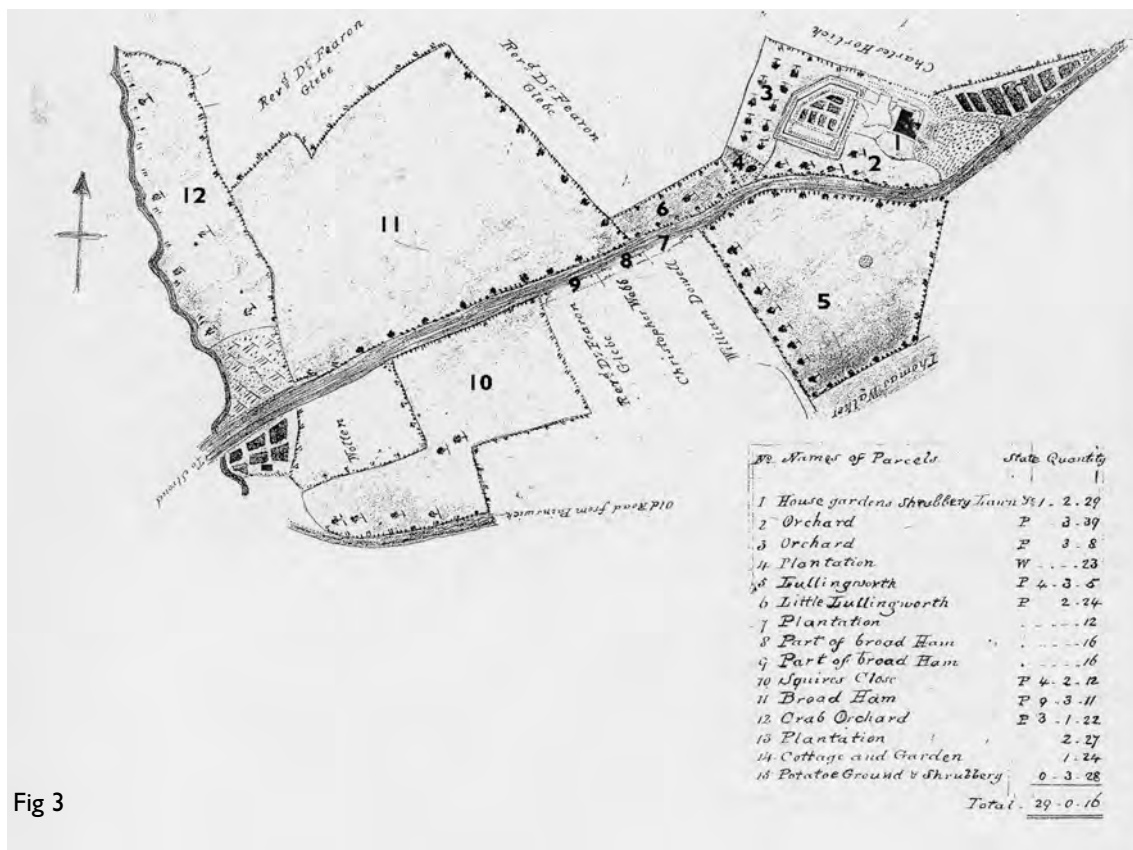


Fig 3

concluded at the time owing to the fact that two of Mr Button's daughters were still under age, a problem presumably arising from Mr Button's intestacy. It seems that the sale finally went through in 1826 for a price of £5,240. Shortly afterwards Mrs Button was living in one of the cottages bought from Mr Cook in Stamages Lane.

Not many years later in 1836 Charles Baker, surveyor of Painswick and maker of the 1820 map, is writing to Mr B.C.Thomas a solicitor in Malmesbury offering the property for sale.⁷

"I am requested to furnish you with particulars of Mrs. Hicks's estate situate near this town and I will herewith enclose a map of the estate (Fig 3) together with plans of the house etc which will give you a better idea of the property than a description only. The house is delightfully situated and commands a beautiful prospect. The whole of the buildings are in excellent condition and the land is of the best quality: the garden is surrounded with a high brick wall which is well covered with choice fruit trees. The place is well calculated for a respectable family and I consider it worth upwards of £4,000, say £4,500".

In 1837 he is writing to a solicitor in Cheltenham offering the property for £3,800, and in the following year there is an offer of £3,600. It seems that the presence of the road did nothing for the value of the property.

As a result of this sale it appears that Lullingworth passed to a Mr Henry Marklove, in whose family the property remained for many years; a Mr J.C.Marklove was involved in a conveyance in 1920, the year before the property was sold by auction.

THE LATER 19th CENTURY

In 1882/3 the Painswick Convalescent and Training Home which had started in Tibbiwell House moved to

“Whitehall, a house standing in its own grounds, on the outskirts of Painswick and which is in every way suited for the purpose...”⁸

This appears to have been a single building created out of the two cottages which had existed in Mr Button's time. The property was owned by Revd W.H.Seddon, the Vicar of Painswick. The house later became a home for what would today be described as women with learning difficulties, then called St Mary's Home for Working Girls (Feeble in Body or Mind). A matron's block was added at the western end which survives today. It may be that it was his ownership of the property that gave Mr Seddon, who lived in the house that is now the Painswick Hotel (name changed

1. Lullingworth
2. St Mary's Home
3. Whitehall cottages
4. Whitewall Bank
5. Whitewall End
6. Stamages
7. Mary's Acre

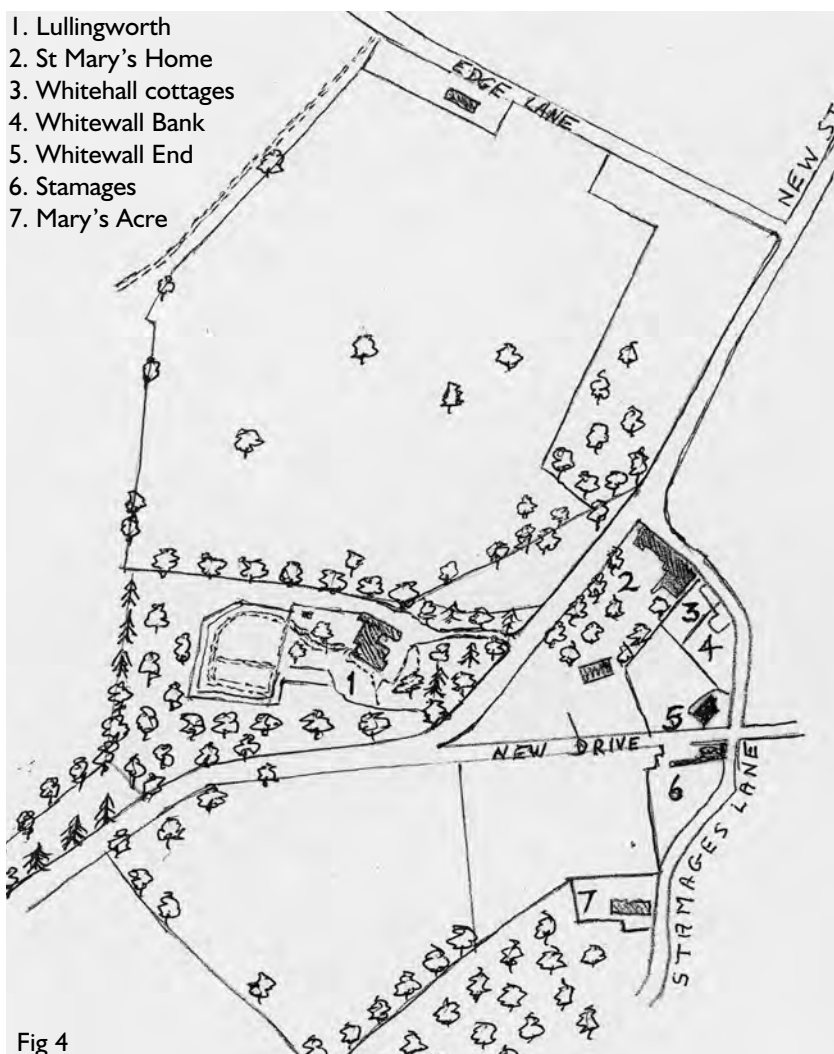


Fig 4

to Cotswolds88hotel in 2007) and was then called Gwynfa, the idea of making a driveway from the A46 to Kemps Lane in order to enable him to approach his house without having to pass through the centre of the village. He had to negotiate with the owner of Castle Hale, but he owned Whitewall Orchard, and the New Drive was constructed in 1906 – 08. This had the effect of cutting off the bottom of Whitewall Orchard. Thus the area occupied by the Home (Fig 4, plot 2) was significantly diminished and the ownership of the cut off land passed into other hands. Rosebank Cottages (now Stamages) (Fig 4, plot 6) now found themselves on the south side of the drive. But it did give the owners of the Home the opportunity to bring back into the same ownership the upper part of the acre of land that had been sold to Mr Stamage in 1620.

THE SALE OF LULLINGWORTH

The Lullingworth Estate was offered for sale at the Plough Hotel, Cheltenham on 25th

May 1921 by Constable & Maude, auctioneers, of Mount Street, Mayfair.⁹ The particulars contain some interesting plans, photographs and descriptions of the property. Here is the flavour of the document:

“The Cotswold Country, renowned for its healthy, bracing Climate, wonderful Scenery, and Sport of every description, is admittedly one of the finest residential parts of England. That these advantages are widely appreciated is evidenced by the unusually large number of County Seats, Smaller Residential Estates, and Manor Houses, many of which are stone-built, that are found throughout the County.

Lullingworth, an exceptionally picturesque residence, is one of the best examples and typical of these smaller residences. Situated to the South, and on the outskirts of the old-world Town of Painswick, the position is absolutely unique. Although the house is about 400 feet above sea level, it is sheltered from the North and East by lofty hills, and, facing almost due South, overlooks the whole of the broad Painswick Valley, thus commanding views of great interest and beauty. A more delightful position it would be more difficult to secure, even in this lovely County, and, it may be added, the House is worthy of its site.



Lullingworth

Originally a smaller building, it has been remodelled and enlarged under the supervision of that well-known Architect, Mr Morley Horder, with the result that it is not only comfortably and conveniently placed but charmingly fitted, and in every way an excellent example of an Englishman's Home.

THE RESIDENCE, mainly constructed of stone, has the West elevation and portions of the offices of red brick, delightfully mellowed by time. To

preserve the old-world character of the House the stone and label mouldings, as well as the stone tiles of the roof, were carefully selected from materials taken from old buildings.”

The land as offered for sale comprised very much what had been purchased by Mr Button in 1806, though certain additions had been made. The estate contained additionally Kings Mill, the cottages in Stroud Road from Court Barn to No. 4 Stroud Road and odd areas of land off Edge Lane. However, it seems that the attractions of the estate as a whole were lost on the potential buyers and the property was sold piecemeal. The Gloucestershire County Council purchased Lullingworth field itself together with Broad Ham and sundry other parcels for the sum of £1500. It is believed that this may have been under a government programme for making small areas of agricultural land available for the use of those returning from the Great War. Thus it was that Lullingworth field came into the ownership of the Gloucestershire County Council who eventually sold it to developers of the current Richmond Homes. It seems that this field did not undergo any changes in its size or boundaries between the construction of the A46 in 1820 and its final disposal for the present development.

THE 1930s AND LATER

This period saw the construction of the new house known as Whitewall End (Fig 4, plot 5), on a site of three quarters of an acre which was now at the foot of the Whitewall Orchard area. This site was further diminished in the period after the Second World War when a part of the plot was sold for the construction of a house known as Garden Cottage, just off New Drive.

Apart from this however little change occurred in this whole area until the dramatic developments of St Mary's Home and Lullywell field which have occurred in the last few years. But no change has occurred in respect of Dry Knaps field, though it was considered at one time as a site for the Painswick Primary School when it moved from its old site in Stroud Road in the 1960s.

Note: The house known today as Stamages was until the early part of the 20th century a row of small cottages known as Rosebank Cottages (Fig 4, plot 6). If any house were entitled to the name Stamages it would appear to be the house now known as Mary's Acre (Fig 4, plot 7) which sits at the foot of the acre of land bought by Mr Stamage in 1608.

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- | | |
|---|---|
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| 4 | GRO, SRh 1804 C/2 |
| 5 | Deeds relating to Lullingworth, GRO, D4070/3 |
| 6 | This building can be clearly see on the 1937 O.S. map |
| 7 | Painswick Parish Records |
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MORE JOTTINGS

Beer in the Workhouse

To the Editor of the *Stroud Journal*

Sir, - Your last week's Journal speaks of a dinner of beef and plum-pudding given to the poor inmates of the Workhouse, with a pint of ale for each of the adults.

It is a great mistake (however well meant) to give the paupers of that which has brought the majority of them into their present condition of poverty and thereby reviving a taste, and creating a thirst for an article which has been the ruin of millions and is now ruining millions more.

Medical science has proved beer to be utterly incapable of any good whatever, but capable of doing great harm and the seed of most diseases.

Dr Richardson and hundreds of the great medical authorities have written so largely on this subject that no poor law guardians and workhouse authorities should be any longer in the dark regarding the evils of all alcoholic poisonous drinks.

Would not a pint of nice hot coffee costing 1d accompanied with a kind word or two saying why you give the coffee, have been much better? The good properties of beer are a delusion. You have less than a pennyworth of barley in a gallon of strong beer. Six pennyworth of barley is the proper quantity for a gallon, but this good creature of God is rotted and destroyed to produce the poison, alcohol.

To brew a gallon of ale take barley 6lbs
For making this into malt, we abstract in "spirits" or malt combs 1 1/2lbs
After mashing we dispose in the shape of "grains" 2lbs
By fermenting the liquor, converting the sugar into alcohol, we lose 1lb
Lastly, by fining the ale the barrel bottoms amount to 3/4lb

The hope is simply a narcotic giving a flavour but no nourishment. The beer therefore is simply poison water with hop flavour.

An Observer.

Stroud Journal
3rd January 1880

THE POOR OF PAINSWICK

by

Carol Maxwell

Today throughout Painswick we see evidence of the wealth generated by the wool industry over three centuries. However, for every rich clothier here there were scores of Painswickians living at or below subsistence level, many of them employed in the wool trade on pitifully low wages. There is nothing architecturally extant to show that these people existed but there are written records which indicate that poverty was constant in Painswick for a very long time.

When considering the poor of Painswick's past two distinct time periods quickly become clear – before and after 1834. With one single Act of Parliament, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, society's attitude to and dealings with the truly poor changed from being generally caring and philanthropic to universally punitive and judgemental.

The problem of poverty nationally became acute under the later Tudors. The Elizabethan Poor Law 1598/1601 provided for a compulsory poor rate and the appointment of local overseers who had the power to levy the poor rate and had responsibility for apprenticing poor children and maintaining houses for the poor. The able-bodied were to be set to work and the deserving poor received outrelief in cash, food, clothing, fuel, rent and medical aid. The Parish was the unit of administration and this resulted in many variations in the operation of the Law. However, there was an understanding that Society had a responsibility for the destitute and legislation tended to encourage benevolence. The overseers, appointed annually by each Parish Committee, ensured the sick, needy poor and aged were assisted either in money or in kind, distribution of which took place in the Vestry of the Parish Church. Records were kept in the Parish Vestry Book and those for Painswick clearly record these activities for many years. From 1653 to 1722, for example, the Churchwardens Book gives a comprehensive list of the elected overseers, four per year. There are many familiar and perhaps predictable names, mainly clothiers, including Loveday, Gardner, Palling, Bliss, Cook, Gyde, Webb, Poole, Small, Wight and Packer.¹

The poor themselves were classified as either impotent poor (to be housed and cared for) or sturdy beggars or rogues (to be whipped and sent to their own parish or put in houses of correction). This second group were subject to the terms of the Settlement Act of 1622 which allowed parishes to return paupers to the parish in which they had been born unless in receipt of a settlement certificate. The parish was not obliged to bear responsibility for paupers born elsewhere. There are many records in the Memoranda Book, which dates from 1651 to 1782, of strenuous efforts to prove by 'examination' that paupers had been born elsewhere, thus relieving the overseers of the duty to give payments. One such example is, 10 December 1698, Sarah Chapman to be warned to leave Painswick; and 17 December 1698, Sarah Chapman, spinster to Stroud.² In particular, every effort was made to return pregnant women to their parish of birth so they did not give birth to a child in the parish. Of course, there were as many cases of reciprocal 'examinations' to return paupers to Painswick. An interesting case is recorded on 11 December 1685 –

“Walter Winchcombe of Painswick, blacksmith about 8 days ago brought into

Lydney a female child of his aged 5 and left her near the house of Margaret Duffoiles, a poor widow and then fled away. As child born in Painswick to be removed there from Lydney.”²

The Memoranda Book gives long lists of statements naming places of legal settlements, orders for removals to and from the Parish, indentured apprentices, lists of bastardy examinations and bonds of indemnification for bastard children (naming of fathers) and settlement examinations and certificates. There are also many records of long, almost acrimonious disputes via correspondence between parishes over individual settlements. A pauper living in another parish without a settlement certificate usually meant his/her parish of birth had to pay maintenance. Examples of Painswick overseers paying such maintenance are: 20 May 1844 to Kings Stanley £4.1s.0d for Mary Clayfield for 21 days; 27 November 1844 to Cheltenham £1.1s.0d to maintain B. Justin and wife.³

Appendix I gives the numbers of settlements, settlement examinations and removals concerning Painswick from 1651 to 1844.

Certainly during the 17th century the duties of the local overseers were considerable. As Prof. Hoskins notes,

“By the second half of the 17th century it is clear that we have the poor as a permanent feature in the village community. They were emerging as a class, and a considerable class at that; and the problem of their relief was becoming more and more unmanageable by acts of private charity or by family self-help.”⁴

Records of baptisms and burials in Painswick from this time show that a steady percentage were paupers whose entries were made in separate lists from the rest of the population. Baptisms of paupers, usually denoted by the words base born (also applied to those born out of wedlock), were done en masse once every few months e.g. there were seven on 24 July 1789.⁵

The Overseers' Accounts and the Vestry Minutes show frequent regular meetings to discuss and decide upon courses of action regarding the poor in Painswick. For carrying out this task there was a salary. At a Parish meeting on 26 April, 1737, “Thomas Bishop chosen as General Overseer for the year ensuing at the salary of £14.”² Their duties were wide-ranging and on a weekly basis involved deciding what, if anything, should be given by way of relief and also what should be removed. In March 1819 Daniel Spring was appointed Guardian of the Poor for the year and allowed twenty pounds.⁶

Until 1834 relief was in the form either of living in the poorhouse (or workhouse), or out relief which involved receiving money or goods on a temporary or regular basis according to need. Painswick's poor were in this position for a variety of reasons including very low wages (it is noticeable that a high proportion of those in receipt of relief were spinners and weavers), unemployment, abandoned families, husbands in the militia especially in the 1770s, widowhood, temporary disabling problems and illness. There were periodic outbreaks of smallpox such as in 1771-2 and at these times the demand for relief always rose noticeably. A good example of this can be seen by comparing the cost of poor relief in Painswick in 1700 at £174 with that of £415 in 1714 when there was a smallpox

epidemic.⁷ On a less dramatic note, other forms of illness required remedies to be handed out. The Vestry Minutes for 6 July 1783 state –

“Ordered that Mr Evans doth procure a quantity of Itch Ointment for the use of the Poor in the Workhouse and that it be immediately apply’d to those who are infected with the said disorder.”⁸ [The Itch was scabies].

In 1811 a salaried surgeon and apothecary was appointed by the Vestry.

Many entries simply state – “...one shilling in hand to subsist on till next Sunday”, or similar. Fortnightly payments of one or two shillings were the norm but there were also one-off payments for temporary ill-health and many single sums for a new hat, or a pair of shoes, or a pinafore, or a shift, or calico for shirts. Changes or reductions would also be recommended e.g.

“...that Mary Hale’s pay be reduced to 2/- per week or be admitted in the Workhouse this day”⁹ (15 September 1823),

or

“...that Widow Rickett’s pay be taken off on account of her having a house of her own she refusing to give possession of it to the Parish”⁹ (29 September 1823).

It is interesting to note that, although generally kindly in intention when giving out the payments, on 5 February 1818 the Vestry Minutes record that five shillings be spent on printing the names of all persons receiving Parochial relief and that a copy of each be sent to every Public House in the Parish.⁶ This gives rise to the question of whether it was drinking habits that led people to poverty or poverty that drove people to drink. Either way, it would seem to have become a contentious issue.

The Parish was responsible for ensuring that if a pauper was admitted to hospital she/he arrived there in a reasonable state of dress. The Parish also had to meet the hospital boarding costs, for example it is noted that the bill for the boarding of Jonathan Wood in Gloucestershire General Lunatic Asylum from 5 April to 10 July 1828 was £7.16s.0d.¹⁰ On occasions the Overseers presumably fell short of their obligations as is evidenced in the following correspondence.

Gloucester Infirmary
Nov.16th 1822

Gentlemen,

The Governors are greatly surprised at the dirty state in which William Poole was sent herein on Thursday last, and without proper clothing. I am directed to say that if he is not immediately supplied with two shirts and two pairs of stockings, he will of necessity be returned to his Parish.

I am, Gentlemen
Your obedient servant
Samuel Mutlow

It would appear that nothing was done in response as the next letter shows.

Gloucester Infirmary
December 12th 1822

Gentlemen,

I am directed to transmit to you a copy of a resolution entered into by the Governors of this Hospital at the Weekly Board of this day.

It having appeared on the House Visitors Book that, William Poole was sent into this Infirmary on the 14th of November Last by the Overseers of Painswick, in a most filthy and disgusting state, and the same having been certified to the Governors on this day by the Apothecary and Nurse. Ordered that a letter be sent to the Minister, Churchwardens, and Overseers of the above mentioned Parish, stating the strong disapprobation of the Conduct of the Overseers entertained by the Governors, and their determination to reject the future subscription of the Parish and to publish the case with further aggravating circumstances in the newspapers, unless a proper apology be immediately made, and a fair remuneration paid to the Nurse for the extra trouble occasioned by this gross neglect.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant

Samuel Mutlow¹⁰

Occasionally a crisis arose which necessitated a special payment. This happened in 1820 when the Vestry Minutes of 27 January indicate a Parishioners' meeting

"...to take into consideration the distress of the Poor in consequence of the inclement season and to adopt measures for their relief."

They decided to bring in twenty tons of coal to be retailed to the poor at ten pence per cwt. on Wednesdays and Saturdays, each family to have one cwt. per week.⁶ And on 17 February 1800

"...four wagon loads of potatoes bought by the Parish and distributed to the poor at half price."¹¹

Sturdy beggars were treated very differently and often ended up in the House of Correction at Horsley. The original objective of these establishments, also known as bridewells, was to both punish and train petty criminals, including sturdy beggars, to become useful members of society. The idea was to eliminate vagrancy and there are several records of so-called able-bodied idlers being sent from Painswick. Sadly, this sometimes involved innocent children as a case in the Churchwardens' Receipts and Disbursements for 18 April 1832 reveals – Horsley House of Correction received from Mr B.Cook, Overseer of the Parish of Painswick, the sum of ten shillings for the subsistence of the infant child of Mary Twinning from 16 March to 10 April.¹² The so-called petty criminals were also usually paupers, often desperate, low-paid weavers and the like, who were given fines they could not possibly pay or the alternative of Horsley House of Correction. There are many recorded cases during the 18th and 19th centuries, mostly offences involving wool theft or slinging or the stealing of food crops from local fields or gardens. Typical of these were Elizabeth Askins, spinster, accused 7 November 1785 of stealing $\frac{1}{4}$ peck of potatoes from a field, and Samuel Selwin, weaver, accused 6 February 1801 of buying and receiving from Mary Butt about 4lbs of woollen yarn. The sentence for this was a fine of £40 or six months hard labour in the Horsley House of Correction.¹³

For those unable to maintain themselves for whatever reason the Poorhouse or Workhouse was the only option. However, these establishments bore little resemblance to the dreaded institutions which followed the 1834 Act. In Painswick a Workhouse was recorded from 1729, probably in New Street, and there were fourteen inmates in 1803.⁷ On entering the Workhouse an inventory was made of the individual's possessions which were then claimed by the Officers as Parish property – 4 November 1819 “Ordered that Daniel Berry be put in the Workhouse – and his property be taken account of by Daniel Spring.”⁶ The lists were, of course, always meagre and pitiful as the following entries from the 1773 Churchwardens' minutes reveal.

Mr Caudwell – 1 bed and bedstead, 1 coffer, 1 box, 1 iron pot, 1 small table, 1 small brass kettle, 1 jug, 1 fire shovel and tongs, 1 looking glass, 1 bench.

Isaac Robbins – 1 bed and bedstead, 1 rugg, 2 blankets, 1 coffer, 2 chairs, 1 pot, 1 kettle, 1 dresser, a hatchett, 1 baskett, wearing apparel.

Ann Clissold – 1 bed, 1 bedstead, 1 rugg, 1 reel, 1 little table, 2 stools, 4 pans and wearing apparel.²

As the underlying ethos was care not punishment, conditions within the Workhouse were probably not unreasonable even if entry therein signified a relinquishing of all possessions and earnings. There are frequent references to the maintenance, equipping and care of both building and inmates. Examples of these include:

£6.4s.0d paid to the Masons for work done at the Workhouse, and 9s.0d “for a cistern for the Workhouse Pump” in 1767.¹⁴

£0.12s.1d for repairs of washing tubs and buckets at the Workhouse, 16 March 1828.¹⁰

£3.12s.5d for linen for the Workhouse, 16 December 1826.¹⁰

£6.17s.0d to George Gardner for rebuilding a wall and repairing a drain.¹⁰

Shirts, shifts, aprons and blankets to be provided for the Poorhouse, 25 July 1822.⁶ And on 12 May 1796 the Vestry Minutes report that the Workhouse roof was so decayed that there was a proposal to take it off and raise the walls to make a garret over the schoolroom.¹¹

Undoubtedly however, the Poorhouse in Painswick was by no means adequate during the course of the 18th century and more accommodation had to be found.

In some cases, paupers were allowed to stay in their homes and the Parish paid the rent. In return, all their belongings became the property of the Parish. For example, at a meeting on 27 March, 1739

“It was agreed that the Parish should pay Jonathan Merredith's rent £3.7s.6d and take to his goods of which the following is an account.”

A list is given showing that this man was a weaver and thus illustrating the state of poverty in which these workers often found themselves. His possessions were:

1 broadloom, 1 brass kettle, 1 pot and pot hooks, 1 pair of bellows, 2 flock beds and bed heads, 1 rug, 1 sheet and bolster, 1 little brass kettle, a Ruthe belonging to a loom, 2 chairs and a quilling turn, a spinning turn, 1 axe and 1 hatchet, 1 old table, 2 large and 1 small box, a warping barr, 1 bottle, 1 earthen pitcher, 1 blanket, 2 earthen platters and earthen dish, 1 hour glass, 1 stool, 1 bucket.²

The other solution was for the Parish to acquire and use various houses in the village for the purpose of accommodating the poor. A clear example of this is recorded on 12 March 1794 when an agreement was made that

“...the five tenements now occupied by John Gardner, Daniel King, William Beard, Robert Page and John Selwin...”

the property of Edward Wheeler, be bought for £210 for the use of the Parish. A meeting was to be held at The Falcon to discuss ways of raising the money and “...for the better managing of the poor.”¹¹ Again on 19 June 1826 it was recorded that there had been an increase in the number of families entering the Workhouse and more were expected

“and the Poorhouse not being sufficiently large to accommodate them all, it is ordered that a house be taken for the use of the Parish.”⁹

On 26 February 1827 there is evidence that the Parish was renting houses for this purpose:

“...to Ann Cook for rent of two houses for the use of the Parish ... at 1/3 [1s 3d] per week for each house.”⁹

By the 1830s there were probably several buildings/houses being used in this way. The Vestry Minutes of 9 November 1831 make the following point,

“Resolved that every House occupied by the Parish for the use of the Poor be whitewashed and that the Churchwardens be requested to procure half a hundred weight chloride of lime ... brushes and buckets for the above purpose”⁹

During the 18th century this steady demand for relief and accommodation was largely due to the barely subsistence level wages that weavers such as Jonathan Merredith had to endure but by the 19th century the vast increase was undoubtedly due to the collapsing of the wool industry in Painswick and the rise in unemployment. For a very small number the answer was emigration, but for the majority who stayed the problems were acute and the Parish had to carry the burden.

One of the duties of the Parish had always been to find employment for the able-bodied and to indenture the young. This must have become increasingly difficult. On 4 July 1826 it is reported that able-bodied men applying for relief must be employed under a Superintendant appointed by the Vestry. Refusal would result in no relief being given. Edward Bayliss was employed to superintend the work at a salary of 15/- a week. For the workers the pay was

“Four pence per yard be allowed for digging and stacking and 4d per yard for breaking stone.”

A maximum of 1/3 per day per man was allowed.⁹ On 13 December 1824 the Minutes record that

“...two Pick Axes, two broad Shovels, two hammers and a wheelbarrow be provided for the use of the Paupers employed by the Parish.”⁹

And in 1831 it is noted that

“...all paupers employed by the Parish be under the direction of the Surveyors of the Byeways for the purpose of cleaning the streets, opening drains etc.”⁹

There can, by this time, have been little other work to put men to.

Earlier, in 1796, Mr William Bartlett, pinmaker, made a proposal to provide tools, training and employment for seven years for all the women and children paupers in the heading process of pin making. He wanted to limit the numbers to forty, and the plan was that it should be jointly financed by him and the Parish. The rate of pay would be the same as in Gloucester. There is no evidence that the plan went ahead but it was considered to be a worthwhile venture.¹¹

There was another scheme involving work which was operated in some areas. Parish workhouses such as that in Painswick were generally small and the running of them was often handed over to a contractor who would, for an agreed price, feed and house the poor. He would also provide the inmates with work and benefit from any income generated. This was known as farming the poor. The Vestry Minutes for 9 March 1826 record that tenders were made for “farming the Poor of this Parish” by Mr John Stevens of Dursley and Mr Browning of Painswick. The Minutes of 4 April however indicate that it was finally decided that this was not a good idea and was thus abandoned.⁶



Aerial view of Stroud Workhouse

The indenture system was practised for several decades. Boys and girls were apprenticed, usually for seven years, to weavers or other trades in the wool industry, or to carpentry, farming etc. The Parish indentured 242 of the young poor between 1670 and 1835 of whom 80% went into the weaving trade.⁷ Typical of many is an entry from 26 April 1798 which states that Hannah Carter’s son be bound apprentice to Samuel Twining by Parish Indentures and that he be paid one Guinea provided he takes his apprentice till he be twenty one years of age and the Parish to pay the expenses of the Indentures etc.¹¹

For those in the Workhouse earnings were carefully supervised as evidenced in March 1818 –

“Ordered that the Workhouse Keeper see to the earnings of the Paupers in the said House, and be accountable to the Parish for the same. That should any Pauper or Paupers purloin the money they earn the Pauper so offending shall be expelled the House.”⁶

In fact, expulsions from the Workhouse were recorded regularly. On 22 March 1775 –

“Ordered the Officer to remove Daniel Webb and family out of the Workhouse immediately for selling the Goods belonging to the Parish and other misdemeanours.”¹⁵

On other occasions it was because of disorderly conduct e.g. Edward Birt and family, 5 June 1826,⁹ or the account of two women as follows.

“Complaint having been made by Mr Burdock, Keeper of the Poorhouse, of the disorderly conduct of Frances and Anne Green inmates of the said House. It is therefore ordered that they be taken before a Magistrate to answer the charge alleged against them. Upon this information being made to them in the Vestry Room, their conduct became unruly and outrageous using very threatening and insulting language against Joseph Burdock and his wife keepers of the Poor House and against Ann Jeremiah it is thought expedient that the said Frances and Anne Green be put under the control of the Constable until they are taken before a Magistrate.”⁹

Without doubt the Overseers who found their duties to the Poor were increasing considerably towards the end of the 18th century for a variety of reasons. This reflected a national pattern and on 24 January 1779 the Churchwardens report

“Ordered that the overseers of the Poor to put a badge on all the people who receive weekly relief from this Parish according to act of Parliament.”⁸

This has uncomfortable and slightly alarming connotations set against subsequent events in history. A few years later the cost of food began to rise at a greater rate than the average wage, and the number of paupers claiming out-relief increased. The Speenhamland System 1792 was developed to top up the amount earned to the level of the cost of bread although this did give rise in some places to abuse by employers who used it as an excuse to keep wages low. In Painswick this pattern was compounded by the steep rise in unemployment caused by the decline of the wool industry and the cost of maintaining the Poor rose accordingly. Appendix 2 shows the completed return for 1814 and the amounts levied and expended in 1827, 1828 and 1830, demonstrating this great rise. It was matched by an increasing annoyance amongst those who had to pay.

On 9 April 1818 several Parishioners “...feeling themselves aggrieved with the present Poor Rates...” called a meeting to voice their protests.⁶ As a result the rate was revised. Land was rated at three pence in the pound, houses at two pence in the pound and mills at three half pence in the pound. All houses above four pounds per year should be chargeable to the Poor Rate. This was considered unanimously to be “equitable and just.”

The 1820s saw an unprecedented increase in demand for poor relief and on 28 April 1827 the Vestry Minutes state

“...sixteen substantial householders and occupiers... to be members of a select vestry for the concerns of the poor.”⁹

These formed what was effectively a management committee and they were members of the following families: Capel, Skinner, Hogg, Wight, Loveday, Cooke, Cox, Tocknells, Gardner, Gingell, Wathen, Gordon.

By this time, however, the old system was buckling. The population was growing rapidly and there was unemployment on a vast scale, resulting in huge demands for relief and bitterly resented increases in poor rates. The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act established the new union workhouses and put an end to relief outside the workhouse. The emphasis was no longer on the relief of destitution but on the deterrence of idleness. Relief was to be stigmatized and the workhouse was to offer a standard of living lower than anything available outside. The Act was based on the belief that poverty was caused by laziness and the best way to deal with the problem was to make the consequences of poverty so unpleasant that people would do anything to avoid going into the workhouse.

“The workhouse should be a place of hardship, of coarse fare, of degradation and humility; it should be administered with strictness - with severity; it should be as repulsive as is consistent with humanity”.

Thus wrote Rev. H.H.Milman to Edwin Chadwick.

For Painswick's poor, Stroud Union Workhouse became the dreaded institution. Unfortunately, there are scant records giving details of which and how many people from Painswick became inmates but undoubtedly Painswick sent its quota. The Stroud Poor Law Union was formed on 2 April 1835. The Poor Law Commissioners



Stroud Workhouse overlooking the town

approved an expenditure of £10,610 on the erection of the workhouse to accommodate 500 from 15 parishes and overseen by an elected Board of Guardians, 31 in number of whom three were from Painswick. Built between 1836 and 1840 in Bisley Road, it was designed by William Mason to the relatively uncommon double-cruciform plan which allowed for the cruel separation of husbands, wives and children at all times. Like all union workhouses it was stark and undecorated with high walls cutting out the view to the outside world. Even the windowsills sloped down to prevent them being used as seats. Furniture was kept to a minimum and was uncomfortable, the walls were decorated with lists of rules, diet lists and Bible passages.

On entering the workhouse, an inmate was given a prison-style uniform. Work consisted of oakum-picking (the unpicking by hand of tarred or knotted old rope), stone-breaking, bone-crushing or sack-making. Women did hard domestic work such as scrubbing

floors. Children, at least, were schooled. All this was nationally prescribed as was the daily diet.

Breakfast - 6oz bread, 1 1/2 pints of gruel or porridge

Dinner - 2 days – 5oz cooked meat, 1/2lb bread or potatoes

3 days – 1/2lb potatoes, half pint of pea soup

2 days – 12oz suet or rice pudding

Supper - 6oz bread, 1 1/2 oz cheese

The elderly and the very young were allowed some tea, sugar and butter. The diet was almost at starvation level and the horror of it came to public attention in 1845 when inmates at Andover workhouse resorted to eating the rotten flesh on the bones they were meant to be crushing at work time.

There was constant concern about moral turpitude and evil. In Stroud the Chaplain's report of 21 December 1852 talks of "the state of total idleness and mental inactivity" of some inmates. He sees "Idleness being the parent of evil" and recommends light work such as making clothes pegs and netting. In 1848 the Chaplain praises the schooling but then adds

"...the chaplain thinks that very great care should be taken not to mix the children with the able-bodied. He cannot too strongly suggest the very great necessity of keeping them as distant as possible, particularly the Girls. Many of the able-bodied Women are the worst of characters, and if the children are allowed to associate with them, they would probably in a short time be contaminated and ruined."

And again on 3 July 1851 the Chaplain recommended copies be provided of "*The Pious Christian's Daily Preparation for Death and Eternity*", especially for the aged and infirm.¹⁶

Even though conditions undoubtedly improved gradually, the workhouse never lost its stigma. Howard Beard explains that his great grandfather died in Stroud Workhouse in 1925 and the address for place of death is given euphemistically as 1 Bisley Road. Stroud Workhouse finally closed in 1940, redundant with the onset of the welfare state.

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| 10 | GRO P244 CW 2/5 |
| 11 | GRO P244 VE2/7 |
| 12 | GRO P244 CW 2/6 |
| 13 | <i>Quarter Sessions Q/PC2</i> Vol. I, compiled by Kate Searle |
| 14 | GRO P244 CW 2/2 |
| 15 | GRO P244 VE 2/15 |
| 16 | GRO G/STR 93 |

Appendix I

1651-1675	Indemnity Bonds	6	1695, 1715	Settlement Examinations	2
1675-1691	Settlement Certificates	13	1721-1765	"	105
1697-1707	"	33	1765-1794	"	90
1708-1714	"	27	1810-1827	"	21
1716-1746	"	85	1834-1844	"	13
1747-1772	"	39	1676	Settlement Warrants	2
1776-1787, 1814	"	31	1668-1716, 1736	Apprenticeship Indemnities	93
1676-1728	Removal Orders	36	1717-1829	"	122
1731-1796, 1825	"	158	1669-1834	"	35
1791-1833	"	95	1660-1817	Bastardy Bonds	50
1834-1855	"	6	1662-1826	"	63
1731-1796	"	97	1800-1834	"	117
1812-1833	"	110	1716-1842	Bastardy Examinations	36
1834-1855	"	62			

Appendix 2

Completed return	1813	1814	1815
Money raised by the Poor Rate	1282 -7 -7 ¹ / ₂	1531-10-5 ³ / ₄	1283 -7-7 ¹ / ₂
Money expended for maintenance of poor	1049 -5 -9	1177-15-2 ¹ / ₂	861 -5 -4
Expenditure in lawsuits, removals			
expenses of overseers	30-11 -0	14-10-0	7-18 -0
Maintenance of families of militia men	43-14 -6	37-18-0	16 -4 -0
Persons relieved permanently not including			
the children of such persons			
- in workhouse	109 -0 -0	139-0 -0	127 -0 -0
- out of whorkhouse	13 -0 -0	18-0 -0	9 -0 -0
Persons relieved occasionally	178 -0 -0	182-0 -0	167 -0 -0
Total Expended	1423-11 -3	1569-3 -2 ¹ / ₂	1188 -7 -4
Completed return	1827	1828	1830
Levied	2158 -7-3 ¹ / ₂	2429-7 -3 ¹ / ₂	2581 -5 -0
Expended	1643 -1-10 ¹ / ₂	1759-8 -4	2337 -4-11 ¹ / ₂

CLOCK AND WATCH MAKING IN PAINSWICK

by

Peter Jackson

Painswick has always been a hive of industry. In the eighteenth century the wool trade was at its height and agriculture was ever present but there is perhaps another industry that is less well known. Although evidence is sketchy it would seem that Painswick probably had a significant, albeit small, clock and watch making industry.

Much of Gloucestershire has a long history of clock and watch making. With its important centres of population, its extensive wealth producing countryside there were plenty of people with the means to afford what at the time were surely luxuries. The nature of the landscape and the difficulty of transportation meant that this was not an area where such items would be simply bought in and sold on by traders. Just as the area had to be self-sufficient in everyday items so too it had to be in the luxuries of clocks and watches.

Production within the county was widespread and there was capacity both in quality and quantity.

Lantern clocks of a very high quality were being made by William Holloway of Stroud in the 1660's and there are also records of longcase and tavern clocks.

Church clocks had been made in the county since the 15th century and there are references in the parish records for the maintenance of the clock in the tower of St Mary's Church, Painswick.

1684 Charles Hillman for pulley wheel of 4th bell and for mending 0-3s-0d

1684 Samuel Cooke for making a spring for the 5th hammer and mending the clock 0-3s-0d

1770-1771 To Thomas Wood for cleaning and regulating the clock and chymes 0-15s-0d

9 April 1798 Ordered that Nathaniel Wood be employed to wind up the Church clock and Chymes and to keep same in good order



Longcase clock by Thomas Wood

and that be allowed One pound fifteen Shillings for the same per Annum.

It is probable that Nathaniel Wood was the son of Thomas Wood, both are also recorded as maintaining the clock in the Parish Church of Upton St Leonards.

There is in Painswick a very fine example of a longcase clock by Thomas Wood. It has an 8 day movement (lesser clocks were often on 30 hours), moon phases and a full japanned/lacquered case with side glass panels allowing sight of the movement and dates probably from the early to mid 1700's.

In addition there is the dial of one of his clocks in Stroud museum.

Less is known of watchmaking but evidence comes from notices published in newspapers relating to their loss and here we find evidence of a Painswick watchmaker, Richard Land. The son of John Land he was baptised in Stroud in 1722 and there is record of his apprenticeship to a goldsmith in London:

"The examination of Richard Land now residing in the parish of Painswick, Goldsmith, taken upon oath... the 15th day of December 1749... saith that he was Bound an Apprentice by Indenture for Seven Years to Thomas Mason a Goldsmith then living in the parish of St Mary Abb Church in the City of London where this Examinant live with him as an apprentice for some time And then his said master removed with his family into the parish of Saint Magna in which parish this examinant lived with him the remainder of the Term of his said Apprenticeship which was two years and upwards And hath not by service or otherwise (to the best of his knowledge) Gained any subsequent settlement"

A marriage licence dated 1 February 1762 indicates that he was to be married to Sarah Tanner of Painswick and they were to be married at Painswick.

Gloucester Journal February 7, 1780

Lost of the 25th of January, between Gloucester and Painswick, a silver WATCH, Maker's name Richard Land, Painswick, No. 8423, and the words Thomas Sheppard engraven on the inside Case: Whoever will bring it to Richard Land, in Painswick, or to the Talbot in Gloucester, shall receive Half a Guinea Reward.

The marriage of another Painswick watchmaker was also noted in an earlier edition of the same newspaper:



Face of longcase clock by Thomas Wood

Gloucester Journal April 10 1827

Tuesday, at Painswick. Mr Jos. Hitchins, a watchmaker, to Esther, 4th daughter of the late Mr Heague, all of that town.

Listed in the *Gloucester Directory* is a Thomas Hitchins, presumably either brother or father of Joseph above who was noted as “Victualler, Star, watch and clock maker”. There are records of a watch, the case hallmarked 1818 and of an eight-day longcase clock, with painted arched dial having fully painted corners with shell motif and sailing ship in arch, oak case with rosewood veneer, swan neck pediment with brass paterae.

An example of this maker’s work is a long case clock still owned by a Painswick resident. It dates from around 1800 and was acquired by the current owner’s grandfather who bought and sold various antiques as a hobby. This particular clock came from an old lady in Slad and the story, as passed down to the current owner by his mother, was that it had previously been housed in a pub. It might be reasonable to assume that as the maker was “Victualler, Star” as noted above it might well have been the maker’s own clock in the pub prior to being sold to the next owner in Slad. The clock has a single day movement with date and is of simple design. The face is engraved brass and the case is stained pine that was revarnished with a slightly darker stain in the 1930s.



Longcase clock by Thomas Hitchins



Face of longcase clock by Thomas Hitchins

A further Painswick clock maker was Thomas Woodall. A fine tavern clock was advertised in *Antiquarian Horology* in 1979 “Interesting and relatively early Tavern clock with octagonal dial and the unusual features of no door in the truck and an unglazed aperture in the base through which the pendulum bob may be seen. It is signed and dated “Thos Woodall, Painswick, 1766” A particularly interesting feature is the tail of the minute hand on which are the initials J and G and a heart, which would indicate that it was a wedding present. Dial size 32 in. Overall length 65 in.”



Tavern clock by Thomas Woodall

Two clockmakers are identifiable solely from trade directories but there are no actual known examples of their work extant. John Gardner (*Hunt & Co's Directory & Topography for the Cities of Gloucester & Bristol (and many other places)*, London, 1849) and H Hart (*Kelly's Directory* 1879).

In addition to these makers who are identifiable there may also be clocks which have Painswick written upon their faces. This, however, does not necessarily indicate that the clock was actually made by a Painswick clock maker as it was fairly common practice that if a clock maker from for example Stroud was commissioned to make a clock for a customer in Painswick they would put Painswick upon the clock face. If a maker's name is not given as well it is very hard to say who the maker is unless there are other examples of a given maker's work to enable comparison of either the clock workings or other design features.

The clock and watchmakers detailed so far have all been from the 18th and 19th centuries. The fact that there are so few examples now in

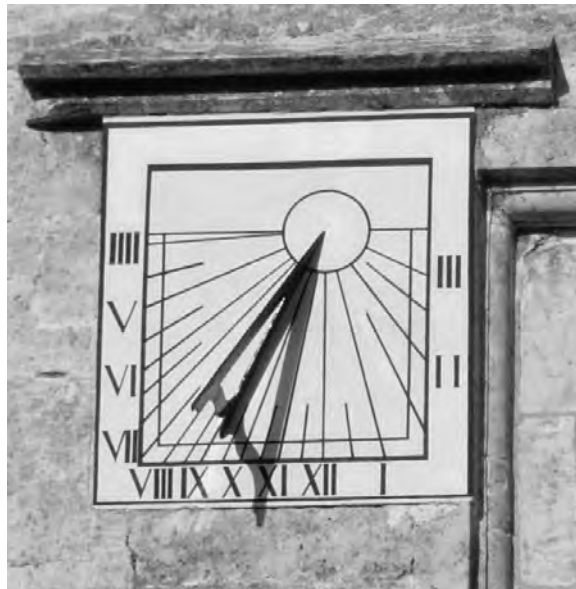
existence would seem to indicate that production was on a fairly limited scale and almost certainly they were individual commissions for fairly wealthy clients.

Moving into more recent times there is a clock in Christchurch hall made by Reg Cooke, a strong non conformist character who lived at Chapel Cottage behind Christchurch hall. He died circa 1969. Now only the face and case of this clock remain original as its movement has been changed to a modern quartz one. Reg Cooke had been employed in the pin mill but also made and repaired clocks, and indeed was employed by various residents in Painswick to wind and generally maintain their clocks. It is related (perhaps semi apocraphal) that after he died his widow decided to clear out his shed of all his clock paraphenalia and threw all the remaining movements down the well from where they could be heard chiming for several days.



Clock by Reg Cooke in Christchurch Hall

Although looking specifically at clock and watch makers it is worth noting the restored sundial on Nutgrove house in New Street. The sundial probably dates from the 18th century. The fact that it is not positioned symmetrically between the windows and is not flush with the surrounding stonework indicates that it may post-date the building. This sundial is an accurate scientific instrument and reads local solar time. Solar time is not the same as clock time due to the earth's elliptical orbit round the sun and the tilt of its axis. In addition Nutgrove House is $2^{\circ} 12'$ west of the Greenwich Meridian which means the sundial is 8 minutes 48 seconds behind Greenwich Mean Time.



Acknowledgements

Much of the information for this article has been gleaned from Graham Dowler's excellent book *Gloucester Clock and Watch Makers*, Phillimore & Co Ltd, 1984.

Details of the sundial have been taken from the plaque outside Nutgrove House.

SOCIETY EVENTS OF 2006

Compiled by

Gwen Welch

A MAN OF MANY TALENTS

The exceptional talents and achievements of Doctor Edward Jenner were recounted by Mr David Mullin at the January meeting. Mr Mullin, is the present curator of the Stroud Museum, was formerly curator of the Jenner Museum in Berkeley. Edward Jenner was born in 1749, the eighth of the nine children of the Reverend Jenner of Berkeley. Orphaned as a child, Edward was sent to a boarding school and later apprenticed to an apothecary and later to a surgeon. He joined the surgeon, John Hunter, in London and from him learned the techniques of scientific method and the importance of testing. From his experiments on hibernating hedgehogs and his studies of birds, Jenner noted that the changes in bird's bodies were not as great as those in hibernating hedgehogs and concluded that birds were migrating, not hibernating. Through his interest in rocks and fossils Jenner produced the first good description of how oolitic limestone is formed. He also built an experimental hydrogen-filled balloon. It is thought that a launch of the balloon, which came down at Birdlip, may have given the name to the 'Air Balloon' inn..

While involved in these many and varied activities Jenner continued to investigate the claims that humans infected with cowpox gained immunity to smallpox. He carried out many experiments and finally proved that an injection of cowpox inoculated against smallpox. There was initial opposition to this thesis on theological and medical grounds, but large-scale trials carried out in 1799 confirmed Jenner's thesis and the practice of vaccination spread throughout the world. In his vote of thanks, Dr Jim Hoyland revealed that in the audience were some with links to the Jenner Museum: Dr Jarrett, who is a trustee, and Miss Davey and Mrs Morrison, daughters of the late Dr Davey who had also been a trustee. Dr Hoyland then produced a silver box, once owned by Jenner, a fitting conclusion to an absorbing talk about an exceptional man.

A BRIGGS/ARCHARD PRODUCTION

Helen Briggs and David Archard, in February, recounted the life of Miss Maria Kirkland, a former Headmistress of Painswick Girl's School.

Miss Kirkland attended one of the first Board Schools in Leicester. She began teaching in 1882 as a Pupil Teacher and subsequently was appointed as a Certificated Teacher in two difficult schools in Leicester. Her father took an appointment with the Quaker run business of Clarks, so the family moved to Street in Somerset in 1898. Miss Kirkland taught in Street Board School.

Miss Kirkland was an active Suffragette and strongly upheld the rights of women. She was opposed to violence and hated war, and was a loyal member of the League of Nations, later the United Nations Association.

In 1903 she came to teach at Painswick Girls' School, and was head teacher for nearly 30 years. In 1917 the school was one of the few chosen to participate in the Parents' National Education Union Plan, which as it proved a great success, was introduced to hundreds of other schools in Gloucestershire. Miss Kirkland was a very successful teacher with many girls winning free places at Stroud Girls' High School and the Central School.

At her retirement in 1933 she expressed her regret that the Girls' School would be closing, becoming a mixed school by merging with the Boys' and the Infants' Schools. Sir Francis Hyett made the presentation at her retirement, and referred to the influence that teachers had upon the character of their children, which was felt for two or three generations. The retirement ceremony was crowded with friends, parents, old scholars, staff and local dignitaries. The presentations included a book containing the names of all who had subscribed to a leaving gift; an easy chair, specially made; and lastly a bird-bath - which she would find fixed in her garden on her return home. In her working life she had lived at The Homestead, which we now know as the Post Office, but moved to her newly-built Arts and Crafts-style house in Cheltenham Road, taking the house name with her.

A PITCHCOMBE HISTORY

In March Mr Michael Little took members on an historical ramble through Pitchcombe. Mr Little, whose family have occupied the beautiful, if somewhat cold, Pitchcombe House for many years, was able to draw on a wealth of primary sources kept by his family over the centuries. The talk gave a most informative glimpse into our neighbouring village and Mr Little's family.

MEMBERS' RESEARCH EVENING

There was a vague theme of challenge running through each of the presentations at the Research evening. John Bailey took us through the determined efforts of early pioneers to fly and, in particular, of John Seddon, an early aviator and a pioneer in use of metal construction. Seddon was born in Painswick, the son of the Rev W H Seddon, Vicar of Painswick.

Janet Whitton gave an account of how the Cranham history book came into being - a project which involved a tremendous amount of hard work and time but which was finally and successfully born as a result of determination and enthusiasm.

Cedric Nielsen and Carolyn Luke explained how the discovery of a curious spherical stone under a wall in Carolyn's garden, gave rise to a quest. Much dogged research eventually identified the object as a cannon ball, but the question remains - how did it come to be in Edge?

A STROLL AROUND STROUD

The Society enjoyed its annual outing in May when Mr Ian Mackintosh, resplendent in cravat, waistcoat and tails, led the group around the notable Victorian parts of Stroud. Addressing us as 'genteel folk' in 1890s style, he gave a most entertaining and breathtakingly comprehensive explanation of life, business and building in 19th-century Stroud. Members realised that they had never really noticed some of the truly splendid and very impressive architecture in the town.

LODGE PARK

Following the AGM, Mrs Nicky Smith, of English Heritage, gave a most informative talk about the restoration work carried out at Lodge Park, near Sherborne on the A40. Lodge Park boasts what is arguably the most complete surviving landscape designed by the renowned gardener, Charles Bridgman. The Park originated as the Deer Park of nearby Sherborne House and was used for deer coursing throughout the 17th century. The Lodge itself, now triumphantly restored by the National Trust and open to the public, was built in 1634 as a grandstand for spectators of this sport. Until recently little was known about the park but the discovery of a plan in Bridgman's design dated 1729, led to renewed interest, especially in the

question of how much of the design was actually carried out. To help answer this question and to assist the National Trust with their management, English Heritage's Archaeological Survey and Investigation team carried out a detailed study of the 125 hectare park. This included the mapping of pre-existing features such as the well-preserved Neolithic long barrow and extensive abandoned field boundaries. The survey has shed new light on Bridgman's activities, by examining the extent to which he moved earth to modify the natural landform. One feature which has attracted attention is a crescent-shaped 'amphitheatre' which was created by cutting away earth from the bottom of a natural slope, moulding the natural landscape to dramatic effect with the minimum of work. The survey has shown that much of the 1729 design - though not all of it - was carried out and its remains can still be seen.

PAINSWICK INDEPENDENT CHAPEL

At the opening meeting of the new season the members were treated to a very comprehensive and informative presentation by Mr Jim Hodge on the history of Christ Church, or Painswick Independent Chapel, in this, its 350th anniversary year. He took us from its uncertain beginnings in a climate of early disapproval, through various periods of fluctuating congregations to the amalgamation with the Baptist church in the 1980s. Mr Hodge explained the way in which the building had evolved over time, a beautifully balanced design but now showing signs of structural problems. He talked also of the pulpit being the central feature, of the Burne-Jones window, of the selling of the seats to provide an income, of the gas lights and the hand-pumped organ. Many of the ministers had left their mark by ensuring the life of the church was active and interesting and some local families had been largely responsible for ensuring improvements were ongoing. Since 1972 all but one of the ministers have been female and many joint activities are organised with other denominations. This beautiful and interesting church certainly has a rich history.

ARTISTS OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT

In October Ms Caroline Swash gave a presentation on the Gere family, some of whom lived in Painswick, and her father, Edward Payne, whose beautiful stained glass windows can be seen in many local churches. These artists, trained in Birmingham in the 1890s, came to the Cobswolds with the Arts and Crafts movement and left a rich legacy of finely executed paintings, tapestries, drawings illustrations and glass. Ms Swash has many personal memories of them and was impressively knowledgeable about their work. She described how her father was totally involved in his art, following a rigid daily routine and continuing to work into his 80s with great vitality. She made her audience very aware of the artistry involved and showed that his little windows are masterpieces of beautiful detail and exquisite workmanship.

HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHIC BONANZA

At the November meeting Mr Howard Beard gave a presentation from his huge collection of 15,000 picture postcards. His theme for the evening was life around Stroud circa 1900. This was the period when sending postcards was at the height of its popularity. The cards shown included agricultural and town scenes, local industries, shops, schools, transport, fire brigades, buildings and people – forming a revealing social record of the era. Many of the pictures were taken by professional photographers of whom there were a surprisingly large number in this area at that time.

Mr Beard has transferred over 5000 of his pictures on to compact disc and reminded us that a picture is a secure and valuable historic record only when there is more than one copy and it is annotated.

Painswick Local History Society Publications

Painswick Chronicle Number 1 (out of print)

Painswick Chronicle Number 2 (out of print)

Painswick Chronicle Number 3

Painswick Chronicle Number 4

Painswick Chronicle Number 5

Painswick Chronicle Number 6

Painswick Chronicle Number 7

Painswick Chronicle Number 8

Painswick Chronicle Number 9

Painswick: Time Chart of a Cotswold Village

by Carl Moreland in association with Painswick Local History Society

Barks and Bites from Bow-Wow Land

Leaflet: *Painswick Milestone Project*

Also available from the Society:

Gyde Orphanage Remembered

