

Signpost



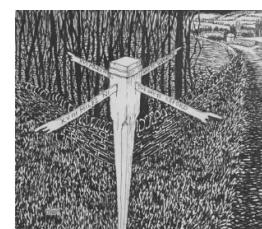
The Journal of Chipping Campden History Society

Issue no. 11

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Bringing local history to life



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From the Editor

We had such a lot of interesting correspondence to report in this issue, that it was quite lucky there was less Committee news. We are grateful to our President, Christopher Dyer, for sharing his researches after his last year's talk to us about population movements in the middle ages. Christopher Fance's article about George Ballard's interests and academic skill shows what an amazing young man he was with little formal education. Judith Ellis and Jenny Bruce's findings following the receipt of some Griffith's family archive papers, as previously reported, is a fascinating story – indeed a scandal. My sincere thanks once again go to all correspondents, researchers and contributors – please, keep your articles coming - they are valuable and valued.

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Front cover illustration: Photograph by Jesse Taylor from the Josephine Griffiths Collection. William Higford Griffiths (1823-1910) on the right, with left to right: his eldest child Josephine Dora (1863-1949), his second child Lola Pauline (c.1865-1921) and his wife Ellen, née Sherborn, (1837-1912) in the garden of Bedfont House c. 1890.

See article A Scandal or Love Story on page 16.

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Correspondence

In response to the article in Signpost 10 p.10 on Rev. **Baptist Wriothesley Noel, Elizabeth Wells**, the Archivist at Westminster School, wrote that the School records could not really add any further details, but one can get a feel for the school as it was shortly after Baptist Noel left, by viewing the Town Boy Ledger website: <http://townboyledger.westminster.org.uk/?paged=59>



Following the Correspondence note about the arrowhead find in Signpost 10 p.4, member **Sue Harrison** sent us a note from the Collections Officer at the **Corinium Museum**, Cirencester, saying that a stunning iron age gold coin inscribed with the name of the local tribe chief BODVOC, which was found between Chipping Campden and Ebrington, will take pride of place in the new prehistoric gallery.

Readers might be interested to know that by chance **Pat Moller** contacted CCHS after googling the name **John Kempson**, which came up in an old Signpost article, Issue 1 Autumn 2014 p.2. She had found an old indenture dated 18th November 1850 between 'The Master Fellows and Scholars of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity within the town and University of Cambridge of King Henry VIII's foundation of the one part and John Kempson of Shillington in the County of Bedford, farmer, of the other part'. It was unknown why this document was in her deceased father-in-law's papers with no known family connection and she was delighted, when we put her in touch with the previous Kempson enquirer. So now the Indenture is in its rightful place with the family.

A query in 2017 (ref. 17/108) from **Adéla Kočinová** of Louny, northwest of Prague in the Czech Republic, about her grandfather's grandfather, **Franciszek Marcinek** and his wife **Antonina Ramus**, concluded this July with a visit from this now 17 year old school student with her non-English-speaking grandparents, Miroslav and Blanka Kočina. When her grandfather first told Adéla about his family history, she started researching and found the family name on CCHS website relating to two Polish graves in the old St Catharine's graveyard - Franciszek Marcinek (25.12.1888 - 10.11.1955)

and Antonina Marcinkowa (22.4.1897 - 20.6.1956). Subsequent research and correspondence with Adéla, revealed they were married in 1951 (ref. 7b 914 Dec Quarter 1951) and a Roland Dyer family photo, dated Oct. 1951, of Franciszek and Antonina with something in their buttonholes is now assumed to be them on the wedding day at St Catharine's Church.



Adéla recites the brief family history as follows: The Czech Republic was part of Austria-Hungary from 16th century. Czech people had always hated this because they had their own culture and language and wanted to be independent. The 19th century was a bad economic period in Austria-Hungary, so in 1856, the Tsar of Russia offered Czech people the opportunity to work in Ukraine, giving them their own land. Franciszek's parents were amongst those who went to the Ukraine

and he was born there in 1888. But in 1948 the USSR took over Czechoslovakia and people lost their land and estates. Franciszek was against all this and the Russians, so he was imprisoned, to be sent to the Gulag, but somehow he escaped, joined the Polish army and via Africa and other places ended up in Chipping Campden. Franciszek had to leave behind his wife, who later died, and his then 19 year old daughter, Maria, (Adéla's grandfather's mother). Maria subsequently married and had a son, Miroslav, who was born in the Czech Republic. Maria had returned from Ukraine to the Czech

Republic with Svoboda's army in 1950. Francizsek, however, never managed to return to the Czech Republic to see his daughter again or his grandson.

Adéla and her grandparents were able to visit the church where Franciszek was re-married and to see his grave and leave flowers.

However, there are still some unanswered questions – where did



Franciszek Marcinek and his wife Antonina live in Campden? Maybe at Springhill Polish Camp for displaced persons, or at Northwick Park? How did he meet Antonina? Is anything more known of them in Campden? And why was Antonina's death registered in Stratford-upon-Avon? Can you help?



In May 2019 we had a query (ref. 19/027) from Belgium about **Ernest Wilson** and a book in our archives: *Wilson's Yakushima: Memories of the Past* by **Tomoko Furui** (ISBN978-4-87758-370-5), which was described in Signpost 1 Autumn 2014. We were able to put the enquirer in touch with the author for him to obtain a copy. In subsequent correspondence with Tomoko, she told us that since 2011 she had been continuously researching the life, work and writings of plant-hunter Ernest Henry Wilson (born in Chipping Campden in 1876) and after her first enquiry to CCHS and the research trip to Chipping Campden in 2014 to find out about Ernest Wilson, her life has been filled with Wilson. She feels that Wilson is "my promised and inevitable destiny". Wilson collected more than 2,300 plant specimens in Japan and photographed more than 770. Tomoko was born in Osaka and after studying at Hokkaido University, worked as a journalist in Boston USA, before moving to Yakushima in 1994. She has written books about Yakushima and historical events in Japan and how they relate to the western world and the present. She has now held two successful Wilson exhibitions between 2015 and 2018, one in Kagoshima and the other in Okinawa, both at big Prefectural Museums. To accompany these, she has written and published two further books: *Wilson's Kagoshima* (2016) and *Wilson in Okinawa 1917* (2017) with English translation. This year, 2019, she had another exhibition, *Wilson's Tokyo* held at National Museum of Nature and Science in Ueno, Tokyo between April 13th and June 16th and for this exhibition she wrote a new book, *Wilson in Tokyo 1914*. Tomoko has sent us copies of these last three books for the CCHS archives. Wilson took photographs of trees and views with a high-quality English Field Camera from Sanderson and Co. and collected specimens on his travels. Wilson wrote in 1920 'If we do not get such records of them in the shape of photographs and specimens, a hundred years hence many will have disappeared entirely.' It seems that 100 years ago Wilson was also speaking frequently about his concerns for environmental destruction and the increase of carbon dioxide!

The CCHS Archive references and details for Tomoko's three new books are as follows:

Wilson's Kagoshima (2016) ISBN978-4-86124-337-0, (CCHS Accession number 2019/136/B) is hardback with English translation and traces Wilson's footsteps in 1914 in Kagoshima, Japan, after spending 9 years in remote regions of China and just after the volcanic eruption of the same year. Then he was about 38 years old. Travelling around the prefecture, Wilson took 118 photos of Kagoshima, now held in the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University, near Boston, USA. Tomoko writes that it took her about a year to identify the location of Wilson's photographs and it was like a mystery novel, solving each riddle, journeying into the past, determining the ridge lines of mountains, verifying buildings and stone walls and finally reaching the tree or location for which she was searching. Many of the trees had survived by luck or been protected by the villagers in the intervening 100 years.

Wilson in Okinawa (2017) ISBN978-4-89742-225-1, (CCHS Accession number 2019/137/B) has a soft cover with English translation. It gives an account of his 1917 expedition to Okinawa including photographs of the local nature and culture and examples of how these scenes have changed.

Wilson's Tokyo (2019) ISBN978-4-89694-259-0, (CCHS Accession number 2019/135/B) has a soft cover with some of the photograph titles in English. Again, sometimes it juxtaposes Ernest Wilson's photos of Tokyo from a 100 years ago with a modern-day photo of trees, bridges, parks, botanical gardens, prunus trees, cherry blossoms, ginkgo, wisteria and many others.

Tomoko Furui may be contacted on email: koidomari@muj.biglobe.ne.jp. She is currently researching Wilson's footsteps in another area in Japan, Nagano prefecture, and surprisingly she met a grandson of a man of whom Wilson took a photo.

You will remember in the last Signpost 10, mention of research into **Local Lock-up and Police Stations**. We can now tell you that the site is launched, including an entry for **Chipping Campden Police Station and Magistrates' Court**, as well as photographs. Has anyone got a story about this building, of being in a cell or even a photograph of the old cells to help deepen our understanding of the use of confinement in Britain in the past?

<https://www.prisonhistory.org/lockup/chipping-campden-police-station-and-magistrates-court/>.

Look at the 'Stories' section on the site where local historians and you can post more detailed information about local prisons and lock-ups: <https://www.prisonhistory.org/category/stories/>

Coincidentally following Signpost 10's article about **Rev. Baptist Wriothesley Noel**, we had an enquiry from **Lyn Kennedy, née Noel**.



Lyn's great great grandfather was in fact this Rev. Noel, whose daughter **Emily Elizabeth Noel** (left) married her first cousin **Henry Lewis Noel** (right), the son of Rev. Noel's elder brother, Charles Noel, 1st Earl of Gainsborough, 2nd cr. and his 3rd wife, Arabella Hamlyn Williams; so Emily and Henry were first cousins. Their 3rd son Henry Hamlyn Noel went to California as a young man in "search of adventure", married and had three children there, but returned to England eventually.



Emily and Henry's youngest daughter, therefore Henry Hamlyn's sister, **Emilia Frances Noel**, (1868-1950) (below left) is well known to us in Campden, because she was the author of *Some Letters and Records of the Noel Family*, published in 1910, which is the authority and reference source for any Noel enquiry. Lyn shared with us these marvellous family portraits and sent this article from the Linnean Society about Emilia, showing her to be a great traveller and an amazing person:

Extract from the Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London, Session 162, 1949-50 Part 2, 31st March 1951, written by M. Muriel Whiting who appears to have been 'an immature first year' student at Swanley Horticultural College in the same period when was Emilia was 'an advanced and senior student living in private rooms'.

'Many will regret and even mourn the passing of Miss Emilia Frances Noel who died on 19th March 1950. She had been a Fellow of this Society since 1905 and was among the 20 or so senior women members. Everyone will miss

her once regular attendance at the meetings, where in later years she usually sat in the front row because of failing eyesight.

'Perhaps her most distinguishing qualities were her great love for travel and scientific investigation both at home and abroad, and the originality and independence of her character. ... Miss Noel gained prizes in her second year for the best diary of garden work and the best notebook of advanced botany. Before her Swanley years she was at Somerville College, Oxford.

'Her foreign travels had already begun in 1892 with a visit to Egypt, followed after her college career by a journey to India including Kashmir; and they ended up about 1938 with a trip to the Canaries and West Africa. In between she travelled much in Europe, going to France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Sweden and Norway, Corsica, Sicily, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Denmark; farther afield to the Caucasus, Malta, Morocco, Cyprus and Palestine; and farther still to the West Indies, British Guiana, Canada and the United States, South Africa, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, Java and Lombok.

'She noticed and remembered an amazing amount. The writer once invited her to name the origin of a little bit of embroidery from somewhere in Europe and after a moment of thought she said somewhere near Marseilles. It was actually purchased in Toulon. In the first World War she registered for Women's War Service and during and between both wars she travelled a great deal in England. Her field diary begun in 1919 contains names of very large proportion of plants of the British Flora.

'Miss Noel was deeply attached to her family homes in Rutland and Lincolnshire. She was the 3rd daughter and youngest child of the Hon. Henry Lewis Noel, a son of the first Earl of Gainsborough and the first cousin of the 3rd Earl, who collaborated with Mister A.R. Horwood, latterly of Kew, in the *Flora of Rutland and Northamptonshire*.

'During her travels she made many diary notebooks with sketches, the more important of which are bequeathed to the Royal Geographical Society, and during her life she made many gifts to libraries and museums. She published a small book in 1905 with a list of plants she found in Kashmir and some interesting notes on the country. She published also, some years later, a volume of historical letters and sketches belonging to her family, many dating from the 18th century. This was well reviewed in the London papers as throwing most interesting sidelights on the fashions and happenings of those times.'

Judith Ellis, having researched and written the article on **George Townsend** for Signpost 10, tells us writing and rewriting history never ends! She decided when the weather improved to visit Hawling Church where George Townsend was buried, which she knew from the parish register. Along narrow lanes with high hedges reminiscent of Devon, she ventured beyond the well-known Cotswold villages to find a small church with a beautifully kept churchyard. A prominent tomb next to the path was well-worn, but she could just decipher 'George Townsend' and the date 1693. Furthermore, in the church, near the altar rails there was a marble memorial to him: 'To the Memory of/ George

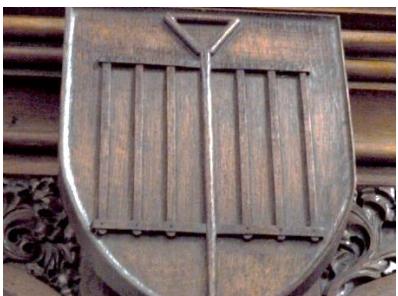


Townsend Esq/ Of Roel in this County / He was one of the Prothonotarys / Of the Court of Common Pleas / And was eminent for his many large charities / Given to several parishes in this part of / The county and to Pembroke College Oxford / He died July 1693.' However, this was very confusing, as Judith had his death as 1683, so she wondered if she had misread these other documents? Indeed, the tomb in the churchyard gave the death as 1693. So, a further search began to check the facts. She found that George Townsend of Roel was a cousin, who was in fact mentioned in 'our' George's Will, but when his Will was

located in the National Archives, it was clear that he made no bequests to local charities, only to his family. So where was George Townsend, the benefactor, buried, if not at Hawling? Extensive

searches of the internet have not revealed the answer; in his Will he wanted to be buried near his wife in 'Eaton' (which Eaton? – there are many) or in London, if he died there. There was a record of his daughter C(K)atherine (named after her mother) living in Stifford, Essex, confirmed by the name of her husband, Richard Silverlock, in Townsend's Will. Further dogged research found the baptism and burial of Katherine Franklin, Townsend's wife, in Eton, Bucks. But still nothing of George Townsend. However, the proof of the different dates and contents of their Wills is unmistakeable. We can be sure that the Hawling Church Fathers made a mistake, maybe two hundred years ago, when they put up a memorial to the wrong man, but maybe we will not tell them – it can remain a puzzle for future historians!

In April, the Archive Room received a query (ref.19/022) from **John Cunningham**, a member of the Stratford-upon-Avon group of **Church Recorders**, about the heraldry of four high-up and difficult-to-see shields on the Organ Loft woodwork in **St Lawrence's Church, Mickleton**. The shields and the Achievement of Arms are relief carved in the English oak and therefore bear no colour. However, the correct description, known as Blazoning, is recorded in colour in the Rolls of the College of Heralds, along with the Anglo-Norman terms. A key to the colours (or Tinctures as they are properly known) is appended below. The Loft was donated in memory of her parents by **Miss Graves-Hamilton**, the last member of her family which was resident in the Manor for some three hundred years. A newspaper article in the Tewkesbury Register and Agricultural Gazette recorded that the loft was installed in 1931, dedicated in 1932, designed by the well-known ecclesiastical architect W. E. Ellery Anderson and built by R. L. Boulton and sons, both firms working out of Cheltenham. With a little help from a CCHS member, John found the answers.



The shield (left) bearing a griddle refers to the legend that St Lawrence was put to death upon such an instrument.

The keys on another shield (right) relate to St Peter, believed to be originally the Coat of Arms of the long defunct St Peter's Abbey in Gloucestershire, now the Coat of Arms of the Diocese of Gloucester, of which, the Mickleton Church has long been

a part. The official Blazon is: Azure, two keys endorsed in saltire, wards upwards, Or.



The third shield (left) contains the symbol for a garment called a Pallium, a woollen vestment conferred by the Pope on an archbishop, consisting of a narrow circular band placed round the shoulders with a short lappet hanging from front and back and



the presence of the cross pattée above and the crosses pattée fitchée (cross with arms, possibly with curved sides, which expands outwards from the centre and the lower element of which is pointed) on the symbol confirm this. As it is only the Pope and with his specific permission a very limited number of other senior clergy, who can wear the Pallium, Saint Augustine of Canterbury having been one of them, this shield is a very subtle means of not only reflecting the age of the site of the Church but also maintaining a link with the original Catholicism of the foundation, combining the continuity of the link with the Archbishop's diocese whilst satisfying the very strong Anglo-Catholicism of the congregation at that time. The actual Blazon is: Azure an episcopal staff in pale Or ensigned with a

cross pattée Argent surmounted of a pall of the Last edged and fringed of the Second charged with four crosses pattée fitchée Sable. [The Diocese of Canterbury.]

It is the fourth shield (right) which raises the questions. It is a variant of a very venerable Coat of Arms, but it is not known if it belonged to an individual, institution or organisation, or whether the designer made the amendment because of the history and traditions of the Church. The original Coat of Arms belonged to the family of Honorius III (the two lions supported a rose) who was Pope between 1216 and 1227. It was a very successful Papacy, both for the Catholic institutional and structural hierarchy and for England. The Blazoning of the shield as it stands and if it were in colour is: Bendy of Or and Gules, in chief a Christogram supported by two lions combatant of the first. Apparently, the College of Heralds does not regulate Papal and Catholic Arms, (the Pope and the Vatican See do this up to a point), other than those of the Catholic families of the United Kingdom, and therefore there is more flexibility than would be allowable under English law; hence the variants presumably.



There is a further heraldic symbol (left) on the Mickleton Organ Loft - the complete 1894 Achievement of Arms of Sydney Graves-Hamilton. The Blazon of these armorial bearings is: Quarterly (1) and (4) Gules three cinquefoils pierced Ermine. In the dexter chief quarter on a canton Argent a lymphad with sails furled Sable (for the Earldom of Arran) [Hamilton] (2) Gules an eagle displayed Or beaked membered and ducally crowned Argent between eight cross crosslets of the Second. [Graves] (3) Azure a chevron Ermine between three swans Argent. [Swann] The Crest is described as: out of a ducal coronet Gules an oak tree fructed and penetrated transversely in the main stem by a frame saw Proper and pendent from a branch on the sinister side thereof by a ribbon Argent an escutcheon Gules charged with a cross crosslet Or.

The Motto below the shield 'THROUGH' belongs to the Hamilton family and reflects the fact that the Hamilton family is one of the most senior in the Scottish Peerage. According to Sir Bernard Burke in *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales*, 1884, Sir Gilbert Hamilton, the founder of the Hamilton family, fled from the English court of Edward II because he killed another courtier and sought sanctuary in Scotland. With pursuers hot on his heels, he and his companion changed clothes with two woodcutters whom they came across. Their pursuers caught up with them just as they were cutting through an oak with the woodcutters' saw. Noting that his companion was looking at the following horsemen, Sir Gilbert shouted "through", therefore diverting his companion's attention and enabling the pursuers to pass by unsuspecting. "THROUGH" was therefore chosen by Sir Gilbert to mark his deliverance and the legendary crest first appeared on the seal of the first Earl of Arran. Before the sixteenth century the crest had been a Boar's Head.

KEY: The Metals

Or	Gold
Argent	Silver

The Colours

Gules	Red	The Fur
Sable	Black	Ermine A white field with black spots
Azure	Blue	
Vert	Green	
Proper	Natural colouration	

People on the move in Chipping Campden and District, 1200-1525

Christopher Dyer

For much of the twentieth century migration was being used to provide simple explanations for big historical changes. If we asked: Why were new technologies introduced in prehistory, such as the use of iron? The answer (before the 1960s) was that they must have been the result of a wave of immigrants from the continent. In the same way feudalism was thought to have arrived with the Norman invaders in 1066 and that a range of new manufactures around 1700 must have come with the Huguenots. While these easy routes to understanding change should be treated with scepticism, migration was an important dimension of society in the past, as it is at the present day. Contrary to the once common assumption that medieval people lived in the same place for generations, they were very mobile, and the frequency of migration connects their world to ours. Current attitudes to migration had their counterparts in the period 1200-1500. These included an appreciation of the contribution that immigrants could make to the economy (how could corn have been harvested in the arable parts of the west midlands without bands of Welsh workers?), mingled with resentment of foreigners who took jobs and behaved suspiciously. There were disputes about the rights of people, English as well as outsiders, to move and settle.

Here I will try to provide answers to these questions: What was the scale of migration? How far did migrants travel? How were relocations planned and organised? Why did people move? And what were the consequences for the migrants and those who received them? The answers are based on evidence from the town of Chipping Campden and its rural surroundings, but also with reference to other parts of the country.

The scale of migration.

Some historians emphasise the elements of stability, which means that we can find families of ‘long stayers’, known in a Shropshire village as the ‘ancient inhabitants’, but those who moved formed a large majority in any sample of families studied over a length of time. For Chipping Campden, both the town and its associated rural settlements of Berrington and Westington, we are fortunate to have detailed surveys compiled when Roger de Somery, lord of the manor, died in 1273, followed by a division of his lands and tenants among four co-heirs. The ‘extents’ or surveys arising from Somery’s death are unusual in supplying the tenants’ names.¹ They can be compared with the names of the tax payers in the poll tax of 1381.² The investigation of the persistence of family names can be pursued in the early 1520s, when the military survey listed those able to serve in the army or contribute to its cost, and two lists of taxpayers were compiled (Fig.1).³

In 1273 the extents of the town of Chipping Campden contain 98 family names, and 94 names were recorded in 1381, of which 11 also appear on the earlier list. The number of ‘long stayers’ grows to 14 if the rural appendages are included. By the 1520s among 102 recorded surnames, 8 of the original names of 1273 were still surviving. We ought to be impressed that these lines of descent apparently continued in the same place for so long. There may have been more, because a reliance on surnames introduces a misleading gender bias. We seem to be observing the dying out of family lines as the surname disappears from the records, but of course if there were heiresses to the family’s property, they will be invisible, because married women adopted the surname of their

¹ S.J. Madge (ed.), *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for Gloucestershire*, part 4, 1236-1300 (British Record Society, 30, 1903), pp. 63-9, 80-3; P.C. Rushen, *The History and Antiquities of Chipping Campden* (1911), pp. 6-8. I checked the readings of these two editors with the original document, TNA, C133/2/6.

² C. Fenwick (ed.), *The Poll Tax of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, part 1 (Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 27, 1998), pp 282-5.

³ R. Hoyle (ed.), *The Military Survey of Gloucestershire, 1522* (Gloucestershire Record Society, 6, 1993), pp. 226-8; M. Faraday (ed.), *The Bristol and Gloucestershire Lay Subsidy of 1523-1527* (Gloucestershire Record Society, 23, 2009), pp. 196, 421-2.

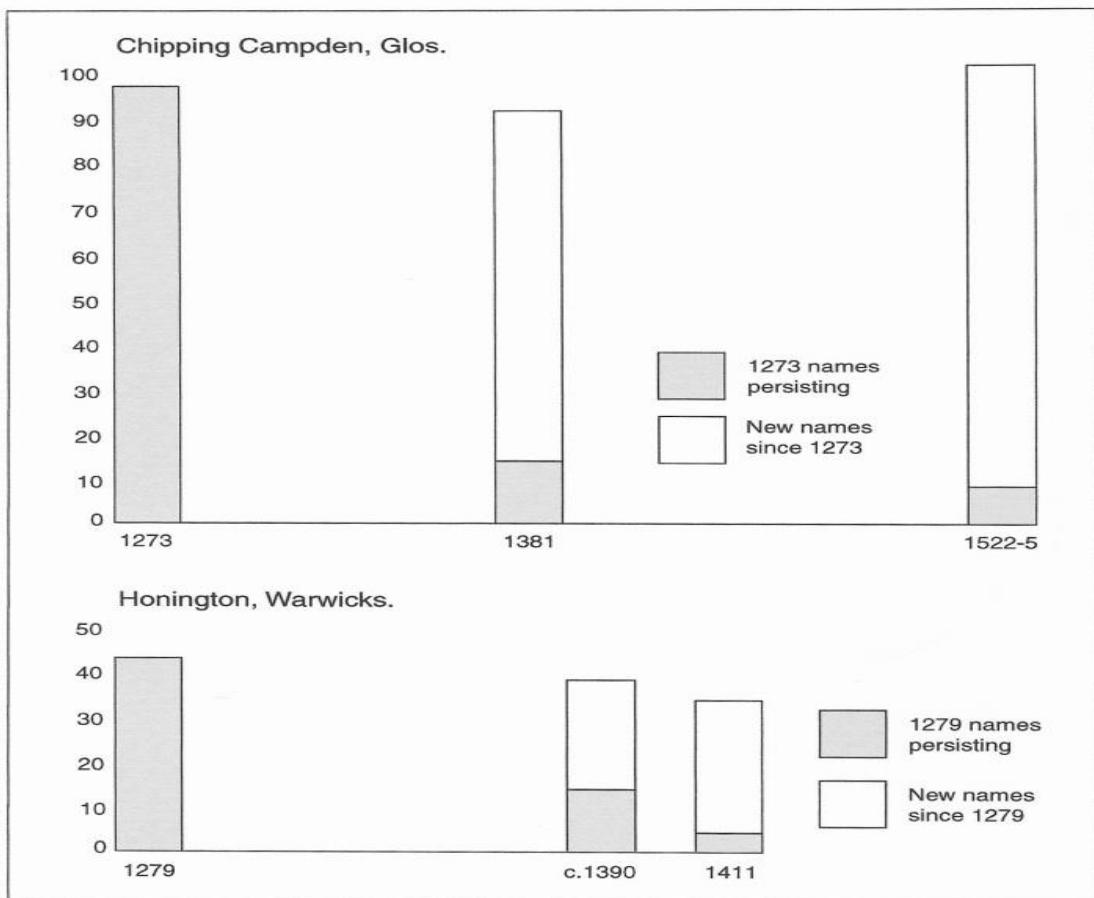


Fig. 1 (Above) Bar charts showing the changes in surnames at Campden and Honington.

new husbands. Unfortunately the sources available do not allow us to investigate fully this hidden continuity. Some names, having been formed during the thirteenth century, may have changed, giving the false impression that a family line had ceased

Returning to these imperfect figures, they still reflect the instability of the population in the town. The old families were vulnerable to mortality from epidemics and the general hazards to life in densely populated and unhygienic conditions. They also left the town, as in the case of the best-known Campden family of the middle ages, the Grevels, who after more than a century of residence in the town as merchants rose into the landed gentry and moved to their rural estates. The Grevels demonstrate a successful rise in the social scale, but perhaps others, who are not well documented, failed in their businesses, sold any property and went elsewhere. Such a story of dissatisfaction with town life may explain the presence at Long Marston in 1327 of an apparent emigrant from the town, Richard de Campeden.

The listings of 1273, 1381 and the 1520s which are being used to investigate the population are remarkable because the numbers of family names stayed at around 100 over 250 years, which must relate to the constant recruitment of immigrants. As the members of old families died or departed, they were replaced by new arrivals, and the town continued to be well-populated.

Was this turnover of population and ability to recruit new inhabitants a peculiarity of urban communities, or did villages experience similar mobility? Not many villages have left us with many full lists of tenants to make comparisons, but we can investigate Honington near Shipston-on-Stour which is quite near to Campden. Here we can use a list of tenants compiled by royal officials in 1279, and a rental of 1411.⁴ The rental records both the current tenants and the former tenants. The latter

⁴ T. John (ed.), *The Warwickshire Hundred Rolls of 1279-80* (Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 19, 1992), pp. 286-90; P. Coss and J.C. Lancaster Lewis, *Coventry Priory Register* (Dugdale Society, 46, 2010), pp. 544-9.

probably reflect the population in about 1390. In 1279 Honington had 43 family names among its tenants, with 38 in c.1390 and 32 in 1411. The declining numbers suggest that, as in most villages, the population was falling in a period of epidemics and outward migration. Between 1279 and c.1390 13 names survived and there were 25 new arrivals. By 1411 only 4 of the 1279 names were still recorded, so that we can calculate that over 132 years 91 per cent of the village's family names had gone. Other rural places experienced in the long run a complete turnover. Not a single family name among the 89 recorded at Blockley in 1299 can be found among lists compiled in 1544.⁵ In the question of the stability of population, in the Campden district (as elsewhere) there is no obvious contrast between town and country.

Sometimes it is said that the Black Death of 1348-9 contributed greatly to this loss of old families, but the instability of the populations of villages and towns can be observed before 1348 and continued long after the great epidemic, leaving us to conclude that migration was at least as important as mortality in causing many families to disappear from the record. Studying migration allows us to examine a more positive dimension of social history, the continued flow of incomers.

How far did migrants travel?

The distances covered by migrants can be calculated from the surnames of the inhabitants. Surnames became universal in the thirteenth century, as the growing complexity of government (of the lords as well as the state) made it necessary to identify taxpayers, tenants and litigants. Names seem to have arisen within the community, rather than being chosen by individuals. People could be named in relation to their father or mother (at Honington 'son of Adam' in 1279 became 'Adams' later). Some were known by their craft, especially in towns, like Baker, Barker and Cooper at Campden. Other names derived from personal characteristics, such as Longe, or from the place of residence within the settlement, such as 'atte Hulle', later Hill, again at Campden. Our concern is with names recalling the village or town (or sometimes county or district) from which people originated, like John de Linham or Lynham at Campden, who might have come from Lyneham in Wiltshire, but is more likely to have moved from Lyneham in Oxfordshire, 14 miles from Campden and near the road from Campden to Oxford.

Surnames, often acquired in the thirteenth century, soon became hereditary and we cannot be sure if the person called 'de Lynham' in 1273 had made the journey himself, or took his name from a father or grandfather. It is still useful to learn about migration which may have taken place in an earlier generation, but evidence from the mid or late fourteenth century is in danger of becoming too remote from the migrants' experiences to become a useful guide, so it is wise to confine the inquiry to the period before 1330, when surnames were still relatively recent in origin. There are many other difficulties in assembling the information about surnames derived from places. Especially relevant to Campden and district is that the documents (such as the extents of 1273) tended to be written by clerks who had no first-hand knowledge of the place-names they recorded, which were often misspelt and mangled. The problems posed by common village names like Aston and Weston have to be resolved by assuming that they derived from the places nearest to where those bearing the names lived.⁶

Table 1 (below) analyses the distances travelled by migrants, based on surnames derived from place-names, for the town of Campden and the surrounding villages. The villages selected for study were those within 5 miles of Campden, from the lists of tax payers compiled in the assessment and collection of the king's lay subsidy in 1327, when records survive from all three relevant shires.⁷ In

⁵ C. Dyer, 'Were late medieval villages "self-contained"?' in C. Dyer (ed.), *The Self-Contained Village? The Social History of Rural Communities, 1250-1900* (Hatfield, 2007), pp. 6-27

⁶ P. McClure, 'Patterns of migration in the later middle ages: the evidence of English place-name surnames', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 32 (1979), pp. 167-82.

⁷ P. Franklin, *The Tax Payers of Medieval Gloucestershire* (Stroud, 1993); W.F. Carter, 'Subsidy Roll of Warwickshire for 1327', *Transactions of the Midland Record Society* (1902); F.J. Eld (ed.), *Lay Subsidy Roll for the County of Worcester 1 Edward III* (Worcestershire Historical Society, 1895).

both town and country the names suggest that many migrants moved short distances, 58 per cent within 10 miles in the villages, and 44 per cent within 10 miles for Campden. The difference between the two figures reflects the tendency for would-be town dwellers to migrate over longer distances, which is confirmed by the town's larger number of journeys of more than 25 miles. The long-distance origin of some Campden residents include Dalby and Rothley, both in Leicestershire, and Bewdley, Chester, Monmouth and Kent.

Table 1.

Distances in miles travelled by migrants, based on surnames deriving from place-names.

Miles	0–3	3.5–6.5	7–9.5	10–12.5	13–19	19.5–25	25+	Total
TOWN*	No.	6	9	7	3	8	0	50
	%	12	18	14	6	16	0	100
COUNTRY+	No.	15	12	5	3	3	3	55
	%	27	22	9	6	5	6	100

*sources relating to Chipping Campden up to 1327, mainly the 1273 extents.

+ from 24 villages within a 5-mile radius of Chipping Campden, from 1327 tax lists.

Sceptics might say that personal names are a rather indirect guide to migration, but the message they convey is confirmed from a rather later period by more precise records of movement. These are the statements made in manorial court rolls between c.1350 and 1520 that lords' serfs (*neifs*) had moved away from their home manor without permission. These provide an abundant sample from the west midlands as a whole. A typical story comes from Broadway where in the 1380s John Stannton had gone to Bristol and Richard Stannton to Oxford and four less enterprising serfs had relocated within 10-22 miles at such rural places as Alderminster and Leigh Sinton.⁸

So far, I have concentrated on movements within England, but we know something about the arrival in the Campden district of non-English migrants. Surnames suggest the presence of such people in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, such as Nicholas le Frenche who is recorded at Campden in 1313. Names such as Fleming, Scot and Irish are scattered through the tax records of 1327, but they may have been nicknames for someone of English origin whose character resembled a stereotypical foreigner. For example, Scots were thought to be especially aggressive with a tendency to shout loudly. The presence of foreigners is revealed more precisely by the 'alien subsidy', a tax introduced in the fifteenth century.⁹ We hear in the 1440s of a Frenchman, a Fleming and a probable Irish man at Broad Campden and James Skott at Chipping Campden in 1468. In the villages in the 1440s there were French residents at Saintbury and Mickleton. The Welsh were not liable to the 'aliens' tax, but their names stand out in the regular tax lists, like John Aprice at Campden in 1525.

How did people migrate?

We can scarcely imagine how people organised their movements, especially in choosing a new place to settle, without the aid of the methods of communication that we take for granted. Not every migrant moved in a single operation. William Hartpury (who paid his tax in 1327 at Charingworth) may have loaded his possessions on a cart and then drove the 28 miles (as the crow flies, so more on real roads) in one journey from Hartpury in west Gloucestershire to Charingworth. Perhaps the move was accomplished over more than one generation of the family, by a number of shorter migrations. A flow of information may have

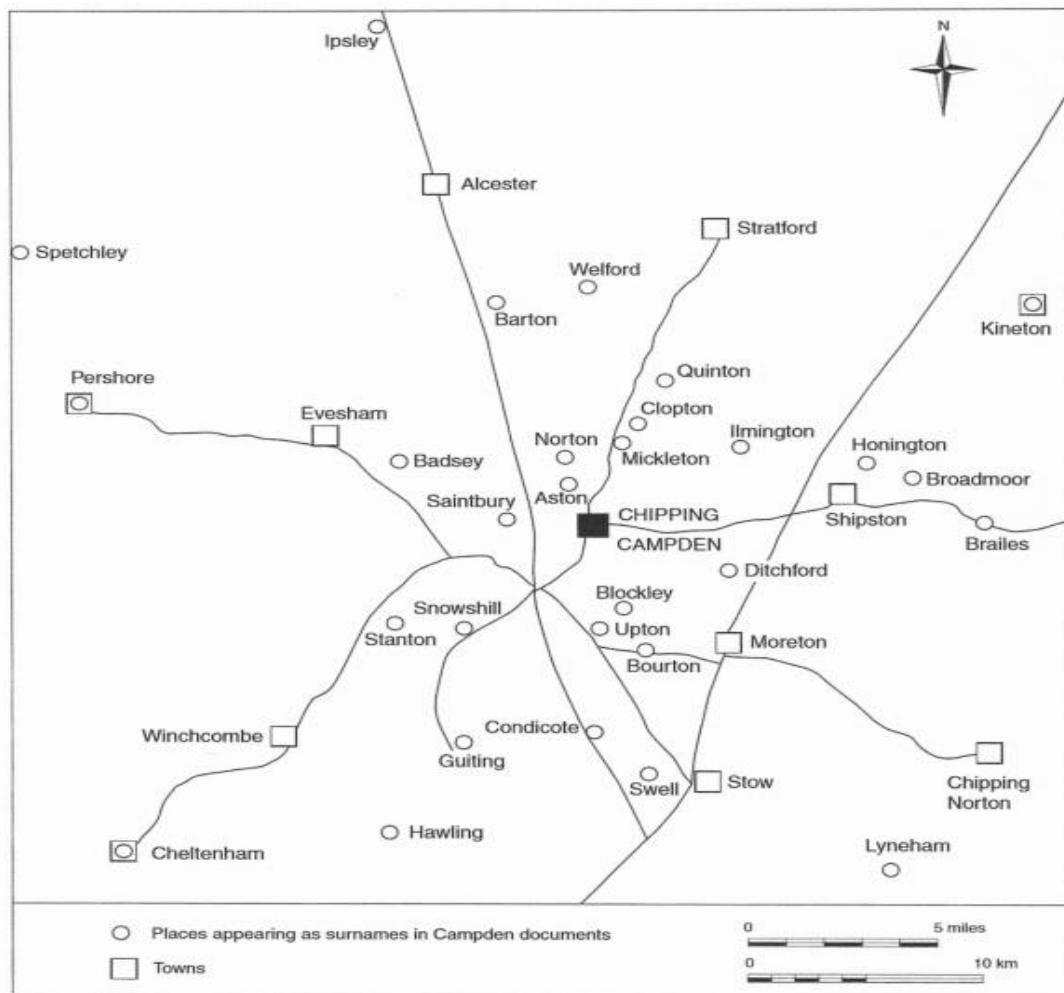
⁸ TNA, SC2/210/25 ; C. Dyer, 'Local societies on the move in the middle ages: migration and social mobility in England 1100-1500', *Local Historian*, 48 (2018), pp. 5-18.

⁹ The records are accessed at www.englandsimmigrants.com.

encouraged people to move and gave them the confidence to do so, because a member of their family or community was already established in a village or town. We know that modern immigrants sent messages back recommending the place where they were living. This may be reflected in the three people called ‘de Weston’, presumably named from Weston Subedge, who were resident at Chidswickham in 1327, and three people called Guiting at Campden in 1381.

The distribution of the home villages and towns of migrants provides a general picture of contacts over a large area (Fig. 2). Fifteen of the places on the map lay within 6.66 miles of Campden, that is within the zone thought to have been served by a medieval market. A number of others lay on or near to roads radiating out of Campden, like Hawling on Campden Lane (leading to the south) and Barton (in Bidford) on Ricknield Street (the Roman road heading north). Inhabitants of such settlements would be familiar with Campden from visits to the market or other events in the town. They would have known townspeople and would be able to hear about job opportunities or available property. A town would have been accessible to country people through employment as servants. In 1413 Joan Corviser of Blackwell (near Shipston) married William Barker of Campden – they might have met while she was working as a servant in the town.¹⁰

Fig 2 Map showing the location of the places from which Campden surnames were derived, using documents of 1273-1327. Market towns and the likely route of medieval roads are also shown.



Connections with more remote places can sometimes be explained by examining the far-flung properties of the lords. In the case of Campden, the Somery family had a castle at Weoley in north Worcestershire and a Weoley family was settled in Campden. The Somerys had also been lords of

¹⁰ Worcester Cathedral Library, E40. She was not very young, so she may have encountered Barker when visiting Campden market.

Dalby in Leicestershire, and at Barrow-on-Soar, very near to Rothley. Perhaps the presence in Campden of people named from Dalby and Rothley shows that the lords recruited people in Leicestershire to serve as officials, or to fill vacant houses in the town, or more likely news spread across the estate about opportunities for those prepared to move. A settler from Welford-on-Avon may have known about Campden through contacts between Bordesley Abbey's holdings at Combe at Campden and those at Welford and Binton in the Avon valley. The Campden parish church's association with the monks of Chester presumably explains the two Cheshire place-names. Links of this kind can be seen in the villages, where a move within the Beauchamp estate would have enabled someone from Spelsbury in Oxfordshire to settle in Childwickham – the Beauchamps were lords of both manors.

Why did people migrate?

Some people were driven from their homes by poverty, but such vagrants made no great mark as individuals in the sources. Instead we find people who moved to better themselves, often from a settled and quite substantial base. Thomas de Upton, a tenant in Campden in 1273, presumably came from Upton in Blockley (now called Upton Wold). In the thirteenth century most of Upton's inhabitants were relatively prosperous yardlanders, so that each family held about 40 acres of land to grow grain, with access to extensive grazing. Their houses were well-built and they could afford to buy pots and pans, buckles and dress accessories.¹¹ The village attracted migrants from Aldington and Stow-on-the-Wold. A tenant from Upton might have moved to Campden, selling the holding, uprooting the family and pursuing some specialist occupation in the town. More likely a son was encouraged to go to Campden, perhaps initially as a servant or apprentice and subsequently could be helped to set up in business with a grant from the profits of the Upton holding.

A difficulty for those moving from country to town was the need to acquire a skill, as town economies were based on a variety of specialist crafts and commercial activities. Villages were not entirely agricultural and perhaps the minority of their inhabitants, who had developed a trade, featured among those who moved. Temple Guiting's fulling mill suggests some cloth-making skills in the village and soon after 1273 surnames such as smith and tailor are found at Blockley. Adaptation to the urban way of life would not have been a problem for the significant minority of Campden people whose names suggest their origin in other towns (Fig.2), such as Bewdley, Cheltenham, Monmouth, Pershore and Kineton. They would have already experienced occupations appropriate for a town. Whether they came from country or town, the migrants are likely to have been motivated by the belief that life would be better in Campden.

The move from village to village, which accounted for most of recorded migrations, must reflect a number of pressures and ambitions. As was the case for those going into towns, young people were especially mobile, embarking on employment or training. Many of them were women, who were in demand for service in households and in dairying. For adults the big draw was land, which was often obtainable if it was held by a widow willing to remarry, though after 1350 vacant holdings could be found. Those of unfree status would expect to enjoy freedom once settled on a new manor, which explains lords' attempts, when tenants were scarce after 1350, to put pressure on their relatives to bring them back. These measures did not succeed. Villages were all different: some lost more people than they gained; others were successful in recruiting newcomers. These variations became more acute after 1350, when most villages were reduced in population. We cannot reconstruct perceptions of different communities among those choosing to migrate, but the most successful tended to be larger and to have a more varied structure of land holding and occupations. In the Campden area Longborough seems to have fared better than most.

¹¹ R. Hilton and P. Rahtz, 'Upton, Gloucestershire, 1959-1964', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.* 85 (1966), pp. 70-146; P. Rahtz, 'Upton, Gloucestershire, 1964-1968. Second report', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.* 88 (1969), pp. 74-126..

What were the consequences?

The most striking result of migration was the rise of Campden as a town. The main influx must have been in the period c.1180-1220. We do not know if there was a rapid surge at a moment of foundation (as seems to be the case at Stratford-upon-Avon from 1196), or if townspeople were recruited more gradually. Whichever was the case, a hundred families would not have been easily available in the immediate vicinity and they are likely to have come as migrants from the catchment area resembling that shown in Fig. 2. The inflow continued throughout the centuries, to replace the turnover of people from mortality and outward migration. The energy and dynamism of the period between about 1180 and 1280 throughout the country meant that about 200,000 people moved into towns in England and many of them embraced new occupations and ways of life. The towns gave facilities for their own people and the country dwellers: a source of income from markets; access to manufactures and goods imported from a distance; educational opportunities, through apprenticeship as well as book learning; new forms of association like fraternities; participation in festivities and entertainments; avenues to social mobility; and gateways to a wider world. Those who came to Campden, whether as settlers or visitors, came from contrasting landscapes, from the wolds to the south, the river valley and open field country immediately to the north and from the more remote woodlands beyond the Avon. The town served as a meeting place and a melting pot of regional cultures and economies.

For villages, immigration ensured that they were not the sleepy hollows of legend, but were receiving new blood regularly. It is not surprising that villages were open to innovation, for example in such matters as the management of their fields (as at Temple Guiting). The negative dimension to the free movement of people (including the serfs who were in theory subject to restrictions) can be seen in those villages, which lost such a high proportion of their inhabitants that they ceased to exist, as at Norton Subedge. Most villages replaced their losses at least in part and survived.

Documents from rural communities referred to *extranei* (strangers) and they were regarded as potential nuisances. It was an all-embracing term which included every type of outsider, from Frenchmen to intruders from the next village. When incomers took up land in a village they seem to have been absorbed with ease and accepted into positions of responsibility. The aliens who were identified in the fifteenth-century tax records had apparently fitted into the daily life of their adopted communities. The French resident at Broad Campden seems to have worked as a shepherd and two other Frenchmen in villages were householders. James Skott in Campden was called a yeoman and so was situated near the top of the social hierarchy.

Conclusion

Chipping Campden and its nearby villages in 1200-1525 saw a great deal of migration, which continued throughout the period, and was a routine feature of the social scene. Few family names persisted in the same place for more than two centuries. Most migrants travelled for short distances, but a substantial minority covered more than a day's journey. A very small minority came from overseas.

Migration was organised and purposeful. It was not the product of despair and was intended to improve the lives of the participants. It had important wider consequences, such as urban growth and promoting change in the countryside. Migrants, even the Welsh after their rebellion in the early fifteenth century, do not seem to have attracted sustained hostility. Close examination of medieval migration shows that it reflects, not a restricted and closed society, but a fluid and flexible one.

Acknowledgements: thanks to members of the society for listening to my talk in October 2018 and making helpful comments; to the editor of Signpost for encouragement; to Andy Isham for drawing the figures.

A SCANDAL – OR A LOVE STORY?

Judith Ellis and Jennifer Bruce

Campden people must have been surprised when William Higford Griffiths, their prominent local solicitor and hard ‘rider to hounds’ came home with a new bride in 1862. He was 39 and she was a beautiful 25 year-old woman. Then they will have been shocked eighteen months later when a scandal hit the national newspapers – the couple were not married and her husband was petitioning for divorce. There are no court reports, but the newspapers provide lurid accounts of the evidence given in the divorce petition by William Crowther in December 1863.

Ellen Sherborn was born in 1837 to Matthew and Eleanor Sherborn, who lived in Heston, Middx. near to the ancient family estate. He was a wealthy merchant and Ellen was their only child. In 1855, 17 year old Ellen was married to William Crowther, age 40, who was a tenant farmer of 1000 acres at Aston Somerville, Glos. He had inherited the tenancy of three farms comprising one estate – the whole village - and the Crowthers were the leading family. We cannot know how William Crowther

and Ellen Sherborn became acquainted, perhaps through the London season, but as a potentially wealthy heiress she may have been a target for fortune-hunters. They married in Heston Church and then set up home in Aston Somerville. Apparently, the marriage was not happy and Ellen returned to her parents on some occasions, when Crowther had left her alone at home. William Crowther enjoyed hunting and became friends with William Higford Griffiths, a single man seven years younger and a solicitor in Chipping Campden who was also hunting mad.



Left: Ellen Griffiths, formerly Crowther: the photographs are all from the Josephine Griffiths Collection

According to the account of the divorce case in the Worcester Journal on 19th December 1863:

In May, 1862, Mr. Crowther's suspicions were for the first time aroused by noticing that Mr. Griffiths was constantly attending them, and by other circumstances, and he expostulated with his wife. She defended herself, and an altercation followed, which ended in a separation.

There are different newspaper accounts of the separation – one, that she suddenly disappeared with her clothes and jewellery and Crowther could not find her; another, that they went to her parents’ house where they agreed to separate.

According to one newspaper account of the petition, ‘*Mr. Crowther endeavoured to find out where she was, but he was unsuccessful until the following October or November [1862] when he discovered that ever since the 25th of June she had been living with Mr. Griffiths at Chipping Campden, as his wife. Mr. Griffiths was a person of good means, and during the time that he had been living in adultery with Mrs. Crowther he must have had the benefit of the £600 a year which had been allotted to her as alimony’.*

It is a little surprising that Crowther did not know where his wife was, given that the separation appeared to have been based on her friendship with Griffiths. Also, given that he was paying alimony, a separation must have been agreed, but Crowther wanted to strike where it would hurt – in the pocket.

Before the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act was introduced in 1857 divorces could only be granted by a private Act of Parliament and this favoured men who had the money to buy their freedom. Between 1800 and 1857, divorces were granted to 193 men but only four women. The cost of legal representation, travel to the court in London and living expenses made it an expensive business. The 1857 Act made divorce possible for most people but still militated against women. Husbands had only to prove adultery, naming the co-respondent, but wives had to demonstrate an additional 'aggravating factor' (bigamy, cruelty or desertion for two years) which added to their burden of proof.

The case was heard in Autumn 1863 at the 'Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes' in London, as were all cases until 1947. The case was widely reported – the website 'British Newspapers Online' shows that at least twenty-one newspapers throughout the country that reported on it, using the same descriptions in most cases.

Crowther, the petitioner, was represented by the Queen's Advocate, Sir Robert Phillimore, and Ellen Crowther by John Humphreys Parry, Serjeant at Law, a notable defending lawyer, with Mr Hawkins QC acting on behalf of William Higford Griffiths who was named as co-respondent.

It must have been quite terrifying for William Griffiths' housekeeper, who had to travel to the court in London to give evidence that they were living as man and wife in Campden; and mortifying for Ellen's mother, Eleanor Sherborn, who was called to testify as to the state of the marriage, including Mr. Crowther's neglect. Matthew Sherborn died 4th July 1863, so when Mrs Sherborn appeared in the court she was a widow of only five months.

Right: Thought to be Mrs Eleanor Sherborn, Ellen's mother

We must imagine what it must have been like, to appear in a court filled with men, there for the salacious detail. She was cross-examined by Sir Robert Phillimore – the report in the Leamington Courier gives us a feel for the situation in court ...

I made Mr Griffiths acquaintance at her 21st birthday party. I have been intimate with him during the past six months. I have stayed with my daughter since she has lived with him –

Sir R Phillimore 'Then someone else, it seems, was ready to receive your daughter with open arms. (a laugh)

Below: A cartoon of court life in the 1860s



Mrs Sherborn. 'I don't know. Nobody did ever hear me say that I admired Mr Griffiths. I did say that I thought Mr Sherborn's nephew and Mr Griffiths were the most gentlemanlike men in the room. (laughter) Before the separation, Mr. Crowther was vexed at my daughter's intimacy with Mr Griffiths, but I can't remember when he first complained of it. She staid a fortnight or three weeks with me after the separation. I can't tell where she went and I never asked where she was going. I had a letter from her a day or two after she left, saying she was sorry for what she had done, and she hoped we should forgive her.'

She did not name Mr. Griffiths, but I supposed they were travelling about. She was confined at Brompton at the end of last April [1863]. The child is a girl and a dear little girl it is. (Laughter)'. [The child was Josephine Griffiths.]

According to the newspaper, Sgt Parry ‘could not deny that the adultery had been proved, but it did not take place until after the separation and evidence would be given that the separation had been caused by the unkindness and neglect of Mr Crowther.’

On 11th December 1863, the divorce case ended: the jury returned a verdict for the petitioner on all the issues and assessed the damages at £4000. He had claimed £5000. The decree nisi was granted, with costs against the co-respondent, W. H. Griffiths. In today’s money this would be £350,000.

The very next day, Saturday 12th December, William Higford obtained a Special Licence and they were married two days later. He declared that there was no impediment for the marriage, although the divorce was only the decree nisi. Three months later, on 7th April 1864, after the decree absolute had been granted, the parish records for St. Martins, Birmingham, show a marriage between William Higford Griffiths and Ellen Sherborn, single woman, Heston, Middlesex. As a lawyer, he clearly knew that they were not entitled to marry after a decree nisi and so regularised the situation as soon as possible, particularly for the sake of their daughter.

A further twist in this story is that just a month before this second marriage, on 5th March 1864, William Higford declared himself bankrupt, probably to avoid paying the £4000 to William Crowther. Three months later Griffiths applied for discharge of his bankruptcy. The accounts of this action were again published in newspapers throughout the land, perhaps because of the personalities and the vitriol of the case.

The Western Daily Press on 22nd June 1864 reported that Crowther opposed the discharge, on the grounds that:

first, that he had contracted debts without any reasonable or probable expectation of being able to pay them; and secondly, that his insolvency was in a great measure attributable to unjustifiable extravagance in living

... At the beginning of 1863, when his difficulties were accumulating, he was possessed of three horses, and two months afterwards he bought three more. Was he justified in keeping these six horses? He appeared to have travelled at all seasons of the year... . Clearly Crowther wanted to bring Griffiths down, because a judgement that his extravagance had caused the bankruptcy carried a prison sentence.

The judgement was fully reported in the Birmingham Gazette on 4th July 1864 and appears to demonstrate the strong personal views held by the Recorder, mitigated by careful application of the law:

From the bankrupt he [Crowther] has sustained one of the most grievous injuries which it is in the power of man to inflict. The affections of the partner of his life have been estranged from him, and she, the object of his respect and attachment, has been polluted by the embraces of an adulterer... .

That the bankrupt was extravagant in living is proved beyond doubt, but there is no proof that such extravagance was the cause of his insolvency, which the statute makes a necessary part of the offence... .

But Crowther’s advocate had put the case that Griffiths had continued to spend money and the judge accepted this:

Under every aspect of this bankruptcy, therefore, the finding of the Court must necessarily be that the bankrupt has been brought within the penal provision of 159th section, regarding debts contracted without reasonable expectation of payment.

He had no choice but to commit Griffiths to prison, but fellow feeling for a member of the profession led him to conclude:

... I adopt this view so far as to hold the present case one which makes it imperative on the court to award a sentence of imprisonment; but bearing in mind the sufferings which this publication of his disgrace must inflict upon any member of a liberal and honourable profession, and looking also the position in society from which the bankrupt has fallen - another subject of intense mortification to him - I trust that the ends of justice will be answered without exhausting all the penal authority possessed by the Court.

The newspapers reported that Griffiths was committed to the County Gaol, but his solicitor was allowed to apply immediately for an appeal, as the ‘long vacation’ loomed and if the case was not quickly reviewed by the Lord Chancellor (with the expectation that he would look kindly on a fellow lawyer) then Griffiths would remain in prison until September at the earliest.

It was perhaps no great surprise that a week later the Lord Chancellor discharged the order for imprisonment, although he directed that all the bankrupt’s future earnings above £200 a year should be set aside for the payment of his debts. So, the legal profession closed ranks and supported one of their own. It appears that William Higford Griffiths did go to prison, probably for seven days until the sentence was set aside, but the relevant records have not been found.

William Crowther probably never received the money owed to him. Only nine months later the Worcester Chronicle 1865 reported:

EVESHAM. Sudden Death William Crowther, Esq., of Aston Somerville. This gentleman had been ailing for some time. After tea on Sunday last he drove out. When he returned home, he lay on a couch, and, before medical aid could be scarcely obtained, he expired.

W.H. Griffiths continued to practise as a solicitor, but according to Guy, the youngest of their seven children, money was a problem throughout their childhood:

Although I don't know much about my father, I was told that he was once very wealthy, but in my young days he never seemed to have a bean. I think he practised as a solicitor or something, he kept a clerk, but I don't think he ever did much himself. All the money that was in our family was on my mother's side and she inherited it from her father, who willed it so that it could not be touched, but at my mother's death was to be equally divided between her children. As it was the equivalent of £3.5m, the interest would have provided a steady income for the family.

Josephine wrote of Ellen: Her lavish hospitality, kindness, charity and the wonderful way she ran Bedfont, were most affectionately remembered long years after she had passed away. Ellen's mother, Mrs Sherborn, who had endured the sarcasm of the advocate and the laughter of the spectators in court, came to live in a wing of Bedfont House (now Singer House) and like her daughter Ellen was much loved by the children. William Higford Griffiths died in 1910, aged 87, and Ellen two years later. Josephine has left us many accounts and memories of her parents, but did not, unsurprisingly, give us this story.

So – a scandal or a love story – both!

Editor's note: For further information on this family look at Guy Griffiths' website, www.guygriffiths.co.uk, which was set up by his stepson after his death. His biography is very interesting and it was Guy who set up the Motor Museum behind Bedfont House, which some of you may just remember.

From Mantua Maker to Oxford University Beadle: George Ballard (1706-1755), the Famous Antiquary of Chipping Campden

Christopher Fance

George Ballard was baptised in February 1706 in St James's Church, Chipping Campden. His father, Samuel Ballard (1663-1710), was a tallow chandler. He died when George was four. His mother, Elizabeth Willis, lived on to 1744. George became a leading antiquary of the first half of the 18th century, corresponding with many other antiquaries of the time. He was admitted to Oxford University in 1750. Apart from handwritten articles he had one book published at his own expense. He seems to have had no formal education. He does not seem to have attended Chipping Campden Grammar School. One may wonder how he achieved this measure of success.

Part of the answer must be because of his family. His grandfather, Thomas Ballard, acquired a house in Chipping Campden as the result of a bond for £150 entered in January 1653 which was not repaid to him. This Thomas had previously inherited £50 and sheep from his father, Edward Ballard, who died in 1645 and lived in Weston Subedge. In the 1620s he was taxed on land he owned in Evesham. Edward was a very successful businessman and his will shows that owned houses in Evesham and Weston Subedge, as well as having made many loans to others. His eldest son, John Ballard, was educated at Chipping Campden Grammar School and at Exeter College, Oxford. John became a well-regarded physician. Edward's father, another John Ballard, had died in Weston Subedge in 1607. The family had been well off and there was academic success among them. John, the physician, was born and died in Oxford. His father, George's great-grandfather, Edward, had pursued various studies there. I do not think it is fanciful to say that George must have inherited some of the family's academic talents.

George's mother, Elizabeth Willis, had married Samuel Ballard by licence at Childswickham in 1689. She came from Evesham. One of Samuel's uncles had inherited the White Harte there as shown in his father's will. It is conceivable that Samuel and Elizabeth had met in Evesham. The interesting thing about the marriage is that a marriage settlement was agreed before it took place. In it George's grandmother, Mary Ballard, divides the house in Campden into two parts. She would live in one half and the newly-weds in the other. When she died, Samuel would inherit her part as well. When Samuel and Elizabeth died, the property was to go to their children in order of seniority and then to the children of her other children again in order of seniority. It was an extensive property, consisting of a shop, entrance hall, kitchen and chamber above, a buttery, a workhouse and a room

above it, a stable and cow house with lofts above them. There was also a backside, an orchard and a close of half an acre. Clearly, after Samuel's death in 1710, it was possible for Elizabeth to sublet the property and derive an income that way. She was also, like her mother-in-law, a midwife. At that time midwives had to be licensed by the Church of England. Edward, her eldest son, in time became an inn holder near Swindon in Wiltshire. In 1717 she decided that George should be apprenticed to John Dawson, a tailor in Blockley. She paid a premium of five pounds for his apprenticeship. She is described as a burgher in the relevant indenture. She was obviously calculating that if George had a trade, he could later set up independently in business. He ended his apprenticeship in about 1724 and then could trade on his own account as a journeyman tailor. He was variously described as a stay maker, tailor, habit-maker or mantua-maker.

Left: an example of the Mantua fashion of early 1700s.



His decision to make women's clothing may have been partly based on his mother's contacts as a midwife; also, perhaps because some of these articles were fashionable, sought after and the mantua worn, particularly by women of means.

The antiquarian, Thomas Hearne, tells us that George's sister, Elizabeth, who was three years older than him, used to buy, 'the little historical twelve-penny pieces put out under the name of Richard Burton, in which are abundance of pretty diverting delightfull stories, which have made the books to be in great vogue among the Vulgar'. He attributed George's antiquarian interests to these. At any rate, both Elizabeth and George were fascinated by coins and books. George, while still an apprentice, 'stealing a few hours from sleep, after the business of the day was over' (Walker, 2.93), taught himself Anglo-Saxon. By the age of fourteen he had read many writers on religion and came to loathe 'Popery' and Dissenters almost as much. He later learnt Latin, perhaps being taught by a master of the grammar school in Campden. Clearly, he was both intellectually gifted and a driven individual.

At some time before 1726 he got to know Richard Graves, who lived in the Manor House in Mickleton and became a sort of surrogate father. Richard was well off and after studying at Oxford, he devoted his life to collecting books and documents. He was interested in family pedigrees and researched everything of antiquity on his own estates and in the neighbourhood, consulting books in various libraries. He commissioned George to collect coins for him all over England. George journeyed some 1500 miles and acquired some 500 coins. Richard Graves introduced George to various antiquaries, Thomas Hearne, Browne Willis and William Brome. George got to know Richard Rawlinson and others through them. They wrote letters to each other and many are in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

By 1729, according to Richard Hearne, George was spending much of his time travelling about on foot, collecting coins, and, forsaking his trade, living 'chiefly upon his mother' (Remarks, 10.118). This cannot have been entirely correct, because by 1735 he had encountered a number of women who helped shape his future career. He is unlikely to have met them except to make them dresses. The most important of them was Sarah Chapone, a daughter of Lionel Kirkham, the rector in Stanton, who after marrying John Chapone in 1725, lived there with her clergyman husband for nearly ten years, running a boarding school. Life was precarious moneywise. She was a leading 'feminist' of the day and in 1735 a book was published anonymously which was attributed to her, entitled *The Hardships of the English Laws in Relation to Wives*. It was reprinted in the Gentleman's Magazine in the same year.

About this time George was introduced to Elizabeth Elstob (1683-1756) who lived in Evesham. Elizabeth was an extraordinary woman, who when young, had been a member of a circle of scholars of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford University where her brother, William, was a fellow of University College. When he moved to London as rector of two parishes, she went with him acting as his housekeeper and assisting him in his Anglo-Saxon studies. She had several books published in her own right, including Ælfric's *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory* and her own *Rudiments of Grammar* (1715). Sadly, her brother died that year and she was left without income. She seems to have disappeared from London to escape her debtors and moved to Evesham, where she ran a school for girls.

There is an impressive number of letters from Elizabeth to George Ballard. They start in 1735 and continue until he died in 1755. At first Elizabeth was running a school for girls in Evesham, probably for a pittance. The work was exhausting and she did not find any time for her studies. About that time, she refers to Mrs Chapone. How any of these people got to know each other is difficult to discover. Though there are letters from many people preserved in the Weston Library in Oxford, they usually show only one side of the correspondence. In order to discover letters from George, it needs a collection of letters properly indexed to be preserved in an archive. Some of George's letters can be found in collections in Oxford and elsewhere, but there do not seem to be any of his to Elizabeth Elstob or Sarah Chapone among them. Soon after George got to know Elizabeth, Sarah

Chapone was working to find her a better post elsewhere. Eventually, she secured a post as tutor to the children of the Duchess of Portland, which she held for the rest of her life and which gave her security.

The importance of Elizabeth Elstob in George Ballard's career is that, apart from being able to discuss Anglo-Saxon with him, she also gave him a notebook containing a project of hers dating from before 1715 of writing about noteworthy women and which had about 40 names in it. George then conceived his plan to write a book about such women. Clearly in making clothing for women and in his correspondence, George had come across a number of extraordinary women. His antiquarian friends did not entirely understand his motivation, but whenever they found information about noteworthy women, they sent it to him. This went on for about 15 years. These friends also tried to obtain for him a post as a librarian but were unsuccessful. However, in 1750 his situation changed.

Lord Chedworth, a very wealthy race-horse owner, used to spend a month a year in Chipping Campden hunting. When he heard about this scholarly tailor, he decided to settle an annuity on him. He offered him £100 a year, but George would only accept £60. George was then invited to Oxford

to work at the Bodleian Library. He was admitted to Oxford University on 15th December 1750, aged 44, and appointed one of the eight clerks at Magdalen College with a free room and board. He later became one of the two university beadle, which was a sort of ceremonial post (see left). You can imagine how delighted he was to be able to look at books at his leisure.



He spent about a year putting together his book on learned women. As he was publishing it at his own expense, he needed to get subscriptions to it. Of

these some 142 subscribers were women and 256 men, one of whom was Edward Gibbon, the future famous historian and author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

George's book, entitled *Memoirs of Several ladies of Great Britain, who have been celebrated for their writings or skill in the Learned Languages, Arts and Sciences* was published in 1752. The first part which dealt with women of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was dedicated to Mrs Talbot; the second, which dealt with women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was dedicated to Mary Delany, Sarah Chapone's sister. All the women he wrote about were dead. He kept very much to the detail in the title page, though his religious prejudices are evident at times. The length devoted to each woman varied from one single paragraph (as for Mary, Countess of Arundel) to many pages (as for Queen Elizabeth I). He deals fairly with the educational achievements of many of these women. He praises Queen Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, for her mastery of Latin, French and Spanish, criticises her for the burnings of protestants in her reign, but does not say that she was the first woman to become a reigning monarch or how she established herself in power. Margaret Roper and her three sisters, all daughters of Sir Thomas More, are recorded with a lot written about Margaret. Queen Elizabeth inevitably has a lot written about her. Yet in contrast he writes much about Anne Askew, a dissenter, who was executed by Henry VIII. The interesting thing about her is that she sought a divorce from her husband, whom she left.

In the second part there is great praise for Dorothy, Lady Pakington, who, he argued, wrote *The Whole Duty of Man*. This is an English high church 'Protestant' devotional work, first published anonymously in 1658, with an introduction by Henry Hammond. It was both popular and influential for two centuries in the Anglican tradition which it helped to define. She is buried in the church at Hampton Lovett near Droitwich, where this inscription can be seen: 'In the same church lyes Sir John Pakington, Kt. and Bart., and his lady, grandfather and grandmother to the said Sir John. The first, try'd for his life and spent the greatest part of his fortune, in adhering to King Charles I; and the latter justly reputed the authoress of the Whole Duty of Man, who was exemplary for her great piety and goodness.'

He wrote his book about women partly, I think, because early on in life he was inspired by the influence of his mother and sister Elizabeth. As a dressmaker, he had also met many capable women and clearly wanted to remove sexist prejudices against them. This was not fashionable in the 18th century or even in some circles today.

After he published his book, he worked on the manuscript collection of the Bodleian Library, cataloguing them and copying the most fragile ones. He was able to interpret and translate many of them. His health was not good. He suffered from kidney stones and in 1755 he was forced to move back to Campden, where he died in June of that year. He was buried in St James, but the whereabouts of his grave is not known. Thus, ended the life of a remarkable individual.

He wrote his will a year or two before he died and left modest legacies to family and friends. There were pictures of his great-uncle, John Ballard, and his great-grandparents, Edward and Martha Ballard, which were left to a lady in Campden. He left a large collection of documents to the Bodleian library, some 73 boxes in all. They can be viewed there today in the Weston Library. The originals are too frail to handle but they are on microfilm. His younger brother, Thomas, also, I think, a dressmaker, was his executor.

The final question is where did the family live in Campden? This is easily answered, as a series of deeds for the property exist in the Gloucestershire Archives. It is Westcote House, almost opposite the Lygon Arms.

Right: Jesse Taylor photo of Westcote House, before the Griggs 1927 renovation and alterations to the frontage.



Season 2019 – 2020 Lecture Programme. Meetings in the Town Hall, at 7.30pm

Thursday 19th September: ‘Nelly Erichsen – her blue plaque should be in Campden’,
Sarah Harkness, author.

Thursday 17th Oct : ‘Smallpox, Chicken Pox or Something Else? The 1923 Gloucester Epidemic’,
Dr. Toby Thacker, Cardiff University

Thursday 21st Nov: ‘The Poor and the Law in the 18th century – the Crisis in the Parishes’,
Deborah Hayter, Oxford University Department for Continuing Education

Thursday 5th Dec: ‘Coins and other discoveries in the North Cotswolds’,
Roger Box, Forensic Archaeologist.

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Thursday 16th Jan: ‘Rich Widows and Naughty Knights - Sir John Sandys and social climbing in late medieval England’,
Dr. Toby Purser, University of Northampton and CCHS member.

Thursday 20th Feb: ‘Voyages to the House of Diversion - Hanwell Castle, 17th Century Water Gardens and the Birth of Modern Science’,
Stephen Wass, Oxford University Department of Continuing Education.

Thursday 19th Mar: ‘The History and Mystery of Campden Town Hall’,
Judith Ellis, CCHS.

Thursday 16th April: AGM and ‘Reflections on GCHQ’s Centenary’,
Tony Comer, Senior Historian, GCHQ.

CCHS News and Activities

The Committee has certainly been less busy in the last few months of this summer period, than we were last year, when we were planning for the Old Campden House Open Days. So, there is little to report in this issue of Signpost and we are not going to invent ‘Fayke News’ to fill the pages!

However, a bequest of £500 has been received by CCHS from Jill Wilson’s estate, for which we are very grateful. The Chairman has written to Jill’s sister and two nephews to thank them. In fact, soon after Jill’s death the Committee had decided to offer a CCHS History Prize to Chipping Campden Academy School, to be called The Jill Wilson Prize. The essay, 1500 words maximum, is to be written on a subject of the pupil’s choice of historic interest relevant to their locality, bearing in mind not all pupils live in Campden. Candidates are 16 or 17 years and help was offered by Judith Ellis, Archivist, to show them how to use various sources for their research and to get them off to an academic start. Judging is scheduled for September, so watch this space and we hope for a good standard of the entries.

Meanwhile St. Catharine’s School undertook a project on Baptist Hicks, based on the KS2 fact files and educational materials provided by CCHS and a prize was provided for the winning entries. The materials have also been provided to Gloucester Local History for a presentation there. St. James’s School will be offered the same opportunity in the future when they are ready.

The CCHS Coffee Morning and book sale on Saturday 27th April raised £240 and was a good social occasion and we must thank the scone and coffee making team!

The Gloucester Local History Association History day was held on 11th May 2019. This year the talks were about the Challenges Facing Local Historians Today and your editor, Carol Jackson, attended on behalf of CCHS, as an article by Michael Luntley in Signpost 8 had been nominated for the annual Bryan Jerrard Award. The five criteria for shortlisting are: the amount of quality original research; its contribution to Gloucestershire’s community/regional/and national history; it breaks new ground; the style, presentation, references, generally being a good example to others; and is a good read! Ours did not win, but we were still pleased to have been shortlisted. Next year the provisional date for the Gloucester Local History Association meeting is 12th April 2020 and the theme will be the History of Education. Usually several of the Committee or interested members research, prepare a display and attend; in the past CCHS has won the prize for the best display. Would you like to help and get involved?

The new Member’s Section of the Website is up and running – have you accessed it yet?

Family History Group (FHG) meetings are held on the fourth Tuesday of the month in The Court Room, Old Police Station, starting at 7.30pm. Everyone welcome. £1.00 per person

Programme for 2019-20

24th September: ‘Of silks and stuffs’: Textiles and the Jacobean Gentleman Dr. Gill White

22th October: 180 years of Gloucestershire Police Sue Webb,
Gloucestershire Constabulary Archivist

26th November: Local man, the H.B.C. and the indigenous people Rob Grove

No meeting in December

28th January 2020: ‘Ain’t there nobody ill at the Almshouses?’ Judith Ellis

25th February: Campden Shops Mary Fielding

24th March: History of St Catharine’s RC Primary School Tess Taylor

28th April: Children of scandal: the illegitimate children of the Duchess of Devonshire Emma Defries

26th May: Sights, sounds and smells of Campden Di Smith