

From the *Transactions* of the
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

**Chartism in Gloucestershire: the contribution of the Chartist
Land Plan 1843-1850**

by O. R. Ashton
1986, Vol. 104, 201-209

© The Society and the Author(s)

Chartism in Gloucestershire: the contribution of the Chartist Land Plan 1843–1850

By OWEN R. ASHTON

Beneath the veneer of early 19th-century Cheltenham elegance and Gloucestershire fashion lay an artisan community, where strong radical, political traditions transcended existing occupational differences and town boundaries and allowed a general working class consciousness to emerge. Around Stroud, Cirencester and Wotton – the home of the county's woollen trade – Dorothy Thompson has indicated how John Frost found such places to be Chartist centres 'teeming with animated beings'.¹ Poverty-stricken, the weavers and labourers involved in cloth manufacture here were aware of the ways in which they had been exploited by a powerful group of well-organized clothiers.² In Cheltenham itself, as I have indicated elsewhere, some of the sharpest conflicts were taking place between Chartist artisans and a modernizing evangelical cleric, the Reverend Francis Close, whose power and influence extended far into the surrounding countryside.³

However lively in character, it would be misleading to suggest that support for this provincial artisan culture in Gloucestershire was perennially buoyant. In fact one of the most serious organizational problems that Chartist activists in the county faced, following the disappointments of 1842, was a general falling away of interest amongst rank and file members. An all too familiar state of apathy greeted Thomas Clark, a National Charter Association executive officer, on his visits to Wotton and the city of Gloucester in December 1843. Even worse, when he was about to start for Stroud a letter arrived informing him that 'it was useless to go there as they could not get up a meeting'. Only from Cheltenham was he able to report that 'the Chartists occupy a more commanding position than in any other place I have visited'.⁴

Not surprisingly, there was much discussion at the time as to the causes of such a prolonged state of apathy. In Stroud, for example, the remaining Chartist stalwarts thought that it was attributable 'partly to the want of a lecturer and partly to the increased poverty of the people'.⁵ John P. Glenister, a Spa activist and seasoned campaigner, was much more perceptive in his analysis of the problem. In June 1844 at a lecture in Cheltenham given by Philip McGrath, who was on a morale-boosting tour, Glenister drew on his own experiences in the long battle for political rights: he suggested to the Manchester dyer that 'since the Reform Bill had utterly failed to realise the benefits to society so vauntingly set forth by its advocates and supporters, it was quite time for the working classes to look to something more substantial in character and practical in operation'.⁶ Clearly what was needed now was a policy relevant to their present condition and a postponement of the proposal to try to implement the Charter forthwith.

Feargus O'Connor's Land Plan provided the answer. The keen interest displayed in this scheme of self-supporting agricultural communities for effecting universal suffrage and social change, and the tremendous reception afforded the actual establishment of Chartist land colonies on their own doorstep at Lowbands and Snig's End, once again fired the imagination and renewed the interest of the general rank and file.

Recent assessments of the contribution of the Land Plan to the Chartist movement as a whole have seriously challenged, if not over-turned, an earlier view that it was a failure.⁷ It is the dual aim of this paper to appreciate both what the coming of the two Land Colonies in Gloucestershire

meant for local Chartist morale and to show how the Plan stood in opposition to the increasingly dominant bourgeois values concerning land ownership in the period.

A concern for the land, small-farm proprietorship and moves towards self-sufficiency as a means of gaining economic independence had long interested Chartists in Gloucestershire. As early as August 1840 a Mr Waddington of Leeds had addressed members of the Cirencester W.M.A. at their Tea and Coffee Tavern in Cricklade Street on the 'advisability of forming an Agrarian Company'. During the course of his lecture Waddington dealt at length with 'the reasons for the present poverty, misery and crime which afflicted the labouring classes and then pointed out various remedies, the most prominent of which was the removal of the population from large towns and locating them as cultivators on the soil'. Although such sentiments were very well-received, the audience appears to have separated 'by acknowledging the truth of Mr Waddington's views, but still of the opinion that nothing could be done without the Charter'.⁸ At Cheltenham the Chartists were probably in one of the best positions to judge just how worthwhile cottage gardens could be in terms of material benefits, happiness and potential security. According to W.E. Adams, 'every house, however humble, had ample space in front or rear for the cultivation of flowers or vegetables'.⁹ The home, for example, of Larry, his crippled Chartist friend and a shoe-maker by trade, 'consisted of just two rooms – a kitchen and a loft – though it had what are almost unknown advantages in large towns: a plot of ground for flowers in front and a bigger plot for fruit and vegetables at the back'.¹⁰

Such working class feelings about the quality and uses of the soil were all encapsulated in Feargus O'Connor's immensely popular but subsequently ill-fated Land Plan. His pamphlet, entitled *A Practical Work on the Management of Small Farms* (1843), supplied facts and figures on the feasibility of creating small but self-reliant farm-owners or peasant proprietors in an age otherwise increasingly dominated by the unfettered growth of capitalist industrialization and commercialism. Through the acquisition of two, three or four acre plots that had been subdivided from large estates purchased in advance, O'Connor envisaged working people becoming 'fustian land-lords' in large numbers, materially secure and able henceforth to choose freely for themselves whether to enter the factory to earn their living or remain at work in profitable spade husbandry on their land. There was, however, nothing new about the scheme. Some of the ideas on private ownership were borrowed from agrarian reformers like William Cobbett, whilst others on peasant farming were a legacy of O'Connor's own Irish background. Nevertheless the Chartist leader gave them 'an exciting immediacy . . . a practical solution to the problems of the age . . . And the timing was right'.¹¹

During the 1830s and 1840s there was a flood of discussion and debate concerning land questions, some of which was conducted in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of peasant holdings, and the desirability of making allotments or cottage gardens available to the labouring classes in order to aid ordinary wages. O'Connor's advocacy of small farms was therefore wholly understandable in the context of the contemporary discussion. It is important to bear in mind that much of this debate took place within the assumptions and prejudices of both the new political economy and the older but declining Tory-Whig paternalism. Classical economists like David Ricardo and J.R. McCulloch, whilst encouraging emigration schemes that frequently proved unattractive to working class recipients, were consistently hostile to small farms on economic as well as Malthusian grounds until the end of the 1840s.¹² In a related sphere a Tory-Whig grouping, organised in the Labourers' Friend Society, had become concerned by the mid-1830s with the provision of cottage gardens and allotments for agricultural labourers. Its main aim was to offer some compensation for low wages whilst not reducing the dependence of the labourer on his normal employment. In this way the self-interest of the farming landlord community would be left intact.

A similar kind of narrowly interpreted, paternalistic mentality pervaded the philosophy behind allotment provision for industrial workers in the cloth-weaving districts of Gloucestershire. They appear to have been in fairly widespread use in the distressed parishes of Stroud, Wotton, Cam, Bisley and Minchinhampton.¹³ In Cam, for example, W.A. Miles, who headed the Hand Loom Weavers' Commission of Enquiry in the county, found that they were particularly well-organized with 30-40 acres allocated out to weavers, giving '3-4 perches per head'. The rent was 3s. per perch but the yield was still held to compensate the weaver by giving him 'a store of potatoes in the winter and employing his leisure time in summer'. Elsewhere they were said 'to work well with weavers growing plenty of vegetables and keeping an occasional pig' to supplement their weekly income. Whilst such allotments were clearly seen as an aid and not a substitute for ordinary wages, and were small enough – no more than one quarter of an acre in size – for cultivation in leisure time, W.A. Miles was nevertheless keen to emphasize how their use not only brought certain moral improvements to weavers but also ensured material benefits to capitalist clothiers through a stable and low paid labour force. 'The allotment system in the weaving districts' he concluded 'was invaluable in small proportions', because 'it gave the individual weaver a stake in the hedge . . . kept them as a group away from the beershops and behind their interests in the welfare of the community'.¹⁴

O'Connor's Land Plan, by contrast, sandwiched as it was between an existing allotment mentality imposed from above and the onset of a plethora of bourgeois-led Freehold Land Societies in the late 1840s,¹⁵ offered the would-be Chartist farmer the possibility of a viable agricultural unit for full-time employment, and completely free of any kind of middle class controls or prejudices.¹⁶ Nurtured in the same radical tradition of concern that inspired two parallel schemes on working class land ownership, namely Bronterre O'Brien's nationalization plan and Robert Owen's communitarianism, Feargus O'Connor's somewhat different emphasis on private small-holdings undoubtedly 'captured an artisan consciousness concerned with the values of independence, self-reliance and individuality'.¹⁷ Although the Birmingham N.C.A. conference of September 1843 had approved the proposals to establish Chartist communities, the appeal was only really launched in earnest from April 1845 with the formation of the Chartist Land Society.¹⁸ The result, as anticipated by the Chartist leader, was a steady revitalization of the Chartist movement, not least in Gloucestershire. Anxious to become shareholders, large numbers of working people came forward and branches of the co-operative Land Society, as it later became known, were formed in the main Chartist strongholds of Cheltenham, Stroud, Wotton and Cirencester.¹⁹ Meetings – some of which drew crowds in excess of 500 people – were enlivened by visits from Thomas Clark and Philip McGrath, John West and Feargus O'Connor himself, each explaining how the land had been taken from the people, the science of agriculture and the benefits that would shortly follow to the people from small farm ownership.²⁰ As one might expect, O'Connor's visit in February 1847, like all previous ones, generated tremendous excitement. To loud applause he was introduced as 'a gentleman whose career through life had been a mirror to the world'. After urging the audience to sign the new National Petition and support the People's Charter, Feargus proceeded to review some of the progress to date that was of local interest in his Land Plan. 'He had' he said 'been carving a dish fit for the Gods, by dividing an ancient estate [Lowbands] which formerly supported only 25 people, into allotments which would now support 100 families'. On the question of farming operations he had 'shown in a letter which he defied anyone to contravert, that on three acres of land a man could live well and purchase his own allotment in seven years'. Such a forecast was based on the extremely optimistic assumption that 'during 157 days of the year, which was all he allowed him to work, the man would earn 10s. per day'. The more delicate issue of financial security for the people's savings also found an equally confident O'Connor reassuring his audience (to loud cheers) that 'no

man could be dishonest but himself in the Land Company, as he took care that no-one else should have the “fingering of the brass” and it was not likely that he would turn dishonest after what he had done for the people’.

During his November tour John West also made a point of refuting arguments levelled at O’Connor by one prominent member of the audience, Samuel Bowly. The Bowlys were a well-known Quaker family from Cirencester with banking, railway and building society interests. Like fellow members of the reforming middle class they were involved in the Anti Corn Law League agitation, temperance work, international peace campaigns and land reform work.²¹ Samuel Bowly had, apparently by the mid-1840s, both a model farm and what West described as ‘a favourite half-acre scheme of his own’.²² Not surprisingly, Bowly was clearly upset by the sudden arrival of strong Chartist competition. Indeed, he alleged at the meeting that ‘Mr O’Connor was insufficient security for the property of the Chartist Land Company’. According to West’s report in the *Northern Star*, Bowly had ‘entered into a minute statement of everything connected with the transactions of the company’ and sharply attacked those Gloucestershire tradesmen who had received large payments from O’Connor. Significantly, however, since these tradesmen ‘were not at the meeting to defend his honesty’, Bowly was, it appears, silenced or, as the *Northern Star* put it, ‘fairly “bowled out” and said very little afterwards!’²³

Even greater excitement accompanied the setting up of actual farming operations in 1846 and 1847 on estates purchased by the Chartist Land Society at Lowbands (160 acres) and Snig’s End (168) acres, approximately eight miles and seven miles, respectively, from Cheltenham. Outings were organised and groups of Gloucestershire Chartists converged on and soaked up the atmosphere of the two estates. In August 1847, for example, over 5000 people gathered at Lowbands from all over Gloucestershire to fraternize with allottees, review the impressive work of cultivation already undertaken and listen in the evening to a lecture by O’Connor on the Land Plan as ‘a preventive of pauperism and an encouragement to honest independence’.²⁴ As a direct result new branches were also formed in completely agricultural districts: at Staunton close to Snig’s End by John Sidaway of Gloucester; in Upton-on-Severn a few miles from Lowbands by Mr James Brown, ‘a staunch democrat and member of the Land Company’; at Stow-on-the-Wold by Alfred Taylor and George Wilkins; and finally at Winchcombe during January 1848.²⁵ By the time of the National Land conference on the Lowbands estate in August 1847, the whole country had been divided up into electoral divisions of the National Land Company and all these Gloucestershire branches comprised part of a ‘Cheltenham District’ in order to elect delegates for this or any other land conference.²⁶

As with the N.C.A. it is clear from the occupational lists set out in the Appendix²⁷ that although Spa artisans and labourers still predominated, formal membership of the National Land Company was again drawn from all sections of the working class community. Equally significant is the fact that there were probably more registered members of the National Land Company in August 1847 (approximately 150) than there were for the N.C.A. (approximately 170) during the mass movement in 1842.

These Land Society members were responsible for saving, usually by weekly personal subscriptions but sometimes via collections at large meetings, an impressive total of around £250 for shares – roughly £1 per member – in the period between July 1845 and October 1847.²⁸ Cheltenham Chartists alone contributed £141, whilst those at Stow and Wotton, reflecting, for example the respective interests of the agricultural and weaving districts, each sent approximately £40. The remainder came from Cirencester (£18 10s. 0d.), Stroud (£8 15s. 0d.), Upton-on-Severn (£5 15s. 0d.) and Gloucester (only 2s. 2d.).

Some of the old N.C.A. activists in the county including William Millsom and John P. Glenister at Cheltenham, the Lacey brothers at Wotton, and Henry Pritchard at Stroud now

became prominent leaders of their local Land branches.²⁹ The reappearance, too, of the veteran Gloucester radical Thomas Sidaway with his son John in support of the Land Plan undoubtedly strengthened the quality and impact of this grass roots leadership during the late 1840s. Although emigrating to France some time in 1841, where, according to the *Northern Star*, his speeches were always in defence of 'Right against Might', Tom Sidaway decided to bring his family back to the Gloucestershire area in 1846 'on account of a depression in trade' in France. As No. 2 in the National Land Company Rouen Branch, Sidaway was always an ardent supporter, shareholder and advocate on the platform of the small farm system. Unexpectedly, however, he died in Salisbury on 3 January 1848, aged 53, and was 'borne to the grave by his friends and brother Land men, by whom he was much respected'.³⁰ John Sidaway continued the work 'on behalf of the Land and Charter', founding the Staunton Land Branch, as well as helping to revitalize the political movement in his old home city of Gloucester early in 1848.³¹

A number of completely new local leaders also began to emerge in Cheltenham from the agitation associated with the Land Plan. William Leach, a carpenter of Hamilton Place, Charles Hyett of Queen Street and Clement W. Frames of Bath Street were all secretaries or treasurers at different times of the Chartist Land Company Branch in Cheltenham.³² Leach was also elected to the important position of 'Cheltenham District' delegate at the nearby Lowbands Conference in August 1847.³³

Although described by Adams purely in terms of his ballad-printing work and talents, Thomas Willey was actively involved in Land Plan affairs.³⁴ Besides chairing Land Plan gatherings in the Spa, Willey found himself elected at a meeting on 9 January 1847 to the office of 'scrutineer' for shareholders' accounts; a considerable responsibility in view of the large amounts subscribed by Land Members in Cheltenham.³⁵ The same meeting helped launch W.E. Adams on his long and eventful radical career. According to the report in the *Northern Star* – the first time incidentally he is mentioned by the paper – a resolution was passed that 'Messrs W.E. Adams and J. Kingdom be auditors to this branch for 6 months'.³⁶ Born in 1832, the young Adams was just fifteen years old at the time! It was certainly a tremendous start for a radical, who, before his nineteenth birthday, was also chairing N.C.A. branch meetings and corresponding with M.P.'s over the treatment of Chartist prisoners like Ernest Jones and William Cuffey, two victims of the Governmental response to the third phase of mass Chartist agitation in 1848.³⁷

Elsewhere in Gloucestershire other new activists came forward. Alfred Taylor of Stow, George Timbrell of Winchcombe and Edward Payne of Spitalgate, Cirencester were all listed in the *Northern Star* as local agents of the National Land Company.³⁸ Taylor and Timbrell were also branch secretaries at Stow and Winchcombe respectively. Like the Sidaway family, the Roff brothers (Thomas and John), who were treasurer and auditor respectively of the Stow branch, showed again how the Land Plan could appeal to whole families as well as to individuals.³⁹

A number of Gloucestershire shareholders were fortunate enough to become overall ballot winners. In April 1848, for example, William South of Cirencester and Phillip Ford of Wotton won four and two acre sites respectively at O'Connorville in Hertfordshire; in 1848 John Bennett of Wotton and A. Rice of Cheltenham each won four acre plots, and E. Tibbles of Cirencester two acres, all on the Oxfordshire estate at Minster Lovell or Charterville as it shortly became known.⁴⁰ Several other Gloucestershire Land Members became ballot winners but William Sharp and William Pratt, both of Cheltenham, were the only two shareholders to win ballots locally with three acre holdings on the Lowbands Estate.⁴¹

How successful were the Land Plan operations? Despite the fact that many of the allottees were men unused to agricultural work, a few, including some from Gloucestershire, were successful in cultivating root crops and vegetables, and in keeping a small number of farm animals. A favourable verdict on farming activities at Snig's End and Lowbands came from an

anonymous reporter sent by the *Cheltenham Free Press* in early July 1849; and its significance should not be missed because it appeared at a time when O'Connor was under increasing pressure from the press, Parliament and the people about the viability of the Land Plan. 'On most of the allotments', the reporter wrote, 'fine crops were growing – wheat, potatoes, black barley and peas were extensively cultivated. All whom I talked to seemed upon the whole very much pleased with their position and prospects. A Mr Pratt, late of Cheltenham, has the finest, healthiest and cleanest crops growing that I have ever seen'. The reporter came away 'deeply impressed' and feeling that O'Connor would yet be a great benefactor to his country.⁴² It is also interesting to note that where local Chartist shareholders were, as indicated earlier, successful in the ballots for estates outside the county, their experiences were such that they endorsed the feasibility of O'Connor's scheme. At Minster Lovell, for example, John Bennett of Wotton was one of only two who remained in 1852 from the original list of 1848, while at O'Connorville, according to the appraisal of the special correspondent of the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* in 1875, 'Phillip Ford (of Wotton) got a living for twenty-seven years, from two acres only, and is now doing well'.⁴³

Although the Land Plan was never finally legalised and had to be wound up in the early 1850s, the excitement generated by Lowbands and Snig's End in the late 1840s held the movement together during the passage of two or three difficult years. Around the new as well as the old local leadership, rank and file supporters returned in large numbers, excited by the real chance of becoming small farm owners possibly on their very doorstep. Visits by Chartist missionaries including O'Connor himself, together with the knowledge of successful ballot-winners in their midst, helped recreate the vitality, enthusiasm and optimism that had characterized the movement in earlier years. In the final analysis, however, one should not forget the fact that whilst the Land Plan rekindled past enthusiasms, by the same token it also helped to provide, in the late 1840s, a firm basis upon which the final mass resurgence and associated political agitation was built during the eventful year of 1848.⁴⁴

APPENDIX

Occupations of members of the Land Company in Cheltenham and the rest of Gloucestershire, 1847–1848.

| <i>Trade</i> | <i>Cheltenham</i> | <i>Glos.</i> |
|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Architect | 1 | |
| Baker | 1 | 1 |
| Basket maker | | 1 |
| Blacksmith | | 2 |
| Bootmaker | 1 | |
| Brassfounder | 1 | |
| Bricklayer | 2 | 2 |
| Brickmaker | 1 | 1 |
| Brewer | 1 | |
| Broker | 1 | |
| Butcher | 1 | |
| Butler | 1 | |
| Cabinet Maker (Carpenter) | 21 | 7 |
| Chandler | 1 | |
| Chimney Sweep | 1 | 1 |
| Clerk | 1 | |
| Coachman | 2 | |

| Trade | Cheltenham | Glos. |
|------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Cooper | | 1 |
| Coppersmith | 1 | |
| Dealer | | 2 |
| Dyer | 2 | |
| Farmer | 1 | |
| Farm labourer | | 2 |
| Farrier | 1 | |
| French Polisher | 2 | |
| Flyman | 2 | |
| Gardener | 6 | 2 |
| Greengrocer | 1 | |
| Grocer | 1 | |
| Hammer-maker | 1 | |
| Innkeeper | 1 | 1 |
| Inn worker | 1 | |
| Labourer | 30 | 36 |
| Mason | 10 | 3 |
| Ostler | 1 | |
| Painter | 3 | 1 |
| Plasterer | 2 | 1 |
| Plumber | 3 | 1 |
| Porter | 2 | |
| Printer | 1 | 1 |
| Publican | 1 | |
| Sadler | 1 | |
| Sawyer | 1 | 3 |
| Schoolmaster | | 2 |
| Servant(f) | 1 | 1 |
| Servant (m) | 2 | 1 |
| Shipwright | | 5 |
| Shoemaker (Cordwainer) | 13 | 3 |
| Smith | 1 | |
| Spinner | | 1 |
| Stable keeper | 1 | |
| Stonecutter | 1 | |
| Tailor | 14 | 5 |
| Tea dealer | | 1 |
| Trunk maker | 1 | 1 |
| Umbrella maker | 1 | |
| Upholsterer | 1 | |
| Watchmaker | 2 | |
| Weaver | | 5 |
| Yeoman | 1 | |
| Total: | <u>151</u> | <u>94</u> |

Notes

1. D. Thompson (ed), *The Early Chartists* (1971), 178. Letter dated 2 Apr 1839 from John Frost to William Lovett, Secretary of the Chartist Convention.
2. For the cloth industry in Gloucestershire, see J. De L. Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England, 1640–1880* (Oxford 1971), particularly 137–194. See also my unpublished doctoral thesis 'Radicalism and Chartism in Gloucestershire, 1832–1847' (Univ. of Birmingham 1980), 57–106.
3. O.R. Ashton, 'Clerical Control and Radical Responses in Cheltenham Spa 1838–1848', *Midland History* 8 (1983), 121–148.
4. *Northern Star*, 9 Dec 1843. Report by Thomas Clark to the editor of the *Northern Star* on the progress of his lecturing tour in the West Country.
5. *Ibid.*, 12 Aug 1843. Stroud.
6. *Cheltenham Free Press*, 22 June 1844. 'Mr McGrath's Chartist Lectures'. Speech by John P. Glenister, Chairman.
7. For a major revision of the traditional picture of failure associated with Feargus O'Connor's Land Plan, see John Saville's Introduction to R.G. Gammage, *The History of the Chartist Movement* (1854; reprinted New York 1969), 48–62. See also D. Hardy, *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England* (1979), 65–105 for the Land Plan in the context of the growth of agrarian socialism; and D. Thompson, *The Chartists* (1984), particularly 299–306.
8. *Northern Star*, 29 Aug 1840. Cirencester.
9. W.E. Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom*, (1903; reprinted New York 1967). Introduction by John Saville, 7. Adams was probably the leading Spa Chartist.
10. *Ibid.*, 166.
11. D. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists* (1975), 129.
12. See John Saville's Introduction to R.G. Gammage, op. cit., in particular 52–53: 'At the end of the 1840s the greatest economist of the day [referring to John Stuart Mill] gave his warm approbation, not only to peasant proprietorship in general, but to O'Connor's Land Plan itself. In the second (1849) edition of *The Principles of Political Economy*, John Stuart Mill offered this commendation of O'Connor's scheme'.
13. British Parliamentary Papers. Hand Loom Weavers' Commission of Enquiry 1840, XXIV, 360 (overall summary) and 518–525 for Miles' findings and specific recommendations concerning the allotment system.
14. *Ibid.*, 518. See also E.L. Jones and G.E. Mingay (eds), *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution* (1967), generally.
15. For Freehold Land Societies, see D. Martin, 'Land Reform', 131–158 in P. Hollis (ed), *Pressure from Without* (1974). See also *Cheltenham Free Press*, 19 Jan 1850 for reports on the Cheltenham and Gloucester Freehold Land Society. Feargus O'Connor's scepticism towards Freehold Land Societies is revealed in the *Northern Star*, 11 Nov 1848.
16. I.J. Prothero, 'London Chartism and the Trades', *Econ Hist Rev* 24 No. 2 (1971), 202–219. Dr Prothero shows how collecting funds to acquire land was a common idea at this time amongst the new trade unions.
17. J. Epstein, 'Feargus O'Connor and the English Working Class Radical Movement 1832–1841: a study in National Chartist Leadership' (unpublished PhD Thesis, Univ. of Birmingham 1977), 492.
18. *English Chartist Circular*, No. 137. Vol. 2 p.337 outlines the Land Plan and lists the delegates who attended. No delegates represented Gloucestershire although W.P. Roberts of Bath was present.
19. See, for example, *Northern Star*, 18 and 25 Oct 1845, Thomas Clark's tour of the West Country.
20. *Ibid.*, 25 Oct 1845. Thomas Clark at Wotton; see also *Cheltenham Free Press*, 31 Oct 1846 and *Northern Star*, 7 Nov 1846 for Philip McGrath's successful tour of Gloucestershire; *Northern Star*, 20 Nov 1847 for John West's tour; and *Cheltenham Free Press*, 6 Feb 1847 for Feargus O'Connor's visit to Cheltenham.
21. For the Bowly family, see K.J. Beecham, *A History of Cirencester* (Cirencester 1886), 313–314; and B. Harrison *Dictionary of British Temperance Biography* (Warwick 1973), 13.
22. *Northern Star*, 20 Nov 1847. John West's tour of the West Country. The quotations are from his report which was written on 10 Nov 1847.
23. *Ibid.*, 20 Nov 1847.
24. See, for example, *Cheltenham Free Press*, 21 Aug 1847. 'The Chartist Estate of Redmarley'. Lowbands or Redmarley was at this time situated in Worcestershire and not, as at present, in Gloucestershire.
25. See, for example, *Northern Star*, 19 Feb 1848, Staunton; *Northern Star*, 6 Mar 1847, Upton-on-Severn, where the purchase of the estates had caused 'a great sensation'; *Northern Star*, 10 July 1847, Stow-on-the-Wold; *Northern Star*, 29 Jan 1848, Winchcombe.
26. *Northern Star*, 31 July 1847. Other branches in the Cheltenham District included Leamington, Coventry, Warwick, Kenilworth, Stourbridge and Stratford-on-Avon.
27. See Appendix. I am particularly grateful to Mrs Dorothy Thompson for supplying me with this list abstracted from P.R.O., BT 41, Land Company Members.

28. These figures were compiled from Branch Receipts to the Chartist Land Society published in *Northern Star* between 12 July 1845 and 30 Oct 1847.
29. *Northern Star*, 1 Nov 1845. Mr Clark's Tour, Cheltenham; *Northern Star*, 26 Dec 1846, Stroudwater.
30. Obituary of Thomas Sidaway in *Northern Star*, 15 Jan 1848: 'Death of a Patriot'.
31. *Northern Star*, 19 Feb 1848, Gloucester Land Company Meeting.
32. *Northern Star*, 9 Jan 1847, Cheltenham and *Northern Star*, 8 Apr 1848, Cheltenham.
33. *Northern Star*, 14 Aug 1847.
34. W.E. Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom*, 142–143.
35. *Northern Star*, 25 Dec 1847, Cheltenham.
36. *Northern Star*, 9 Jan 1847.
37. W.E. Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom*, 151.
38. *Northern Star*, 20 Nov 1847.
39. *Ibid.*, 10 July 1847, Stow. *Northern Star*, 29 Jan 1848, Winchcombe.
40. For South, Ford, Rice and Tibbles, see A.M. Hadfield, *The Chartist Land Company* (Newton Abbot 1970), 105 and 228–229. For Bennett, see *Northern Star*, 12 Feb 1848.
41. *Northern Star*, 29 Jan 1848. Ballot Result on Three Acres.
42. *Cheltenham Free Press*, 7 July 1849, 'Visit to the Chartist Farms at Snig's End and Redmarley'. See also D. Hardy, *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England*, 83–105. Hardy lends further weight to the argument concerning the long term viability of the Land Plan, particularly by examining present day field evidence of their survival.
43. See John Saville's Introduction to R.G. Gammage, *The History of the Chartist Movement*, 59. Professor Saville points out that the testimony of this special correspondent 'has been almost completely overlooked by writers on the Land Plan'.
44. See my unpublished doctoral thesis 'Radicalism and Chartism in Gloucestershire', 373–395.

October 1984