

TWO VIEWS OF THE KING'S BATH

Marta Inskip

"The Kings Bath is esteemed the fairest in Europe"

John Evelyn

27 June 1654

In July 1662 a Dutch artist, Willem Schellinks, made a large tinted drawing of the King's Bath from the west looking east. Schellinks had been commissioned to provide topographical views of England for Laurens Van der Hem's 46-volume *Atlas* now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. The nature of his commission demanded accuracy, and the precision of his work was such that it has been suggested that he worked not only for Van der Hem but also for the Dutch Intelligence Service.¹

By the mid-seventeenth century a number of English artists, to some extent influenced by Schellinks, were making topographical drawings. One of these was Thomas Johnson of Canterbury who, in 1675, also made a drawing of the King's Bath. This picture, now in the Print Room of the British Museum, was drawn from the east end of the Bath and includes the Queen's Bath. Separated by thirteen years and viewed from opposite ends of the Bath, these two pictures of Schellinks and Johnson are complemented by Thomas Dingley's sketches (c. 1682) of the King's Bath from the north looking south and of the Queen's Bath from the south looking north, and also by Thomas Guidott's useful and informative bird's eye view of the Baths with key of 1687. They gain an extra dimension when they are considered alongside the treasure trove of contemporary documentation kept in the Bath City Record Office and the writings of physicians and others who lived in or passed through the city.

The Buildings round the King's and Queen's Baths Shown by Schellinks and Johnson

Benjamin Waters' Lodging (1A) and Shop (1B)

From at least the early 1600s the main entrance to the King's Bath led out of the churchyard of St Mary at Stalls, now known as Abbey Yard. The entrance was through the north wall of the Bath which also served as the south wall of the churchyard. The churchyard being some nine feet higher than the walkway beside the Bath, there was a stairway down to a door which, like all the public or private doors leading to the Bath, was kept locked at certain times; there are recurrent entries in the Chamberlain's Accounts for new locks, new keys and other fitments for it.

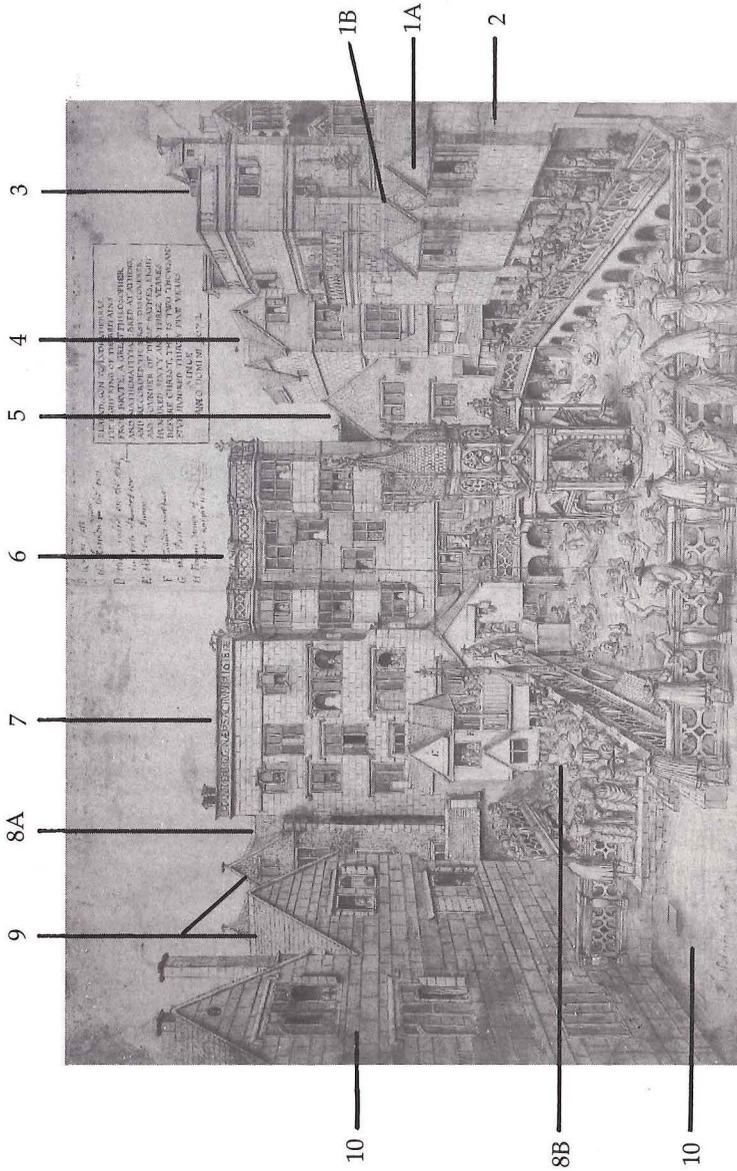
In 1616 the Council cleared forty-three loads of rubble and gravel out of the churchyard, and the following January granted a lease to Mr Cutt allowing him to erect a building there "near the door in the King's Bath 18 feet long and 12 feet broad".² Cutt was an alderman with a house and large garden on the west side of Broad Street. He was also in 1621 one of the signatories, along with William Sherston the Mayor and one other, to a letter asking Lord Zouche for support in effecting "the decent severaunce of the men from the women in all the Bathes", a matter, they said, which "in all Civilitie and Christianitie ought to have been effected long ago".³ Cutt's new building (1A), of which 12 feet lay along the churchyard/King's Bath wall and 18 feet protruded into the churchyard, lay on the east side of the entrance to the Bath. On the other side was a shop with a cellar beneath (1B). By 1633 the premises on both sides of the entrance were held by Thomas Jones⁴ at yearly rents of 20 shillings and 10 shillings respectively. Leases of 1649⁵ to his son Philip, a mercer, describe the eastern, ex-Cutt side, as "all that Low Building Chamber or Roome called the Lodging in Stall's Churchyard adjoining to the north wall of the Bath called the King's Bathe"; the way leading to the Bath is stated to be on the lodging's west side. The Lease for the premises on the other side of the way describes "all that shop and Cellar underneath in Stall's Churchyard" abutting backwards on the King's Bath wall.

By the time of Schellinks' visit in 1662 Benjamin Waters, watchmaker, occupied the lodging, and within three years he also had the shop and cellar. He and the then-tenant of the shop had,

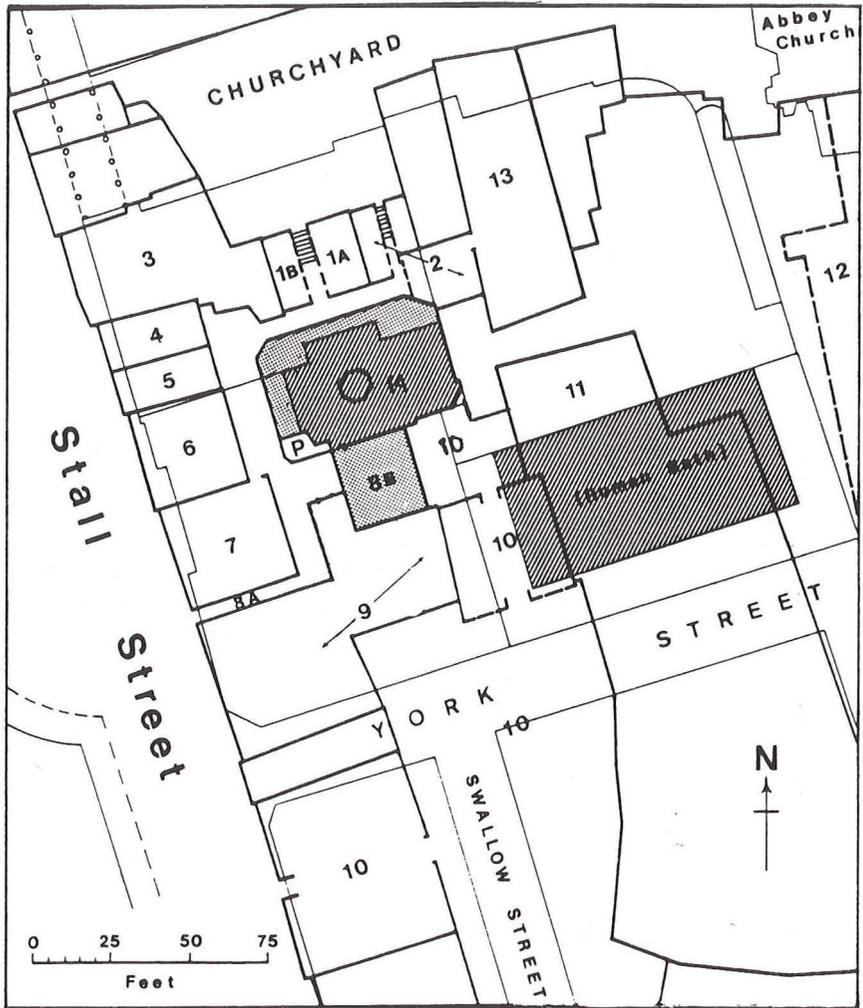
towards the end of 1660, erected a wooden structure right across the King's Bath side of the two properties. This was held up on wooden supports and took the place of the tiled pentice, likewise held up on supports, shown in the small bird's-eye view of the King's and Queen's Baths in *Thermae Bathonicae*, written by an earlier Thomas Johnson in 1634. This pentice, also to be seen in the inset picture of the Baths in the corner of John Speed's map, had been in existence sufficiently long in 1596 to need repair.⁶ The work was done by Richard Beacon, a tiler who lived in Frog Lane, and cost three shillings, 100 lathes and 300 lathe nails costing a further 1 shilling and 7 pence. The newly-built wooden extension seems, in Schellinks' picture, to rise up much higher than one would expect: this can be explained by the fact that the artist was seated close to and seven feet below the extension's lower edge. When one compares Johnson's picture of thirteen years later, drawn from a considerably higher view-point at the opposite end of the Bath and showing the stone buildings that had replaced the wooden structure, the question of height is resolved.

Three months after Schellinks had left Bath, Waters was granted a new lease⁷ allowing him to "build and erect a certain pile of buildings", the bottom or lower part of which was to be set up on posts (as previously) seven feet high above the ground and to extend six-and-a-half feet from the south front of his Lodging which it was to equal in height. Two years later a similar lease⁸ was granted to the leaseholder of the shop on the other side of the entrance (1B), he, in addition, being given leave to build one or two chimneys. The neat stone building with the three gables and one chimney to be seen in Johnson's drawing now replaced the wooden structure seen in Schellinks' view. It seems possible that the sundial shown under the central gable was made by Benjamin Waters. A sundial would have been a useful aid to those bathing according to the instructions of their doctors or other medical advisers: the time spent in the water was an important factor in the cure, too short a time being ineffective and too long positively injurious. "An hour or between that and two" was usually deemed sufficient by Dr Guidott. A good indication of how long to stay in was until the fingers began to "shrivel".

Benjamin Waters' widow sold out to John Amor of Bath, yeoman. Three years later in 1705 Amor sold his interest back to the Corporation who then pulled the whole building down to



1 Thomas Johnson's view of the King's Bath in 1675 from the east end looking west. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum) See over for key.



- 2 Plan showing properties surrounding the King's and Queen's Baths in the mid-seventeenth century (thick lines) over a plan of the same area in 1989 (thin lines). Light hatching shows both the Queen's Bath (no longer in existence) and that part of the King's Bath filled by buildings at the end of the eighteenth century. Dark hatching shows both the remaining part of the King's Bath and the Roman Bath revealed in 1881-8. (Plan by Marta Inskip) The key opposite applies also to Fig. 1.

make way for the first Pump Room. The main entrance to the King's Bath was moved some feet westward where it passed beneath the new Pump Room through the former cellar of the now demolished shop.⁹ John Amor was also granted the lease of a house on the west side of Stall Street, but his presence in Bath seems to have been only fleeting. Within a few years he had disappeared leaving no trace.

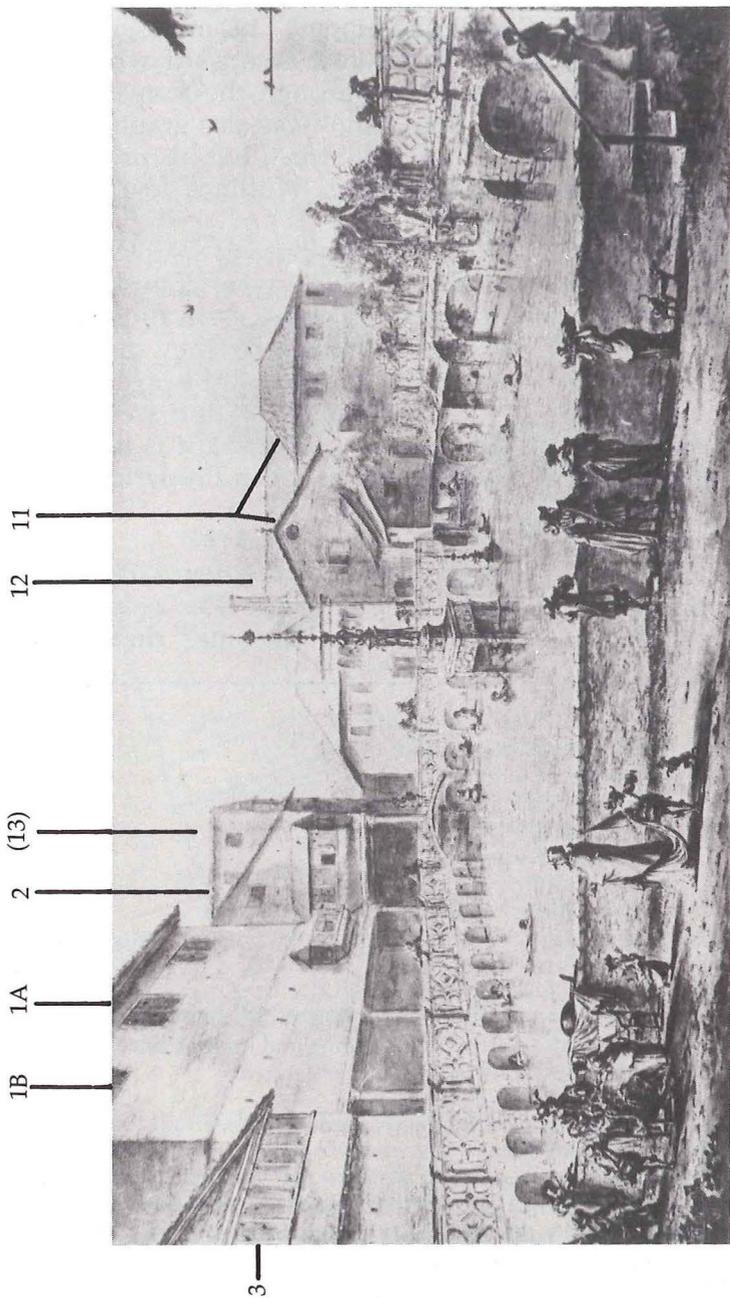
Properties 1A and 1B stood on the site of a substantial mediaeval building, foundations of which were found by the Bath Archaeological Trust during their 1981–2 excavations. The foundations of the north wall of this building, they discovered, had been used as the footing for the north wall of the 1705 Pump Room. Fragments of the foundations of the west wall of the mediaeval building were also revealed and it is interesting that they lay below the dividing wall between Properties 1B and 3.

John Boyce's House (2) and the Tennis Court (13)

Also pulled down to make room for the new 1705 Pump Room was part of the property adjoining the east side of Benjamin Waters' lodging (1A). It appears on Schellinks' drawing at the far

- Key: 1A Benjamin Waters' Lodging;
 1B Benjamin Waters' Shop;
 2 John Boyce's house;
 3 Berkeley Carne's Lodging House;
 4 Thomas Hull's House;
 5 Theodore Sadler's House;
 6 John Chapman's House;
 7 Simon Sloper's Lodging House;
 8A the Passage from Stall Street to the Queen's Bath;
 8B the Queen's Bath;
 9 the Hart Lodging and Yard;
 10 The Three Tuns Inn in Stall Street, its stable yard and out-buildings behind, the Three Tuns Lodging and its open area next to the Baths;
 11 William Swallow's Lodging;
 12 Dr Robert Peirce's House;
 13 the Tennis Court;
 14 the King's Bath;
 P the Dry Pump.

N.B. No levels are shown but Stall Street and the churchyard were 7 to 9 feet above the walkway by the Baths (see on Fig.1 the height at which the narrow passage, 8A, enters from Stall Street). The water was c. 5 feet lower than the walkway.



left corner with a sloping roof and an oriel supported on posts and with three windows looking west up the Bath. The property belonged at this time to Alderman John Boyce, Mayor in 1656. An earlier lease of 1639 had granted it to Alderman Arthur Sherston with the following description: "A Tenement Chamber and loft lately erected by William Sherston Alderman deceased lyeing over one of the slippes of the King's Bath together with the stayers and way to goe to the said Chamber and Loft." 'Slip' was the name given to the way down into the Baths, the King's Bath having four slippes, one at each corner. The William Sherston mentioned in the lease had been a signatory with his neighbour Alderman Cutt to the letter of 1621 to Lord Zouche already referred to.

By 1656 the building (2) had increased to four chambers plus the slip, now called the "Queene's Slipp belonging to the King's Bath".¹⁰ This particular slip led down out of a room with a fireplace and was certainly the most comfortable, prestigious and private of the ways into the water. Was this the slip used by Queen Anne on her visits to Bath in 1613 and 1615? She is said to have lodged during these visits in the houses of Mr Hodnett (11) and Dr Sherwood (12). The gable end of the former rises at the far right corner of the Bath in Schellinks' picture with another, probably later, wing of the house set back at right angles to it. Sherwood's house (lived in by Dr Robert Peirce by 1662) is represented by the roof-line behind with a single chimney. Schellinks' key to the picture describes the oriel of John Boyce's house (2) as belonging to "de koningins slaepkamer" (the Queen's bedchamber). It does not seem too fanciful to suggest that a room immediately over a slip which came to be known as

3 Willem Schellinks' view of the King's Bath from the west end looking east in 1662. Signed Wm. Schellinks F^t. ad vivum.

Key: 1A Benjamin Waters' Lodging;
 1B Benjamin Waters' Shop;
 2 John Boyce's House, with the Tennis Court (13) on the far side out of sight;
 3 Part of Berkeley Carne's Lodging House built across the north wall of the King's Bath and over a cabin belonging to one of the Bath-guides;
 11 William Swallow's Lodging;
 12 Dr Robert Peirce's House.

the Queen's Slip, and which gave convenient and private access to the water, might have been made available to the Queen by the city dignitary to whom it belonged. Documents show that four consecutive leaseholders of this strategically placed property were Mayors of the city, the last of them being John Boyce who also operated the Council's postal service.

Trouble arose for Boyce in 1663, an item in the Chamberlain's Accounts for that year stating that £1-4-0 was paid to a certain Henry Howell for "the arrest of John Boyce". What happened next is not known, but in 1673 Boyce was given a licence to demise his "tenement next to the King's Bath" and in 1680 he died. His son, also John, kept the property but returned to Sherborne whence the family had originated. In 1705 the Corporation bought back the remaining years of the lease for £140.¹¹ Only part of the house was needed for the new Pump Room; the rest was rebuilt, using the old materials, by Serjeant-of-the Mace George Pitman.¹² This in turn was demolished when the present Pump Room was built around 1790. Very little of this property fits onto Johnson's picture but such as is shown, when compared with Schellinks' drawing, confirms that all the wooden structures along the north side of the King's Bath were replaced with stone buildings during the 1660s.

On the other side of the east wall of the Queen's Slip was the Tennis Court (13) on which Royal Tennis was played. The long rectangular shape of this court can be seen on John Speed's map, drawn between 1568 and 1575, and it is referred to by name in a lease of 1592.¹³ It was not the only place in Bath for tennis: there was a space, called in a lease of 1585 "one wood barton called Tenyseplay", between the west end of St James church and the South Gate.¹⁴

In 1657 a door from the Tennis Court through to the Queen's Slip was made by Samuel Whithead, an apothecary who at that time owned both the Tennis Court and the house on its far side. He paid ten shillings a year to the Corporation for this door which the Serjeant-of-the-Bath was ordered to lock up at the "usual and seasonable tymes for locking other such doores". In 1687 William Penn, the Quaker and founder of Pennsylvania, preached in the Tennis Court¹⁵ and by 1697 it had been converted into a house.

Berkeley Carne's Lodging House (3)

Rising above and next to Benjamin Waters' shop (1B) Johnson

shows part of Berkeley Carne's large house. The rest of it, fronting to Stall Street, is hidden. Francis, Berkeley Carne's son, was to say in 1717 that it had been kept by his ancestors "time out of mind" as a lodging house.¹⁶ Berkeley Carne was born in Bath in 1629 and educated at the Merchant Taylors' School in London. The Hearth Tax returns for 1654 show him as having 37 fireplaces, though not all of them were necessarily in this house as he had other property in Bath at the top end of Vicarage Lane. He was a Roman Catholic convert and the fact that his name heads the lists of Papist Recusants in 1680 and 1683 suggests that he was the most prominent Catholic in the city.

His house had developed from two much smaller houses facing Stall Street, one of which had a door at the rear opening towards the King's Bath. These two houses first expanded backwards onto the churchyard behind and then southward over the King's Bath wall. This enlargement took place between 1631 and 1635 during the ownership of Peter Perman and Mistress Mary Perman. By 1631 Peter Perman was renting from the Corporation at 6 shillings and 8 pence a year a plot of ground in the churchyard behind his house which had been fenced in ten years previously and on which in 1635, Peter having died, Mary started building. Evidently she had not obtained leave to do this since the Council required her to desist until she had the necessary permission. At their next month's meeting¹⁷ the Councillors decided that they did not like the way she was building at right-angles to Benjamin Waters' shop door (1B); nor were they pleased that she had interfered with the King's Bath wall. She was to be told that her building on the churchyard must be realigned so that it stood with a "scewe" and that she must repair the Bath wall where she had damaged it; she was to be forbidden either to build a cellar or to make a chimney; and as a fine for her encroachments she was to give to the library in the Abbey Church a book or books of thirty shillings value. The Council refused her a lease for the part of the house on the churchyard and she continued to pay 6 shillings and 8 pence annually to the Corporation at their pleasure.

Berkeley Carne, however, was in 1659 granted a lease for his churchyard plot along with "all the Houses Roomes Edifices and Buildings thereupon".¹⁸ This lease informs us that the area of the churchyard involved was 27' x 22' behind the larger of the two original Stall Street houses and 27' x 11' behind the other. Six

years later, having been granted a further lease to build over a cabin beside the Bath, he replaced the low wooden building with a long window seen on the extreme left of Schellinks' drawing by the flat-roofed stone extension with a balustrade on top depicted in Johnson's. This stylish little extension contained two rooms, one on top of the other, each measuring 9' x 6½'. The cabin over which Berkeley Carne built, and another cabin next to it beneath the overhang of Benjamin Waters' shop (1B), were used for undressing. In Johnson's picture their doors stand ajar. During the 1660s these belonged to the Bath-guides Robert Lansdowne and Richard Broad.

The house remained in the Carne family until 1750 when, together with all its locks, keys, fixed grates, boilers and cisterns, it was sold with the remaining years of the lease for £839-10-0 to the Corporation.¹⁹ Part of the east end was then pulled down in order to enlarge the 1705 Pump Room, the social aspects of drinking the warm mineral water having long since overtaken the medical. Enough ground was taken to make the musicians' gallery and the stairs up to it. No space had previously been allotted to the musicians who had to find room as best they could for themselves and their movable desks in amongst the company for whom they were playing. The remaining part of the house, which had been rebuilt in 1753, was pulled down nearly forty years later to make way for the present Pump Room.

It is perhaps worth noting that the Stall Street side of this property stood above the steps leading up to the portico of the large Roman temple now known as the Temple of Minerva.

Houses of Thomas Hull and Theodore Sadler (4 and 5)

Left of Berkeley Carne's house (3) can be seen a tall, narrow, gabled house (4) and next to it a small one half its height (5). Both stood on land belonging to St John's Hospital which had, among other properties, leased them to Tobias Rustat, Yeoman of His Majesty's Robes, for ninety-nine years. He in 1665 sublet the tall house (4) to Thomas Hull of South Stoke, gentleman, in whose family's possession it had in fact been since 1590.²⁰ The small one (5) he sublet in the same year to Theodore Sadler of the parish of St Danes, Middlesex, a stationer, who held the house in the right of his wife Margaret.²¹ She was a member of the remarkable Chapman family who were prominent in Bath for three hundred

years during which time they provided thirty-six Mayors for the city. Like so many other Bath families, the Hulls were connected to the Chapmans by marriage and it was the Chapman/Hull branch of the family which owned the large Bear Inn on the north side of Cheap Street. This small house (5) was known in the 1650s as The Bear Lodging.

John Chapman's House (6)

The large house in the centre of Johnson's picture was also a Chapman house. In mediaeval times the land down the east side of Stall Street against the west wall of the King's Bath had been divided into plots each approximately fifteen feet wide so it is interesting to note how the four houses facing us in the picture can be measured in multiples of that number. This house (6) stands across two such divisions. It was built in 1652 by John Chapman who, like Mary Perman three houses up the street, had jumped the gun so far as the Council were concerned. The Minutes of their meeting on 4 November 1652 state that, as John Chapman and John Farr and Samuel Dawe (one a mason and the other a carpenter) and their workmen were encroaching both forward into the street and backwards towards the Bath, they should be told to desist until a licence had been issued. Anyone continuing to work there, the Council warned, would be trespassing.

There was no lasting bad feeling between the Council and the workmen whose names continue to figure in the Chamberlain's Accounts, frequently for work they had done in the Baths. John Chapman likewise seems to have sorted matters out with the Council, among whom of course were several of his relatives. The next Council meeting conceded that, as the foundations of the new house had already encroached by about sixteen inches towards the street, the encroachment would be allowed to remain upon payment by Chapman of twenty shillings a year. They also agreed that as he had made a "hatch over" in his first storey towards the street to the breadth of two feet, he should be allowed one foot "hatching over" again in the next storey above.

The flat roof of this house (6) and that of the large one seen on its left (7) were damaged during the celebrations to mark the "most glorious and joyful Coronation" of Charles II on 23 April 1661. These celebrations continued all day and when night fell

there was a bonfire with fireworks brought for the occasion from Bristol.²² Some of these fell on to the roofs and melted the lead; subsequent repairs by William Adlington, the plumber, cost one pound.²³ The house (6) remained in the Chapman family until acquired by the Commissioners under the Improvement Act of 1789 when it was pulled down.

Simon Sloper's Lodging House (7)

Next to John Chapman's house (6), its back windows overlooking the Queen's Bath, Johnson shows a large house with the words and date "ANNÆ REGINÆ SACRUM 1618" carved along the parapet at the top. The left part of the house had been put up in 1573 by Alderman George Perman and Harry Blackleache (both mentioned again shortly) while the right part belonged to a member of the ubiquitous Chapman family. The house in Johnson's picture, therefore, comprised two buildings bound together by the inscription across the top and by certain cosmetic stone additions over the windows. If a line is drawn in imagination down the middle of the house the rather haphazard arrangement of the windows becomes more comprehensible.

Simon Sloper, a brewer, acquired the left section in 1628²⁴ and by 1653 had taken over the whole, now referred to as 'Simon Sloper's Lodging House'. He kept it until 1676 although the leaseholder for the later years was Robert Chapman, alderman, apothecary and medical advisor to Mary of Modena, Queen Consort of James II, when she came to Bath for the waters in 1668. It is said that Robert Chapman sent his daughter (probably the 15-year-old Agatha, his eldest) every morning to wait on the Queen. Agatha married John Bushell, later the Town Clerk, and they were in possession of the house by 1683.²⁵ A lease of the house to John Bushell dated 30 March 1702 describes the property as 'two messuages or tenements now converted to a lodging house'. The previous lease, which was dated 1669, is lost so we cannot tell whether the wording was the same though this is likely. At all events both parts were in the same ownership by 1653.

The carving along the top presents certain problems, the first of which is the date 1618. This date is unlikely to refer to the visits of an earlier Queen Consort, Anne, as these occurred in 1613 and 1615. A second problem lies in the carving itself. During the reign

of Charles II a certain Thomas Dingley Esq. travelled extensively through England recording carved monuments and inscriptions before, as he said, such beautiful, interesting memorials were lost to posterity.²⁶ He does not date his work but his Journal suggests that he was in Bath around 1682 when he drew the inscription along the top of the house thus: ANNÆ REGINÆ SACRUM. There are, as in Johnson's picture, carved hearts at the beginning, at the end and between the words but there is no date. The words stand alone.

The Passage (8A) from Stall Street to the Queen's Bath (8)

South of Simon Sloper's lodging house in Johnson's picture can be seen a narrow dark passage. This passage had been the subject of a long-drawn-out dispute which culminated in 1573 in two lawsuits, the result of which was the building of the New or Women's Bath, later to be known as the Queen's Bath. The passage, through which right of way to the west end of the King's Bath was claimed, had been walled up c. 1550, since when all efforts to persuade the Corporation to open it had failed. Resistance to re-opening it can perhaps be partly explained by the fact that some Councillors and other prominent residents of the city owned houses on the east side of Stall Street backing onto the wall round the King's Bath. Through this wall, on their side of the blockage, they had made private doors to the Bath for which privilege they each paid five shillings yearly to the Corporation. Matters had come to a head in 1573 over other private doors which were being made to the Bath from the house (part of 7) being built for Harry Blackleache and Alderman George Perman on the north side of the passage. An affray took place between some of the objecting citizens and officers of the Corporation when the former tried to break down the wall blocking the passage. Both sides in the quarrel charged the other with various offences and the two lawsuits ensued.

The Court of Star Chamber the following year took the view that there should be a compromise, to which end they appointed five Commissioners. The resulting 'Award' of 25 September 1574²⁷ laid down that both blocked and open sections should remain as they were, and that the Corporation should make a new Bath in their yard just south of the King's Bath. This new Bath was to be for the use of women, and only in their absence for

men, and it was to be approached solely from Stall Street, along the open part of the passage. One of the complaints about the blockage had been that in the event of fire in a Stall Street house it was necessary to go all the way round to the churchyard before getting to the King's Bath for water; this could now be fetched from the New Bath by way of the passage.

It appears that the passage had originally led round to the paved way beside the King's Bath and had been walled up at the point where it turned north. Beyond were the private bath doors of the city dignatories. The Commissioners forbade any public access from the New Bath to the King's Bath, a single exception being made for one Richard Coxe Esq. who lived in Stall Street. A rider was added that if the New Bath was not 'as good as the kyngs bath ther for quantyte' then the way through to the King's Bath should be re-opened. In the event the New Bath was considerably smaller and the way through to the King's Bath was once again open by 1589 since the lease for the property south of the passage (9) states that it has the 'little way to the King's Bath' on its north side.²⁸

Originally the New Bath, fed from the King's Bath and consequently cooler, was entirely separate. Later an opening was made for bathers to pass from one bath to the other. Such efforts as were made over the years to separate men and women whilst bathing do not ever seem to have been effective. The earlier of the two Thomas Johnsons tells us in his *Thermae Bathonicae* of 1634 that the Queen's Bath, as it was by then called, was surrounded by a high wall and had public and private undressing rooms. It also had a pump. His little plan of the Bath indicates steps down into the water at the north-east corner and a door through to the south side of the Bath from the Hart Lodging (9).

The Hart Lodging (9)

On the south side of the narrow passage way from Stall Street to the Queen's Bath was the Hart Lodging (9). Johnson's picture shows only one corner and part of two gables of this house which, like properties 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, opened in front to Stall Street. Also like properties 4, 5, 6, and 7 it had Chapman connections. Acquired in 1589 by John Chapman, landlord of the White Hart Inn on the opposite side of Stall Street, from a certain John Hancock, it was to remain with Chapman's descendants for the next two hundred years.

The ground of the Hart Lodging extended, at least by 1656, all along the south side of the Queen's Bath and included the slightly lower of the two gabled houses on the left side of Johnson's picture. This was separated by a yard from the main building fronting Stall Street; Johnson shows a row of people standing there looking over Sir Francis Stonor's ornamental balustrade into the Bath. The lodging was so positioned, according to Dr Thomas Guidott, that it was a case of "almost no more than out of Bath and into Bed; and if well covered and care taken in rising, may well be as if Man made use of a Bath in his own House or Chamber where he lies."²⁹

Schellinks' drawing of 1662 shows no buildings on the south side of the Queen's Bath. Is this perhaps because their inclusion would have concealed part of the historic lodging house of William Swallow (11)?

The Three Tuns Lodging (10)

The last building (10) which Johnson shows round the King's Bath is part of the Three Tuns Lodging. Through the middle of this lodging (and just off the picture) a way led out of the yard of the Three Tuns Inn into the small open area shown in the left foreground of the picture. Johnson has here used a certain artistic licence and omitted the low building at the corner of the Bath which, if included, would have obscured the view of the Queen's Bath. For the same reason he has lowered Sir Francis Stonor's balustrade along the south side of the King's Bath which, in both Schellinks' and Dingley's drawings, appears built at a higher level than on the other three sides.

The Three Tuns Inn, the largest property in Stall Street with 33 fireplaces in 1654, had a covered entrance leading through the middle to a large yard with stables and outbuildings. This yard could also be approached from Abbeygate Street and through a six-foot-wide passage from Abbey Green. The Three Tuns yard ran north to south behind the Inn and other Stall Street houses. At the north end of it stood the Three Tuns Lodging. The still standing western wall of the old Priory divided the yard from the back of the Stall Street houses. The landlord of the Inn therefore held the property (10) on two leases: one from the Corporation and one from the owner of the ex-Priory land which lay behind. In 1669 the landlord was William Landick, one of whose trade

tokens bearing that date is amongst the collection belonging to the Bath Royal Scientific and Literary Institution. On one side of the token are three barrels and on the other a facsimile of Landick's signature.

Guidott's informative plan of the King's and Queen's Bath shows the outflow gouts from each of these Baths and their meeting point below the open area between the Three Tuns Lodging (10) and the King's Bath. It is noteworthy that Johnson has drawn what looks like a covered hatch over this same meeting point. The gout from the King's Bath gave a good deal of trouble. The Chamberlain's Accounts have many entries for cleansing and emptying it and in 1664 a boy was made to crawl into it to hack away a large stone. All manner of things were thrown into the Baths. No doubt too the old rags which the bath-guides used to stuff the gouts, and which were left lying about stained yellow and ill-smelling, sometimes disappeared into the outflow contributing to the blockages.

Although Schellinks ignores the Three Tuns Lodging in his

- 4 Plan of the King's and Queen's Baths as they were in 1687 from Thomas Guidott's *de Thermis Britannicis*. (North at top.)

Key: *The King's Bath*

- M Steps going down into the Bath;
- N south-west slip;
- O north-west slip of Berkeley Carne;
- P the Queen's slip with a fireplace;
- p the large Pump (for limbs);
- Q the Three Tuns slip with a fireplace;
- S north-east steps up to the churchyard;
- V the Tennis Court;
- ** wooden walkways across the eastern corners of the Bath;
- *** northern (main) stairs up to the churchyard;
- + way out to the Abbey.

Queen's Bath

- k Lower gout for emptying the Bath;
- l stone over the meeting-point of the gouts from the King's and Queen's Baths. The two converging channels flow out to the river;
- m Three Tuns yard;
- n entrance to the Three Tuns Lodging;
- o Mr Swallow's Lodging;
- w way to the Hart Lodging;
- y the way in for spectators from Stall Street.

drawing it was already in situ by 1654. An entry in the Council Minute Book for that year states that it was agreed that "Philip Sherwood and Mr. George Kennis shall not build a slipp . . . out of the way belonging to the Three Tuns Lodging House next to the Queen's Bath into the same Bath". Permission to make this slip had already been requested six years previously and on this occasion the Council had refused even to put it to the vote. Perhaps Schellinks' omission was for the same reason as that of Johnson mentioned above, namely that he felt it more important to show the whole of William Swallow's lodging (11) which lay behind.

William Swallow's Lodging House and Dr Robert Peirce's House (11 and 12)

The gable end (11) with the small circular window seen in Schellinks' picture near the far right-hand corner of the King's Bath, together with the wing set back at right angles and perhaps built later, was the historic building known in 1591 as "The Starre Chamber or Dr Sprint's Lodging" and, the following year, as "all those buildinge Roomes late in the tenure of Dr Sprint".³⁰ The wing may have been added between 1592 and 1611 when a lease refers to "all that messuage or Tenement commonly called Sprintes Lodging or Starre Chamber and all those new erected lodgings chambers and rooms thereunto belonging". William Hodnett, gentleman, occupied the house from 1612³¹ and it was during his time that Queen Anne was said to have stayed there. Hodnett mortgaged the property to Bernard Atkins who took over the lease in 1638. By 1654 the house was occupied by William Swallow whose family remained there into the mid-1700s when it was divided into two parts. During all this while the property was run as a lodging house. It had its own bath-door leading, it seems likely, out of the low building with a sloping roof adjoining the gable end of the main building.

The above house stood, like Dr Peirce's (12), on land previously belonging to the Benedictine Priory or Abbey. This land began ten to fifteen feet back from the east end of the King's Bath. The exact line of the actual precinct wall has not been settled. It was generally taken that the King's Bath lay outside the Priory though in the care of the monks. More recently the Bath Archaeological Trust has postulated that the Bath lay actually within the precinct

walls. While this matter remains unresolved it should be noted that a lease³² of 1591, only fifty-two years after the Dissolution of the Priory, records a highway leading out of the King's Bath into the Abbey towards the dwelling house of Edmond Colthurst (12). This highway, in the vicinity of "the Starre Chamber or Dr Sprint's Lodging", meets with "the wall embattl'd on the west side of the Abbye". Comparison of this lease with later ones of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries³³ indicates that this "embattl'd wall" may have lain fifty feet to the east of the King's Bath.

Edmond Colthurst's house (afterwards known as Abbey House, Priory House and the Royal Lodging) was the residence of Dr Robert Peirce from 1661 until his death in 1710. As already said, the house was connected to the King's Bath by a covered gallery from which a stairway, known as the Great Stairs, led down through a door opening to the Bath. For these facilities Dr Peirce paid rents to the Corporation of ten shillings and fourpence respectively. On the far side of his house lay a garden and there was a side door into the Abbey Church – very convenient, said Peirce, for brides that limped.

This house (12) lay some hundred and twenty feet back from the east end of the King's Bath. Schellinks has indicated it by the straight roof with a single chimney in the centre back of his picture. It must be said, though, that this roof line is substantially different from the one shown in the picture at the top left of Gilmore's contemporary map. Dr C. Lucas, writing in 1756, the year after the house had been pulled down, describes it as a "rude, irregular Gothic building". He was indignant that it had been concealing all those years the "very elegant Roman Baths and sudatories" that were found beneath.³⁴ It is known that Schellinks made notes and sketches to enable him to finish parts of his drawings later. Pressed as he was for time in Bath, did he add afterwards the more distant houses at the far end not immediately beside the Bath? It is difficult to write in any detail about the buildings he has only lightly sketched at the east end – although the Italianate one with the pointed roof and arcades at first floor level must be the end of Dr Peirce's covered gallery. A similarly placed building of the same height but less glamorous appearance can be seen in the 1764 print of the King's Bath looking from the west end by William Elliot after Thomas Robins.

The King's Bath and the Pumps

In the centre of the King's Bath (14) Schellinks has drawn the square structure known as the Kitchen. This had recesses on each side in which bathers could sit and was surmounted by a slender pinnacle consisting of a crowned lion on a pillar holding a vane, topped by a coronet and a cross. Over the recesses were coats of arms and initials: 'FM' and 'MB' can be seen above the left recess and 'GD' above the other. The crutches of 'recover'd persons' hung round the lower part of the pinnacle. This Kitchen was removed in 1664 to be replaced by a larger and grander version costing £215-12-10 to build. At first called the Cross, in due course it became known, like its predecessor, as the Kitchen. In Johnson's picture there are no crutches hanging on this new, more imposing structure; they are suspended instead over the niche containing the statue of Bladud in the south wall of the Bath.

Both artists show metal rings attached to their respective Kitchens and to the sides of the Bath; these were for bathers to hold on to. The rings supplied by the Corporation in 1663 cost one shilling and six pence each and were made of iron which rusted through within seven years. Certain rings, however, were made of brass and were gifts from relieved sufferers, including Thomas Wyndham Esq. of Witham, Somerset, in 1664, and Roger Kempe, citizen and skinner of London in 1667. A particularly handsome ring was presented in 1674 by John Revet, King Charles II's brazier. It was fixed on the right hand side of the entrance through to the Queen's Bath with an inscription: 'Thanks to God. I John Revet his Majesties Brazier, at 56 years of age, in the present month of July 1674, in this place, recovered a cure of health and limbs, of the Dead Palsey, on one side, from head to foot'.³⁵

Rising from the water just beyond and to the right of Schellinks' Kitchen appears the old drinking fountain. Thomas Newman, who retired as a Bath-guide in 1671 at the age of ninety, said that bathers drank from this fountain for two reasons: to quench their thirst and to 'keep soluble'. By 1653 it was considered to be so ancient that no-one could say when it had been set up. Recourse, however, to the Chamberlain's Accounts suggests that the date was 1599 - 37 shillings and 4 pence being then paid out for 'stones

and carrydge to make the fountayne in the Kinges Bathe and for lyme and to the Masons Gardner and Biddell and those that did help them about the same work'. Two years later a further three pounds was paid for 'setting up of the fountayne stone in the Kinges Bath'. The drinking fountain comprised a hollow, pyramid-shaped stone placed over one of the large springs, with a square wall, eighteen inches across and the same in depth, built round it. Dr Robert Peirce, who saw it as a boy, states:

The Top Stone had a Mortice porportionate to the Tenant of the Pyramidal Stone which went in, and held so close, that none of the Extraneous Water could get into its hollow and the strength of the Spring was so great that it forced itself up through the Cavity of the Pyramidal Stone which was a Foot and more above Water when the Bath was at fullest. This Water discharged itself at a Copper Spout about three inches above the highest Watermark, and to this Spout some set their Mouths and drank; others put Cups, and received the Water sincere from the Spring.³⁶

By the mid-1600s local physicians began to see more complex inward uses for the hot mineral water, although Dr Edward Jorden, for one, was not happy that the water came pure from the spring and feared that it might mix with water from the Bath.³⁷ This was certainly not an attractive idea. The Corporation's Bye-law of 1646, by which it was forbidden 'to cast or throw any dog, bitch, or other live beast' into any of the Baths could, if observed, have improved matters slightly; but there still remained what a later visitor described as 'a sordid scum on the water, not only exhaled from foul bodies wreaking and paddling therein but what by the heat and working of it is cast up'. Fortunately the King's and Queen's Baths were not, like the Cross Bath, home to 'the blackfly with sealed wings . . . which shoots quick in the water and sometimes bites'.³⁸

The problem of the admixture of the waters was finally dealt with in 1661 by the installation of a special pump acquired by the endeavours of Alderman John Ford, then Mayor. A building known as the Dry Pump House was erected at the south-west corner of the Bath. Just beside John Chapman's house (6), steps led up to what Thomas Dingley, in the key to his sketch of the King's Bath, calls 'the House with Pump for the Drinking of Water only'. On the wall beside the steps up to this new Dry Pump House a brass plate dated 1653 with an inscription in

Roman capitals testified to the Charity of Dame Elizabeth, Viscountess Scudamore, who had given a sum of money to pay a physician for 'his best advice' to poor people who came to the Bath seeking a cure; this physician was nominated yearly by the Mayor and Aldermen. Inside the Pump House, on the wall facing the door, was a rhyme said to be by Capt. Henry Chapman, Mayor in 1664.

Jehovah's Blessing let's admire
 Here's constant heat and yet no fire,
 Bethesda's Pool by sacred hand
 Hither remov'd to heal the land
 God and the King are here our free imparters
 God gives the waters and the King the Charters.

Schellinks illustrates the steps leading up to the Dry Pump House in the right foreground, while Johnson shows the Pump House itself with a pitched roof and a lady sitting inside the open door. Schellinks further includes musicians seated near the foot of the steps, and in his Journal for 20 July 1662 notes that 'the players or musicians, with official licence come to amuse and make welcome the guests'. With the provision of facilities for drinking the water accompanied by music, the sequence of events leading to the building of the successive Pump Rooms in the eighteenth century now becomes evident.

Besides the pump supplying drinking water there were others for applying hot water to different parts of the body without the need for full undressing. Two such pumps were given by Mr Humphrey Brown, merchant and citizen of London, in 1628. Before this date buckets were employed, but because the water had to be scooped up from the surface of the Bath it was often not hot enough. Bucketing was indeed rather a crude way of applying the water and accidents sometimes occurred. Guidott argued that the limbs and joints required a lesser number of pumps than the nape of the neck, shoulders, chin, stomach, belly or hip, and he warned that pumping should be used very cautiously on the head.³⁹ No such caution, though, was observed by Sir John Gell of Hopton, Derbyshire, who came to Bath annually for twenty years. His habit was, after purging, to bathe for half-an-hour and then go straight to the pump where, on the first day, he took 700–800 pumps on his bare head, increasing the amount daily up

to two thousand. After five or six weeks he gradually reduced the total, purged again and went home to Derbyshire to hawk. He then spent the winter at his London house before returning to Bath the following summer. He lived to be eighty and was never 'a friend to water-drinking'.⁴⁰

Thomas Dingley marks a 'House for pumping lame parts (viz) using the waters per impluvium', seemingly low over the water, on the south side of the King's Bath towards the east end. Is this the same as that low Building in the Schellinks view overhanging the far right corner of the Bath? Behind this low structure he shows another, slightly higher, which adjoined and was part of William Swallow's lodging house. Dingley records this as being 'a convenient lodging with rubbing and sweating houses for the diseased'. Hot rubbing and sweating houses had come to be known as 'Bagnios' by the 1680s: Charles II possessed one, and Dr Henry Stubbs published in 1683 *A Discourse about Banios and Mineral Baths, and of Drinking Spaw Water, with an Account of the Medicinal Virtues of them*. Mud from the bottom of the Bath as well as scum from the top were rubbed on aching joints and limbs.

The King's Bath Today

Schellinks' and Johnson's houses have now all gone, as has the Queen's Bath. The present Pump Room dates from the 1790s while the buildings round the three other sides of the Bath were erected during the nineteenth century. Because these new buildings encroached nine or ten feet into the water all along the west side and along much of the north the King's Bath has become smaller. The four ancient slips, one at each corner, have been built over. No longer can it be said that it is "for its beautie and largenesse . . . a Kingly Bath". Sections of Sir Francis Stonor's ornamental balustrade, however, have been incorporated into the surrounding walls at somewhere near their former level and the Roman arch and broken water-line of the south side are immediately recognisable in Schellinks' drawing. The water itself is the same sea-green colour and the same thin vapour rises from it. A few of the arched seats for bathers remain, as do some of the rings on to which they held. In 1979 the bottom of the King's Bath was removed to reveal below it the Roman

walls of the Sacred Spring, hidden for so many centuries. These walls still enclose the water of the hot spring, now tapped and controlled far below the surface by means of a borehole sunk in Stall Street. The King's Bath, constructed over the Sacred Spring, is floorless and, in effect, empty. An orange stain on the surrounding walls marks the pre-1979 water level.

Visitors to the city are attracted as always towards the King's Bath, though the focus of their attention is now more likely to be the Roman ruins which lie around it. Nevertheless the magic of the Bath remains. Entering the complex through the main door from Stall Street we are, in imagination, in Simon Sloper's lodging house (7). Turning left into the room looking across to the east end of the Bath, as Schellinks also looked, we are standing in John Chapman's large house (6), the lead roof of which was melted by fireworks on Charles II's Coronation Day. Passing along the wide, short passage to the Pump Room we are in the little house which Thomas Sadler, stationer of London, acquired with his Chapman wife, Margaret; and as we enter the Pump Room itself and move across it towards the churchyard, our first four or five steps take us through the tall, narrow house of the Hull family (4). Now we are into Berkeley Carne's large lodging house (3). Turning right and walking down the Pump Room past the drinking fountain and windows overlooking the Bath, we reach Benjamin Waters's shop (1B) and lodging (1A), between and beneath which lay the main entrance to the King's Bath, arrived at by steps down from the churchyard. Next we come to Boyce's house (2) over the Queen's Slip, with the Tennis Court through the wall in front of us. We can no longer walk round the east end of the King's Bath, and as we make the diversion round the Great Roman Bath excavated in the 1880s we pass through the historic lodging (11) known variously as Star Chamber, the Prince's Lodging, Dr Sprint's, Hodnett's, Swallow's, and – in 1880 when it was pulled down – the Queen's Lodging. Now on the south side of the King's Bath, approaching the circular Roman bath into which visitors throw their coins, we are in the small open space between the north side of the Three Tuns lodging (10) and the water. The south-east corner of the Queen's Bath lay over this round bath. The ascent of the stairs which lead back to our starting point skirts the yard of the Hart lodging (9). Finally we exit again to Stall Street, emerging almost along the line of the

dark, narrow passage (8A), the cause of such quarrels and frustrations four hundred years ago.

There are few physical remains around the Baths dating from the periods between the Romans and the late Georgians. Documents, therefore, become all the more vital and we must indeed be grateful to the two artists, Schellinks and Johnson, who so carefully recorded the mid-seventeenth-century King's and Queen's Baths and their surrounding houses.

Notes

- 1 P.H. Hulton, 'Drawings of England in the Seventeenth Century', *Walpole Society*, Vol. 35 (1954-56), pt. 1, pp. xix, 23-5, pt. 2, pl. 20.
- 2 Bath Record Office (BRO), Bath Corporation Minute Books, 6 Jan 1616.
- 3 Public Record Office SB/14/CXX/111. See also P. Rowland James, *The Baths of Bath* (Bristol, 1938), p. 82.
- 4 BRO, Survey 1641, p. 169.
- 5 BRO, Furman 212-13.
- 6 BRO, Chamberlain's Accounts, Roll 35, 1596.
- 7 BRO, Furman 331.
- 8 BRO, Furman 362.
- 9 Bath Royal Lit. & Sci. Inst, Hunt Collection, Vol. 1, Picture of the Pump Room c. 1735.
- 10 BRO, Furman 296.
- 11 BRO, Bath Corporation Minute Books, 22 Jan 1705.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 7 March 1706.
- 13 British Library, Egerton Charters 5798.
- 14 BRO, Survey 1641, p. 105/2.
- 15 HMC 13th Rpt. App. Pt. 1, *The MSS. of the Duke of Portland*, Vol. 3, p. 403.
- 16 *Post Reformation Catholicism in Bath*, J.A. Williams (ed.), Vol. 1, (Catholic Record Society, 1976), p. 99.
- 17 BRO, Bath Corporation Minute Books, 10 May 1635.
- 18 BRO, Furman 318.
- 19 BRO, Release Elizabeth Kibble, Adm. of Ann Carne's Estate to Thomas Atwood, Chamberlain, 22 Feb 1750.
- 20 St John's Hospital, Deed Bundle 7/204.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 Letter from John Ford, Mayor, to Wm. Prynne Esq., 24 April 1661, in Lord Somers, *A Collection of Tracts*, 2nd ed. Vol. 7 (London, 1812), pp. 515-16.
- 23 BRO, Chamberlain's Accounts, Roll 103, 1661.
- 24 Acquired through his marriage with Dorothy, widow of John Sherstone, 3 Nov 1628.
- 25 BRO, Chamberlain's Accounts, Payments for Bath doors 1683.

- 26 T. Dingley, *History from Marble*, Vol. 1 (Camden Society, old series, Vol. 94, 1867).
- 27 BRO, Award pursuant to an Order of the Star Chamber, 25 Sept 1574.
- 28 BRO, Survey 1641, p. 115/2.
- 29 T. Guidott, *A Discourse of Bath and the Hot Waters There* (London, 1676), preface.
- 30 British Library, Egerton Charters 5798.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 5820.
- 32 Somerset Archaeological Society, *Proc. of Bath & District Branch* (1939–47), p. 90.
- 33 BRO, Improvement Commissioners' Box, Abstract of title to 'Ground situate in the Abbey Church Yard whereon now are erected Two Messuages by Mr Godwin', 20 Sept 1808.
- 34 C. Lucas, *An Essay on Waters* (London, 1756), p. 222.
- 35 T. Guidott, *op. cit.*, preface.
- 36 R. Peirce, *Memoirs or Observations* (Bristol, 1697), pp. 25–6.
- 37 E. Jorden, *A Discourse of Naturall Baths and Minerall Waters*, 2nd ed. (London, 1632).
- 38 J. Glanville, 'Observations Concerning the Bath Springs, 16 June 1669', *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 4, pp. 361–5.
- 39 T. Guidott, *op. cit.*, preface.
- 40 R. Peirce, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

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