

THE BARTON OF BATH

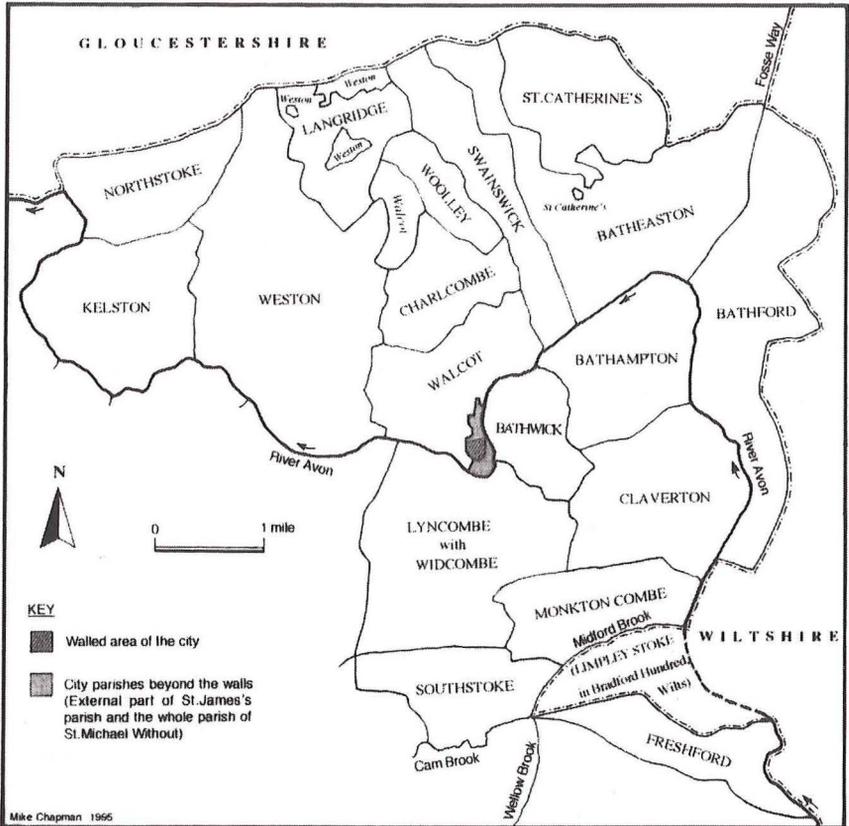
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In the south-western counties, the term 'barton' (Latin *bertona*) was used in the medieval period to refer to the home farm or demesne (domain) of the lord of a manor. The Bath Barton was the agricultural demesne of the lord of the manor of Bath, which belonged to the king. Large monastic demesne farms were generally known as 'granges', and the Barton farm, held of the Crown over a long period by Bath Priory, was frequently described as the 'Grange or manor of Barton'. The Barton name acquired a wider significance when it came also to be given to the 'hundred' (the unit of administration within the shire) surrounding Bath. This large rural area was originally called the 'hundred of Bath', but because it lay outside the city, and had the Barton as its chief manor, came to be known as the '*forinsecum* [or 'foreign'] hundred of the Barton of Bath', later abbreviated to 'Bathforum hundred'. The present article attempts to examine the complex subject of the Barton within an historical framework, and in the light of its location and topography, the nature of the farming practised, the various forms of tenure and the range of individuals involved, as well as the relationship with the city, with Walcot, and with the hundred.

At Domesday, Bath (assessed at 20 hides, with a fiscally appended two-hide estate at Batheaston) and its hundred (of 95 hides) belonged to the king, to whom it had reverted upon the death in 1074 of Queen Edith, who had held it, probably as a dowry from her husband, Edward the Confessor.¹ Although Domesday records mention neither the Barton beside Bath nor Walcot, in which Barton Grange lay, they were probably included in the 20 hides of Bath (for which no agrarian details are given).

The city itself, probably from Saxon times, embraced, in addition to the walled area, only the parish of St Michael without, and the external part of the parish of St James (within the southern loop of the river). This was also the city area in 1379.² Even in the eighteenth century, it was the full extent of the jurisdiction of the Court of Record of the city, and, c.1690, the limits of the city charged for tax, despite a boundary extension in 1590, embracing part of Walcot.³

The external 'hundred of Bath' (called, in the thirteenth century, 'the foreign hundred of the Barton of Bath',⁴ and later 'Bathforum hundred') contained eighteen present-day parishes surrounding the city. At



1. 'The hundred of Bath', alias 'the foreign hundred of the Barton of Bath', alias 'the hundred of Bathforum'.

Domesday, manors in thirteen of them (some parishes containing more than one manor) were listed, and were apparently in the 'hundred of Bath'.⁵ There seems little doubt that whatever the reason for the omission of St Catherine,⁶ Kelston, Northstoke, Southstoke and Walcot, they too would have been within the orbit of Bath and its hundred at Domesday.

The Hundred of Bath: possible origins and extent

The 'hundred of Bath' (as it was known at Domesday) is generally considered to owe its origin to the 'hundred *manentes*' (or hides) 'adjacent to the city of Hat Bathu' granted in 676 by Osric, king of Hwiccia (a sub-

kingdom of Mercia in which Bath then lay), to found there, under the abbess Bertana, a nunnery (later becoming the Bath Monastery of St Peter), as detailed in a somewhat dubious copy of the foundation charter.⁷ Although there was also a 'hundred of Barton by Bristol' (its Barton manor being regarded in the mid-thirteenth century as the demesne farm of Bristol Castle), there may be a closer analogy with the 'hundred of Barton by Gloucester', and Osric's foundation of St Peter's there.⁸ Finberg indicated the likelihood of the long continuation, through British and into Mercian times, of the Roman form of the Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath estates, because of the convenience, in a highly romanized area, of inheriting an efficient Roman taxation system.⁹ More recently, Aston suggested that the area that became Bathforum hundred may represent the survival of an early multiple estate, of Roman or even pre-Roman origin.¹⁰

Earliest References to the Barton

Neither Barton nor Walcot, or even the 'hundred', is mentioned in the series of Crown charters, between 1090 and 1111, which moved the seat of the bishopric to Bath, and granted John de Villula and the Abbey of St Peter all the Abbey possessions in the city and beyond, the whole city itself, its hidage of 20 hides, and all its internal and external appurtenances.¹¹ However a subsequent Crown charter (undated, but pre-1135), and papal bulls of Adrian, 1156, and Alexander III, 1178, together prove that the 'appurtenances' had included the Barton (named in the last) and jurisdiction over 'the entire hundred of Bath', its manors having to pay suit at the bishop's court.¹² In 1135, Bishop Robert, in confirming restorations made by his predecessors of ancient Abbey possessions to the priory, also added 'the full tithe of Barton and Lyncombe' and 'the tithe of my vineyards of Lyncombe and Beckenofna' (the latter being the Barton 'Vineyards' in Walcot).¹³ The Barton was evidently held, with the city and hundred, in the bishop's hands.

Later, Bishop Reginald (1174-92) granted one and a half virgates of land in Shockerwick to Richard de Ford, to serve as 'hundredman' (bailiff) of the 'hundred of Bath' and have all customs and rights belonging to such office.¹⁴ The *Pipe Roll* for Michaelmas 1197¹⁵ confirms that Richard de Ford had 'the manor of Bath to farm' (receiving payment of ten marks), paying the total annual rent of £42 16s 10d, so it presumably included the Barton and hundred, although again not specifically mentioned (but see the *Pipe*

Roll of 1195, below). Cam observed that 'the office of bailliff of the hundred of Bath was hereditary and attached to the tenure of a piece of land'.¹⁶ Of interest, therefore, is a grant of 1343 concerning 'the manor of Shockerwick, together with the bailiwick of the bedelry of the hundred of Bathforum, and the rents and reversions of all tenants, both free and others, in Walcot, Langridge and Bath'¹⁷ (all three having Barton relevance, see below).

In 1194, Bishop Savaric exchanged with Richard I, the city of Bath for Glastonbury Abbey.¹⁸ The exchange evidently included the Barton, because at Michaelmas 1195 the account for 'firma de Bada et Berton' appears in the 'Roll of Escheats',¹⁹ thus indicating that Bath and the Barton were then in the king's hands. The inclusion also of the 'foreign' hundred is confirmed by the thirteenth-century jurors' statement, that 'King John [r. 1199-1216] ... held [implying 'in his hands', as the property belonged to the Crown] the city of Bath with the suburb of Barton outside the city, with the rent, services and all other things of its "foreign" hundred'.²⁰

Bath Priory obtains the Barton

In 1204, King John granted specifically to Bath Priory 'our Barton outside the city, with the whole of the "foreign" hundred belonging to it, in perpetual free alms, at a fee farm rent of twenty pounds per annum'.²¹ He also granted it the city of Bath 'at his pleasure', for £30 per annum.²² Although the 'foreign' (Barton) hundred thus came under the prior's jurisdiction from 1204, and so remained until the Dissolution, the men of certain Bath 'foreign' lands were withdrawn from suit at the hundred court: by the Earls of Gloucester (father and son in succession), in respect of Langridge and Freshford (eventually returned), and by Bishop Jocelyn, in respect of several other manors.²³ The prior had in fact conceded to the bishop, in 1232/3, that the men of some of these lands, who had formerly done suit at the prior's 'hundred of Bath', should in future do suit 'at the bishop's hundred of Hampton' (Bathampton).²⁴ These possessions of the bishop became known as the 'liberties of Hampton and Claverton' (both formerly part of the 'prior's hundred of Bath') and continued to be so styled until comparatively recent times.²⁵

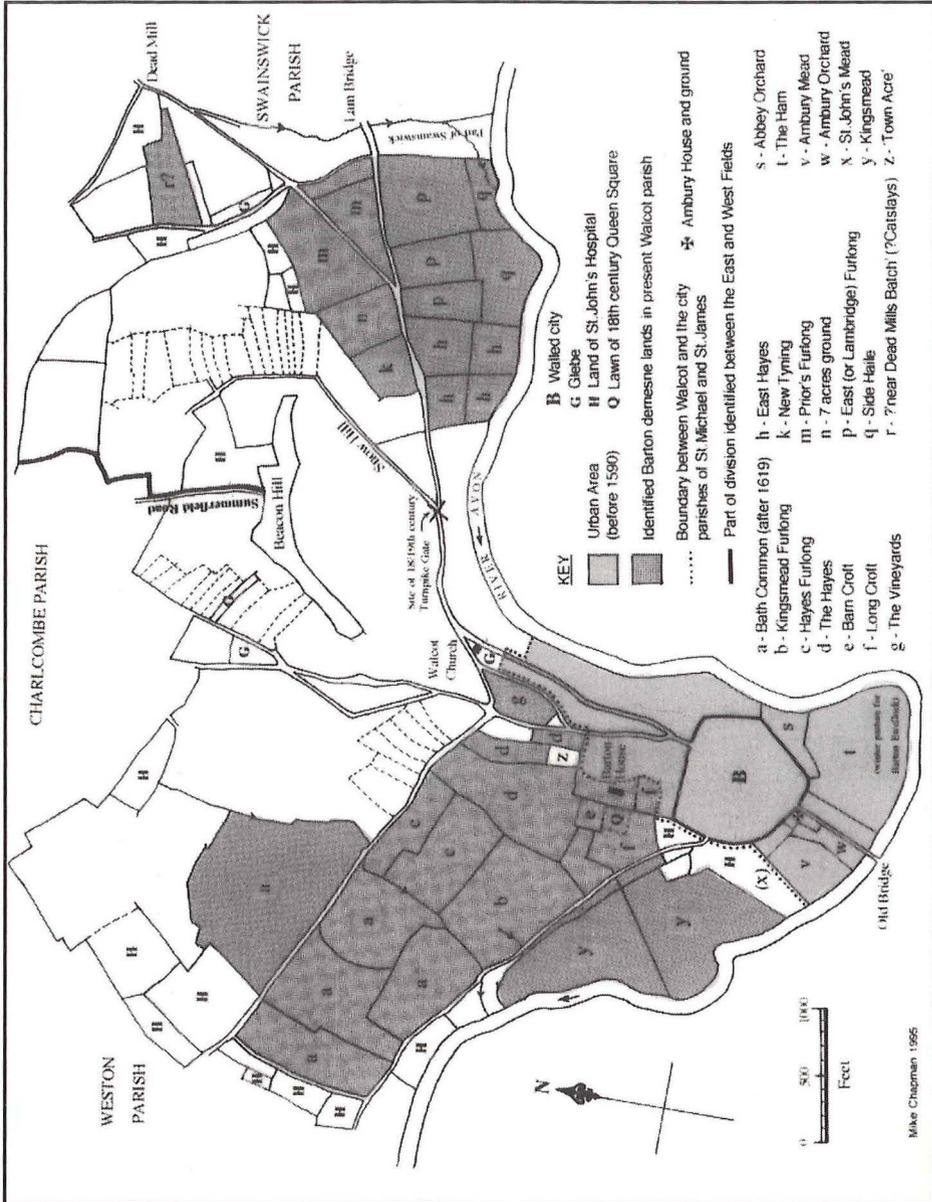
Thirteenth-century cartulary entries and fourteenth-century documents show that lessees in the prior's manors of the 'foreign' hundred were required to do 'suit of court at the two hundreds de la Berton' (i.e. attend the hundred court at Hockday and Michaelmas, yearly) and generally

also suit 'twice yearly' at the court leet of the manor in question.²⁶ In the thirteenth century, there are also references to the 'Hundred de la Buri' (probably referring to the 'hundred' or 'liberty' of the borough or city area) and to the 'entire hundred of Bath' (probably embracing both city and 'foreign' hundreds).²⁷ Unfortunately, no court rolls under the names of 'Berton' or 'Barton' (beside Bath), nor yet of 'Bathforum' have been found.²⁸ Although Lambeth Palace Library hold 'hundred and hallmote rolls' of 1361, 1382, 1421 and 1432 for *Civitas Bathon*,²⁹ they appear to deal with the city area only (limits given above) – the thirteenth-century 'hundred de la Buri'.

Even after 1204, when the Priory held the Barton (with the *forinsecum* hundred) at fee farm, Bath citizens retained their right of common upon it. After some disagreement the Priory, in 1260, admitted the citizens' rights 'in Kingsmead' (Barton meadow) and 'in the stubble fields pertaining to the Barton' (see below); and again, in 1345, the Priory confirmed their rights, 'despite the sowing that year of the Hayes [see below] within our manor of Barton',³⁰ thus demonstrating the continued close association of the city with its demesne farm. Disputes continued even after the Dissolution, and the Corporation produced these medieval documents as proof of their rights, until the matter was finally settled by arbitration in 1619 (see below).

The 1260 agreement shows that the citizens were to pasture their cattle in Kingsmead from 1 August until the prior put his cattle into the Barton stubble fields (West or East Fields, depending upon the year of cultivation), when they must do likewise with their cattle, but remove them to Kingsmead again from 25 October until 30 November. The citizens' cattle were not allowed in any 'anciently enclosed' Barton grounds until the prior's had pastured there for three consecutive weeks. Various small charges (1/2d, 1d, 1 1/2d) per head of cattle were levied.

Evidence suggests that Bath with the Barton (and its 'foreign' hundred) had been a traditional royal dower. It is evident that Queen Edith had held Bath with its hundred (and also therefore, presumably, the Barton) from before the Conquest (see above). When Henry III granted the city of Bath in dower to his queen, Eleanor, in 1236, the phrase '*cum pertinenciis suis*' probably implied the inclusion of the Barton with its 'foreign' hundred.³¹ Certainly, on coming to the throne (1273), their son, Edward I, assigned 'the city of Bath with the Barton and with all its other appurtenances' to 'Eleanor, the king's mother, in dower'³² as though it were simply a renewal. Thus she continued to benefit from the fee farm Crown rents, totalling £50 (see also below).



2. The former urban area of Bath (until 1590) and the parish of Walcot, based on Thorpe's Plan of the Parish of Walcot, 1740.

In 1275, Bishop Robert regained from the king (on surrendering Glastonbury Abbey to him) 'the city of Bath and the suburbs ... without any retention except the Barton [and its 'foreign' hundred] which the prior and convent [already] hold in fee farm'.³³ The bishop was also granted £53 annually from the revenues of 'the royal barton of Bath and the royal manor of Congresbury'.³⁴ The re-exchange particularly mentioned 'the meadow of the city towards the east' (i.e. 'the Ham' in St James's parish). Later evidence (see below) shows that the 'Eweflock of Barton' had winter pasturage rights on 'the Ham'.

As the city had been granted to the bishop 'free and quit of all secular service', the prior (still the tenant) was no longer liable for its annual rent of £30, but only for the Barton rent of £20.³⁵ Consequently, the queen mother surrendered the city of Bath, 'saving to her the barton', and was granted in exchange 'the town and mills of Rye in dower', to the same value.³⁶ However, after her death, Edward I, in 1299, 'assigned in dower to Margaret, sister of Philip, king of France' (to whom he had become betrothed) 'in accordance with the treaty, Bath town and Barton, the "farm" of £20 paid for these' – the £30 for the city being no longer payable.³⁷ In 1411, Edmund of Woodstock's heirs were still inheriting 'the farm of £20 ... for the town of Bath and the Berton', granted to him in 1319.³⁸

Walcot Township and Barton Grange

There is clear evidence of a Roman settlement in Walcot, near the river crossing (and of Bronze Age occupation near by).³⁹ A nucleated Saxon village may have existed there. Its name, as with other Walcots, similarly situated near important settlements, probably means 'cottages of the serfs'; its later inhabitants certainly owed service on the Bath Barton (see below).⁴⁰ The earliest cartulary reference to Walcot church, which (as shown) 'stands on Barton land' (and beside the Fosseyway), is c.1198-1223.⁴¹ Its foundation may have been Saxon, for it stands in the vicinity of the principal Roman cemetery, and furthermore, its former name, mentioned in 1535, was 'All Hallows', apparently indicative of ancient dedication.⁴² There were eleven householders in Walcot, in 1327.⁴³ From 1501 until at least 1641, the number remained constant at about twenty.⁴⁴ *The Plan of Walcot, 1740*, shows a 'ribbon development' of dwellings, beginning on both sides of the church, converging in the London Road, and extending as far as the turnpike gate (at the foot of the present Snow Hill).

Barton House or Farmhouse (containing a 'courthouse' – see below),

although in Walcot parish, lay close to the city and is shown on seventeenth-century maps.⁴⁵ Its site now forms the north-east end of John Street (at the rear of Jolly's), facing into King Street, the farmyard occupying the present Barton Court.⁴⁶ Before 1768, the farmhouse had been converted into two messuages, later numbered 9 & 10 King Street, and so remained into the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁷

A curious complaint was made, 1274-6, 'that the grange and oxhouse of Barton belonging to the lord the king has been removed [*distracta*] and placed [*allocata*] elsewhere in the territory of the prior'.⁴⁸ Whether this referred to a physical or fiscal re-allocation is not clear, but possible removal from the vicinity of the township to the above site cannot be ruled out. The 'office of farm bailiff of the manor de la Berton without Bath' was granted to Geoffrey, son of William and Edith Newman, by Prior Thomas (c.1332-40).⁴⁹ The bailiff would have dwelt in the manor house (Barton House), directed the husbandry of the demesne and its stock, and rendered a yearly account for the whole manor.⁵⁰

The inhabitants of Walcot (eleven in 1327 – see above) were the customary tenants of the manor who owed service upon the Barton demesne. In the fourteenth century, here as elsewhere, there is evidence of peasant rebellion, and in 1378 the king empowered action against the long-term refusal of customs and services by (*inter alia*) the prior of Bath's tenants of Barton and Batheaston.⁵¹ In 1380, two tenants brought an action against the prior for exacting unlawful customs at Barton.⁵²

In 1501, one Walcot tenant held a 'virgate' (quarter hide) and house (rent 26/8d p.a.); eighteen others held 'fardell' (quarter virgate) tenements (mostly 5/11½d p.a.).⁵³ Several tenants also held small acreages of 'bordland' (i.e. discarded demesne – called 'overland', when taken out by the prior in 1385),⁵⁴ totalling 24 acres altogether, mostly in the West Field. In addition, over 30 acres of Barton demesne, much of it pasture/meadow (including a 'piece of meadow within Barton Furlong' and therefore formerly arable), were also let in small parcels to tenants by 1501.

A rental of c.1600 shows that the 'virgate' holding (rent unchanged from 1501) was unusually large, containing 59 acres 5 rods, excluding 'overland'.⁵⁵ The majority of 'fardell' holdings varied between 9½ and 12 acres. Each holding consisted of scattered, small plots, generally of between half an acre and two acres, some much smaller. In only a few cases is 'arable' specified or implied, and in only one holding was it evenly distributed between the two Fields.⁵⁶ However, some conversion from arable to pasture, as had occurred elsewhere between c.1340s and 1500,⁵⁷ may partly explain this, because the plot locations suggest a more even

distribution between the two Fields. A fossilised form of the pattern of tenants' plots is still apparent in Thorpe's *Plan* of 1740.

Generation after generation of the Saunders family (always multiple holders) remained tenants of the 'virgate' (later combined with two particular 'farndell' holdings), at least between 1501 and 1641.⁵⁸ The 'farndell' called 'Chitters' descended through another branch. From 1623, yet another Saunders held a 'farndell' tenement, together with some Barton demesne. 'Heriot' (death duty) for the 'virgate' was 'best beast or 4/-'; for many of the 'farndell' tenements '1/8d'. The 'virgate' holding had 'common' for 18 bullocks and 180 sheep; three 'farndell' holdings for 3 bullocks and 30 sheep each.

There are references to both 'Manor of Walcot' (see below) and 'Manor of Barton' (see above), but it seems doubtful whether there were separate manor courts. In Ministers' Accounts, 1539, 'perquisites of court' are shown for 'Walcot' (manor), and for 'Hundred of Barton', but not for 'Barton [Manor or Grange] with rectory'. There exist rolls of 'hallmotes of Walcot', 1309-1502, but not in unbroken sequence;⁵⁹ it has already been seen that no 'hallmote' or 'hundred' rolls under the name of 'Berton' or 'Barton' beside Bath have been found.

It can be shown that both before and after the Dissolution, Barton matters were treated in the manor court of Walcot. In a Walcot hallmote extract of 22 September 1518, is an order 'to all' forbidding certain grazing 'in the stubble fields' after 1 August, under a penalty 'anciently imposed by the lord', and a further order 'to all the tenants of Walcot' not to graze sheep 'in les Hayes in the East Field and in Side Heil ... under penalty of a fine of 40d'.⁶⁰ The 'stubble fields' in Walcot belonged to the Barton (see the prior's agreement of 1260) and both 'les Hayes in the East Field' and 'Side Heil' were demesne grounds. Long after the Dissolution, in 1616, the lessee of 49 acres, 'which said premises are parcel of the Farm of Barton', was to do 'suit at the lessor's court of Walcot when holden'.⁶¹ Again, in 1635, some leased Barton grounds were described as being 'within the manor of Walcot' and the lessee was not only 'to do suit' at the lessor's court there, but the rent was to be paid 'in or at their farmhouse called Barton Farmhouse'.⁶² Possibly the terms 'hallmote de la Berton' (used in 1331)⁶³ and 'hallmote of Walcot' were synonymous.

The open two-field system operated throughout Bathforum hundred.⁶⁴ In 1260 (and probably long before), Walcot had West and East Fields 'pertaining to the Barton', cultivated alternately, year by year, and Bath citizens had common pasturage rights on them after harvest. The system continued into the early seventeenth century but reference to the West and East Fields was

still being made in 1737, although building developments had already begun there, and continued apace in the late eighteenth century.

According to a MS of c.1612, concerning citizens' rights of common, the West and East Fields, 'parcels' of Barton farm, contained about 250 and 200 acres respectively.⁶⁵ 'The Hayes' (an ancient Barton enclosure) of about 25 acres, although in the West Field, was nevertheless always cultivated with the East Field (perhaps to balance the acreages). Unlike tenants' scattered allocations, the demesne arable occupied blocks divided into 'furlongs' (some anciently enclosed – see below) within the Fields. 'Sopers', in the former detached part of Walcot on Lansdown (see below), was described as lying 'in the north-east part of the West Field' and 'anciently' enclosed with a stone wall, containing 'about 50 acres', partly woodland. 'Within the circuit' of the West and East Fields, the Walcot Manor tenants held about 100 acres in each; St John's Hospital about 20 in the former and 12 in the latter; while the king held 4 in the former and 12 in the latter; these other lands also had been 'always subject and open to this common', although some were enclosed by c.1612.

Unfortunately the earliest available map of Walcot gives no indication of the division between the two Fields.⁶⁶ The prior's agreement of 1260 suggests that the East Field of Barton lay 'between Walcot' (the township) 'and the bridge of Lambridge' (on London Road, at the eastern end of the parish). Since the West and East Fields 'adjoined one another',⁶⁷ the division possibly passed north-south through the township (unless the 1260 description referred only to 'East Field demesne'). North of Beacon Hill, the present Summerfield Road (part of a direct route to 'the down' and 'Sopers') divided grounds identifiable as lying in opposite Fields.⁶⁸ Similar identifications south of Beacon Hill have so far proved elusive. Thus the division there remains uncertain, although its line must have run west of 'Coffin's Batch' (No.126 on Thorpe's *Plan* of 1740), identified as in the East Field.⁶⁹ However, if the 1260 description referred only to the East Field demesne, the Field division may have run much further west, perhaps along a route (including Summerfield Road) centred on the farmyard, a not uncommon arrangement, except that in Walcot, farm and township are so far apart.

Although certain pieces of Barton demesne had clearly been leased by the Priory to sub-tenants, even before 1331 (when they were again leased to a Bath family for lives, in succession to another), the earliest known Priory lease of Barton Grange itself (including Kingsmead, the Hayes, Sopers, Lipwell and the Eweflock of Barton consisting of 360 sheep) is that of 2 January 1518 to Henry Bewshin.⁷⁰ Previously it had probably

been kept 'in hand' by the Priory and under the management of their bailiff. Bewshin's lease was renewed on 2 January 1529 and included his wife and sons, William and Peter (for lives, at a rent of £18 p.a.).⁷¹ However, even in 1515/16, Henry Bewshin had held the Barton Eweflock, while Nicholas Saunders (probably son of William of the Walcot 'virgate' of 1501) held the Barton cattle (5 cows, 10 oxen, 2 steers, 1 heifer and 4 calves).⁷² By the lease of 1529, Henry Bewshin (with wife and sons) also held 'the whole rectory of Barton' for lives, at a rent of £10 p.a.⁷³ The 'rectory of Barton' refers to the Barton tithes in the parish of Walcot. The lessee was required to keep in repair the chancel of Walcot Church and to pay 53/4d in augmentation of the vicar's stipend.⁷⁴

Minister's Accounts for 1539 show Henry Bewshin as 'farmer' of Barton Grange and Rectory, and collector/bailiff of Walcot (the latter office probably in succession to Thomas Batyn).⁷⁵ After the Dissolution, Henry Bewshin, followed by his son and grandson, in succession, continued to hold both Barton Grange with the Eweflock and Barton Rectory (paying rent to those who held 'in chief').

Post-Dissolution Developments

After the Dissolution, the 'foreign' hundred of the Barton of Bath (Bathforum hundred) became the subject of quite separate Crown grants from those of the Grange of Barton. Initially granted in 1541 to Edward, Earl of Hertford,⁷⁶ it passed through many hands. A Parliamentary Survey of 4 May 1652 states that the sheriff's (twice-yearly) 'tours' of the hundred (although 'much discontinued ... for divers years past') were held 'under an ash-tree on Odwood's Down [now Odd Down] on the north side of the Fosseway from Bath to Wells in the parish of Englishcombe [just outside the Bathforum hundred and probably indicative of Bath's former much larger area of jurisdiction], but in wet weather, in the court-house in Barton Grange'.⁷⁷

In 1791, it was stated that 'the hundred of Bathforum is divided between two high constables, and has for its lord, William Oliver, MD [a descendant of the Dr Oliver of 'Oliver Biscuit' fame], who holds his court in Widcombe' (almost certainly an error for 'Weston', the manor held with the hundred, since 1759, by the Olivers, and from at least 1612, by their predecessors).⁷⁸ Although this suggests that the hundred court was then being held in the courthouse of Weston manor, no corroborating evidence has been discovered. In the early nineteenth century, until it ceased functioning,

an annual court leet of Bathforum hundred (which by that time, inexplicably, included the city parishes, as confirmed by the 1841 census) appears to have been held at the Pulteney Hotel, Bath.⁷⁹ The separate identity of the 'Liberty of Hampton and Claverton' apparently continued until 1869.⁸⁰

In 1547, Edward VI granted Sir William Herbert 'the grange and farm called Barton next Bath and all its demesne lands in the parishes of Lyncombe, Widcombe, Walcot and Barton ... all closes adjacent to the said grange and all the demesne lands and works of customary tenants of Walcot and Barton and of other inhabitants within the hundred of Barton',⁸¹ formerly priory property. The grant included 'the Eweflock of Barton' of 360 sheep and their pasturage in Walcot, Barton, Lyncombe and Widcombe, leased with the grange to Henry Bewshin and family; and 'the Hogg Flock' (yearlings) of 322 sheep and their pasturage in Lyncombe and Widcombe, in the tenure of Robert and Richard Cox ('Cokes'). Some eighteen lands in 'Lyncombe, Widcombe, Walcot and Barton' are named in the grant (including three in the parish of St James and four in the former detached part of Walcot on Lansdown), as well as Warleigh Wood in Bathford. It is doubtful whether Warleigh Wood, the Hogg Flock and two grounds (Ambury Mead and Orchard) in St James's were Barton properties; the Ham there provided winter pasture for the Barton Flock (see below).

Barton Grange was conveyed by Sir William Herbert (in exchange for other property) to Matthew Colthurst in 1548.⁸² The conveyance included courts-leet and view of frankpledge (i.e. the 'lordship of Walcot'), advowson (of Walcot Church), fishing, etc. The property was held in chief of the Crown, by service of one-twentieth part of a knight's fee, paying yearly 'for the aforesaid grange and farm and other premises in Barton 29/4d, and for the aforesaid pasture and other premises in Lyncombe and Widcombe 16/9d' – with no further mention of Warleigh Wood. There had also been a Crown grant of 1543 to Matthew Colthurst of the site of the late Priory of Bath with closes 'le Ham' and 'Ambrye Meade' in St James's parish and lands (named) in Lyncombe, Widcombe, Holloway and Walcot, and works of customary tenants there, and the chief messuage of (Monkton) Combe ... all of which belonged to Bath Priory.⁸³ Certain Priory lands provided pasture for Barton stock and thus are named also in the Barton documents.

Edmund Colthurst, son and heir of Matthew (died 8 July 1559), inherited all the Barton property, as detailed in the conveyance of 1548, as well as the site of the former Priory and its property (including his residence, Abbey House, adjoining the Abbey), granted in 1543. He sold Barton

Grange (then in the occupation of William Sherston, son-in-law of Peter Bewshin, son of Henry, and the inheritor of the sub-tenure under the Colthursts) in 1591 to Sir George Snigg.⁸⁴ Although the sale included the detached part of Walcot on Lansdown, Snigg did not obtain 'the Ham' (but only the winter feeding for the Eweflock there), nor any of the Lyncombe property. Fragmentation had begun.

By 1612, Colthurst had sold to a John Hall of Bradford-on-Avon, most Priory property in the city (but had given the Abbey Church to the Corporation in 1572), including 'the Ham' meadow and also the Lyncombe and Widcombe property.⁸⁵ These items passed through several generations of John Halls and, by the marriage of the heiress of the last, to the Dukes of Kingston. In the eighteenth century, Ralph Allen acquired Prior Park and all the pasture in Lyncombe and Widcombe, paying the Crown rent of 16/9d.⁸⁶

William Snigg, son and heir of Sir George (died 11 December 1617), inherited his father's Barton Grange property and Barton rectory (the latter purchased by his father from the Crown lessees in 1612),⁸⁷ and also the Manor of Walcot (probably not acquired by his father until c.1611 – see below). However, in 1635, being in serious financial difficulties, William assigned Barton Grange, including Kingsmead (particularly mentioned), and all his other property in Walcot and Bath to Mary Jackson, his sister, for 80 years, on her undertaking to repay his debts.⁸⁸ He then obtained Crown licences to sell to Thomas Haines, in 1638 and 1639, seven grounds of Barton Grange, and Haines became responsible for paying 12/4d of the annual Crown rent.⁸⁹ The Haines family still held their Barton property in 1740.⁹⁰

When Peter Bewshin was sub-tenant of Barton, the Corporation had agreed, in 1570, to forfeit their rights of common, only in the 'ancient enclosures' (with the exception of Kingsmead), provided he paid them 40/- yearly.⁹¹ In a later, long-running dispute with the Sniggs (as tenants-in-chief) concerning the citizens' rights on the Barton, the Corporation produced the agreements of 1260 and 1345 to support their claim. The matter was finally settled, after arbitration, in 'the Award' of 1619 by which, 'in lieu of indefinite rights of common', the citizens were to have in perpetuity, on payment of 40/- annual rent to William Snigg and his heirs, nearly 100 acres (in the West Field) of Barton Farm, to be designated 'the Bath Common'⁹² – the present High, Middle and Lower Commons, the Botanical Gardens and the Children's Playground.

In 1621, William Snigg sold the winter feeding which 'the occupiers of Barton ... had by custom and usage in the Ham ... ' (for the Eweflock) to William Sherston,⁹³ the occupier of Barton Farm in 1591 (see above). What happened to the Eweflock is not known. It does not appear in Snigg's

existing rental and survey of 1623-41.⁹⁴ He may have sold it to Sherston. The last oblique reference to it and its shepherd is in the Walcot Glebe Terrier of 1606, which states that the shepherd was allowed to keep the tithe of twenty sheep (of the Barton Eweflock).⁹⁵ In an eighteenth-century enquiry regarding 'the Ham', it was remembered by one aged citizen that there had been 'a report of a sheep common in the winter, but of what nature or to whom belonging ... [he] never knew or heard'.⁹⁶ It would seem that the Eweflock had long ceased to exist.

By 1656, Thomas Saunders the elder, of Beechwood, Herts, was 'lord of the manor of Walcot'.⁹⁷ A lease of 1660 states that he possessed the land in Walcot in the right of his wife Mary, for about 55 years yet to come.⁹⁸ She may, therefore, have been the daughter and heiress of Mary Jackson (the sister of William Snigg, to whom the latter had assigned his property in 1635 for 80 years). Thomas Saunders was perhaps of the family who had held the 'virgate' and other Walcot holdings during several generations. In 1681, William Hooper, the purchaser of certain Walcot lands, was 'to do suit at the court of William Saunders [possibly the son of Thomas] holden for the manor of Walcot'.⁹⁹ A deed of common recovery, dated 10 October 1687, shows that a William Saunders (perhaps of the next generation) then acquired the inheritable freehold of the lordship of Walcot and rectory of Walcot, the latter being the Barton tithes.¹⁰⁰ That he had also acquired Snigg's unsold parts of Barton Grange is clear, as the inheritance included the annual rent payable by Bath Corporation for 'Bath Common' (formerly Barton land – as above).

On 16 June 1699, William Saunders sold the Manor and Rectory of Walcot, with appurtenances, courts, etc., 'except Barton Farm' (which he had already conveyed to two gentlemen, in trust 'to certain uses') and except a number of Walcot tenant holdings (sold in five separate lots, the largest share to his bailiff, William Hooper, in 1681 – as above), to Robert Gay, surgeon, of London (who married Mary, daughter of William Saunders).¹⁰¹ In the early eighteenth century, Robert Gay had apparently also come into possession of Barton Farm,¹⁰² probably by virtue of his wife's inheritance, arranged by her father, when he had conveyed the farm in trust 'to certain uses'. When Robert Gay died in 1737, he left the Bath property to his daughter Margaret, by his second wife. She died without issue in 1765 and left the estate to her brother-in-law, Sir Benet Garrard who, in 1767, bequeathed all his Bath estate to Sir Peter Rivers, who took the name of Gay. The ground rents were sold after the death of Sir Henry Chandos Rivers, in 1870.¹⁰³

Throughout the sixteenth century, various Bewshin family members in

succession occupied, as under-tenants, the Barton Grange property (detailed in the Priory lease of 1518 as above). By the early seventeenth century, the Barton demesne was divided into a number of separate sub-tenures. John Chapman, apparently then the principal under-tenant (when William Snigg held Barton Grange 'in chief' of the Crown), further sublet Barton Farmhouse, its outbuildings and some demesne grounds in the West Field only to another man.¹⁰⁴ The rest of the demesne was leased in a number of separate lots. Snigg's leases of Barton demesne are listed in his rentals and survey of 1623-41 quite separately from those of his Walcot tenants' lands (shown as 'the manor' held by him 'in socage').

The rental of 1623 distinguishes the acreages of arable from those of pasture/meadow in each of the various holdings. In total there were then 360 acres of arable (Barton demesne, 176 acres; Walcot tenants' land, 184 acres); and 362 acres of meadow/pasture (Barton demesne, 244 acres; Walcot tenants' land, 118 acres). Much of the Barton demesne then consisted of six (named) 'furlongs' (originally, therefore, arable but some converted to pasture) of about 20 or 25 acres each, within the two Fields, and also the large meadow of Kingsmead (48 acres). In some cases the furlongs had become divided into two or four closes by 1623.

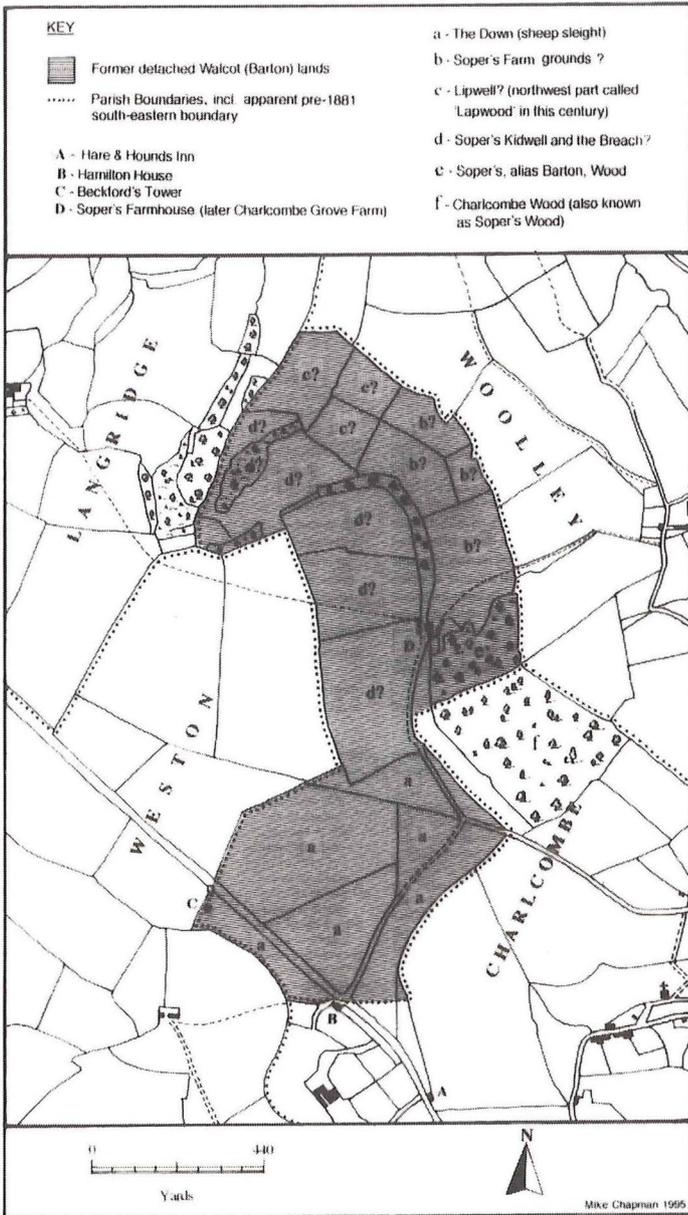
The 1623 rental shows that one furlong (then in two closes) and two other closes (converted to pasture) were to be ploughed for two years only (departing from alternate-year cultivation), while another furlong (converted to pasture) was 'not to be ploughed'. Youings has observed that, in the West Country generally, little monastic demesne was leased until c.1500, but leasing steadily progressed thereafter.¹⁰⁵ She also noted that conversion of arable to pasture had often begun earlier, and short-term ploughing of pasture also occurred. The Barton evidence suggests a similar pattern at Bath.

Although 'court-leet and view of frank-pledge, heriots', etc., were included in the conveyance of Barton Grange to Colthurst in 1548, they were not specifically mentioned in the 1591 conveyance to Snigg. In fact, in 1571 Peter Bewshin (son of Henry and inheritor of the Barton Grange tenancy, under those who held *in capite*) obtained a Crown lease of Walcot manor for 21 years. Peter died in 1584. In 1590, Robert Chambers (for many years Town Clerk of Bath) became 'lord of the manor of Walcot', probably for 21 years, thus terminating c.1611. Sir George Snigg may then have obtained the lordship. William (his son and heir) certainly held it 'in socage' (as well as 'a parcel of Barton Farm *in capite*') and received the rents and services, besides being entitled to 'heriots'. William Snigg must have held the manor in perpetuity, as he made calculations for selling the individual

tenancies at 20 years' purchase.¹⁰⁶ Subsequent holders of the lordship (and of 'a parcel of Barton Farm') appear to have derived it from the Sniggs.

At the time of the Dissolution, the Barton tithes ('the rectory of Walcot'), held by the Priory from the Crown, were 'farmed' by Henry Bewshin and he, followed by his son Peter and later his grandson Thomas, continued to 'farm' them under those who held *in capite* after the Dissolution. In 1612, Sir George Snigg purchased from the then Crown lessees-in-chief the tithes of Barton Grange. The sub-tenant at that time (after the Bewshins) was Robert Chambers (who had also held the lordship of Walcot, as above), at the annual rent of £10 (which then became payable to Snigg). Although the tithes of wool and lambs, at 40/- annual rent in the tenure of Andrew Colthurst (a younger son of Matthew), was apparently included, a dispute arose as to whether the 40/- should have been part of the £10 for 'the whole rectory'.¹⁰⁷ The Barton section of Snigg's Walcot rental, in 1623, states that 'Robert Chambers holdeth for life, and Humphrey, his brother, the tithes of Barton and some of Walcott' (the latter possibly 'overland' – see above). Further details appear in the Walcot Glebe Terrier of 1606 including the fact that Chambers refused to pay the 53/4d due annually to the parson out of the tithes. The Saunders family succeeded the Sniggs as tenants-in-chief of the rectory of Walcot (the Barton tithes), the lordship of Walcot, and Barton Farm.

Although the Ham (20 acres), Ambury Mead (6 acres) and Ambury Orchard (2 acres) in St James's parish are named in the Crown grant of Barton Grange of 1547, corroborative evidence of Barton status is available only for the Ham (see above). Of the Barton demesne within the parish of Walcot, there were in the West Field: Longcroft (meadow, 6 acres, 'beneath the house'); 'the Hayes' (25 acres 'near the house' – see also above); 'the Vineyards' (5 acres – its Field allocation slightly uncertain); 'Sopers' (in the former detached part of Walcot on Lansdown - see below), all 'anciently' enclosed; 'Hayes Furlong' (25 acres, near 'the Hayes'); 'Kingsmead Furlong' (20 acres, near 'Kingsmead'). The two furlongs together had probably formed the 'Barton Furlong' of 1501. In the East Field were: 'East Hayes' (20 acres, 'anciently enclosed') and 'New Tynning' (7 acres), both sold to Haines in 1639 (see above); 'Prior's Furlong' (24 acres, 20 of which were sold to Haines in 1638 – see above); 'East (or Lambridge) Furlong' (20 acres); 'Side Heil' (about 10 acres, but in 1612 given as 30 acres, apparently then including 'East Furlong'); 'Town's End Land' (about 3 acres, 'lying next to Walcot'); and a ground 'towards Charlcombe, containing 7 or 8 acres, near Dead Mills Batch' – probably the ground called 'Catts Cliffe' in the rental of 1623.¹⁰⁸



3. The former detached part of the parish of Walcot (until 1881), at the south-eastern end of Lansdown.

The former detached part of Walcot (originally sheep down, plus largely wooded slopes) was at the south-eastern end of Lansdown, surrounded by Charlcombe, Woolley, Langridge and Weston (see fig. 3). Although unfortunately not included on Thorpe's *Plan of Walcot*, 1740 (the earliest available) nor on the Walcot Tithe Map (presumably because all its 195 acres, as former Priory demesne, were tithe free), tithe maps of the surrounding parishes naturally reveal its former limits. The area was transferred to the parish of Charlcombe in 1881, the resulting boundary changes being confirmed in 1883.¹⁰⁹

The Tithe Apportionment lists Soapers (sic) Farm, 43 acres; Soapers Kitwell, alias Kidwell and the Breach, 60 acres; Soapers, alias Barton Wood, 12 acres; Lipwell, 20 acres; as well as 60 acres called 'the Down' (on the site of the present Ministry of Defence Enisleigh offices).

In manorial works of 'Berton', c.1467/8-82, are included 'Lypwelle woode, 25 acres; Myddill woode, 8 acres; Cybbill woode, 8 acres'. The last ('Kitwell'/'Kidwell' in the Apportionment) became 'Kybwelle, alias Kipwelle woode ['in the north part'] and the Breache ['south part'] of 8 acres', when obtained as 'concealed land' in a Crown grant of 17 March 1585 (probably because omitted in error from the Crown grant of 1547), although later restored to Barton Grange. From the seventeenth century, as 'Sopers Kibwell and the Breach', its area (presumably including other ground and consisting then of three pastures) is given as '60 acres'. In 1501, 10 acres altogether of pasture 'in le Sopers within the demesne of barton' were leased to a Woolley inhabitant. Both 'Sopers' and 'Lipwell wood' were among lands particularly named in the Barton Grange lease to Henry Bewshin in 1529. The Crown grant of Barton Grange of 1547 included 'Sopers', 'Lipwelles Woode', 'Mydlewoode', and 'portion of pasture of "lez Lawncedown" '. The last (sheep sleight for the Barton Eweflock) was 'le downe ... called Lansdown ... next to a certain farm called Sopers', when sold to Haines (as above) in 1639. The rentals of 1623-41 show '2 acres of wood at Sopers' were held by the Walcot 'virgate' tenant. The name 'Sopers' probably arose because 'the house of Thomas le Sopare' stood in that area in 1296.¹¹⁰

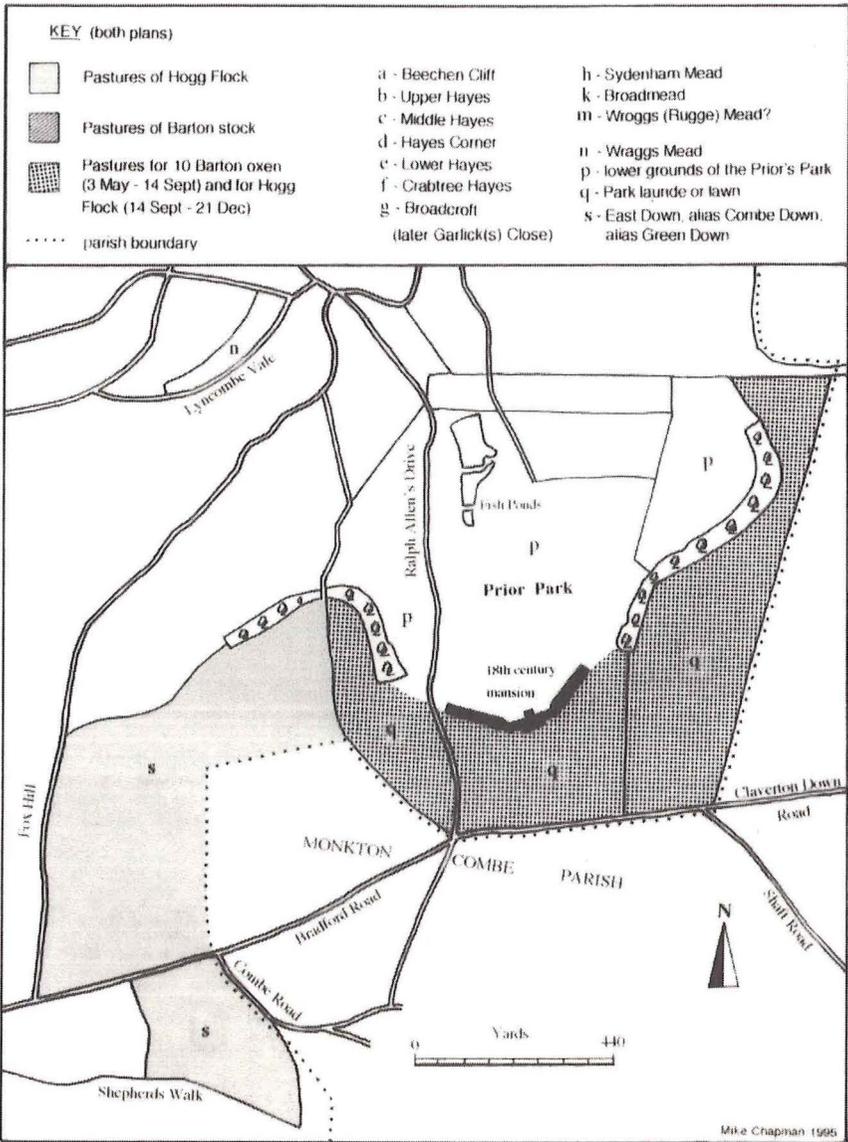
Identification of grounds is difficult, as 'Sopers Wood' is the only surviving name, and even that is not in the former Walcot part but where the adjacent Charlcombe Wood (also locally called Sopers Wood) was shown on the Charlcombe Tithe Map. Furthermore, the Tithe Assessment acreage of the detached Walcot area (apart from 'the Down') exceeds the true acreage, and seventeenth-century estimates, by over 20 acres. To add to the confusion, between the 1884 and 1903 OS surveys, 'Sopers Farm'

was renamed 'Charlcombe Grove farm', while 'Sopers Wood', beside it, became (incorrectly, but understandably) 'Charlcombe Wood' and vice versa.¹¹¹ An octogenarian, life-long, local resident has identified a ground he knows as 'Lapwood' – possibly a corruption of 'Lipwell'.

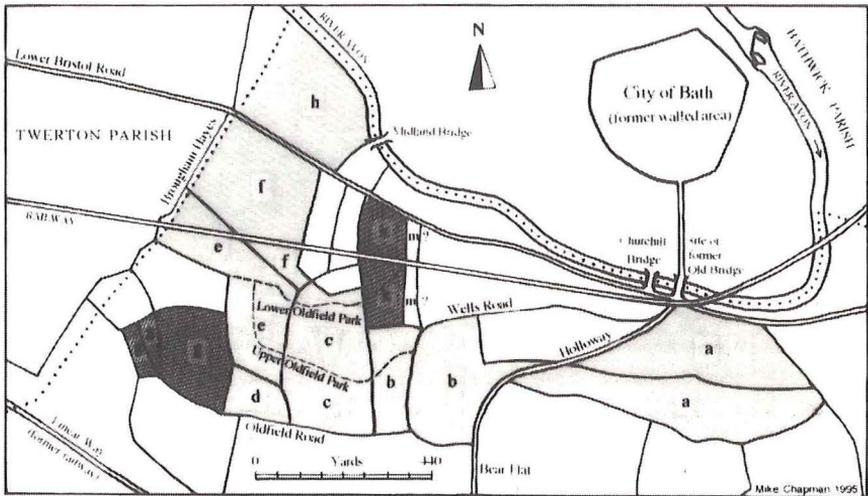
As already shown, none of the Lyncombe and Widcombe properties (whose subsequent ownership is briefly outlined above) was conveyed by Colthurst to Snigg in 1591. Particularly excepted were 'the pasture of ten bullocks ['in summer' as later evidence shows] now used by the occupier ... of Barton Farm in a certain ground called the Lawn and the ground and wood called Prior's Park and the Coniger [or warren] in Widcombe' and 'the winter pasture and common ... and the wintering ... of the said three hundred and three score sheep [the Barton Eweflock] in Broadmead and Broadcroft, now used by the said farmer ... and now or sometime parcel or belonging to the said farm'. Other pastures in Lyncombe and Widcombe provided summer and (including 'the Lawn') autumn or winter pastures for the Hogg Flock (of Lyncombe) of 322 sheep (see figs. 4 and 5). Despite their inclusion in the Crown grant of 1547, and subsequent conveyance in 1548, the Hogg Flock and their pastures seem not to have belonged to Barton Grange, but to the manor of Lyncombe, although, as with some flocks of other manors, separately leased, even before the Dissolution.¹¹²

In 1304, Edward I granted Bath Priory 'a yearly fair at their manor of Lyncombe, Somerset, on the vigil and feast of the Invention of the Cross' (3 May) and a 'yearly fair at their manor of La Berton by Bath on the vigil and feast of St Lawrence the Martyr' (10 August). However, the contemporary entry of this grant in the *Cartularium Prioratus de Bath* is headed (here translated) 'Concerning the fairs of Lyncombe and Lansdown'.¹¹³ Lyncombe Fair was held on the present Bear Flat, above the ancient chapel and hospital of St Cross and St Mary Magdalen, the St Cross dedication presumably accounting for the date of the fair. The Lansdown fair was held opposite the ancient chapel of St Lawrence (near the present *Blathwayt Arms*) on that saint's feast day. In 1335, Edward III granted the Priory an extension of the fair 'at their manor of La Berton by Bath'. This grant also appears in the *Cartularium* under the heading 'Concerning the fair of Lansdown'.¹¹⁴

The fourteenth-century *Cartularium* evidence clearly suggests that the Barton included that northern part of Lansdown containing St Lawrence's chapel (subsequently incorporated in the present Chapel Farmhouse) and its associated Lansdown Manor Farm lands, lying partly on the plateau, partly below it, as pockets of Weston parish 'in the fields of Langridge'.



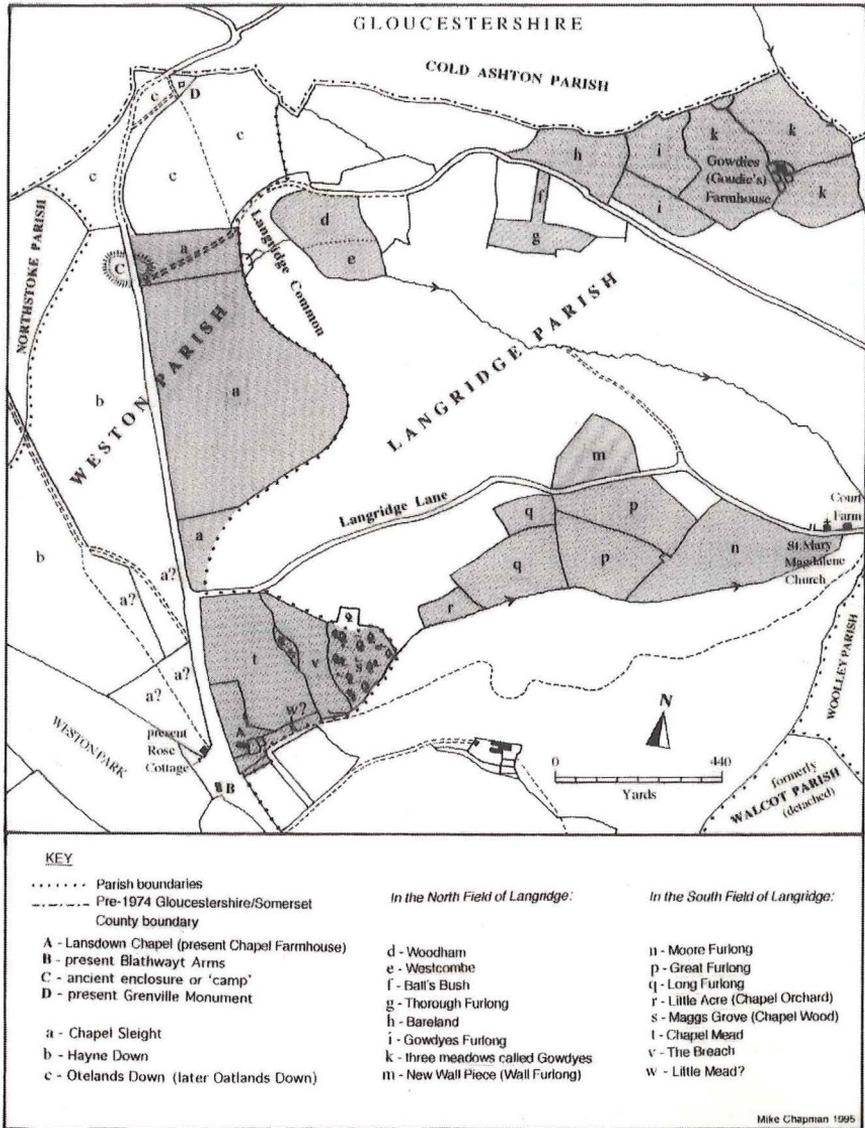
4 and 5 (opposite). The south-eastern and north-western parts, respectively, of the Manor of Lyncombe (in the former parish of Lyncombe and Widcombe). The key to both maps is shown on fig.4.



Significantly, later evidence shows that these lands (and some pertaining to the Manor of Weston on the plateau – surprisingly treated as part of the Manor of Lansdown in the Tithe Apportionment) were 'within the parish of Weston and the tithing of Walcot', and that Lansdown Manor was taxed, not with Weston, but with Walcot parish.¹¹⁵

Although the detached part of Walcot at the south-eastern end of Lansdown (see above) was invariably shown as part of Barton Grange (which was within both parish and tithing of Walcot), a Priory MS of manorial works, c.1467/8-82,¹¹⁶ treats the Lansdown Manor Farm lands (by listing them under 'Launcesdon') separately from the Barton Grange lands (listed under 'Berton'). In Ministers' Accounts of 1539, also, the 'Farm of the manor of Launcesdon' (listed below 'Weston cum Launcesdon, parcell de Weston') and 'Barton Grange and Rectory' are separately treated. Perhaps the distinctive treatment had developed as a matter of administrative convenience. The evidence is somewhat confusing.

The Manors of Weston and Lansdown were held by Bath Priory (under the Crown) until the Dissolution, when they became the subject of various Crown grants and passed through other hands. In the 1570s, Thomas Kerry, a clerk of the privy seal, obtained Weston Manor, subject to a pre-Dissolution lease, and Lansdown Manor (obtaining a further Crown lease of it in 1602) on which he was allowed two fairs, including the traditional St Lawrence's Fair.¹¹⁷ He was also granted the Lansdown Sheephouse, the Eweflock of 360 sheep, with 'a parcel of le downe', and their pastures,



6. Lands of the Manor of Lansdown (at the northern extremity of Lansdown and in the fields of Langridge, all being 'in the parish of Weston and the tithing of Walcot').

etc., 'in Langridge and elsewhere'.¹¹⁸ Kerry also appears to have acquired Bathforum hundred, for, with Weston and Lansdown, it descended through his heirs, including, from 1612, his son-in-law John Winchcombe and two more generations of that name, the recusancy of one resulting in lengthy sequestration (1645-56) of the property. Bathforum hundred and Weston Manor together subsequently passed through other hands, eventually to the Oliver family (as above). Lansdown Manor and certain former Manor of Weston lands on Lansdown passed, during the 1660s, to the occupier, John Sheppard, and he gradually sold his property, much of it in 1701 to William Blathwayt, Secretary of State for War, whose family still possessed it at the time of the Tithe Apportionment.¹¹⁹

A Crown grant of 1585 includes Tithes of the Farm of Lansdown 'in the parishes of Weston and Langridge, pertaining to the Free chapel of St Lawrence', in the tenure of the Weston vicar; and the 'ruinous' St Lawrence's Chapel (a royal free chapel), lying in the farm lands of Lansdown, with all tithes and profits issuing out of the chapel, in the tenure of the farmer. The latter (chapel) tithes (probably largely emanating from the former 'Chapel Sleight' on which the chapel stood) passed with the farm, a fact of which the Weston vestry seemed unaware, for the Glebe Terrier of 1606 states that although the farmer paid tithes to the vicar on all other Lansdown farm lands, 'wee knowe not by what righte he detayneth the tithes of that sheepe slaite'.¹²⁰

By 1600, confusion concerning boundaries and ownership of certain Lansdown lands (notably 'Hayne Down' and 'Otelands') led to law-suits. By 1701, the Manor of Lansdown contained certain former Manor of Weston Lansdown lands, including 'Hayne Down'.¹²¹ There are many peculiarities and difficulties concerning the northern part of Lansdown, which have not so far been satisfactorily resolved. Detailed discussion of them has been omitted from the present article.

Conclusion

It has been possible to identify most of the lands of Barton Grange (containing arable, woodland, and both highland and lowland pastures, enabling seasonal movement of the sheep flock) which clearly covered a wide variety of terrain, rising from river-level to well over 700 feet. They were distributed over an extensive area of Walcot (including the former detached part at the south-eastern end of Lansdown), with some meadow

and pasture land within the city limits and in Lyncombe. Barton Grange itself with most of its demesne was contained in Walcot, as was also the land allocated to its workforce, who were the inhabitants of this external parish. Although outside the city, the Barton was obviously integral to it, and Bath citizens were able to maintain traditional rights of common upon its demesne in Walcot, both before and after the Dissolution, no matter who held the Barton at fee farm from the king. It has become clear that, in the early days, the holder of the Barton had jurisdiction over the whole hundred of Bath. Thus, by granting the Barton to the ecclesiastical head of the Bath monastic church, whether bishop or prior, successive medieval monarchs continued, until the Dissolution, to honour the purpose of the seventh-century grant of the hundred. At the same time, they maintained the royal connection, by endowing a royal dependant, sometimes their queen, with the fee farm rent payable for the Barton.

The evidence that the most northerly part of Lansdown (the Manor of Lansdown) with its chapel was also within the tithing of Walcot and the Manor of Barton, despite its subsequent separate treatment from Barton Grange, raises many fundamental questions concerning that most dominant and historic hill of Lansdown, and its earlier importance to Bath and its locality, but detailed discussion of this somewhat separate issue would seem inappropriate in the present article. Although it is hoped that the outline study will have thrown more light on the hitherto comparatively little-known subject of the Bath Barton, and contributed to a clearer understanding of its extent, tenure, farming system, and connection with city and hundred, certain aspects remain enigmatic (particularly concerning the Manor of Lansdown) and await further research and debate.

Notes

- 1 Rev. R.W. Eyton, *Domesday Studies and Somerset Gheld Inquest*, Vol. 1 (1880), pp.49-50, 74 & 106; C. & F. Thorn eds., *Domesday Book*, No. 8, Somerset (Chichester, 1980), pp.1, 30-31. The hide was an area considered adequate to support one free family and dependants – although varying in extent, normally 120 acres.
- 2 E. Green ed., 'A Bath Poll Tax of 2 Richard II', *Bath Field Club*, Vol.VI (1889), pp.300-9.
- 3 J. Wood, *Essay Towards a Description of Bath* (1749, 1765 edition), p.252; Bath Record Office (BRO), Charter 22; P.R. James, bound typescript transcripts, Charters and Documents of Bath (James, Bath Documents) (1942), Part I, No. 22.

- 4 W. Illingworth ed., *Rotuli Hundredorum (Rot Hund)*, Vol. II (HMSO, 1818), p.138.
- 5 Thorn & Thorn, p.370, App.1.
- 6 B.W.Dobbie, *An English Rural Community: Batheaston with St Catherine* (Bath, 1969), p.17 & App.4 – showing that at Domesday St Catherine was included with the Abbey manor of Batheaston.
- 7 W. Hunt ed., *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath (Two Chartularies)*, Somerset Record Society (SRS), Vol. VII (1893), i, No. 7; see also H.P.R. Finberg ed., *Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester, 1964), No. 335, correcting the date to 675.
- 8 M. Sharp, *Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle*, Bristol Record Society, Vol. XXIV (1982), Intro. liii, lviii & lix; H.P.R. Finberg, *Gloucestershire Studies* (Leicester, 1957), pp.14-16, 55 & note.
- 9 Finberg (1957), pp.14-16.
- 10 M. Aston, 'The Bath Region from Late Prehistory to the Middle Ages', *Bath History* (1986), pp.73-8.
- 11 *Two Chartularies*, i, Nos. 37, 38, 40 & 43.
- 12 *Ibid*, No. 56; *ibid*, No. 74; Historical MSS Commission, *Calendar of MSS of Dean & Chapter of Wells*, Vol. 1 (HMSO, 1907), pp.438-9.
- 13 *Two Chartularies*, i, No. 61.
- 14 *Ibid*, ii, No. 42.
- 15 D.M. Stenton ed., *Pipe Roll Society (Stenton, PRS)*, New series (NS), Vol. VIII (1931), p.139, Roll 43, Rot 9, m 1 – PRO E372.
- 16 Helen Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (1930, 1963 edition), p.145.
- 17 D.M.M. Shorrocks ed., 'Walker-Heneage Deeds' in *Medieval Deeds of Bath and District*, SRS, Vol. LXXIII (1974), ii, 94/409.
- 18 *Two Chartularies*, Intro. l-liii.
- 19 Stenton, *PRS*, NS, Vol. VI (1929), p.46, 7 Rich I, Roll 41, Rot 4d, m 2.
- 20 *Rot Hund*, Vol. II, p.132.
- 21 Rev. R. Warner, *History of Bath* (1801), Appendix XXVIII from Augmentations Office, Cart S. 68.
- 22 *Rot Hund*, Vol. II, p.132; see also Pipe Roll for Michaelmas, 1204, 6 John, Roll 14, Rot 14d, m 1 in Stenton, *PRS*, NS, Vol. XVIII (1940), p.184.
- 23 *Rot Hund*, Vol. II, p.133.
- 24 E. Green ed., *Feet of Fines of the County of Somerset*, SRS, Vol. VI (1892), No. 101.
- 25 'County Rate, 1742' and 'Census, 1841' in F.H. Dickinson ed., *Kirby's Quest etc.*, SRS, Vol. III (1889), pp.285-6 and 312.
- 26 *Two Chartularies*, ii, Nos. 361 and 364; Shorrocks, SRS, Vol. LXXIII (1974), ii, Nos. 89 and 128.
- 27 B.R. Kemp ed., 'Medieval Deeds of St John's Hospital, Bath' in *Medieval Deeds of Bath and District*, SRS, Vol. LXXIII (1974), i, No. 47.
- 28 Information from *Manorial Documents Register*, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.
- 29 Estate Documents, Nos. 1178, 1181 and 1186.
- 30 BRO, Corporation Deeds, Bundle VI, Nos. 71-2 (original documents); Rev. C.W. Shickle, *Ancient Deeds of Bath Corporation* (Bath, 1921), Bundle VI,

- Nos. 71-2 (transcripts and translation).
- 31 Public Record Office (PRO), Charter Rolls, 20, Henry III, C53/29, m 6. (Phrase omitted in published Calendar).
- 32 *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1 Ed. I (HMSO, 1924-9), p.12, m 15; p.30, m 4.
- 33 *Two Chartularies*, Nos. 609 and 610; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 3 Edward I, Vol. II (HMSO, 1906), p.192, No. 5, m 4; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1272-9, 3 Edward I, p.245, m 6d.
- 34 Rev Chancellor T. Scott Holmes, 'Ecclesiastical History' in W. Page ed., *Victoria County History of Somerset*, Vol. II (1911), pp.90-1.
- 35 *Two Chartularies*, ii, No. 666.
- 36 *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1272-81 (HMSO, 1901), 3 Edward I, p.91, m 22 and p.94, m 20.
- 37 *Ibid*, 1299 (1895), 27 Edward I, p.452, m 4.
- 38 *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Vol. III (1908), p.416, m 6; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Vol. XIX, 1405-13 (HMSO, 1992), No. 865.
- 39 Excavations, Bath Archaeological Trust, 1989-91. Preliminary Reports, *Bath Museums Service News*, Autumn 1989, Spring 1990 and *Bath Archaeology*, News Sheet 6; Bath Archaeological Trust, Finds record, Bronze Age axe, Pera Place, Walcot.
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- 41 *Two Chartularies*, ii, No. 61.
- 42 B. Cunliffe, *Roman Bath* (Reports of Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. XXIV, 1969), pp.211-2 and 214-5; F.W. Weaver, *Wells Wills* (1890), pp.178-9; F. Bond, *Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches* (Oxford, 1914), p.60.
- 43 Dickinson, SRS, Vol. III (1889), p.83.
- 44 Somerset Record office (SRO), Walcot rentals, 1501 – DD/X/HY 1; and c.1560/1-1641 – DD/BR/Sb2 N/68.
- 45 J. Manco, 'Henry Savile's Map of Bath', *Proceedings of Somerset Archaeological & Natural History Society (PSANHS)*, Vol. 136 (1992), p.132 & Plate 2; Bath Library, J. Gilmore, *Map of Bath*, 1694.
- 46 Warner (1801), p.187; BRO, Rivers Estate, sale particulars (1856), Lots 147-155, pp.5-6 & plate 5.
- 47 SRO, indenture, 1768 – DD/BR/PY/125 C/492; Bath Library, collection of Bath photographs, Barton House, c.1849.
- 48 *Rot Hund*, Vol. II, p.138.
- 49 *Two Chartularies*, ii, No. 744.
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- 51 *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Richard II, Vol. I, p.251, m 26d.
- 52 PRO, C260/91, No. 51 – reference by courtesy of Mrs. J. Manco.
- 53 Walcot rental, 1501 – *op. cit.*
- 54 Bath Library, P. R. James, 'The Incorporation of the City of Bath', unpublished University of London thesis, undated, post-1940, pp.201-2.

- 55 SRO, DD/BR/Sb2 N/68, Item 3, Walcot rental, c.1600.
 56 *Ibid*, Walcot rentals, 1623-41.
 57 C. C. Dyer, 'Farming Practices and Techniques', in E. Miller ed., *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol.III, 1348-1500 (Cambridge, 1991), p.79.
 58 Walcot rental, 1501 – *op.cit.*; and Walcot rentals, 1623-41 – *op. cit.*
 59 PRO, SC2/198, Nos. 27-40.
 60 BRO, Account Book of the Prior of Bath, 20 Henry VIII, fo.157 – MS copy in Freeman's Estate, Box 1, No. 53.
 61 BRO, original document, Freeman's Estate, Box 1, No. 25.
 62 BRO, original document, Acc. 28, No. 31.
 63 *Two Chartularies*, No. 709.
 64 Dyer (1991), p.222; SRO, Jacobean Glebe Terriers of parishes in Bathforum hundred.
 65 BRO, Freeman's Estate, Box 1, No. 43, MS, c.1612, prepared for law-suit.
 66 BRO, T. Thorpe, *Plan of the Parish of Walcot*, 1740.
 67 BRO, Freeman's Estate, Box 1, No. 43, MS, c.1612.
 68 Langridge Glebe Terrier, 1606, shows Hospital land at Beacon Hill in East Field (No. 91 on Thorpe's *Plan*, 1740, & schedule) – SRO, D/D/Rg 9; conveyance of 29 April 1699, privately held, of lands sold to W. Hooper in West Field (Nos. 79, 86 & 87 on Thorpe's *Plan*, 1740), transcribed, Rev. C.W. Shickle (1900), MS notebook No. 20, p.23 – Bath Library, A32.1123.
 69 Shickle (1900), p.50, transcription of indenture of 1737, in private collection.
 70 *Two Chartularies*, No. 709; James, thesis, p.249, quoting PRO, E/318/1685, m 24, Aug. Off. Ptics. for Grants. Other spellings of Bewshin include Bewsham, Bewshine, Bewshyne and Bewchyn.
 71 *Ibid*; see also PRO, SC6, Roll 3144, Ministers' Accounts, 1539; and SRO, T/PH/VCH6, Roll 3144, microfilm copy.
 72 BRO, MS copy of Memo from Account Book of the Prior of Bath, 7 Henry VIII, fo.115, in Freeman's Estate, Box 1, No. 53.
 73 Ministers' Accounts, 1539 – *op. cit.*; see also James, thesis, p.201.
 74 PRO, E313, Patent Rolls, 16 July 1585, 27 Elizabeth I, Pt. iv, C66/1257, m 45; see also James, thesis, p.202.
 75 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535.
 76 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic & Foreign*, Vol. XVI (HMSO, 1898), Pt.I, item 779 (7) – PS Pat p.6, mm 33-6.
 77 James, thesis, p.263, quoting AO Parl Surveys, E317/22, 4.
 78 Rev. J. Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, Vol. 1 (Bath, 1791), p.98; BRO, Abstract of Title, 1611-1751 – Freeman's Estate, Box 1, No. 99 misc.
 79 Dickinson (1889), p.312; Bath Library, Silverthorne's *Bath Directory*, 1841, p.210.
 80 BRO, Court-Book, 1801-69.
 81 *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1 Edward VI, Vol. 1 (HMSO, 1924), pp.194-5, m 13.
 82 BRO, Acc. 28, No. 8.
 83 *Calendar of State Papers*, Henry VIII, Vol. XVIII (HMSO, 1901), item 346, (40) Pt. II – Pat, p.7, m 6.
 84 William Sherston was grandfather of the well-known William Prynne (born 1600); BRO, Acc. 28, No. 8. Other spellings of Snigg include Snigge and Snygge.

- 85 BRO, E. Lucas, undated, typescript transcript, Egerton charter 5824, Kingston Estate Papers at Nottingham.
- 86 BRO, Ralph Allen Estate Papers, Boxes 1 (no. 1) & 2.
- 87 BRO, deed, Acc. 28, No. 8.
- 88 BRO, Acc. 28, No. 32.
- 89 *Ibid*, Nos. 37 & 40, original documents.
- 90 Thorpe's *Plan* & schedule.
- 91 BRO, Corporation documents, Bundle 6, No. 73.
- 92 BRO, Acc. 28, No. 8.
- 93 British Library, Abstract of Title, Egerton charter 3647, f.132 – copy transcript kindly provided by Miss E. Holland.
- 94 SRO, DD/BR/Sb2 N/68.
- 95 SRO, D/D/Rg 15.
- 96 Egerton charter 3647, *op. cit.*, f.109.
- 97 SRO, lease of 1656 – DD/BR/Sb3 N/68.
- 98 *Ibid*.
- 99 SRO, deed – DD/X/FRC 1 C/71.
- 100 BRO, Deed Packet 3086.
- 101 Bath Library, MS 1699, Walcot Estate Papers.
- 102 Wood (1765), pp.240-3. Wood purchased parts of it for his building schemes.
- 103 Rev. R.G. Bartelot, 'New Light on Bath Abbey and Priory', *PSANHS*, Bath Branch (1939-47), p.180.
- 104 SRO, Walcot rentals and survey, 1623-41 – DD/BR/Sb2 N/68.
- 105 J. Youings, 'The Church', in J. Thirsk ed., *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol. IV, 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), pp.311-2.
- 106 Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, Vol. VI, p.448, C66/1127, Pt. V, No. 2823, Pt. viii, sub-sections 1 & 8, mm 1-7; BRO, P.R. James (1942), *op. cit.*, Part II, note to No. 43; Walcot rentals and survey, 1623-41.
- 107 'Farm of the Rectory' amounting to £10 in Ministers' Accounts, 1539 – *op. cit.*; BRO, deed, Acc. 28, No. 8; Walcot rental, 1623; James, thesis, p.204.
- 108 Information from various sources, including Walcot rentals, 1623-41, giving names and acreages of most grounds; and BRO, Freeman's Estate, Box 1, Nos. 19-22, descriptions in depositions, law-suit, 1612.
- 109 PRO, OS map 29/288 & description 1526/9145 & 9147.
- 110 SRO, DD/X/HY 1; SRO, DD/SE 28, Box 4; Barton sections, Walcot rentals, 1623-41, *op. cit.*; British Library, Cartularium Prioratus de Bath, Egerton MS 3316, f.55d; Bath Library, P.R. James, photostat copy and MS transcript of Cartularium (1952).
- 111 1:2,500 OS map, Somerset VIII, 9 & 13 (1887); cf. 1884 with 1903 and subsequent OS maps.
- 112 The manor was 'Lincumba' (Lyncombe) at Domesday and later, but in the seventeenth century it was known as 'the manor of Lyncombe and Widcombe'. A lease of 18 May 1614 (in SRO, DD/SE 28, Box 4) refers to 'Widcombe alias Woodcombe in the tithing of Lyncombe'; 'lawn' or 'laund' is 'a glade or open space among woods or in a park' (OED); British Library, Harleian MS 3970, fo.30 (Priory leases).
- 113 *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1300-1326, Vol. III (HMSO, London, 1908), p.47,

- m 1; Cartularium Prioratus de Bath, *op. cit.*, f.26.
- 114 Rev. W. Stokes Shaw, 'Notes on the Chapel and Hospital of St Mary Magdalene', *Bath Field Club*, Vol. II (1869), p.106; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1327-41, Vol. IV (1912), p.341, m 9; Cartularium, *op. cit.*, f.48d; '28/4d – issues of the fairs of Lyncombe and Launcedon', sole item under 'Hundred of Berton – issues of the hundred' in Ministers' Accounts, 1539, *op. cit.*
- 115 Crown grant of 17 March 1585 – SRO, DD/SE 28, Box 4; also in *Draft Patent Rolls*, List & Index Society, Vol. 241 (1990), pp.9-11, 27 Elizabeth I, Pt. 1, C66/1254, m 39; SRO, Tithe Maps of Weston and Langridge; Gloucestershire Record Office (GRO), 'Articles of Agreement', 1700 in D/1799, T64; see also Wood (1765), p.128 and Collinson (1791), Vol. 1, p.159; Bath Library, Rev. C. W. Shickle (sometime rector of Langridge), MS notebook on Langridge and neighbourhood (c.1895) – A50.345 re Lansdown Manor tax.
- 116 SRO, DD/X/HY 1.
- 117 *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Elizabeth I (HMSO, 1939 ff), Vol. V, No. 2522 (16 July 1572), mm 12-15; a large grain rent of wheat, barley and oats was 'due yearly from the farmer of the Manor of Weston and lands of Launcedowne' – *ibid*; GRO, D/1799, T62 – conveyance from Crown lessee (11 June 1573); also Crown patent (5 July 1602); *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Elizabeth I, Vol. VII, Pt. IV, C66/1140 (13 April 1576), No. 477, m 22.
- 118 *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Elizabeth I, Vol. VII, Pt. II, C66/1165, No. 2690 (30 June 1578), mm 34-5. The Eweflock wintered in Corston, Stanton Prior and Priston; see M. Costen, 'Stantonbury and District', *Bristol and Avon Archaeology*, Vol. II (1983), p.33, quoting a survey of 1530 in SRO, DD/BR/c 1402.
- 119 BRO, Abstracts of Title, No. 26; M.A.E. Green ed., *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-60* (HMSO, London, 1889-92), Pt. I, p.725; Pt. III, p.2363; Pt. V, pp.3302-3; BRO, Abstracts of Title, No. 26; GRO, D/1799, T64-65 (various conveyances); *ibid*, T67.
- 120 Crown grant of 15 March 1585 – *op. cit.*; GRO, D/1799, T67 – conveyance of 25 March 1701; SRO, D/D/wae/3/1/1 (Weston Glebe Terrier).
- 121 PRO, E112, Exchequer Bills & Answers, Som 203, Easter, 7 James I (1609); 1701 conveyance, *op. cit.*; see also Tithe Apportionment.

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