

Bath Spa for Horses – Two Thermal Horse Baths and their sites

Elizabeth Holland, Mike Chapman and Colin Johnston

BATH'S TUDOR HORSE BATH has been made famous by the map inset with Speed's map of Somerset, first published in 1610. The bath is shown lying in the present Southgate redevelopment area, to the east of the Tudor Southgate Street. The map shows a horse sporting in its waters. It was fed by the overflow from the King's Bath spring, which in the Southgate area was given the title of the Bum Ditch. [fig.1], [fig.2].

The Council Minutes of the 1790s also mention the creation of another Horse Bath. Until 2008 its position was not known, but papers recently discovered

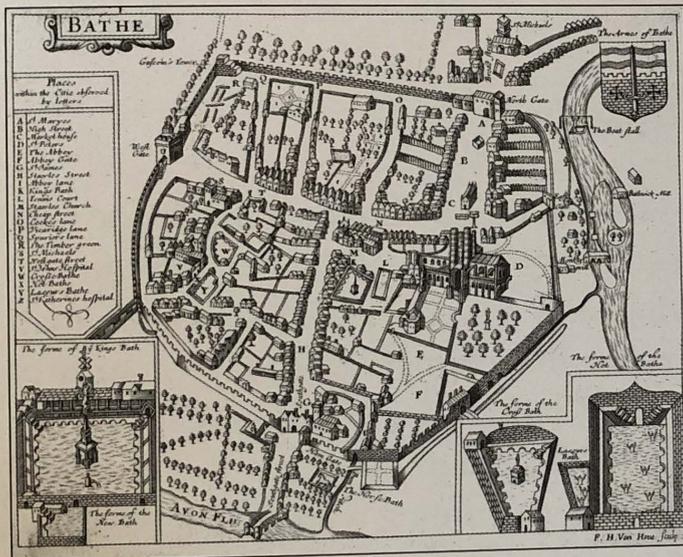


fig 1: Bath as depicted in John Speed's Map of Somersetshire, 1610. This inset in Speed's map of the County provides a detailed plan of the City of Bath.

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by Colin Johnston enable its site to be located precisely, more so than that of the Tudor Horse Bath - i.e. it was in the premises known as No.17 Stall Street before the modern retail block was built. These buildings, at the south-east end of the street, are popularly known as 'the Marks and Spencer block': the bath lay somewhere in the middle.

This article examines what is known and what can be conjectured about the two baths. The history of the Ham meadow, as the location of the Tudor Horse Bath was called, has been summarised in Mike Chapman's booklet¹ on the Ham and Southgate areas, the first detailed description of the locality to be

Facing: Detail from John Speed's map of Somersetshire, 1627 edition.

The Horse Bath is shown below Ham Gate, to the west of Bum Ditch.

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published. The story of the site on which the Georgian Horse Bath stood has never been recorded. This seems an opportune moment to recount it, and the article ends with a study of the changing uses of the area, reflecting the changing tastes of each age.



fig 2: Detail from John Speed's map of Somersetshire, 1627 edition. Showing the area to the south of the city, including Ham Gate, the Horse Bath, Bum Ditch and Southgate Street.

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The Tudor Horse Bath

In the first volume of *Bath History*, Stephen Bird pointed out that in the plan of Bath inset in Speed's map of Somerset, many details of the city are correct.² The ruined Abbey dominates the drawing, and it seems possible that the map was created as part of the campaign to restore that church. From a long study of its contents, the Survey of Old Bath would judge that it is based on a very accurate survey of the city, correct for c.1575, though of course the Jacobean engraver has not done the justice to it that modern printing would achieve - some of the angles and other proportions are wrong. However the essence is there, and we can believe that a Tudor hot bath for horses really existed.

Speed does not give 'pases' (paces) for this map and it is therefore not one of those drawn by himself, but one which he had collected. In the old Reference Library in Queen Square it used to be catalogued as 'Girtin's map inset'. There was a later cartographer named Girtin, but the Tudor Girtin has not yet been rediscovered.

About 1575, therefore, Bath possessed something unique in Britain, a thermal bath for horses. Bath had suffered a period of decline after the Dissolution. The cloth trade was moving away from the old guild towns to the

countryside - cloth factories were sometimes even set up in the sites of the despoiled monasteries. At the same time, the city had lost any income from sales or employment created by the Priory. The situation has been discussed by Dr. John Wroughton in *Tudor Bath*.³ The city fathers set out to promote the Spa, offering the benefits of the waters even to the horse world. Presumably the idea came to them from the writings of Dr. William Turner, as quoted below - and presumably before 1567, since the Horse Bath has not been discovered in the Chamberlain's Accounts, which date from that year.⁴

In his booklet on the Ham and Southgate area of Bath, Mike Chapman points out that in 1279 the Bishop confirmed to the Prior his ownership of 'the meadow of the Ham below the wall' (*hamm* signifying water meadow).⁵ The grant included 'Isabelle mulle' or Isabel mill, with a garden and the right to make two fishponds proper to the mill. Leland also mentioned that the water from the King's Bath turned a mill and then went into the Avon above Bath Bridge.⁶ This suggests that Isabel Mill, if that were it, was still operating in his day.

Mike Chapman has taken the view that when the site ceased to be used as a mill, the mill-pond may have been re-used as the Horse Bath. On the diagram reproduced from the Southgate booklet a site for Isabel Mill is suggested corresponding with the possible location of Speed's Horse Bath. This also corresponds with an indentation in the eastern boundaries of the old properties along that stretch. [fig. 3].

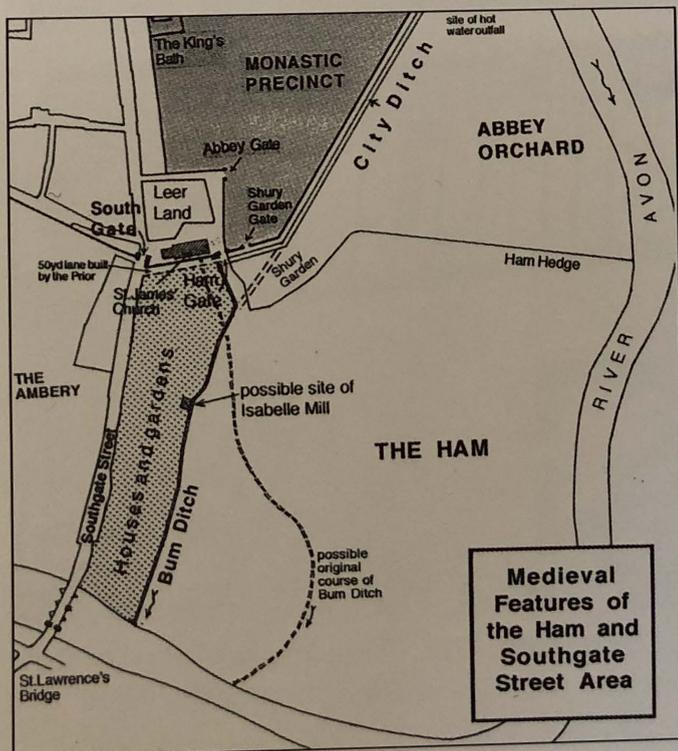


fig 3: Medieval Features of the Ham and Southgate Street Area. Showing the possible site for Isabelle Mill.

Illustration by Mike Chapman

John Wood stated in his *Essay* that while the construction of the Queen's Bath was in hand (in 1576), '.. a large Pond was made in a Garden upon the South Side of Saint James's Church to receive the waste Water of the King's Bath; and this was some time used as a Bath for Horses, and called the Horse Bath'.⁷ Note the slightly different site. Also, it would suggest that the only outflow from the King's Bath ran eastwards and then into the Avon on the east, that it had to be stopped while the Queen's Bath was built, and that the southwards drain was a new one. However as already pointed out, Leland stated that water from the King's Bath ran southwards, and there is evidence that it did so long before him.

The Colthurst family held the Ham in the latter sixteenth century, and any cold watercourses would be included. However by that time the City considered itself to be in charge of the thermal springs, with a right to use the water as it chose. Speed's drawing actually shows the Horse Bath within the gardens of the houses alongside Southgate Street, with the name 'The Horse Bath' lying in the Ham. No surviving deed from the properties in that area mentions the Horse Bath. They date from the late sixteenth century on, and it appears that the bath did not last. Gilmore's map of 1694 does not show it. [fig. 4].

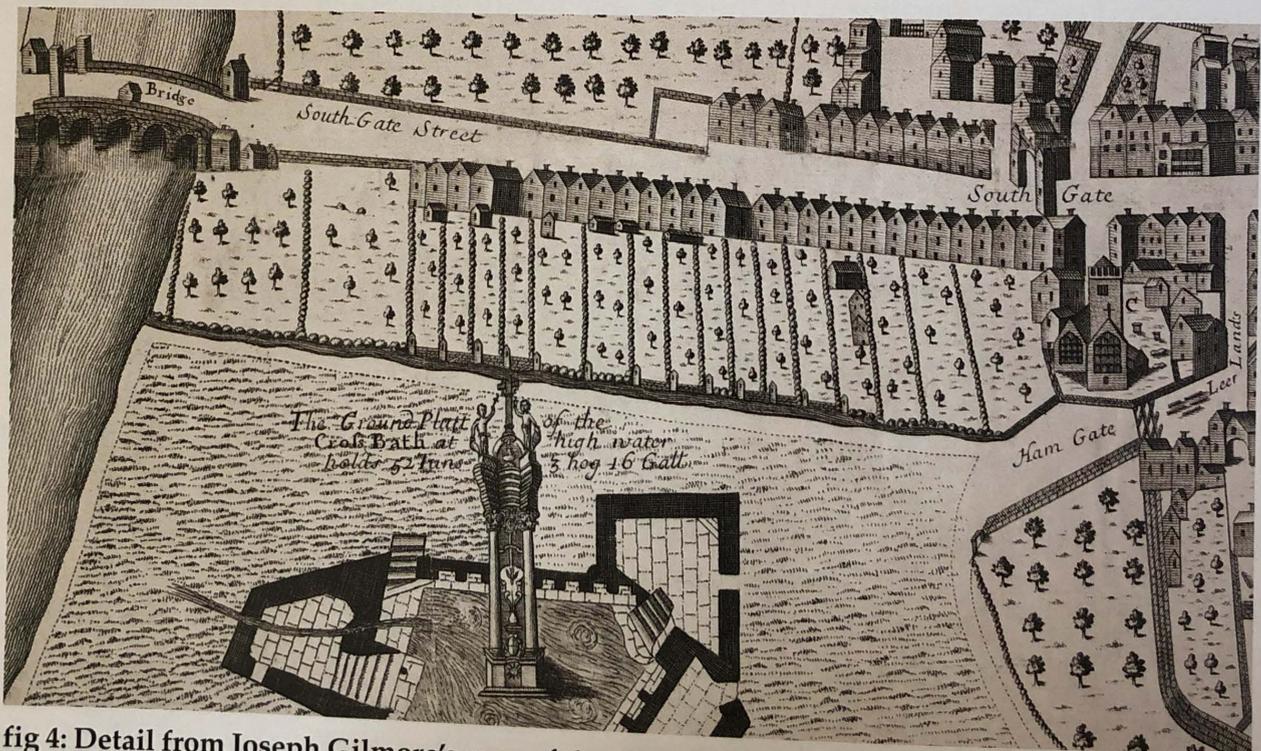


fig 4: Detail from Joseph Gilmore's map of the City of Bath, 1717. Originally published in 1694, this detail shows the privies lining the Bum Ditch on the eastern side of Southgate Street. Bath in Time – Bath Central Library Collection

The Georgian Horse Bath

Early in 2008 Colin Johnston discovered among the papers of the City Chamberlain some invoices and receipts dated 1793, referring to the Horse Bath of the time, which he checked with the original Council Minutes. Although the existence of a reference to the Horse Bath was known, it was not previously known whether it had actually been built. The Minutes and the new papers also made it possible to state exactly where the Horse Bath lay.

Three people are particularly mentioned – firstly Walter Wiltshire, probably the well-known carrier discussed by Dr. Brenda Buchanan. Secondly John Symons, a surgeon who as Trevor Fawcett points out in *Bath Administer'd*, had managed the baths himself for about ten years until 1787, being then replaced by a Council Committee. Thirdly, Harry Atwood, also a surgeon.⁸

There is reference to the void ground belonging to the Atwoods in Stall Street: this was the site later called No. 17 Stall Street. The invoices also included Mr. Biggs's house, and this helps make the site precise. Thomas Biggs held what was later known as No.18 Stall Street.⁹ The nature of the Atwood's ground, No. 17, is more complicated, because it once consisted of two properties, both of which were held at one time by the Atwoods.

Isaac Titley, salt refiner, gathered up the three old properties at the north-west corner of our block, as well as the "Salthouse" which had been created at the east of them. This Salthouse was once held by Richard Gullidge, who also once owned the southernmost of Titley's three properties against Stalls Street. The holdings are shown in [fig. 5].

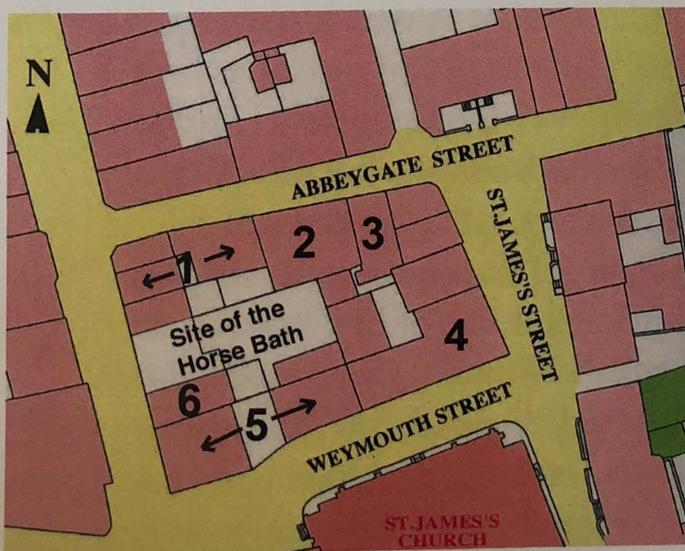


fig 5: Detail of the land north of St James's Church in Georgian times. See main text for a description for the holdings of each numbered property.

Illustration by Mike Chapman

Titley's lease of 1797 for Gullidge's old holding states that the property to the south of it, the *northern* side of No. 17, is void and the building has been taken down by the Corporation.¹⁰ This land once belonged to the Atwoods and was mortgaged by William Chapman. William Chapman's lease of 1767 states that south of it, the *southern* part of No.17, there is void land belonging to the Atwoods, formerly to Moses Catchmore and others.¹¹ Thomas Biggs' lease of 1789 for No.18 states that he has void ground north of him now belonging to the Corporation.

There is therefore no doubt that when the Horse Bath was mooted, the site of No.17 Stall Street was 1) void, 2) land associated with the Atwoods, 3) next to the house of Thomas Biggs. Not surprisingly, no other site in Stall Street had these three attributes. There is therefore no doubt as to where the Georgian Horse Bath was built.

Presumably here were a couple of old properties, built after the Dissolution into the site of what was once the churchyard of St. James's Church, which had, as is said now, passed their sell-by date. There were apparently no takers for the land at the time, and there was a chance of profit from the bath. It also added to the amenities of the Spa.

Colin Johnston's discovery attracted a good deal of media attention, and the purpose of a hot bath for horses was discussed on national radio. Dr. Louise Curth, senior lecturer in Health Studies at Bath Spa University suggested that the bath was intended to have medicinal uses (as the reference to the two surgeons would suggest), as proposed in the Tudor age by Dr. William Turner. Water is often used in the management of horses, for instance wading in sea water to strengthen legs. Horses with injured limbs will swim around a heated pool, exercising their legs without placing weight on them. It may well be that the bath was intended to be therapeutic. Here it is worth quoting what Dr. Turner said in his writings on the baths:

Furthermore because almighty God hath shapen & made herbes, stones, gummes, metalles & medicines of diverse other thinges, principally for man, it is to be thought that this will is that the same should som tyme serve such creatures of his, as man can not wel want. Wherefore as it is wel done that herbes & medecines made of diverse other thinges, should be geven unto the beastes that serve us, so I thinke that it were not amisse, if that we made the bathes after they have served man, for whom they were

principally made, serve also to help horses. For performing whereof I would wishe that one or ii. bathes in som convenient place might be drawen out from one or two of the hottest baths, and then wold I have so devised, that the horses that have diseases in the legges and joyntes, might stand in the bath almoste unto the belly, and that other that have other diseases, might stand hygher in the water, whych thynge maye easelye be brought to passe, if that two holes be made wyth stopholes, the one hygher, and the other lower, that a man maye set the horse as depe or shalowe as he list, the water increasynge or decreasyng accordinge to the holdinge in or lettinge out of the water.

I thinke verely that the bath of brimstone within the space of a moneth wil heale splentes, spavines, and all knobbes, hard lumpes and swellinges, if they be not verye olde, frettishinge or founderinge facies or fashones, and al such like disease that are without, if the horses by the advise of a cunning horsleche have geven them conveniente drinckes them [sic] before they come to the bath, and orden for them such emplasters and pouders as are mete for them to use in the bathynge tyme, but whylse they stande restinge them selves oute of the bathe. And my advise is that they that have not mucche money to bestowe upon horsleches, that they laye in good quantite the slyme and groundes of the bathe upon the sore places of the horsse all that tyme that they are oute of the bathe, restinge them in the stable betwene one bathynge tyme and an other. But I woulde not that anye man shoulde understande me here that I woulde not that the horse should be exercised in theyr bathinge tyme, for that is not my meaninge, for I would that a horse shoulde be as well exercised as a man, and so mucche more as he is stronger then a man, excepte the diseases be in his fete, and then are they more measurablye to be exercised.¹²

All the same, it is possible that grooming also played a part. Washing down working animals is traditional and still carried on overseas with buffalo and elephants. Plato mentions the hot and cold springs of Atlantis and the use of baths for cattle and horses, though he does not state whether he supposed

these to be hot. Trevor Fawcett has referred to washing-places for horses in a recent article in the *Bath Magazine*, and in a private communication he has pointed out that information on these, particularly off Walcot Street and in places near the Old Bridge, is gained from newspaper reports of horses, riders, and sometimes whole coaches being swept away by the current.¹³ A more convenient system would be desirable.

Trevor Fawcett points out the importance of horses and coaching in the infrastructure of the time. Horses were pastured outside the city, sometimes as far south as Widcombe and Lyncombe. They may have been washed down before being led through the South Gate. The location of many coaching inns in the district concerned is known.

Opposite the site of the bath lay the Lamb Inn, famous as a coaching inn (not the later Lamb which used once to be called the Mermaid). On the south side of the Lamb was the Royal Oak. Towards the north-west end of Stall Street was the famous White Hart mentioned later by Jane Austen and Dickens. The Beare lay at the north end of Stall Street, soon to be replaced by Union Street. On the east side of Stall Street, on the site which is now the south-western corner of York Street, stood the ancient Three Tuns, rebuilt when York Street was created. It possessed extensive stabling, sites later cut through by Swallow Street.

The diagram shows how the thermal water may have run southwards from the King's Bath to be available for the new Horse Bath. The basic property

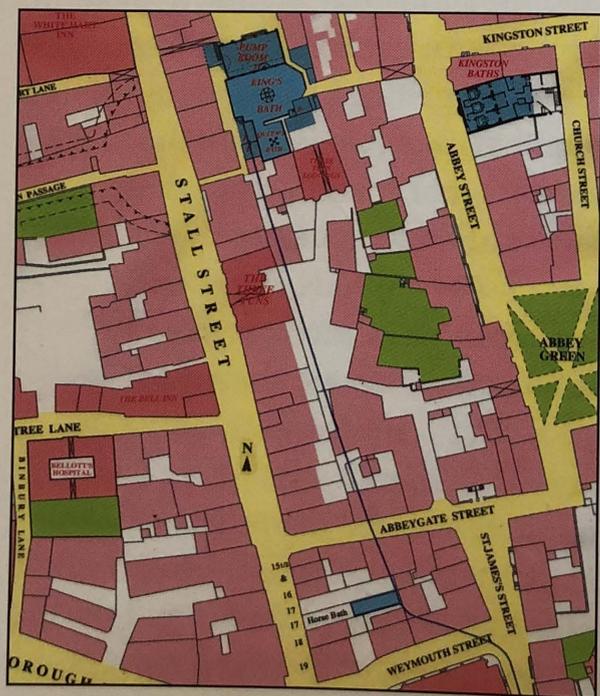


fig 6: Detail of buildings in the Stall Street area of Bath in Georgian times. The possible route of thermal water is traced running from the King's Bath parallel to Stall Street, to the Horse Bath.

Illustration by Mike Chapman after Peter Davenport

outlines in this plan have been taken from the late eighteenth century map in the Survey's *The Spa Quarter of Bath*, commissioned by the Spa Project Team and drawn by Mike Chapman.¹⁴ The route of the water has been adapted from Peter Davenport, *Medieval Bath Uncovered*.¹⁵ Part of a thermal channel was discovered during excavations by Bath Archaeological Trust, confirming the flow of water southwards as described by Leland. Presumably the channel was originally created by Bishop John de Villula to run parallel to the western perimeter wall of his palace enclave, the palace being the subject of the Trust's excavation.

The water is shown running away south-eastwards so as to join with the Ham Gate and then flow southwards to the river. Even if it did not follow this line originally, it would have had to be redirected when St. James's Church was built (1279). Where it enters the block of property in which the Horse Bath was situated, it crosses the site of the Salthouse, and may have been useful in running that workshop. [fig. 6].

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New evidence

The new evidence discovered in the city archives by Colin Johnston is as follows. Firstly, the Council Minutes: February 6th 1793

14th To take into Consideration the Expediency and Utility of making a Hot Bath for Horses with Suitable Conveniences thereto on the Void Piece of Ground on the East Side of Stall Street in this City lately belonging to John Atwood and to Resolve what is fit and ought to be done therein. -

A Plan & Elevation for a Horse Bath on the East side of Stall Street in this City with Suitable Conveniences thereto with an Estimate of the Expences attending the making the same being now produced and taken into Consideration and thought useful *Therefore Resolved* that the same be and is hereby approved and ordered to be carried into Execution under the direction of the Mayor Justices and Chamberlain of this City for the time being together with Walter Wiltshire Esqr. Mr. John Symons and Mr. Harry Atwood or any three of them who are hereby made a Committee for that Purpose.¹⁶

The Plan and Elevation have not so far been forthcoming. Unfortunately key diagrams are often missing, as if some collector's hand has been at work. Presumably there was a ramp at each end leading in and out of the water, and a walkway at the side for attendants. Unless an invoice is missing, there seem to have been no railings, as ironwork is not mentioned.

The existence of the invoices and receipts confirms that the work was actually done. The heading of the first to be considered¹⁷ is unclear. It includes the date March 14th 1793, although the account itself runs to April 30th. The text runs: 'The Copration [sic] of the City of Bath March 14. 1793 Dr. To Jno. Fisher to puling [sic] Down wall Removing & filling the Old Stone from ye.Horse Bath'. This must refer to old stonework on the site, since the Tudor Horse Bath had disappeared long before.

The list begins with an undated entry, presumably referring to March 14th itself, for 1 man for 1 day's work for pulling down the wall, 1/6d. It continues with entries for carts for hauling and men for filling. Later on April 25th there were two carts and men hauling rubbish that came out of the 'Schore', i.e. sewer, for 17/- - carts were evidently expensive.

The total amount owing on this account was £10.5.6 to which was added '£33.16.11' referring to the total from another paper, making in all £44.2.5. The names J. Symons and A.M. Mayor appear at the bottom.

A second paper states that it is for digging and removing the earth from the foundation of the Horse Bath in Stall Street, from March 14th to May 18th 1793. It cites the sum of £33.16.11, for digging and carting away as per agreement, and adds in the other bill of £10.5.6. There follows a receipt for the total of the two bills, at £44.2.5 with fivepence deducted, at £44.2.0, 'Received ... by me Jno. Fisher'.

Another and much clearer invoice¹⁸ is for sums owing to Walter Harris and Samuel Wallop, headed 'for Masons & Labourers Work at the Horse Bath & Biggs's House adjoining' - dated 'Beginning April 9th and ending May 7th 1793', and covering 'Ground Pining Walls Digging & Making a Sewer etc'. Mortar boys are charged at 8d.a day, masons' boys 1/2d., labourers 1/8d., the masons 2/6d. and Mr. Harris himself 3/-.

Supplies include lime, gripes, two baskets, and candles. There is also beer, a necessary part of accounts, at 10d. The total is £9.6.7. This time the paper ends with the names of Thos. Chantry and A.M. Mayor. Once again there is a receipt, signed by Walter Harris. Again it has been discounted: the

sum of 5/3d. has been removed (as noted on the bill itself) and Harris gets £9.1.4.

These six items - one reference in the Council Minutes, three invoices and two receipts - comprise all that is known about the creation of the Georgian Horse Bath. The deeds held at the Record Office enable its site to be shown as the later No. 17 Stall Street. In 1802 Richard Cruttwell made a bid for the land. His new lease referring to his new buildings¹⁹ is dated 1807 and the life of the bath was evidently short.

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The History of the Sites

The history of the sites is interesting as indicating the kind of spot where a bath for horses might be built. The Tudor Horse Bath was in an area which had always traditionally been open land used for grazing south of the city walls. *Hamm* signifies 'Water meadow', as already mentioned. Mike Chapman's booklet on the Ham and Southgate areas outlined what is known about this district, and can be referred to where further background material is of interest.

The Tudor Horse Bath will have arisen naturally out of the visible flow of hot water on the site, combined with the efforts of the City fathers to promote the Spa, and Dr. William Turner's suggestions. The Georgian Horse Bath again was naturally part of the promotion of the Spa, in this case with the opportunist use of an empty site.

John de Villula's Bishop's Palace, apparently in use by 1106, seems to have had no housing against its western perimeter wall, but probably a grassy bank grazed on by geese and goats. The road running past it was still called "the way from Stalls Street to the South Gate". By the end of the thirteenth century the Bishops had effectively ceased to live in Bath, and they began granting out building plots, including the land against their western wall. At about the same time, they caused the old Church of St. James's (wherever it had previously been sited, on which there are different interpretations) to be moved to the southern part of the area now called popularly 'the Marks and Spencer block'.

The whole area of this block was once a close belonging to the De Gournay family, with a piece by the South Gate belonging to the rector of the

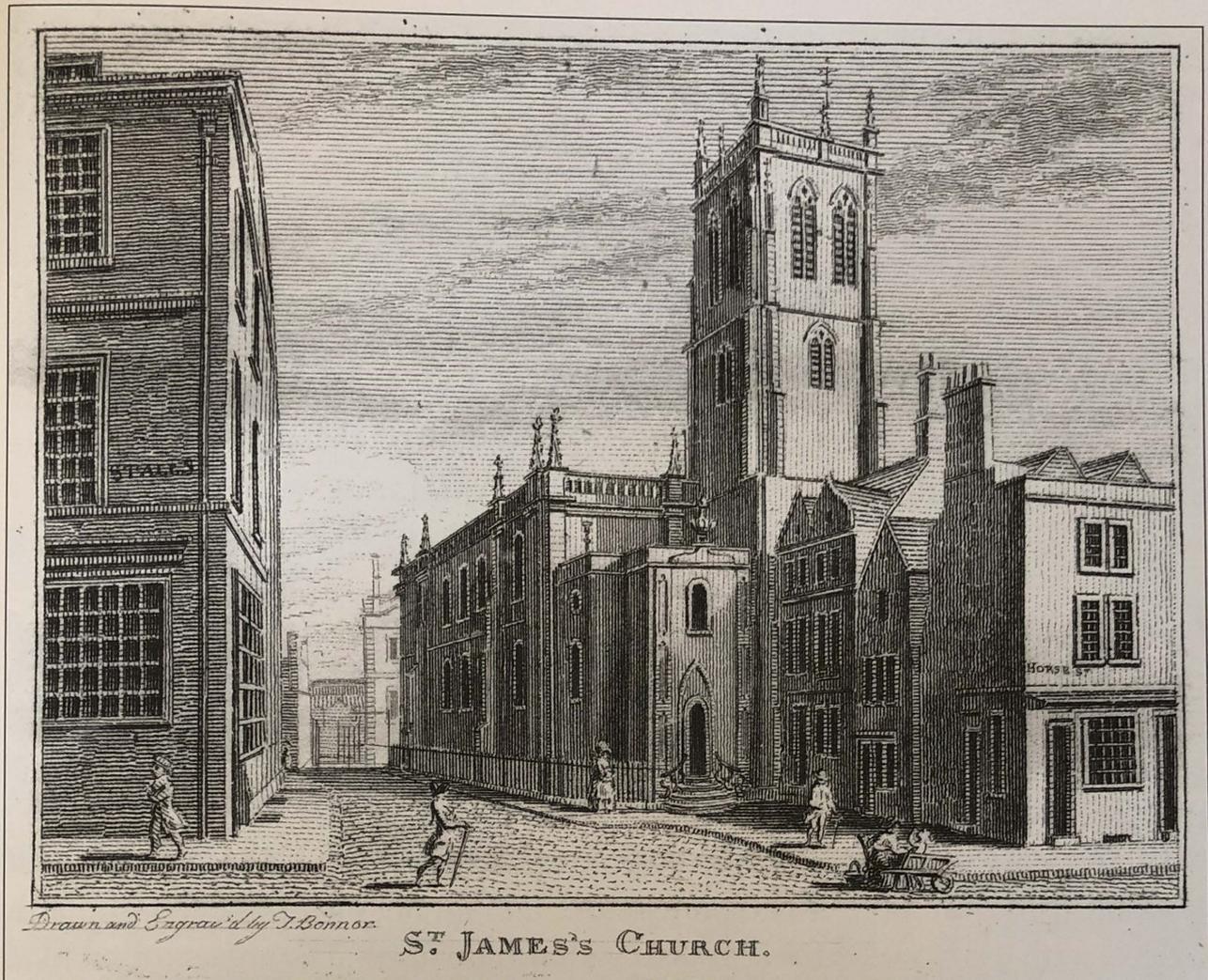


fig 7: St. James's Church, 1784. Close to the site of the Horse Bath, see fig 5. Drawn and engraved by T. Bonnor, 10 March 1784. Note that Horse Street (recorded on the right-hand building) became Southgate Street in the 1820s.

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we review the area in the days of the Horse Bath, it is hardly a smart district. Buildings still stood at the west end of the church where the tennis court had once been erected. They were cleared away when the tower of St. James's was enlarged again. North of the church Weymouth Street had already appeared by 1778. [fig.7].

North of the church, we can see the layout of the times on an enlarged section of the Survey's map already used above to illustrate the possible route of thermal water to the Horse Bath [fig. 5]. 5: 1 indicates the properties already referred to, belonging to Isaac Titley, salt refiner. 5: 2 indicates the Salthouse itself. 5: 3 is the Talbot Inn, which later spilt over to the east, as shown in a later

drawing. Cruttwell held most of the eastern side: 5: 4 is the Printing House. A very fine elevation of this exists in Bath Central Library Collections. The two executors of the original Richard Cruttwell, i.e. William Matthewes and Richard Shuttleworth Cruttwell, held it by lease of 1800. 5: 5 was once part of the Golden Lyon. In 1774 the Atwoods held it, at which date it was already no longer the Golden Lyon. The Atwoods were braziers, and a workshop is marked on their plan. By 1778 it was leased to Dafter, who held the mortgage, and in 1804 to Henry Griffith, currier. The building was later called 19 Stall Street. 5: 6 is 18 Stall Street, Thomas Biggs's house. The void ground is the site of the Horse Bath. Biggs held No. 18 by lease of 1789. By 1821 Griffith leased it, with a William Biggs, vendor of newspapers, as one of the lives.²²

To summarise, our first information on the site is that it was held by the De Gournays, one of the great families. It then became a religious venue, and the block was for long a churchyard. The Spa then crept in, with the Golden Lyon and its stabling and inn accommodation. By the late eighteenth century we find industry typical of the dawning Industrial Revolution. Nowadays it is the site of retail outlets.

In 1802 Richard Shuttleworth Cruttwell bid for the land of No. 17. By his lease of April 20th 1807, he had built a stone and timber messuage with suitable offices, with the front set back so as to widen Stall Street. The area continued in much the same pattern until the bombing of the Second World War, when St. James's Church was burnt out in 1942. The church was finally demolished in 1957. It was decided to redevelop the whole area, including St. James's Street South and Weymouth House. Part of Weymouth House had already been demolished to create the rotunda used for the National Schools. Some picturesque houses were included in the final demolition, some of which were mentioned in Adam Fergusson's *The Sack of Bath*.²³ The new development block, completed in 1961, included the Marks and Spencer building by the architects Munro and Partners, considered in Pevsner as 'one of the better postwar commercial buildings in this part of the town', and the (former) Woolworth building by W.B. Brown.²⁴ [fig. 8].

The modern retail block was a great success, providing many happy shopping hours. It can be seen in the illustration, across the Southgate development site. Looking at it, the spectator would naturally never guess its history. There is no sign of St. James's Church, nor the De Gournay's close

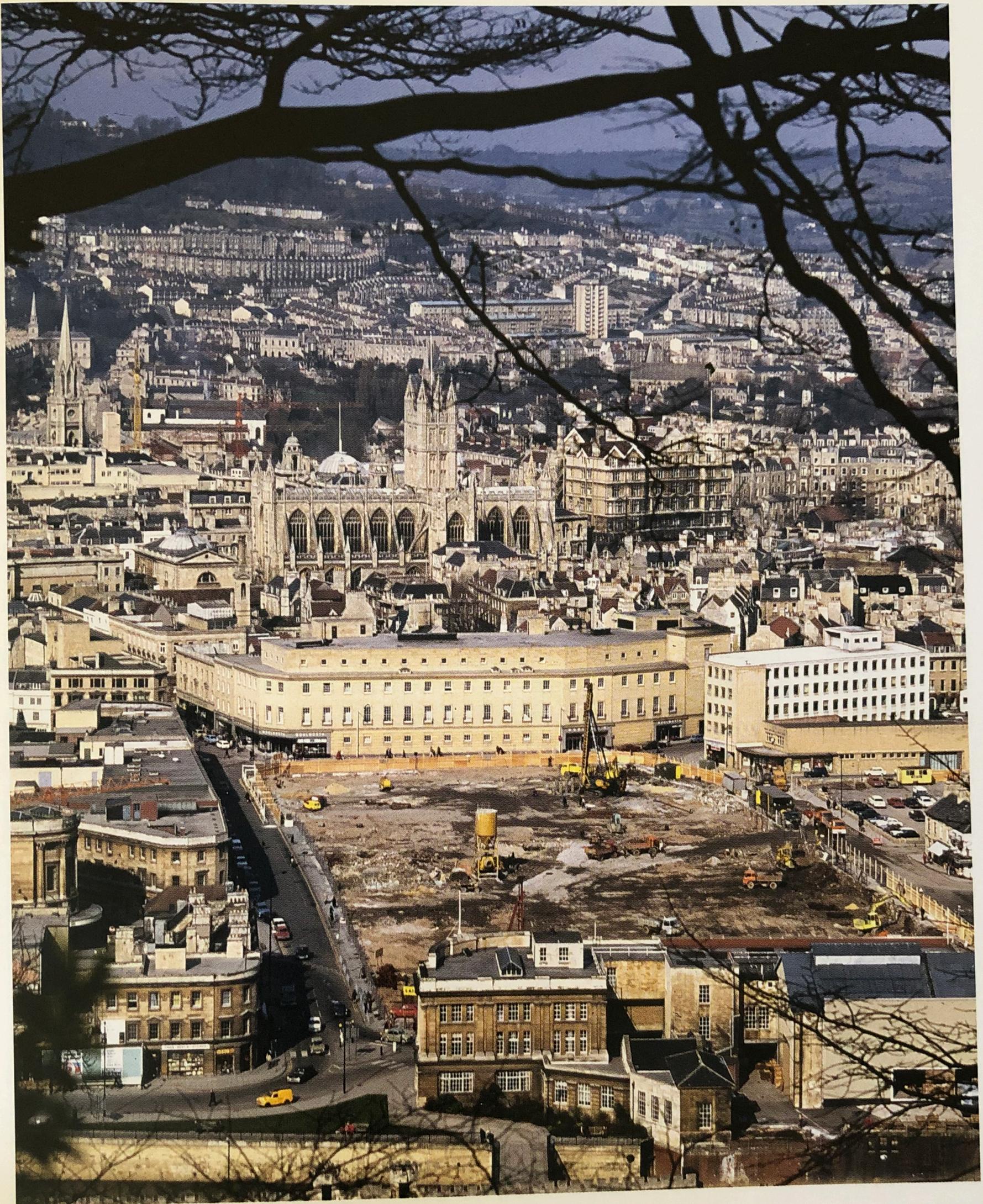


fig 8: View of Bath from Beechen Cliff, March 1972. The neo-Georgian Woolworth block of 1961 was built on the site of St. James's Church. The old Southgate area is shown cleared prior to building the previous Southgate Shopping Centre.
Bath in Time – Photograph by Snowdon

which preceded it. The Golden Lyon has vanished, and the later Talbot, the Atwood's works and Cruttwell's printing works. It is only in 2008 that it has even been realised that the Georgian Horse Bath once lay there.

Notes

1. Mike Chapman, *An Historical Guide to the Ham and Southgate Area of Bath* (The Survey of Old Bath, 1997), *passim*.
2. Stephen Bird, 'The Earliest Map of Bath', *Bath History Vol.I* (Alan Sutton, 1986), p.145.
3. John Wroughton, *Tudor Bath, Life and Strife in the Little City 1485-1603* (The Lansdown Press, 2006), pp.38 ff, 'Decline in the Economy'.
4. F.D. Wardle, 'The Accounts of the Chamberlains of the City of Bath 1568-1602', *Somerset Record Society Vol.38*, 1923.
5. W. Hunt, 'Two Chartularies of Bath Priory', *Somerset Record Society Vol.7*, 1893, ii, 808.
6. L. Toulmin Smith ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543* (1907), part.II, p.142.
7. John Wood, *An Essay toward a Description of Bath*, 1765 edition, p.207.
8. Walter Wiltshire: cf. Dr. Brenda Buchanan, 'Walter Wiltshire', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP, 2004).
John Symons: cf. Trevor Fawcett, *Bath Administer'd, Corporation Affairs at the 18th-Century Spa* (Ruton, 2001), p.15, under 'Baths and Pump Rooms'.
Harry Atwood: a connection of the Chapman family named as a surgeon on Corporation leases. Cf. BC/152/2362 (*Furman's Repertory*). Lease of June 27th 1766, in the Sawclose, to Harry Atwood surgeon and Elizabeth Atwood spinster.
9. Bath Record Office, BC/153/3376/1/4. Lease of November 23rd 1789 to Mr. Thomas Biggs, yeoman. With plan. '...bounded on the North by Void Ground...'. This lease should actually be under section 3 of the deed packet.
10. BRO, BC/153/3376/1/6. Lease of July 10th 1797 to Isaac Titley. With plan. 'bounded ... on the South by Void Ground on which a messuage some time past stood ... demised ... to William Chapman but which demise is expired or surrendered and the Messuage taken down ...'.
11. BRO, BC/152/2389 (*Furman's Repertory*). Lease of July 13th 1767 to William Chapman of Lyncombe and Widcombe, gentleman (i.e. William Chapman, alderman and mayor, illustrated on p.32 of the *Survey of Bath and District*, No. 22, October 2007. Owner of Lyncombe Farm, now called Lyncombe Hall). 'a Tenement formerly of Moses Catchmore and others now a Void Piece of Ground belonging to Messrs. Atwood's on the Southside ... now in possession of [i.e. the

main property itself] John Atwood and James Atwood ...'. Cruttwell's lease of April 20th 1807 states that William Chapman held a mortgage on this property (see note 19).

12. Dr. William Turner, *A book of the natures and properties of the baths of England*, (1562).
13. Trevor Fawcett, 'Georgian Horsepower', *The Bath Magazine*, Issue 16 (MC Publishing Ltd., June 2008), p.42. Letter to Elizabeth Holland, in 'Correspondence', *The Survey of Bath and District*, No. 23, (The Survey of Old Bath, October 2008).
14. Giles White (Project editor), Mike Chapman and Elizabeth Holland, *The Spa Quarter of Bath, A History in Maps* (Survey of Old Bath for the Bath Spa Project, 2005), 'Spa Sites in Bath in the Early 1770s', p.13.
15. Peter Davenport, *Medieval Bath Uncovered* (Tempus, 2002), illus.60, p.136.
16. BRO, Council Minute Book No. 11, February 6th 1793, p.441.
17. BRO, Corporation Vouchers / 1793 / 219 (two invoices and receipt).
18. BRO, Corporation Vouchers / 1793 / 178 (invoices and receipt).
19. BRO, BC / 153 / 3376 / 2 / 1. Lease of April 20th 1807 to Richard Shuttleworth Cruttwell. With plan, showing the six feet the property has been set back fronting Stall Street. A plot of ground with newly erected and built at his own costs a Stone and Timber Messuage. Refers back to William Chapman's lease of 1767.
20. BL Egerton MSS 3316 fol.62r.
21. PRO Charter Rolls 8 Ed.I., m12.
22. Details of all the leases in this summary can be found in the Record Office's website. Reference number for deed packets – BC / 153.
23. Adam Fergusson, *The Sack of Bath, a record and an indictment* (Compton Russell, 1973). Cf.pp.24-25.
24. Michael Forsyth, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Bath* (Yale University Press, 2003), p.114.