

# The Survey

of Bath and District

The Magazine of the Survey of Old Bath and Its Associates

No.17, November 2002

Editors: Mike Chapman

Elizabeth Holland



## THE SURVEY OF BATH AND DISTRICT

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**Front Cover Illustration:** Lyncombe Hill, pre-1970, showing (left) the gatehouse of the Baptist Burial Ground (published by permission of *The Bath Chronicle*)

**Back Cover Illustration by Stephen Beck:** 'Mr.Gainsborough discoursing upon the beauties of the picturesque to his young friend Uvedale Price'.

## **CITY NEWS**

### **B&NES Record Office**

B&NES Record Office, situated in the Guildhall, Bath, is continuing to update its amenities, under the direction of the Archivist, Colin Johnston. Computerisation of indexes, funded by a Lottery grant, is still being carried forward by James Willoughby. Mary Blagden has retired, and Lucy Jefferis has joined the staff as assistant archivist. Lucy was formerly employed on the Wills project at the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, preparing for the digitisation of Wills. Volunteers at Bath are also assisting with indexing and computerisation.

As usual, a number of interesting accessions have been received recently, including sectional drawings and plans of the coalmines at Newton St.Loe and Twerton in the mid 19th century donated by a descendant of the Carr family of Twerton.

For the time being the office is closed Mondays so as to enable staff to catch up on necessary projects. It is otherwise open 9-5, 9-4.30 on Fridays, closed 1-2 for lunch.

### **The Museum of Bath at Work**

On Sunday 1 September the Museum staged the unveiling of two works of art by the Mayor of Bath, created by the pupils of St.Andrew's Junior School, Julian Road. A bookstall provided books of all kinds from paperbacks to hardback reference works, and a refreshment stall served tea and excellent home-made cakes. Elizabeth Holland attended from the Survey, with Mrs.Ruth Haskins and Doreen Collyer of the Friends. A balloon competition was also held to mark the Museum's balloonist exhibition. The weather was fine and a very pleasant afternoon was had.

On Monday 9 September John Wragg, former main board director of Rolls Royce, gave the Michael Cross lecture at the Bath Society's Meeting Room at Green Park. The Museum's newsletter reports that a four-stroke engine made by Samuel Griffin of Bath and supplied to J.B.Bowler in 1881 to drive mineral water equipment has returned to Bath. The engine has been installed in the mineral water display area near the machinery it was intended to drive in the Corn Street works. Griffin had been Bowler's next door neighbour, with premises in the Ambury.

The Museum has enlarged its educational activities for schools by adding 'War Work' to its repertoire. In August and September it held an exhibition on the life of Patrick Alexander (1867-1943), 'pioneer balloonist, meteorologist and aeronautical engineer'. During the latter part of his life he taught aviation sciences in the United Services College. At Westward Ho! in North Devon (where presumably it still is?), this was the college Rudyard Kipling attended for two years and about which he wrote the famous *Stalky & Co.*, with its introductory poem 'Let us Now Praise Famous Men', dedicated to the staff of the College. In *Kim* he also displayed some of the knowledge of land surveying he presumably learnt there. (Kipling himself appeared as Beetle in the book.)

A balloon ascent from Sydney Gardens was proposed for 8 September 2002, as an anniversary of Patrick Alexander's ascent in 1902, which itself was an anniversary of an ascent from the Gardens by Jacques Garnier in 1802.

### **Walcot Street**

'Walcot Street Art Works' has issued its first newsletter, in August 2002. This gives details of the project, whose aim is to 'assist in the enhancement of the central area of Walcot Street'. A guided walk was arranged for Monday 16 September to discuss the pieces of work being commissioned to improve the environment. Those who wish to join the Walcot Street Design Group should contact Chinks Grylls (Lead Artist), Diana Hatton (Project Manager) or Anne Morrison on 01225 396138.

~~The newsletter lists some of the work already in sight. Metal gates have been placed at the back~~

entrance to the Beehive Yard at the bottom of Old Orchard. It is hoped also to create banners for Beehive Yard. Removable bollards for Walcot Street are envisaged. The Ladymead Fountain and Cattle Trough needs conservation, which will require a considerable amount of money, and raising this is under discussion. There are plans also to place a new stone seat by the fountain. Other plans for improving the appearance of the street are being mooted, including 'distinctive shop signage', and a street bicycle rack.

The whole project is described as a partnership between the local community, B&NES Council, and Future Heritage. At the same time Ms.Kay Ross has begun a community history project, which the Survey of Old Bath has had the pleasure of discussing with her. Part of the text of our exhibition on the history of Walcot Street, held at the Museum of Bath at Work, appears later in this issue.

### **The Lansdown Project**

John Wroughton (President of the Friends of the Survey of Old Bath) reports that for the last nine years he has been a member of a working party looking into the possibility of making the Lansdown battlefield more meaningful to walkers on the Cotswold Way. A Lottery grant of £25,000 has now been obtained to erect four interpretation panels at key points on the battlefield, together with a number of themed waymarkers. English Heritage have rated Lansdown as one of the top five battlefield sites in the country, in view of the fact that the site has been virtually undisturbed since 1643.

### **King Edward's School Bath**

King Edward's is celebrating the 450th anniversary of its founding. A commemorative volume has been published, compiled and edited by Dr.John Wroughton (see under 'Publications'). On Thursday 24 October 2002, the 450th Anniversary Wroughton Lecture was held in the Wroughton Theatre at the School, when David Starkey, well-known for his presentations on TV, spoke on 'Edward VI'. The lecture was sold out, as was last year's event. The *Chronicle* reported a very successful evening, once again organised by Dr.Wroughton. Profits were destined for King Edward's School bursaries. The evening began with a reception at 6.45 p.m.

### **The Spa Project**

The expected opening of the Spa project draws nearer, and sightseers often step into the Bimberly area of old Bath to watch progress on the building, funded by Lottery grant. Meanwhile the geological team are supervising investigations in the Southgate area of Bath, prior to the proposed redevelopment. Dr.Kellaway, Consultant Geologist to B&NES, has provided an article for this issue of the magazine summing up his views on Stonehenge. We look forward to further instalments.

### **Bath Archaeological Trust**

With the *Survey* now appearing only once a year, there is quite a lot to report from the Trust. Although carrying out the post-excavation processing of finds from Channel 4 Television's Time Team excavations has kept staff busy, it has been a comparatively quiet year for the Trust but not one without some interesting projects and discoveries. A summary of some of the work was shown in a talk and slide show by Marek Lewcun at the Friends' General Meeting in April, and two successful exhibitions of the Trust's work were held at the BRLSI in Queen Square on Local History Day in May, and at the Friends Meeting House in York Street during Heritage Open Week at which there were talks and a children's quiz for which one of the prizes was a book signed by Tony Robinson and Time Team.

Locally, one of the most interesting projects has been an assessment of the standing buildings of de Montalt Mill, Combe Down. Despite its size, the mill is almost entirely hidden from public view, but proposals to convert the extensive buildings have enabled restricted access and exploration. The mill was built in 1805 and possessed what at the time, with a diameter of 56 feet, was the largest waterwheel in England, complemented by an early Boulton & Watt steam engine in 1808. It was initially run by the

partnership of Bally, Ellen and Steart, and became famous for the production of high quality writing papers. The greatest accolade to the achievements of George Steart, the principal designer and innovator in the business, was the award of an honorary medal from the Society of Arts for his production of 'stout drawing boards'. Many of J.M.W. Turner's famous watercolours were produced using paper manufactured at the mill, including 'The French Riviera', 'The Meuse' and the Moselle Drawings. The mill was also patronised by John Constable, John Sell Cotman, David Cox, John Varley, Peter de Wint and Richard Parkes Bonington, amongst others. The mill and its machinery were sold in 1841, and by the 1850s the buildings were being used by the Bath Washing Company Limited as a laundry, whilst in 1859 Charles Noyes Kernot, a patent cloth manufacturer, was listed at the property. Several market gardeners occupied the site during the 1860s, and from 1875 the mill was run as a cabinet manufactory and traded as De Montalt Steam Works until 1883 and as J.H. Whitaker & Co. from thence until its closure in 1905, after which it gradually became derelict and overgrown.

Excavations have been carried out on a number of sites over a wide area, with the Trust having extended its working boundaries to include Dorset, Wiltshire, more of Gloucestershire, and even a bit beyond. Most of these sites have been preliminary investigations in advance of development. Below the car park at Babington House, Kilmersdon, there were only slight remains of a medieval settlement which once existed, while excavations below the car park of the Town Library at Wareham, Dorset, produced rather more substantial medieval features. Other sites investigated outside Bath have included Henstridge Quarry, Somerset (Bronze Age flints), Warmington in Warwickshire (18th-19th century sheep wash) and Stanway House, Gloucestershire (18th century culvert feeding the cascade).

In Bath itself investigations have taken place on a number of sites in the central part of the city. In November 2002 a sewer blockage required the opening up of a trench in the roadway on the north side of the Cross Bath. Here, below the remains of buildings destroyed by fire and ruinous in 1782, a succession of hard-packed Roman gravel surfaces was found. Despite the constricted trench it was possible to draw a full cross-section of the stratigraphy, and the surfaces may have formed part of an open area surrounding the Roman spring. At St. Swithin's Church in Walcot Street in January, several trenches were dug through the floor to ascertain at what depths burials existed below the floor, which itself consists almost entirely of memorial slabs of 18th and 19th century date.

More recently, a number of boreholes have been drilled to ascertain the nature of the below-ground deposits in advance of the proposed development of the Southgate area. These have been under observation by the Trust, and the details have helped to fill gaps between the trenches which were dug between 1997 and 1998. The Trust had commissioned a Ground Probing Radar (GPR) survey at the end of its last investigations in 1998 in order to define the east side of the Bum Ditch, which carried waste water from the Kings Bath during the medieval period and served as an open sewer for tenements on Southgate Street, hence the name. In addition to succeeding here, the GPR also picked up another channel running alongside it to the east, which may well be the tail race from Isabel's Mill, which probably stood somewhere in the vicinity of the present Iceland foodstore and Kentucky Fried Chicken takeaway on the south side of New Orchard Street. One of the boreholes, near here, was drilled down through this channel.

In May the Trust began digging trial trenches at the former Tyreservices garage on Crescent Lane. The site originally fell within the boundaries of the properties in Royal Crescent when it was first laid out. Construction on the crescent began in 1767 and was completed in 1774 to the design of John Wood the younger. The erection, to the rear, of stables and coach houses belonging to each of the Royal Crescent properties and fronting Crescent Lane, probably began towards the end of the main period of construction on the houses of the crescent itself. Despite the modern appearance of the building, which occupied the site of three of the former stables, the original 18th century floors, elements of the structure and 19th century additions were found to be preserved below the existing concrete floor. It was already known that Roman buildings, many burials and a road had been found during the construction of St. Andrew's Church, directly opposite, between 1870 and 1873.



**Members of the public watch from Julian Road as Time Team uncover a Roman building. The tent is directly over the vestry of St. Andrew's Church, where James Irving found Roman buildings and coffins in 1873, with the foundations of the church directly below it.**



**One of the skeletons buried beside the Fosseway as it approached the Royal Crescent.**



**The front entrance to the offices of De Montalt Mill. The two 'pylons' at the far end supported the 'launder' or duct carrying the water from the millpond (left) to the top of the wheel which stood against the side of the building.**

Although the Roman ground level was too far down to prove the existence of any burials the site did yield a surprise in the form of a substantial Roman road aligned north-east to south-west. It was probably this road that was found below the tower of St. Andrew's and not the Roman forerunner of Julian Road (Julian Road was a 19th century name given to what was *iter*, or route, IX on the Antonine itinerary). This is an exciting find, and it has now been proved that the road is in fact the hitherto missing link in the Fosse Way between the River Avon and where it met the road from Bath to the Roman port at Sea Mills. From Odd Down the Fosse Way had travelled along Old Fosse Road before passing down through Oldfield Park along ancient boundaries and crossing the river near Victoria Suspension Bridge, but where it went from there was unknown.

The Trust had already been making plans with Time Team for an investigation in this general area, and the discovery of the road at Crescent Lane gave the project more impetus and an increased potential for finds. On Saturday 7 September the television crews took over the garage and set up their 'incident room', and over the following three days excavations were carried out on the site of St. Andrew's and also, after lengthy negotiations with the council's Parks Department, on the lawn of Victoria Park in front of Royal Crescent. A geophysical survey was not needed to show where the church itself had been as the entire outline, even including the internal columns between the aisles, could be seen where the grass above them had all but died and turned pale brown after the dry summer. Here, trenches were dug at the south-east corner and just outside the walls of the vestry, adjacent to where James Irvine had found a number of stone coffins and the corners of two Roman buildings during construction work in 1873. Much to the disappointment of Tony Robinson no more burials were found here, but one of the buildings parallel with Julian Road continued westwards for some distance, and a ditch beside it may have been the boundary to just one section of a broader Roman cemetery.

Time Team were not disappointed, however, in fact quite the contrary, in front of the Royal Crescent. Localised areas of brown grass similar to that on the church site, together with a geophysical survey, had indicated the presence of a number of features, including a possible Roman building. Two narrow trenches were dug across the Fosse Way, and in each a burial was found alongside it, both buried in wooden coffins of which only the nails survived. Inhumation alongside roads was common practice, and it may well be that further burials exist almost head-to-toe across this area. Perhaps the biggest surprise of the programme was the discovery of a substantial Bronze Age ditch, two metres wide and over a metre deep. Its importance lay not just in the rarity of such features in Bath, but in the fact that the quantity of pottery and bone recovered from it suggests the existence of a settlement here. Adding to the Iron Age settlement found only a few hundred yards away on the Lower Common, this now paints a picture of intense activity from prehistoric and Roman times on this western side of Bath, about which so little was previously known. The new series of Time Team begins on Channel 4 in January, and the Bath programme will be televised in March.

The Trust has carried out a number of Standing Building Surveys over the last 12 months. In Bath itself these have included 15 Northgate Street, which also fronts onto Slippery Lane and incorporates a number of elements of the original structure behind the facade and a short stretch of the City Wall in the basement. Outside the city, similar surveys have been undertaken at All Saints Church in Farmborough, Chew Magna Manor (17th-19th century), The Gunpowder House at Radstock (late 18th century), Holt Manor near Bradford-on-Avon, and at Bitham Mill, Westbury.

Projects up-and-coming at the time of writing include work at the former Kingsmead Motors site in James Street, which is due to be developed as a multiplex cinema with swimming pool and other facilities, Northgate Street, Broad Street, Walcot Street, another site in James Street West and more work at Crescent Lane, where six town houses will be built. Other sites will join this list in due course.

**Marek Lewcun, September 2002**

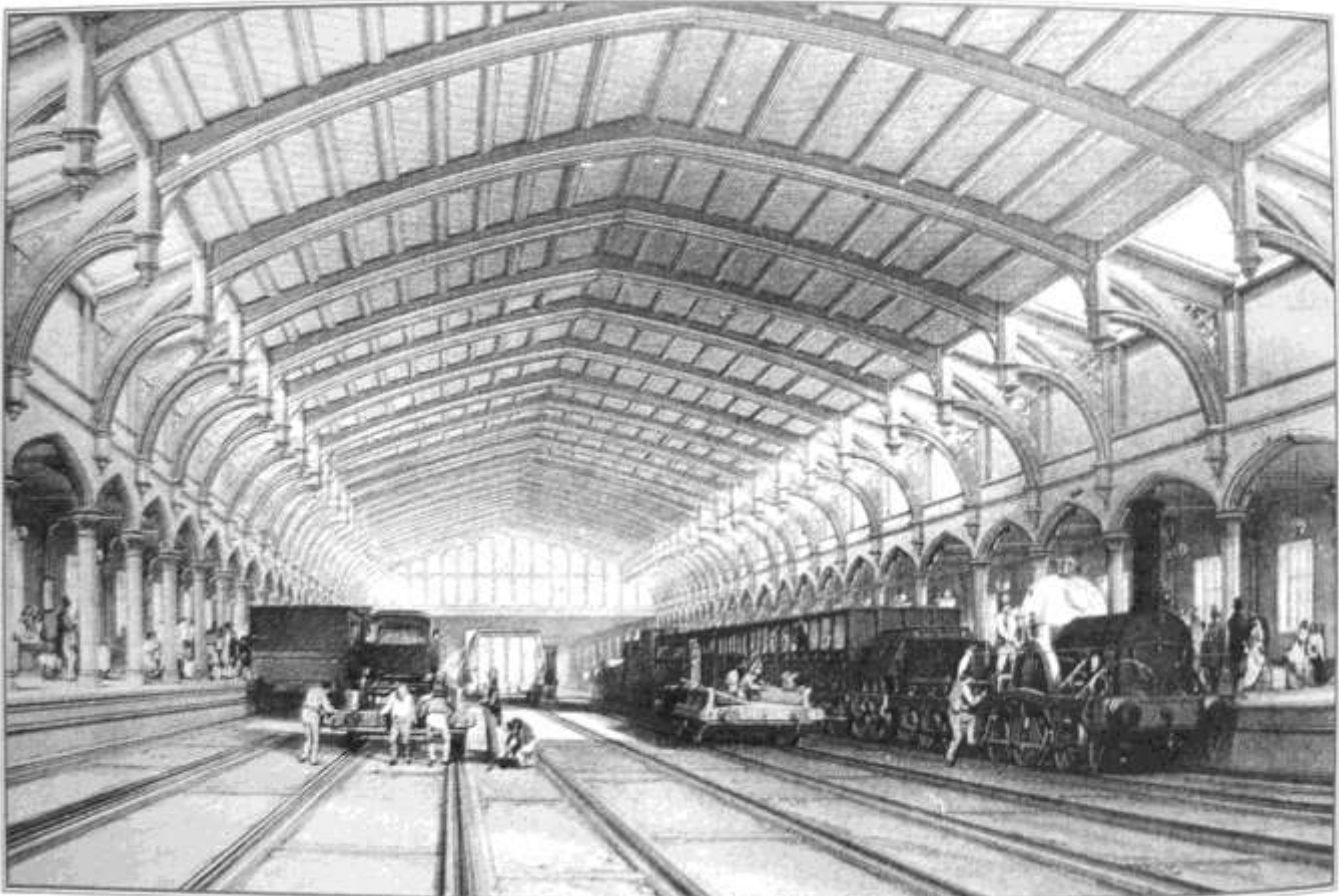
## **DISTRICT NEWS**

### **Keynsham Mosaic Trail**

On 21 August 2002 the *Bath Chronicle* reported that a new history trail had been launched in Keynsham in which 'ten colourful mosaics take visitors on a route around key locations that helped shape Keynsham's past'. The Keynsham and Saltford Historical Society led a guided tour to inaugurate the trail on Tuesday 20 August. A new leaflet describing the trail was being distributed to every home in the town. The trail takes one hour, passing such sites as old mills and cottages, the riverside, the Memorial Park and the site of Keynsham's former abbey, with regular viewpoints, for instance across the Chew Valley. The mosaics were produced as a millennium project funded by Keynsham Town Council.

### **British Empire and Commonwealth Museum**

The BECM opened towards the end of September in the old Brunel Station at Temple Meads, Bristol, and was featured on radio and TV. Preparations had been continuing for some time, with help from many volunteers. The Museum has had many donations of material, especially those connected with India. Hitherto unpublicised film of colourful events abroad was shown in a TV series, by courtesy of the Museum. The policy of the Museum is to present the facts and to let visitors make their own decisions.



**Brunel's Great Western Railway station at Temple Meads, Bristol, as shown in J.C.Bourne's illustration in 1846.**



## **REPORTS FROM LOCAL SOCIETIES**

### **The Survey of Old Bath**

*The Survey of Old Bath is a research venture which first adopted its title in 1979. Its aims are to study the topography of old Bath, and the lives of its actual citizens. The Chapman family has been chosen as its sample group, although it welcomes information on other Bath families. The Survey has published a number of historically reconstructed maps, brought out with funding from B&NES, and also other booklets and articles. It works on commission as well as on a voluntary basis.*

The Survey has been able to offer advice on a number of research projects during the last year. On 4 May 2002 it took part in the History Fair at the BRLSI organised by the Historical Association as part of Local History Week. It has managed to find funding to continue its mapping ventures for the time being, and is now working on a study of Abbey Churchyard and the now demolished Wade's Passage, with a view to bringing out another of its historic booklets with accompanying map. Mike Chapman has been making a study of the streams and watercourses of Bath, and at the time of writing is on the verge of bringing out a booklet on this subject, funded by B&NES as in the past.

Reports from other Societies sometimes mention the reluctance of members to do actual research! The Survey has a system by which it has always worked. Members of the Survey do research for the Survey. That is a prerequisite. Those who wish to assist, do so. For example Allan Keevil has recently taken a very valuable step forward in our approach to the Kingston Estate - see the article on North Parade Buildings in this issue. If others wish assistance with *their* research, the Survey offers it, as far as it can. Those who join the Friends are not committed to do research at all if they do not wish, only to show moral support. (Members of the Friends work very hard arranging the meetings, providing the lunch every November, and many are busy with other activities, such as acting as Mayor's Guides, working for Bath Archaeological Trust, running various Museums, and so on.)

### **The Friends of the Survey of Old Bath**

*The Friends of the Survey of Old Bath were founded in 1993 by June Hodgkinson, with a circle of others, to support the aims and work of the Survey. The Friends hold an AGM every spring or early summer, and a lunchtime lecture in November, and also arrange other events such as walks. The Friends support The Survey of Bath and District, which is received by paid-up members as part of the subscription. A list of members appears on the back page of this magazine.*

At the AGM of the Friends on 26 April 2002 the invited speaker was Dr. John Wroughton, President of the Friends, who gave a much appreciated talk with slides on his study of Colston's School, Bristol, which had been launched in Bristol that morning. With the help of a number of illustrations he described the conditions of the early years, which would seem rough today. However from an illustration of a dormitory at Eton it is obvious that the boys there once slept several to a bed and young people used not to expect the comforts of today! After a survey of its history, Dr. Wroughton showed the school as it is today.

A break followed for refreshments served as always by a team of helpers from the Friends. It was possible to purchase signed copies of Dr. Wroughton's book, and also to look at a selection of pictures from the last 50 years, arranged to commemorate the Queen's Jubilee. After the break Marek Lewcun gave a report on Bath Archaeological Trust's work, including some views of the de Montalt Mill.

At the AGM Mrs. Ruth Haskins resigned after a number of successful years, Mrs. Denise Walker was elected in her place as Chairman of the Friends. Mrs. Walker issued an invitation to those present to a summer party at the home of herself and Michael Walker, also one of the Friends, on 11 July. A very pleasant meeting was held in their colourful garden, at the foot of Bathwick Hill. Mike Chapman explored the garden staircases built by Michael and pointed out that the roadway once ran along the top of the site but was diverted after the canal was created so as to give horses an easier passage above the canal

embankment. At the close, everyone thanked Mr. and Mrs. Walker cordially for the entertainment. The next AGM will be on Friday 25 April 2003, when we hope Mike will speak on his study of watercourses around Bath.

In the summer Marek Lewcun also arranged a choice of two dates for walks around the tunnels by the Roman Baths site. These very successful walks are mentioned in Gill Cope's letter in the Letters Page. The following report on the lunchtime lecture of November 2001 is presented by Priscilla Olver. Priscilla is no longer on the Committee but Malcolm Hitchcock (Chairman of the Mayor's Guides) has joined and also Neil Cridland. Neil has graciously volunteered to become the Friend's Secretary. Since the death of June Hodgkinson, the work of Secretary has been shared provisionally by various people, such as Priscilla.

The annual lunchtime meeting of the Friends was held in the URC Halls, Grove Street, on Thursday 8 November 2001 when the Chairman, Ruth Haskins, warmly welcomed the guest speaker, Edward Barrett, Clerk to the Charter Trustees, and around 50 Friends and their guests. She paid tribute to Elizabeth Holland and Mike Chapman for all the hard work they do for the Survey and for producing such an excellent and informative magazine, which is much appreciated by so many people here and overseas. She also thanked the Committee members for their constant and valuable support and especially on this occasion those who had organised the catering and also those who had prepared the hall for the meeting. She then announced that she would be retiring as Chairman at the next AGM in April 2002. As well as electing a new Chairman the Friends were still seeking a general secretary and unless these two vacancies could be filled by next April, she mentioned, as required by the Constitution, the future of the Friends would have to be considered very seriously.

Edward Barrett's talk was entitled 'Options for Bath' but he began with a brief historical account of the Mayoralty of Bath. This can be traced back to 1230 and a man named John du Port, but there was a Burgh Reeve here in 577. The right to bear a pair of Maces before the Mayor was granted to the City by Queen Elizabeth I in her Charter of 1590. These are preceded by a 99-year old replica of the Bladud Sword. He described the Mayor's Collar of Office, one of the oldest in the country, with its four portcullises interspersed with the Tudor rose and the Bath knot. The badge depicts the City coat of arms. He handed round the beautiful Mayoress' brooch and the Master of Ceremonies' badge, presented in 1777, for close inspection. The latter is the one worn by Dawson in the portrait hanging in the Assembly Rooms.

He then moved on to describe the three options being considered for future local government of Bath: an elected mayor, parishing, and 'Back to Bath' - an unitary authority. He touched on each aspect and tried to clarify how each would affect the City and its people. The Charter Trustees wish to initiate a petition requesting a City Council with Parish Powers for Bath which will be sent to the Secretary of State, but until a decision has been made no firm plans or costs can be drawn up at present. However, he assured the meeting that whatever the outcome Bath will always have a mayor, entitled to be called The Right Worshipful The Mayor of Bath.

He answered several questions and was enthusiastically applauded by all those present and thanked warmly by Ruth on behalf of everyone for such an entertaining and interesting talk.

**Priscilla Olver, November 2001**

### **Bathwick Local History Society**

The Bathwick Local History Society continues to be well supported, especially so by a good number of people whose roots lie within the parish.

Earlier this year we enjoyed excellent lectures on such themes as 'Captain Forester, Bathwick Benefactor' by Neil Jackson, and 'The Old Village Church of St Mary's Bathwick' by Terry Hardick.

In April we were treated to 'An Architect's Eye View of Bathwick Hill'. Architect James Elliott took us on a leisurely walk by slides from Woodland Place down to Raby Place Garden, taking in some of the lovely and intricate architecture of these grand houses on the hill, much of it hidden from view now by high walls and hedges. It was great just to be able to stop and appreciate some of the work of John Pinch and his son John, Henry E. Goodridge and his son Alfred Samuel, and their attention to detail.

In May members had an opportunity to visit Cleveland House. This was by kind arrangement of Michael Davis Chairman of the local branch of the Kennet and Avon Canal Trust, and the present owners of Cleveland House, accountants Richardson Grooves Ltd.

The interesting house was built between 1817 and 1820 as a Georgian office block, and let to the Canal Company. The only owner-occupier in its history was Daisy Robinson who purchased the house in 1938 for £600. Daisy was the aunt of our very own Ruth Haskins, and Ruth kindly gave us the potted history of the time that the Robinson family lived there. Michael also told us that the chief engineer for the trust had examined the shaft in the tunnel, which is said to be some sort of early postal system for dropping letters and messages through to passing barges for delivery. In the opinion of the engineer the shaft was a ventilation outlet for the two furnaces situated close by.

June saw us once again joining the Lyncombe and Widcombe History Study Group on a field trip to Smallcombe Cemetery to look at more memorials of interesting local people, researched and led by Andrew Ellis and Sheila Edwards. The good weather and stunning views added to the enjoyment of the evening, although the resident midges tried very hard to make that enjoyment all theirs!

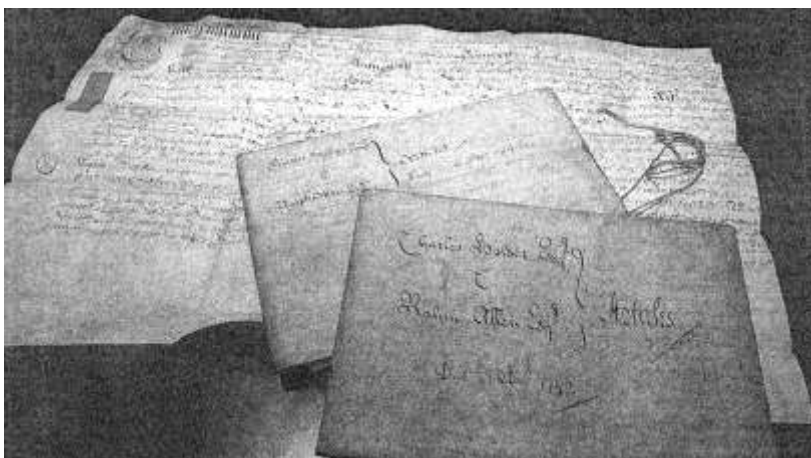
Finally in July we made a visit to St.John the Baptist Church, Bathwick. The Rector, Father David Prothero told us something of its history, after which we had an opportunity to look at a large collection of photographs of people and events past. This was a very special evening for lots of our members as many have memories of marriages, family funerals, and chorister days, etc. that have taken place there.

Our winter programme will be well underway at the time of this publication, but we welcome enquiries on telephone Bath 463902 or 332267. We meet on the second Monday of the month at 7.30p.m. in St Mary's Church Hall at the bottom of Bathwick Hill unless stated otherwise in our programmes, and most of our meetings are open to non-members.

**Sheila Edwards** September 2002

### **Bathampton Local History Society**

The *Bath Chronicle* published an article on Saturday 22 June 2002 headed 'Seals and Signatures'. This related to documents to be auctioned in a furniture sale at Bonhams in Old King Street the following Monday. The documents were a bit of Georgian history, which included the Sale of the Manor of Bathampton from Chas.Holder to Ralph Allen - on vellum, with seals and signatures, and were dated 6 November 1742. Two of our researchers had been looking for such documentation for the past three years, but without success until now - so you will guess how excited they were.



(Published by permission  
of The Bath Chronicle)

It was thought that the papers would not expect to fetch a great deal of money, the estimate being between £100 and £150, so as you will gather this Society had to work fast. Colin Johnston (the Bath Records Officer) was also interested, and it was agreed that we wouldn't bid against each other, but would share the cost up to a value around £150 and if successful lodge them in the City Archives after this Society

had made a typescript copy. Bidding started at £80 and soon reached £280, at which point we had to withdraw. They went to a 'collector who collected anything appertaining to Bath'. However, all was not lost, as we were fortunate to be able to talk to the lucky purchaser who agreed that the Society could have a copy at a later date.

Last December the Society had to call a 'Special Meeting', as, at the AGM (July) it was found difficult to form a working committee, and those willing to serve wished to know what the members wanted from the Society - a) for members to research and record the history of the village, or, b) to just be entertained with topical lectures each month (*which was not the original primary aim of the group*). It appears that most local History Societies have much the same problem, 'nobody wants to commit themselves to researching'... A committee was formed but research is very low on the agenda.

A small band of volunteers (and I mean small) have been recording the Memorial Inscriptions in the village churchyard during the summer evenings (wet and cold for most of the dates) which task is almost complete, and will be tabulated, indexed and copies lodged in the Bath and Taunton Record Offices and Bath Reference Library. Many interesting graves have been found of local people living in the village (including William Harbutt, Walter Sickert, the artist), village folk who gave their lives in the War and were brought back home, and notable people who had nothing to do with the village at all, like Sir Roderick Murchison (a famous name in the international world of geology), Viscount Jean de Barri, the family of Major André, a Town Cryer - and many vicars - but none of the Allen family who were Lords of the Manor for nearly 200 years, for both Ralph Allen, his brother Philip and the descendants of Philip all lie in the Allen Mausoleum at Claverton.

The Society meets the second Thursday of each month with forthcoming lectures ranging from 'The History of the Bath Parks' to the 'Brewing Industry in Bath' and 'The *Bath Chronicle*'. Our Christmas and New Year meetings will be given by two of our members, one of which will be 'A Potted History of the Village' and the other 'The Order of St.John'. We welcome any visitors to our meetings which are held in the Village Hall from 7.30 p.m. Further information and programme may be obtained from the Treasurer on 01225 462380.

A.H.G. September 2002

### **Keynsham and Saltford Local History Society**

The KSLHS meets at St.Dunstan's Hall, Keynsham at 7.30 p.m. on the 3rd Friday of each month, unless otherwise stated. Meetings this year have included a talk by Colin Maggs in October, 'Along the Bristol to Bath Line'. During B&NES Heritage Week the members took part in a Saltford Walk and also held a Jubilee Exhibition at the Fear Institute, Keynsham, at which a video of cinefilm footage of Keynsham from c.1935-1968 was shown throughout the day.

On 15 November there will be a talk by Mrs.G.Bowden, a retired Registrar, entitled 'Hatches, Matches and Dispatches'. The Christmas Party, tickets £2.50 will take place on 7 December, featuring a quiz followed by a buffet supper. In early 2003 Historic Buildings of Somerset will be the topic on 17 January, Bristol Record Office on 21 February, and 'Mystery of the Avon' on 21 March. The AGM will take place on 25 April.

Contact number for enquiries: Secretary, Jonathan Gibbons, 0117 986 2198

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦

*Forward programmes of local societies are regularly published at the back of the newsletter of the Friends of the Museum of Bath at Work, which is available in the Record Office, the Guildhall, Bath, and Bath Central Library. The Survey is not planning to publish such programmes in full for the time being, but it welcomes general reports from local societies.*

## PUBLICATIONS

Our August newssheet has already mentioned *Bath Abbey: Stained Glass Windows* by Hazel Symons, based on research by the late Tony Symons. Leslie Holt of the Friends of the Survey of Old Bath assisted with photography. The booklet was published by the Friends of Bath Abbey and is available in the Abbey bookshop at £1. We are glad to recommend it again.

Dr. John Wroughton, President of the Friends of the Survey, and former Headmaster of King Edward's School, Bath, has sent us the following note about his recent publications:

*Mr. Colston's Hospital*: sales of this book, published in April, have got off to a brisk start - chiefly of course to Old Colstonians, parents, pupils, staff and Merchants. The aim was also to provide the School with stock for many years ahead - it is unlikely that it will be reprinted in the foreseeable future.

*450 Years: King Edward's School, Bath 1552-2002*: I have compiled and edited this lavishly-illustrated souvenir volume to coincide with the School's anniversary. Mark Rutherford has contributed two sections to the book. The idea is to present each pupil with a complimentary copy in October and to have a few spares available for purchase by Old Edwardians, Staff, Governors, Former Parents and members of the public (at £15.95). I shall bring some copies to the November meeting.

*Bath History IX* is now due for publication at the end of November, and copies will be available at a pre-publication price of £6.99 (normally £8.99). Titles include heraldry in Bath Abbey, the journals of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys (1738-1817), the new gaol in Bathwick (1772-1842), the work and times of the architect John Pinch, the diary of the Bath engineer Edward Snell, William Beckford and Fonthill Abbey, Walter Sickert (1860-1942), and Bath the University City. Flyers with an application form will be available at the Friends Lunchtime Meeting on 7 November. Those wishing to take up the offer will either be able to pick up their copies from the Trust's offices at Brassmill Lane, off Newbridge Road, when they are ready, or have them posted at an additional cost of £1.75. Back copies of *Bath History V, VII and VIII* are also now available at a reduced cost of just £5.00 if collected direct from the Trust or with an additional cost of £1.75 for postage and packing if sent out (£1.50 per book for three or more). Now is a good time to be thinking about Christmas presents for friends and family, and perhaps even friends who live elsewhere in Britain or abroad, as an introduction to just some of the city's wealth of history.

**Marek Lewcun**

*Gainsborough in Bath* by Susan Sloman, Yale University Press, 2002. ISBN 0-300-09711-5 £35.00

'Gainsborough in Bath' is a singularly appropriate title for this major work of art historical scholarship, for it was in Bath that the transformation of Gainsborough from a talented provincial artist to a painter of European significance took place. The Gainsborough who left Bath in 1774 to forward his career in London was a very different painter from the young ambitious portraitist from East Anglia who arrived in this city in 1758. It is the story of this transformation and how it was accomplished that Dr. Susan Sloman tells with such skill and elaborates with such a wealth of fascinating detail.

The picture of Gainsborough which emerges is of a thoroughly professional and skilful entrepreneur who knew how to exploit his talents as an exceptional producer of likenesses, working in the sophisticated milieu of a city well advanced in the process of becoming – after London – the principal pleasure resort of the kingdom. Every move which Gainsborough made in his sixteen years stay in Bath was calculated to take advantage of the shifting patterns of social and economic life during the period of its greatest physical expansion.

The establishment of Gainsborough's painting room and show room in conjunction with his sister's millinery shop on the corner of Abbey<sup>1</sup> Street was of the utmost importance to the launching of the painter's business, positioned as it was on the principal route to the Baths and Pump Room. 'Location, location, location' – as the estate agents say – was everything: then as now! To visit the showroom of a fashionable painter was a 'must' in the daily routine of the *beau monde*. Dr. Sloman explores in great

detail the importance of this ritual which Gainsborough exploited so much to his advantage during the early-to-mid 1760s. Previous research<sup>2</sup> which established the site of Gainsborough's first studio in Bath provided the vital information on which Dr.Sloman has so fruitfully drawn and used to shed light on this crucial period of Gainsborough's career in Bath.

As the social centre of Bath moved northwards to the Upper Town, so Gainsborough moved with it. It is possible to chart the distinct change in the direction of the artist's portrait style in its growing sophistication and cosmopolitan appeal during the years when Gainsborough resided in the Circus (1767-1774) before the move to London.

An outstanding ability to produce a striking likeness and a well-placed studio and show room in which to execute and exhibit them: these were indispensable to the success of Gainsborough's flourishing practice. But there is another factor to which Dr.Sloman now draws our attention. In compelling detail the author demonstrates the importance of Gainsborough's family and social connections in the foundation of his successful career in Bath. A whole chapter is devoted to Mrs.Margaret Gainsborough who, we are reminded, justified her 'much criticised fine dressing' whispering to her young niece Sophia Gardiner, 'I have some right to this, for you know... I am a prince's daughter'.

By his marriage to the natural daughter of Henry Somerset, Third Duke of Beaufort – a prince indeed in 18th century terms – Gainsborough not only secured to himself a useful little fortune, his wife's annuity bringing £200 per annum, but influential and important connections. The early assistance of Philip Thicknesse is well known but Dr.Sloman shows how a mutual relationship through the Beaufort link with the Price family of Foxley, Herefordshire, could well have given a boost to Gainsborough's flying start in the months before he finally took up residence in the Duke of Kingston's handsome lodgings near the Pump Room.

Lastly, the image partly fostered by the painter himself and his friend William Jackson, the organist at Exeter Cathedral, of Gainsborough as an unread anti-intellectual is conclusively rejected. Dr.Sloman shows us that Gainsborough was in close touch with the vibrant intellectual life of Bath. Indeed, in one very important respect he can be seen as an initiator of a taste in advance of his time. His Bath landscapes anticipate the moral and aesthetic attitudes of the Picturesque Movement of the 1790s. Chief amongst its exponents was Uvedale Price himself, related to the Beauforts and Gainsborough's youthful companion on many of the walks he took in the picturesque rural environs of Bath.

Rev.Richard Graves, rector of Claverton and noted poet; Thomas Linley Snr., composer and Director of Music at the Upper Assembly Rooms; Dr.Rice Charleton, Gainsborough's physician and art collector; Walter Wiltshire, the upwardly mobile waggoner – these men and others like them, formed the nexus of intellectual companionship from which Gainsborough derived a powerful stimulus. He was open to a world to which few of his artistic contemporaries in Bath had access. It is this intellectual curiosity and openness to horizons beyond the Avon valley that make Gainsborough a sojourner *in* Bath and not an artist *of* Bath – a vital distinction which Dr.Sloman emphasises in the title and concluding chapter of this exciting and sumptuous book.

**Stephen Beck**

1. Susan Sloman, 'Artists' Picture Rooms in Eighteenth Century Bath', *Bath History* VI, 1996, p.133

2. Susan Sloman, 'Gainsborough and "the lodging-house way"', *Gainsborough's House Annual Report* 1991/2, 1992, pp.23-44

*Gainsborough in Bath* was launched on 5 September 2002 at the Holburne Museum. Following the Arts Pursuits Study day in Bath on 19 October, Dr.Sloman will also be speaking at the AGM of Bath Preservation Trust on 27 November and in connection with the Gainsborough exhibition at Tate Britain on 6-13 December.

**LETTERS PAGE**

**Letters Editor: Leslie Holt**

Bath 13 July 2002

Dear Leslie,

I'd like to express our thanks to Marek for his fascinating tour of the tunnels. It's like a rabbit warren down there, and it was interesting looking up through the gratings and watching the world go by, ignorant of those beneath them!

I was particularly interested in seeing the remains of the Stuart Cross from the Cross Bath, and had not fully realised before the extent to which Major Davis had protected the Roman remains. Marek also had several interesting little stories that livened up an evening which seemed to be over in a flash. The wealth of the stone artefacts down there is incredible if only we could decipher the history behind them. It also makes one wonder how much there is still to be discovered.

So again I would like to thank Marek and his co-presenter [June Beere] for giving up their spare time to give us a very interesting, informative and enjoyable evening.

Yours sincerely,

**Gill Cope**

Bath 3 August 2002

Dear Leslie,

Readers of the Mike Chapman and Elizabeth Holland book on Bimbery might like to know that there is a memorial to Sir George Ivy in Bath Abbey. It is on the right hand wall in the sanctuary and is described in Bernard Stace's book *Bath Abbey Monuments*. There is also a ledger stone in the south transept for Samuel and Hester Bave and their daughter.

Yours sincerely,

**Hazel Symons**

Bath 26 August 2002

Dear Leslie,

Indexing continues at Bath City Record office with a register of the Bath Blue Coat School. The register starts in 1811 which was six years after the Battle of Trafalgar and four years before the Battle of Waterloo. It finishes in 1829. I was intrigued, and offer the following observations which may be of interest.

A Tactful Reminder: Education

The Reform Act of 1867 gave the borough vote to the lodger in unfurnished rooms who paid £10 per year, as well as to the £10 householder; in the counties a £12 rental secured the vote. The effect was to double the electorate from one million to two millions and to give the working classes in the towns the majority.

There were no proper educational facilities for the working classes in 1800. The first move came from religious bodies, beginning with the establishment of Sunday Schools by Robert Raikes in 1780. In 1811 Dr. Bell founded the Church of England National Society and in 1812 Joseph Lancaster the Nonconformist British and Foreign School Society. These voluntary bodies depended upon private subscriptions and endowments. From the beginning, the National Society possessed the greater number of schools.

After the Reform Act of 1867, the need was felt for educating the working classes. The voluntary schools catered for only one half of the nation's children. Forster's Elementary Education Act of 1870 filled the gap. In districts where voluntary schools were insufficient, the rate-payers were to elect School Boards

whose duty it was to provide education for children aged 5 to 13, with the power of compulsion if the Board required. In 1876 elementary education was made compulsory throughout the country and in 1891 it was made free. In 1899 the Board of Education was established.

### The Bath Blue Coat School

The man usually credited with the founding of the Blue Coat School in 1711 was the local benefactor Robert Nelson, supported by Richard Skrine of Warleigh Manor. It was aligned to the Church of England. The first School House was opened on the Sawclose site in 1722. The Victorians demolished it. In 1859 the foundation stone was laid for the present building. This voluntary school was not richly endowed. Local benefactors became subscribers, and their subscriptions paid the running expenses and the right to nominate pupils.

The school was open only to children whose C.of.E parents were tradesmen or artisans living in the city. For most of the time the school held 50 boys and 50 girls. They had to be eight years old before they could attend, and stayed until 14 years of age, when they were apprenticed to C.of.E businessmen or sent into service in the houses of C.of.E families in Bath.

The closure of this voluntary school was foreshadowed with the eventual introduction of free State Education. By 1920, the finances of the School were such that the Governors notified the City Council that they could no longer continue. In 1922 The Blue Coat Charity was founded, and remains extant. It awards grants to C.of.E schools in and around Bath to help with maintenance and to provide benefits not normally provided by the Local Education Authority. In 1988 it was stated that the Blue Coat School building was being passed to the Bath Institute for Rheumatic Diseases.

Many thanks for all the help that you give,

**Barbara Holt**

[Bibliography etc.

1. H.A.Clement MA, *The Story of Britain*, Vol.3, 1714-1942
2. Bath Reference Library - press cuttings]

Bath, 15 September 2002

Dear Leslie,

Sorry to be writing so late, I have been meaning to do so for weeks, ever since receiving the August news-sheet (with a couple of references to my patch, Walcot Street).

In particular, I wanted to let you know about the public art project in Walcot Street, although you may well be aware of it already. This received a Lottery Grant of £55,000 (on a proposed budget of £110,000, which I think has since increased), and is concentrating on the area around the old horse trough at the bottom of the Paragon steps. There is some anxiety on the street, because although this is an interesting development there is inevitably some conflict between conservation (understated and sensitive) and public art (too often overstated and insensitive), with particular concerns about the proposed treatment of the horse trough/drinking fountain and the steps (and their setting).

I share this anxiety, and had hoped to write you a letter for the magazine so that other members would know what might be happening. The best I can do now is send you a copy of the Walcot Street Art Works Project's first newsletter (enclosed), in case there is anything you can do with it.

Yours sincerely,

**Rae Harris**

P.S. I hope Elizabeth has told you about the Local History project Kay Ross is doing (or better still, that she has contacted you herself).

*Rae's letter did arrive in time, so we have included it! The Survey of Old Bath does not take any stand on questions of planning or development - Interested readers should contact Rae directly; 1 Old*



*Orchard Cottages, Walcot Street, Bath BA1 5BE, tel: 01225 315153; or contact Walcot Street Art Works. Notes from the above mentioned newsletter have been included under 'City News'.*

Bath, 14 August 2002

Dear Leslie,

Members may be interested in the attached illustration that I came across during some picture searches in the library at the *Bath Chronicle* offices a few weeks ago. It shows on the left the Gatehouse that used to exist at the Baptist Burial Ground at the foot of Lyncombe Hill. There is only a gap there now, which is a shame because the attractive arched entrance added a distinctive touch.

Maurice Scott in his short history of Widcombe and Lyncombe reported that it was there until 1970. Some residents may recall seeing it at that time and presumably it may have been pulled down and demolished as a result of neglect.

Yours sincerely,

**John Brushfield**



*Sincere thanks to each of our above contributors for their letters. Would all readers please write in, at any time, on any relevant subject which you come across. Please send to me at: Leslie Holt, "Westwinds", Hayesfield Park, Bath BA2 4QE.*

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### Streetlore Project

The Survey has donated two volumes of photographs to the Record Office at the Guildhall, Bath (Accession 350, Millennium Streetlore Project). The first contained Gillian Cope's photographs of Weston Road and Weston Lane. The second volume consists of photographs of Widcombe and Lyncombe taken by a number of different people. The Widcombe and Lyncombe History Study Group have their own set of these photographs and someone has volunteered to index them. Elizabeth has been making a card index of the Record Office set which is to be kept there.

Items of history have been added and small maps, and the whole makes a very valuable collection. We hope people will carry on taking these photographs. Since the database proposed by another group has been set aside, at least for the time being, we have been enlarging our scope. Our collection now includes street signs, shop signs, shots of the streets, shots of houses, gateposts, pictures of post boxes and milestones, everything in fact which makes up a record of Bath at the beginning of the new millennium.

Allan Keevil for instance donated pictures of a place we had never noted before, Albion Terrace (see below). When a letter about the Albion Tavern turned up in the Philip George Correspondence, this suggested a relationship. Kirsten Elliott, who is studying pubs, confirmed this, and provided a list of names. If the Streetlore Project keeps going as hoped, say until 2010!!!, it ought to provide similar histories for many sites around the town. We are working on collating more of the pictures for the Record Office. The photographs of Walcot Street later in this issue were taken especially for this project.

### The Golden House

The article in this issue on Widcombe Manor and Lyncombe Hall refers to Nero's Golden House, *Domus aurea*. *Domus* is feminine in Latin. After two other tries, Elizabeth has at last got it right. (After all, a thing can only be masculine, feminine or neuter.) Obviously Elizabeth needs to buy a Latin dictionary, but the inscription on the house in Johnson's picture, *Annae Reginae Sacrum 1618*, cannot refer to 'house', and must mean: 'This building (*aedificium*) is dedicated to Queen Anne, 1618'.

### Raising terrain

In Allan Keevil's article on North Parade Buildings, we note that the roadway before the houses was to be raised. The two houses at the north of the Buildings also had the roadway, the eastern end of Lilliput Alley, raised. All this was done to put the terrace on a level with John Wood's Grand Parade or North Parade, raised on arches above the riverside, and Lilliput Alley can still be seen rising as it approaches Terrace Walk.

Raising terrain is a serious business and the Survey expects to see evidence in deeds. We have not yet seen any evidence in documents that the Duke or Countess of Kingston or John Hall had Abbey Green raised. If it is brought forward, naturally we shall accept it. In general, streets appear to have risen spontaneously at least a foot per century - a rough and ready estimate made by checking basement windows shown in succeeding pictures. This happens partly through rubbish and partly because Bath houses have so often been rebuilt, scattering stones and dust everywhere. In modern streets re-tarmacing can visibly be seen to be raising the level of roads.

### John Leland on Stonehenge

In his comments on Leland's journey through Wiltshire, the Rev.J.E.Jackson remarks that in the *Collectanea* Leland had this to say about Stonehenge:

About the fetching of them from Ireland, it is all fabulous. For every person even of common information must know that these stones, so large as not even to be moved by any mechanism in our unscientific days, were brought by Merlin with marvellous skill and the help of ingenious machinery

from some neighbouring quarry to the place where they are now the admiration of travellers. It would, indeed, have puzzled him to bring them by sea to Amesbury, for there is no sea coast within 20 miles of it.'

*Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, Vol.I., 1854*

### **The Albion Tavern**

Honor'd, Sir

Please to excuse my boldness in taking the liberty of writing to you on such a subject but obligation forces me to inform you of the circumstance it is concerning of the Albion Tavern now kept by Mr.Liquorish (Late Mr.Evans) he has had a Skittle Alley made in his under Kitchens and it so annoys we neighbours than we can get no rest untill 12 or 1 O clock at night owing to its being under ground and Back no eye or watchman can see or hear them and the Landlord lets them Play so long has the[y] Please and of a Sunday he puts them in the Alley during the whole of divine service and oftentimes We are awake'd up 2&3 in the morn by the noise of those drunkards just come out of the above Inn & Sir, I trust, (tomorrow being Licence day) that there will be a stop put to that Alley

I am Sir your Obedient & humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

A Tradesman residing Near the Above Inn

The letter above, addressed to Philip George at Norfolk Crescent presumably in the early 19th century (no fussing about with house numbers and postcodes in those days) comes from Bundle 1 of the Philip George Correspondence, BRO, and is reproduced by permission of the Archivist, Colin Johnston. Kirsten Elliott has provided the following list of names of the Albion Tavern through the years:

Albion Tavern  
Albion Brewery  
Albion House, 1831  
Norfolk Arms  
Norfolk Tavern  
Last mention as pub, P.O.Directory 1940 – licence not surrendered until 1955  
Now the Hinton-Vauxhall Garage opposite the bottom of Marlborough Lane

The photograph below showing the site of the Albion Tavern today, opposite Marlborough Lane, was donated by Allan Keevil to the Streetlore Project.



View northwards from Albion Terrace, Upper Bristol Road, showing Hinton Garage to the right and Marlborough Lane opposite. The passageway formerly led to the early 19th century Albion Wharf, possibly the site of an ancient river crossing serving the Fosseway.



The Upper Bristol Road in 1915, looking east. The Norfolk Arms is just visible to the right, Marlborough Lane to the left.

## Who designed the Sydney Hotel?

Charles Harcourt Masters's most important building in Bath is the Sydney Hotel, 1796. By Ison's account:

'.. in fulfilment of Baldwin's intention to provide an effective termination to the vista along (Baldwin's) Great Pulteney Street, the hotel was sited at the western end of the hexagonal pleasure garden within Sydney Place. The original design was an agreeable essay in the mild Graeco-Roman taste of the period ... Masters was much employed as a land surveyor and had extensive dealings with property in Widcombe and Lyncombe, where several houses of small architectural importance were built from his designs. In fact, the most considerable of these works, Cottage Crescent (now Bloomfield Crescent), was made the subject of a particularly scathing analysis by Richard Warner in his *Walk through some of the Western Counties of England*. Towards the end of his career Masters practised under the name of Harcourt, at first on his own account and later in partnership with George P. Manners.'

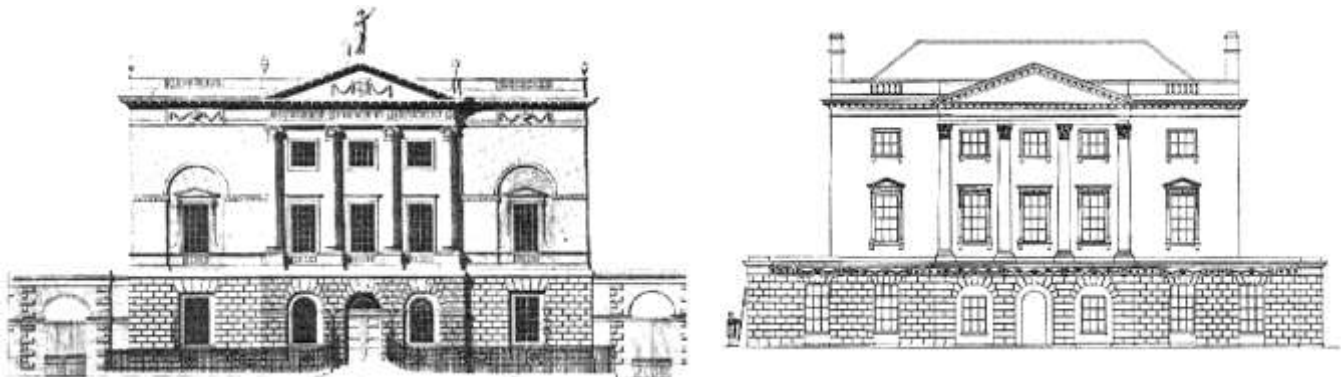


Walter Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath* 1948 (Fig.16) Thomas Baldwin's design for the Sydney Hotel, 3 February 1794. Signed by a committee of subscribers which included Charles Harcourt Masters.

Baldwin was forced through bankruptcy in 1793 to pass the project to Masters. However, as can be seen, Masters's design is architecturally the same as Baldwin's Guildhall. It differs only in minor detail such as the addition of two windows in the upper storey and by the full expression of the portico for the Hotel, instead of the Guildhall's attached pillars.

To whom, therefore, should the design of the Sydney Hotel be attributed?

**Douglas Bernhardt**



Walter Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath* 1948 (Plate 30) The Guildhall, architect Thomas Baldwin, 1791.

## FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHS II VICTORIAN STUDIO PHOTOGRAPHS

### Ruth Haskins

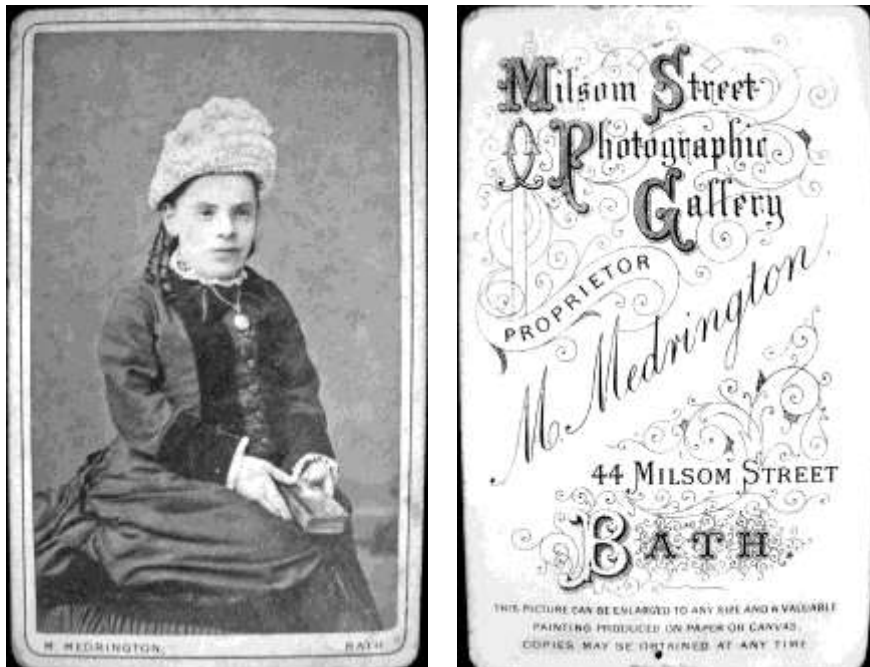
These small pasteboard photographs of the Brass family are by Friese Green of the Corridor, Bath and M. Medrington of Milsom Street, Bath, taken at different times. The backs are equally interesting. They come from one of the large Victorian photo albums I inherited from my mother-in-law. This one is of embossed leather with large brass locks and full of photos of the Coward family of Bath.

**Walter Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath* 1948 (Fig.17) Sydney Hotel, architect Charles Harcourt Masters.**

The Brass family were my mother-in-law's aunt, uncle and daughter, Laura, always known as Aunt and Uncle Brass and Cousin Laura. Research has shown that Uncle was William Brass, ladies' shoemaker of Monmouth Street and later Westgate Buildings. Aunt was Ellen, I guess my mother-in-law was named after her.

Laura, born late in their marriage, was a dwarf with a hunchback, but apparently was clever, quick-witted and a good businesswoman, but short tempered. At the time of her baptism in 1860 at the Primitive Methodist Chapel, Westgate Buildings, her father is described as a cordwainer of Stall Street. Later in Kellys, he is a ladies' hand-made shoemaker in Monmouth Street before moving to Westgate Buildings.

When Laura was old enough she opened a shoe shop where she sold all types of shoes and boots and employed two assistants and my mother-in-law, who was first sales for eleven years until she married. She found Laura very difficult to work with. Long hours were worked from 8 a.m. until 7.30 p.m. with half-day on Thursday. Fridays they were often open until 8 p.m. and Saturdays until 9 p.m. All staff had to be at the shop by 7.45 a.m., as William held prayers before opening. They were staunch Methodists, hence the Bibles in the photographs.



**Cousin Laura Brass**

My mother-in-law was a pupil teacher at East Twerton Infants School when her father died suddenly. He was editor of Keene's Bath Journal, a weekly paper. He was overworked, the owner took no interest in the paper, and would not spend money to bring it up to date. The youngest of 14 children, Ellen needed to help support her mother and £5 a year as a pupil teacher was not enough. Laura Brass quickly offered work in her shop and she started her servitude. Little is known of their later life and the records of B.M.B of the Westgate Primitive Methodist Connection are incomplete.

Nevertheless, I find my research gave an insight into life in Victorian Bath. My mother-in-law used to say that Laura sat at the seat of custom in a little kiosk, on an especially high swivel chair so that one would not notice that she was so short. A carriage used to come to the side door, taking her to and from work, as she was very self-conscious because she was so tiny. While at work she had her eye on everyone and nothing escaped her. My mother-in-law said she was extremely astute. If a customer left without buying or had not had the proper attention, Laura would press a little bell beside her and the assistant had to go into the cubbyhole and be reprimanded. As a result a lot of the assistants did not stay very long, but my mother-in-law found she could stand her for the sake of the family.



**Uncle William Brass**



**Aunt Ellen Brass**

## THIS FAMOUS CITY: LETTER FROM SHOCKERWICK

My brother Charles (says Elizabeth) has now found and forwarded the letter from John Wiltshire of Shockerwick (grandson of Gainsborough's friend) mentioned in the *Survey*, No.6, November 1996, on page 24, to one of the Chapmans. Charles complained that he had 'got lost among the Charleses' in that article, and it seems Elizabeth had too, as the letter, now it is retrieved, proves not to be to Charles II of the East India Company, but to his nephew Charles III (ancestor of the Hollands). How much Charles II actually left is unclear, since his will does name quite large sums of money, yet John Wiltshire says he has ruined himself, which is what Sir Keith Feiling's *Warren Hastings* also claimed - stating that Charles II was one of Warren Hastings' young men, and that he had ruined himself at the gaming table. (On p.23 of the same issue, we cited John James Chapman's recollection that Charles I had been on the staff of Clive.)

One thing John Wiltshire omitted to remark was that Charles II left money to be paid in rupees to his son Henry, born out of wedlock. It would seem that Henry was probably half Indian. This kind of relationship seems to have been much more common early on. Attitudes on both sides hardened, and the Indians themselves came to disapprove of intermingling as much as did some of the British.

The article in our first issue, saying that the Chapmans nearly always had something put by, appears to have been over-optimistic. As they became gentry, some of the Chapmans adopted the gentry habits of gaming and debt. Scarborough Chapman of Widcombe is one of the first we find to have mortgaged his property. Before him, the Chapmans all seem to have preferred to be the lenders. Scarborough's descendants the Bennets were of course as much addicted to gaming as Charleses I and II. Incidentally, when workmen were clearing the Grove Street prison for redevelopment, the name 'Charles Chapman' was found on the wall inside one of the cupboards! Perhaps in fact Colonel Chapman did spend a short rest period there.

In spite of John Wiltshire's good wishes, Charles III died young, at 36. This was extremely common in the climate of India. His sister Charlotte married Thomas Inglis of the East India Company and then the Rev.Maurice James.



*'My Dear Charles'*

Charles Chapman III of the E.I.C. [1785-1821], aged 13. Charles Holland owns a copy painting of him with shipping in the background, presumably clippers of the India trade.



*'Your Grandfather'*

(Col.) Charles Chapman I of the E.I.C. [1716-1795] on the staff of Clive. Dr.Sloman suggests the portrait could be by Tilly Kettle, who visited India and painted portraits there. (Tilly is not short for Matilda, as we once thought!! Tilly Kettle was a man).

Shockerwick, April 21, 1809

My dear Charles,

Before this letter can arrive, the sudden and unexpected death of your Uncle will probably have reached you - and with this you will receive one from Marianne, detailing all the particulars attending his illness, and apparent recovery to a state of safety, (as the medical men thought,) when he was snatched away in an instant. But it becomes my duty to perform a task equally distressing in relating that lamentable waste of his honourably-acquired property, which has prevented him from leaving more than a bare provision for those named in his will, and caused him to omit others, who had the claim of nature upon him, entirely. Herewith I send you a copy, by which you will see that your Mother, Charlotte and Elizabeth are not named and that you are only put into the entail of the little family estate at Bathford. - These, my dear Charles, are the deplorable consequences of Gaming, by which your Grandfather was so reduced, that had not the Almighty blessed the undertakings of your Uncle with success, he might have ended his days in a Prison. But even this example did not deter the Son from plunging into the very depth of play, (as that black and fatal vice is called,) and losing between sixty and seventy thousand pounds, which he possessed in England, on his arrival here, little more than seven years ago.

- With these warnings before your eyes, I trust you will never be guilty of this dishonourable and dishonest practice. But I am sorry to understand that your expenses have exceeded your means and that you are not now in a better situation, than when you left England, for advancing your fortune; and that you have an accumulated debt to keep you back. Yet if you will let your exertions and prudence keep pace with the difficulties, you have to encounter, God may graciously bless your endeavours and your Mother and Sisters may look up with confidence to you for protection and support. But rigid economy and great self denial must be religiously practised; and, above all, you must shun, as certain death, Gaming of every description, - be it even in the most trifling way. If once that fatal passion engages your mind, beggary and dishonour await you. I believe no one ever spent a time of greater misery than your poor Uncle's last four years - yet this bitter self-reproach did not prevent him from plunging deeper and deeper. He had once launched his boat on the dangerous Ocean and madly refused to seek the shore, though inevitable shipwreck awaited him - let his example, therefore, teach you to steer clear of this fatal rock. A pure and upright mind would feel more distress at winning the fortune of another and ruining his family, than in losing his own - but minds, that are pure and upright, do not engage in Play, the Devil has first entered into them and expelled all the better affections, before the fatal passion can take possession of them. Let it not, my dear Charles, be so with you.

***'Your Uncle'***

Charles Chapman II  
of the E.I.C. [1753-  
1809], on the staff of  
Warren Hastings.  
Elder brother of  
Captain Thomas, the  
father of the younger  
generation mentioned  
in the letter.



***'Your Aunt'***

Mary Shaftsbury  
Chapman [Died  
1823]. Said to have  
been the ward of  
Warren Hastings.



- A mother and two Sisters are left on the wide world without support or protection, but from you. Could I hear that your sister Charlotte was married to a worthy man and that you were in a way to contribute towards the maintenance of your Mother and Elizabeth, it would be a great relief to my mind - but all depends on you. You are become the head of the family and to you they will naturally look up



for protection. The estate, left to John, will not produce £200 per annum, and before any rent becomes due, there will be a demand for paying his debts – but I hope he will afterwards be able to allow his Mother and Sisters some part of his Income. His creditors, however, must first be paid. The little legacies to your Aunt and Sisters here can only support them in a most moderate way with necessary female servants. But their minds are rightly turned and can feel no distress for any reverse of fortune, except in reflecting on the disgraceful way by which they have been reduced.

How melancholy is it to consider that a character, so generous, disinterested and noble from the hand of God, should be deformed and blackened by so mean, so selfish and so dishonest as vice, as Gaming! – for I look on the man of Play as a Robber, whether his own family or his neighbours' may be the sufferers. I hope my dear Charles, your duty to God and your neighbour will always present themselves to your mind as an Aegis against this and every other temptation, and that you may return to your country with a competence honourably acquired. But should the Almighty ordain it otherwise; - that the Virtues you practise, may ensure you a blessed immortality, and that the Almighty (pardoning my crimes) may grant us both a joyful meeting in his Kingdom, is the prayer of your affectionate Friend,  
[signed] **J.Wiltshire**

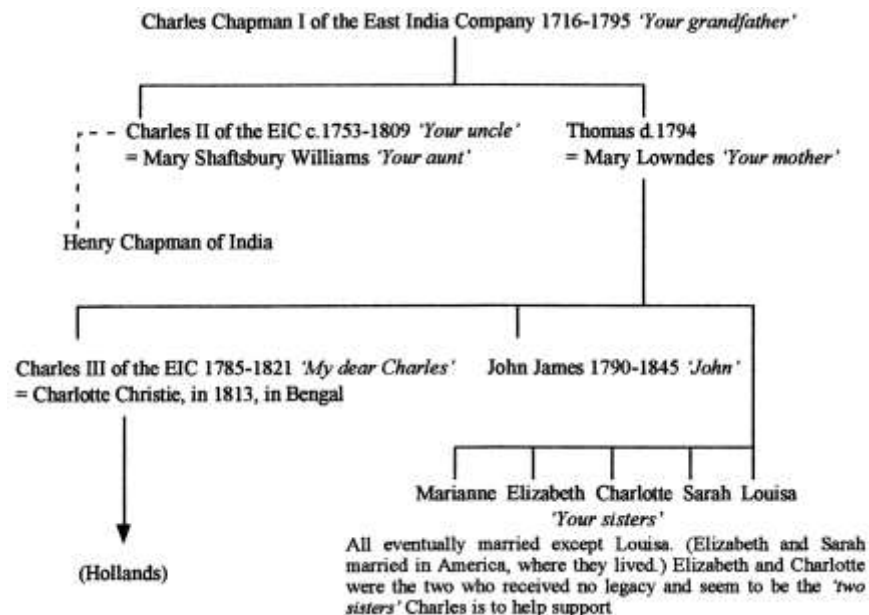
*'Marianne'*  
[1784-?], copy  
of a portrait  
taken when  
she was Lady  
Gibbes.



*'Charlotte'*  
[1788-?], copy  
of a portrait  
taken when  
she was Mrs.  
James.  
Charlotte  
married  
twice.



*'Your Sisters'*. Other pictures of the family are available, including the sisters Elizabeth, Sarah and Louisa. 'John' and his father Thomas appear on the cover of Issue no.6, in which five of the pictures shown here, but not Charles III, were also printed.



## **WIDCOMBE MANOR (HOUSE) -1839 SALE PARTICULARS**

**John Hawkes**

Widcombe House was the name of the present Widcombe Manor until about a century ago. Changing names will no doubt confuse historians in the future. Even earlier Widcombe House applied to the Colthurst mansion, where Widcombe Crescent now stands, and recently Widcombe Manor Farm has been renamed Widcombe House. The Widcombe House estate was sold at the London Auction Mart by Mr.Geo.Robins of Covent Garden on 27 June 1839. The property was formerly the estate of the late John Thomas of Prior Park, who had bought it some time after the Bennet sale of 1813. Thomas had also owned Prior Park, which was sold in 1829 to Bishop Baines and converted into a college. The estate comprised The House and Grounds, the Out Offices (later Manor Farm), the Water Mill and house (in Prior Park Road), Yew Cottage (now Widcombe Lodge) and two other cottages in Church Street (one now called Yew Cottage). The Sale Particulars comprised four pages of descriptive text, one of Conditions of Sale, a detailed Plan and two prints of the house and grounds by Madeley of the Strand, London. The following pages show the main elements of the Particulars, the Plan and prints. The numbers in brackets below relate to those marked on the original texts. There is some confusion in the names used in the Plan and Particulars, for instance the former shows the two main open lands as 'The Park or Lawn' and 'Dun's Mead', whereas both are 'Park Meadow' (1 & 2) in the latter.

The Particulars are unusual and very different from the more specific and detailed ones used for the property, both previously and later, and were no doubt aimed at the wealthy 'sensibility' of London. Apart from the exuberant literary style and exotic lettering, the emphasis is almost entirely on the idyllic enclosed landscape environment and its setting close to Prior Park and Bath. It would be interesting to know who the Writer was. Widcombe House is styled 'The Little Lion of this Great City' with 'The Ambrosial Grounds' (Food of the Gods), described in poetic detail. Great emphasis is laid on the waterfall, cascade and statue of Neptune, which confirms that Neptune was here and not in Prior Park as has sometimes been stated. This is shown on one of the prints together with 'The Celebrated Mount Behind', from which there were then views across to Beckford's Tower. No mention is made of a building on the Mount, as in Robins' mid-18th century sketch. (This group was the subject of an article in the *Survey's* issue No.6, November 1996.) In Park Meadow (Dun's Mead) the development potential is pointed out with the suggestion to erect 'a minor contemporary to Prior Park' (3). The suitability for building is again pointed out in 1927, but the meadow still remains intact. The landscape influence even extends into the description of the house, 'having the benefit of viewing, in every direction the scene of enchantment' and where 'Capability Brown will suggest adding the Back Room' (4).

In contrast the architectural quality and detail of the buildings merit little attention. Half the space on the house itself – 'The Stone Edifice' - is devoted to the literary connections of Fielding and Pope. Tom Jones was hardly produced 'under this hospitable roof', but possibly in The Yew Cottage, where Fielding's sister lived. The Dovecote, which in the 1927 sale is referred to as 'a Familiar landmark often sought by Tourists' is just included in 'The Out Offices ... Piggery and Pigeonhouse' (6). The only building noted is 'an ornamental building of ancient date' in the kitchen garden (5) (the garden house adjoining the church), which would have been of a similar period to the other buildings. One uncertainty is the reference to views of 'The Hermitage in one direction, the Orangery and depository for Gold and Silver Fish, and its limpid Fountain, in the opposite' (6). The Hermitage might be the 'ancient' building and the others the Greenhouse and nearby Bath shown on the Plan. The Plan of the Estate is detailed and most remains the same today. One interesting feature is the Leaden Pipe, which crosses the Park and exits by the Mill House. This provided spring water to the Mill and the Conditions state 'and from thence to other land'. Perhaps this was to Allen's Cottages, since both were built when Allen of Prior Park and Bennett of Widcombe, were friends and exchanging lands. The Conditions cover the legal details to the title and purchase. These included that 'No person shall advance less than twenty guineas at each bidding'... 'The purchaser...shall pay down immediately...a deposit of 20l. per cent...and the remainder...on...30th day of September...And if not pay interest at 5l. per cent, per annum'. The purchaser was General Clapham.

# **A CLASSIC ABODE,** CALLED **WIDCOMB HOUSE,**



WIDCOMBE HOUSE, NEAR BATH,  
*For Sale by Auction by M<sup>r</sup> GEO. ROBINS, Thursday, June 27<sup>th</sup> 1839.*

## **WIDCOMB HOUSE,**

**A singularly eligible FREEHOLD PROPERTY,**

And one so remarkable by its association with the Literature of the Day, that the Writer feels he might damage the little reputation which he has acquired, or place it in very great jeopardy, by the imperfect sketch which the following humble effort is intended to convey :—

### **PRIOR PARK AND ITS DEMESNE**

Is in conjunction with

### **WIDCOMB HOUSE AND ITS PARK GROUNDS.**

The former has for many a long year claimed to be

### **THE LEVIATHAN OF BATH,**

And yet in its proud altitude seems to envy the quiet, unpretending

### **SCENE OF LOVELINESS AND BEAUTY,**

Which adorns

**The Little Lion of this Great City.**

It would be in vain to attempt more than a very faint description of the first impression that is awakened in approaching

## **“THE AMBROSIAL GROUNDS,”**

It is something electric ; the Mansion stands, or rather nestles, under the shadow of the Hill ; the Church is its nearest neighbour, covered with Ivy, which in its gamesome luxuriance, entwines itself round this sacred Edifice. Nature is here arrayed in her most romantic garb, and it were impossible to increase the charms of a spot so rich in her own “beauties.” The whole extent is laid out with that perfect taste which knows how to wed Nature to Art without sacrificing its simplicity to the alliance. There is a general harmony pervades the picture ; it is, however, from

## **The Delightful Terrace Walk,**

That the scenic effect is rendered one

### **OF SURPASSING BEAUTY.**

It extends throughout the Gardens, where the Parterres, enriched by Flowers, are fragrant beyond measure, and lead to the distant Lawns, enamelled with Shrubs. In perambulating the Luxuriant Plantations, the murmuring sounds of the

## **WATERFALL AND CASCADE**

[1] In the Park Meadow, becomes almost a constant and welcome companion. The majestic hanging Woods, while they add grace to the Landscape, screen the Domicile from the wintry winds. The Hermitage in one direction, the Orangery and depository for Gold and Silver Fish, and its limpid Fountain, in the opposite, form a picture that may be likened unto fairy land—it should be seen or it will never be appreciated. Within the little Park

## **Neptune is seen presiding over the Waters,**

In a splendid colossal Figure. The undulation throughout the Demesne is incessant, and the Views from

## **THE CELEBRATED MOUNT**

Are most extensive and varied, looking down upon

## **THE SPLENDID CITY,**

(Which it may be well to remark is not quite One Mile off),

## **TO MR. BECKFORD'S CELEBRATED TOWER.**

### **THE UMBRAGEOUS WALKS**

Are of considerable extent, with a capital Cold Bath, and a Room and Fire-place connected.

## **THE GARDENS are prolific beyond measure,**

[2] And embrace every thing in the shape of Fruit and Vegetation that those learned in the new School of Art can desire. Close by is a Park Meadow of considerable extent, and only separated by a Road, with so much of delightful irregularity, so much Hill and Dale in perpetual review, with a Cascade and Waterfall, that it almost appears in the attitude of imploring good taste to take it under its special keeping, and erect thereon a

[3] **MINOR CONTEMPORARY TO PRIOR PARK.**

It may with great truth be affirmed that Nature has achieved almost a miracle in so small a space ; and left the powerless efforts of Art to bewail its own infirmities.

**THE ENSEMBLE IS (EN VERITE) UNAPPROACHABLE,**

Although limited to Sixteen Acres. The next (and a very indispensable duty), will be to call attention to

## THE STONE EDIFICE,

And its internal accommodation. First observing that the Writer has now entered upon "CLASSIC GROUND." It is a matter of notoriety, that the prototype of Squire Western, in Fielding's Tom Jones, is to be traced to Widcomb. It is a delightful reminiscence that the admired Author produced his remarkable novel under this hospitable roof; the surrounding neighbourhood is hallowed as it were by the association of poetry and romance; Prior Park, the Seat of Squire Allen, will be remembered by that charming distich so happily expressed by one of England's sweetest bards, which was called forth not alone by the inspiration of the Muse, but as a trifling tribute of gratitude towards a nevertiring Patron. 'Twas thus the Poet sang his Patron's praise:—

"Let humble Allen, with an awkward shame,  
Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame."—POPE.

The accommodation within is ample for all the legitimate wants of a Family of importance. It is in most substantial order, although a few Hundred Pounds may be advantageously employed in decorative ornament.

It contains the following accommodation:—

Seven Bed Rooms for the Establishment; on the First Range, the ascent to which is by a famous Staircase to the Landing, are Four Best Bed Chambers, Dressing Room, Commodité, and Anti Room, and in this suite, if it be intended to *luxuriate en Prince* at this splendid retreat, is the splendid Front Room, occupying a space more than 50 feet by 18, and admirably adapted for a *noble Soiree*, besides in the day time having the benefit of viewing, in every direction, the scene of enchantment; Prior Park appears from almost every Room, to aid the delightful illusion and give additional force and grace to the scene.

- [4] The Entrée by the Paved Hall leads to the Parlour, (but capability Brown will suggest adding the Back Room, when the Banqueting Room will be perfect). The Drawing Rooms are enclosed by Double Folding Doors, about 36 feet by 15, and Commodité, adorned by a large quantity of very clever, amusing and valuable Prints; Basement, although no fire has been seen in the Domicile for a Year past, it is so dry that the lower offices may be slept in with security, Larders (very cool), the Wine Cellar, worthy of the representative of

## THE LOYAL CITY OF BATH.

A first-rate Kitchen, Back Kitchen with Scullery, Butler's Room, Servants' Hall, and lots of good dry Cellaring for Beer and Coals.

## THE COURT YARD ENCLOSURES

The Brewhouse, Dairy, a Staircase leading to the Cheese Chamber and Apple Room, Coalhouse, a second Yard for Poultry, and other essentials, Knife and Bottlehouse.

**THE KITCHEN GARDEN is extensive and very prolific,**

- [5] WITH AN ORNAMENTAL BUILDING OF ANCIENT DATE.

## THE OUT OFFICES

- [6] Are fully sufficient, Two capital Stables with Six Stalls, Harness Room, standing for Four Carriages, Waggonhouse, and a place for a Three-Stall Stable in addition, Piggery, and Pigeonhouse. There is beside a

## CAPITAL WATER MILL

Near at hand, but effectually secluded by the luxuriant growth of the Plantations. It carries Two Pair of Stones, altogether Four Floors, it is a most complete Mill, and from its position, in regard to the City, a valuable and profitable appendage.

## THE MILL RESIDENCE

Is full of comfort and usefulness for a Miller's Family, with a Garden reaching to the High Road. it is capable of producing and indeed is well worth

**100 Guineas a Year.**

Also Two Cottages with Gardens on the Road Side, let at £20 a Year ; there is beside on the other Road to Bath a small Garden, underlet at £5 a Year ; and

## **THE YEW COTTAGE,**

Adjoining the last detached Garden, capable of being made a very pretty Villa ; the Clergyman was the Tenant, and it may again be respectably tenanted ; in this little retreat is all the accommodation a small Family can desire, a good Garden and a Shrubbery.

### ***THE BEST PEW IN THE CHURCH***

Has always been claimed by the possessor of Widcombe House, and conveyed in Fee.

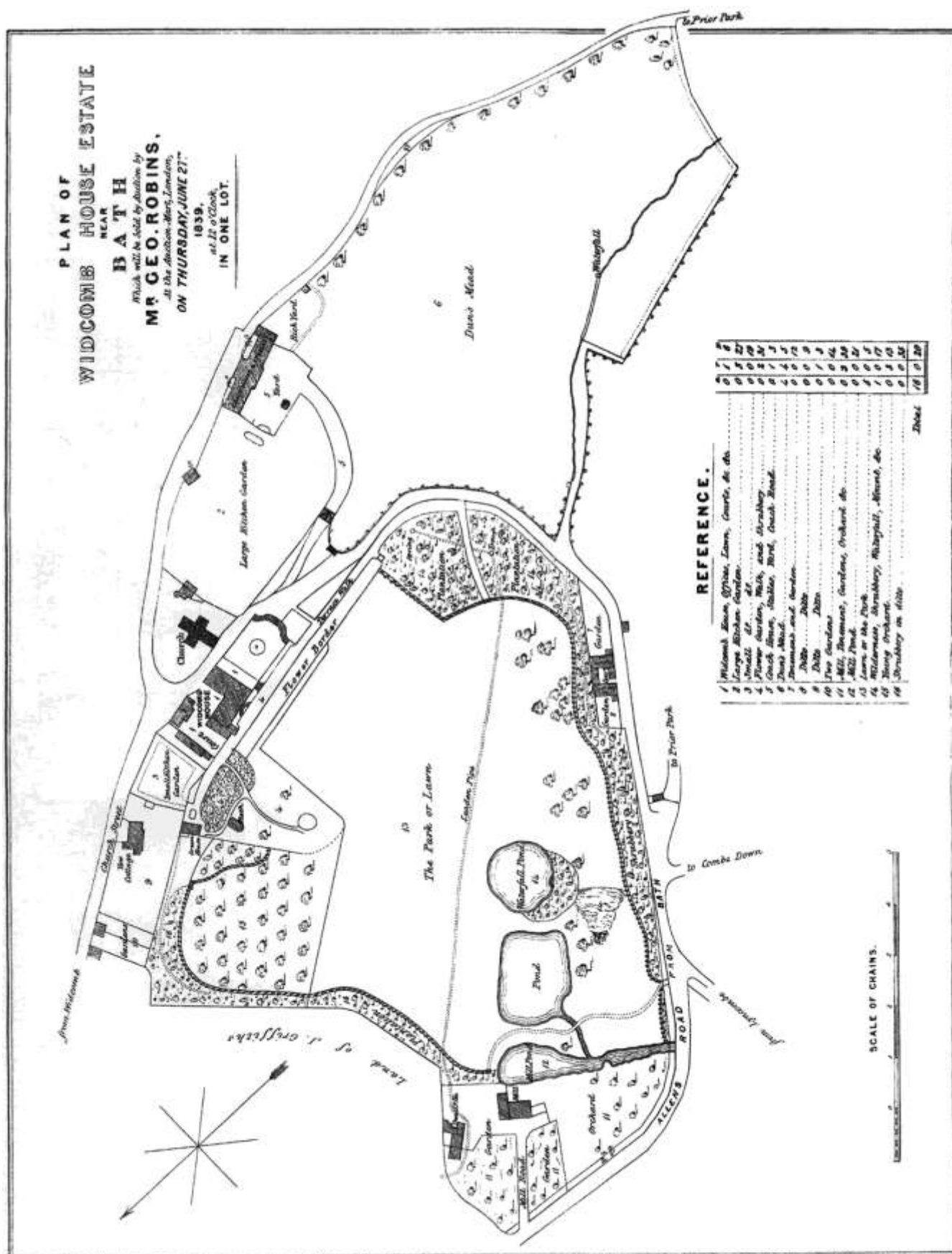
**The Fixtures are to be taken at a fair Valuation.**

***The Property is all Freehold and the Title Unexceptionable.***



VIEW IN THE GROUNDS AT WIDCOMBE HOUSE.





## **NORTH PARADE BUILDINGS, ITS BUILDERS, AND THE PALMER CONNECTION**

**Allan Keevil**

In the following article, it is hoped to throw a little more light on certain, 18th Century, Bath builders, who were involved in the construction of North Parade Buildings; and to clarify the distinction between three well-known (but often confused), contemporary, John Palmers of Bath, two of whom had a close association with the Buildings.

Originally called Gallaway's Buildings, it is a graceful, little, mid-18th-century, pennant-paved, traffic-free, cul-de-sac, with houses bearing the stamp of a uniform design, and certainly deserves having attention drawn to it. Walter Ison<sup>1</sup> gives a detailed description of the architecture of the Buildings; while Mowbray Green, in his *18th Century Architecture of Bath*<sup>2</sup>, deals briefly with the exteriors of the houses, but refers particularly to the interiors, noticing the fine staircase in No.7 (with photograph). The doorways to most of the houses are framed by columns, with rich Corinthian capitals supporting triangular pedimented entablatures. At the first storey, a triangular pediment emphasises each alternate window, while long and short rustic quoins mark the corners of each block. Although it is obvious that these houses generally conform to a uniform plan, and the building leases (below) show that there was such a plan, to which each builder had to adhere (and complete by 29 September 1750), the designer's name is not given.

The work is not mentioned or claimed by John Wood as part of his North Parade development. It may therefore have been built to a plan by Thomas Jelly, who is known to have been an extremely competent designer of that period, and it will be shown that he subsequently worked in close association with Henry Fisher, the principal builder there. The elegant, former Grammar School building still standing in Broad Street was built to Jelly's plan<sup>3</sup>. Ison noticed<sup>4</sup> that there was a strong similarity in composition and detail with Bladud Buildings and other houses in which Jelly is known to have participated. He also pointed out that North Parade Buildings has an almost identical design with that of the fine house at the northern end of the western side of Abbey Street (now No.4). This house appears to have been rebuilt by Samuel Bush, an apothecary and alderman of the city, a short time before 1760<sup>5</sup>. Although there is no mention of its designer, it seems likely that he had chosen builders of North Parade Buildings to carry out the work - hence the almost identical style. Ison had mistakenly believed that No.4 Abbey Street had been part of a neighbouring scheme, carried out when the Duke of Kingston (for whom Jelly designed the former Kingston Baths nearby) leased to Thomas Jelly and Henry Fisher, on 10 April 1762, 'part of the late dissolved Abbey or priory of Bath', on which to build houses<sup>6</sup> (most of plainer style). This would not, of course, have prevented Samuel Bush from employing them, a little earlier, in the rebuilding of No.4 Abbey Street.

### **Thomas Jelly's apprenticeship and trade**

Thomas Jelly (c.1720-1781) became a freeman of the city, on 15 March 1741, after his apprenticeship to Methusalem (sic) Hutchins, carpenter<sup>7</sup>. Later, in 1752, Jelly's trade is given as 'joyner and carpenter' (see below). This description makes an interesting comparison with that of the skilled Bath architect, John Wood the Elder, who, as a young man working in London, was also described as 'a joyner' by trade<sup>8</sup>.

### **The ground on which Gallaway's Buildings was developed**

The earliest document (fortunately containing a plan), dealing with the area on which the development of the present North Parade Buildings took place, is a conveyance of the whole ground there, dated 20 March 1743, to William Galloway (more usually spelt Gallaway), apothecary, by the Duke of Kingston<sup>9</sup>. The property consisted of a house, its long rear wall abutting on the western side of the city wall (which there forms the western boundary of the former Abbey Orchard, on which John Wood developed North Parade etc.<sup>10</sup>), outhouses and gardens, with a way to the house from Abbey Green (approximately where there is still a way between the Green and North Parade Buildings). It is clear that Gallaway must later

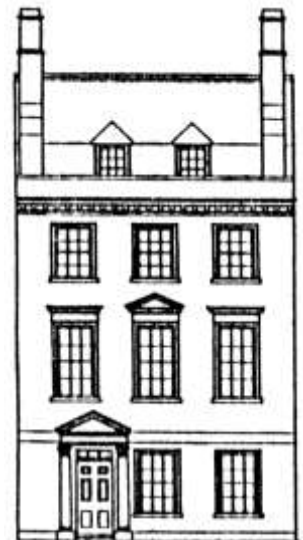


have been granted permission to take down the old house, in order to build Gallaway's Buildings (the present North Parade Buildings). The St.James's Rate Book<sup>11</sup>, for 1751, shows a group of nine houses in that position (today there are ten - but see below), which by 1755, is shown as 'Gallaway's Buildings'. The highest rate (15/- at that time) was paid by William Gallaway on what appears to be the present No.10 (the large, isolated one, at the northern end of the western side), which was called 'Mr. Gallaway's House'. Although probably built when the old house on the wall was removed, details concerning its building are at present lacking, because the deeds (like those of Nos. 1 and 2 also) are in private hands and unavailable for research. Information on the other houses (including side references to Nos. 1 and 2) is available (see below). One house there was built for John Palmer, the tallow chandler, but first, it is necessary to distinguish between the three contemporary John Palmers of Bath.



(left) Staircase of No.7  
Gallaway's Buildings, from  
Mowbray Green's *18th  
Century Architecture of  
Bath*, 1904

(below) Example of  
Thomas Jelly's design,  
from Ison's *Georgian  
Buildings of Bath*, 1948



BLADUD  
BUILDINGS  
probably designed by  
T. JELLY  
1755

typical of many houses  
erected between 1750-1775  
on corporate property.

### The Palmers

- (I) John Palmer (c.1738-1817), carpenter and architect
- (II) John Palmer (1742-1818), theatre proprietor, Comptroller General of the Postal Service, and M.P. (see also appendix)
- (III) John Palmer (died probably c. 1780s), tallow chandler, soapboiler, brewer, theatre promoter, and father of No.II

John Palmer (I), the Bath architect, was far too young to have been concerned with the building of Gallaway's Buildings, but had a close connection with Thomas Jelly, the man most likely to have been the designer. This John Palmer was born c.1738, and was described as 'son of Arthur Palmer, yeoman, of Badminton, in the county of Gloucestershire', when he was apprenticed, on 1 January 1752<sup>12</sup>, to Thomas Jelly 'of Bath, joyner and carpenter' - better known, in his day, as a master-builder, but more recently

as an architect. John Palmer (I) completed his apprenticeship and was 'sworn free', on 8 March 1762<sup>13</sup>. Walter Ison<sup>14</sup> was obviously mistaken in assuming that this 'John Palmer was the son of Thomas Palmer, a prosperous glazier, associated with Thomas Jelly, the master-builder'. Thomas Palmer may have been a close relative, possibly an uncle of John, and it may be that it was through his good offices that the apprenticeship to Jelly had been arranged.

Confusion sometimes arises between John Palmer (I), the architect, and the closely contemporary John Palmer (II), who was baptised at St.James's on 5 December 1742, and was apprenticed to his father, John Palmer (III), on 24 December 1754<sup>15</sup>, as 'John Palmer, junior'. Still thus described, he was 'sworn free', on 5 April 1762<sup>16</sup> - the same year as John Palmer (I), carpenter and architect. It was the father of John Palmer (II), i.e. John Palmer (III), who promoted the Orchard Street Theatre in 1749<sup>17</sup>, and his son continued the interest. The theatre was enlarged by John Palmer (III), in 1767, and Henry Fisher (then described as 'master builder'), carried out the work<sup>18</sup>. The auditorium had to be again enlarged and reconstructed in 1775<sup>19</sup>, when John Palmer (I), the architect (who, on completing his apprenticeship, had gone into business with his master, Thomas Jelly), was employed. The building continued in use as a theatre until 13 July 1805.

John Palmer junior (II), who had served his apprenticeship under his father (III), and who had continued his father's interest in the theatre, was primarily a theatre proprietor, and his plan for speeding up coaches is said to have developed out of his difficulties in getting performers to appear on time<sup>20</sup>. He was appointed Comptroller General of the Postal Service on 11 October 1786, was Mayor of Bath in 1796 and 1801, M.P. for Bath in 1801, 1802, 1806 and 1807, and died at Brighton in 1818. He was interred in Bath Abbey (tablet beside the West door)<sup>21</sup>.

### **Erection of Gallaway's Buildings**

A house at the southern end of the eastern side of Gallaway's Buildings (now North Parade Buildings) was built, in 1749-50, by Henry Fisher, mason, for John Palmer (III) - see building lease, 20 February 1749<sup>22</sup>. It was divided into the present Nos.5 & 6, apparently between 1795 and 1803<sup>23</sup>, when the original doorway appears to have been altered, so that there are now two, adjacent, doorway openings to the two houses, with merely simple, moulded architraves. The western frontage of Palmer and Fisher's 1749 plot of ground was 47 ft. 2 ins. wide, and 'one good, substantial, stone and timber messuage' was to be erected there, 'before 29 September 1750, ... in the same model, manner and form, in every respect, as mentioned and described in a certain plan for that purpose' (see building lease, above), the quoted words being standard in all the building leases examined there. Other requirements included raising half the road before each house, as directed (owners having use of vaults to be built below), and paving it with good pennant stone; setting up regular, iron palisades, on a stone base, 3 ft. from the front of each house, and in line with stone steps to the entrance. At the expiration of three years from 29 September 1750, or sooner if all the houses there (in the Buildings) had been let or sold, William Gallaway was allowed, at his expense, to pull down that part of a wall, at the southern end of the street, the whole width of the road (a battlemented remnant of the wall, east of the road, can be seen incorporated into the southern end of the present No.6), to open it up into Lord Weymouth's ground. Any road built on the latter, was to be the same width as Gallaway's Buildings; Lord Weymouth was not allowed to put a gateway there. No horses or wheel traffic were to be allowed in Gallaway's Buildings<sup>24</sup>. It is interesting to note that John Palmer (III) mortgaged his dwelling-house there (now Nos.5 & 6), on 8 November 1750, to Thomas French, an apothecary, for £1,000<sup>25</sup>, but that his only son and heir, John Palmer (II), redeemed the property, on 6 April 1795, from the sole surviving heiress of Thomas French and her fellow beneficiary<sup>26</sup>.

The ground of Palmer's original house (the present Nos.5 & 6), at the southern end of the eastern range of Gallaway's Buildings, was stated to be bounded on the north (site of present No.4) by ground granted or intended to be granted (for building) to Henry Fisher<sup>27</sup>. He also apparently built the present No.3, next to No.4, and mortgaged it, for £500, to Dr. William Oliver, on 22 June 1750<sup>28</sup>. This house, No.3, was bounded on the north by ground granted to George Longman, cabinet maker, who would seem, therefore, to have been the builder of the present No.2<sup>29</sup>. (The builder of Nos.1 & 1a is discussed below.)

The mural tablet to 'John Palmer, 1741-1818' (correctly 1742-1818), on No.1 North Parade Buildings (formerly Gallaway's Buildings), refers, of course, to John Palmer (II), who became Comptroller General of the Postal Service, was mayor, and served several times as M.P. for Bath. It has to be pointed out that the siting of the tablet on No.1 Gallaway's Buildings (quite apart from the date error), and certain details regarding the exact birth-place and the early life of John Palmer (II), given by previous writers, seem to conflict with facts revealed in the present researches (see appendix).

The pedimented doorway to this house (the present No.1), fronting west to North Parade Buildings, is, like those of the majority of houses in the Buildings, framed by richly Corinthian capped, plain-shafted, engaged columns, but the doorway itself has been walled up, because the actual entrance faces north into North Parade Passage (in line with North Parade), and seems always to have done so.



**The doorway of No.7 Gallaways's Buildings, after restoration in 1951. One of a pair of photographs, before and after restoration, kept in Bath Record Office.**



**Taken from a pamphlet *Historic Houses in Bath*, issued on the unveiling of mural tablets on Ralph Allen's and John Palmer's residences in 1901. Bath Record Office.**

The explanation is to be found in a document, dated 1 January 1750<sup>30</sup>, whereby the Duke of Kingston conveyed certain privileges to William Gallaway 'before his house in the Abbey Green' (as the old house against the city wall was described). It refers to the fact that Gallaway had recently arranged to build on his ground, and had caused several houses to be built there, including two fronting northwards (in line with the North Parade frontage), built by Henry Fisher, mason. Gallaway therefore needed the Duke's permission to allow Fisher to build up the way running in front of the two houses on arches, to unite the way (now called North Parade Passage) from Abbey Green to the fronts of North Parade, for the convenience of everyone. Wood had already agreed. Both houses extended southwards, so that their rear walls abutted on the northern side of the present No.2 North Parade Buildings<sup>31</sup>. The more westerly of the two houses became the present No.1 North Parade Buildings; the more easterly No.1a North Parade, and the date of building makes it impossible for the former to have been the birthplace of John Palmer (II)<sup>32</sup>.

Only that part of No.1, which faced westward into North Parade Buildings (including its walled-up,

pedimented doorway, framed by Corinthian capped columns), fully conformed to the architecture of the Buildings, with rustication forming a termination to the northern end of that western face of No.1 (similar to the end buildings in the rest of the development - see above). The north-western corner beyond is rounded above ground floor level. Both Nos.1a North Parade and No.1 North Parade Buildings are three windows wide, at first floor level, along their northern frontages, with alternate, triangular pedimented windows (as in the Buildings). No.1a has an apparently 18th-century plain doorway, while No.1 has a modern mock-Georgian, 36-pane, bow-window shop-front, framed by two entrances.

It appears that No.7<sup>33</sup>, on the western side of North Parade Buildings, was built by John Hutchins, tiler and plasterer (see above for its fine stairway - Was this the work of his relative, to whom Jelly had been apprenticed, or of George Longman, cabinet maker, associated with him in the building lease?); No.8 by Abraham Fisher, roughmason, the brother of Henry Fisher<sup>34</sup>. The lease shows that Abraham Fisher's ground was bounded on the north, by ground (site of No.9) granted to Robert Smith, carpenter<sup>35</sup>, the builder of that property. He was probably the Walcot churchwarden, whose plan for rebuilding the church was narrowly approved, and voted for, *inter alia*, by Henry and Abraham Fisher and Thomas Greenway, in preference to John Wood's, on 5 February 1738<sup>36</sup>. It was eventually enlarged and rebuilt, 'under the direction of Messrs.Jelly and Palmer' (Palmer I), and reopened for divine service, on 10 June 1777<sup>37</sup>. On the northern side of No.9, is a way (between Nos.9 & 10) leading to Abbey Green (see Robert Smith's building lease, above).

### **Henry Fisher**

Henry Fisher (1712-91) became a freeman, on 24 February 1734, after apprenticeship to his much older brother, Nathaniel, roughmason<sup>38</sup>. Henry's next older brother, Abraham, roughmason (above), had also served his apprenticeship with Nathaniel, from 25 March 1726<sup>39</sup>. The masonry trade at that time was divided into 'freemasons', who cut the stone from the quarry, and 'roughmasons' who carried out the actual building work<sup>40</sup>. Although he is not mentioned in any published work, Henry Fisher seems to have been responsible for a great deal of building in Bath, often as an equal partner with Thomas Jelly (for example, in developing both the Abbey and Ambury estates, and Kingsmead<sup>41</sup>). Both men were among those who erected the houses at Bladud Buildings<sup>42</sup>. Henry Fisher was also one of the masons involved in the construction, to the design of Thomas Jelly, of the former Grammar School in Broad Street, including 'the shore under the school'<sup>43</sup>.

It has been shown that Henry Fisher built most of the eastern range of Gallaway's Buildings: the present Nos.1, 3, 4, and 5 & 6 (the last two formerly one house), as well as No.1a North Parade, while Henry's older brother, Abraham, rough-mason, built one house (No.8), on the western side. It is quite likely that Henry Fisher had also built No.10 Gallaway's Buildings for William Gallaway. Available Rate Books show that, in 1781, Gallaway is listed for the house (rate £1.16s.); in 1785, Henry Fisher is shown as the owner (tenant, Garrett); and in 1796, after Fisher's death, one of his executors, Robert Lidiard, is shown as the owner (tenant, Garrett)<sup>44</sup> (see also note 52). Fisher had clearly retained an interest in No.10.

Thomas Jelly did not erect any of the houses there, whereas he participated as a builder, in other schemes, in which he was associated with Henry Fisher. In building leases for St.James's Parade, granted under their Ambury scheme, work had to be carried out under their joint supervision, 'as Thomas Jelly and Henry Fisher shall direct'<sup>45</sup>. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that Henry Fisher had been responsible for drawing the plans; there is certainly no documented evidence of his producing drawings for any building work, whereas Jelly's skill as a draughtsman is well recorded.

### **Closing story of Fisher and Jelly**

On 23 May 1781, the *Bath Journal* announced: 'Same day (i.e. the previous Saturday) died Mr.Thomas Jelly, an eminent master-builder of this city'<sup>46</sup>. The *Bath Journal*, 28 November 1791, announced: 'Tuesday, died at East Hayes [actually at lower East Hayes - his address there sometimes simply given as 'without the Walcot turnpike'], in his 79th year, Henry Fisher, Esq., late an eminent master-builder of this

city'. He was buried at Walcot 'old ground'. Henry Fisher was one of the executors of Thomas Jelly's will; John Palmer (I), the architect, was one of the executors of Henry Fisher's will. Although the latter's is unfortunately among those Wells wills destroyed at Exeter, by enemy action, during the Second World War, there are references to it in the Lidiard Papers<sup>47</sup>.

Fisher appears to have been widowed twice. His third marriage was at the Abbey, on 2 August 1787, to Mary Thompson, spinster, of St.Michael's, when he was of Walcot, widower<sup>48</sup>. She survived him by twenty years, receiving a life annuity out of the estate<sup>49</sup>. Henry Fisher's yard on the Quay (two yards 'at the Amery waterside', leased from the Garrards, for 1,000 years, from Lady Day, 1755, rent £6 p.a.<sup>50</sup>) seems to have been taken over, from 1800, by another Henry Fisher, mason<sup>51</sup>, who can be identified as his great-nephew (a grandson of his brother, Nathaniel), and an executor, with Robert Lidiard<sup>52</sup> and John Palmer (I), the architect, of his great-uncle's will.

### **Final details**

John Palmer (I), who had married Edith Harding, on 10 January 1762, at St.James's Church, where three of their children were baptised<sup>53</sup>, later lived at No.6 Charles Street ('on the east side of Upper Charles Street', the freehold being part of Jelly's estate<sup>54</sup>). There he died, on 19 July 1817, aged 79<sup>55</sup>. Thomas Jelly had also lived in Charles Street, probably at No. 1, where subsequently resided Thomas, the elder of his two sons - both of whom were attorneys - by his second wife ('Miss Mary Smith of Bradford, an agreeable young lady with a handsome fortune', as the newspaper described her, when he married her in September 1760<sup>56</sup>).

It is remarkable how almost exactly contemporary were the lives of John Palmer (I), the architect, and John Palmer (II), the M.P., both of whom had a connection with each other, through the theatre building. Both the latter and his father were also connected with the former Gallaway's Buildings, through the house at the southern end of the eastern range (now divided into two houses and numbered 5 & 6). Gallaway's Buildings itself then provides the connection with the various craftsmen, who were involved in its creation, and who are mentioned in this article.

### **Appendix**

John Britton, in *The History and Antiquities of Bath Abbey Church*, 'including Biographical Anecdotes of the most distinguished persons interred in that edifice...', London, 1825, pp.174-179, states that 'Mr.Palmer was born at Bath in the year 1742'. That date is seemingly confirmed by his baptism in St.James's Church, Bath, on 5 December 1742, and the entry in the Abbey register, which shows that he was 'buried on 28 August 1818, aged 76'. However, there is a slight discrepancy with his age, as given on the memorial tablet beside the West door, which states that he 'died on 16 August 1818, aged 77'. This may have been the monumental mason's error, as the memorial also shows that one of Palmer's sons died at that age, and the two may have become confused.

T.Sturge Cotterell, a member of Bath City Council, was the initiator of the mural tablet scheme, and produced a pamphlet *Historic Houses in Bath*, issued on the occasion of the unveiling of this tablet on No.1 Gallaway's Buildings, on 25 April 1901 (PP 116 (ii), pp.14-20, Bath Record Office), in which he stated that John Palmer was born 'under the very shadow of Ralph Allen's house in the North Parade, in 1742', claiming that the boy's handwriting was 'until a few years ago, to be seen scratched on the window glass of an upper room'. He also claimed that Palmer's father resided at No. 1 Gallaway's Buildings', with the implication that this was the son's birthplace. In fact, present research has shown, as explained in the preceding article (a) that Gallaway's Buildings had not even been built in 1742, and (b) that, in any case, his father's house was actually at the other (southern) end of the range (now two houses, numbered 5 & 6). This error may have been the result of Cotterell's understandable confusion by the description sometimes given of the house of John Palmer, senior, as being at the 'upper end of Gallaway's Buildings'. It is perhaps more surprising that Cotterell had either not noticed that the mural tablet-maker had put '1741' as the year of Palmer's birth, instead of '1742', or had not insisted that it be corrected.

As to the early life and upbringing of John Palmer, as given by Britton (*op.cit.*), and repeated, almost word for word, by R.E.M.Peach, in *His Historic Houses in Bath*, 1884 edition, pp.115-119, there is no mention of his apprenticeship to his father, or of its completion, when he was sworn in, as a freeman of the city, as explained in the preceding article. Perhaps Britton had been given a garbled version of John Palmer's early life, by the latter's family (three sons: a clergyman, a major-general, and a naval captain, whose names and descriptions appear on their father's

Abbey memorial tablet), or perhaps they preferred, for some reason, not to mention his apprenticeship, and to put a slightly different gloss on his early days.

## References and Notes

1. Walter Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath*, 1948, p.149, and Plate 66a
2. Mowbray A. Green, *18th Century Architecture of Bath*, 1904, p.127 & Plates LXXV, LXXVI, and LXXVII
3. Bath Council Minutes, 5 March 1752, Bath Record Office
4. Ison, *op.cit.*, p.149
5. Abstract of Title of No.4 Abbey Street, BC 153/2441, Bath Record Office
6. Manvers Estate Papers, M4184, p.222, Hallwood Library, Nottingham University
7. Freeman's Book, 1697-1775, Bath Record Office
8. see Tim Mowl, *Architect of Obsession*, 1988, p.13
9. Manvers Estate Papers, M4184, p.125, *op.cit.*
10. A brief, exposed section of this wall being still visible, in a small, rear triangle of ground, between the Fernley Hotel and the eastern range of the houses of Gallaway's Buildings. Pers. comm., Marek Lewcun
11. St.James's Rate Book, Bath Record Office
12. Apprentice Enrolment Book, *op.cit.* (note states actual indenture dated 9 June 1753)
13. Freeman's Book, 1697-1775, *op.cit.*
14. Ison, *op.cit.* pp.42-43
15. Shickle transcript of St.James's parish register, Bath Record Office; and Apprentice Enrolment Book, *op.cit.*
16. Freeman's Book, 1697-1775, *op.cit.*
17. see Adrian Hopkins' lecture, 12 December 1952, on 'Ralph Allen and John Palmer', PP194, *ibid.*
18. Indenture, 4 December 1766, Duke of Kingston to Palmer and Fisher, M4184, pp.231-239, *op.cit.*
19. Ison, p.102, *op.cit.*
20. Hopkins, *op.cit.*
21. *ibid.*
22. Conveyance, 'in the nature of a building lease', 20 February, 1749, BC 153/1800/1, *ibid.*; see also Abstract of Title, 1812, of No.5, with added notes, Acc.81, Bundle 2, *ibid.*
23. Indentures, 6 April 1795, & 18 March 1803, BC 153/1800/2 and 3 respectively, *ibid.* By 1813, difficulties over property rights between the owners of Nos. 5 & 6 had become apparent, and a clause clarifying the situation had to be inserted in the agreement. The problem was that, on the first floor, parts of the rooms belonging to No.5 extended over the passage or entrance of No.6, the whole depth of the building. All walls needed to support No.6 had to be deemed party walls, and cost of maintenance had to be shared (see four-part indenture, 9 September 1813, BC 153/1800/6, *ibid.*)
24. Building lease, 20 February, 1749, Gallaway & trustee to Palmer and Fisher, *op.cit.*
25. Indenture, 8 November 1750, Palmer & Fisher to Thomas French, apothecary, security for £1,000 and interest, quoted in indenture, 6 April 1795, BC 153/1800/2, *ibid.*
26. Indenture, 6 April 1795, *op.cit.*
27. Building lease to Henry Fisher, 15 March 1749, BC 153/2169, *ibid.*
28. Property mortgaged to Dr.Wm.Oliver, 22 June 1750, Acc.28, 176, 1750, *ibid.*; see also indenture, 10 April 1750 (re. No.3), listed in Abstract of Title of various properties there, Corporation Deeds 2631, *ibid.*
29. Mentioned in mortgage to Dr. Oliver, 22 June 1750, *op.cit.*
30. M4184, pp.215-217, *op.cit.*
31. J.H. Cotterell, *City of Bath Plan*, 1852, Bath Record Office
32. *Post Office Directory*, 1972-73.  
There is a grant of 22 March 1750 (BC 153/2169/6, Bath Record Office) of the present No.1a North Parade, by Wm.Gallaway to Henry Fisher, roughmason, 'in consideration of the costs and charges Henry Fisher hath expended, in building upon the piece of ground mentioned to be granted'... and in consideration of yearly rent of £3.5s, for 15 years, from 25 December 1749 (perhaps when the house was completed), and then £11.10s yearly. Measurements of the plot are given, including those of the triangular area of vaults in front (6ft. 2ins. wide at western end, pointed at the eastern).  
No railings were to be erected in front. Both this house and No.1 North Parade Buildings appear to have been built on the site of a former messuage or stable (see conveyance of rents - of No.1a North Parade, as above - by Wm.Gallaway to Saml.Purlewent, 27 March 1751, BC 153/2221/2, Bath Record Office)
33. Building lease of the present No.7, from Gallaway & trustee to Hutchins, carpenter and Longman, cabinet maker, his trustee, 5 January 1749, BC 153/2169/1, *ibid.*
34. Building lease of present No.8, to Abraham Fisher, roughmason, 5 October 1749, BC 153/2169/2, *ibid.*

35. Building lease of present No.9, to Robert Smith, carpenter, 25 July 1749, BC 153/2169/4, *ibid*.
36. Walcot Vestry minutes, 5 February 1738, Somerset Record Office
37. Micro-film edition *Bath Journal*, 18 June 1777, Bath Library
38. Freeman's Book, *op. cit*.
39. Apprentice enrolment book, *op. cit*.
40. Information recently confirmed by the curator of the Building of Bath Museum
41. (a) For Abbey estate: see Note 6;  
(b) For Ambury estate: the Corporation gave 'Messrs.Richard Jones, Thomas Jelly and Henry Fisher...liberty to pull down the Boro Wall next to the Ambury Gardens [for which Fisher and Jelly paid the rate - St. James's Rate Book, 1765-66, Bath Record Office], in order to build new houses there...' (Council minutes, 30 September 1765); see also building leases for St.James's Parade, etc., granted by Jelly, Fisher and Taylor (a grocer, and beneficiary under will of Richard Jones, deceased), BC 153/121a, 1 to 4, Bath Record Office;  
(c) For Kingsmead: the Lidiard papers, Box I, DD/CRM, Somerset Record Office, show, *inter alia* that in 1785, Henry Fisher gave Giles Fisher (of the tiler & plasterer branch of the family) 'our third of the Kingsmeads' (the other two thirds having belonged to Thomas Jelly and John Ford, respectively), in trust for Robert and Thomas Lidiard, both masons, who had recently purchased it, and continued building there. They became inter-related with the Fishers.
42. 'The plan and elevation now produced and signed by the Mayor to be the plan used for building Cockey's Garden' (Bladud Buildings), Council Minute Book, 5 May 1755, Shickle transcripts, Vol.3, p.44, Bath Library; see also building leases for Bladud Buildings, 21 July 1755 - Acc. 77, Bundles 1-17, Bath Record Office
43. See payments to Henry Fisher and William Selden, 'for work about the school', including 'the shore under the school', Chamberlain's Accounts, 1752-55, *ibid*.  
Additional information: The present writer has been reliably informed, that a contemporary Bath newspaper reported that, in 1760, when the controversy over Bristol Bridge was at its height, and Wood had submitted proposals for its rebuilding, which failed to find approval, 'five eminent Bath masons - Messrs. Sainsbury, Ford, Fisher, Selden and Jelly - were called in to report on the soundness of the old piers of Bristol Bridge'. Unfortunately the informant was unable to give the exact date of the newspaper, and the item has not yet been located. It should be said that the description 'Bath masons' was not strictly accurate, as Sainsbury and Jelly were both 'carpenters' by trade. Perhaps 'Bath builders' would have been a better description.
44. St.James's Rate Books, Bath Record Office
45. Building leases, St.James's Parade, Sept. and Oct. 1767, BC 153/121a/1 to 4, *ibid*.
46. Micro-film edition, *Bath Journal*, 23 May 1781 (copy in Bath Reference Library)
47. Lidiard Papers, Box I, *op.cit*.
48. Abbey registers, printed transcripts (copy, Bath Library)
49. Account of estate of Robert Lidiard, 1810, disbursements, Lidiard papers, Box 2, *op.cit*.
50. Walcot Estate Papers, MS.1697, Bath Library
51. St.James's Rate Book for 1800, *op.cit.*, and *Bath Directory*, 1812 (copy, Bath Library)
52. In Robert Lidiard's rent Book, Lidiard papers, Box 2, *op.cit.*, 'Memo. Lending Mr. Henry Fisher, mason, £250, being a charge on "Gallaway House" [the present No.10 North Parade Buildings], for the same, dated 2 August 1805, at 5%'
53. Rev.Shickle's transcripts of St.James's Registers, *op.cit*.
54. Advertisement in the *Bath Journal*, 29 April 1784, micro-film edition, *op. cit*.
55. Memorial tablet in St.Swithin's Church, Walcot; contemporary *Bath Journal* announcement, *op. cit*.
56. *Bath Journal*, September 1760, *op. cit*.

### Acknowledgements

The writer wishes to thank Bath Central Library, and all the staff of the Bath Record Office, for their help in producing research material in their care, and dealing with questions arising. He is grateful to Mr.Crookston of Wiltshire Record Office, for his prompt and helpful response to an enquiry. He is also greatly indebted to Elizabeth Holland for her advice generally, and on the Kingston estate in particular, and for allowing him to borrow, for detailed examination, many of her copy documents.

## **THE STORY OF WALCOT STREET**

Two or three years ago, the Survey contributed to an exhibition on Walcot Street to the Museum of Bath at Work, based on research by Mike Chapman, Elizabeth Holland, and Allan Keevil. The text below has been adapted from this exhibition. The display included numerous illustrations, of which only a few appear here. The photographs of Walcot Street here reproduced were taken in summer 2002 by David Holland and Liz Pratt, as a contribution to the Survey's Millennium Project.

The Survey's files naturally include a considerable amount of detail which is not included here. Kay Ross has begun a community project on the history of Walcot Street which will bring together more information on its historic features.

### **'The Way that leadeth to Walcot'**

Walcot Street (often popularly simply called 'Walcot') lies in two ancient parishes, the parish of St.Michael's Without the Gate, and the parish of Walcot, outside the jurisdiction of the medieval city. The medieval village of Walcot, which may have been of Saxon origin, is thought to have stretched from Walcot Church (once called 'All Hallows') to the foot of the Snow Hill area. Walcot Street itself was often simply called 'the way that leadeth to Walcot', or, 'the highway to Walcot'.

The boundary between the two parishes is shown on Manner's map (below). By the Avon it was marked by a stream, which still runs culverted underground in the grounds of Ladymead House. It is thought that this came from the old well or spring known as the Cornwell. The house that once stood just south of the parish boundary was known as 'Cornwell House'. Allan Keevil's research (see the *Survey*, No.13) has confirmed John Wood's suggestion that the Cornwell lay across the road from Cornwell House. Other suggested sites have been legendary, such as Major Davis's fountain in Ladymead, placed there in 1860. The Cornwell was adapted to be used as a conduit, supplying water to the residents near it. Another conduit stood near St.Michael's Church.

At the north old Walcot Street ended at Walcot Church, and at the south it began at St.Michael's Church. The stretch of road between St.Michael's Church and the North Gate was called Broad Street in the Survey of 1641, and was later renamed Northgate Street.

### **Medieval and Tudor**

Until the later 17th century most inhabitants of Walcot Street lived south of the Ladymead area, in cottages on both sides of the street. Some cottages also lay beyond Ladymead. By the Avon, cottagers possessed gardens running down to the river, and were able to keep pigs and poultry and cultivate fruit trees, as also did residents within the walls.

The Poll Tax of 1379 listed the inhabitants of 'Walcote Stret' as far as the boundary of St.Michael's parish. Bath's chief industry at this time was the cloth industry - we can imagine Chaucer's Good Wife of Bath living in Walcot Street! Although most of the residents were simply called 'laborar' (workman) or 'artificer' (skilled workman or artisan), the majority were probably employed in clothmaking. John Cornwalle is called 'follator', a fuller - he may have lived near the Cornwell and its stream. Nicholas Coobler is a 'sutor', a shoemaker, and so is William Hogg. John Gregory is a 'webbe artificer' (webber or weaver). There are three pedlars, travelling salesmen.

Like 'Coobler', other surnames suggest trades - dyer, tiler, tailor, glover, parchment-maker, tucker. Thomas Leche suggests leech, a doctor - the only one so named in the city. The Poll Tax gives the picture of a busy community. Some of the ancient deeds also mention trades - Daniel the tanner (A.D.IV:60, c.1240), Henry de Cumbe, carpenter (A.D.IV:76, 1317), Edward the tucker (A.D.IV:82, 1335).

In the Tudor tax rolls, streets are lumped together under parishes. In 1524, 69 names are listed for



‘St.Michall without the North Gate’. Many of them will have been connected with the cloth industry, even though it was now beginning to desert the old guild towns for the countryside.

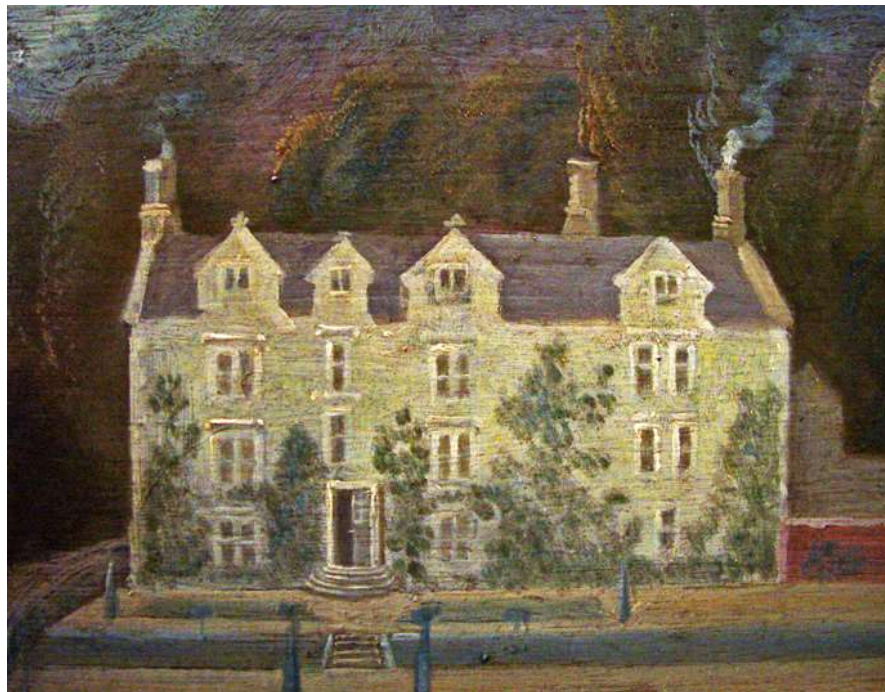
The Welsh names in the list are interesting - David Ap John, Thomas Ap Yevan (Byam), Richard Gryffen.

### **The Stuart Age**

Although it was declining, Bath’s cloth industry was still of importance in the early Stuart age. The largest group of weavers connected with the city held property in Walcot Street, between St.Michael’s Church and Ladymead. Others held property in Broad Street and Frog Lane (New Bond Street). No weavers are known to have held leases actually inside the city walls in the early 17th century. The Walcot Street weavers included Robert Allen, broad-weaver, John Dangerfield, Thomas Gay, Henry Longe, Thomas Lovell, William Palmer, broad-weaver, Richard Parker, linen-weaver, John Warman, and Thomas Wattes. Other members of the cloth trade were Thomas Comminge, tucker, Thomas Brouse, felt-maker, Henry Norroway, clothier, and William Vernam, tailor. There was a tanner, George Elkington, and tanneries near the North Gate. Other artisans were shoemakers, a carpenter, a smith at the ‘Horse Shoe’, and Roger Pooke, nailor, who in 1639 held property on the east side by the Avon, ‘where he dwells’.

Ladymead and the holdings north of it were still described as ‘closes of pasture’. In 1641 Ladymead was held by William Masters, of a family of butchers. Two of the closes north of Ladymead belonged to the Hart Inn in Stall Street, and one to the tanneries near the North Gate, which lay just north of Alford or Slippery Lane.

In the later 17th century visitors to the Spa increased and so did redevelopment in Bath. The picture shown of Cornwell House was discovered in the attic of Ladymead House - remains of the old house were found in the basement. The site of Cornwell House, just south of the parish boundary, was once one of the closes of pasture belonging to the Hart, described as ‘by the Cornwell’ - Ladymead itself lay farther south. It is thought the house in the picture was built about 1680, possibly by Daniel Haynes, a sub-tenant on the site.



Detail of Cornwell House, taken from the painting  
(Courtesy of the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath).

In the 18th century development proceeded apace over all the area of the old city and also in the meadows around it. Grand Georgian terraces were built, and gardens and yards within the city were infilled to form 'courts', often with back-to-back housing of the kind which formed the slums of the 19th and 20th centuries. Early in the 18th century we find houses appearing in Walcot Street on the 'closes of pasture' like Ladymead, while increasing numbers of people visited the city and also settled in it. Manners' map shows the area on the eve of the reign of George IV (1820-1830), Prince Regent in 1818 when the drawing was made.

In this map the 'closes of pasture' have all been built upon. Cornwell House, shown with the land north of the St. Michael's parish boundary as well, became the Penitentiary and Lock Hospital in 1816. The brewery on the south-eastern part of Ladymead, behind the site of the Beehive Inn, is already in existence by 1794, together with the famous 'Northgate Brewery' farther down. The Corn and Cattle Markets, also shown, were moved to Walcot Street near the beginning of the 19th century, to create more room in the High Street area.

In the print of St. Michael's Church seen beyond Ladymead, the gardens in front of the Ladymead terrace of houses still follow the curve of the old 'close of pasture'. These gardens were set back in the earlier part of the 19th century as part of a road widening scheme. The church shown in the print was built in 1734, designed by John Harvey (it was later rebuilt in 1836). St. Swithin's meanwhile was rebuilt between 1777-1790.

Overlooking Walcot Street, Bladud's Buildings were built on Cockey's Garden in 1755 and Paragon Buildings and Axford Buildings were put up in the latter part of the 18th century.



Eighteenth century print of St. Michael's Church, viewed from Ladymead in Walcot Street. The steps leading up to the Paragon are visible on the right.

## **Victoria to the Second World War**

By now Bath's contribution to the national cloth industry was run in factories like the Twerton Mills, and the cottage workers of Walcot Street and Broad Street had long disappeared, replaced in Walcot Street by the redevelopments of the Georgian age. In the 19th and earlier 20th century Walcot Street was a place of pubs, retail outlets, and light industry, a thriving centre where people could obtain the real necessities of life, rather like the King's Road or Earl's Court in London after the Second World War. It also had its street fairs, moved there by decree of the Corporation in the 1850s, which survived into the early years of the 20th century.

Although a third large brewery was set up in Walcot Street during this period, the other two were

eventually replaced by new industries. In 1904 the Beehive Yard site was taken over as a depot and generating station for the new electric tramway system, together with an adjoining iron foundry. Although the tramway was closed in 1939, the foundry continued to provide manhole covers and lamp-posts for the city for some while after.

A chapel was built for the Penitentiary in 1825, on the site of old Cornwell House. The centre became known as the House of Help. By this time the name 'Cornwell House' had been transferred to another Georgian building beyond Chatham Row which, in the early years of the 20th century, was pulled down to make room for the new Walcot Parochial school. By the end of the century, a yard on the south side of the Penitentiary was taken over by Hayward and Wooster, one of Bath's leading building firms. Other industries included a bakery, an ice factory and carriage works.

In the 19th century the present street was known as 'Walcot Street', 'Ladymead', and 'Cornwell Street' with Cornwell Buildings. The Post Office Directory of 1926 lists the whole stretch of road under Walcot Street, and shows how it had developed.



**Walcot Street, showing on the right the Chatham Row street sign.**



**Walcot Street, with St. Swithin's Church. Previously this stretch was known as 'Cornwell Buildings'.**

### **The Later 20th Century**

In the postwar world, many proposals were brought forward in an effort to inspire Bath and to lift it out of what appeared to be a postwar blight. One of these was the Abercrombie scheme which would have altered the appearance of Walcot Street considerably. The Buchanan Tunnel would also have affected Walcot Street.

Three major developments actually took place, two of them on the stretch of road officially known as Northgate Street - the Beaufort or Hilton Hotel, the Podium, and the multi-storey car park. This involved clearing a long stretch of buildings, with its hinterland down to the river.

Beyond these developments, Walcot Street retained its vitality in the later postwar world, and became

famous in Bath culture for the diversity of its enterprises and its creative street life. Neglected housing like Chatham Row was restored, and Walcot Street became attractive to residents as well as traders. There have also been plans to create a riverside walk along the Avon, to add to the amenities.

**Walcot Street, north end, by George's Buildings. The stretch north of this block is called London Street (not London Road as stated in the August newsheet.). [Thanks to Rae Harris for supplying the list of names!].**

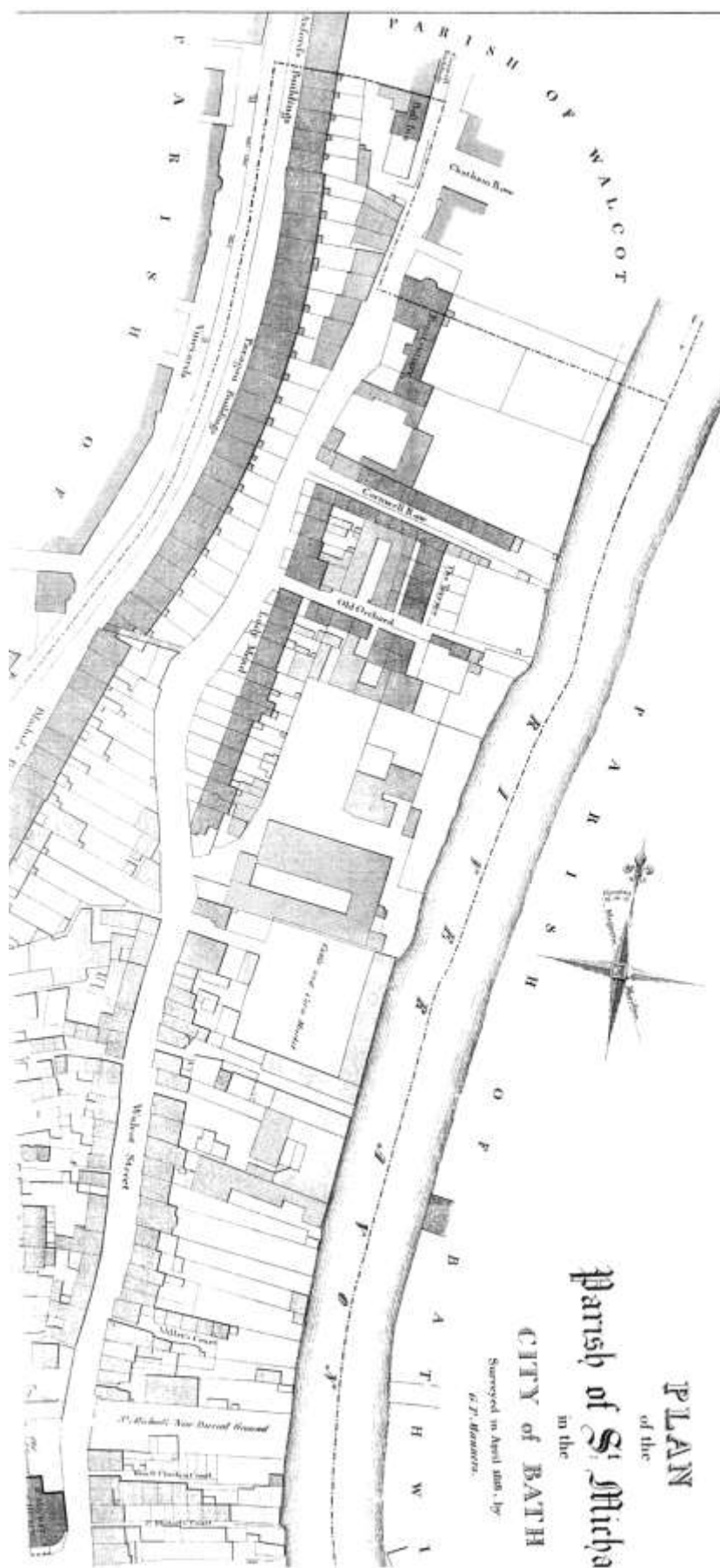


**This shot is taken looking eastwards from the street towards the old school by the Avon, later used for auction rooms. The area of St.Swithin's Yard has now been redeveloped.**



**Aqua Glass, a new development in Walcot Street next to the old Bell Inn.**





## **THIS FAMOUS CITY: THE STORY OF THE CHAPMANS OF BATH**

### **WIDCOMBE MANOR, LYNCOMBE HALL, AND THE CHAPMAN FAMILY OF BATH**

**Elizabeth Holland**

It seems to be time to sum up our views on Widcombe Manor and Lyncombe Hall. Those who have been with us all the way will find some of the material familiar, but with discussion we have sometimes changed our ideas, and it is time to bring the record up to date.

‘Widcombe Manor’, a show place of the World Heritage site of Bath City, lies south of the River Avon, across the road from St.Thomas à Becket Church, in an idyllic setting of lofty trees and distant views, with Ralph Allen’s 18th century mansion Prior Park towards the south. The house itself is a Grade I listed building. The landscaped gardens, listed Grade II, have been the subject of various studies, and a new one is currently being carried on by a local student.

The traditional history of Widcombe Manor has proved to be largely composed of fragments of stories belonging to other houses, which the mansion has attracted to itself as if by a magnet. The connecting link between the chief houses involved is that of the Chapman family, who as burghers of Bath managed to become involved in some of the prime sites around the city.

Mrs.Connie Smith has been a pioneer in studying primary sources for Widcombe and Lyncombe, and it was she who pointed out that Scarborough Chapman inherited the site from the Fishers, his relations, and that it was never the setting of a feudal manor house. Massive internal walls in the house have given rise to speculation about other medieval occupation. Not everyone agrees with this interpretation, since some feel the walls could be post-Dissolution.

Although the old legends still keep cropping up, it is well-accepted by now that there was never a separate manor of Widcombe south of Bath, but only the one manor of Lyncombe - the Widcombe(s) sometimes cited lay elsewhere. Richard Chapman the clothier was therefore never lord of the manor of ‘Widcombe’ after the Dissolution, nor is there any evidence that he lived on the site of the house called Widcombe Manor. He simply held the rectory on a 21-year lease. The rectorial land was elsewhere, attached to the site of the house now called Rosemount. The fiction that he ‘cheated the church’ obviously came from someone who disapproved of Lay Rectors - however this was the responsibility of the monarch, not of those who sought an investment in the days before modern banking. In any case, as Widcombe Manor was not a manor house and Richard Chapman never seems to have held it, it is useless to have deduced, as people began to do, that ‘by holding the manor of Widcombe he cheated St.Thomas à Becket of its property’!! Mike Chapman does suggest that the brook mill at Widcombe, which Thomas Chapman left to his son Richard the clothier in his will of 1524, was on or near the site of Bennet’s mill. It is not known how much land went with it. Thomas Chapman left other mills, and the Chapmans also leased the Hart in Stall Street from the Priory. These were all legitimate property holdings.

As for the real history of the site, Mrs.Connie Smith has pointed to deeds held by the Fishers from the Hugh Sexey estate, describing a tenement ‘by the church’. The church was a frequent landmark in deeds, but these documents do suit the site which became the Fishers’ and then Scarborough Chapman’s.

Hugh Sexey was a Crown auditor who obtained the manor of Lyncombe about the turn of the century. After his death in 1619 his estate was left to charitable purposes, since his second marriage had not been a success. His trustees, who established Hugh Sexey’s Hospital or Bruton Hospital in 1638, began selling off items of land in order to raise funds, in perpetuity subject to reserved rents. By 1944 the Steward of the Hospital reported that they had no leasehold properties left in the area and only a few fee farm rents, since the owners had redeemed them (the Bennet estate for instance is entered on the Charlton map of 1799 as freehold, in distinction to the fee farm holdings).



On 28 December 1628 Scarborough Chapman's maternal grandfather, Alderman Robert Fisher, was granted a copyhold tenement with approximately 98 acres of land, meadow and pasture<sup>1</sup>. Copyhold of course signified land once held by the customs of the local manor.

The deed is endorsed, 'The Grand deed of the Farme at Witcombe from ye Hospitall'. A mortgage of 1631 includes the same property along with another Fisher property, the house at Bridgend with 17 acres belonging to it, for which there is also a known purchase date of 1628. The first tenement is described as being by the church in Lyncombe and Widcombe, formerly in the tenure of Robert Fisher father of the second Robert, the Alderman, with 98 acres, and so on. It has the same reference number as the 1628 deed, being in the same bundle. Presuming that the farm does refer to the site of Widcombe Manor, these are the earliest documents known which definitely refer to this house.

Mrs. Connie Smith also pointed out that if we wished to find the 'manor house' of Lyncombe, it was necessary to pinpoint the site of a holding called Lyncombe Farm, once held by the Gay family. This would not be a manor house in the old romantic sense of the dwelling of some knight or important vassal. In 970 the Abbot was granted the area known as Clifton, after the settlement at Holloway by Beechen Cliff, and it passed to the Bishops. The Bishop of the time granted Lyncombe to the Prior in 1233, along with the western part of his hunting park. The Prior lived in Bath; he never seems to have granted the site out to some knightly family, but to have allotted it to agents, and therefore it seems appropriate to refer to it as the 'manorial centre'.

The history of the site is discussed in some detail in our booklet on the Charlton Map of 1799. The Chapman family became associated with it in 1620, when a lease was made out to Walter Chapman, Alderman and landlord of the Hart Inn in Stall Street. In a letter of 1607 to Hugh Sexey he had already been described as 'farmer' of the manor. The lease of 1620 specifies the incomings he is to collect, and that he is to entertain the steward and surveyor of the manor when they visit the district. It is from a folk memory of the role of Lyncombe Farm, that the legend arose that the Chapmans were lords of the Manor of (Lyncombe and) Widcombe, and hence the idea arose that 'Widcombe Manor' was once a manor house.

A group of us, principally Mike Chapman, John Hawkes and myself, set out to discover the site of Lyncombe Farm. By studying documents of the 18th century, I was able to determine that it was the site now known as Lyncombe Hall, shown on Thorpe's map as 'Mr. Chapmans'. John Hawkes then calculated up the acreages to show where the different parcels of land attached to it lay. After Walter's death in 1624 it passed to the Gay family once more, since Richard Gay, an in-law, was one of his executors.

The Rectory House now re-enters the story. A copy of the transcript of the court case 'Longe v. Fisher and others', 1656, refers to Walter Chapman as Lay Rector of Widcombe. This would not be through inheritance, as Richard the clothier only held a 21-year lease, and his successors were not Chapmans, so it appears another of the Chapmans had now bought the rectory.

A witness, John Butler, stated that he had rented the Parsonage House from Walter Chapman. All this tells us, is that there was a Parsonage House, or Rectory. However it is stated in some histories that a Walter Chapman rebuilt the house on the Widcombe Manor site in the mid 1650s, and of course Inigo Jones is cited as the designer! (It is interesting that Richard Jones, Ralph Allen's Clerk of Works, was connected with both the sites attributed to Inigo Jones, one of them being the Stuart Guildhall, where he worked on the new southern front.)

It is not known exactly who this Walter was. It seems likely that he was the son of Walter Chapman of the Hart. The rectorial land seems to have come out of the site once the Prior's vineyards, which had become part of the holding of Lyncombe Farm. Presumably this was arranged after the Dissolution, when the Crown desired to sell the rectory.

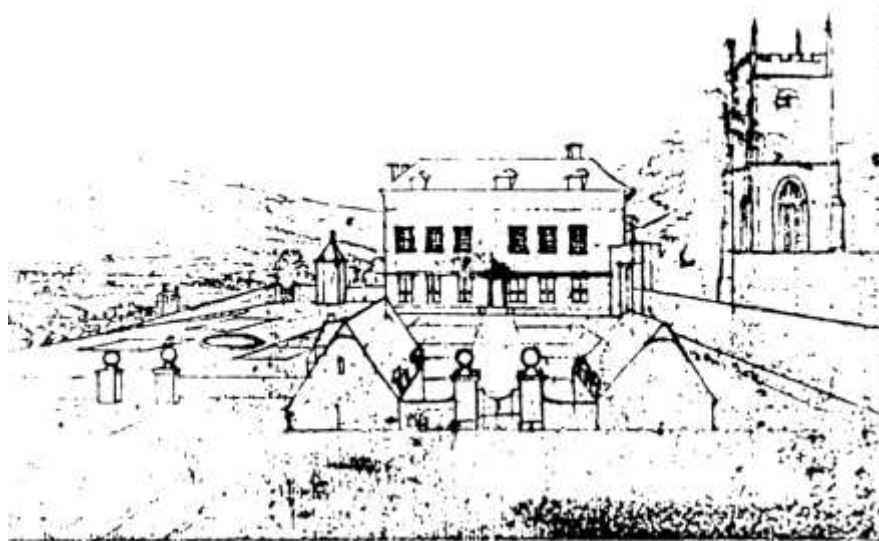
Soon after this, the Widcombe Manor site passed to the only Chapman owner of it of which we have

record, Scarborough Chapman (Jane Chapman was surnamed Bennet by the time she became the owner). Mrs. Connie Smith has provided notes on the will of Robert Fisher of Evercreech and Bath (a party to the mortgage of 1631), who would have been Scarborough's uncle, being the brother of Ann, Scarborough's mother.

In 1661, Scarborough Chapman (1643-1706) was named in the will of his uncle Robert Fisher, who left him 'my upper tenement near Widcombe Church and all lands and appurtenances thereunto belonging which are my said wife's jointure to him and his heirs for ever' (spelling modernised). Scarborough's aunt Jane Swanton took out letters of administration on her brother's estate in 1667, after Robert's wife Frances had died. Until the death of Frances, Scarborough's inheritance would have had to pay her an annuity. Jane Swanton herself was the final heir of much of Robert's property; she in turn made Scarborough her 'heir-at-law'.

A William Chapman is named for the Fishers' hearths in the tax roll of 1664-5, probably one of Scarborough's close cousins (perhaps the William who had a son named Scarborough - who seems to fade out of the record). Scarborough seems to have lived in Bath in his early life, for the Chamberlain's accounts mention him as going on city business. After his marriage to Jane's step-daughter Susanna in 1668, he appears to have made the Widcombe Manor site his seat, for he is called 'of Widcombe'. Susanna died in 1672 and so did their son Robert, leaving their daughter Jane as Scarborough's heir.

Although he is sometimes pictured as a grieving widower, Scarborough had married again by 1678, his second wife being Ann Brinsden of Bristol. On 26 October 1678 he was made a Freeman of Bristol, although he was never one of the Merchant Venturers. From 1684-1688 he was on Bristol City Council. He was taxed for the parish of St. Thomas. It has not been possible to find other details concerning him in the Bristol records.



**Thomas Robins' view of Widcombe House.**

One thing is certain, that Scarborough did not live for forty years or more in some crumbling old farmhouse. He is certain to have built. Thomas Robins drew a picture of Philip Bennet's house, and another of the previous house, which it is suggested may be a copy of an original by Kip (it has not been possible to trace such an original - see the *Survey*, No.3, p.10). Architects have suggested that they are basically the same house, with a new front by Philip Bennet II. This would suggest that Widcombe Manor was substantially erected under Scarborough Chapman.

Opinions differ as to when this basic part of the house would have been built. One architect and former conservation officer has pointed out that the panelling in the front hall of Widcombe Manor is Queen Anne in appearance, so that if the panelling is original he would regard the house as Queen Anne. A social problem here is that Scarborough was not likely to have waited until the end of his life to build - the Chapmans were great property owners and builders. His daughter Jane and her husband seem to have



lived in Maperton.

Other architects who inspected the roof of Widcombe Manor before its recent reconstruction, stated emphatically that it was of 17th century construction, and did not accept the idea that the mansion was built with an out-of-date roof. In their view, the house was 'Carolingian', and at the very most they conceded 1690, the date of the death of Henry Chapman, Scarborough's father. It might be significant that the design on the forecourt of Widcombe Manor, which appears to be the Sun, could be Henry's logo, the Sun in Splendour, which appears on his trade tokens, and also on his Inn the Sun, as depicted on Gilmore's map next to Widow Child's house.

Dr. Michael Forsyth has been considering the evidence and hopes to make a judgement for the new Pevsner guide to Bath. It is hoped also that Dr. Forsyth and myself will be able to write an appreciation of Widcombe Manor, with architectural detail, for publication perhaps in a relevant journal.

As far as Scarborough's resources are concerned, he could have built at any time. Susanna Swanton, daughter of Francis Swanton, presumably brought a dowry. Scarborough had his cousin Walter and his connections with the mason John Butler. He had his uncle John Chapman, alive until 1677, who built the Chapman lodgings by the King's Bath, and also apparently Webb's in the Abbey Green as shown on Gilmore's map, and Chelscombe Farm. John appears to have supervised the work himself, i.e. actually to have been a builder. It could look as if the Chapman clan turned out in force to build the core of Widcombe Manor.

For finance, Mike Chapman (no relation!) has pointed out that Henry and Scarborough were both probably doing a roaring trade selling bottled Spa water, so that as a merchant of Bristol Scarborough was probably at least partly in the health trade. Henry mentions bottled Spa water in *Thermae Redivivae*. The only glasshouse (or bottle manufactory) registered in Bath in the latter 17th century must have belonged to the Fisher family, since it must have been the one on the close called Lyppiatt's, part of the 17 acres which went with the house at Bridgend, and now the site of St. Martin's Hospital. The Fishers rented the Corporation coalworks at Paulton for some time, and there were the Midford sands available nearby. If one wonders how Henry, a great promoter of the Spa, recovered his fortunes after the Civil War, and how Scarborough made his money, this does seem to be the solution. Mike Chapman hopes to study this subject further. (Scarborough himself appears to have been named for a contemporary Dr. Scarborough, who no doubt was glad to write testimonials for the water.)



**St. Martin's Hospital, on the Glasshouse site. Photo taken by Bill Hanna, December 2001, for the Streetlore Project.**

Philip Bennet owned a quarry, listed in the Vestry Survey of 1737. John Hawkes has raised doubts as to whether it was on the site shown on the Charlton map as no.328 (part of Springfield Quarry off Entry Hill), but there is also another quarry shown on Bennet's land, across the road. One need not think of Scarborough as having to buy stone. With his own tenants to assist him, his own source of stone, and his very capable relations, he could have had the core house of Widcombe Manor put up even for his marriage in 1668. We await Dr. Forsyth's judgement on the age of the house.

It is not certain how much land Scarborough inherited at first, or how much of the 98 acres went with the legacy. He would not have become the owner of all the present gardens immediately, since 18th century mortgages list five acres as being part of the mill grounds (part went to Ralph Allen's tramway) which were left to Scarborough's aunt Frances Fisher. It is not clear either if the mill grounds passed to him directly or only after the death of Jane Swanton c.1696. However the Fisher family were short of male relations, and it seems certain that he was allowed to use them.

Meanwhile the Chapmans had become re-involved in Lyncombe Farm. Walter Chapman of the Hart, who was Scarborough's great-uncle, died in 1624, and his brother William the mercer, Scarborough's grandfather, with as already said Richard Gay, a family connection, became his executors. By 1638 Richard Gay held the lease of Lyncombe Farm. It was sequestered during the troubles, and after the war squatters are mentioned, and litigation over the estate. In 1681 it was sold in perpetuity, subject to the usual 'reserved' or fee farm rent, to a group composed of connections of Walter's executors. This included one of the Roberts Chapman (descendants of Peter Chapman, instead of his brother Richard the clothier) though whether the younger or the elder apothecary is not certain. Robert Chapman the elder apothecary is said to have attended the royal family when King James II and Mary of Modena visited Bath, and this may have influenced the later decision to call part of the grounds of the Farm 'King James's Palace' when they were made into pleasure gardens.

The Gay family had also held the Farm in the Tudor age, and it had become a 'capital message' by 1565. Evidence of an older house can be seen in the side wall of Lyncombe Hall. The supposition is that this is a 17th century creation, and that the Farm had been rebuilt at some time after the Civil War - perhaps after its sale. The top storey and the Venetian windows appear to be 18th century additions, early in the century rather than late. By the time of the purchase of 1681, the central role of Lyncombe Farm had gone. It no longer had to make arrangements to entertain the steward or surveyor of the Manor of Lyncombe, and instead of the provision that the lessee had to 'collect the rents of assize, perquisites and profits of courts of the Manor', Lyncombe Farm's own rent had to be handed over at Bruton Town Hall. The memory of the role this site once had played faded out, with only a vague recollection that somehow the Chapmans and the organisation of the manor south of Bath were connected, yet another factor leading as has been seen to the transfer of the manorial history to the site by St.Thomas à Becket Church.

On 29 August 1702 Jane Chapman married Philip Bennet at St.Thomas à Becket Church, Widcombe, obviously crossing the road for a grand wedding reception in Scarborough's own house. By now Scarborough had mortgaged at least some of his land, and he and Jane sold some before her wedding. In 1706 Scarborough died and was buried in Bath Abbey. A tithing list of Widcombe which dates from about this period has the entry, 'The Fishers. Now late Mr.Scarborough Chapmans'. As always, there is no reference to the house being let to anyone else.

Philip Bennet, usually known in Bath as Philip Bennet I, although he was not the first of that name in the Bennet family, was heir to the manors of Maperton and South Brewham. However his father outlived him, since both he and Jane died in 1722, at Maperton, where they seem to have lived.

In 1722 Philip Bennet II succeeded to the house. A deed of 1731 refers to his 'new mansion', which has led some to believe he built the present house entirely. Yet the document also refers to his 'new road', and yet there must have been a way to St.Thomas's before him. Our view is that the main part of the house was built at the instigation of Scarborough Chapman, and that Philip Bennet refronted it, and extended it slightly, probably building the small room behind what was formerly the library. A join can be seen here in the wall facing the church. He also will have added the parapet, shown in Thomas Robins' second picture. However Stephen Beck has pointed out that the lion and urns do not appear on the front of the house until the beginning of the 20th century.

In 1727 Philip Bennet II married Anne Estcourt. After her death in 1730 he married Maria Hallam. Legend states that the two cartouches on the front of the house show the Bennet arms quartered with those of his two wives. Alastair Durie has lately made a study of them and believes that this time legend is true. The rumour that they contained the Chapman arms must have arisen from the Bennet quarterings (Scarborough bore the Chapman arms and registered with the heralds in 1672, and Jane was his heiress).



(above) Widcombe Manor.  
Photograph by Liz Pratt.

(left) Widcombe Manor, from  
the tower of St. Thomas à  
Becket Church. Photograph by  
David Holland.

Philip Bennet's new frontage made Widcombe Manor into a show place. Legend then added to it various details from elsewhere. One had understood that Henry Fielding, while in Bath, lived in a cottage in Twerton. However legend has placed him both in Widcombe Lodge, once called Yew Cottage, nearby, and also as writing his book in Widcombe Manor! Legend also credits Bennet with being the unpleasant Squire Western, which seems unlikely, since he was Philip Allen's brother-in-law, and Fielding would not have wished to offend Ralph Allen.

Improvements meanwhile took place at Lyncombe Farm, though not on such a scale. The Chapmans had belonged to Bath for hundreds of years and did not feel quite the same need for ostentation as newcomers. By 1727 the Farm was in the hands of William Chapman the Distiller, once again an Alderman and Mayor of Bath. William the Distiller died in 1729 and was succeeded by his son, 'Mr. William Chapman of Lyncombe and Widcombe'. It seems likely that it was he who added the upper storey, and the venetian windows. Lyncombe Hall, as it is now called, is a charming house in a lovely setting, with the advantage over Widcombe Manor, of having actually once been the site of the manorial centre!!

Back at the Widcombe Manor site, Philip Bennet indulged in a certain amount of dealing in land. In one transaction, he acquired from Ralph Allen, who had it in hand, part of the bankrupt Colthurst estate, i.e. the plot on which the property once called Manor Farm stands (recently renamed, rather unfortunately, Widcombe House. Dunsmead House would have been a more logical choice!). This became his stables and the site is described as such in inventories - listed as Out Offices in the inventory of 1839. It was Mrs. Vachell who first elevated this site to a gentry residence. The Manor Farm site today also contains the ornamental dovecot and the well-known 'Garden House', though this latter seems to be outside the Colthurst plot. Previous to this, John Hawkes has pointed out that Scarborough's stables must have been in the buildings shown by the gate in the Robins-Kip picture. As the carriage trade increased, the gentlemen of the time were proud of their stabling and placed it well in view instead of hiding it discreetly. John Hawkes does not accept the local legend that before the acquisition of the Manor Farm site, Scarborough and then Philip Bennet entered the grounds via a gate by the mill. Hawkes points

out that if they had had a right of way along a regular road along the valley, there would have been no need for Philip Bennet to secure the right to use Ralph Allen's road. (Ralph Allen's way did not actually run through Bennet land at its north end, but through plots slightly east of the Forefield ground.)

John Hawkes believes that Scarborough, and Philip Bennet at first, drove or rode up Widcombe Hill, turned, and came down, leaving passengers at the gate opposite the church shown in the Robins-Kip picture. Horses would then proceed downhill to their stables. Psychologically it is never a good idea to try to drive horses past their stables!

The Chapmans and Bennets had now established themselves in two grand houses in the beautiful valleys south of old Bath. Other mansions also began to appear, and the district which had once been used for farms and for market gardens supplying the inns of Bath was now gradually taken over by residences, sometimes on a grand scale. Trevor Fawcett writes that Lyncombe Spa, opposite Lyncombe Hall and now the Paragon School, 'probably went up in 1738-9'. Ralph Allen also created his grand residence of Prior Park. However humble or self-effacing those who enjoyed Ralph Allen's bounty described him as being, Prior Park was designed for ostentation; it faces northwards, which has little advantage except that it provides Bath with a view of the house on the skyline! Widcombe Manor and Lyncombe Hall are far more comfortable houses.

Meanwhile a house is shown at Rosemount in a view by Robins. Architectural judgement has suggested that Rosemount is an 18th century building. Philip Bennet II was Lay Rector and the house was probably erected by one of the Bennet tenants on the site. The Rectory's lands once ran down Rosemount Lane, but they were sub-divided, and are recorded as such in the sale particulars of 1813.

After the death of his second wife, Maria Hallam, Philip Bennet is said to have plunged into dissipation, and eventually he left Bath, and died in 1761. The house was evidently let, and as a result it later on attracted various legends from the 18th century. From Wood's reference to Lord Ann Hamilton, local historians came to believe he lived in the house now called Widcombe Manor. However the Vestry Survey of 1737 lists his residence and the Bennet mansion as separate items. Lord Hamilton's landlord is given as Richard Marchant. Nor did Zachariah Bayly ever live at the Widcombe Manor site. 'Widcombe House' in the 18th century referred to a house on the site of Widcombe Crescent. In the schedule to the Ralph Allen Estate Map, No.17, listed as 'Colethurst's House and Gardens', represents the site of Widcombe Crescent, and John Hawkes has pinpointed the site on a drawing by Thomas Robins, represented on the back of the Charlton Map publication. Presumably Widcombe Manor was simply called 'Squire Bennet's'.

Philip Bennet III returned to the Widcombe Manor site and Philip Bennet IV was christened in St. Thomas à Becket Church on 14 April 1771. Philip III had married a Mary Hand, while Philip IV married Jane Judith Rougham of Rougham Hall, Suffolk. He died there in 1853. Eventually the family lost this property, through gambling and debt. Meanwhile Philip IV had put the Bennet Estate up for sale in 1813. The Glasshouse site was not included. There is scope for a much more detailed study of the Bennets and their lives than has yet been seen.

Lyncombe Farm was also sold after the death of William Chapman in 1773. Its tenant (apparently), and the purchaser, was then listed as Thomas King, coachmaster, yet William is always described as 'of Lyncombe and Widcombe' and we do not have another property where he might have resided. Possibly he occupied the house and Thomas King used the land. Similarly in the Vestry Survey of 1737 Wiltshire is given as tenant. The Wiltshires were friends of the Chapman family and again there is the possibility of sharing.

Both estates became subject to development. Trevor Fawcett has written of the creation of the King James's Palace pleasure gardens on the western land of the Lyncombe Farm estate. The hunt for the site of King James's Palace was part of our study. Three houses now stand on the land of the pleasure gardens. Trevor Fawcett also pointed out that the boating canal of the Bagatelle pleasure gardens, which

themselves were on Bennet land, must have been on the course of the Lyn Brook, in 'the Ragg', so that the Bagatelle pleasure gardens never extended into the Widcombe Manor gardens. We therefore had to withdraw this idea, yet another of the legends which Widcombe Manor had attracted. This house seems to have become so firmly fixed in people's imaginations that they have believed that everything notable which happened in the district, very likely happened to it!

I also withdrew my suggestion that the 'house on the fan' was the Bennet mill, since John Hawkes pointed out that another house did exist at the top of the hill, near to the railway, which was much more likely to have been shown in the Speren drawing. The idea that Ralph Allen stayed in the house on the fan is a modern interpretation, but John Hawkes believes it is probably true of the house he has indicated. Houses have also been built by now in part of the Lyncombe Hall gardens. An extra wing was added to the house, called Butler's. The original house is now in flats.

At some point after the Bennet sale of 1813, John Thomas of Prior Park acquired the house on the Widcombe Manor site, some say from the Clutterbucks. He also acquired parts of the estate, not all at the same time. A Captain Wrench lived there for a time, and his daughter Miss Wrench. A wing was added behind the house at some point, of no architectural significance, known as 'the Regency wing'. In 1839 came the sale which John Hawkes has examined earlier in this issue. In the sale particulars the house is dealt with in terms of being the former property of John Thomas.

The mansion was now bought by General Clapham, who threw out the bow windows, which Dr.Forsyth will discuss. He evidently aimed to make the garden facade as ornamental as that of the front. Clapham was succeeded by Mrs.Clapham, who died on 1 April 1869. Her maiden name is given as Ellen Elizabeth Parry, and she left the property to her niece 'Ellen Georgina', in trust, to succeed to another niece, wife of the Rev.George Edward Tate, vicar of Widcombe. Documents contain complicated details of the interests of the family heirs, while lettings are known, such as that to Lord Bath.

By the Post Office Directory of 1904, the house begins to be called Widcombe Manor. (Sir) John Roper Wright is listed in the Directory of 1917. It is said to have been he who installed the fountain now in the front courtyard, brought from Italy. Philip Bennet II had crystallised the house as a show place, a perfect combination of house, setting, and ancient church, and no change to the frontage was really feasible, except that someone added the lion and urns, the lion relating to the Bennet arms. Ironically, when 'Marshal Wade's house' in the Abbey Churchyard was restored recently, the urns were copied from those at Widcombe Manor, which were themselves 20th century.

The novelist Horace Annesley Vachell bought the mansion at the sale of 1927 for £5,550. He featured it in his novel *The Golden House*, presumably named for Nero's Golden House, *Domus aurea*. We had an interview with Vachell's former housekeeper, who began work at the Manor in 1933. I recollect her saying that the fountain in the forecourt was brought from Italy by Sir John Roper Wright, who placed it at the end of one of the walks, and that Vachell moved it to the front of the house. I do not have proof that this recollection is true, as I did not write it down at the time. Our notes do confirm that Vachell went to Italy each year to escort back a workman to clean the fountain, which would suggest that he regarded it as authentic.

We did also record the remark that the water for the Neptune statue came from 'Foggy Bottom'. By this presumably the stream from Prior Park flowing through Dunsmead was meant. Perhaps confusion with 'Watery Bottom', the Ragg in Lyncombe Vale, led to the local legend that the Widcombe Manor ponds were fed from the Lyn Brook.

After Vachell's death, in 1955, Mrs.Vachell removed to the stables site, which had already become the chauffeur's residence. Jeremy Fry's period of occupation and the creation of Rotork are well-known. He spent some time trying to rediscover the old Neptune statue which once stood by the ponds. The remnant of it was eventually rediscovered by Messrs.Nicholas Pearson.

Jeremy Fry was succeeded by the Hon. and Mrs.Robin Warrender. The grounds have been restored by the present owners, Mr. and Mrs.Davisson. They most kindly allowed us to visit the house and to hold a

meeting of the Widcombe and Lyncombe History Study Group in the grounds. It is hoped the proposed garden study will chart the changing history of the grounds, while Dr.Forsyth and I, as indicated, hope to deal more fully with architectural detail in another essay.

If he decides that the house was built by Scarborough Chapman at an early stage, I would hazard that it was *built* by John Chapman of Weston, Scarborough's uncle, and the ancestor of Maud Chapman, Maud Holland. However whenever Scarborough built it, one can be sure the family turned out to give him a hand.

1. SRO/DD/BR/py 83 (pt.1 of 2): 28 September 1628: Enfeoffment of Robert Fisher of Bath, Alderman, by Feoffees of Sexey's Hospital

## **Reading**

Mike Chapman, *A Guide to the Estates of Ralph Allen around Bath*, 1996.

Mike Chapman, John Hawkes and Elizabeth Holland, *The J.Charlton Map of Lyncombe and Widcombe 1799*, 1998.

Trevor Fawcett, *The Bagatelle and King James's Palace: Two Lyncombe Pleasure Gardens (with notes on Lyncombe Spa and Wicksteed's Machine)*.

The Survey of Bath and District: A number of items have been brought forward for discussion in the Survey. In some cases the suggestions have been withdrawn, as described in the essay above (including my remarks about the distant view of the two sets of gates). Recommended studies are:

No.4, November 1995: Andrew Ellis's presentation of the ongoing research at Widcombe Manor, pp.22-26.

No.6, November 1996: John Hawkes, 'Widcombe Manor Mount and Cascade', pp.19-22.

Elizabeth Holland and Mike Chapman, *The Descent of the Chapman Mayors of Bath of the Seventeenth Century*, 1989, (illuminated MS.genealogy) BRO.



**Horace Vachell in front  
of Widcombe Manor.**

## THOUGHTS ARISING FROM THE ARTICLE ON BLADUD

P.T.H.Carder

### Background

In *The Survey* 16, Elizabeth Holland assembled some personal comments on the legend of Bladud. Someone had asked her what she knew about Bladud, to which her reply (being a topographer) was 'Nothing'. However, being interested in mythology in general, she offered some personal views.

P.T.H.Carder, who is associated with Elizabeth in a different research venture, has sent a reply to her comments. The whole text of his answer will be printed in Elizabeth's other magazine, *The Road*. Below we print those remarks which specifically refer to the Bearded Head, of which a reproduction was published in *The Survey* 16. Of course a great deal has been published on this carving, but here we have the spontaneous reaction of someone deeply interested in mythology, who for the first time, as he remarked, had the opportunity to examine a really good reproduction of the monument. (For which thanks to the Museums Service who supplied the photograph, and to Mike Chapman for setting it up.)

Mr.Carder began by commenting that Elizabeth was wrong to attribute the mythos of flight entirely to the concept of pride - she had cited Icarus, Alexander, (an image in the middle ages of self-esteem) and Kai-Kaus of the *Shahnameh* whose courtiers told him he was more suited for a lunatic asylum than the throne of Persia. He also remarked that she was wrong to derive 'Icarus' directly from the Sanskrit 'Garuda'.

He pointed to ancient rituals of dance, including the Garuda dance, which reminded Elizabeth that Ram Gopal used to dance a westernised version of the Garuda dance, of which we have pictures. P.T.H.Carder indicated an ancient root, obviously related to birds of prey, which became Garuda in Sanskrit, Harpy in Greek, *raptor* in Latin, and also gives us Icarus. From watching birds of prey tearing at entrails, it eventually became *haruspex*, where instead of seers watching the flight of birds and their presence in auspicious or inauspicious portions of the sky, the entrails became the focus of divination. (Jack Lindsay in fact points out how the liver itself is quartered with the same nomenclature as the areas of the sky).

The Bladud legend therefore and his disastrous flight should be seen as the product of a very ancient process of thought, whereby first of all the flight of birds and the general behaviour of birds is seen as an expression of the will of the gods, or of the fates, birds being as it were spiritual beings like the later angels or 'messengers', and then the attention of the powers is turned to anyone who might wish to fly himself.

Incidentally Elizabeth checked the *Ramayana* again and in spite of the fact that he did some very complicated flying, Garuda did not singe his wings. One of the giant vultures did singe his wings in the sun, but was healed. Another giant vulture was shot by the enemy and died. The story of Icarus seems to echo that of both the vultures.

On the Bearded Head, Elizabeth mentioned that older investigators, such as Major Davis, thought that it came from the entrance to the baths. The Survey did not have to take any decision on the head's origin. If from the baths, Elizabeth thought it might be Hercules, brother of Minerva and patron of baths. If from the temple, she thought it might be Jupiter, father of Minerva. She did not believe (with the folklorist Bob Stewart) that it was Bladud, but if it had been, she would have called it Zeus Baal-Hadad.

Mr.Carder's comments on bearded heads in general follow below. In summary, he feels the head was meant to represent Aesculapius with a touch of Nodens, i.e. a god of healing given a watery aspect.

### **Reflections on the Bath Head:**

The serpents below, and the little wings above the ears of the Bath head, as illustrated, do suggest medicinal connections. The Caduceus of Hermes is usually depicted with wings at the top, and often has serpents twined around the staff, while the Staff of Asclepeos (alias Aesculapius) always has the serpents and sometimes the wings also. Like Hermes, Asclepeos was identified with Thoth in the Hellenistic period, the latter having resisted an attempt to transfer medicine to the domain of Imhotep, possibly on the grounds that healing should continue to be a mysterious and magical field of endeavour, if only because if you were cured it would be verging on the miraculous. It is not many decades since people in Europe and other parts of the civilised world would have consulted a fortune-teller as to their chances of being destined to recover from an illness, before lashing out good money on the doctor who would be called on to perform the mechanical intermediary functions in the process, and the convolutions of a medicinal serpent might have been as convincing as any other argument. The art of snake charming, another that has been devalued for the tourists in modern times, may have its roots in such practices in antiquity.

Bearded images of Hermes do exist in the classical period, though they are usually found on herms, along with other appendages, for which, however, the serpent is often employed as a decorous substitute. Hermes could be represented by the staff alone, or even by his winged helmet (a morion in heraldry) though in the post-classical period the depiction of various preternatural heads with wings attached, such as the Medusa, though unvouched-for in the texts, does emerge, and one finds illustrations of the Gorgones as winged beings, probably because in the early centuries AD the original mythological sources of these images were becoming blurred and confused, due to admixtures from several mature cultures included in the Hellenic Oecumenion and its Roman successor.

Asclepeos is invariably bearded and, as named Aesculapius, was raised somewhat above the level of a deified man in the middle Roman Imperial period, which is when the baths were constructed, when medicine was administratively detached from the busy schedule of Mercury. The full-face depiction is in the British tradition, found in the coinage of Cunobelinus, but on the whole its style follows that of the Roman depiction of River-gods, and there is more of a wavery watery look to the whiskers than the customary radiance of *coma solaris*.

The proliferation of serpentine phallic symbols, and indeed outright Hermetic phalli, where they occur, need not however be treated solely as indications of procreative function, but as symptoms of good health and the restoration of general bodily vigour, as the votive offerings at Lydney as well as Bath itself would indicate. In this manner we may consider that, in whatever portion of the original fabric the head was displayed, it served as a discreet advertisement and a testimonial to the multifold efficacy of the waters. The question of identity remains. Bath apart there is no trace of a Sul, or Sula in the Celtic mythologies, which would indicate a very local celebrity. It would be going too far to consider that the head represented Sulis as that deity was identified with Minerva, and however the late classical period had declined in artistic power and theogonic purity there was no question that they had gone so far downhill as to clap a full set of facial hair on the lady.

The Celtic god principally involved with matters therapeutic was Lud, as the medicinal shrine at Lydney would indicate. He has been identified as a solar deity, but then there was a time when this was more or less *de rigueur* for all gods and heroes, and such fashions should not overthrow all reason for ever. The expression on that countenance appears less than Jovian, unchallenged supremacy is not written on those features, and we may recall that Lud was more or less one with the Irish Nud, or Nuada, of the Silver Hand, appropriated by English antiquarianism as Nodens, who, having been maimed in conflict with the Formorians, was obliged to resign the kingship of the Tuatha de Danaan, and subjected to some advanced bronze-age prosthetics in order to continue his divine existence in a less elevated position, with subordinate functions, thereafter.

Assuming a Romanised Briton was familiar with this tale, or whatever variant of it came down to him, it might perhaps have served as food for thought as he took his prescribed dip and dose, and possibly led

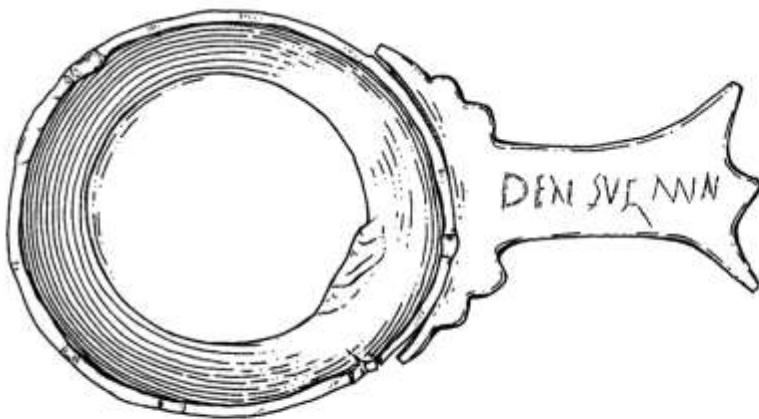


him to derive some comfort from the idea that others have greater troubles than himself which can act as a restorative.

Meanwhile, on the name of the goddess, 'Sulis' –

The use of the word *Sul* in modern Welsh to indicate the Sun, as in *Dydd Sul*, the Sabbath, or Whitsun, *Sulgwyn*, is, as these instances demonstrate, an ecclesiastical innovation, probably prompted by the deficiencies of mediaeval Latin in translation from Sol. The Welsh have two words for the sun, *haul* and *huan*, and neither can be made to fit our case. As we know from a generally authoritative source the Britons, like the Gauls had adapted the Greek alphabet for secular purposes, retaining Ogham or some kindred cipher for any sacred matters that needed to be written down, and the expression of this name may reflect the difficulties and contradictions to be found in choosing whether to render *upsilon* as U or as Y, and how later generations chose to pronounce Y, when taken from a text rather than speech, since few speak of things which have been forgotten or overlaid by time.

There is, on this understanding, an interesting set of terms in Welsh *sylwadaeth* = observation; *sylwedydd* = observer; *sylwi* = to watch; *sylladur* = ocular; *syllwydu*, = spy-glass; and *syllu* = to gaze. Possibly some association may be traced to the naming of Silbury Hill, which may have been thought or said to have been an observation post, or a solar, or stellar observatory, by Celtic speakers who came across it when they replaced the heirs of the original builders of the Wiltshire ritual complex as the dominant culture. Here, if *syl* was pronounced 'sool', is a concept which may hark back to the vision of the all-seeing sun as an agent of justice.

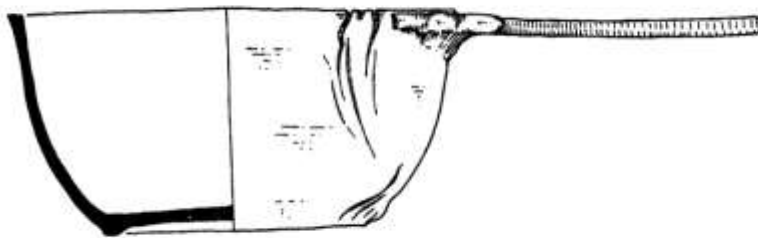


Pewter patera

Inv. no. 640

*Britannia* xii (1981), 381, No. 22

Pewter patera bearing an inscription scratched on the handle in capitals.

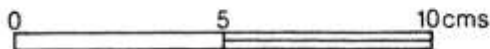


DEAE SVL MIN

DEN SVL MIN

*Deae Sul(i) Min(ervae)*

'To the goddess Sulis Minerva'



By courtesy of Bath Museums Service

## **GLACIAL AND TECTONIC FACTORS IN THE EMPLACEMENT OF THE BLUESTONES OF SALISBURY PLAIN**

**G.A.Kellaway**

### **Abstract**

*Glaciation and human transport have both been proposed to account for the use of Palaeozoic Welsh rocks by Neolithic Man on Salisbury Plain. Since the human transportation theory appeared in 1921 there have been great advances in our understanding of climatic change, especially through the application of the O18 curve and magnetostratigraphy. It is suggested here that the Stonehenge bluestones were transported to Salisbury Plain by a Pliocene glaciation that occurred between 2.6Ma and 1.8Ma. It is further suggested that a lobe of the ice sheet that carried the Welsh erratics flowed down a large palaeovalley that had been preferentially eroded along zones of deep tectonic fractures (fig.1). These and intersecting solution-widened fractures controlled the positions of sink holes in the Chalk which protected the bluestones from subsequent erosion.*

### **Introduction**

Stonehenge is one of Britain's most prestigious prehistoric monuments and dates from about 3200 BC. It is built largely of sarsen stones. These are joint-blocks of silcreted Tertiary sandstone found on the Chalk downlands of southern England. The sarsens are found as boulders resting on the surface of the Chalk, or preserved in red Clay-with-flints in natural solution cavities within the Chalk. As it was deposited the sandstone is soft, but it hardens if it is exposed to the air, becoming extremely hard and intractable. It follows that if sandstone has been accurately cut and bored to form lintels it must have been extracted from the ground. It cannot have been weathered rock.

Bluestones are Welsh erratics, found at Stonehenge, and also on Salisbury Plain in a Neolithic long barrow which was built about 1000 years before Stonehenge was erected (Burl, 1999, pp.118-223). In the opinion of the writer, the bluestones may have arrived on Salisbury Plain 1.8 million years ago at the close of the Pliocene Period. No evidence for the glaciation of the surface of the Chalk has survived; hardly surprising in view of the solubility of the Chalk and the age of the glaciation.

It is probable that some of the erratics were absorbed directly into cavities in the Chalk resulting from solution by melt-water. The great age of Boles Barrow, where one or more bluestones were found, would not have been known to its excavator, William Cunnington. Neither Cunnington nor William Smith, with whom Cunnington was in touch in 1801, would have thought of ice as a possible means of transport at that time. Nor can we, today, be confident that we are aware of the position of every bluestone that may have been deposited in solution cavities in Chalk on Salisbury Plain.

Judd (1902) was the first to recognise that the bluestones were of glacial origin. The Welsh source of the rocks was identified by H.H.Thomas in 1921 using the material collected by Col.Hawley. Thomas favoured a human transport theory however. This view was amplified by Atkinson (1956). It has since been challenged by the writer (1971; 1991). Some of the rocks could not have come from the Preseli Hills but are from more widely scattered Welsh sources (Thorpe *et al.*, 1991). The bluestones seen at Stonehenge were collected from ancient Neolithic monuments and rearranged to form the bluestone horseshoe in late Neolithic times.

They include Ordovician, probably Silurian, and Lower Old Red Sandstone, as well as a number of rocks of uncertain origin, probably from Wales. The dominance of Welsh rocks reflects the presence of the very soft Mesozoic cover in the Severn Estuary region in late Pliocene and early and mid-Pleistocene times. No human transport theory can hope to explain the composition of such a collection of rocks as those at Stonehenge, which have travelled over distances of 150-200 miles. The basic problem is to determine the date of the movement in terms of the Oxygen-18 curve (Harland *et al.*, 1989, fig.3.17).

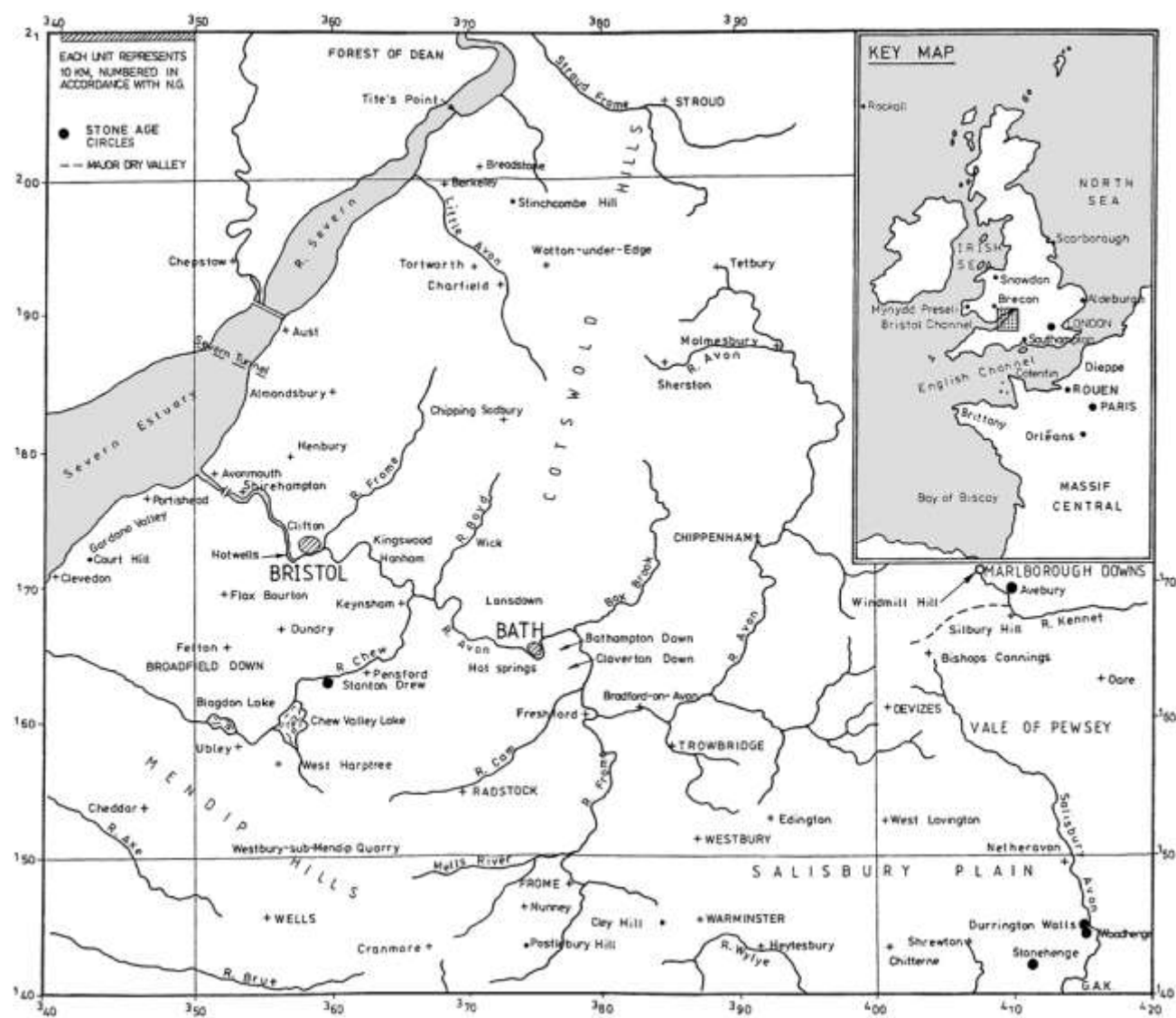


Fig 1. Locality Map – The square area in the Key Map shows its position.

## **The Bluestones**

As used at Stonehenge the term 'bluestone' has little geological significance, being applied to igneous, metamorphic and sedimentary rocks with a wide range of age, colour and composition. The largest bluestone, the Altar Stone, is a pale green sandstone that can hardly be described as blue. Some are grey or black, but the one feature they all have in common is their curiously 'foreign' appearance. They are obviously strangers on the Chalk downs.

So where did they come from, and how did they get there? Early guesses in the 19th century included the Mendips and Devon and Cornwall, but the rocks could not be matched there. Huge stones were known to exist on the surface in Ireland before the 12th century when Geoffrey of Monmouth was writing his history in Oxford. He took this into account by accepting Ireland as an interim stage in their movement. He claimed however, that they originated in Africa (Kellaway, 2001).

Why? There is no evidence whatever to show that the bluestones came either from Ireland or Africa. All the bluestones seen at Stonehenge are Welsh rocks. However it is most unlikely that Geoffrey ever visited Stonehenge. He shows no understanding of the difference between sarsens and bluestones. He was probably using a written account in which *blau-stan* (or *blostan*) was mentioned. The idiomatic use of the Old Norse word *blau* has been described elsewhere (Kellaway, 1991, pp.266-267). It could describe a colour (*blue*) but it also indicated things of unusually foreign or striking appearance. Geoffrey of Monmouth may have seen the application of the word *blau* to the stones of Stonehenge. In the 11th century, Norman scribes had substituted 'o' for 'au' in front of 'm' or 'n' for reasons of clarity in writing (Wrenn, 1949, pp.93-94). Thus *bloman* became the accepted English word for a black African until around 1550 (OED). Geoffrey may therefore have envisaged transport from Africa by giant *blomen*.

Many bluestones were carved and shaped by Neolithic man and subsequently incorporated in the bluestone horseshoe at Stonehenge. Some of them resemble the carved stones seen in Neolithic structures in Brittany, Spain or Malta. The techniques employed in making holes and grooves in hard dolerite probably involved the use of flint, of which there are large quantities on Salisbury Plain. It was once suggested that the worked stones were part of a bluestone circle, but the small bluestone lintels and posts were probably used to support the entrances to passages in the long barrows. Chippings of bluestone have been found in Neolithic monuments which were ransacked in order to build the bluestone horseshoe at Stonehenge (R.H.Cunnington, 1975, pp.114, 168). Isolated on the downs above Heytesbury, Boles Barrow is distant some 20 km WNW of Stonehenge. Thus it escaped the confiscation of its bluestones by the late Neolithic builders.

The largest bluestone seen at Stonehenge is the Altar Stone weighing 6.25 tons. This was derived from the Lower Old Red Sandstone (Senni Beds) of the area between Kidwelly and Abergavenny, probably from the Brecon Beacons. All the rocks found on Salisbury Plain appear to have come from areas north or north-west of the South Wales Coalfield. The intervening Carboniferous rocks were largely concealed by younger formations at the time of the glaciation. The erratics must therefore be very old, having travelled across the site of the Severn valley before it had been fully developed (Kellaway, 1991, fig.13.5). None of the late-Pleistocene deposits of the Bristol area contain Welsh Ordovician or Lower Old Red Sandstone rocks. So it is impossible for the bluestones to be younger than about 0.5Ma, and as we shall see, the relief of the region suggests a much greater age.

In this sense it is necessary to be careful in discussing the distribution of the 'bluestones' at the present day in Wales and the Bristol Channel region. Most of Wales was subjected to late Pleistocene glaciation, so the distribution of the 'bluestones' is mainly controlled by these events. This must account for the absence of bluestones in the Anglian deposits of the Bristol district. The Anglian ice which was penetrating the area north of the Mendips, crossed Broadfield Down, eroding the Lower Lias cover. It was carrying large boulders of Upper Old Red Sandstone from the Failand ridge and collected big masses of Triassic conglomerate and Lower Lias breccia from Winford and Felton as well as big slabs of Dundry Freestone. The Stanton Drew moraine was used to construct the Stanton Drew circles, but there were no

rocks included from west or central Wales. The Neolithic builders of Stanton Drew used whatever was at hand.

The discovery of the bluestones at Boles Barrow, near Heytesbury in 1801 was a very important event (Cunnington, 1975, pp.15-16). However, it has been suggested that the bluestone in Salisbury Museum came from Stonehenge; presumably this was thought to have been removed during or shortly after Cunnington's work at Stonehenge in 1798. William Cunnington is most unlikely to have removed a boulder weighing  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a ton from Stonehenge to his house in Heytesbury, and Aubrey Burl (1999, pp.120-121) shows that this could not have happened. The very accurate map of Stonehenge made by the architect John Wood in 1747 shows the sites of all the stones, standing, leaning and half-buried in the monument. These were all found to be still in position by Flinders Petrie in 1877. *None were missing.*

In one sense the identity of the bluestone in Salisbury Museum is almost an irrelevance. It is William Cunnington's record that is so important. He would hardly have written in haste to his patron, Mr H.P. Wyndham, to inform him of his discovery had it not been true. Boles Barrow lies in the rather remote NW section of Salisbury Plain and Cunnington was the first investigator to section the barrow. Being a geologist as well as an archaeologist he spotted the bluestones. The first man to find chips of bluestones in barrows was Stukeley (1740, p.46), who discovered 'bits of red and blue marble, chippings of the stones of the temple'. He concluded that this indicated that the bones found in the barrow were probably those of the builder of Stonehenge! The barrow in question is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile southwest of Stonehenge and is one of the Normanton Group. Sixty-seven years later William Cunnington re-opened Stukeley's barrow (in 1807) and found unweathered sarsen chippings and a piece of bluestone.

Like some other observers, Cunnington thought (wrongly) that this implied that the barrows were younger than Stonehenge, but the occurrence had caused him to think seriously about the age of the bluestones, and he eventually concluded that the distribution of the bluestones indicates that 'these pieces were scattered about on the plain before the erection of the tumuli under which they have been found'. With his experience at Boles Barrow and his understanding as a geologist of the significance of weathering, Cunnington was able to appreciate the importance of the fresh unweathered chips of sarsen and bluestone. These were probably the chips left by the men who robbed the long barrows of their bluestones in late Neolithic or early Bronze Age times.

Recent attempts at determining the weathering age of bluestones using Chlorine-36, are said to have given an age of  $14,000 \pm 1,900$  years for an 'igneous rock' of unspecified petrology and unknown history found at Stonehenge. The unacceptable aspects of this investigation and its conclusions have been analysed and strongly criticised by Williams-Thorpe *et al.* (1995). The suggested exposure age of  $14,000 \pm 1,900$  years, applied to a bluestone quarried by moving ice, deposited in a Pliocene Chalk sink and subsequently exposed by frost-heaving of the Chalk in Weichselian times, is credible.

It could be claimed as confirming the sequence of events outlined in this paper. By itself, however the length of the exposure time tells us nothing about the origin of the rock or its detailed movements. Applying this method of 'dating' to worked stones at Stonehenge involves other difficulties. Thus, in addition to using the bluestones that were exhumed from Neolithic tombs and subsequently incorporated in the bluestone circle at Stonehenge, natural boulders of Welsh rock were also dressed on site at Stonehenge to remove quite thick layers of weathered rock. Weathered material of this kind collected by Judd and Gowland in 1901 is preserved in Devizes Museum. No one would have carried bluestones in this condition some 200 miles to Wiltshire only to throw it away. In any assessment of exposure time, it is also necessary to consider the later effects of vandalism and of the former practice of chipping or scraping the (then) lichenous stones for medicinal or magical purposes (Kellaway 2001, p.21). Speaking of her visit to Stonehenge on one of her early journeys when she saw these proceedings, Celia Fiennes (1685-96) says of the stones 'they are very hard yet I have seen some of them scraped'. Chlorine-36 results, obtained from natural exposures which are undergoing erosional and depositional processes, could be equally difficult to assess by this method.

### **Fissure deposits.**

Limestone, including the Chalk, gives rise to fissures that are commonly enlarged by solution, and often hold deposits which may otherwise have been removed by erosion. The Chalk is one of the most important host rocks in southern England, but other formations, including the Carboniferous Limestone and the Middle Jurassic limestones of the Bath area, can be used to reconstruct the former extent of the vanished formations. The Carboniferous Limestone is extremely rich in fissure fillings at Bristol and in the Mendips, mainly of Triassic and Jurassic age. They show that the Upper Triassic and Lower Jurassic rocks covered large areas of Carboniferous and older rocks in the Severn estuary, Bristol and the Mendips in geologically recent times.

Of equal importance are the infillings in the Middle Jurassic limestones and in particular the material found in tectonic fissures on Bathampton Down and Farleigh and Kings Down near Bath (fig.2). An extended account of these fillings was given by the writer in 1991, but some of the information published then is in need of revision in the light of Dr.D.T.Donovan's new assessment in 1999. There was some doubt in 1991 whether there was an appreciable Tertiary content in these deposits, a problem which has now been laid to rest. The debris in the fissures on Bathampton Hill includes Oxford Clay (Jurassic); Upper Greensand and Chalk flints (Cretaceous); Eocene pebbles, sand and sarsen fragments (Tertiary). In other words this is a list of the strata formerly overlying the Forest Marble which forms the top of the limestone plateau. The extent of these fissure deposits is controlled by the tectonics (described below). We do not know the thickness of the Jurassic, Cretaceous and Tertiary strata which were above the Forest Marble at Bath in early and mid-Pleistocene time, but it may not have been very great. The level of the limestone plateau is about 233m O.D. The base level of the Tertiary must therefore have lain above this level. At the mouth of the Severn the Triassic rocks tend to be thin or variable in thickness. It is difficult to estimate their importance as an infill on the uneven land surface. However they are crowned by the Rhaetic deposits which are thin marine formations that are highly transgressive. The Lower Lias marks a major expansion of marine sedimentation, especially at the top of the formation where the clays of the Davoei zone tend to be thick and uniform in character. There is a series of transgressions in the Jurassic and Cretaceous rocks which would have encouraged the extension of the Mesozoic basin sediments in the depositional area. This process halted from time to time but it did not stop for a major break until Oligocene times. By this time it is thought that a very thick cover of soft Mesozoic and possibly Eocene sediments, had accumulated over the Welsh border areas.

Due south of Bristol is Dundry Hill, crowned by Inferior Oolite limestone. At its western end it attains an altitude of 233m. The structure of this hill is remarkable (Kellaway and Welch, 1992, p.45), the upper part of the hill being very strongly cambered. Before 1914 the late J.W.Tutcher found a gull, or fissure, in the cambered Inferior Oolite containing jumbled Fullers Earth Clay and Fullers Earth Rock. This implies that at the time of very strong cambering (? Anglian) the hill would have had a covering of at least 12m of Lower Fullers Earth Clay and Fullers Earth Rock, and an altitude of about 245m O.D. There is however no means of determining the Tertiary level in this case, beyond the fact that it may locally have been above 245m.

Turning to the area east of Bath, we see evidence for Cretaceous and Tertiary levels in the eastern Mendips, and Salisbury Plain. Two small outliers of Eocene are present at 224m O.D. at Sidbury Hill (SU 2150 5050) and at 204m O.D. on Beacon Hill (SU 1950 4270). A substantial area of Clay-with-flints, crowning the Wilsford Down - Chirton Down ridge at an altitude of about 200-217 O.D., south of the Vale of Pewsey, suggests that here the transgressive Eocene cover (Bagshot Beds) may have rested on the lower part of the Upper Chalk (BGS One Inch to One Mile Sheet 266).

The biggest sink hole on Salisbury Plain is at Clay Pit Hill, on the downs above Chitterne (SK 9840 4520), and is large enough to have supplied all the sarsens used at Stonehenge. The sink hole was first mentioned by John Aubrey in the 17th century, when it had long been in use as a source of pipe-clay. It is doubtful whether the older Eocene deposits are represented in the north-western parts of Salisbury Plain. Most of the deposits are sands (with or without lenses of pipe clay) and accompanied by gravel. At one

point on the margin of the sink hole, it was found that the Chalk interface was almost vertical for the first 10m. The full depth of the sink hole is unknown.

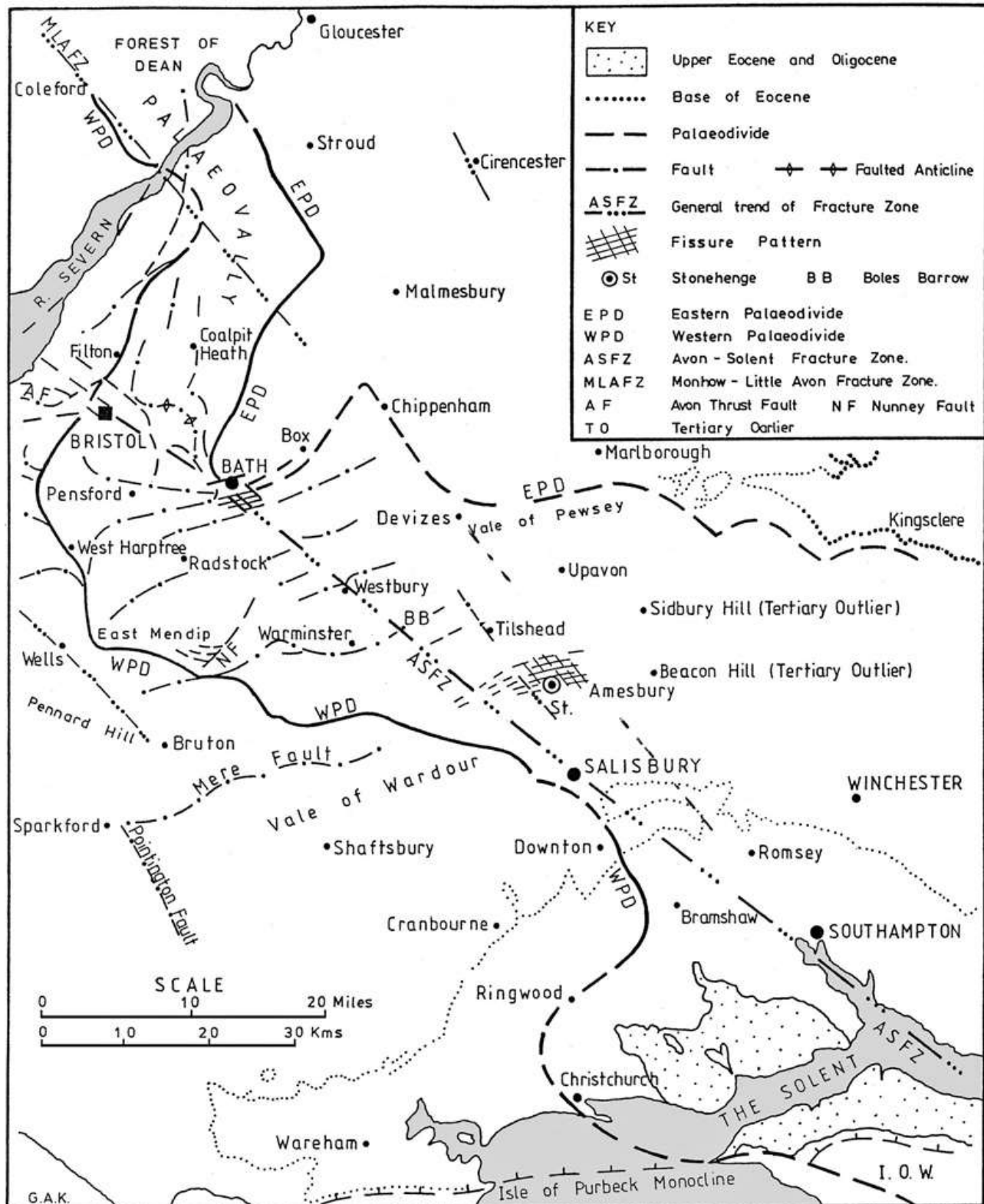
There is also evidence for substantial north-westerly attenuation of the Chalk. Thus, applying the data from Shrewton No.1 Borehole (Whittaker, 1980), the sub-Eocene thickness of the Chalk near Chitterne is estimated to be about 210m, compared with 393m recorded by Downing *et al.* (1982) at Southampton, 60km to the southeast. If the Eocene transgression continued for 50km in a northwesterly direction the Chalk would have been overstepped near Bristol. Thus the high ground of the Failand Ridge up to about 160m O.D. has yielded thin flint-bearing Drift deposits. Farther west, in the lower ground of the Severn valley, as well as in the low-level river gravels of the Bristol Avon, flints are common, having travelled down the Avon and the Severn in late Pleistocene times. The so-called 'High Level Drift' deposits of the Bath uplands are misnamed. They have resulted from the break-up *in situ* of solid formations by tectonic movement, and are not water-borne Drift deposits, though they can pass downhill locally into Head. However they do demonstrate that the Tertiary deposits were present and resting on Chalk, Upper Greensand and Oxford Clay at Bath.

### **The Tertiary Palaeovalley**

A Tertiary palaeovalley (fig.2) that extended from Gloucestershire to the English Channel was identified in the Bristol district by means of an analysis of the drainage pattern, including all the dry valleys and winterbournes (Kellaway, 1991, fig.13.4). It is enclosed by two palaeodivides of which only the western one has yet been traced to the English Channel. Both palaeodivides were breached by Pleistocene rivers, probably before 0.45Ma resulting in drastic changes in the drainage pattern of southern England (fig.3). One effect of these changes, which were tectonically controlled, was to cause the separation of the Forest of Dean from the Cotswolds by the development of the Severn gap at Tites Point.

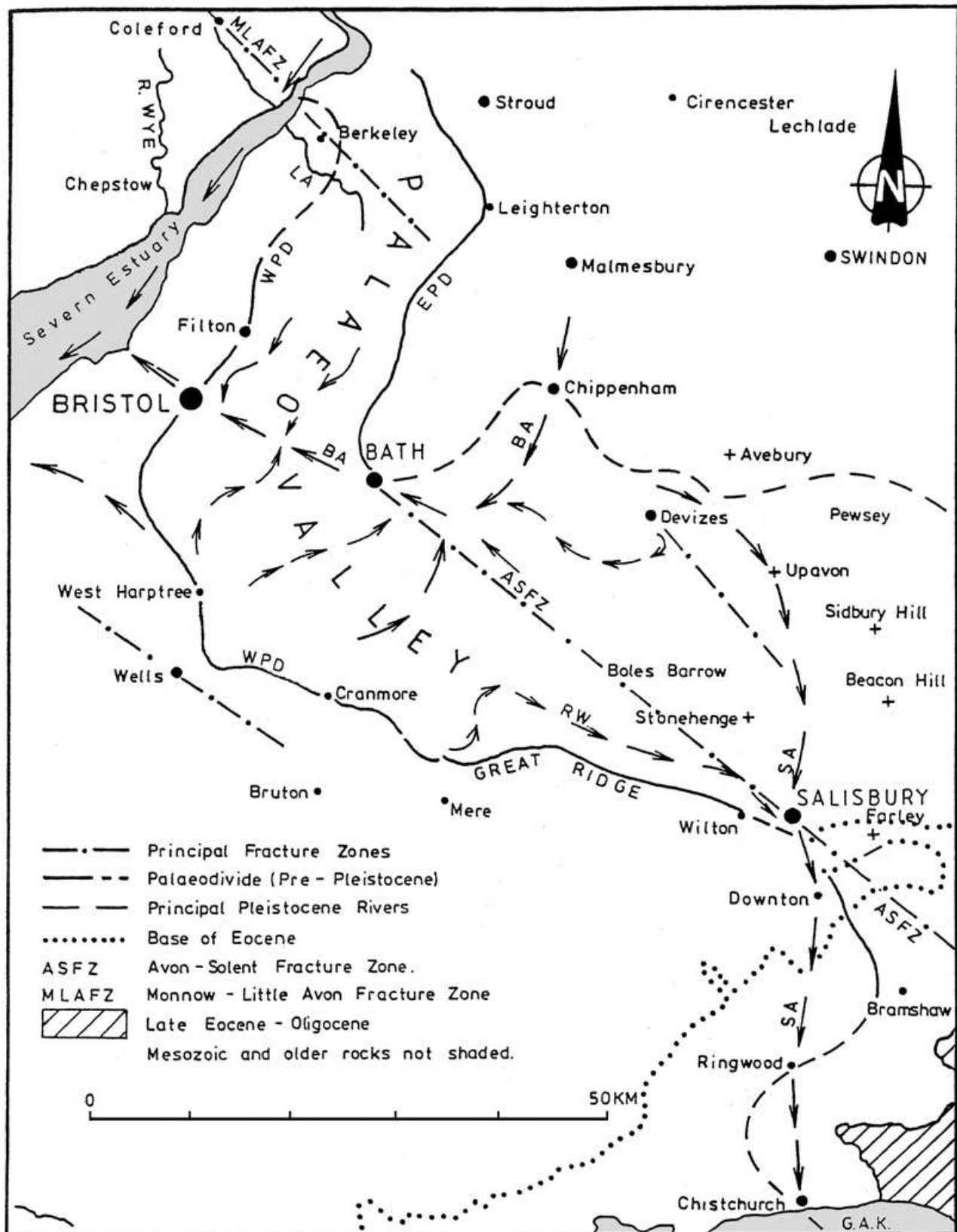
Some time, probably around 0.5Ma, the Severn valley above Tites Point was comparatively small and directed towards the North-East. The severance of the barrier at Tites Point may have been tectonically generated but the down-cutting was mainly accomplished by erosion by melt-water liberated from Midland ice. The remainder of the palaeovalley was divided into two sectors, one being drained to the Wye by the Bristol Avon, the other which was drained to the Solent was intersected near Salisbury by the Wiltshire Avon. At this time the Solent was separated from the English Channel by a Chalk ridge which was subsequently breached by a number of palaeovalleys which are considered to be of Weichselian (late Pleistocene) age (Velegrakis, Dix and Collins, 1999; Nowell, 2000).

The question therefore arises as to the age of the palaeovalley. It is doubtful if it is an Eocene feature as there are no reliable indications of its presence in the Eocene deposits in the regions south-east of Bath. Earth movements attributed to the Oligocene and Miocene (Alpine folding) are substantial, but their age distinguishes them from later events. This leaves us with the Pliocene and the older part of the Pleistocene (before 0.5Ma). Glaciation first started to affect Iceland about 3Ma, and could have affected the British Isles in 2.47Ma at which time there is a strong peak on the Oxygen-18 curve (Shackleton *et al.*, 1984). In 1991 the writer advocated this date in preference to the next major peak which is at 1.8Ma (Shackleton, *et al.*, 1995). The only major factor which has to be allowed for is the presence of marine Pliocene deposits at St.Erth in Cornwall, which have been dated as 1.9Ma (Roe *et al.*, 1999). If this date is correct, and the writer has no evidence to suggest it is not, then the glaciation which deposited the bluestones in Wiltshire could have taken place in 1.8Ma. The immense distance which the erratics have travelled points to a major glaciation. In all probability the glaciation did affect the palaeovalley, but not until some time had elapsed after its formation. The palaeovalley was severely eroded after about 0.5Ma when the development of the Pleistocene rivers nearly destroyed it (fig.3). The form of the palaeovalley has been distorted by earth movements, including shearing by wrench faulting.



**Tertiary Palaeovalley and Avon-Solent Fracture Zone, showing critical areas of fracturing of the Middle Jurassic Limestone at Bath, Carboniferous Limestone of the Eastern Mendips and the Chalk of Salisbury Plain.**





**The Tertiary Palaeovalley and intersecting Pleistocene rivers.**

BA Bristol Avon

LA Little Avon

RW River Wylfe

SA Salisbury Avon

EPD Eastern Palaeodivide

WPD Western Palaeodivide

## **Fracture Zones**

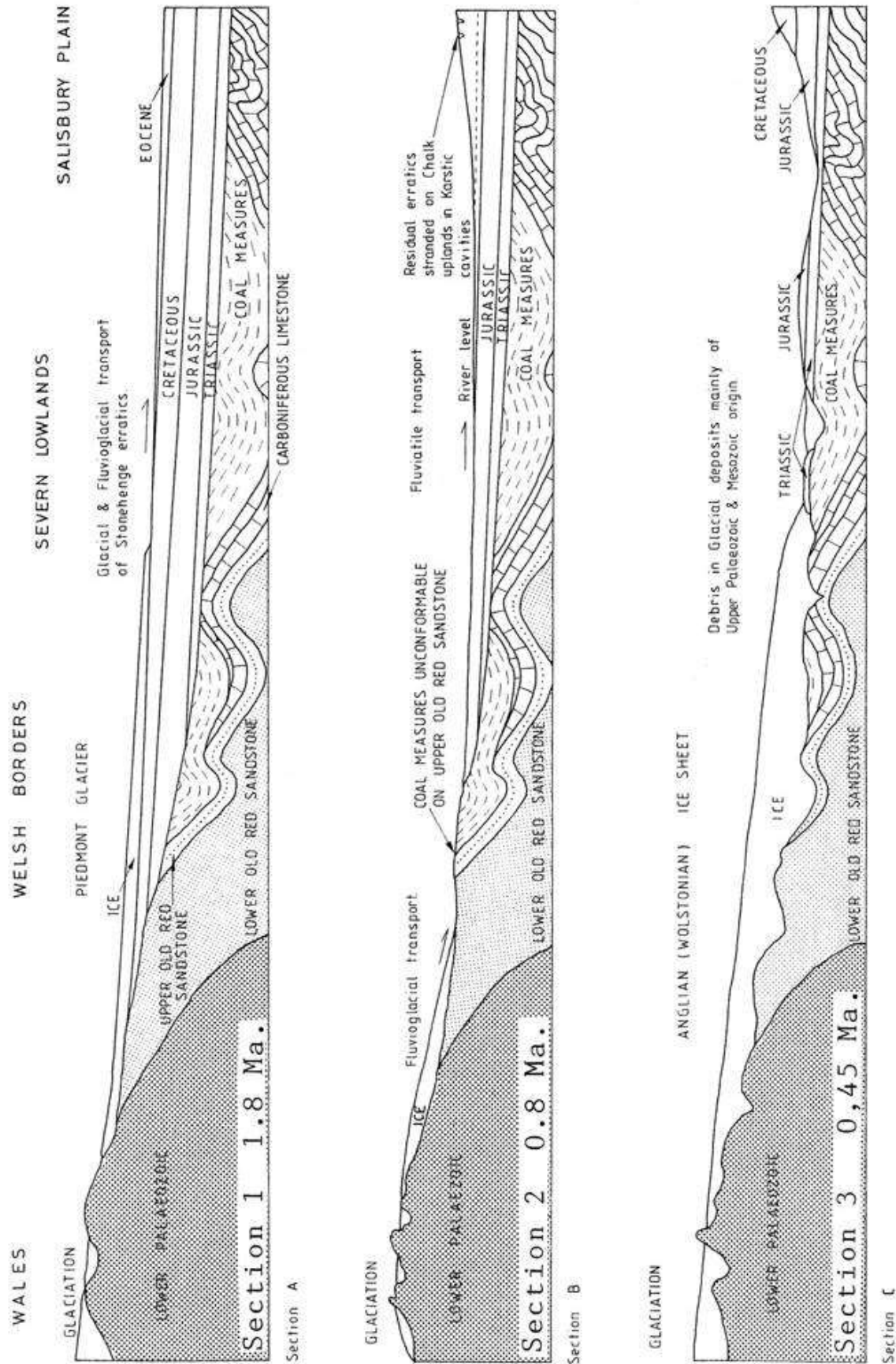
Investigations of the hot springs at Bath and in the Avon Gorge at Bristol, have revealed the presence of a group of folds and fissures with a SE-NW trend. These constitute the Avon-Solent Fracture Zone (fig.2) which extends from Avonmouth to Southampton and thence across the English Channel to France. The St.Valery-Bembridge line described by Smith and Curry (1975) and Smith (1983) is the south-eastern continuation of the Fracture Zone (Kellaway 1996). It was active in Eocene and Oligocene times when it controlled important changes of facies as between the Hampshire and Dieppe basins.

A second fracture zone (Barker *et al.*, 2000) runs from the vicinity of Southampton towards Chippenham, Tortworth, and the southern end of the Forest of Dean. It is over 100km in length and originates at the termination of the Church Stretton Fault at Kington in Herefordshire. It is referred to as the Monnow-Little Avon Fracture Zone (fig.2). It passes beneath the Stonehenge area on Salisbury Plain. The main structure can be well seen where the fracture zone crosses the Palaeozoic inlier at Tortworth on the east side of the Severn (BGS Sheet 251).

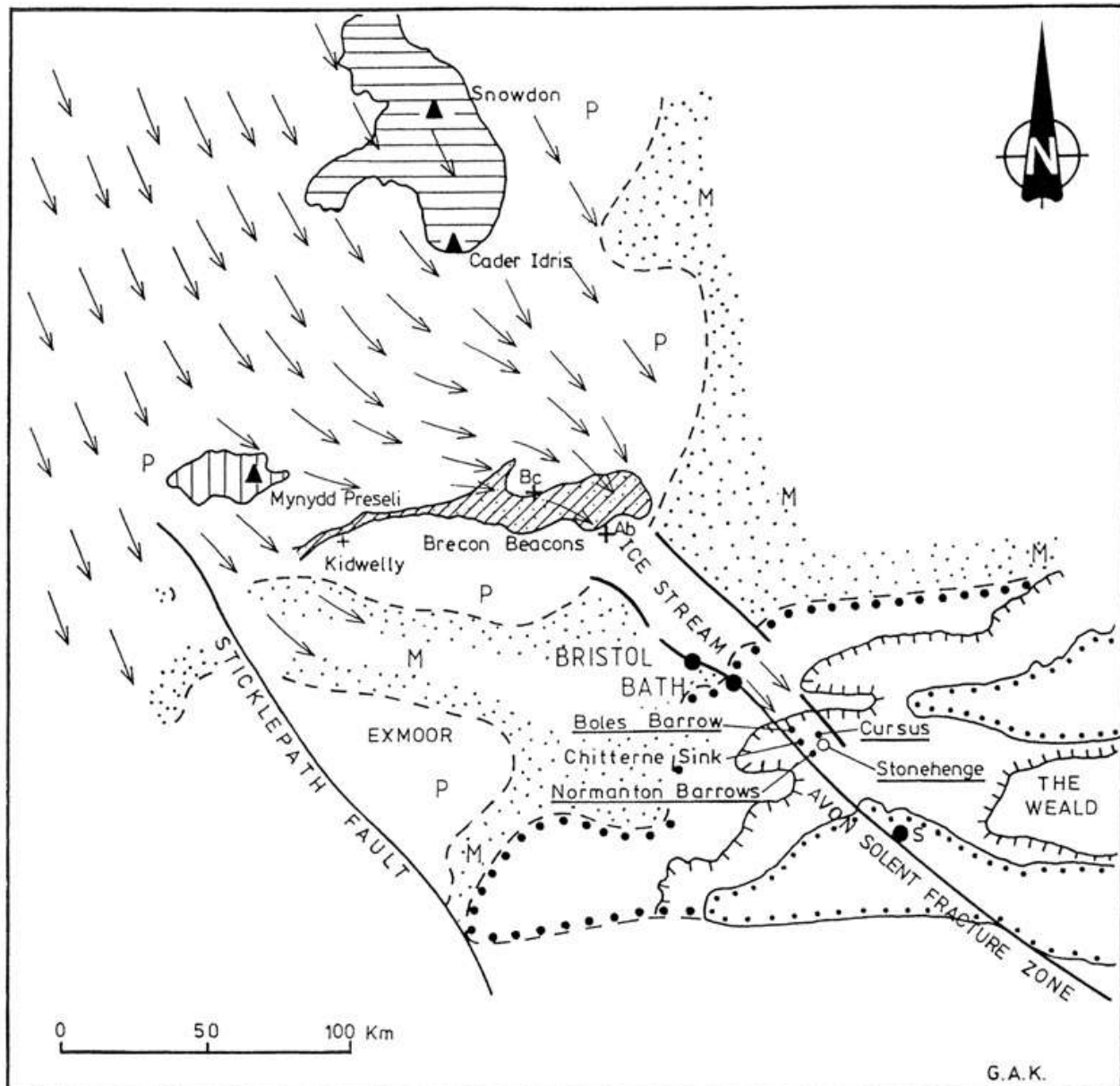
Neither of the fracture zones is marked by large post-Variscan faults, the major movements having ceased by late Triassic times. Periodically there was renewed activity on a smaller scale, particularly in Lower Cretaceous and mid-Tertiary times. These smaller movements are less easy to identify, but they are none the less important for their effect on the fracturing of the Mesozoic and Tertiary rocks. It is, however the shattering of the Chalk and the Middle Jurassic limestones with which we are principally concerned. This is notably stronger in the fracture zones than elsewhere. Thus the debris of the Upper Jurassic, Cretaceous and Tertiary rocks at Bath is concentrated in the area where a post-Jurassic fault belt intersects the Avon-Solent Fracture Zone. On Salisbury Plain we are concerned almost entirely with the character of the Chalk. Where it is highly fractured it is most readily attacked by descending ground water. So that we find that the largest known sink hole on the Plain is situated in a central position in the Avon-Solent Fracture Zone. Boles Barrow with its bluestones, occupies a comparable position in the same belt (fig.5).

The Stonehenge bluestones were probably found in a number of cavities roughly centred on the Monnow-Little Avon Fracture Zone. There are records of empty cavities being found, but in view of the intense human activity in this area it is unlikely that the precise site (or sites) where the bluestones were found can ever be fully known. In the writer's opinion they may mostly have been found in the vicinity of the Cursus. The Neolithic settlers were the first men to clear the land for agriculture, and therefore the most likely people to find the bluestones. One of the worst problems with the human transport theory is the situation of the monument. Why should it be placed in such a position? The answer must surely be because the materials were at hand to build first the long barrows and later Stonehenge.

We do not know precisely where the sarsens were quarried. On petrological evidence it is unlikely that they came from the surface of the distant Marlborough Downs, where all the sarsens are hard and unworkable, but there are a number of places where they could have been obtained, as for example the Chitterne sink. Nor is it necessary to assume that the cavities in the Chalk had a very large diameter in order to accommodate very big sarsens. These have sometimes been found in highly tilted or vertical postures in narrow deeply penetrating holes. As long as the sarsens are not exposed to atmospheric weathering they remain soft and are workable by flint or bronze tools. Atkinson (1956) considered that the trilithons could have been made by pounding weather-hardened sarsens from the Marlborough Downs, with sandstone mauls. However the upper part of the trilithons of Stonehenge show obvious evidence of being cut and drilled while the stone was still soft. The carving of the axe heads on the sarsens would have been relatively easy to do as long as the stones had not been exposed too long to the air. The so-called 'mauls' resemble the rolling-stones used by Neolithic man in Malta to position large blocks of stone; some may have been hammer stones. There is, however one sarsen, the Hele Stone, which is obviously very old indeed and deeply weathered. It may have been moved more than once, but the chances are that it was on the site in Neolithic times.



**Fig. 4.** Comparative sections showing the distribution of the Tertiary-Mesozoic cover in Plio-Pleistocene times in the Welsh borders and Severn valley. The representation is diagrammatic and not to scale. Length of section is about 150 miles (161 km).






**Inferred flow of the Pliocene Ice-Sheet. The localities underlined are those associated with the Bluestones. The Senni Beds form the lower part of the Breconian of South Wales.**

**SOURCE AREAS OF BLUESTONES**

-  North Wales (Ordovician)
  -  South Wales (Ordovician)
  -  Breconian (Lower Old Red Sandstone)
  -  Base of Eocene
  -  Base of Chalk
  -  Fault or Fracture
- } Present Day
- Ab. Abergavenny
  - Br. Brecon
  - S. Southampton

**ESTIMATED POSITIONS AT TIME OF GLACIATION c. 2.6 Ma.**

-  Base of Eocene
-  Base of Mesozoic (M) (including Permo-Trias)
- P Palaeozoic terrain
-  Inferred direction of Ice-flow. (The full extent of the Ice sheet is unknown)

## **The Glaciation**

Did the ice reach Salisbury Plain? The condition of the bluestones suggests that many of them may have been smoothed and eroded in water. Others show the effect of acid weathering produced by contact with peat. A few are claimed to exhibit glacial striation. The general impression is that this assemblage is of glacial origin but that the stones were not directly deposited by ice (fig.4). A practical alternative is that they were carried by melt water, either in floating ice or in powerful melt water streams, but that the land surface over which the ice and melt water has travelled has been highly modified by erosion, due partly to tectonic movement along the Avon-Solent Fracture Zone, and partly to the general effect of the solution of the Chalk. In the last two or three Pleistocene cold periods, freeze-thaw processes played an important part in the destruction of the surface of the Chalk, making reconstruction difficult. The question therefore arises as to the age of the palaeovalley. Unfortunately there are no Oligocene, Miocene or Pliocene deposits, either on Salisbury Plain or in its vicinity. Oligocene basins are developed along the Sticklepath Fault in Devon. This structure is similar to the Avon-Solent Fracture Zone, the principle difference being the presence of a continuous Mesozoic cover in the area south-east of Bristol. It is therefore possible that the formation of the palaeovalley may date from Oligocene times. At the other end of the time-scale, the Northern Drift deposits found on the high ground of the Cotswolds north of Tetbury do not appear to cross the eastern palaeodivide (Kellaway, 1991). The Northern Drift may be glacial, related perhaps to a cold episode in mid-Pleistocene times, i.e. about 0.8Ma.

It is necessary to take into account the very rapid erosion in the Severn valley in late Pleistocene times. Taking the commencement of the Pleistocene as 1.67Ma, and the Pliocene glaciation at 1.8Ma would allow 1 million years (that is about 15 or 16 cold peaks on the 018 curve) for the early changes in the relief to be accomplished. Cold peaks in this period appear to be generally less severe and of much shorter duration than those after 0.8Ma (Harland *et al.*, 1989), and an allowance has also to be made for this. There is at present no way of overcoming the lack of tectonic information. Earth movements must have contributed to the relief of the surface on which the ice formed and moved, and it is possible that the older Palaeozoic rocks of Wales may have stood at a much higher level than at the present day (fig.5). The precise altitude of the glaciated surface is unknown, as the Chalk pipes can be deeply penetrating and only the lower part of the cavities may have survived.

## **William Cunnington (1754-1810)**

It will be clear from the contents of this paper that the life and work of William Cunnington is of the utmost importance for an understanding of the Stonehenge problem. His mother, Elizabeth Cooper, came from Gretton in Northamptonshire and is said to have had great natural genius. His father, John Cunnington sent William to be apprenticed to a clothier or draper in or near Warminster. Sometime after 1772 he moved to Heytesbury, where he was to remain for the rest of his life. Geology had been his first interest, and it stayed with him until his death in 1810. Before 1805 Cunnington had been in contact with William Smith in Bath, who had told him that the sarsens were the remains of a once continuous cover of Tertiary sandstones above the Chalk. Cunnington remarked that 'sarsen stones from 20 pounds to five or six hundred pounds are frequently found in our villages at this day'; but he did not question Smith's conclusions which were in line with his own.

Through William Coxe, rector of Bemerton near Salisbury, Cunnington had been introduced to the Reverend Thomas Leman of Bath and to Sir Richard Colt Hoare of Stourhead, both of whom were to have a profound influence on his life. Leman had antiquarian interests, but his knowledge was drawn from books and papers, not excavations. Thus he considered that the sarsens might be of volcanic origin, which drew the comment from Cunnington, 'A child in mineralogy knows better!'. However, Leman did give Cunnington some good advice, and one of the most interesting aspects of their association is that it had produced agreement between them by 1806 that the pre-historic ages could be divided into three units, stone-and-bone, brass (bronze), and iron. This was thirty years before the publication of the standard division into stone, bronze and iron ages (R.H.Cunnington, 1975, pp.76-77).

When Cunnington found the bluestones in Boles Barrow in 1801, he had no idea of their great age. He could not use them for dating without some kind of general sequence such as he and Leman began to consider in 1806. Cunnington had recognised a bluestone in the barrow 'as ye same to those of the upright stones in ye inner circle at Stonehenge', but nobody knew the age of the Stonehenge bluestones. It is difficult for us to imagine the level of ignorance about the age of the ancient monuments with which Cunnington had to contend.

Unfortunately, Sir Richard Colt Hoare took no interest in geology. In fact it is doubtful whether he really understood William Smith's views about the sarsens, and his book on *Ancient Wiltshire*, which incorporates Cunnington's results, completely ignores the Boles Barrow bluestone. This set the tone for many later works. The Boles Barrow stone was usually dismissed as having been carried to Heytesbury from Stonehenge. In the writer's experience no one has produced any evidence to show that the Boles Barrow bluestone came from Stonehenge and Aubrey Burl (1999) has shown that it did not. Meanwhile the protagonists of the human transport theory demonstrate their lack of understanding by dragging a boulder along tarmac roads on plastic mats and losing it off the Pembrokeshire coast.

There is no way that anyone can demonstrate the human transport of boulders and stones along the Bristol Avon as it was in *Neolithic times*. The entire length of the river from Shirehampton to Freshford has been excavated, dredged and widened or is controlled by locks. The dangers and difficulties of the turbid waters, strong tidal currents and treacherous mud and quicksands of the Severn Estuary need no emphasis. To attempt to convey a stone weighing 6.25 tons in an unpowered raft through such waters would be putting the lives of the operators at risk. Neither, in their wild condition would the tiny rivers Frome, Wylye or upper Avon be navigable as they have been represented to be. In the light of isotope dating the age of the recovery by man of the bluestones from the Chalk, could have been as early as 6,000 B.P. At the time of the glaciation (1.8Ma) when the erratics were generated (fig.4), Salisbury Plain as we know it today would have been unrecognisable.

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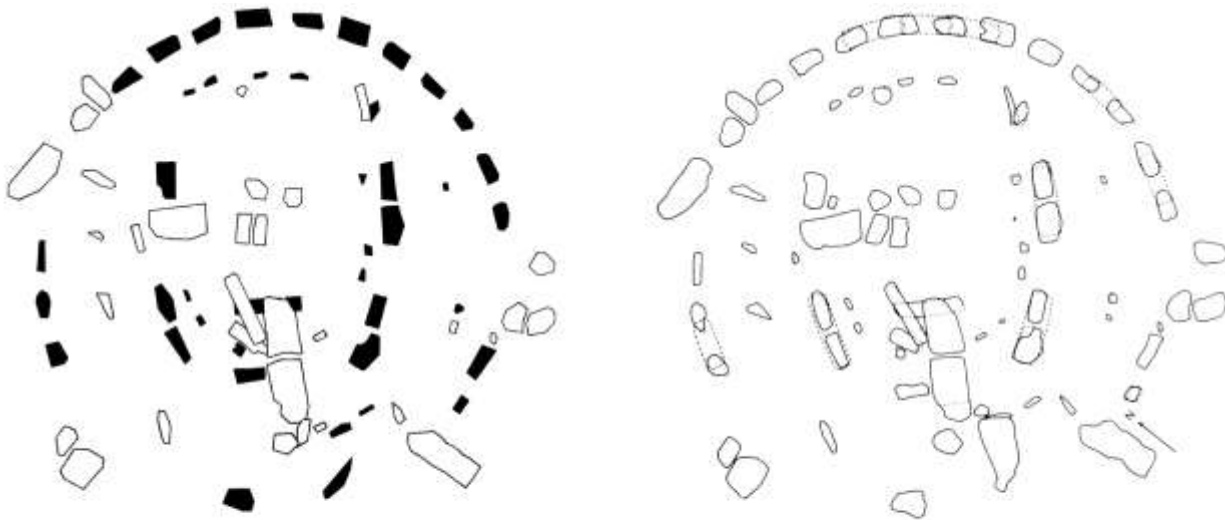
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5. The inferred flow of the Pliocene Ice Sheet at 1.8Ma. The Senni Beds (probable source of the Altar Stone) form the base of the Breconian of South Wales



John Wood's drawing of Stonehenge 1747 (left), compared with a more recent survey (right).

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 m

Table 1. Timescale in millions of years B.P.

Period (duration)			Main episodes of earth movement
Quaternary (1.64)	Holocene	0.01	Alpine (mid-Tertiary)
	Pleistocene	1.64	
Tertiary (64)	Pliocene	5.2	
	Miocene	23.5 (n.r)	
	Oligocene	35.5	
	Eocene	56.5	
	Palaeocene	65.0 (n.r)	
Mesozoic (180)	Cretaceous	Upper	{ Chalk 97 Upper Greensand and Gault 112
		Lower 146	
	Jurassic	208	Variscan
	Triassic	245	
	Permian	Zechstein 256 (n.r)	
		Rotliegendes 290 = 'Permo-Carboniferous' (n.r)	
	Carboniferous	Coal Measures	311
		Millstone Grit	333
		Carboniferous Limestone	363
	Devonian	Upper Old Red Sandstone	377
		Lower Old Red Sandstone	409
	Silurian	439	Caledonian
	Ordovician	510	
	Cambrian	570	
	Pre-Cambrian c.	4000	

(n.r) not represented by strata in the regional succession.  
Dates based on Harland *et al.* (1990).



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