

# The Survey

## of Bath and District

The Magazine of the Survey of Old Bath and Its Associates

No.21, October 2006



**THE SURVEY OF BATH AND DISTRICT**

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**Front Cover Illustration:** Edward Street. The home of Frederick Weatherly, No.10, is on the extreme right, with the bay window and overthrow.

**Back Cover Illustration:** Front of No.10 Edward Street

## CITY NEWS I

### **Bath Record Office**

Highlight of the year so far at the Record Office has been the acquisition of over 80 letters written to Richard Nash at the end of his life in the years 1752-1761. This remarkable collection appeared in a London sale-room and, with some rapid and successful applications for grant-aid totalling £3,390, we were able to buy the letters for the Record Office. The archive collections had previously contained very few documents directly relating to Nash, so the letters from Rowland Leffever, a fellow victim of gambling debt, give a new insight into the profits Nash claimed from the gaming-rooms, and which were the subject of much litigation in his last years.

A new development this year is the addition to our website [www.batharchives.co.uk](http://www.batharchives.co.uk) of the Georgian Newspaper Project, an online search-tool for *Bath Chronicle* newspapers between 1780 and 1800. This ongoing project is the result of years of work by a small team of volunteers who are patiently indexing the early newspapers. We have received enthusiastic feedback from researchers at home and abroad who are discovering this previously little-used resource of early Bath newspapers.

Visitor figures for the Record Office continue to climb, particularly due to the popularity of our free public-access now offered to the family-history website [www.ancestry.co.uk](http://www.ancestry.co.uk). Our two PCs at the Record Office, and all B&NES library PCs, can now be booked for this use.

**Colin Johnston, Archivist**

### **Spa Opening**

As everyone knows, the Thermae Bath Spa building opened on 7 August 2006. Visitors flocked to use it, including the rooftop bath - in spite of the seagulls - and it has continued to enjoy success. A Visitor Centre has also been opened at the former Hetling Pump Room, part of the attractions being Spa maps by the Survey of Old Bath, organised by Giles White. Daniel Brown was also engaged to select shots of old film on Spa topics. Near at hand the Spa shop occupies No.8 Bath Street.

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

The Museum of Bath at Work is running an exhibition entitled 'Women at Work 2000 years in the City of Bath', open from 9 August 2006 to 7 April 2007. The exhibition, comprising pictures and text, is attractively displayed on the walls in the area above the Horstmann car. Elizabeth attended the launch

with Margaret Burrows, Mark and Judith Rutherford were present, and Doreen Collyer, who is a Friend of the Museum, was helping expertly with the catering.

### **The Building of Bath Museum**

On 28 August the Museum opened an exhibition entitled 'Poetry In Stone - Betjeman in Bath', the date being the centenary of Betjeman's birthday. Friends member Daniel Brown gave a talk on 27 September at the Museum, with slides from the period known as 'the Sack of Bath', including newly unearthed material shot by Lord Snowdon. Other Betjeman-related talks were also scheduled, including on 20 September the Curator, Cathryn Spence. This talk 'Bath is a Joy to be in', will be repeated on 16 November, at 12.45 p.m.

On 22 November at 7 p.m., Friends member David McLaughlin will speak on 'Betjeman and Piper - Enthusiasts for Architecture'. There will be a workshop on Betjeman's poetry on 24 November', while on 29 November at 7 p.m. there will be a visit to the George Bayntun Bookshop and Binders.

### **The Stothert and Pitt Building**

Fears have been expressed at the possible demolition of the old Stothert and Pitt building on the riverside. The Survey of Old Bath is not a pressure group and does not take sides in planning applications, in general. Stuart Burroughs of the Museum of Bath at Work, Hugh Torrens, writer on Stothert and Pitt's, and Dr. Buchanan, formerly Professor of Industrial Archaeology, have been engaged in discussion on the fate of the building. Individual members of the Friends of the Survey may wish to discuss the issue with them.

### **Combe Down Stone Mines**

In June the *Council News* reported that around 100 miners are being employed on the stabilisation of the Combe Down Mines, following the granting of funds for the work. Local TV also featured the unexpected appearance of work on a special entry for bats. Bats being a protected species they are to be provided with their own private access to their own quarters. Visiting the mines project on a special health and safety day, Tony Forster, of H.M. Inspectorate of Mines, praised the progress that had been made.

### **The Corn Market**

Walcot Street Trust have been hoping to convert the old Corn Market into an Arts Centre. We have received the following report:

After the success of the Public Opinion Project in March when several hundred people were able to explore the Corn Market in small groups, we are now concentrating on producing a sustainable Business Plan for the building. This is the critical piece of the jigsaw. If we can get this right, we have a good chance of getting the necessary funding and persuading the Council to give us a long lease. If not ...

Meanwhile officers from the Council and English Heritage have had a good look at both the Corn Market and the vaults under the Cattle Market, and we are waiting for their feedback.

**Rae Harris**

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*Marylebone Mercury*, 8 March 1964.  
John Hawkes and Sir Nicholas Pevsner taking the government inspector, Mr.A.Dale, on a walk around St.John's Wood.

### IN MEMORIAM

We regret to announce the death of Friends' member John Hawkes on 5 August 2006. John was prominent in the Widcombe Association, as described in the *Bath Chronicle* Friday 18 August, p.16, and also often worked with the Survey of Old Bath as part of the Survey. For instance in the Survey's booklet on the J.Charlton Map of Lyncombe and Widcombe, his work can particularly be seen on p.11, pp.16-17, pp.20-21 and in the panorama on the back cover. He contributed several articles to the *Survey of Bath and District*.

A Memorial Requiem Mass will be held at 12.30 p.m. on Saturday 28 October, in the Chapel of Our Lady of the Snows, Prior Park College, Bath. All will be welcome. The following notes on John's career have been supplied by Mrs.Mary Hawkes.

### **JOHN EDWARDS YERROW HAWKES F.R.T.P.I., R.B.I.A., M.A.A.K.(TP), F.T.S. (1933-2006)**

In 1959, John was awarded the Annual Studentship to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (Department of the Environment). In 1961, at the age of 28, he became the youngest planner ever to have been appointed to produce a master plan for a new town: Greater Peterborough. During this period the slum dwellings were cleared which previously had largely obscured the superb Norman façade of Peterborough's cathedral. John was anxious that the cathedral and its precincts should be permanently protected at a time when only very selective individual buildings were listed for conservation.

From 1964 to 1976 John chaired or vice-chaired the St.John's Wood Preservation Society of London. In 1964 he mounted a campaign to protect by law several areas of St.John's Wood. Sir Nicholas Pevsner was an enthusiastic supporter and helped John to lobby the Government. Eventually in 1966 legislation for conservation areas was passed which meant that not only streets of St.John's Wood but also Peterborough's cathedral precincts could now receive permanent protection. Whilst work on Peterborough was in progress the Hancock Hawkes partnership also undertook studies for the Pembroke National Park and other new towns such as Hemel Hempstead and Cramlington. The Greater Peterborough Master Plan was finally published 1970.

During the period of 1975 to 1985 John was involved, as ever, in many projects and studies. He sat on the Roskill Commission which designated the location of the third London airport when Stansted was selected. He also carried out a feasibility study for the redevelopment of London Docklands. As John's reputation and experience grew his work took on an international dimension. He prepared regional development and conservation studies across the world for governmental and international agencies including the E.E.C., United Nations, the World Bank, British Aid and the World Tourism Organisation. He prepared plans for a major new town in Kenya and worked on regional studies in (amongst other countries); Australia, Bangkok, Belize, Bhutan, Cyprus, Egypt, Fiji, India, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Nepal, Nigeria, Panama, Saba, Sudan, Sri Lanka and Suriname.

In 1985, John retired from The Hawkes Partnership in London to become an individual consultant based in Bath. His many projects included plans to research and restore Salt City, the old capital of Jordan, to its former glory and also the restoration and regeneration studies of the Wind Tower area of Bastikia in Dubai. He particularly enjoyed such commissions due to his interest in historical restoration and conservation.

In Southern Ireland John researched the histories, measured and completed survey drawings of Tower Houses (castles) on the Mizen Peninsular, Co.Cork.

## **CITY NEWS II: ARCHAEOLOGY**

### **Oxford Archaeology**

It is just over a year since I started working for Oxford Archaeology, but despite being involved in projects all over the south of England I have remained involved in various projects in Bath. The following covers all the work OA have done in that year.

*The Gothick Temple from Prior Park.* OA carried out a full detailed drawn record for the National Trust of the 'Gothick Temple' garden folly, now in Rainbow Wood House, in July of 2005. This was in order to provide detailed information for the creation of a replica to built on the original site of the folly. Built in 1741, it used to stand in the 'Wilderness' at Prior Park and was moved to its present site in the 1920s. Old postcards show it was in a parlous condition then and would have collapsed if it had not been moved or restored. However, the recording process and some research showed that there were significant differences between the original and the present structure. Excavations on the original site provided detailed information on the plan dimensions (Marek Lewcun has reported on these) and it was clear that

the present building is noticeably shorter front to back. The roof, of course, is entirely 20th century, but it was a surprise to discover that the carved stone crenellations were not only a 20th century replacement, but that the originals (which were accurately recreated from numerous fragments found at Prior Park) were different in detail and probably continued all around the building. Some mistakes in reconstruction had led to a bit of 'bodging'. In view of this not only was a record of the building 'as is' created, but also a series of drawings of the building as it was in 1741. The records are now being used by architects Acanthus Ferguson Mann and the City of Bath College masonry apprentices to build as accurate a replica as can be achieved now of the original building on its original site.

*Octagon/Moon and Sixpence.* OA also carried out a watching brief on engineering test pits in the courtyard in front of the Moon and Sixpence. Marek did the first set of these in 2005 and a final extra trench was carried out in May this year. These were not very informative, but did suggest that medieval and possibly Roman layers still remain to be excavated under the present courtyard and buildings (where cellars are either absent or not deep). The final trench of this May did, however, reveal a pitched paving which pre-dated the rear wall of 3, Broad Street. The latter is probably the oldest building along Broad Street, but the excavation produced evidence which suggested it was not as old as has been claimed. The Vernacular Architecture Group produced a report for the then City Council in 1979 which concluded that the rear block was very probably of early 16th century date. One small sherd of pottery that was, however, without doubt in the foundation trench fill of the rear wall, makes a date of earlier than 1600 most unlikely. The result is open to challenge, as there are possible alternative explanations as to why this one sherd found its way into the layer it did, but it shows that there is still work to be done on this building.

*De Montalt Paper Mill, Combe Down.* BAT started work on the site of De Montalt Paper Mill, but this was taken over by OA last year. Excavations and standing building recording were undertaken for all the buildings on site. Excavation was hampered by the need to leave everything in place as the buried levels are to be preserved (reburied) in the new development. Nonetheless the sites of the demolished buildings were cleared and detailed records made. These suggested a very complex development history, and confirmed that there are chambers, drains, culverts and other subterranean features under much of the site. The site and layout of the 1808 steam engine installation was tentatively identified and the route of the underground flue to the freestanding chimney was partly traced and the most probable route for the rest of it plotted. Owen Ward and BIAS were very helpful. A full photographic record of the main mill, including elevations from rectified photography, and a major interior coverage after site clearance, was created. This involved the hire of a digital camera on a vehicle-mounted telescopic mast that could reach 20 metres (66ft), enabling photography that otherwise would have required expensive scaffolding or hydraulic access equipment. The smaller buildings were recorded more conventionally and the information presented as conventional elevations and plans. The so-called Apprentice Store grew from a stable dating probably to 1804, via the undated addition of a cart shed and then the doubling in size by what appears to have been an open timber store in about 1875. In the following decades this underwent a series of changes finally ending up as a milking parlour and agricultural store when the site became a farm in 1921. Excavation revealed the late 19th century cobbled yard with well-cut drains that had covered the ground around three sides of the building.

*St Martin's Hospital/The Workhouse.* OA's building section has also been recording the architectural history of St. Martin's Hospital, the old Workhouse of the Bath Union. Most of the building has been sold off and is being converted into housing by Future Heritage Ltd. who commissioned the work. The summary below is copyright Oxford Archaeology:

Oxford Archaeology has carried out a programme of building recording and investigation at St. Martin's Hospital, Bath. The main survey was in advance of conversion of some of the buildings to residential use but the work also included a watching brief element to record previously obscured features after the start of building works. The importance of the site is that the buildings were formerly part of the Bath Union Workhouse built in 1837-8 and are Grade II listed. The workhouse was designed by Sampson Kempthorne and had a hexagonal outer range and a Y shaped inner block of radial wings with a central supervisory hub. The whole of the three storey central Y survives with later extensions. Much of the hexagon survives too including the main front block to the north and the north west and north east wings and also the former imbecile and invalid block to the south

which is still part of the hospital and was not surveyed. The buildings are all constructed of Bath stone and consist of ashlar facing over snecked [squared but not coursed] rubble backing. Many old sash windows remain in original splayed openings but some openings have been straightened and some wings have had modern crittal windows fitted in old openings and some new openings inserted.

The workhouse became a hospital with the formation of the NHS in 1948 and most of the interior partition and division of the floors into individual rooms dates from after that date. In some areas primary or quite early decorative schemes and features survived, notably in parts of the north and north west wings of the hexagon and the west radial wing of the central Y. The watching brief revealed some hitherto unexpected features. A triple stone barrel vault was exposed beneath the central hub and an external opening to the vault was seen in a trench against the north west wall of the hub. The ground floor of the hub was the workhouse kitchen and the vault may have served as a larder and/or coal cellar. Roof beams in the hub were stamped KYANS PATENT which referred to a recently patented (1832) method of timber preservation treatment. Test trenches in the extension to the west radial wing revealed a filled in basement with windows in the north wall and the blocked arched door to this was seen in the end wall after vegetation was cleared. Another test trench south of that wing exposed an underground stone vault containing water, which corresponds to the workhouse reservoirs as marked on a plan of 1838.

*All Saints' Chapel, Lansdown Crescent (site of).* OA again picked up a BAT project at All Saints' Chapel, Lansdown Crescent. This was the site of the 1789 chapel built to serve the new developments around Lansdown Crescent. It was burned out in the Bath Blitz in 1942 and finally demolished in the early 1950s when the site became a terraced private garden. Current proposals to develop the site required investigation and much of this was carried by BAT in 2003 and 2004. Engineering investigations were monitored in early 2006 by OA and it was confirmed that little of significance remained on the site and it was agreed that when development commences, such features as foundations and flagged cellar floors will be carefully recorded before dismantling (known above ground elements will be preserved).

*Twerton.* A small evaluation at the corner of Shophouse Lane and Twerton High Street revealed the remains of the White Hart Inn dating from the 18th and early 19th centuries. The walls could be closely related to the changes shown on mapping from that period. Nothing earlier than the early 18th century was found and the few sherds of pottery of that date predated the buildings found. This may indicate that the village had not extended so far east before that date, but further work will be necessary before this is confirmed.

*Bath Central Post Office.* The work going on in this site will have been obvious to members of the Survey. The cellars under the present building are so deep they have removed all archaeological layers. In the courtyard at the rear, however, deep deposits up to 4 or even 5 metres deep exist. Excavations into the top three metres or so were monitored by OA staff in the autumn of 2005. The deposits were of post medieval and probably medieval date but consisted only of thick, dark garden soils in the backyards of the Broad Street and Frog Lane suburbs. Much of them will remain under the new development.

*The Gainsborough Building.* The Gainsborough Building in Beau Street has been empty since last summer. Work is going on to establish whether it can be converted to a hotel, especially intended for use by spa visitors. BAT carried out two detailed 'desk-based assessments' of the architectural and archaeological significance of the site and OA has now just begun some investigations to see what survives under the present building. James Irvine made wonderful records of a Roman bath house and other remains when the original 1827 United Hospital was extended in 1866-7. His records and letters make us believe that much was preserved under the new building. It is also possible that the later extensions in the 1890s may have left much in place. This is now being checked in the present investigations, only beginning as I write this note. If significant remains do survive, then the new works will be designed to leave the archaeological levels in place.

**Peter Davenport**



## **Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS)**

### *Churchill House, Dorchester Street, Southgate, Bath*

MoLAS was commissioned by Buro Four on behalf of the client, Morley Fund Management, to analyse and record standing buildings at Dorchester Street, Bath. The buildings were to be demolished in order to redevelop the site, and the archaeological investigation and a subsequent report were required as a condition of planning consent for the redevelopment. The investigation took place during September and October 2005. The oldest structural remains on the site date to the late 19th century. While earlier buildings are known to have existed on the western part of the site (the former location of the Full Moon Hotel), all evidence for these structures above ground has been removed by later construction. The land holding of the 'Bath Electric Light Company Ltd' (founded 1890) gradually spread from east to west along the Dorchester Street frontage, with initial development in the area immediately west of the GWR Goods Yard, and incorporating the area of the former Kingston Flour Mill. During the 1930s, the site of the Full Moon Hotel was acquired and the neo-Georgian Churchill House was constructed on the site. The majority of the surviving structures on the site date to the early part of the 20th century, with internal alterations and modifications, particularly dating to the late 1960s. The buildings were last occupied during the early 1990s.

In plan the area covered by the buildings measured roughly 70m from west to east and 35m from north to south at their greatest extent and consisted of three main structures; the former Engine Room, the Dorchester Street building and the Churchill House extension. There are four external vehicular entrances leading from Dorchester Street (to the north of the site), and access to the site area was also possible from the River Avon. There are two surviving open areas: the westernmost access from Dorchester Street leads to a small yard, enclosed on three sides by buildings. At the rear of the site is a large open area, currently used as a car park. There are two points of access to this yard; from the eastern gate (opposite Newark Street) and through the covered entranceway towards the centre of the site. Finally, double doors give access to an enclosed area to the east of the Transformer Room. The former Engine Room is the earliest surviving structure on the site, and is currently in use as a car park. The original Engine Room (located to the east of this building) dated to the late 19th century use of the site, and documentary references note the use of Combe Down stone in its construction. The surviving building represents the westwards extension of the original structure during the early 20th century (using brick) and during the latter part of the century, the structure was covered with steel sheets. The west wall is of brick, while the east wall is a temporary construction of plywood sheets, supported by a steel frame. The gabled roof is constructed of iron sheets and there are two modern steel roller shutter doors on the south side of the structure.

The Dorchester Street building is located in the central part of the site area. The remains of earlier builds may have been encapsulated within the structure as now surviving. However, the majority of the building appears to date to the 1920s. The building is largely of brick, with Bath stone window surrounds to the metal-framed windows on the Dorchester Street frontage. Internally, there is evidence for alteration of the use of the internal space in the form of later partitions of plasterboard, metal and glass; there is also evidence for the changing internal access arrangements in the form of blocked doors and inserted stairwells. Evidence also survives of trap doors allowing access between the floors of the building. There is a stairwell to the rear of the building. The Churchill House extension represents the latest major phase of construction on the site, and consists of a brick built superstructure, complete with a Bath stone facade that curves at the northwest corner of the building. The extension was added during the 1930s to provide office space and showrooms. Access to the different floor levels was via a stair well towards the centre of the site, with a central lift shaft. Again, there is evidence for modern re-arrangement of the internal space in the form of later partition walls and inserted stairs.

**Nathalie Cohen**

## **Prior Park. The Restoration of The Wilderness.**

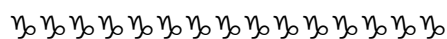
After investigative work over a number of years, the restoration of the Wilderness finally got under way at the beginning of September this year. Acquired by The National Trust in 1993, the landscape garden at

Prior Park was set out by Ralph Allen from 1734 with subsequent guidance from the poet Alexander Pope, and was later landscaped according to plans laid out by Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown just before Allen’s death in 1764. Extending down the valley below the mansion, the gardens are perhaps best known for the Palladian Bridge of 1755, spanning a weir between two lakes which were added above a pre-existing millpond. Thanks to a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Wilderness is now being restored to how it looked in 1764. The Wilderness lay on the west side of the upper, or south, part of the garden, just below the west wing of the house, and was just as its name suggests. Sweeping paths threaded their way amongst shrubs and yew trees planted in the early years of the garden, and led between a succession of ‘surprises’ to the 18th century visitor. The uppermost path left the house and first passed Pope’s Grotto, referred to by the poet in correspondence of 1740 which refers to it as being that of Mrs.Allen, and suggests that she was responsible for its design. A mosaic floor featuring ammonites and sunburst patterns made from pebbles and sawn animal bones still survives and was first excavated in 1996. The roof of this cave-like structure fronted by three spongstone arches was described by a student of Bishop Baines’ seminary in 1836, and who refers to a ‘dazzling assemblage of Shells, fossils, minerals, etc’, and a piece of mineral stone encrusted with Bristol diamonds was found during the excavations. The grotto will form one of the last phases of the restoration in a few years time.

A small waterfall or cascade at the side of the Grotto appears in spring-like form from the slope, but is in fact fed by one of numerous culverts which were skillfully used to carry water from the real springs, behind the house, to various parts of the garden before being deployed again. At the head of one of the three artificial springs a statue of a kneeling Moses striking the rock is known to have existed. He was not amongst the list of statues put up sale when the estate was sold in 1856, and his current whereabouts is unknown. From the Grotto, the water disappears into a second culvert and is carried a short distance to the Lake, and it is here that the present restoration is concentrated. Originally taking the form of a canal with sharp-edged ashlar-faced walls at its side, it was with subtle changes that it took on a more serpentine appearance, with rougher stone replacing the upper courses of the original wall. As project archaeologist, the author is working closely with specialist contractors to excavate a vast tonnage of material which had been used to fill in the redundant lake during the second quarter of the 19th century, probably from around 1834 when the path to the grotto was transformed into a carriage drive leading to the grand steps in front of the mansion. The lake, obscured ever since, has been gradually emerging back into view.

Below the lake, a great Cascade carried water down to the cabinet, a circular clearing in the wilderness. The Cascade was almost completely obscured below soil and leaf mould when the National Trust took over the garden, but was largely cleared the following year. The bottom of the structure, however, remained untouched. Excavations at the beginning of 2006 discovered great blocks of sponge stone built into the foot of the Cascade, and these might have been ‘rugged stone’ referred to by Mary Chandler in her 1734 ‘Description of Bath’. A section of this long poem relates to Ralph Allen, and talks of how below a canal ‘the foaming waves fall rapid down, in bold Cascades and lash the rugged stone’. Both the Cascade and Cabinet are currently being restored and conserved. Channel Four’s ‘Time Team’ have been filming the various stages of the restoration, and will be there for the moment when water in the lake reaches the ‘full’ point, at which water will finally spill onto the Cascade. Beyond and a little north of the Cabinet, which will receive a gravel dressing, water will re-emerge in a short cascade and under the site of the Gothic Temple. Sold in 1921 to the owners of Rainbow Wood House, overlooking the gardens, this ornate structure will be copied in stone donated by the Bath Stone Group and carved by students at the City of Bath College. This final stage of the restoration will take place in two or three years’ time.

**Marek Lewcun**



## DISTRICT

### The Somersetshire Coal Canal

An award of £20,000 has been granted from the Heritage Lottery Fund to carry out a technical study on one of the locks and associated structures on the Somersetshire Coal Canal at Combe Hay. This study is the first step towards restoring the lock – thus allowing the public to see what it would have looked like before the canal was abandoned some 100 years ago.

The lock formed part of a flight of 22 at Combe Hay linking the upper and lower levels of the canal, much of which still survives and provides a notable landmark for walkers along the Cam Valley. The lock restoration is just one of the recommendations from a conservation and access study carried out by Bath & North East Somerset Council, the Somersetshire Coal Canal Society and Avon Industrial Buildings Trust (AIBT) in 2004. The study will be carried out over the autumn and then the results will be used to feed into future bids to finance the work which, it is hoped, will include providing water to the lock so that it could actually be made to work.



### Old Mills Colliery Winding Engine

A steering group has recently been formed to study the possibility of re-erecting the Old Mills Colliery winding engine, presently kept in a dismantled state in the Bristol Industrial Museum, somewhere in the Radstock area where it originally was built and operated. When the colliery closed in the 1960s, it was then the oldest winding engine still in mining service. Produced locally by William Evans of the Paulton Foundry in 1861, it is of particular interest, being a transitional type, between the old blacksmith-built vertical winding engines and the horizontal engines which became standard all over the world. One of the most interesting sites being considered is the old Brunel-built engine shed which still stands behind Radstock town hall and falls within the Radstock town regeneration scheme.



Old Mills Colliery, Paulton, in the 1960s



The engine before it was dismantled

## 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.*

As mentioned under City News, the Survey's maps of the Spa through the ages are now available on the touch-screens at the Visitor Centre in the Hetling Pump Room, while a booklet is planned codifying the material the Survey has collected over the years on the baths. Outside circumstances have delayed *Records of Bath History*, but work has recommenced on this project.

Mike Chapman has contributed a chapter on the history of Mapmaking and Surveying in Bath to the forthcoming new edition of *Bath – Encounters with Science*, and is presently carrying out historical research commissioned by B&NES to help define the setting of the City of Bath World Heritage Site. This involves a review of all material, literary or graphic, which shows how visitors experienced Bath and its surrounding landscape, whether on their arrival or during their stay, throughout its history. In the meantime Mike has been compiling material for his own project on the history of public fountains in Bath, to be published in the next issue.

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

As already mentioned in the newsheet, during the last year the Friends lost their Secretary, Neil Cridland. The post of Secretary is still open and volunteers would be welcomed. There is also a vacancy on the Committee.

At the Lunchtime Lecture on 27 October 2005 Dr. Jean Brushfield entertained the Friends with a selection of slides from her husband John Brushfield's collection, displaying Bath as it would have appeared to the eyes of Jane Austen and her contemporaries. This lecture was reported more fully in the February news-sheet. The A.G.M. on 21 April 2006 was also reported in the June news-sheet. Dr. Susan Sloman gave a valuable talk on her recent research on Gainsborough and on Thomas Parsons, stonemason; followed, after refreshments, by Marek Lewcun discussing clay pipe making in relation to Norton St. Philip.

The Friends did not organise any walks in 2006, but the group were invited to join Doreen Collyer's Brunel walk in the summer. Similarly Sheila Edwards has issued an invitation for a tour of St. Mary's Cemetery in spring 2007, and Malcolm Aylett of Combe Down has suggested a tour of the Jewish Burial Ground. Perhaps this last could be arranged jointly with the Widcombe and Lyncombe History Study Group.

Denise Walker, former Chairman of the Friends, and Michael Walker have now removed to Oxford. The Friends wish them success in their new venture.

Friends member Doreen Collyer has shown an interest in the fate of the Stothert and Pitt building on the riverside, the location now officially called 'South Quay'. The *Bath Chronicle* recently published a letter from her on this concern.

On 28 August 2006, in 'Memories', the *Chronicle* ran a feature on Friends member Daniel Brown. As well as his work for the Museum of Bath at Work, it discussed his project 'Bath in Time', through which

he hopes to make as many images of Bath as possible available on computer. He is looking for sponsorship for this venture. The website address is [www.bathintime.co.uk](http://www.bathintime.co.uk).

In the 1980s the Survey set out to make a pictorial record of Bath. Elizabeth once set out to catalogue its donations to the Record Office, but the task proved too exacting. For instance Accession 370, NCA, Newspaper Cuttings and Adverts, contains hundreds of pictures of property. We would be very glad if others would continue this project until every street in Bath was included. There was also the Streetlore Project, later on, for which the Friends took some very interesting photographs. There are also postcards and prints and other material. The Survey would be delighted if Daniel could put all this material onto computer one day!

Recently Elizabeth was able to tell one of the Friends where to look for a picture of Semprini, who she believes is to be seen in a Twerton school photograph. For the Empire Hotel, Marek donated his photographs of work undertaken there, and they are in one of the Survey files at the Record Office. Multiply these resources by the whole of Bath and it is evident Daniel will be kept busy.

### **The Widcombe and Lyncombe History Study Group**

The group regrets the loss of John Hawkes, a valuable member of the society. John located the exact site of the Prior's manorial holdings in Lyncombe Vale, and led members on a walk. He also did considerable research on the Ralph Allen Estate and on Prior Park. Recently he had been studying the New Inn on Widcombe Hill, though this material is not published yet.

The year opened with a meeting on 6 April when after business announcements Doreen Collyer spoke on the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, with reference also to parliamentary reform at the same period, with a discussion of how these changes affected Lyncombe and Widcombe. Alistair Durie also discussed the impact on parish life in the district.

On 11 May Margaret Burrows gave a talk on the building of the Great Western Railway, as part of the Brunel celebrations of 2006. This was followed by a walk on 11 June led by Doreen Collyer, investigating Brunel's work. Another walk was held on 16 July in the neighbourhood of Lyncombe Vale, with contributions by Fay Briddon, Doreen Collyer and Margaret Burrows.

On 23 September members were invited to attend the opening of St.Mary's cemetery, with an official launch by the Mayor of Bath. This was followed by tea at 16 Prior Park Buildings. On 12 October Fay Briddon made a presentation on the cabinet maker Charles Baker, with contributions from other members on Wellsway and the Bear Flat.

A visit to the Victoria Art Gallery is planned for Thursday 16 November, from 12.00-12.45, meeting at the entrance at 11.50. Thursday 14 December will see the traditional Members' Evening, with mince pies, to be held at 7.30 p.m. at St.Mark's Community Centre, St.Mark's Road.

Contact Numbers: Margaret Burrows 480749. Fay Briddon 310127. Doreen Collyer 311723.

### **The Bathwick Local History Society**

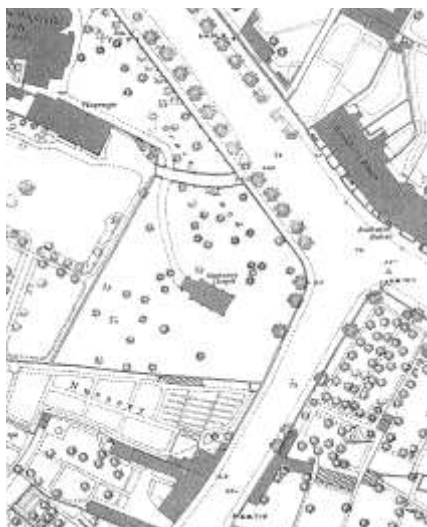
The society continues to be well supported and over the past year we have enjoyed a full and varied programme. In May thirty-two members and friends journeyed to London where, by special arrangement, a group of ten visited the British Library and Museum to see a number of artefacts relating to Bath and Bathwick which are not on general public display, including the original map of Bathwick drawn for William Pulteney in 1727. We also saw some early coins with the Bath mint signature and a gold plated Bronze Age sun-disc found at Lansdown in 1906. This amazing piece is preserved in fragments but a copy of how it would have looked is mounted beside it. The remainder of the party spent most of the day at the museum where many were able to view the superb Michaelangelo exhibition 'Closer to the Master'.

Another special occasion in the history of Bathwick we had been looking forward to was on 23 September 2006, when the official re-opening of the old St.Mary's Churchyard in Henrietta Road was performed by the Mayor of Bath, Councillor Mrs.Carol Paradise and the Rector of Bathwick, Rev.David Prothero. The restoration of this graveyard, including the construction of a tombstone trail, was supported by the Heritage National Lottery Fund and B&NES Council. The planning and work, which took three years to complete, was done by the 'Friends of St.Mary's Churchyard', and B&NES Council.

Enquiries: 01225 463902 or 460389.  
**Sheila Edwards**



**St.Mary's Churchyard and Mortuary Chapel c.1900. The iron railings were removed during the 1939-45 War to make munitions.**



**Section of the 1886 OS map**



**Bathwick c.1919**

### **The South Stoke Local History Group**

During the year the Group hosted three well-attended evening lectures:

31 March 2005: Dr.Helen Geake 'After the Romans who were the early Anglo-Saxons?'

4 November 2005: Mike Bone 'Brewing in and around Bath'.

24 March 2006: Dr.Andrew Martin 'Utterances from the past: what the barrows can tell us.'

The work of the group during the year has been concentrated on completing a transcription of the parish's Church Wardens' Accounts. South Stoke parish is fortunate in having two very full accounts books covering the periods 1662-1776 and 1777-1893 respectively. Although the role of Church Warden was (and is) essentially ecclesiastical in nature, it acquired over the centuries increasing civil functions. Both functions are amply illustrated in the South Stoke accounts books.

As one would expect, entries on building repairs and maintenance of church property were common, as was the expenditure on bread, wine and visitations. One of the most common entries referred to the destruction of 'vermin', sparrows, foxes, hedgehogs, stoats etc, and the bounty received by parishioners for catching the creatures. Even some churchwardens supplemented their incomes in this way. In addition to the names of vicars, curates and churchwardens, the names of parishioners who attended vestries were recorded. Balancing annual expenditure was the parish rate and there is a complete record for most years of the ratepayers, how much they paid, and an indication of the property they owned or farmed with its value.

The transcription of Volume 2 (1777-1893) is now complete, together with subject and name indexes, and has been published both as hard copy and in CD-ROM form. The CD-ROM also includes images of the original pages. For public access, copies of the CD will be lodged with the Somerset Archive & Record Office, Taunton, the Bath Record Office and County Family History Societies. In September members of the History Group will commence the transcription of Volume 1 (1662-1776).

**Robert T.Parfitt** 25 July 2007

### **The Combe Down Heritage Society**

Our primary commitment to the research and promulgation of local history has seen much activity on two fronts in the past year, the Jewish Burial Ground and the stone quarries. The Burial Ground, Bath's only Jewish Cemetery, opened early in the 19th century and in use for about a hundred years, is derelict and overgrown. Its architecturally valuable small chapel requires urgent work if it is to survive and English Heritage agreed with us that it should be Listed Grade II. In collaboration with the Bath Jewish community we have formed a 'Friends of Bath Jewish Burial Ground' which plans to restore the site for public access and educational use. With the able assistance of the Bath and North East Somerset Archaeologist, himself a Hebrew scholar, we seek funding for a project which bears some similarity to the work on St.John's churchyard at Bathwick.

When the stabilisation of the stone mines is complete, we foresee the possibility of there being no visible sign left of the major industry which supplied the stone for many of the buildings of Bath. Our conservation efforts are on two fronts, first and foremost, we believe, in common with many other professional bodies, that some mine should be preserved for public access. Discussions involving the mining and archaeological bodies have continued for some time but engineering issues have yet to be resolved. We also want an interpretative centre to give local access to the social and industrial history of the mining. Though many of the various surface features of the mines have been destroyed, we hope to be able to establish a small display in the park on Firs Field; the offer of a 19th century crane could be an impressive feature of this.



**The Chapel of  
the Bath Jewish  
Cemetery at  
Combe Down**

Other areas of research progress slowly; more buildings have been surveyed and a collection of records and photographs of public realm features is being assembled. Members continue to add to our archive of posters, pictures and documents and we are grateful to the Stone Mines Stabilisation Project for copies of a wide collection of 19th and 20th century maps.



**A Combe Down Parish boundary marker**

Talks we have arranged on our Building Records Project, on De Montalt Mill, Byfield Mine, the Mines Archaeology and the Jewish Burial Ground were all well attended. A 'Shops Workshop', run by our Oral History project leader at which over thirty members contributed was a most successful evening. Guided Walks were given both as part of Bath Open Week and at the request of visiting specialist groups. Communication with our members and the world at large has been enhanced by our web sites;

[www.combedownheritage.org.uk](http://www.combedownheritage.org.uk)  
and  
[www.bathjewishcemetery.org.uk](http://www.bathjewishcemetery.org.uk).

The Society is grateful to the B&NES Council, the Stone Mines Stabilisation Project and the Stone Mines Community Association whose support will enable us to continue and widen our activities in the year to come.

**Malcolm Aylett**

**Contact**

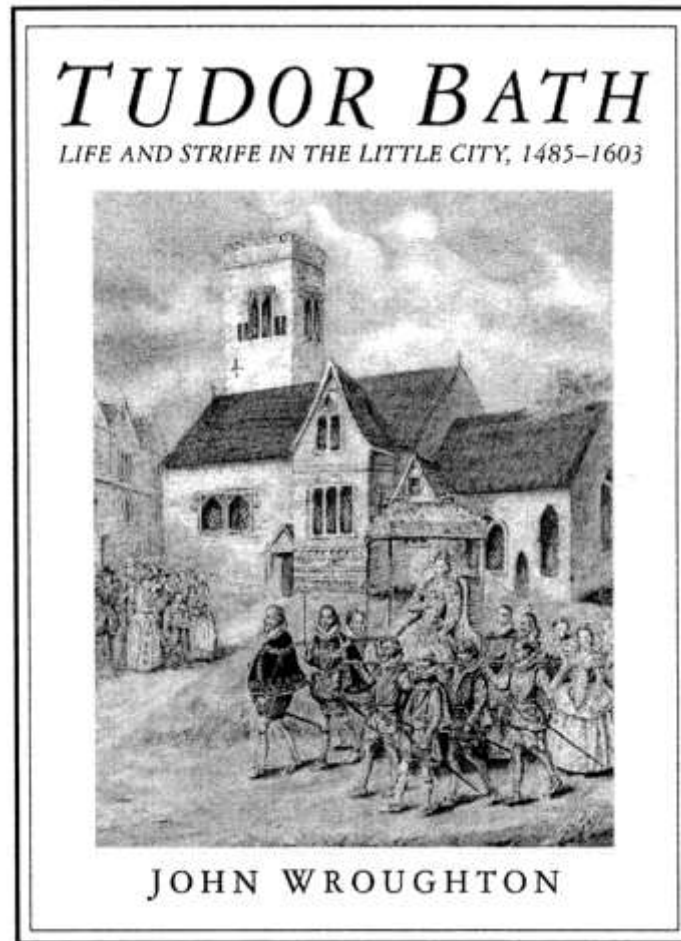
Malcolm Aylett, Secretary, 13 Williamstowe, BA2 5EJ  
phone: 01225 833681 email: [M.aylett@homecall.co.uk](mailto:M.aylett@homecall.co.uk)

For further information or enquiries, Rosemary Simmons, Chair, 01225 833301



## PUBLICATIONS

Members of the Friends will have received a flyer on Dr. John Wroughton's new volume, *Tudor Bath, Life and Strife in the Little City 1485-1603*, with the publication date of 17 October 2006 - to be launched at King Edward's School, where Dr. Wroughton was booked to give the Wroughton Lecture on Tudor Bath. Published by the Lansdown Press, paperback £14.99, hardback £18.50. The format is the same as that of *Stuart Bath* and readers will wish to own the set.



Dr. Sydney Chapman's work on John Taylor is now at the stage of preparing the graphics. If anyone has any information on Taylor the landscape painter which they would like to share, he will be glad to hear from them - [sydney.chapman@lancaster.ac.uk](mailto:sydney.chapman@lancaster.ac.uk).

Dr. Susan Sloman's article on Thomas Parsons has been accepted for publication in *The British Art Journal*, probably for the Winter 2006-7 issue. Friends will remember Dr. Sloman's informative talk at the AGM, 2006.

For their exhibition in July 2006, the Bathford Society brought out a leaflet of facts and figures on Bathford, advertised as available from the Bathford Community Shop, price £1.50.

*Hot Bath* by Giles White is now available for sale to the public at the Roman Baths and the Tourist Information Centre, price £5.75. This is a colourful illustrated history of the Spa, pocket-size, which has been on sale at meetings of the Friends, when numerous copies were bought. Its public launch was delayed because of doubt as to the exact date of the re-opening of the Spa, mentioned in its pages.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Letters Page Editor: Leslie Holt

August 2006

Dear Leslie,

Further to my article in this issue on allotments, and also the comments in Notes and Queries on British Restaurants, your readers may be interested in this extract from the *Bath Chronicle*, 18 August 1917, reporting on a Bath City Council meeting on 17 August which had discussed the food shortage of the time. In May 1917 a decision had been taken to plough up 3 million acres in Somerset.

Councillor F.W.Spear:- ‘Much has been made in the press about profiteering, but really the main cause of high prices was a shortage in the world supply (hear, hear), and the submarine warfare. Engaged in the food business as he was, he heard more of the submarine menace than one got in the daily newspapers, and if the people in this country had a full idea of the destruction of the food that was taking place on the high seas through the action of German submarines they would have a very much truer appreciation of the reason for high prices than they have now (hear, hear). During the last seven months the mercantile marine have lost more than 600 big steamers, and taking the average tonnage at 5000, which is probably too low, there has been a loss of shipping of three million tons, and in nearly every case those ships have been put down, not on the outward passage when lightly loaded, but when loaded to the brim bringing to the country enormous quantities of food.

... The policy of this country has been for many years to devote its energies to industrial pursuits and to obtain food from other countries. Whilst that policy gave cheap and abundant food for many, many years, now we have to pay the penalty, and we will have to pay it until they restore to England those waving fields of corn which have for long been done away with (hear, hear).’

Yours sincerely,

**Malcolm Hitchcock**

5 September 2006

Dear Leslie,

Recently, while in Cheltenham reference library, I discovered that Sir George Smith Gibbes and his lady spent a great deal of time in this then very fashionable ‘Queen of Watering places’. Sir George probably drank at the various spas around the town and, may have bathed in the Montpellier baths. It is unlikely that he owned a property in Cheltenham, as in 1841 he is listed in the directory as staying at 2 Vittoria Walk, a lodging house. This was in a short stuccoed regency terrace, similar in plan to Bath houses. The only other information in the library stated that he was a friend of Mrs.Piozzi’s medical attendant!

Yours sincerely

**Margaret Burrows**

Editor’s Note: for Sir George Smith Gibbes, see later.

July 2006

Dear Elizabeth,

I have checked our records for 2005. Cotswold Archaeology has undertaken very little archaeological work in Bath and its neighbourhood during this time. However, I am in the process of completing the draft publication of a site excavated at Peasedown St.John and would be happy to supply a short summary of our findings for the *Survey of Old Bath* for 2007.

Yours sincerely,

**Annette Hancocks**, Post-Excavation Manager

June 2006

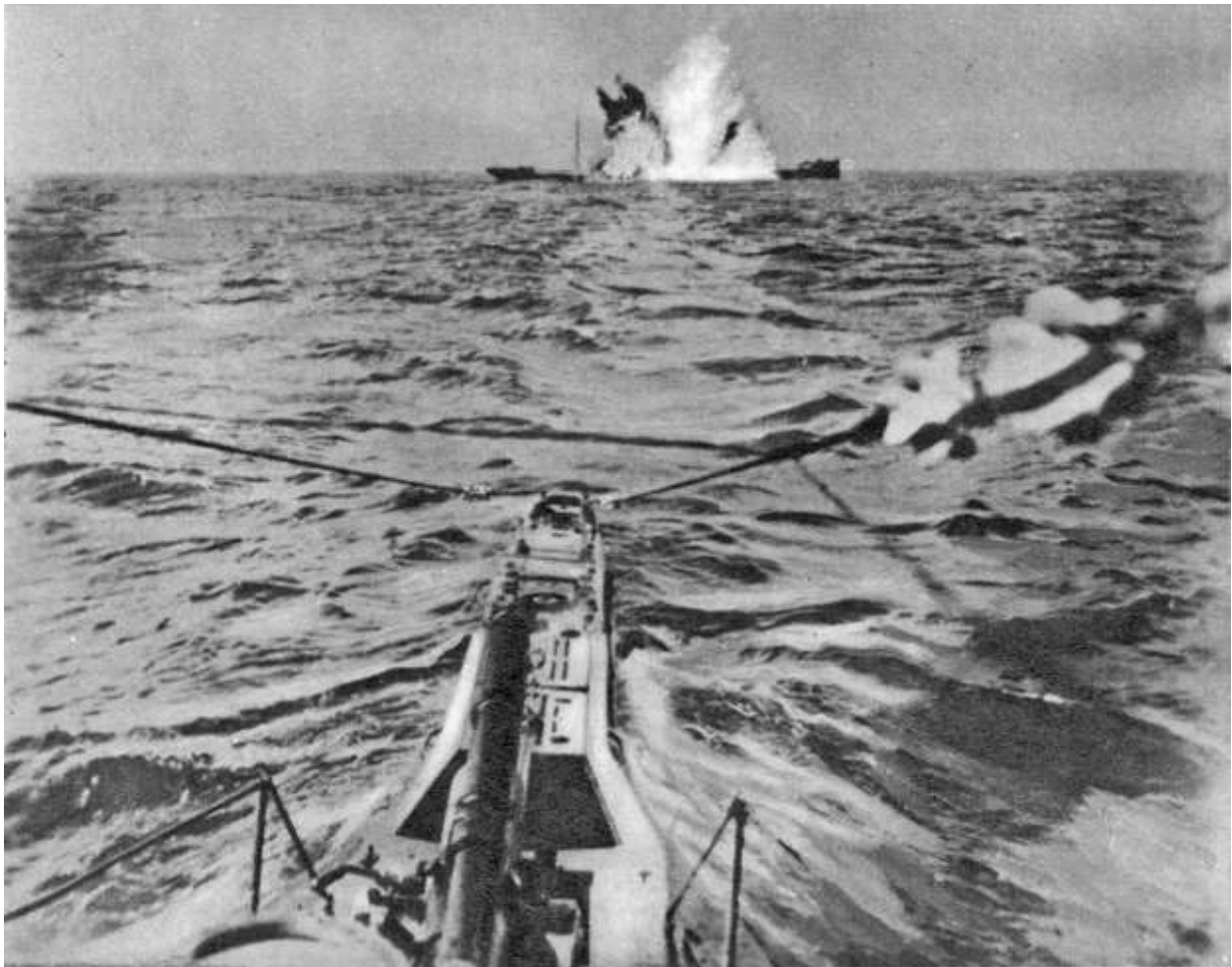
Dear Elizabeth,

Thank you for sending me your newsletter, and for your report on the Jewish burial ground at Combe Down. However, I am not actually Jewish [as stated in the newsletter], though I have studied Hebrew and have a longstanding interest in Anglo-Jewish history and archaeology. I am also a member of the Jewish Historical Society of England.

Yours sincerely,

**Richard Sermon**, Archaeological Officer, B&NES,.

Sincere thanks to our above contributors for taking the time to write these interesting letters. All readers are of course encouraged to write in at any time, on any relevant subject. Please sent to: Leslie Holt, 'Westwinds', Hayesfield Park, Bath BA2 4QE.



**An unusual WWI photograph taken at the actual moment a torpedo fired from a submarine hits a helpless merchant vessel**

♪♪♪♪♪♪♪♪♪♪♪♪♪♪♪♪

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### History Test

In our last newsletter we printed some comments made by the *Financial Times* about the burning of the library at Alexandria. Perhaps the *FT* did not mean to suggest that all the events listed occurred in the 1st. century AD, but that was the impression.

Leslie Holt promptly wrote to say that Julius Caesar died in 44 BC, confirmed by Doreen Collyer. The famous occult work (!) *Secret Places of the Lion* claims that Caesar set ships alight in the bay in 51 BC, thereby causing the destruction of part of the library. It also claims that the Christian Emperor Theodosius had the residue burnt by a special decree of AD 389. Mary Hawkes believes this to be the truth, and doubts the Caesar story.

A popular story is that the volumes were burnt later by the decree of a Sultan Omar. Sydney Chapman rejects this story on the grounds of the Muslim love of learning. Theodosius therefore seems to be the winner. In any case, none of these events happened in the 1st. century.

### A Seagull Saviour

It has been reported that in a violent thunderstorm during which property was struck on Lansdown this summer, a seagull saved Abbey Church House by intercepting a bolt of lightning. The seagull expired.

It is actually very difficult to place objects exactly in the sky, whether planes, seagulls, bolts of lightning or whatever. As it was over Bath, the seagull presumably saved something. What happened to the lightning afterwards? Can any of those science buffs out there tell us the answer?

### Skill at Word-Processing

Can anyone recommend someone who would do type-setting at so much a page? For various reasons we would like outside assistance in this. Also welcome would be someone who can transcribe old writing, again at so much a page.

On a voluntary basis, would anyone care to index the material in back numbers of the *Survey*? It would be of great value if readers knew where to turn for different items.

### Bath's British Restaurants

On the Bath at War walks in 2005 we visited the building that was opened as Bath's first British Restaurant in World War II situated just beyond the entrance to Charlotte Street car park and until now part of Parkside Junior School; and many reminiscences were shared of coloured tokens and steamed puddings.

The Council Minutes in the Record Office tell their story. The Council received a directive from the Ministry of Food in July 1941 requesting that 'steps should now be taken to establish one or more British Restaurants in Bath whose function is to provide day to day feeding of the population and also act as a first line of defence in an emergency. The Ministry is prepared to reimburse capital costs in setting up, and to underwrite any exceptional operating losses. The Restaurants should be operated on business lines, cafeteria style or take-away, with the following charges - Soup and Bread 1d., Meat or Stew and Two Veg. 5d. or 6d., Pudding 2d.'. (1d. = 1/2 a new p.)

The Council originally proposed the Pavilion, plus one in Oldfield Park and another in Walcot, but the Pavilion proposal was dropped presumably because conversion costs were too high and also the scheme would interfere with entertainments which took place there at weekends. This was replaced by the building at Charlotte Street, (named Parkside as a result of a newspaper competition), which opened in August 1942 and this was followed by Hillside at Cotswold Road in Oldfield Park in November, and Riverside located behind the Porter Butt in Kensington in January 1943. Parkside was an immediate success, serving 900 lunches a day, 30 teas and 70 suppers. It was open between 10 a.m. and 8.30 p.m. initially, but later on in the winter shut at 5 p.m. It also held one dance each month. Hillside was less successful, serving some 170 hot meals each day, with Riverside at about twice that amount at over 300.



Throughout the War the Restaurants provided some half million meals a year. The Ministry of Food withdrew support for the scheme in April 1947, and the Council purchased the buildings, re-named them Civic Restaurants and carried on until closure - Hillside at the end of 1948, Riverside six months later, and Parkside at the end of 1950.

All three buildings are still there, of simple chalet pre-fabricated concrete construction, with crittall metal windows. Parkside is a Junior School - about to close. Riverside is a Youth Training centre for the Snow Hill unemployed, and looks rather run-down. Hillside is a Community Centre

**Malcolm Hitchcock**

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

Sir George Smith Gibbes to Captain John James Chapman, 1840

Edited by Roger Rolls

*This is one of the letters of which copies were sent to us by Tony Cairns of Australia. A file of these copies is in Bath Record Office – the originals are in Australia.*

By your account your liver must be very susceptible of the mercurial action<sup>1</sup> for either it becomes exhausted by it of its bile, and thus causes the appearance<sup>2</sup> arising from its (the bile's) absence, or it takes huff<sup>3</sup> and obstinately refuses to supply its usual quantity. It appears however that occasionally it, the liver, bottles up the bile until it overflows and by your description forcibly carries everything before it<sup>4</sup>. Rhubarb<sup>5</sup> tinges the degestions<sup>6</sup> therefore I think you should take castor oil<sup>7</sup> or Lenitive Electuary<sup>8</sup> and observe whether the proper colour shows itself. If so all is well, if not the regulated plan with blue pill<sup>9</sup> might be necessary to compel the liver to adopt its healthful action. Of course you will avoid sherry \*\*\*\*\*<sup>10</sup>. I have resisted wine and all ardent spirits for now nearly a year. I really feel contented with a little small beer at dinner. I by no means recommend you without due deliberation to renounce offhand the accustomed stimuli you have used through life.

We have lately been greatly gratified by the presence of your relations the Cheaps and indeed not long ago by friendly personal intercourse with Mr. and Mrs. James. These are circumstances sufficient to make any place pleasant. Would that you and my dear family at Barrow could realise more often a visible and personal character on the banks of the Chelt.

The leaves have this year appeared most quickly and although I do not think as yet I quite dream away my time yet I cannot help feeling that the old man with the scythe advances very rapidly. We have many hints of this for you will be sorry to hear that my old friend and contemporary Dr. Prattinton<sup>11</sup> of Bewdley is in a dying state and from all I hear I could wish that he had adopted my plan of discontinuing his sacrifices to Bacchus.

Let me hear from you how you are and whether you understand the explanation I give to you. Your sister<sup>12</sup> is about to write to you therefore I need only say that I am always dear Captain Chapman, most sincerely yours

G S Gibbes Cheltenham May 27, 1840

<sup>1</sup> Medicines containing mercury were commonly used in the early 19th century as a treatment for constipation and specifically for syphilis. In this instance it appears to have been given for constipation.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably this refers to the colour of the patient's faeces. Pale faeces would indicate an absence of bile, usually due to obstruction of the bile duct by a gall stone. This would have caused pain and if the obstruction was of long duration, the patient might have become jaundiced. This seems unlikely to have been the case with Capt. Chapman because Gibbes would have almost certainly mentioned jaundice had it been present.

<sup>3</sup> A curious word to use as it implies the liver has a mind of its own.

<sup>4</sup> This implies that Chapman had intermittent symptoms, possibly of the colicky pain of biliary obstruction.

<sup>5</sup> Another preparation used for constipation.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably 'digestions'.

<sup>7</sup> A mild laxative.

<sup>8</sup> A syrup with laxative properties.

<sup>9</sup> The **Blue pill**, also called the **pilula hydrargyri**, was yet another laxative medicine containing mercury.

<sup>10</sup> Indecipherable.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Peter Prattinton (1776-1840), physician and antiquary.

<sup>12</sup> Mary Chapman married George Smith Gibbes in 1826.

## **Sir George Smith Gibbes 1771-1851**

**Anne Borsay**

*Published by Courtesy of the Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press. This text was also forwarded by Tony Cairns.*

**Gibbes**, Sir George Smith (1771-1851), physician, was the son of the Rev. George Gibbes DD (1740-1812), rector of Woodborough in Wiltshire, and his wife, Mary. He was educated at Dr. Mant's school in Southampton and matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on 9 April 1788; he graduated BA in 1792. After election to a fellowship at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1795, he was awarded the degree of BM in 1796 and became DM in 1799. He was admitted a candidate of the Royal College of Physicians in 1803, became a fellow in the following year, and delivered the Harveian oration in 1817. He was also a fellow of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. Smith Gibbes practised in Bath, where he had an extensive practice. He spent a period as honorary physician to the Bath City Dispensary, and he served the Bath General or Mineral Water Hospital in the same capacity between 1804 and 1818, though his presence at administrative meetings was infrequent despite being a member of the management committee. In 1819 he was appointed physician-extraordinary to Queen Charlotte, and he received a knighthood from George IV a year later.

Smith Gibbes's reputation suffered at the hands of satirists when his first essay on the conversion of muscle into a substance resembling spermaceti, printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1794, was ridiculed as a way of solving the problem of congested graveyards by turning corpses into candle wax. However, his two volumes on the Bath waters (*A Treatise on the Bath Waters*, 1800; and *A Second Treatise on the Bath Waters*, 1803), together with a semi-popular but philosophical exposition of the principles of medicine, published for private circulation in 1818, challenged the assertion that he was a 'more alarming kind of quack' (Schnorrenberg, 194). Moreover, Smith Gibbes - a fellow of the Royal Society from 1796 - had scientific interests beyond medicine, and he prepared a number of papers on aspects of natural philosophy, as well as an account of the contents of a bone cave in the Mendip hills for which he was admitted to the Linnean Society. These concerns were reflected in his involvement with the second of four philosophical societies in Bath and in his selection as the inaugural speaker when the Literary and Scientific Institution opened in 1825.

Smith Gibbes was also more generally active in the local community. He was a magistrate for Somerset; he became secretary of an abortive scheme to found a public library in Bath in 1801; and, having been elected a free citizen of the city in 1810, he was a member of the corporation until 1834. He was a man of many parts: 'a universal genius', talented in 'music, painting, philosophy, chemistry, mechanism'. However, such catholic tastes led George Monkland to allege in his *Literature and Literati of Bath* (1854) that 'like too many of the genius tribe he was as fickle as he was versatile in his pursuits' (p.58). Yet even this critic conceded that he was 'kind-hearted, liberal in his medical profession, social in his habits and a very agreeable companion'.

Smith Gibbes was married twice. On 27 March 1799 he married Frances Sealey (d.1822), daughter of Edward Sealey of Bridgwater; they had five children. On 1 May 1826 he married Mary Chapman (d.1865), daughter of Captain T. Chapman of the 23rd regiment [i.e. Marianne, sister of Captain John James]; there were no children from his second marriage. On retiring from medicine in 1835, he moved to Cheltenham. He died at the age of eighty on 23 June 1851 in Sidmouth, Devon, and was buried in the family vault at Woodborough. He was commemorated by a mural tablet in All Saints' Church, Sidmouth, where his son, the Rev. Heneage Gibbes (1802-1887), was the incumbent. Another son, George Smith Gibbes (1809-1833), died in Madras after falling from his horse.

Sources, including work by Roger Rolls, are given in the *DNB*:

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10584>]

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## FREDERICK (FRED) EDWARD WEATHERLY KC 1848-1929

Author of 'Danny Boy'

W.H.A.Chislett

### Lyricist, Poet and Author

Better known to the public for his song-writing rather than his activities in the legal profession, Frederick E. Weatherly wrote numerous favourite songs of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many of which still endure today. A prolific lyricist, he penned around 3000 songs of which 1500 were published.

His most popular probably were *Danny Boy*, *Friend o' Mine*, *On With the Motley*, *Roses of Picardy*, *The Drum Major*, *The Old Brigade*, *The Holy City*, *We've come up from Somerset* and *The Green Hills of Somerset*. Over the years his songs have been recorded by such luminaries as Dame Clara Butt, Johnny Cash, Bing Crosby, Bobby Darin, Peter Dawson, Vince Hill, Stanley Holloway, Josef Locke, Count John McCormack, Roy Orbison, Elvis Presley, Jim Reeves, Ernestine Schumann-Heink and Harry Secombe.

His first song to be published was *A Message o'er the Sea* in 1868. John McCormack recorded *When Shadows Gather* in 1910, which became a great success. In 1876 Fred rewrote the words to *The First Departure* (music by Arthur Sullivan, original words by the Reverend E. Monroe). The song became very popular under the new title *The Chorister*. Among the operas he translated into English was Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* and Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci* and it is to him we owe the expression, 'On with the Motley, the paint and the powder'. Such composers as Eric Coates, Cowen, Maybrick (Stephen Adams), Molloy, Sanderson and Tosti usually set Weatherly's songs to music. In addition to his song-writing he wrote articles for periodicals, numerous poems, verse for Christmas cards, textbooks on logic, books for children and in conjunction with Edward Cutler published a book, *The Law of Musical and Dramatic Copyright*. His books for children now command high prices, typically up to a thousand pounds.

His early influence in his love for music was his mother, grandmother and family friend Owen Cole. His time spent at Hereford furthered his interest in music. Perhaps the most popular song that he wrote and one of the world's most sung and recorded was *Danny Boy*. Originally written in 1909, it was submitted to his publisher who rejected it. The song was rewritten in 1911 after a sister-in-law living in the USA sent him a manuscript of an old Irish fiddle tune known as the Londonderry Air. A few changes were made to the lyric and it fitted the melody perfectly and was accepted by his publisher. It was a love song from a woman to a man and is more popular outside of Ireland than within. He once said: 'It is sung both by the Irish and English alike and there was no rebel song in it and no note of bloodshed'.

Ernestine Schumann-Heink (15 June 1861 - 17 November 1936) made the first recording of the song in 1915. (Born Tina Rossier in the town of Lieben near Prague to a German-speaking family, she became an US citizen in 1908.) Miriam Weatherly, prior to her own death, renewed the copyright of the song *Danny Boy* in the USA in 1941.

At the time of writing, some of Frederick Weatherly's songs may be found on the following compact discs:

Danny Boy - Josef Locke CD Music Digital 6397



Danny Boy - Elvis Presley CD BMG 74321774762  
Roses of Picardy - Bobby Darin CD EMI Gold 7243 5 31991 2  
Roses of Picardy - Peter Dawson CD Prism Leisure PLATCD 545  
Friend o' Mine - Ditto  
The Drum Major - Ditto  
The Holy City - Josef Locke CD Prism Leisure PLATCD 662  
Up from Somerset - Benjamin Luxton CD Belart 450 0202 10 Folksongs and Ballads

While living in Bath Fred took an active interest in local affairs, in particular the arts and theatre and regularly broadcast on the radio from Bath and Cardiff. Hundreds of songs were written whilst living here, most while at Grosvenor Lodge, Combe Down. They included the following: *The Drum Major*, *When Shadows Gather*, *Friend o' Mine*, *Danny Boy* (probably written in the first instance whilst living at Weston and rewritten when at Combe Down), *Up from Somerset*, *Green Hills of Somerset*, *Roses of Picardy* (his most commercially successful, which brought the publishers a small fortune) and *Our Little Home* (his favourite song).

### **Early Years and Education**

Frederick Edward Weatherly MA KC, Barrister and Circuit Judge (Western Division), was born on 4 October 1848 at 7 Woodhill, Portishead, Somerset, and died at Bathwick Lodge, 1 Bathwick Hill, Bathwick on 7 September 1929. He was the second child and the eldest of eight sons of thirteen children born to Frederick Arthur William and Julia Mary (née Ford) Weatherly. His father, born in Yeading (Ealing), Middlesex in 1820 was the son of a yeoman farmer and educated at Great Ealing School, as was Thackeray, and Frederick Arthur's long-term friend and patient Owen Cole. Cole was a friend of Gladstone with whom in years to follow young Fred communicated.

The Weatherly family was well connected. Julia Mary came from two prominent Bristol families, the Fords and Holdens; born Clifton, Bristol in 1823 she was a daughter of Alexander Ford. Fred often wondered how his father could afford to send all the boys to university (seven to Oxford and one to Aberdeen) - perhaps herein lies the answer. Educated privately until 1859 at a school in Portishead run by three sisters (the daughters of Dr.Crisp, a well-known Bristol Nonconformist and Head of the Baptist College) Fred then went to Hereford Cathedral School. In 1867 he won a scholarship to Brasenose college, Oxford (BA 1871, MA 1874).

Rather small and slight in stature, Fred enjoyed rowing and coxed for his college (cricket was too expensive). In 1868 he made his first appearance at Henley (hoping he might be selected for the Varsity Eight) which was not without incident. The College had entered a team in the Ladies Plate. However although the race was designated as a coxless four, the rules were changed two days before the race and each boat had to start with a cox, and he was summoned to cox. The ploy was that he would jump off the boat as soon as it started. The result of the race was announced in the *Standard* newspaper the next day and read: 'Henley: the Ladies Plate: Brasenose won by eight lengths, but disqualified for having thrown their cox overboard'.

### **Work and Marriage**

After graduating in 1871, in 1872 Fred took up a post as second master at the Christchurch Cathedral School. However he disliked this appointment and decided to tutor, at which he was very successful. With the increase in undergraduate pupils he gave up the mastership and remained at Oxford as a Master of Arts tutor/coach.

In 1887 with the income from tuition fees he was able to afford to have a house built large enough to accommodate boarders. The house was named 'Sevensprings' and situated in South Parks Road, Holywell, Oxford. The family remained there until 1887. One such boarder was the Prince Swatsi, brother of the King of Siam (Thailand) who when he left Balliol in 1887 tried to persuade Fred to become guardian and tutor to the Crown Prince. However he declined as he had just been called to the Bar.

Frederick Edward Weatherly married Anna Maria Hardwick of Worle, Somerset in 1872 (marriage registered at Axbridge R.O.). The couple had three children all born in Oxford, thus:

Alec J.F.H.Weatherly born 1874; an actor; married Gertrude Thomas, an actress (born Ballerat, Australia) at St.Giles, London in 1898, and later Louise Ethel Balcombe at Brentford in 1905.  
Alice M.Weatherly born 1878, married Walter Burnett James at Bristol in 1901.  
Anna Christina Weatherly born 1880.

### **Barrister in London and Bristol**

At the age of 39 and being bored with the tedium of coaching at Oxford, Fred entered the Bar, Inner Temple, and moved to London taking up Chambers at 1 Hare Court Temple, where he shared with Henry Dickens KC (later Sir Henry), son of Sir Charles Dickens the author. However as many of his briefs were centred on the West Country he relocated to Bristol and took up Chambers in Whiteladies Road, Clifton, Bristol in 1894, later taking up private residence in Bath c.1902/3, commuting daily to Bristol by train.

### **Move to Bath**

Frederick Edward Weatherly was attracted to Bath as a place to live by its convenience of travel for his legal work, as there were three railway lines, the Great Western Railway, the Midland Railway and the Somerset and Dorset, all of which ran into and out of Bath. The family relocated to Bath c.1902/3 and throughout the years lived at the following addresses:

8 York Street in 1903 (office), private residence Grosvenor House, London Road until around 1905  
5 Brock Street until 1909  
Penn Lea Road, Weston until 1912  
Grosvenor Lodge, Combe Down until 1919  
10 Edward Street, Bathwick until 1928/9  
and finally on to 1 Bathwick Hill, Bathwick. Miriam, his second wife, remained at that address until 1935 and subsequently moved to 1 Dunsford Place, Bathwick.

In 1910 the only son of Frederick Edward and Anna Maria Weatherly, Alec John Frederick Hugh Weatherly of 44 Hackforth Road, Brixton, Surrey, an actor by profession, died at 7 Havelock Terrace, Southampton. The same year Fred's father Frederick senior, of Hillside, Portishead also died at Long Ashton, aged 90.

Despite his outward-going and happy disposition, there was a low period in Fred's life particularly in the years around the time when he lost both his son and father and was experiencing financial difficulties. In addition he was living apart from his wife. However he did not wear his heart on his sleeve and got on with life. Boosey the publisher described him as always a cheery, happy, good-humoured man. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 gave him some relief from his everyday legal work when he got involved in Courts-Martial, usually representing the defendant. It was during the war years that, he considered, he wrote some of his best works, *Roses of Picardy* being one of them. A Jubilee celebration was held for Fred at the Café Imperial, Regent Street, London on Thursday 11 December 1919 to congratulate him on completion of fifty years as a songwriter. Composers, publishers, singers (including the Australian baritone Peter Dawson) and members of the legal profession together with personal friends from Bath and Bristol were all represented.

Anna Maria Weatherly, his first wife, from whom he had been living apart, died in 1920 in Bristol and on 2 August 1923 he married Miriam Bryan (née Davis) the widow of John Bryan, at St.Mary's Church, Bathwick. In March of 1925 he was made a King's Councillor, perhaps the oldest person to be bestowed such an honour, and in 1926 his autobiography, *Piano and Gown*, was launched and well received.

Frederick Edward Weatherly died 7 September 1929 at his home, 1 Bathwick Hill, Bathwick. The funeral service, conducted in part by his brother the Reverend Alfred Weatherly, was held at Bath Abbey on Wednesday 11 September. The interment took place at Bathwick (Smallcombe) Cemetery. Principal

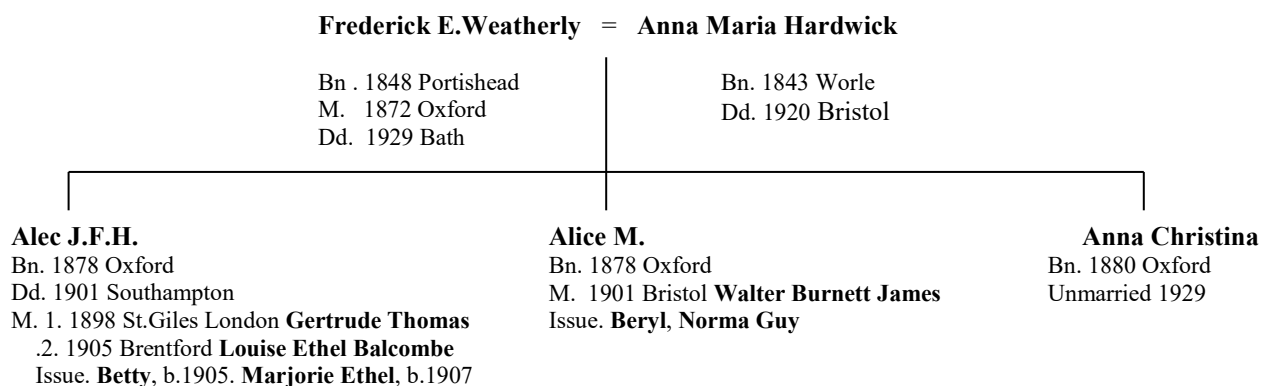
family mourners at the funeral besides his wife included Lionel Weatherly, Alfred Weatherly, Arthur Weatherly, Cecil Weatherly and his daughter Christina.

To honour Fred's memory a memorial commemorative tablet was unveiled at his former home, 10 Edward Street, Bathwick, on 8 October 1931 by the celebrated classical singer Dame Clara Butt, and two concerts of his songs were held in the Pavilion. In 1931 also a trust fund was set up to endow a bed in his name at the Royal Mineral Water Hospital and this was commemorated with a brass plaque in the hospital. The fund was still in existence until the NHS took over the hospital in the late 1940s.

Miriam, his second wife died 31 December 1941 at the Lansdown Grove Nursing Home, Bath, and was interred in the same place as Fred at Smallcombe Cemetery.

### Lionel A. Weatherly

It is worth mentioning that a younger brother, Lionel Weatherly, a physician and the Area Medical Officer for Bath was established in the city before Fred came to live in it. Lionel lived at Bailbrook House, Batheaston where he had a private nursing home. Lionel like his brother also took a keen interest in Bath and its people. He founded the Winsley Chest Sanatorium at Winsley, Wiltshire and wrote and had published books on Health and Hygiene. A keen thespian he was also founder member of the Bath Amateurs in 1894. Bath Amateurs were forerunners of the now popular Bath Operatic and Dramatic Society affectionately known as the BODS.



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A Who's Who of the personalities associated with Fred Weatherly is available from the author at:

[magbillchisbaur@aol.com](mailto:magbillchisbaur@aol.com)



**A portrait attributed to Van Diest, catalogued as William Chapman, the gift of General Wade in 1728. Hung in the Guildhall, Bath. Published by courtesy of the Victoria Art Gallery.**

### **WHO ARE THESE GENTLEMEN?**

Which of these Aldermen of Bath, shown on the extreme left and right, would you call 'Old Thumper'?

In a letter to Ruth Young, Elizabeth's great-aunt Lilian Chapman (Browne) referred to a portrait in her possession, which her grandmother had always called 'Thumper Chapman' ... 'an alderman - a very fine picture in his robes about 1720, possibly by Hudson, unsigned'. It passed to

Elizabeth's father, who called it Old Thumper. When it and its companion, a smaller picture, were inherited by Elizabeth's brother Christopher, he referred to them impartially as Big and Little Thumper. He never designated them in any other way.



Tony Cairns of Australia obtained the picture at top left on the web from the VAG, and forwarded it to us. Elizabeth immediately exclaimed, 'But this is not Old Thumper! It looks like one of the saddler family.' Mike Chapman was despatched to the Guildhall to find a picture which could be called Old Thumper, and returned proudly bearing the image on the right. It is not exactly like the Hollands' portrait (which unfortunately is in store at the moment and cannot be photographed) but is much nearer it than the image on the extreme left.

**The Rev.Dr.Walter Chapman, Master of St.John's Hospital, Bath, and Prebend of Bristol. Attributed to his granddaughter, Maria Spilsbury. Reproduced from Ruth**

**An early portrait of Colonel Charles Chapman, nephew of William Chapman the Distiller. Photograph supplied by the late Phyllis Thomas of New Zealand.**



The Hollands' painting is as indicated in the red robes of an Alderman, with a wig of the correct period for the Distiller. Elizabeth would suggest that the painting on the extreme left is Alderman Walter Chapman the Saddler II, who lived north of Wade's Passage in the Star and Garter, pictured in earlier issues of the *Survey*, and sold leather goods and luxury items like lace (such as the figure in the portrait is wearing).

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Dr. Walter Chapman of St. John's was his son.

She suggests that the unidentified picture on the right is William Chapman the Distiller, Mayor early in 1728 when presumably the portraits were painted, and the owner of Lyncombe Farm, now called Lyncombe Hall. It is hard though to believe that it was executed by the same artist as the other - it seems to be the work of an assistant rather than of Van Diest himself.

What do our readers think? Have any of our readers other jolly family portraits which we could publish in later issues, together perhaps with shots of their homes?



**An unidentified portrait also said to be by Van Diest, one of his paintings of Aldermen of Bath. Hung in the Guildhall. Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria Art Gallery. Donated in 1728 by General George Wade.**

### **JOHN TAYLOR OF BATH (1735-1806)**

#### **Sydney T. Chapman**

Sydney T. Chapman who is Visiting Fellow at Lancaster University (Ruskin Centre) has been working on a private research project documenting the career of his 5th great uncle, John Taylor of Bath (1735-1806), one of two Bath painters of that name.

John Taylor 'of Bath', as he styled himself, began attracting the serious attention of scholars soon after the most recent public showing of his work (The Queen's Gallery, 1976). The bicentenary of his death at 4 Duke Street, Bath in 1806 is an opportune moment to review his *oeuvre*. For three decades his paintings featuring classical or gothic ruins set in lush, typically English countryside, were held in the highest esteem. George III was impressed by them, acquiring a matching pair which he hung at Kew. As Sir Oliver Millar reminds us, Taylor was one of the King's three favourite landscape artists, the others being Zuccarelli and Schalch.

One of Taylor's greatest admirers in modern times was Colonel Maurice H. Grant, who spoke of 'the finer examples of Taylor in my collection, which rival those of Pannini or Hubert Robert in their sombre magnificence and mastery alike of drawing, pigment and effect', and observed how the fine architecture

that was springing up around him inspired the artist: 'what his contemporary Ralph Allen was to Bath in stone, Taylor was that and more in paint'.

A master, equally, of works 'in the Great and Sublime' or 'the rural or pleasing Stile', Taylor was one of the early artists who were inspired by the Wye, with its picturesque and romantic valley and inspirational locations such as Tintern and Chepstow Castle. He was also an early experimenter in aquatint, and painted transparencies on glass. Christopher Hussey reminds us how at Bath 'his supremacy persisted in the minds of many well-informed judges in spite of Gainsborough's activities in the same city'.

Born in America, Taylor counted the artist Benjamin West among his circle of friends as well as the statesman Benjamin Franklin whose connection with Taylor's family dated back many years. Again, while Franklin considered West the best history painter in England, he ranked Taylor highest in the field of landscape. Boswell and Mrs. Thrale made a point of visiting him at 22, the King's Circus, the latter informing Dr. Johnson: 'This morning it was all connoisseurship; we went to see some pictures painted by a gentleman-artist, Mr. Taylor, of this place'.

In the opinion of the actor John Henderson 'The Bath Roscius' (who sat to Gainsborough), he was 'perhaps the greatest landscape painter we have'. Not to be out-done in the matter of praise David Garrick, a mutual friend, rebutted a Bath critic (sour, it seems, at the thought of a gentleman like Taylor publicising his productions by keeping 'open house' for visitors) in verses which end 'Be wise my friend, and take thy fee, That Claud Loraine may yield to thee'.

Taylor appears in Tobias Smollett's novel 'Humphry Clinker'. There, the irascible Squire Bramble writes to a friend how he had 'often heard very extraordinary encomiums passed on the performances of Mr. T-- , a gentleman residing in this place who paints landscapes for his amusement', describes their 'magnificence', and concludes: 'If I am not totally devoid of taste ... this young gentleman of Bath is the best landscape painter now living ... If there is any place for ingenuity left in a degenerate age, fast sinking into barbarism, this artist, I apprehend, will make a capital figure, as soon as his works are known'.

Although he was still painting in the decade before his death, his celebrity was already becoming merely a memory. Revisiting Bath in 1802, the artist Edmund Garvey met John Taylor. This is recalled in the diary of Farington who noted how he had been 'formerly so much celebrated for his painting'. But the world of art and letters was intermittently reminded of his importance; in 1823 we find the sale brochure of the effects of the late Mrs. David Garrick offering 'A beautiful selection of the works of the most eminent English Artists contemporaneous with Mr Garrick': WOOTON, LAMBERT, LOUTHERBOURG, ZOFFANY, JOHN TAYLOR, ESQ. OF BATH, MARLOW, HAYMAN, AND HOGARTH'.

My study of Taylor will discuss important new sources for the first time, and answer some long-standing questions, all of which will add to our knowledge of his career as well as, in a more modest way, to the cultural history of Bath.



**Detail from landscape,  
private collection.**

**Copyright 2006**



**One of three known portraits of  
the artist, painter unknown –  
possibilities will be discussed by  
Dr.Chapman in his study.**

**Copyright 2006**



## **WHAT DID THE 19th CENTURY DO FOR WIDCOMBE?**

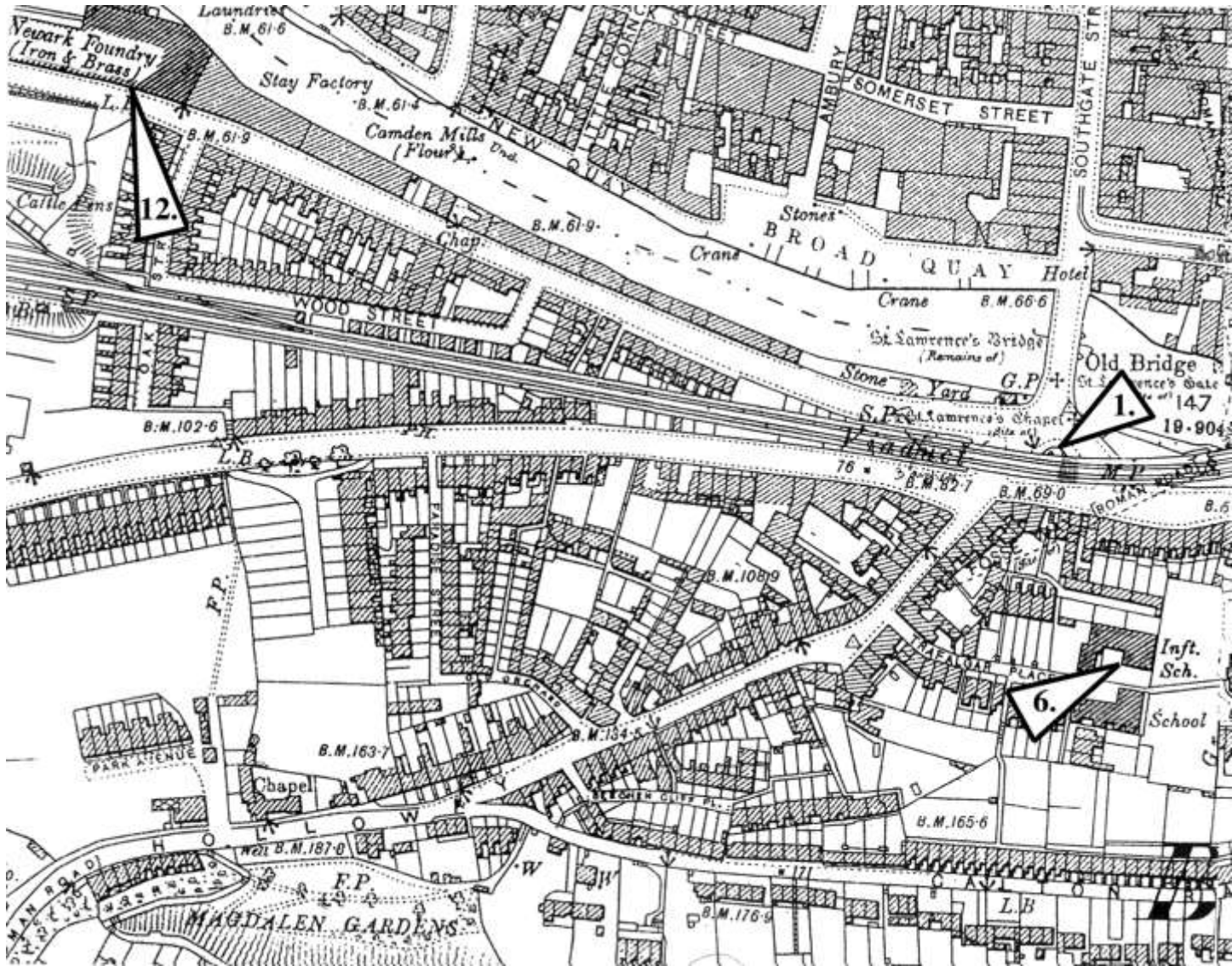
**Doreen Collyer**

A look at some of the trends and characteristics of the years 1800-1900 and the effects they left behind on the landscape of Claverton Street and its immediate neighbourhood.

With its churches, cemeteries, bridges, Regency terraces, grand houses, water features, industrial remains ... the list goes on, Widcombe can justifiably claim to be the most interesting and some say the most attractive corner of the city of Bath. Some of these historic features date from the 19th century and reflect the moods and movements of that period of great change, and a look at even a very restricted area of the map reveals the physical effect of some of that change.

First though, what were the moods and movements, both nationally and locally which brought it all about? They included political reform; Free Thinking; the rise of the lower middle classes; medical and technological advances; the Industrial Revolution; faster travel and communication; population movement; public confidence; peace in Europe ... again the list goes on. Bath was already becoming known as a centre of radical opinions - but why did Widcombe experience more changes than probably any other part of the city?

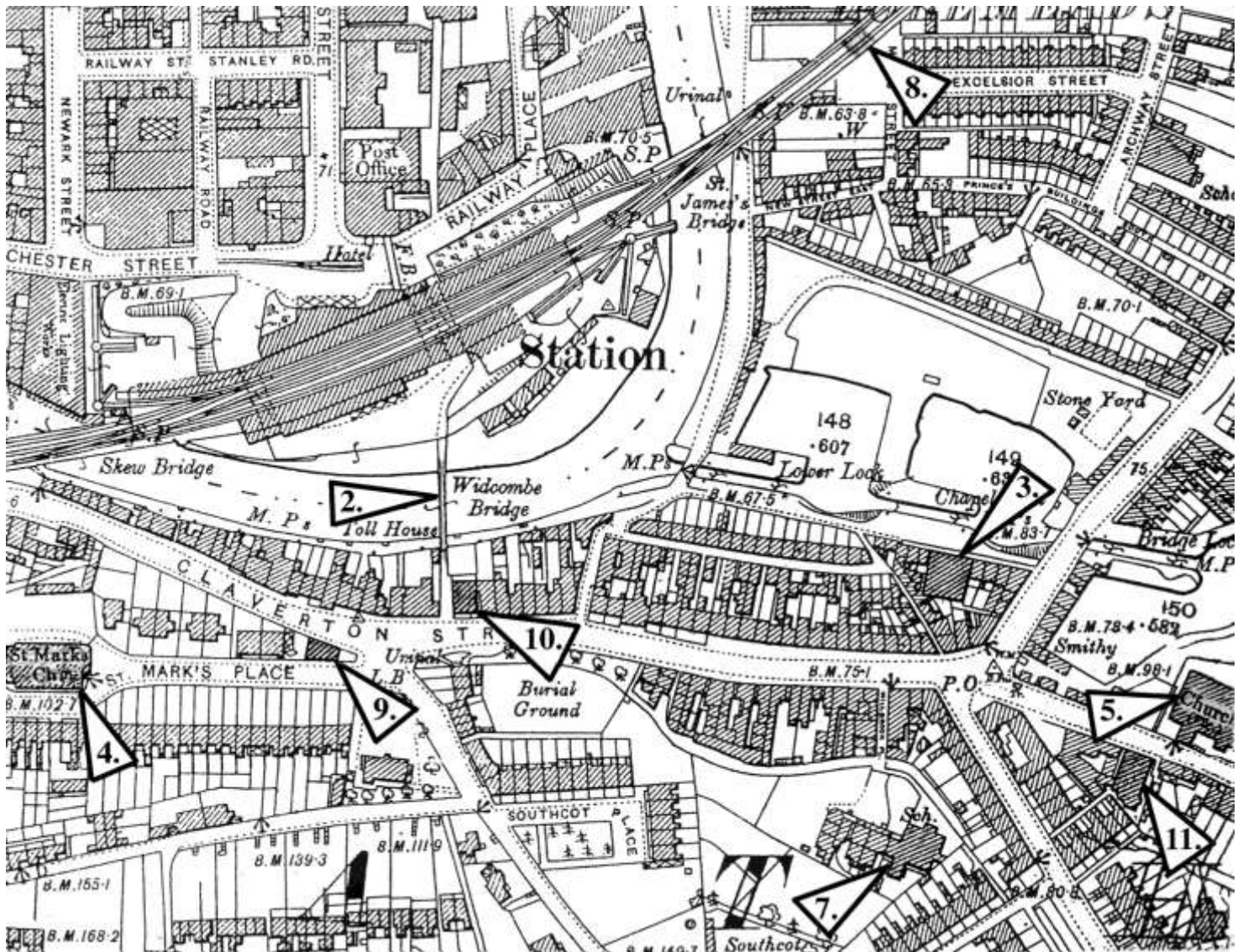
By the end of the 18th century the pressure of population growth meant that Bath had to expand across the River Avon into the Widcombe area and subsequently produced two building booms, the first in the 1820s and the second in the 1840s.



Parts of Claverton Street date from the late 18th century and Widcombe Crescent and Terrace were built in the first decade of the new century, but from then on there was a flurry of house construction - Prior Park Buildings, Southcot Place and much of Lyncombe Hill, Caroline Buildings, Regent's Terrace, Prince's Buildings and Waterloo Buildings. Later, in the 1840s there was more: in and off Prior Park Road, on the lower slopes of Widcombe Hill and at St. Mark's Road. The tradition seems to have been for larger houses along the main roads and for artisan dwellings off to the sides. The really poor congregated in the Dolemeads from where the Reports of Sanitary Inspectors and Medical Officers of Health make very sorry reading over the years. The Council took some small note of these Reports but it was the Government's 'Housing of the Working Class Act' of 1890 which really got things going with improvements to drains and sewers, and it took another 30 years before the new red brick council estate in the Dolemeads was declared open.

The two greatest physical changes to the Widcombe landscape other than housing were the new lines of transport and communication which ploughed through from east to west - the Kennet and Avon Canal and the Great Western Railway. They were both examples of the engineering mania for moving goods and later people in large quantities and numbers, and in the case of the railway, with scant regard for the environment. They gave Bath and thus Widcombe the opportunity to link up with anywhere between London and Bristol and other points north and south - good for Bath's economy. Unfortunately the canal's really active life-span was short-lived - not much more than 30 years from 1810 - due to the

arrival of the railway in 1841; this was much faster, more appealing to the traveller and a herald of the prosperity to come.



Today, after many years of neglect, John Rennie's canal is once again in good working order; and enhanced by its locks, its old pumping station buildings and its pretty Stothert bridges it is one of the attractions of Widcombe, as is Isambard Kingdom Brunel's splendid urban viaduct with its 113 arches. In the past, soon after the 'Municipal Reform Act' of 1835, arch 57 became the local police station from 1840 until 1923. It also served as a depot for the Royal Humane Society and as a mortuary for bodies found in the nearby river. Nowadays many of the arches are used as business premises or for storage purposes. [Map: No.1]

Another very useful and striking legacy of the G.W.R. is the Ha'penny Bridge, scene of a disaster when the first bridge collapsed on 6 June 1877 as hundreds of visitors on their way to the Bath and West Show on Beechen Cliff were queuing to pay their tolls. The present, stronger bridge was an immediate replacement. [Map: No.2]

Two very different Widcombe landmarks appeared in fairly rapid succession - the two churches which face each other down most of Claverton Street. The 'Independents' got in first, though, with a fine four-square, slightly gothic building on the canal side. Ebenezer Chapel, with the date 1820 carved over a doorway, has served for Wesleyans, Anglicans and Baptists over the years. Its four biblical texts painted

in large white letters on its main roof are either loved or hated. They were first mentioned in 1903 and have been repainted twice since then. [Map: No.3]

The Church of England moved into the area in 1826 when land was purchased near the west end of Claverton Street to build St.Mark's Church. Due to funding problems it was not consecrated until 1832 by which time the graveyard was already in use. George Manners designed a large, light and airy interior with a sturdy bell tower - another landmark which can be seen from the city centre. Two thirds of the cost (£6,069) was met by His Majesty's Commissioners as part of a government scheme to get the populace along to their local Anglican church. [Map: No.4]

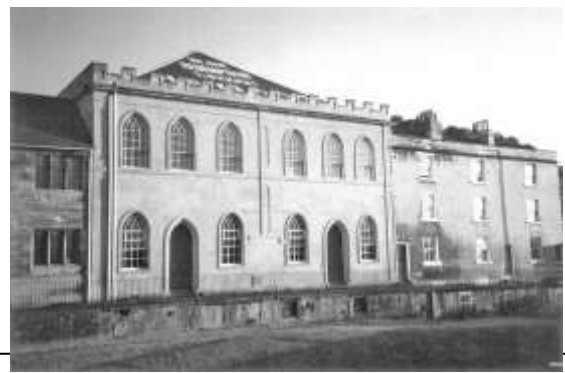


**Above.**  
**Stothert Bridge over the Kennet & Avon Canal**



**Right.**  
**Widcombe Police Station – Arch 57. 1840-1923**

On a more restricted and sloping site at the east end of Claverton Street, St.Matthew's Church was consecrated in 1847. Designed by George Manners' firm (again) it is more gothic in detail than St.Mark's and has a beautiful spire said to be about 155 feet high and a good contrast to the tower of the other church. [Map: No.5] With seating for 800 at Ebenezer Chapel, 1,200 at St.Mark's and 1,400 at St.Matthew's, large congregations were obviously expected - although in St.Mark's only 14 inches were allowed for each place, described at the time as a 'regular dodge to get more money' and as being '..squashed like herrings in a barrel'. The building became a Community Centre in 1975 after it was deconsecrated for want of a congregation.



**Ebenezer Chapel (Baptists) 1820**

Provision for worship then, seems to have been very important in the 19th century - more important than provision for educating the young. After Sam Whitbread's Bill to allow state-aided schools was rejected in 1807 very little official attention was paid to the matter until 1833 when a government grant of £20,000 was shared out amongst the National and British and Foreign Societies (all religious bodies) to build schools. In fact it was the Church which got on with the job. Most of the population had to wait for the Education Act of 1870 when Local Authorities set up their School Boards, and by then Widcombe was already in action, providing what was effectively schooling for all local children at a small price



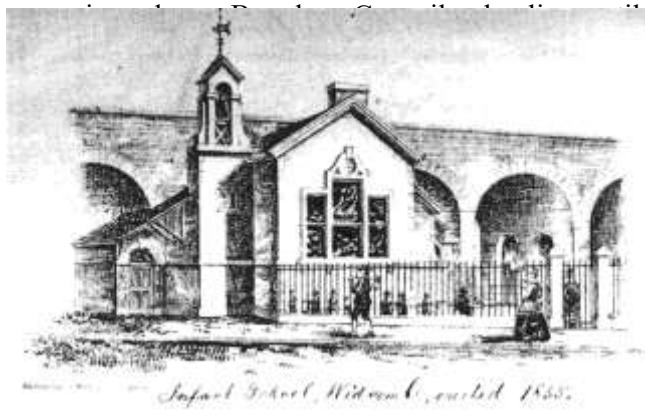
St. Mark's Church, C of E. Consecrated 1832



Widcombe School, Millbrook Place. 1852

Lyncombe St. Mark's for boys, girls and infants was the first up and running in 1845 in a solid gothic style building behind St. Mark's Church, designed (yet again) by Manners and Gill. [Map: No.6]. This was followed in 1852 by Widcombe St. Matthew's for boys and girls on a site in Millbrook Place adjacent to what had been the Abbey and St. James' Poor House. [Map: No.7]

Just two years later the Rev. Mourant Brock wrote an open letter to the workingmen of Widcombe setting out his three wishes for the parish. Top of the list was an Infants' School. His wish was fulfilled in 1856 when a school was opened in the Dolemeads in arches 12-14 under the railway viaduct in Middle Lane. It would be interesting to know what the staff and children thought of the conditions and disturbance. [Map: No.8] Having started on its road to education with National Schools (C. of E.) Widcombe never



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Another spin-off from the religious revival ('a more religious society would be a better society') was the attempt to reform the country's drinking habits. The Temperance Movement which began in Bath in 1836 really took hold in the 1840s and Temperance Hall was built at the junction of Lyncombe Hill, St.Mark's Road and Claverton Street. Again, another good-looking building in a well chosen location. It was here that Friendly Societies like the Independent Order of Rechabites also held their meetings. Since 1847 it has had several owners and today it belongs to the Christian Science Church. [Map No.9]

While the Temperance Movement concentrated its efforts on the evils of alcohol, the need for simple health remedies for the poor was giving concern to the medical profession and a public meeting soon resolved that a '.. Dispensary ... be forthwith established ... for the purpose of giving gratuitous advice to the sick poor'. With only £55.13s.6d in funds the new committee set up its first Dispensary in January 1850 in the basement of the Cold Bath at 26 Claverton Street, but by 1854 larger premises were needed and a site **Temperance Hall. 1847** bank at the east side of Ha'penny Bridge). Opened in 1856 the Southern Dispensary was always underfunded but through health scares and two World Wars it helped thousands of patients and finally ceased its work in 1947 just before the introduction of the N.H.S. [Map: No.10] Kept going by the generosity of a few better-off citizens and run by very under-paid staff for almost a century, even a little medical care was better than no care at all. Both the 18th century Cold Bath and the 19th century Southern Dispensary were demolished in the late 1960s.

SOUTHERN DISPENSARY  
FOR WIDCOMBE LYNCOMBE COMBE DOWN AND DISTRICT.



SUPPORTED BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

Southern  
Dispensary.

Opened 1856

Leisure and educational pursuits were not being disregarded either during this time and all over the country, churches, charities and other institutions were setting up facilities for classes and clubs and physical activities – perhaps rather slowly in Widcombe. It was in 1854 in his open letter to the working men that the local vicar wished for a Reading Room but it was not until 30 years later in 1882 that his wish materialised in stone and brick and the Widcombe Institute, Parish Hall and Reading Room opened its doors just across the road from St.Matthew's Church at the bottom of Widcombe Hill. [Map: No.11]

In the Bath Record Office there are three vast books so heavy that two people are required to carry each one. These are the Bath Building Control Plan Books and one of them contains the plans for Widcombe Institute. No architect is named but Ben Smith was to construct the building of Claverton Down stone, with outer walls two feet thick and inner walls of brick and ashlar all upon solid foundations, with a roof of best Bangor slate and cast iron guttering - late Victorian new-build at its sturdy best. Document No.4 is entirely devoted to the provision and quality of the W.C.s. In fact the building was considered so good of its kind that it was the subject of an article in *The Builder* magazine of 1885. It is interesting to find that

well over 100 years ago such plans were submitted to the Council before they could receive their official stamp of approval.

What too, of the public amenities? Water supplies were gradually amalgamated and cleaned up until Bath Corporation Water Company provided them eventually. Gas arrived in the Prior Park Road area in 1836 and by the end of the century electricity became available. It seems that a few proposals came to nothing including the idea of a continuation of the canal westward to Bristol along the south side of the river. Then there was the outdoor swimming pool proposed in 1868 when sites were considered at Thimble Mill and behind Caroline Buildings. Did Widcombe lose out when a site was chosen in Bathwick instead?

So what did the 19th century do for Widcombe? Some of the changes which took place during those hundred years left little mark on the landscape itself but altered the social and political culture massively - like the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 which pulled Widcombe into the city administration and gave it a proper police presence and a franchise (albeit a limited one). Other changes produced buildings which no longer exist like the Southern Dispensary and some of the old schools, but a number of significant landmarks remain - including the very fine Stothert and Pitt Works on the Lower Bristol Road - just off our map area. Dated 1857, it was designed by Thomas Fuller who went on to become chief Architect to the Public Works Department of Canada and to design the Parliament Building in Ottawa. At the time of writing it seems that the former Newark Foundry is under threat of demolition. [Map: No.12] All in all, Widcombe was provided with housing for its several classes, facilities for the soul, mind and body, new forms of transport, a police station for law and order and work within walking distance. If history sees the 19th century as Britain's greatest hundred years yet, perhaps it could be said that, in its own small way, Widcombe, Bath, reflects that era quite well.

#### **Acknowledgements**

I am very grateful for material from many sources and special thanks to Stuart Burroughs, Margaret Burrows, Mike Chapman, Alistair Durie, Elizabeth Holland, Maurice Scott, Connie Smith and Bath Record Office.



**Postcard of Claverton Street c.1905, showing St. Matthew's Church at the bottom of Widcombe Hill, consecrated 1847**

## **BATH'S MUNICIPAL ALLOTMENTS**

**Malcolm Hitchcock**

### **Introduction**

Allotments, (or to give them their official title, Allotment Gardens), have existed in Bath for over a century. The 1903 Ordnance Survey map of the City shows some ten sites, which sprung up at the end of the 19th century to meet the needs of those living in the newly-built Victorian terraces as the town expanded. Private organisations, often philanthropic - churches, co-operative societies, or landowners such as the Bathwick Estate, seeking income from rents, administered these. The City Corporation itself operated one site, which it had purchased after 1879 at Crescent Gardens, land that stretched from the Upper Bristol Road to the Gravel Walk, (now occupied by houses and the Charlotte Street Car Park); here small plots were rented out to commerce, small nurserymen, public houses, as well as private individuals.

However in 1908 the Bath City Council became much more involved in land management when it formed a Small Holdings and Allotments Committee in response to national legislation and from that time the Council has administered an increasing number of the allotments within the Bath boundary. The private allotments continued to operate up to the 1950s, by which time most of the land which they occupied had been taken over to provide private housing. This article traces the development of the Municipal sites only, from their start a century ago to the present day.

Allotments have played an important part in the life of the city, the number managed by the Council increasing steadily over the first half century to a peak of 2500 plots occupying some 150 acres. Thereafter the number decreases due to several factors - commercial pressures, the need to provide municipal housing, and a decline in interest as people found other ways of occupying their leisure time. Today there has been a resurgence in interest, and there are still 950 municipal plots, (not all full size), on 19 sites and a long waiting list. This paper covers the first 40 years, the period of growth.

### **Legislation**

The General Inclosure Act of 1845 required that the landless poor, who had cultivated land since mediaeval times on the strip system, should be provided with 'field gardens' as the rural land was enclosed, and the guidelines under which present-day allotments are leased go back to the Inclosure Acts and the Commons Act of 1876. However in the latter part of the 19th century as towns rapidly to house the urban working class by building high density terraces with small gardens it was recognised that land should be made available for these people as well, so that the Small Holdings and Allotments Act was passed in 1908. This placed a duty on Local Authorities to provide sufficient allotments to meet the demand, by compulsory purchase if necessary, and to set up a structure to administer them through tenancy agreements.

Subsequent legislation introduced refinements. The Act of 1922 specified that the maximum size should be 1/4 acre, although in practice the standard size was much smaller than this - normally 10 perches. (1 perch = 30.25 sq.yards giving 16 plots to the acre). A further Act in 1925 required that future town planning development should include provision for allotments, and another Act in 1950 further finessed previous legislation with respect to compensation and tenancy rights. A site could only be closed with the permission of the Secretary of State, and adequate safeguards were provided for individual plot holders. There has been no legislation since, in spite of a comprehensive enquiry in 1969 calling for substantial changes (Ref.I). Part of a tenancy agreement is attached as Appendix 1.

In addition to the Acts, the Bath City Council along with all the other Local Authorities were directed by the Ministry of Agriculture during both World Wars to comply with Government policies to support the war effort, and also to ease the effects of unemployment and poverty in the inter-war years. Cultivation of Lands Orders issued during the first World War requested that more land be made available not only to sustain the population during the war, but also those who might be unemployed afterwards. Further directives were issued in the early 1920s followed by another in 1931 aimed at the unemployed, and in



the months before the Second World War requests were sent to Local Authorities to redouble their efforts to make more land available, and not to permit development of land suitable for allotments for any other purpose. In December 1945 a further directive required that all land that had been leased for the duration of the war should remain in cultivation until at least the end of 1946.

### **Bath City Council Response**

At the beginning of the last century all public buildings and housing owned by the Council was administered by the Corporate Property Committee, comprising councillors whose duty was to oversee their development, care and maintenance. One of their responsibilities was the administration of the Crescent Gardens plots. However the requirements of the 1908 Act to set up a Small Holdings and Allotments Structure was considered to be a sufficiently large task for a special Sub-Committee with responsibility for this to be formed from other members of the Council. Its function was to implement Government policy: firstly to search for land, purchase or lease it if the Council surveyors considered it suitable for cultivation, and secondly to oversee the drawing of tenancy agreements and administration of the day-to-day running of the sites.

The minutes of this committee are to be found in the Bath Record Office, and using these it is possible to trace the growth of the local allotment movement, and then its relative decline. It was finally wound up in May 1955 when responsibility was transferred to the Parks Department.

We should pause here to note that the Sub-Committee also had a brief to set up Small Holdings. However, in spite of many attempts, due to Bath's difficult topography - steep-sided deep valleys cut into an unsheltered plateau at 700 feet altitude, all of which made small scale intensive commercial cultivation very difficult, combined with landowners who were reluctant to relinquish their livelihoods and thus insisted that they were working the land efficiently already, the Committee failed to find any sites during all the period they were in existence. Their difficulty is well demonstrated by the fact that when the Council purchased Lyncombe Hill Farm in the late 1920s they used the land to build Bath City Boys (now Beechen Cliff) School, rather than set up small holdings.

### **The Early Years - from 1908 to 1919**

In late 1907, after the Sub-Committee had been formed, the Town Clerk was asked to place advertisements in the local press asking for candidates to come to take up municipal allotments, and by the end of March 1908 ten applicants had been interviewed. In July a total of 8.35 acres of land was purchased at Rosehill above Larkhall. It was decided that the more level half would become a recreation/sports ground (as it is to this day - Larkhall Athletic football play matches every weekend) and the other 4.3 acres became Bath's first municipal allotment. Water was provided from a spring. However plot take-up was relatively slow, perhaps because the site was well outside the village and up a steep lane; and by May 1909 some 40 plots had been let.

A second advertising campaign in late 1912 produced 73 applications mainly in South Twerton from the tightly packed terraces inside the S&D Railway curve, and two large fields east of Coronation Avenue were purchased in 1913 and laid out in early 1914. Again the take-up was slow, so much so that since by November it was decided to set aside some four acres for grazing for the Council's horses. The reason for the absence of support is not clear; perhaps the fact that the municipal scheme was at that time running alongside the private one which already satisfied demand was a factor.

However, the crisis in domestic food supply as the First World War dragged on brought about a radical change. The success of the U-Boat offensive (the worst month was April 1917 when over 800,000 tons of allied shipping was sunk, 500,000 of which was British and much of that Merchant Marine), the loss of agricultural workers to the Front, and inflation all combined eventually to cause the Government to introduce food rationing, firstly of sugar in July 1917 and then meat, bacon and fats in early 1918.

Letters had been received in Bath in early 1916 from the Ministry of Agriculture, followed by a Cultivation of Lands Order demanding that as much food as possible be produced, and a conference was called in March to form the Bath War Food Society to oversee private and municipal production. By March the next year all 13 acres at South Twerton and Larkhall were in full production, together with one acre of municipal land at Lower Common, and a further five acres had been rented at Newbridge Road, King Edward Road in South Twerton, and in Twerton village itself.

Land occupying some 6 acres behind Elm Place in Bloomfield Road was being negotiated as the war ended. By this time the Council were administering some 500 plots, and had previously received another directive from the Ministry that these should remain in production for a further two years, an indication of the contribution made by the Allotment Movement to the national diet. In Bath the War Food Society was not disbanded until February 1921.

### **The 1920s-1930s - The Years of Unemployment**

The Town Clerk issued a memorandum to the Committee in October 1919 setting out the contents of a letter he had received from the Ministry of Agriculture concerning future policy. In it first he reminded members of the requirements of the 1908 Act to make land available, and although he accepted that demand had been low at first the situation had now changed, and from now on it was not acceptable that applicants remain unsatisfied. The Ministry would expect that steps would be taken to purchase land to meet demand, and furthermore the Government would pay the cost. The Council should not merely respond to demand when it arose but purchase land in advance. He pointed out that 6000 men on the Bath register of voters had joined the Forces, some with agricultural skills, and these would return to Bath seeking employment or failing this a means of livelihood and must be accommodated.

In the early 1920s the Council continued to acquire new sites in response to the 315 applications for plots on the books in January 1921. Bloomfield was pegged out, as well as land not required immediately for housing at Englishcombe (now called The Oval); Lower Common was released and two other sites rented in Fairfield and by the Brick Works in Twerton. Lyncombe Hill was surveyed and rejected. The list of possible sites had been largely exhausted by the middle of the decade, and attention turned to more mundane matters - rent arrears, unworked plots, overhanging trees, marauding dogs, illegal garden sheds and pilfering. Then the citizens of Widcombe and Lyncombe were catered for by the acquisition of Canal Gardens for £400 (but not before a long fight with the tenant of Albert Cottage which stood on the land) and the sloping land in Prior Park Road where the Prior Park Garden Centre (once known as Fred Daw's) now stands was rented from the owner of Butt Ash Cottage, whose chickens had to be restrained after they had invaded the new plots and consumed the crops. One plot holder requested permission to erect an aerial at Fairfield: this was granted.

The next missive from the Government arrived in November 1930 – The Agricultural Land (Utilisation) Bill, which required that more land be made available to provide for the un- or partially-employed. The Committee considered the quickest short-term solution was to dig up the adjacent playing field at Larkhall, subsequently rejected as there were not enough local people to work the land, and also the pasture adjacent to Bloomfield. This was done, but on only half of the six acres available. They also acquired existing allotments in Lansdown View, Twerton, and several other small sites through the late 1930s.

So progress was slow in the inter-war years, for several reasons. Firstly it appeared that the number of sites had broadly kept pace with demand. Secondly the topography of remaining vacant land inside the Bath City boundary (and here it must be remembered that this was much smaller than at present - Weston, Combe Down and Bailbrook were outside the City in the 1930s) made cultivation difficult: for example the Abbey View site purchased at that time required to be terraced, and thirdly the owners and operators of the greatest acreage of suitable terrain in Bath, the Parks Department, were reluctant to release any of their land, partly no doubt because the emphasis on open rural landscape fostered in the 18th and 19th centuries within the City would be spoiled and thus discourage tourism.

However all this was about to change as war approached and the Council was subjected to intense pressure from the Ministry of Agriculture who were trying to prevent some of the shortages that had occurred during the First World War, and the attached chart shows the upsurge in the number of sites cultivated at the beginning of the war and up to 1946. The story of allotments in the Second World War, their expansion afterwards, and their subsequent decline will be the subject of the next article.

Reference 1: A Parliamentary Enquiry into the Future of Allotments. Thorpe Committee Report Cmnd 4166. Dated 1969.

## Acknowledgements

Finally I would like to thank Colin Johnston and Lucy Powell in the Bath Record Office for their expertise and help in making the municipal records available. This survey has only been possible through examination of aerial photographs held in the public archive of English Heritage, the National Monuments Record, at Kemble Drive, Swindon.

## Appendix 1.

### Bath Municipal Allotment Sites 1908-1946

This table has been created by the author as a result of his survey of the sites.

No.	Site/Access Road	Year of Acquisition	Size, Acres	Purchased/ Rented/Other	Current Use	Remarks
1	Larkhall, Rosehill	1908	4.35	Purchased	Allotments	
2	Coronation Ave.	1913	7.06	Purchased	Allotments	Now called Monksdale
3	Little Rufferidge	1913	3.8	Purchased	Municipal Housing	
4	Marlborough Lane	1916	Initially 1	Council (PR)	Allotments	
5	Newbridge Rd West	1916-1934	3.3	Rented	Housing	
6	King Edward Rd.	1916-1935	0.7	Rented	St.Bartholomew's Church	
7	Bloomfield Rd	1918	Initially 6	Purchased	Allotments (see 14 below)	
8	Englishcombe	1920	5.1	Purchased	Municipal Housing	
9	Lower Common	1921	7	Council (PR)	Allotments	
10	Victoria Brick Works	1921	2.2	Rented	Open space	
11	Fairfield	1921	2	Rented	Allotments	Increased 1/2 Acre later
12	Canal Gardens	1926	2.3	Purchased	Allotments	
13	Prior Park Rd	1927	2	Rented	Garden Centre	
14	Bloomfield Rd	1931	3	Purchased 1918	Open space	Initially used for grazing
15	Lansdown View *	1931	4.1	Purchase	Municipal Housing	
16	Abbey View	1935	2	Purchase	Allotments	
17	Osborne Rd	1936	0.5	Rented	Business Park	
18	Claremont	1937	1.3	Purchase	Allotments	
19	Shophouse Rd.*	1938	0.6	Rented	Municipal Housing	
20	Bloomfield Grove	1939	1	Rented	Municipal Housing	
21	Wellsway	1940	4	Rented	Private Housing	Not all 4 acres used
22	Monksdale Rd	1940	0.25	Purchase	Municipal Housing	
23	Frys Leaze, Larkhall	1940	2.35	Rented	Private Housing	
24	Lyncombe Vale	1940	1.65	Rented	Allotments	Now Municipally owned
25	Lymore Ave	1940	1.28	Rented	Private Housing	
26	Whiteway/Roundhill	1940	2	Council (H)	Municipal Housing	
27	Monksdale Rd	1940	0.9	Rented	Municipal Housing	
28	Henrietta Road	1940	1	Rented	Private Housing	Fire Brigade owned
29	Brassmill Lane	1940	3?	Purchased?	Actuator Factory	Considered flood prone
30	Haute Combe, Newbridge	1940	2	Rented	Private Housing	
31	Mile End, Kensington	1940	0.75	Possessed	Exhaust Centre	Compulsorily Possessed
32	Rush Hill	1940	6	Possessed	Exact location n.k.	Compulsorily Possessed
33	Greenway Lane	1940	2.5	Council (E)	Open Space	
34	City of Bath School	1940	0.75	Council (E)	School	Tended by Pupils
36	Fairfield Pk. Rd.	1940	0.5	Rented	Private Housing	Zoned for Housing

37	Dead Mill Lane, Larkhall*	1940	1.5	Rented		Rough Pasture	
38	Ring Common, Marl.Bdgs	1940	3	Council (P)		Allotments	
39	Sham Castle Lane	1940	2	Rented		Private Housing	Derelict Orchard
40	The Tynning	1941	0.5	Council (P)		Open Space	Steep slope free rental
41	High Common - Sion Hill	1941	2	Council (P)		Allotments	
42	Lyncombe Hill	1941	2.67	Rented		Open Space	
43	Widcombe Hill	1941	1.06	Rented		Private Housing	
44	Bathwick Hill	1941	1.06	Rented		Private Housing	
45	Entry Hill	1941	3	Rented		Golf Course	
46	High Common - Cavendish	1941	4	Council (P)		Golf Course	Operated until 1962
47	Lower Common	1941	1	Council (P)		Child's Play Area	Allotments extended
48	Alexandra Park	1941	1	Council (P)		Public Park	Operated until 1949
49	Larkhall Rec.Plain Ham	1941	1	Council (P)		Sports Field	Operated until 1957
50	Bay Tree Farm	1941	2.5	Rented		Derelict plots + Private Housing	
51	Old Newbridge Hill	1941	0.75	Rented		Exact location n.k.	
52	Middle Common	1941	3	Council (P)		Municipal Park	Operated until 1955
53	Hensley Estate, Bloomfield	1941	3.1?	Rented		Private Housing	Zoned for Housing
54	Cleveland Walk	1941	1	Rented		Private Housing	
55	High Common (southeast)	1942	10	Council (P)		Golf Course	Operated until 1962
56	Brassmill Lane	1942	Initially 0.9	?		Playing Field	
57	Odd Down - Three Ways	1942	0.88	Rented initially		Exact location n.k.	Compulsorily Possessed
58	Cotswold Road	1942	1.2+2.1	Council (H)		Municipal Housing	Temporary sites
59	Sladebrook Road	1942	1	Rented		Private Housing	
60	Royal Crescent Field	1942	3	Council (P)		Open Space	Operated until 1956
61	Cleveland Walk	1943	1.4	Rented		Private Housing	
62	Lyncombe/Perrymead	1943	1.4	Rented		Rough Pasture	
63	Moorlands	1944	2.5	Council (H)		Allotments	Integrated with housing

**Total Acreage: 140**

*At the end of the War the Council were administering 2,200 Plots*

**Abbreviations:**

Land owned by (E) = Education, (H) = Housing, (P) = Parks, (PR) = Corporate Property departments

\* Private site previously

**Appendix 2.**

**A current Tenancy Agreement**

An Agreement made this the twenty-fifth day of September two thousand and three between THE BATH AND NORTH EAST SOMERSET COUNCIL (hereinafter called "the Council") by Andrew R Carr their Parks Technical Manager of the One part and Mr M C Hitchcock Newlands Shamcastle Lane Bath in the said City (hereinafter called "the Tenant") of the other part ...

The tenancy is subject to the following conditions:

- (a) The allotment garden is let as and shall be cultivated as an allotment garden within the meaning of the Allotments Acts 1922 to 1950.
- (b) The rent shall be paid on the 25th day of September in each year.
- (c) Save as in Section 12 of the Allotments Acts 1950 provided the Tenant shall not without the written consent of the Council erect any building or any other structure on the allotment garden or keep any animal or bird thereon.
- (d) The Tenant shall keep the allotment garden free from weeds and well manured and otherwise maintain the same in a proper state of cultivation and in a neat and tidy condition.
- (e) The Tenant shall provide and keep fixed on the boundary of the allotment garden nearest to the main path a peg bearing in clear figures the number of the allotment garden.
- (f) The Tenant shall not keep on the allotment garden any equipment or appliances which in the opinion of the Council are detrimental to the amenities of adjacent allotment gardens or other property.
- (g) The Tenant shall not without the written consent of the Council plant any fruit or other trees on the allotment garden.
- (h) The Tenant shall not cause any nuisance or annoyance to the occupier of any other allotment garden or obstruct any path set out by the council for the use of the occupiers of the allotment garden.

- (i) The Tenant shall not place any barbed wire on or adjoining the allotment garden.
- (j) The Tenant shall not underlet assign or part with the possession of the allotment garden or any part thereof.
- (k) The Tenant shall not without the written consent of the Council take sell or carry away any soil from the allotment garden ...

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

**FRANCIS GREENWAY (1777-1837)**

**‘the father of Australian architecture’**

**Allan Keevil**

It was the broadcaster, Dan Cruickshank, in his BBC2 programme ‘Round the World in Eighty Treasures’, who first drew the present writer’s attention to the name of this Francis Greenway. In considering what to choose as his ‘treasure’ in Sydney, Australia, Cruickshank had discarded the Sydney Bridge, despite its marvellous engineering, because in design it was in its bow-shaped outline like various other bridges throughout the world. He had equally discarded that very icon of Sydney, the Opera House, despite its spectacular exterior design, because of the flaws of its interior. He had chosen instead the little Church of St.James, in King Street, Sydney, designed and built in the classic Georgian style by Francis Greenway in 1819. Cruickshank regarded it as a little gem. His camera team enabled viewers to see the building as it is today, and he briefly referred to the rather tragic story of its architect, who died in obscure poverty. Other sources have provided a fuller picture.

In his book with the same title as his programme, Cruickshank wrote, ‘When the church [St.James’s] was designed in 1819, Sydney was less than forty years old, its architect was an emancipated convict, and the driving force behind its construction was one of the great men of early Australia, Lachlan Macquarie, who was then Governor of Australia. The church is an amazing object, forming a group with the Hyde



**Portrait of Francis Greenway  
on an Australian 10-dollar note**

Park Barracks of the same date and by the same architect. When ... built, Sydney was little more than the British penal colony ... But in this dubious and unlikely setting, Macquarie and his architect, Francis Greenway, created buildings of the highest quality, and particularly this church, which has a metropolitan dignity that must have been astonishing in its day. Its design is as fashionable and well detailed as any of the churches being erected at the time in the rapidly expanding cities of late Georgian Britain’.<sup>1</sup> In fairly recent times Australia honoured their early architect, Greenway, and his work, by reproducing his head-and-shoulders self-portrait on the country’s ten-dollar note.

Francis Greenway (who later called himself Francis Howard Greenway) was christened on 20 November 1777, at Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire, the son of Francis Greenway (a Mangotsfield mason) and his wife Ann (née Webb, of Colerne).<sup>2</sup> Mangotsfield included the present Downend, Bristol, for which one of his older brothers, the oddly named Olive Greenway, designed Christ Church in 1831, although principally employed as a statuary and mason.<sup>3</sup> On 28 March 1792, ‘Francis Grinway [*sic*] son of Francis Grinway [*sic*] of Downend, County of Gloucester, [was] put to William Paty, Architect, and Sarah his wife for seven years. Friends to find apparel and washing’.<sup>4</sup> This information proving Greenway’s apprenticeship is an entirely new discovery; no previous writer seems to have known exactly where he had first learned his craft, or who had been responsible for his earliest training.

William Paty (1758-1800) was the son of Thomas Paty (1718-1789), a Bristol mason, statuary and architect, described by Walter Ison,<sup>5</sup> as ‘perhaps the most talented member of this family’. Thomas Paty was called in by Bath Corporation to arbitrate in the dispute about the plan to be used for the building of the new Bath Guildhall, in 1775.<sup>6</sup> His son, William, was the first Bristol architect to be trained in London at the Royal Academy architectural schools. He then worked in partnership with his brother and father in Bristol, from 1777. Like his father, he was an extremely accomplished statuary, and the effect of his London training began to show in his architectural work in the 1780s, in a highly accomplished Adamesque manner. Work by him included Blaise Castle House, Henbury, in 1795 (described as remarkably forward-looking, and possibly influenced by Humphry Repton), for John Scandrett Harford the Elder (1754-1815), a member of the family of wealthy Bristol merchants and bankers.<sup>7</sup> For Francis Greenway, Paty’s influence and training would have been invaluable; it is clear that Greenway was an apt pupil. He must have completed his seven-year apprenticeship in 1799, the year before his master William Paty died, when the business was taken over by James Foster the Elder (1748-1823), who had also been a pupil and apprentice of William Paty.<sup>8</sup>

After completing his apprenticeship to Paty in 1799, and Paty’s death in 1800, Francis Greenway seems to have been working in the office of John Nash (1752-1835), the architect responsible for London’s Regent Street and for the Royal Pavilion, Brighton. Nash also carried out work in Bristol, always for John Scandrett Harford of Blaise Castle. A close connection between John Nash, the London architect, John Scandrett Harford, the Bristol banker, of Blaise Castle, and William Paty, the Bristol architect, builder of Blaise Castle for Harford, can therefore be established. (Previously it has sometimes been thought that Greenway may have been apprenticed to Nash.) It was probably through Nash that Greenway was also

involved with work at Carmarthen.<sup>11</sup> (John Nash may have assisted William Paty in the building of Blaise Castle.)<sup>10</sup>

It was from Nash's office in 1800 that Greenway exhibited two drawings at the Royal Academy, and another in 1802, of 'a Chapel, Library, etc., for the side of a quadrangle at Bristol', as well as a drawing of 'Thornbury Castle restored, with a canal brought from the River Severn up to Thornbury'.<sup>9</sup> Thornbury Castle had been the ancient stronghold of the Howard family, the name adopted by Francis Greenway as his middle name, although no family connection with the Howards could be established by Greenway's biographer, Malcolm H.Ellis.<sup>12</sup>

Another of the professionals with whom Greenway had obviously come into contact was Humphry Repton (1752-1818), the landscape gardener,<sup>13</sup> who from c.1796 was for a few years only a partner of John Nash - most successfully in 1799, at Luscombe, Dorset, for the banker Charles Hoare, when 'Nash's architecture and Repton's landscaping were pleasingly integrated and well executed'.<sup>14</sup> Both Nash and Repton would have had an influence on the blossoming talent of the young Francis Greenway.

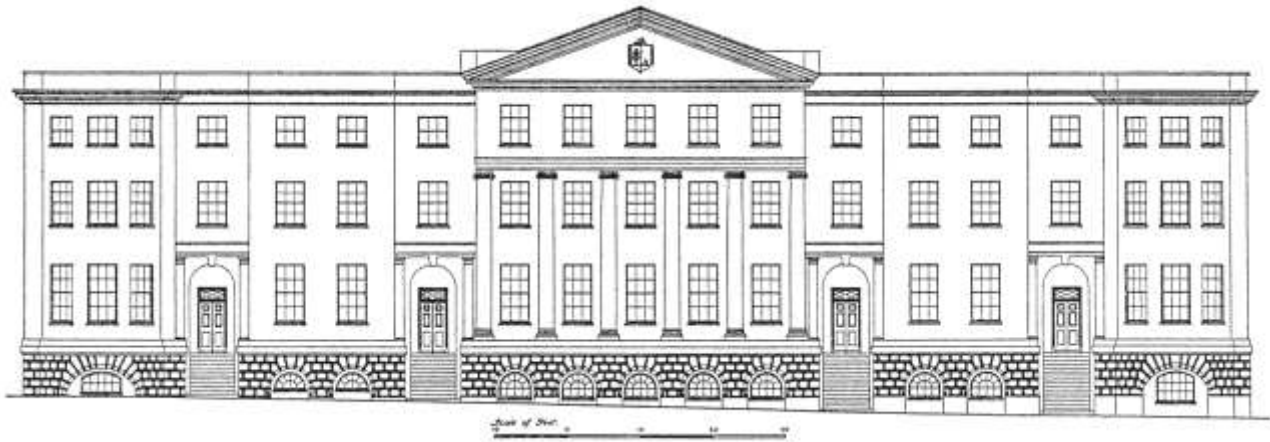
The surname and occupation of Francis Greenway suggests a possible connection with the 18th century Bath family of that name, who were masons, builders, statuary and vase-makers etc.<sup>15</sup> Some also bore the christian name of Francis. For example, there is an indenture of 20 September 1791, when Thomas King, a statuary of Walcot, with Mr.Charles Harford, gent., as his trustee, conveyed to John Greenway in trust for Francis Greenway, mason, of Walcot [not the Australian architect, who would have been only thirteen at the time], 'part of a pasture of 2a 22p called Upper Tynning [Walcot], being all those plots on the west side of an intended building called *Mount Pleasant* and all those two messuages thereon erecting at the cost of Francis Greenway'.<sup>16</sup>

This Thomas King (who died in 1804 aged 63), was the brother-in-law of William Paty, to whom Francis Greenway the Australian architect had been apprenticed, and is mentioned in the will of his father-in-law, Thomas Paty.<sup>17</sup> Charles Harford, gent., mentioned above, was almost certainly the son of Thomas Harford, the Bath attorney, and not a member of the Bristol banking family previously mentioned; Charles followed his father as trustee also for other Bath masons and builders.<sup>18</sup> Thomas Harford's legal firm operated from No.15 Green Street, in the late eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

The first house for Beau Nash in St.John's Court (now part of the *Theatre Royal* and the adjoining *Garrick's Head*), was designed and built in 1720 by Thomas Greenway, an important Bath mason and architect.<sup>20</sup> A pamphlet published in 1987 by the Bath Tourist Information Centre,<sup>21</sup> claimed that the Australian architect's grandfather was this Thomas Greenway, but without revealing their source. However it can be shown that his grandfather was actually John Greenway, born 1720, who married Mary Tripp, a member of a family also well-known round the outskirts of Bristol.<sup>22</sup> This also explains how John Tripp Greenway, one of Francis Greenway's brothers, came to be so named.<sup>23</sup>

In about 1805, Francis Greenway and his elder brothers, Olive and Francis Tripp Greenway, opened a yard in Bristol, and went into business as 'stonemasons, architects, builders, etc.', Francis 'offering his services to the public in the capacity of Architect, Statuary, and Landscape-Gardener'.<sup>24</sup>

In 1806 (when the project for the Mall at Clifton, Bristol, which had lapsed during the financial difficulties of the 1790s, had been revived), Francis designed the Clifton Assembly Room (his only known design in Bristol), 'without which, at the east end, the Mall is now so unthinkable ... that one supposes some terminal feature was always in mind'.<sup>25</sup> *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* had reported on 28 June 1806 that 'the Foundation for a new Assembly Room is already begun at the east end of the Mall at Clifton; the design, by Mr.Greenway, architect, of this city, does great credit to his abilities, and will be a handsome public building, and will do honour to the liberality and taste of those who have patronised and subscribed to it'.<sup>26</sup>



**The Clifton Hotel and  
Assembly Rooms.**

**Above: Elevation facing  
the Mall.**

**Right: The front facing  
the Mall, showing the  
later accretions added to  
the wings.**

**(from Ison, *Georgian  
Buildings of Bristol*)**



The external structure was completed and roofed in by January 1809. However in May 1809, the three Greenway brothers became bankrupt, and the Clifton Assembly Rooms had to be completed by another, who was then named as the architect,<sup>27</sup> so that there is some doubt as to what extent the interior had been completed to Francis Greenway's designs.<sup>28</sup> 'Under distress for rent', Francis Greenway's household furniture was sold by auction, and a little later, the bankrupt Greenway brothers' stock and property were similarly sold.<sup>29</sup>

Some time later, Francis pleaded guilty to forgery of a document purporting to promise him payment of an additional sum to that stated in a previous contract agreement to complete a house in Cornwallis Crescent. For the crime, he was sentenced to death on 23 March 1812, at Bristol Assizes. As his motive appears to have been to benefit his creditors rather than himself (and they had already discharged him of the debt), the sentence was commuted to transportation to Australia, details of the case being reported in the *Bath Journal* of 20 March 1812.<sup>30</sup>

Whilst languishing in gaol, Greenway seems to have painted two scenes, one of prisoners idling, the other of a mock trial with a simpleton of a judge. In both, there appears to be a self-portrait: a prisoner in irons,



but well-dressed as a gentleman, in contrast with the ragged condition of the others.<sup>31</sup> While in gaol at that time, he had also copied, in accurate facsimile, twenty-six pages missing from a rare book, Robert Fabian's *Chronicle* of 1559, the book-plate showing that it belonged to Charles Joseph Harford, F.A.S. (of Stapleton, a member of the wealthy Bristol merchant and banking family, already mentioned), with an inscription: 'This most accurate facsimile was done by F.Greenway, when in Newgate, before his being sent to Botany Bay, from a perfect copy lent me by Sir John Trevallyn'.<sup>32</sup>

That Greenway had the facilities, both for painting pictures and for making a copy of a rare book whilst awaiting transportation from Newgate, suggests that people of some importance, like the Harfords, were helping him at that time.

Greenway reached Sydney, Australia, on a convict ship on 7 February 1814. His wife, Mary (née Moore, whom he had married at St.Michael's, Bristol, on 27 April 1809<sup>33</sup> - two days before he had been declared bankrupt!) - and their (by then) three children, arrived some months later (not, of course, as convicts).

Admiral Phillip, First Governor of Australia, had given Greenway a letter of recommendation to present to the then Governor Macquarie.<sup>34</sup>

Lachlan Macquarie, an army officer, who after two periods of service in India had been sent to Botany Bay in command of a regiment, was also appointed governor-in-chief of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, in which capacity he served from 1810 (the year in which he had been gazetted colonel) until his resignation in 1821. He was a sandy-haired, aquiline-nosed Scot, 5ft.10in tall, who had been brought up in the island of Mull, the son of a carpenter and tenant farmer and his wife.<sup>35</sup> Macquarie believed in hard work and regularity, preferring order to freedom, but was proud of his emancipist policy towards well-behaved convicts who had completed their term. Unfortunately it created tensions in society and aroused opposition both from the free settlers and from the authorities in London, as did his desire to create fine public buildings in the colony.<sup>36</sup> He was strongly supported by his second wife whom he had married a couple of years before going to Australia, after a long period of grieving the loss of his first wife at the age of 23.

Macquarie had been asking London to send him an architect, without result, so that Greenway's arrival with Admiral Phillip's commendation seemed fortuitous for both Governor and convict. However, at the beginning of the relationship between Macquarie and Greenway, the latter displayed the conceit and tactlessness which was to cause him problems throughout his career. On being required by the governor to copy a drawing from a book as the design for the proposed town hall and courthouse, Greenway wrote him a letter complaining that copying something of inferior merit was rather beneath him, when he was capable of creating much finer architecture. Macquarie, not unnaturally, took exception to the tone of his letter, especially in view of Greenway's circumstances as a convict, and reprimanded him.<sup>37</sup>

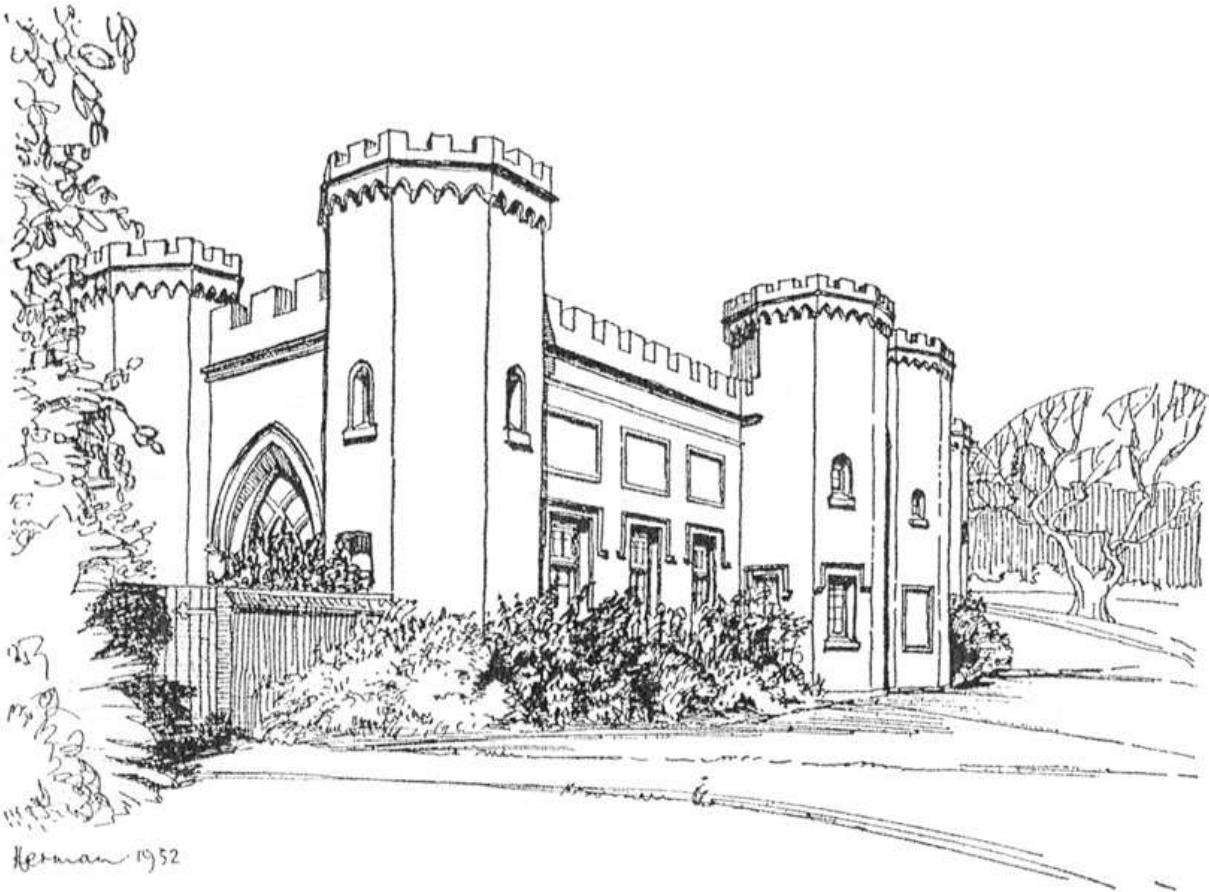
However, he granted him a ticket of leave which enabled him to set up in private practice in order to support his wife and family, whom the governor had allowed to come ashore.<sup>38</sup> Governor Macquarie was also impressed with the quality of Greenway's work, and appointed him Acting Government Architect in 1816.<sup>39</sup> In July 1817, Macquarie was asking Greenway to draw plans for a fort on Bennelong Point; and for a court of offices and stables (according to a sketch delivered with the instruction) to be built of brick, for the use of the Governor's horses, carriages and servants; and to draw plans for a handsome castellated house to be built of stone, for the residence of the Governor-in-Chief, 'the form of the house and disposition of the apartments to be left entirely to Mr.Greenway's own taste and judgment'.<sup>40</sup>

The idea received a strong rebuke from London, who would not allow such a scheme to go ahead as they considered that something much more modest would be suitable for the colony. However, castellated stables had already been erected to Greenway's design, and he had drawn plans of a grandiose castellated house for the Governor, based, as he said, on his studies of the ruins of Thornbury Castle, in his native Gloucestershire (when he was working in the office of John Nash, who also occasionally used this Gothic style in his plans) but 'much bolder in the size of its tower and other parts of the building'.<sup>41</sup>

It has not been explained how Admiral Phillip knew Greenway and came to befriend him. Ties with Bath may have provided the connection between them. A Bath pamphlet entitled *Bath and Phillip of Australia*,<sup>42</sup> states that early in life 'Admiral Phillip had visited his aunts, Fanny and Emma Chapman, who lived in the town' [Bath], but that he had then not returned to the city until 1793. Unfortunately, the pamphlet does not provide the source of the information, and so far, there is no other evidence of this particular family relationship between Admiral Phillip and the Chapman ladies.

In fact, recently much more authoritative material (including a 60-page diary of a Mrs.Christina Chapman, and a memorandum of the Chapman family compiled by Sir Frederick Revans Chapman of Australia) received by Elizabeth Holland from Mr.Tony Cairns, her relative in Australia, one of the Friends of the Survey of Old Bath, indicates the inaccuracy of the pamphlet information.<sup>43</sup>

Mrs.Christina Chapman (née Neate), was the second wife and widow of a Henry Chapman, a London merchant, who had died of Yellow Fever in New York whilst there on business, in 1793. Mrs.Christina Chapman had come to Bath (at first to Lambridge, where other members of the Neate family were then



**The Stables, Government House, Sydney (now the Conservatorium of Music) by Morton Herman**

residing) to live, bringing two of her unmarried daughters, Fanny (Christina Fanny) and Emma. Her diary makes one or two references only to 'the Governor', Admiral Arthur Phillip (1738-1814), with whom she was clearly acquainted. He had retired from his post, in 1793, as the First Governor of Australia, in his mid-fifties for health reasons and had settled in Bath, marrying there again as a widower, at the Abbey in May 1794 a Miss Whitehead, of Preston.<sup>44</sup>

Sir Frederick R.Chapman (born 1849), the compiler of the holograph memorandum, was a grandson of Mrs.Christina Chapman's stepson (her husband's son, Henry, by his first wife, Rebecca Winter, who had died at the age of twenty-two). Thus Mrs. Christina Chapman's daughters, Christina Fanny (1775-1871) and Emma (1778-1867), both of whom remained unmarried and lived to great ages, were Sir Frederick's great-aunts, being half-sisters of his grandfather. In the memorandum, Sir Frederick Chapman states that

he 'knew both of the great-aunts [Christina Fanny and Emma], and often visited them at Bath'. Their brother was William Neate Chapman (1774-1843).

It appears from the memorandum that the Chapman family were 'evidently connected by ties of friendship and relationship with several naval families, including those of Phillip and King'. William Neate Chapman had entered the navy at the age of twelve or thirteen. Captain Phillip (as he had then been) had offered William Neate Chapman (aged thirteen) a position in the First Fleet, going to Botany Bay, in 1787, but the boy's mother had refused to let him go (to the great disappointment of her husband, then in New York on business), because her son was too small in stature. However, later, Captain King, when he became Governor of Norfolk Island, took William with him and when King was promoted to the Governorship of New South Wales in 1800, William was gazetted as Governor's secretary. Unfortunately these Australian documents give no more detail than this, regarding the degree of actual kinship, if any, between this Chapman family and Arthur Phillip.

A comparison of the dates of Fanny and Emma Chapman with those of Admiral Phillip shows that he was by more than thirty years their senior, so that he could not possibly have visited them when he was a boy, and they are most unlikely to have been his aunts. Perhaps the writer of the pamphlet quoted had misread the memorandum and confused Sir Frederick Chapman (who had visited his great-aunts in Bath) and Admiral Arthur Phillip (who clearly could not have done)?

On 1 January 1794, Mrs.Chapman's diary shows that she had 'brought the Governor [Admiral Phillip] home to dinner', and on the 5 January, 'the Governor din'd with us'. On 3 February, she called on 'the Governor' twice at his London address, but did not find him in; on 4 February, she 'found him at breakfast, and spoke on her business'. On 7 February, she 'wrote a letter before dinner' (apparently to 'the Governor', concerning her son). Four days later, she writes that she 'received a letter at night from the Governor that distressed and disappointed me heavily', but without further explanation, and there are no other references to 'the Governor'.

Admiral Phillip's father, Jacob, had been a ship's steward who moved from Frankfurt to London where he became a teacher of languages. Jacob had married in 1736 Elizabeth née Breach, the widow of a Captain Herbert, R.N., who had died in Jamaica. Admiral Arthur Phillip, one of their two children, was born in 1738 at Bread Street in the parish of All Hallows, London. He was at sea by the age of nine, and in 1751 was admitted to the School of the Royal Naval Hospital, Greenwich, for the sons of poor seamen. Being related to the Everitts by marriage, he became a midshipman in 1757, under West and Everitt, in the *Neptune*.<sup>46</sup>

After his retirement, Admiral Phillip settled at No.19 Bennett Street, Bath, from 1805 until his death in 1814. It has been suggested above that Francis Greenway was probably in some way related to the well-known 18th century Greenway family of masons of Bath, and may well have had access to influential contacts in the city, perhaps including Admiral Phillip. Being aware of Greenway's skill both as an architect and an artist, Phillip may have wished to aid him in his plight, in the hope that Greenway's talent would not be entirely wasted, especially as the man was being exiled to the colony from which he himself had so recently returned as its first governor. However, this is pure conjecture; but as we now know, Admiral Phillip's letter proved entirely successful in this respect.

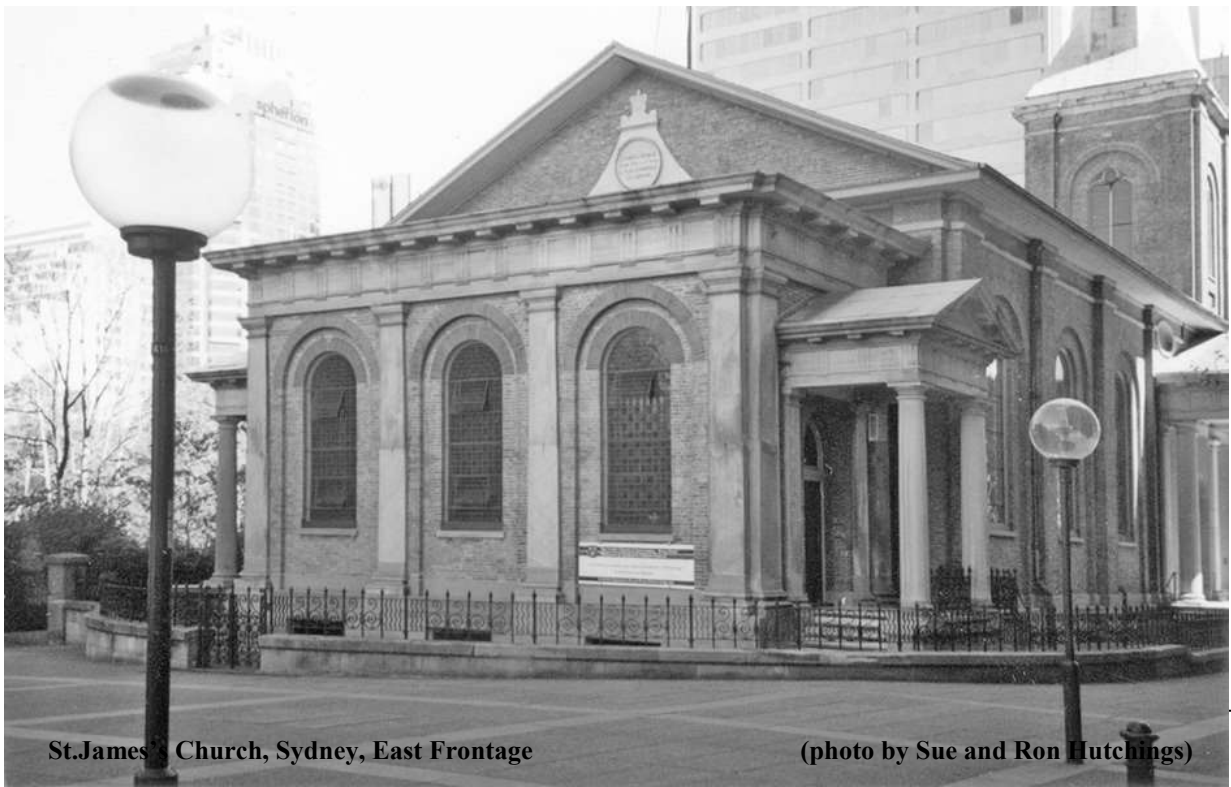
Francis Greenway was not ungrateful for Phillip's commendation, and when Macquarie required Greenway to paint a portrait of the first governor to be hung in the ballroom at Government House to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the colony, he was only too happy to oblige. The *Sydney Gazette*, in referring to a ball at Government House, on 26 January 1818, wrote, 'We were particularly gratified with a likeness of Governor Phillip executed by Mr.Greenway, who felt much pleasure in this opportunity of celebrating the memory of the Vice-Admiral who had ever been his friend and patron'.<sup>47</sup> That statement suggests a long-term relationship between Phillip and Greenway before



Australia, as the former had long since left the colony.

**St.James's Church, Sydney, North Porch**

**(photo by Sue and Ron Hutchings)**



**St.James's Church, Sydney, East Frontage**

**(photo by Sue and Ron Hutchings)**

In his capacity as government architect, during a period of only just over five years, Greenway designed a remarkable number of the public buildings in Sydney, including St.James's Church, which had been selected by Cruickshank as his 'treasure' there, and which Morton Herman, a modern Australian architect, regarded as 'a very fine building by any standards',<sup>48</sup> although he reserved his greatest praise for Greenway's St.Matthew's Church, Windsor, NSW. He described it as 'a superb piece of work ... one of Greenway's best, if not his masterpiece'.<sup>49</sup> It is sited on a knoll overlooking the broad, rich plains of the Hawkesbury Valley, and its 'fine sturdy proportions, the delightful mellow rosiness of the brickwork, and the soft texture of the wood shingle roof make a picture of architecture that is scarcely equalled in Australia'.<sup>50</sup> In Herman's foreword for Ellis's biography of *Francis Greenway: his life and times*,<sup>51</sup> he states that St.Matthew's Church is 'the one remaining Greenway building that proudly ornaments its equally unspoilt site in the way the architect intended'. 'Greenway's other really important design is the Hyde Park Barracks, the brave but mutilated remains of which now serve as the District Law-courts, at the head of King Street, Sydney'.<sup>52</sup> Only eleven of Greenway's many buildings in Australia remain today, and all have been altered in some way.

Greenway's first project had been the building of Australia's first lighthouse on the South Head of Port Jackson, but it had not been achieved without many difficulties. He complained about the unsuitability of the local sandstone, and had had to contend also with the lack of skill and the attitudes of the convicts whom he had to employ. The result was that it was not among Greenway's really successful buildings. It had to be strengthened later and eventually replaced, following Greenway's design, but 'on the whole, more aesthetically pleasing than its predecessor'.<sup>53</sup>

At least in building this structure Greenway achieved several positive things. He began training some of the men in good masonry skills (for which he was later praised by the commissioner Bigge sent out from England to examine the work being carried out in the colony), and adopted a method of encouraging them by the incentive of task work. If they completed a task sooner than the time he had set them, they were allowed the rest of the time allotted for the task, to carry out private work (a scheme criticised because some of the men used the time in nefarious activities). Most important of all, perhaps, was the fact that the building of the lighthouse particularly pleased Governor Macquarie, so that in 1817, when the stonework was finished, and he and Mrs. Macquarie were hosting a breakfast to say farewell to the departing Acting Engineer, he sent a letter to Greenway at the Lighthouse, granting him conditional emancipation.<sup>54</sup> The lighthouse, of course, had required different structural and architectural treatment from the type of building he was usually called upon to design. Most of his work was 'in a bold, simple, classical manner of considerable merit'.<sup>55</sup>



According to his physical description, made at the time of his transportation, Greenway was ‘5ft.6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>in high, broad, with hazel eyes and auburn hair, complexion fair and ruddy’. By nature he was already proving himself in the colony to be a bumptious little man who could easily rub his superiors up the wrong way. It was Mary Greenway, his wife, regarded as pleasant and genteel, who was often able to smooth ruffled feathers created by her husband’s manner. Herman wrote that Greenway was ‘petulant, tactless, and arrogant, characteristics which, with his resentment of opposition to his views, drove people into violent antagonism to him. Thus he finally made enemies even of those who, at the outset of his career in Australia, were his firmest supporters. But in architecture, Greenway was strong: he loved it and devoted to it his unrelenting, if sometimes erratic, genius’.<sup>56</sup>

Greenway was required to design and build a male convict barrack, which became known as the Hyde Park Barracks, begun in 1817 and completed in 1819. The *Gazette* newspaper described it (perhaps at Greenway’s instigation) as ‘a noble structure of adorned architecture ... at nearer approach conveying an idea of towering grandeur’, and stating that it had been ‘executed conformably with the most elegant proportions of the Greek School’.<sup>57</sup> It was opened on the King’s birthday, 4 June 1819, when ‘His Excellency [the Governor] found enchanting the spectacle of 589 felons doing justice to an abundance of good beef and bread, plum pudding and punch’.<sup>58</sup> He was delighted with the very satisfactory completion of this building, and ‘on the earnest entreaty of Mr.Greenway’s wife, Mary, whom he esteemed as “a pleasant, respectable woman”, he had celebrated the opening of the building by making the little architect’s conditional pardon absolute’. ‘.. It enabled the Governor to invite Mr.Greenway and his wife, “to my table, etc.” and rendered them “still more eligible to be received into genteel society”’.<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately all this tended to make Greenway all the more conceited and scornful of the work of others.

Macquarie, who had thought so highly of him and his skills, was angered when he found Greenway submitting bills for excessively large sums, and for seeking an increase in his small salary, which in any case the governor was unable to satisfy, as it would not have been allowed by the authorities in England. However, Macquarie told Greenway that he would grant him some land on his retirement from the governorship, and this he did.<sup>60</sup> Just before his retirement in 1821, Macquarie granted Greenway 800 acres at Tarro (as well as 6 cows), ‘although much of it was swamp and inferior land, on the western bank of the Hunter River between Newcastle and Raymond Terrace. Greenway gave the place the name he had assumed in his youth, ‘Howard’.<sup>61</sup>

When Macquarie left the colony early in 1822 Governor Brisbane succeeded him. Greenway’s enemies in the colony had began conspiring against him, and he made matters worse for himself by claiming not only for past expenses which could not be justified, but also for possession of the government house and property at George Street, in which he and his family had been allowed to live during his appointment as architect, and which he insisted Macquarie had promised him - even producing copy documents in support, although originals could not be found, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he had forged a signature and persuaded his son, William, to swear that it was genuine.

When Brisbane later received papers and minutes Macquarie had inadvertently taken with him, they showed that these exaggerated claims were false. Macquarie also pointed out that the latest letter he had received from Greenway was ‘insulting, disrespectful and insolent, to which must be added gross ingratitude’.<sup>62</sup>

Brisbane had also received from England the report from the government commissioner who had visited Australia during Macquarie’s governorship, to inspect the colony and the work that had been done. Although he had commended Greenway for his architecture, and for his training of men and boys in building skills, he regarded much of the building created by the architect for Macquarie as far too grandiose and costly for its purpose. He had made it clear that in future he believed that there would be no need for there to be the two posts of Government Architect and Engineer, but that all the work would be more appropriately undertaken by an Engineer alone.<sup>63</sup> It is hardly surprising, therefore, that before the end of 1822, Governor Brisbane had dismissed Greenway from his post, and having had the belated report from Macquarie, knew that the government owed Greenway nothing. Nevertheless, he allowed their former architect and his family to remain in the government-owned house in George Street for the time being.

Since her arrival in the colony Mrs. Mary Greenway had conducted a school for seven to ten young ladies, and after her husband's dismissal from his post, the family, with five children by then, depended on her income. Francis Greenway had returned to private practice but with little success, and there were constant financial problems. In 1824, the Provost Marshal gave notice in the newspaper that some of Greenway's chattels were to be sold to repay debts of ten guineas to a money lender.<sup>64</sup>

By the time of Mary Greenway's death in 1832, she and Francis had had seven children: i.e. George (the eldest, a promising lad, had become 2nd mate aboard a brig, but his parents received the sad news in 1827 that he had died at Timor, during a voyage), William who was idle and pleasure-loving (he managed Howard Farm, the 800 acre estate that Macquarie had granted Francis Greenway, its accommodation consisting of a poor wooden house with earth floor), Francis (who became articled to a trader to whom the Greenways owed money, and became employed later in the Sandwich Islands, making no further contact with his father), Charles (who became Archdeacon of Grafton), Caroline (who acted as mother to her younger siblings after their mother's death), and the two youngest, Henry and Agnes (the latter marrying a John Wallace, the couple eventually settling in England, with her sister Caroline, and brother Henry joining them later).<sup>65</sup> The children remembered their father as 'violent-tempered, dictatorial and quarrelsome'.<sup>66</sup> After Mary's death there was a final occasion when Francis had all his goods sold because of his debts. The family had to move to Howard Farm and raise chickens and vegetables, although still, for a time, he was allowed to remain in a small part of the George Street house.

Francis Greenway, Australia's first and finest Georgian architect, died a pauper in 1837, aged 59, and even in his final years was writing to the press about his views on architecture and apparently still obsessed with perceived wrongs he had suffered. He was buried at East Maitland, NSW, but even the site of his grave is now forgotten and unidentified.

The 20th century architect, Herman, explained how Greenway adapted his architectural designs to suit the very different conditions in Australia from those he had known in England, including the climate, the indifferent building materials, and the poor available craftsmanship.<sup>67</sup> 'The necessary wide eaves [of the roofs of his churches] pay an architectural compliment to the lovely Australian sunlight, with crisp shadows an intended part of the design'. '[He] put upon most of his buildings, a clear and unmistakable individual stamp' - his consciously imitative Gothic designs excepted.<sup>68</sup>

It is a tragedy that a man with such admirable gifts and skills should have brought ruin upon himself by flaws in his character of which he seemed totally unaware. Fortunately his architecture in Australia has left a far greater and more lasting legacy, and he remains the most influential of all Australia's early architects. He has been very fittingly described as 'the father of Australian architecture'.<sup>69</sup>

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