

The Survey

of Bath and District

The Journal of the Survey of Old Bath and Its Associates

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Friends of the Survey: List of Members

Editors:

Mike Chapman

51 Newton Road, Bath BA2 1RW tel: 01225 426948, email: mike@chapman76.fsnet.co.uk

Elizabeth Holland

16 Prior Park Buildings, Bath BA2 4NP tel: 01225 313581

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Front Cover Illustration: Frontage of No.21 Green Street, Bath, built by Nathaniel Fisher.

Back Cover Illustration: Two views of the reservoir wall at the southern end of the graveyard of St.Mark's Church, Widcombe, Bath, which formerly supplied Luder's house.

CITY NEWS

News from Bath Record Office 2009

Among our many users are programme-makers from television, and this year we have enjoyed the challenge of finding documents for the BBC researchers. 'Saving Britain's Past', broadcast in September, devoted its first programme to Bath's preservationists and campaigners over the past sixty years. Sadly, much of the documentary evidence we provided was cut from the final screening, as were interviews with local residents and experts which we helped to organise.

This summer's visit to the Assembly Rooms by BBC 'Antiques Roadshow' also involved Record Office staff providing historical information on the Rooms, and documents were filmed for possible screening. The family history series 'Who Do You Think You Are?' may also use evidence we provided for a mystery celebrity.

Our collections have grown this year with a fascinating variety of new additions donated, purchased, or loaned to the archive. These include business and estate papers of the Langton family of Bath and Cadiz 1750-1810; an unidentified Bath physician's commonplace and remedy book of c.1730; advertising and customer records of Payne & Sons, bootmakers of Broad Street, Bath 1880s-1920s; and many Bath views by local amateur photographer John Stamp from the 1940s to the 1970s.

Regular users of the Record Office will have noticed a cleaner, brighter Searchroom resulting from redecoration and new lighting in August. Behind-the-scenes is also much nicer to work in after a major conservation-cleaning programme this year by outside specialist contractors lasting three months. The work involved taking every item off its shelf for cleaning and inspection for evidence of mould-growth or other deterioration. Quite an achievement with over three kilometres of shelving in the archive!

We welcome to our Record Office team Philip Harper who joins us as a part-time Archive Assistant in the Searchroom.

Colin Johnston
Principal Archivist

Bath Preservation Trust

Bath Preservation Trust is celebrating its 75th anniversary. Friends member David McLaughlin has taken part in the programme of events, giving a talk on 'Saving the Stone' on 23 September. An article by him on 'Mowbray Green and the Old Bath Preservers' was published in Bath History IV, 1992. Bath Preservation Trust has provided the following report:

Bath Preservation Trust is celebrating its 75th Anniversary this year with a number of activities and events. The Trust was set up in 1934 in response to the 'Bath Bill', one of several unsuccessful and ill-fated attempts by the Corporation (or Council) to alter Bath radically in order to accommodate the motor car. The Trust in turn grew out of the activities of the Old-Bath Preservation Society, itself set up in 1909 to save the north side of Bath Street from proposed demolition; the society later merged with the Trust. The founder Chairman, Thomas Sturge Cotterell, was also Mayor of Bath and in the same year set up the Mayor's Guides, who offer free tours to this day.

Over the 75 years since its foundation, the Trust has been influential not only in preventing inappropriate developments but also facilitating and funding incremental beneficial changes such as the restoration of the Circus acorns and the Queen Square obelisk, and in recent years encouraging the replacement of plate glass windows with traditional glazing bars and playing a part in initiating the new Spa.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, the Trust was influential in raising the profile of the so-called 'Sack of Bath', commissioning Adam Fergusson's seminal book and playing a key part in establishing the principle of minimum intervention to historic properties. The subsequent 'Save and Restore Bath' Appeal raised a 'revolving Fund' which allowed the Trust to acquire and restore run-down historic buildings before selling them on with restrictive covenants. In the 1970s as well, the Trust embarked on a major new strand of work by restoring No.1 Royal Crescent, gifted to the trust by Sir Bernard Cayzer, and then opening it as a museum and the Trust's HQ. The Trust now owns and manages the Building of Bath Collection in the Huntingdon Chapel, and Beckford's Tower Trust, and is a trustee of the Herschel Museum.

In recent years the Trust has engaged with the lively debate around the City's World Heritage Status and values, has produced education materials for Schools on World Heritage and continues to press for a World Heritage Interpretation Centre. The Trust continues to scrutinise and comment on planning applications and campaign on specific policy areas. Although the Trust has a small professional staff, our work depends on the contribution of its members and volunteers both to act as museums guides and also to contribute in other ways. More are always welcome!

The Trust is celebrating its Anniversary with a number of events and activities. Just opened is an exhibition, 'Stones of Bath' at the Huntingdon Chapel looking at the history and use of the material that built Bath. This exhibition is accompanied by a number of workshops, study days and lectures.

Full details of activities, events and current issues can be found on the Trust's two websites, www.bath-preservation-trust.org.uk and www.bptlearnin.gov.uk.

Caroline Kay

The Holloway Exhibition

The Holloway exhibition at the Museum of Bath at Work was launched on 2 April, as described in the June newsletter. Margaret Burrows provided a short introduction to the history of Holloway and Ruth Haskins, former Chairman of the Friends of the Survey, contributed some memories of Holloway.

The exhibition has been well attended, especially by those connected with Holloway in one way or another. A selection of ring binders has been provided, with school and family photos, 'Down Memory Lane' pictures from the *Chronicle* and other images, including a folder of unidentified photographs produced by the Museum. Visitors have spent hours studying all these.

On 29 April Margaret Burrows hosted a reception at the exhibition, arranged by the Widcombe Association. Doreen Collyer also gave a talk on Holloway in June, and she and Margaret led walks around Holloway later, also arranged by the Association, which proved very popular.

The Widcombe and Lyncombe Local History Society included in their programme an evening at the local school building, now called the Timothy Richards Architectural Gallery, which was attended by ex-pupils such as Friends member Sheila Edwards. The Gallery also held an open day and reunion on Saturday 18 July. School photos and other illustrations were displayed, organised by Tim Richards and members of the WLLHS, while Philip Bendall recorded visitors' memories. Coffee and tea were made available under the direction of Fay Briddon.

It is hoped that the WLLHS will be able to bring out a book of memories of Holloway based on the recollections which have been gathered from time to time.

Larkhall Spa

In June the *Chronicle* reported that a sign, 'Spa Lane' had been erected in Larkhall to commemorate the local spa, known as Larkhall Spa and Bladud Spa. This was created after the discovery of a mineral spring following the sinking of a well at the local brewery in 1832. The waters eventually dried up in 1930 and the site of the spa building became a chapel. Councillors Bryan Chalker, Chairman of B&NES, and Richard Maybury have led the research on the lost spa as part of their campaign to highlight awareness of the local heritage.

Bath in Time

Friends member Daniel Brown is digitising a new discovery, a collection of photographs of Bath and surrounding villages taken from 1904-1950, with the main emphasis on 1910-1930, the work of the photographer George Love Dafnis. The *Chronicle* carried a whole page on this project on 9 July 2009, with illustrations from the collection. It can be seen on www.bathintime.co.uk/dafnis.

Historic Cities

The BBC has been running a series of campaigns to save historic cities. On Monday 24 August the first programme was broadcast on BBC2 at 7.30 pm. Mrs.Ruth Haskins, former Chairman of the Friends of the Survey, was among those who spoke on Bath's heritage. Mrs.Haskins is an experienced broadcaster and viewers appreciated her contribution.



King George V galloping across the training area around Aldershot during the military manoeuvres of 1910.

[see Notes & Queries, below]

ARCHAEOLOGY

SouthGate Redevelopment

We received the following report from the Museum of London Archaeology (MoLA, formerly MoLAS), compiled by Karen Thomas, in their Somerset Fieldwork Round-up, 2007-8:

Site Code SO-SGT06. ST 75105 64475 [Category: multi-period]

The SouthGate redevelopment site (client - Multi Development UK and Morley Fund Management; main contractor - Sir Robert MacAlpine) covers an approximate area of 35,500 square metres, lying immediately south of the City Wall and north of the River Avon. It is bounded by Southgate Street to the west, Manvers Street to the east, New Orchard Street/Henry Street to the North and Dorchester Street to the south. Parts of the site were evaluated by Bath Archaeological Trust in 1997 and the remainder by MoLAS from December 2006 to March 2007. A phased program of controlled excavation and watching brief began in June 2007 through to August 2008.

Geoarchaeological borehole investigations and trenching have focussed on understanding the sequence of Late Devensian/Late Glacial river terrace deposits on the site, and modelling the early Holocene land surface. The terrace gravels were cut by a later channel, whose bedded sand and silt fills produced preliminary Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dates of c17,000 BP* (base) and 14,000 BP (top), +/- 1,000 BP, indicating that these deposits date to the Late Devensian/Early Holocene interface. To date no Palaeolithic artefacts have been identified on the site. It is hoped to date the terrace gravels during work planned for 2008 and as work progresses, the project is expected to make a significant contribution to knowledge of the development of the Avon river system and the local Late Glacial/Early Holocene environment. [*BP = 'Before present' (i.e. before 1950)].

In the south-west of the site, the channel deposits were overlain by a soil horizon containing flint-working debris of probable Mesolithic date (principally evidence of small blade and bladelet production). The flint scatter examined in 2007 was diffuse and disturbed, as the soil horizon had remained exposed until sealed by overbank flooding from the Roman period onwards. It is thought that further, better preserved flint scatters exist in the area to be investigated in 2008, particularly towards the south-east corner of the site, where they have been previously reported by Bath Archaeological Trust (Brooks 1997). Evidence of later prehistoric activity currently consists of a single gully which produced sherds of Iron Age pottery.

There is no evidence for significant Romano-British activity on the site, a Roman predecessor of the medieval South Gate, or for any of the postulated southern roads out of the town. The site was low lying and prone to flooding and may have been suitable for little other than grazing, but the lack of any visible form of suburban activity has implications for the nature of the town and its civic/religious nucleus. Only small quantities of residual Roman pottery and building material occur in later features.

A large ditch some 10m south of and parallel with the known line of the medieval and presumably Roman town wall may represent a Roman defence cleared in the Late Saxon period, or a newly dug feature, part of Alfred's refortification of Bath. A peat layer in the primary filling of this ditch produced a 14th century date of 770-970 cal AD.

The Southgate suburb was developed after the Norman Conquest. Extensive reclamation dumps raised ground levels above the contemporary floodplain in advance of construction. A sequence of limestone cobble road surfaces was recorded along a c70m long section of Southgate Street. Localised gravel quarrying took place to provide additional raw materials. Several ditches and pit alignments indicate setting out of burgage plots running east from the street to a north-south aligned stream, which formed the rear boundary of the Southgate properties. Contemporary with the earliest road surface was the stone setting for a lead pipe which brought water from the south side of the river across the medieval bridge to a fountain or conduit house beside St James church, just inside the South Gate.



The stone channel for the medieval lead water-supply pipe is visible at the bottom of the photograph

Parts of several stone-built houses fronted onto the east side of the road. The backlands of these houses contain a range of cesspits, wells and ditches, but little in the way of refuse pits. The stream was revetted in stone and wattle and was presumably used for the disposal of most household waste. Its western edge was progressively reclaimed, with evidence that it became increasingly slow flowing and foul – known from documentary records as the ‘Bum Ditch’. Part of a masonry structure close to the northern site boundary is thought to have been part of the head race or wheel pit of the documented Isabelle mill.

Further work on the finds assemblage is needed to resolve the dating of the medieval phases. While it is possible that the development of the Southgate suburb will prove to be directly related to the Norman development of the cathedral in the south-eastern part of the walled area, initial indications suggest a slightly later date, perhaps in the later 12th or 13th century.

Post-medieval developments include: the progressive narrowing and culverting of the ‘Bum Ditch’; a 17th century watermill which probably powered a fulling operation; evidence for iron-working, as well as clay tobacco pipe and pin manufacture, and several phases of 18th- and 19th-century domestic, industrial and commercial buildings.

In January 2008 work began on the eastern side of the site, where less complex archaeology was anticipated, but where all surviving deposits were to be removed in advance of planned construction of an underground car park. Large scale geoarchaeological trenching across the area was designed to elucidate the development of this part of the Avon river system and the local Late Glacial/Early Holocene environment. Further Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) samples were obtained, which should provide dating for the terrace gravels as post-excavation assessment and analysis proceeds. The course of a later river channel (provisional dated to the Late Devensian/Early Holocene interface) was traced across the site and selectively recorded and sampled for palaeoenvironmental evidence.

In the south-east of the site, the channel deposits were overlain by soils containing flint-working debris of Mesolithic date. Although far more concentrated and apparently less disturbed than the scatter examined in 2007, there was some evidence that parts of the sequence may have been subject to episodes of fluvial erosion and deposition as well as intrusions, not always clearly recognisable in the field, from Late Saxon and medieval activity on the floodplain. Current interpretation suggests the use of the floodplain area for raw material collection and blank preparation (small blades and bladelets, cores and waste flakes, with very low numbers of tools and microliths). No hearths or structures were positively identified during the excavation, although small quantities of burnt flint and hazelnut shells were recovered. Assessment of the flint assemblage (many thousands of items) is ongoing, initially focussing on understanding the context of deposition, the chronological, spatial and stratigraphic distribution of the assemblage, and the extent to which post-depositional processes have impacted the recovered patterns in this low-lying setting.

There remains no evidence for significant later prehistoric or Romano-British activity on the site. A number of gravel quarries produced only abraded Roman brick and pottery (and one Neolithic polished axe), but these are thought to be part of a major phase of late Saxon/early medieval gravel extraction which extended over most of the remainder of the site. Confirmation of when quarrying began must await radiocarbon dating. In the south-east of the site, outside the quarried area, a small group of features – a refuse pit, a corn-drying kiln, an iron smithing hearth, several ditches and groups of post-holes may represent seasonal activity on the flood plain, or the remains of an encampment connected with the operation of the quarry itself. Later medieval activity was limited to occasional sherds of pottery in the upper backfills of the quarries and a single boundary ditch.

Later features recorded in 2008 included a very regular ditch, forming trapezoidal enclosure on the east side of the ‘Bum Ditch’, dating to the mid 17th century, interpreted as marking the position of a Civil War defensive feature or gun battery. A thin spread of charcoal and fragments of mid 17th-century clay pipe and pottery was traced across the eastern part of the site – possibly debris from a Civil War encampment.

The reclamation and development of this low-lying area consisted of two main episodes – one dating to the first half of the 18th century, the other to the mid 19th century, associated with the development of Manvers Street and the railway. Most of the 19th-century domestic and commercial buildings survived into the 20th century. Several properties showed signs of destruction during Second World War air raids, while others survived until the clearance of the area for a previous shopping centre development in the later 1960s, one cellar containing a stock of unsold Beatles posters, still in their wrappings.

Trial work on the site of the former Bath Spa Station Goods Shed uncovered evidence of Brunel’s initial construction and the lower parts of turntables, together with evidence of modifications that ensued when the GWR converted to standard gauge, and when the railway began to supply coal to the adjacent electricity generating station at the end of the 19th century.

Further fieldwork and building survey in advance of refurbishment and redevelopment at the railway station will continue, and a post-excavation assessment report on the project is due to be completed in August 2009.

Bruno Barber, Richard Bluer, Bruce Eaton, Craig Halsey, Marek Lewcun, Nikola Lyons, Daniel Waterfall (Museum of London Archaeology)

Reference.

Brooks, I.P., 1997, ‘The flint assemblage’, in R.Bell, *Southgate development. Archaeological field evaluation*, client report, Bath Archaeological Trust.

REPORTS FROM LOCAL SOCIETIES

The Survey of Old Bath

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

The material and text on Holloway collated by the Survey, with the Widcombe and Lyncombe Local History Society, were handed to Stuart Burroughs in December 2008. The exhibition has been described elsewhere, see for instance **City News**.

The Survey has been working towards finalising its research. It is hoped to draw up maps of the areas remaining, starting with the High Street. Our booklet on the Guildhall did not include a general map of the district.

The Survey has also been working on various commissions this year, one for B&NES Heritage Services on the buildings at the corner of Swallow Street and York Street, which will form the subject for the Lunchtime Lecture in October, 2009.

Friends of the Survey of Old Bath

At the Lunchtime lecture in October 2008 Peter Carey of Donald Insall Associates spoke on the firm's work on restoring the Cross Bath, with many illustrations. A full report on this talk was given by Chairman Stephen Marks in the February Newsletter.

At the AGM on 24 April 2009, David and Kay McLaughlin described their work as 'House Hunters'. Kay outlined methods used in research and David spoke about the process of obtaining planning permission, including a 'Heritage Statement'. Again a full report has been provided by Stephen Marks, included in the June newsletter.

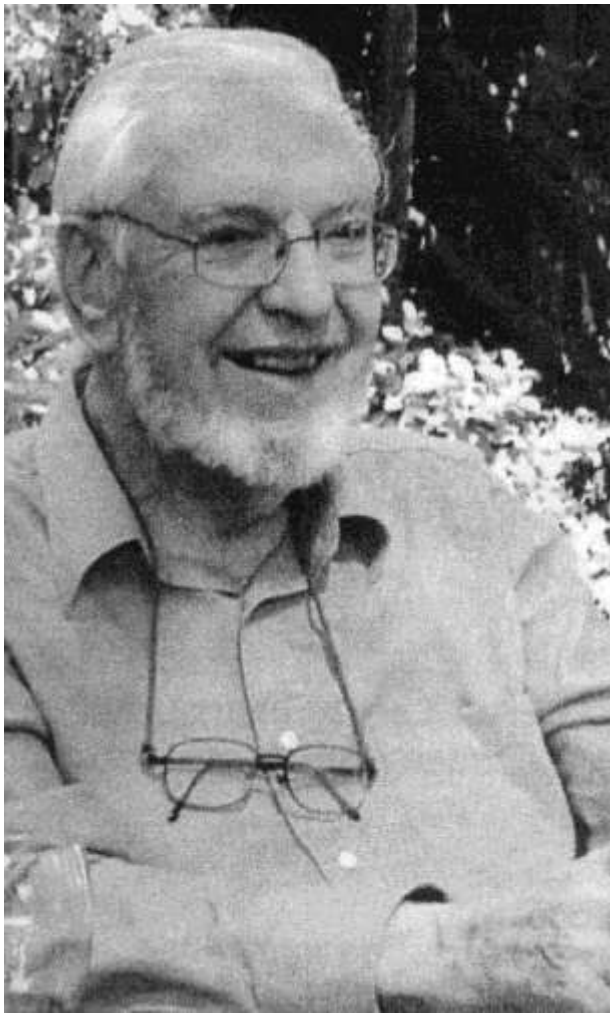
At the AGM Hazel Simons resigned from the post of catering which she has held successfully for a number of years. Mike Chapman thanked her and Gillian Cope for all they had done for the Friends, with a presentation. Stephen Marks agreed to stand as Chairman for another year. John Macdonald and Margaret Burrows joined the committee and Doreen Collyer, and Sheila Edwards, volunteered to arrange the catering in future. The elections were chaired by Colin Johnston. There is still room on the committee for a Secretary, and volunteers will be welcome. In October Mike Chapman will speak on the Old Boiler House in Swallow Street.

IN MEMORIAM

DONALD LOVELL
21 May 1923 - 26 June 2009

A feature item which appeared in the *Bath Chronicle* on 2 July described Don Lovell as a stalwart of the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution; he was certainly that and much more besides.

Don's working career was as a materials scientist and after retirement he and Ursula moved to Bath and made their home in Calton Gardens. Almost immediately he began to take an interest in what was going on and in 1989 he was one of the founder members of the Widcombe and Lyncombe Local History Society and wrote up its Proceedings for ten years.



By 1993 he was on the small committee working to re-establish the Institution in Queen Square and once it was launched he took a prominent role in its organisation - as editor of the annual publication, producing the Proceedings for many of its sub-groups and co-ordinating the lecture series.

Meanwhile as a member of Widcombe Association he was elected Chairman in 1999 campaigning vigorously and tirelessly on traffic and environmental matters, particularly for the status of Claverton Street for local traffic only - a vision yet to be achieved. He also wrote many letters to the Editor of the *Chronicle*, and met politicians and officials in his role with the Federation of Bath Residents' Associations.

Through his keen interest in local history Don was a member for many years of the Friends of the Survey of Old Bath and regularly attended the meetings.

Amazingly there was still time for books in Don's busy life and he died whilst reading one, but he had anticipated the event and made preparations. He left his body to medical science so there was no funeral. Instead his family arranged a very fitting Celebration of his life at the BRLSI when many tributes were paid to him by those who knew him and had benefited from his commitment, steady hand, good sense and quiet way of getting on with things.

Just a few days before he died he was present at a talk I gave on Holloway, during the course of which I thanked him for his research which I was using - in retrospect a very small but timely tribute and one which I am very glad I made. To know Donald Lovell was to respect and like him.

Doreen Collyer

The Bathwick Local History Society

We continue to be well supported by members and friends and meetings have been very well attended.

At our AGM in February it was decided to restart the project of recording monumental inscriptions in the Smallcombe graveyards, a mammoth task started in 2005 by David Mitchell. Sadly David died in 2008 and the work was put on hold. Alan Davis has now agreed to take over as co-ordinator and it is hoped to begin recording again soon, as many of the inscriptions are deteriorating. If anyone is interested in helping to record, Alan would be pleased to hear from you on 01225 310660.

In June members made a visit to Bath & Camerton Archaeological Society's project at Upper Row Farm, Hemington. There are lots of things to see at this historic place. Near the 14th century farmhouse, in Home field, there is an interesting medieval site and a short distance away in Blacklands field, much evidence of Roman, Iron Age and Bronze Age activity has been found. Here we were invited to try our hand at geophysics though no new discoveries were unearthed.

We were shown bones and other artefacts found in the area, and by special arrangement we were privileged to view 'Bathwick Man', an incomplete skeleton believed to be that of a Roman male aged about 60 years found in Bathwick in 2006, which our hosts are presently holding in their collection.

Bath & Camerton Society is also carrying out investigations at other Roman sites in the vicinity of Hemington as part of the historical landscape and a small museum of various items found has been set up in one of the farm's outbuildings. The whole experience was most interesting and enjoyable and ended with a tour and dinner at the historic George Inn, Norton St.Philip - the archaeologists' local hostelry!

Our autumn programme begins on Monday 14 September at St.Mary's Church Hall, bottom of Bathwick Hill, with a talk by Kay Ross, Building Historian, entitled 'The Bath Guildhall and its Markets'. On Monday 12 October Dr.John Wroughton will speak on the Battle of Lansdown, and on 9 November Tony Walter will give a talk on 'Burial: the Wider View'.

Sheila Edwards, July 2009

Enquiries: 01225 463902

The Combe Down Heritage Society

As in previous years, much of the Society's work has centred around the heritage of our stone quarrying industry. Infilling of the underground quarries is in its final stages and at the end of 2009 the 25 hectares of mine will have been filled with over 400,000 cubic metres of foamed concrete. Archaeologists have recorded details of the mines and have a valuable archive of quarrying practices over the centuries. Finds provide interesting insights into the miners' lives, including clay candleholders, stone lunch-boxes (intended to keep the miners' food safe from vermin) and the ubiquitous clay pipes. The remains of their tools include broken saws, chips, chisels and axes and, far more rarely, the often badly decayed remains of wooden artefacts such as wheelbarrows, all of which have been carefully preserved. Some of the most impressive finds are a large number of pieces of graffiti scribed into the mine walls and pillars.

We are closely involved in all aspects of the management of the mining heritage for the future and a new housing development will contain an interpretation centre that will tell the story of the project, the mining history, the local ecology and the importance to the history of Bath.

Other research continues and this year we are publishing on our website a description of *William Smith's Venture into Stone Manufacture*. This is an aspect of his work which has not been previously reported in detail, and Professor Irving, our President, has worked intensively on Smith's diaries which are not easy to read. As part of this research, we carried out a small excavation in front of his Combe Down quarry and further investigated the route of the railway down to Tucking Mill.



Archaeological research at William Smith's quarry

Recording the history of our shops (as many as 50 have been identified) has now been completed and published within the Society. It is at the heart of Combe Down's heritage and has involved the recording of much oral history as well as written sources. Research was also pursued in the Greendown area in which the history of three terraces of miners' cottages was investigated and shown as a one-day outdoor exhibition. The quarrymasters who extracted stone and the later residents of the cottages were laid out to show the social history by the changes of work, for instance, from quarryman to gardener and from washerwoman to dressmaker. Other historical research is ongoing and we have several hundred images going back into the 19th century.

The Committee, which meets monthly, with the involvement of a number of members, continues to organise monthly talks. A high point of the summer was an excursion to Gants Mill in Somerset to enjoy impressive industrial archaeology, the water mill now updated to generate electricity, beautifully laid out gardens, and delicious homemade cakes and tea. Our Guided Walks of the village are for visiting specialist groups and as part of the 'Bath Open Week' programme. We continue to publish a quarterly Newsletter to members.

The 'Friends of Bath Jewish Burial Ground' held another 'Open Day' on the cemetery, again well attended, with an historical display which included a 'Tombstone Trail'. Ownership of the site is being finalised and our plans for restoration are going ahead. This was Bath's only Jewish cemetery and it will be a major project.

We acknowledge support from the Bath and North East Somerset Council, the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Stone Mines Community Association.

Malcolm Aylett



Miners' cottages at Greendown

The History of Bath Research Group

HBRG has had another successful year of lectures and outings. After last year's AGM there was, in June, the walk on Bathampton Down led by the archaeologist Robert Whitaker. This was an outstanding experience with members given immensely informed explanations of all manner of lumps and bumps in the landscape. From Iron Age through Roman to medieval and Georgian we had the whole contribution of the Down to Bath history laid out before us.

The new season of lectures started with the remarkable presentation by Tim Kent on Bath and West Country silversmiths. Mr. Kent is the foremost authority on 17th and 18th century silversmiths in the South West and he placed Bath and its silversmiths perfectly in context for those times. His lovely display of examples of 17th century silverwares was an unusual treat as we were encouraged to handle the pieces. All present were taken aback by the only known spoon with a hallmark or, more correctly, maker's mark depicting the west front of Bath Abbey.

The visit to Bayntun's bindery was an eye opener for many. Edward Bayntun-Coward most generously arranged for all the craftsmen to be present demonstrating their immense skills in sewing, leather embossing and gilding and few members had any idea that work of such quality was still going on in Bath. The Jefferys' letters were the subject of Colin Johnston's presentation and his description of the content and analysis of the significance and relevance of the letters attracted a particularly good attendance and much praise. Stephen Clews' talk on Bath banking, with many allusions to the dire current circumstances, produced more downright amusement and laughter than is generated by most of our speakers and subjects. Mike Chapman presented a fully illustrated exposition on mapping as a research tool and members were reminded not only of his own considerable contribution to Bath research but of that of other members of the group over the years. Daniel Brown revealed the extent of the Bath in Time website in his wonderfully illustrated talk after the AGM and members who had not visited the site will doubtlessly use it in future to go by the expressions of delight and amazement.

Chris Noble produced a fine newsletter and deserves our thanks for his efforts. He now hands over to Nigel Pollard who will be our editor. Attendances at meetings have held up but we would always welcome more, guests and some new members. The programme will end with walks in Bathampton and Bathwick.

Last year the development of the website attracted our attention and still needs more work. This year, however, the committee has been discussing the proposal that we digitise our exceptional collection of Bath Post Office Directories. David Crellin's expertise has led to our passing the first hurdle for a Lottery grant to support this work. We are now developing the proposal and we are planning to draw on some of the splendid expertise among our members.

Bath History XI has been published and both praised and criticised as being a little extravagant in its production, but hopefully all interested parties will continue to push the sales. Only by making it pay its way will there be another volume. The Bath Preservation Trust and the editorial board journey hopefully and the planning for another volume is under way. Vol.XI is available from No.1 Royal Crescent, smaller local bookshops and is on Amazon.

Michael Rowe

East Twerton and Oldfield Park History Society

The Society was founded in 1994, meeting monthly, September to May inclusive, at Oldfield Park Baptist Church Hall for talks from invited speakers. Our interests are in the City of Bath and the surrounding area, as illustrated by our recent meetings – 'Horatio Nelson's Bath Connections'; 'Combe Down Stone Mines'; 'Oldfield Park'; 'Coal from Camerton'; 'The Mayoralty of Bath'; 'The Fountains of Bath'; 'Living and Farming in Perrymead'.

Future meetings, commencing at 7.30p.m., include - 'The Cleveland Baths' by Ann Dunlop on 15 October, and 'The Bathwick Estate' by Dr.M.Rowe on 12 November.

The majority of our members live in the East Twerton and Oldfield Park area, but we have several from other parts of the City and beyond. Visitors are very welcome. Admission for non-members is £1.50. For further details contact the Chairman, Jill Stevens, telephone 01225 313271.

Jill Stevens

The South Stoke Local History Group

In 2008-2009 the Group hosted two well-attended lectures in the South Stoke Parish Hall:

10 October 2008, Professor Ronald Hutton, 'The Battle for Merry England'.

27 March 2009, Professor Robert Parfitt, 'Vicars, Vagabonds & Vermin - *Parish life as reflected in the South Stoke Churchwardens' Accounts.*'

The analysis of our transcribed Churchwardens' Accounts is an ongoing activity and will be for some years to come. In addition the Bishop's Transcripts of the South Stoke Parish registers prior to 1704 have been transcribed in draft and, stray register entries within the Churchwardens' Accounts will be incorporated into a final registers publication.

Investigations are underway to identify and record formally a putative Iron Age fort within the parish. A sub-committee has been established to supervise the mounting of an exhibition in the Parish Hall celebrating, in 2010, the 800th anniversary of the appointment of John de Tusssubri as the first recorded vicar of South Stoke.

Robert T.Parfitt

South Stoke, 12 June 2009

The Widcombe and Lyncombe Local History Society (formerly the Widcombe and Lyncombe History Study Group)

We are sad to note the recent death of Don Lovell who was a founder member of our group 20 years ago and who contributed research to our archive and wrote up our Proceedings from 1993 until 2002. He will be missed.

The first meeting of the group under its new name was at the Museum of Bath at Work when the Holloway Exhibition was officially launched on 2 April. Under the direction of Elizabeth Holland who led the research with help from group members and others, this exhibition proved to be a success with visitors to the Museum and prompted a lot of valuable recollections and information from former residents. Many thanks to Stuart Burroughs for mounting and overseeing the project.

Widcombe Baptist Church was the venue on 21 May when Philip Bendall gave an interesting talk on the cemeteries of the area - particularly the Abbey Cemetery and St.Mark's grave-yard which, with over 6,000 burials was closed within 40 years of opening in 1825. This is an on-going and detailed research project and some of Philip's work is already accessible at Bath Record Office and Bath Library.

The 25 June meeting saw Philip again in charge of the graphics when Ainley Wade presented the story of the search for the last Poor House which served the parish of Lyncombe and Widcombe. Alistair Durie researched the material which also included the interesting Lüders family who owned a mansion and grounds on Claverton Street. The text of the talk can be found elsewhere in this issue of the *Survey*.

In July the members were joined by 50 or more former pupils of the old St.Mark's School (also known as Lyncombe Council School) in Alton Place for a re-union and reminiscent wander around the building which now houses Tim Richards' architectural model business. Margaret Burrows gave a short history of the school and an exhibition of pictures produced lots of memories. Many items such as photos and school reports were brought along by the visitors and Philip Bendall was on hand with his computer to record names, notes and pictures for the archive. Thanks to Tim Richards, there was another successful re-union a few days later for more former pupils who couldn't attend the evening meeting.

By the time this magazine is distributed, our Society will have revisited the desperate time leading up to Sunday 3 September 1939 – 'The Day the War Broke Out' – when we hope people will contribute memories and information about the preparations and atmosphere of those days, in this, the 70th anniversary year of the Second World War.

Looking ahead from there, our October meeting at the Baptist Church on Thursday 15 October will be a talk by Stuart Burroughs, 'Danger, Men at Work' about the final stages of the construction of the Kennet and Avon Canal which meets the River Avon here in Widcombe and which celebrates its bi-Centenary next year. On Sunday 15 November we look forward to another enjoyable Tunnels Tour beneath the Roman Baths complex and we finish the year with our traditional Members' Evening and mince pies on Thursday 3 December 7.30 p.m., at Widcombe Baptist Church, when we'll be celebrating our own 20th Anniversary.

We welcome to our meetings anyone who is interested in the Widcombe and Lyncombe area and its fascinating past.

Doreen Collyer

fffff

PUBLICATIONS

On 30 July, 2009, the *Chronicle* carried a report on p.60 on a new book on Marshall Wade, by Denise Chantrey (*George Wade, 1673-1748*, Arthur H.Stockwell Ltd., £13.99). We have not hastened to read it, as according to this article it repeats the old material from Peach and Co. about 'Marshall Wade's House' in the Abbey Churchyard, and we do like new publications to be based on the latest research.

Marshall Wade's House is mentioned in the *Survey* No.22, p.15. This points out that neither we ourselves nor anyone else have been able to find any connection between Marshall Wade and the house named for him, while the leaseholders of the property are known, some of whom definitely lived there.

Any author who has not heard of the *Survey of Old Bath* is not keeping up with Bath history, since it is named in a number of publications, and Dr.John Wroughton included a list of its own publications in the interview in *Bath History* XI, 2009. A letter to the *Survey* about the so-called 'Marshall Wade's House' would have received a reply.

Corrections

It is a pity that when she is proof-reading our journal, Elizabeth always edits her own articles worse than anyone else's. J.C.F.Holland was born in 1897 and therefore joined up at 17 in 1915, being 18 that November (see the *Survey* No.23, p.45). On p.46, the photograph top right was taken in 1915, being clearly so labelled. It is supposed to have been an 18th birthday portrait.

J.C.F.H. certainly spoke as if he had been in the trenches in France. However the CV is cryptic. It has him on leave in 1915, but does not seem to record from what he is on leave. Meanwhile studying this extremely obscure photograph of the military document again, Elizabeth concludes that he actually left for the Middle East in *March* 1916. How hard it is to be absolutely accurate. However if our readers could see the document, they would understand the problem.

Other researchers have often not tried. Some have said, happily, that J.C.F.H. joined up and served with Lawrence of Arabia. Elizabeth can assure them that this is absolutely not so. On p.50 of the *Survey* No.23, line 6, 'Ashley' should read 'Astley'. As so often, we have no idea how this happened.

Speaking of the article on the SOE to which this page of our journal refers, quite independently an ex-member of the SOE approached the Holland family seeking a particular photograph of J.C.F.H to hang in the Special Forces Club in London. This club is open to ex-members of SOE, to the SAS, the Commandos and so on.

Elizabeth was able to supply the photograph, and sent it and the *Survey* No.23 to the Special Forces Club and to the original enquirer. She had also sent the *Survey* to the Royal Engineers Museum in Chatham.



**King George V,
while still Duke of
York, in the first
Rolls Royce.**

NOTES AND QUERIES

Investment Properties

Before proceeding to transport (planes, cars, etc.), the main theme of this section this year, we would remark that Bath estate agents keep looking on the bright side, and suggesting that sales are keeping up. We ourselves know of a terraced house which sold the other day for nearly £800,000, to purchasers who had just sold a larger property for around 1 million.

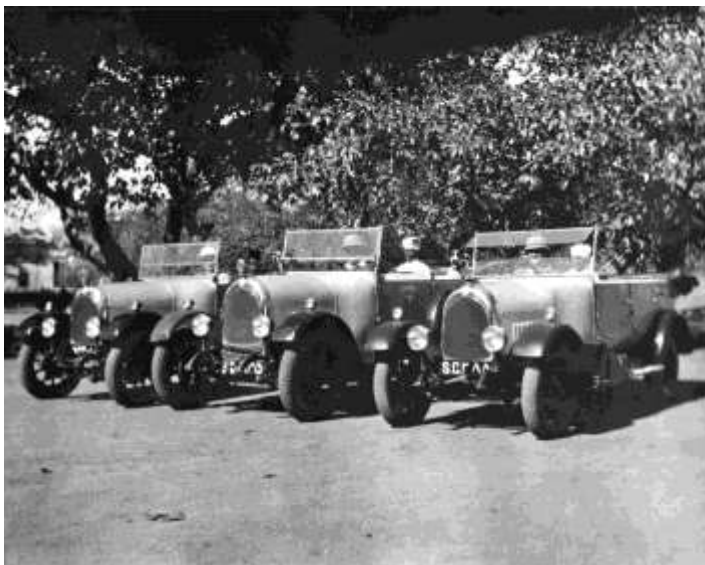
This kind of property dealing, with assured returns, is known as 'Prime'. A contact of ours who works for a large estate agency in London reports that London has a category known as 'Super-Prime', where flats cost £24-30 million. This category is thriving, selling to City traders, bankers, various criminal types, and football stars. With a percentage commission, agents make more money selling a few of these properties than in selling large numbers of the others. Such spending is known as 'Lifestyle'. It used to be called 'Conspicuous Consumption'.

Speaking of the lure of riches, Sir Richard Branson remarked that one can only eat one dinner, and sleep in one bed. But how sweet the sleep, when one knows that the bed is in a flat which cost £30 million.

The Motoring World

Bill Chislett's article on the Williamsons reminds us that motoring was the topic of the day in the early 20th century, being the cutting edge of technology of the time. Our readers have probably all read *The Wind in the Willows*, published 1908, where Toad progresses through various forms of transport, boating, caravanning, motoring and train travel. They may not all be familiar with Michael Arlen's marvellous *The Green Hat*, published 1924, which speaks in praise of quality cars. (Both these works have occult undertones which Elizabeth hopes to write about somewhere else).

When the Holland family lived in Quetta 1931-1932, they would drive farther into the hills for holidays. The terrain was as depicted in TV shots of the Afghan war, a steep hillside on one side, a track covered with stones, and a sheer drop on the other side, with no railing to prevent traffic from shooting over. For a puncture, which fortunately did not occur, the car would have been jacked up and the tyre exchanged for the spare carried at the back. From time to time the vehicle's bonnet would begin to steam and it was time to fill a white enamel jug from a canister of water carried especially for the purpose, unscrew the radiator cap and refill the tank. Meanwhile Charles would open his scout knife to scrape out the insects stuck in the grill at the front of the bonnet.



Left: Secunderabad, May 1927. Bertha, Belinda and Bella. The Hollands' uncle, Tim Shea, in the driving seat of Belinda.

Below: Quetta – J.C.F and Charles Holland cleaning the family car. The bonnet cover has



The family car of Farnborough days was a Morris Minor. It conveyed people from place to place, which was all that was required.

Farnborough Memories

The mention of Farnborough in the last issue of the *Survey* has revealed the fact that several readers have memories of Farnborough, some of which are included in this issue, as a 'survey' of recollections. Farnborough aerodrome now possesses a massive steel fence shutting the public out of the sacred enclosure of the Aircraft Establishment. Elizabeth was amazed by this fence when she revisited Farnborough, hoping to revive old memories. Again, near Larkhill there stood a fence surrounding a huddled establishment. When the Holland family lived on the Plain, from early 1933, except for a few houses the Plain stretched away on all sides, covered with wild flowers and groups of sheep, with larks singing overhead.

Farnborough in Hampshire was really a suburb of Aldershot, which lay to the south of it. Aldershot Camp, then spelt 'Aldershott', is reported to have been founded in May 1855, 'about 35 miles from London, on the confines of Hampshire and Surrey'. An old account of Aldershot states that it was intended as a training school for officers of the higher grades, and especially so as to give generals opportunities of manoeuvring large bodies of the three arms, by which was meant cavalry, artillery and infantry. An old history textbook remarks of the battle of Balaclava during the Crimean War (1854-1856) that the incompetence of the generals was redeemed by the valour of the soldiers, and it seems that some practice for generals was thought to be necessary.

A large tract of wasteland, the report on Aldershot continues, consisting of open heath country sparsely dotted by fir woods was acquired for the camp. The nearest town was then Farnham, but 'within a few years a town of Aldershott sprang up' close to the camp. Farnborough seems to have followed later. The atmosphere of the whole area was military, but as Elizabeth remarked in the interview in *Bath History*, this was something to which the Holland family were perfectly accustomed.

Elizabeth provides the following memories of Farnborough:

Our house was on the south side of Farnborough, very near the main road shown on the map dividing Farnborough and Aldershot. One turned left, i.e. to the east, into this road, and then took a sharp turn right into the slanting road running through the northern Aldershot barracks. The buildings called the Marlborough Lines on the map, rows of dark huts, were named for Marlborough's famous battles, BROM, Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Beyond them lay the parade ground and the garrison church. There was also a swimming bath, where Charles and I took lessons from an army instructor. Charles was athletic and Father booked the lessons to encourage him.

To reach the aerodrome we proceeded northwards from our house, passing one turning on the left and taking the second one, which led past the block which housed the Recreation Ground, where the local PNEU school played rounders. One crossed the main road, where a car would occasionally drive past, and where one could sometimes buy ice cream from the 'Stop-Me-and-Buy-One' tricycle. The aerodrome lay the other side of the road; on the map there is simply a notice saying 'Farnborough Common'.

The aerodrome was simply an unfenced field, in fact a typical common, with the Establishment buildings on the north side of it. We called them the hangars. A device known as the 'Sock', officially known as a wind-sock, a large textile tube on a pylon, indicated to pilots which way the wind was blowing. From what we called 'the wind tunnel' in the Establishment came a constant droning as planes were tested. We could hear it at home but did not find it disturbing. It mingled with the sound of bugles, to which we were accustomed, indeed we possessed a manual of bugle calls.

The map shows the path crossing the aerodrome, along which people walked or cycled as they pleased. It was a favourite outing for mothers or nannies pushing prams. South of the path rose a little eminence called Cove Hill, covered with gorse bushes. Charles and I would sit there with our cycles

watching the planes. The smell of gorse or the sound of vintage planes brings the scenes back. Charles would point out the different types of plane. High-winged biplanes were becoming old-fashioned. There were high-winged monoplanes, and low-winged monoplanes, presumably including the Spitfires. At home, Charles built model planes from kits consisting of balsa wood, reinforced tissue paper, and glue smelling of pear drops. One tightened up a rubber band attached to the propeller and as it unwound the model flew - for a distance.



Extract from an OS map of Farnborough and Aldershot (just off the map to the south-east) in the 1950s, showing the various landscape features and barracks surrounding the RAE on Farnborough Common.

We had many other home employments, and were equipped with everything appropriate for children of the Army (always at that time spelt with a capital A). We studied Morse and semaphore and practised throwing knives at targets. I thought nothing of being asked to re-fight the First War with Charles's model army, with artillery which really fired. When the lead soldiers broke, we melted them down on

top of the Valor stove and recast them in sand moulds. Health and Safety had not been invented then. We also made toffee on the stove, or admired Charles's train, run on methylated spirits, which used to collapse on its side in clouds of flames and steam.



Charles and Elizabeth at Farnborough, 1936.

Back at the aerodrome, the path led to a rough area of heath, as already mentioned in the old description of Aldershot. On our right we passed a small lake called the Reservoir, where the troops swam and sunned themselves. Tanks patrolled this patch of land; according to Bill Chislett's letter they would have belonged to the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Tank Corps. One had to look sharp when they approached, even to leap the ditch, as tanks steered by the erratic process of stopping one track. Beyond the heath one reached a sandy valley, which we did not penetrate.

Charles and I sometimes went on long bicycle rides. I remember passing Laffan's Plain, to the south, as in the RE song, 'We're marching over Laffan's Plain'. I remember clumps of pines there rather than the firs of the old report. Sometimes the ride proved too lengthy, and Charles would tow me home.

Troops often marched past our house towards Aldershot. The nurse would mount my brother Christopher on the gate to wave to them. The pretty nurse with her curly hair, and the little boy with his golden curls, were presumably a cheering sight. 'Hullo Baby, how's Nanny?' was a recognised greeting of the time.



**(left)
A welcome sight.
Christopher at
Farnborough, 1936.**



**(right)
Christopher and the
Morris Minor,
Farnborough, 1936.**

A friend of mine whose family owned a stately home remarked to me once, 'People come and people go, but the house goes on for ever'. Time passed, and Bill Chislett arrived at Aldershot and Farnborough. Leslie Holt came, and then Mike Chapman, and probably many other people now in Bath.

[A hamlet of *Alreshete* is mentioned in the 13th century. The 'shott' name according to Eckwall is derived from OE *sceat*, meaning a patch, corner, or strip, in the sense of a piece of cloth (the same as our word 'sheet'). On arable land it was sometimes an alternative name for a common field strip or furlong, but is more generally found on heath land where it meant a small wooded area or copse, hence Alder (Aldershott), Yew (Ewshott) or Bramble (Bramshott), or connected with some animal, perhaps Badger (Bagshott). Most of these are found in Hampshire, but a few examples (as field names) can even be found in our own region for odd pieces of spare ground.]

CORRESPONDENCE

Letters Page Editor: Leslie Holt

July 2009

Dear Leslie

In the last issue of our magazine Elizabeth alluded to Farnborough Aircraft Establishment. This brought back memories of my time in the Army billeted at Elles Barracks that bordered on the perimeter of the RAE.

In 1958 I was called up to complete my 2 years of National Service and was posted to the Royal Signals at Catterick Camp, Yorkshire. This was not my choice but the Army works in mysterious ways. Having passed my medical in Plymouth the recruiting sergeant asked me what regiment I would like to serve in (at that time national servicemen were not being taken by the RAF or Royal Navy, the Army the only option). He unrolled a large scroll with all the British Army Corps and Regiments on it. Pick any three in order of preference he said. I selected the Devonshire Regiment based at Exeter, the Duke of Cornwall Light Infantry based at Bodmin and the Royal Engineers. Being a shipwright I was aware that there were shipwrights in the REs. Have you had any relations in the Army he enquired? Yes, I said, my uncle Ken was in the Royal Signals. Well you can guess what happened, Catterick Camp couldn't be any further away from Plymouth.

After 4 months training at Catterick I joined 216 Signal Squadron that was stationed at Barossa Barracks, Aldershot with two pals. The Squadron remained there until early 1960 when it relocated to Elles Barracks, Farnborough as the barracks was to be demolished and rebuilt as part of a military modernisation program and is now known as the Montgomery Lines.

Elles Barracks was a hutted camp divided in two by a road (Meudon Avenue I think); the parade ground and cookhouse were on the opposite side of the road from the huts. Originally called Pinehurst Barracks constructed in 1921 and rebuilt between 1929 and 1934, it was occupied by the 2nd battalion the Royal Tank Corps from 1921 to 1939. In 1934 it was renamed Elles Barracks after General Sir Hugh Elles, Commander of the RTC during the Great War. The camp also accommodated the Mechanical Warfare Experimental Establishment and the 4th Battalion RTC between 1937 and 39. The Royal Army Service Corps (RASC) occupied the barracks after the 2nd World War and 69 Coy RASC were still there in the 1960s. The camp was demolished in the 1970s.

The RAE was the bane of our lives; we were adamant the Establishment deliberately ran jet engine trials at night to deprive us of sleep. I can still picture now the steel fence that ringed the Establishment. All I can recall of Farnborough now other than manoeuvres, parading every morning and sport, are the pub the Tumbledown Dick, the Rex cinema and the café at the start of Meudon Avenue that was alongside our guard and orderly-room. The Royal Aircraft Establishment was originally opened as HM Balloon Factory in 1908, renamed the Royal Aircraft factory in 1911 and again renamed the Royal Aircraft Establishment in 1918. During the Second World War the Marine aircraft experimental establishment was incorporated into the RAE. Since then there have been many name changes and in 1991 it merged with the Defence Research Agency and later the Defence Evaluation and Research Agency, and in 2001 was part privatised.

In summary the Army may have got it right after all and I did get my third choice. The Royal Corps of Signals was formed from the Royal Engineers Signal Service in 1920 and given immediate precedence after the REs.

Regards,

Bill Chislett

July 2009

Dear Elizabeth

I have two vague memories of RAE Farnborough. During the 1950s, we went there several times to see the large-scale international flying exhibitions and static displays. Fortunately for us we did not go there the year of the spectacular plane crash, when the pilot and several spectators were killed.

During the mid-1960s whilst working with the Ministry of Works at nearby Aldershot, my team provided various operational services for the RAE Farnborough, which was then I believe part of the Ministry of Aviation. We also serviced the Army at Aldershot, and the RAF Station at nearby Odiham.

Regards,

Leslie Holt

August 2009

Dear Leslie

I am sure Elizabeth's early memories of Farnborough and Aldershot would be of interest to many who served in the army at some time, as most soldiers received their initial training there. I too was trained at Southwood camp on the north side of the Royal Aircraft Establishment when I joined the Royal Engineers in the early 1960s, and spent another year there training others. Besides the airfield (still regarded by the REs as 'their' territory, having once been the RE balloon depôt), the RE training area was still extensive, reaching Pyestock on the west and Hawley on the north where the RE Paratroop squadron was based. Although the public was warned out of these areas, it was not high security like the RAE.



(above) The RE bridging ground at Farnborough in the 1960s.

(right) Mike supervising the erection of part of the aerial ropeway in the view above

The landscape in this region is not very interesting, consisting mainly of flat heathland and scrub, although the sandy soil was a distinct advantage, as much digging was required for practice in field defences, minefield laying, road building, &c, &c. Within the area were various training grounds; for bridging, watermanship (Hawley Lake), and dummy practice at demolitions (live explosives were only used at the demolition range at Longmoor to the south of Aldershot). We were vaguely aware of other units nearby, such as Hazlemere (RE Survey) and Liphook (RE experimental?) to the south, not to mention Pirbright/Deep Cut (infantry) and of course Sandhurst (officer training) to the north east, but had little to do with them. Even Aldershot was generally avoided, as it was a pretty dull town full of bored 'squaddies'. Indeed, one's memories of Farnborough could hardly be described as 'fond' (military training was not designed to be a 'fun' event). Nevertheless, for many it was a memorable stage in one's 'right of passage' into the wider world.

Best wishes,

Mike Chapman



Dear Elizabeth

The exhibition has been a great success, so thank you again. Planning for the Combe Down exhibition will begin in earnest in September and will keep you posted.

**Stuart Burroughs
Museum of Bath at Work**

A letter of appreciation about the exhibition from a member of one of the former Holloway families was printed in the Survey's June newsletter. It described the Museum of Bath at Work as 'beautifully kept'.

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 send to: Leslie Holt, 'Westwinds', Hayesfield Park, Bath BA2 4QE.



Two views of the quarry crane, including (above) Mr.Laurie's caravan in the bed of the quarry, together with a SWEB electricity pylon (since cut up) in the field above.



NOTES ON CLAVERTON DOWN AND MIDFORD HILL

Brian Coward

Prompted by recent research into the landscape of Combe Down, Brian Coward has sent us the following information on various features he remembers on Claverton Down which have since disappeared. He also recalls the abandoned fuller's earth mill on Midford Hill, mentioned in Neil Macmillen's recently published book on the industry, reviewed in the Newsletter in June.

The Crane.

In the last issue of the *Survey*, No.23, there is a picture of a quarry crane on Combe Down (p.12). A similar crane was used in the first half of the 20th century by the Hancock family in their quarry at Quarry-Farm, Claverton Down. The quarry is now part of Quarry-Rock Gardens - the 'Park Home Estate'. In fact I live in the corner where the levels were raised about ten feet when the first part of the caravan park was created in 1953. The fill was mostly rubble from war-damaged Bath.



View of the bottom end of Hancock's quarry on Claverton Down (site of Brian Coward's home) before infilling.

The Elevator.

Also of interest is an old agricultural elevator which was once used by the Hancocks and can still be seen at what was Quarry Farm, now private premises. It has definitely not been used for over sixty years, perhaps more, and since then has remained stored under a lean-to. When the farm was sold and 'developed' a few years ago, the developer, who now lives in his big new house there, allowed the elevator to remain, especially as it was in a rotten state. He built a new stable block alongside and over the machine, so that it still stands in its original position. The elevator can be seen from the public footpath that runs across to Rainbow Wood from the top of Widcombe Hill, as well as from near the entrance to the residential enclave.



The Elevator in use, sometime between the wars.

The Kennels.

Nearby there were some old kennels which, according to the late Mr.C.G.Hancock, the owner of the farm and developer of the 'Park', belonged to the Bath Harriers, the horses being kept at Rainbow Wood Farm. The Harriers stopped their activities a very long time ago, and the kennels, after being unused for some time, were converted into a cottage where Tom Hancock, a retired farmer from Wiltshire, lived. When Tom died, the cottage ('Tom's Place') was eventually demolished in about the late 1960s for an extension to the Mobile Home Park. There was another cottage at Quarry-Rock Gardens called Kennel Cottage, where the kennel man lived, but this too was demolished a few years ago and a mobile home is now on the spot.

A long wall runs from near Claverton Down Road in a straight line to join, at right angles, the boundary wall of the field next to Rainbow Wood Farm. In the wall at intervals are holes, slots or bolt-holes which Mr.Hancock told me were formed so that the hares could go through the wall, the horses and riders going over. All part of the chase, I suppose.



View of the original kennels for the Bath Harriers, Roy Hancock (son) in action, showing the public footpath in the background.



Rear of the cottage, originally kennels, just before its demolition in about the late 1960s.

The Windmill pump.

Another field, part of Rainbow Wood Farm, is called by old locals of Claverton Down 'Windmill Field'. There used to be one of those old steel proprietary wind-pumps in this field near the wall of the public road at the bottom of the bend. I was informed by somebody, probably Mr.Hancock again, that the windmill pumped water from lower down on the slopes of the Limpley Stoke Valley up to the farm, where the remains of a stone reservoir can still be located. However a short section of the road there is known locally as 'Spring Hill', from the level portion past Rainbow Wood Farm entrance down to the bottom of the bend near where the pump used to be. Although I have never located a spring in the area (it may be in the woods to the north-east of the 'Hill'), the pump could have gained its water from a source much nearer.

This way of naming small bits of road by local people in the past is almost unknown these days, but reminds me of a village on the edge of Exmoor that I have known since the age of fourteen. A local lady gave me the names of every slope up and down, bend, bridge, whether in cut or field level, for a stretch of lane only a quarter of a mile long. There must have been a dozen!

The Lime Kiln.

Also in the area of 'Spring Hill' is a lane or track running along to near Claverton Manor entrance known as Limekiln Lane, the field above being Limekiln Field. Halfway along the lane are the remains, or the site, of a limekiln. The stones of the structure were still in evidence when I came to Claverton Down, but have since been 'removed', and the site of the kiln has since been used for dumping old 'fridges, mattresses, &c.

Tucking Mill/Fuller's Earth

Recently I bought the little book *I Remember Tucking Mill*, a very interesting read and a story of a simple life - something the children of today will never know, and why many seem so discontented. One thing not mentioned in the book is a 'discovery' (for us, that is,) which we made in the early 1940s.

I and a few school friends left our bikes by an old winding-house at the top of Midford Hill (opposite the Old Midford Hill junction), where there was a tub railway incline going down steep and straight to the stream at the bottom. The rails were still there but I think the cable had gone. There was also one tub (truck) at the top chained to the rails. In the building was a big horizontal drum and braking mechanism. The return was operated by a heavier load going down that would haul a lighter load (or empty tub) up. The speed would be controlled by the cable having several turns round the drum and the braking mechanism.

At the bottom of the incline there was a mill with a big steel water-wheel and galleries on the outside. The works had not been used for some time but the water-wheel was still going round. We used to put branches in the spokes and watch them being snapped off! We could not get into the building, but there appeared to be machinery still inside. We called the place the 'Fuller's Earth Works' although that was of course on Odd Down. We believed raw material was brought to the top of the incline and sent down for some sort of processing, but not brought back up again. I now know the resultant product from the mill went down to Tucking Mill and would have been used for fulling.

Our little group of schoolboys returned a couple of times and had an interesting time - at no cost! We never discussed our adventures and would not dare tell our parents, so we never really found out what the works were for. I have never returned to the mill, but recently did visit the area of the old winding-house. The building appears to have been demolished, and the site is much overgrown. What appears to be the beginning of the incline can still be seen, and there is a diversion at the top of the incline that may have been the access around the building. It is now gated and padlocked and chained, and I have been informed that the mill in the valley is now privately owned.

A FORGOTTEN MANSION

The Second Widcombe Poor House and the Home of the Luders Family

Alistair Durie

Based on a talk presented for Alistair Durie by Ainley Wade to the Widcombe and Lyncombe Local History Society on 25 June 2009.

An article by Alistair Durie on the first Widcombe Poor House was published in *The Survey of Bath and District* No.20, which described the Poor House on Lyncombe Hill in its site next to the gateway of the Baptist Burial Ground. Alistair was anxious to locate the second Poor House, which superseded it. Two options were available for this. One came from the parish historian, William Tyte, who stated that the second Poor House lay on the site of Lycombe Place. The other claimed that it lay by the river, probably by the Old Bridge. This was brought forward by Meehan in one of his articles in the *Beacon*, and confirmed in 1910 in a history of the Luders family by John Alexander Temple. This seemed to be authentic, so in his article Alistair suggested that this was indeed the Poor House site.¹

Later research however showed that this could not be so. The house by the Old Bridge illustrated in the *Beacon* and in the Luders biography by a print by J.C.Nattes, was actually the Greyhound Alehouse, removed in the 1820s. Alexander Luders did have an interest in it, but only as a trustee of a Canal Company which intended to create a canal to Bristol through the site, at the same time moving part of the River Avon bodily northward so that it encroached on what was then called 'the Ham'. The Luders family also owned land running alongside the river eastwards of the Greyhound site, but this was too narrow to hold the features which were known to have gone with the Poor House site.

The next step was Alistair's discovery in the Bath Record Office of the deed of sale of the Luders' land to the Overseers of the Poor in 1825, which solved the problem.² The plan showed an extensive house on the site of the later Lyncombe Place with, uphill to the south of it, the land which became a burial ground. The size of the house showed that we had here a forgotten mansion in Claverton Street, and in fact a forgotten family, since apart from the article in the *Beacon* no one here seems to recollect the Luders family of Bath. In spite of all that is written about Georgian Bath, they are simply passed over.

Origins of the Site

It has not been possible to discover the history of the site before the Luders family arrived. There are some medieval deeds dealing with Claverton Street, under its medieval name of Mule Street (Mill Street) but one cannot say definitely that any particular deed is relevant.

Coming to the 18th century, it seemed possible that it might be the site of James Gibbs' house with the Royal Tennis Court beside it, but it now seems almost certain that these lay where Richard Jones claimed they did, by Gibbs' Mill. Another possibility was the house once rented by Thomas Fisher from the Collibeys, mentioned in the Vestry Survey of 1737, but this seems to have stood somewhere else, and could be discussed on another occasion.³

The Luders Family

The first to own the house on the site was Theodor von Luders, who belonged to a distinguished Hamburg family. A number of German people settled in Britain in the 18th century as the result of the establishment of the German monarchy here. For instance Ernst/Ernest von Hetling took a house which came to be called Hetling House after him (now known as Abbey Church House, with only the eastern part called Hetling House).

Meehan's article in the *Beacon* in 1907 describes Theodor Luders as follows:

Chevalier Theodor von Luders [was] a native of the Free City of Hamburg, born in 1706, educated in France and Russia, and employed in the suite of the Empress Elizabeth, predecessor of Catherine II. (called the Great) at the Russian Court 1740-45. In 1746 the Chevalier came to England in the suite of the Russian Ambassador to the Court of St.James, Count Cernisev, became Secretary of Legation in 1755, Counsellor in 1760, and Chargé d’Affaires from 1762 to 1766. In 1763 he received from Francis I., Emperor of Austria and of the Holy Roman Empire, a patent under Sign Manual granting to him and his descendants of both sexes for ever a coat of arms, and the title of Noble Knight of the Holy Roman Empire.



THEODOR VON LUDERS.
SAC: ROM: IMP: NOBILIS EQUES.



Meehan writes that in 1749 Theodor von Luders married, in London, Ann(e), ‘an heiress of the ancient family of Berry, of Berry Narbor, near Ilfracombe’. The wedding took place in the German Lutheran Chapel, off the Strand. Theodor had two sons and a daughter, the eldest son also being named ‘Theodore’. This son was a

Lieutenant in the 20th Light Dragoons and died unmarried at Leghorn, Italy in 1785. His second son, Alexander, was born in 1756, and later inherited the title. There was also a daughter, Lucretia, born 1751, of whom there will be more to say.

Theodor von Luders came to Bath c.1765, after he had been granted a diplomatic pension by the Empress Catherine of Russia. Presumably, like Ernest von Hetling he secured a house which already existed and in fact it appears to be illustrated in early 18th century panoramas,

although as seen it has not been possible to discover its previous history. Theodor died in 1774 and was buried in the Abbey where a flagstone marks his grave, adjacent to the tomb of Bishop Montague, restorer of the Abbey. Theodor’s widow died in 1792 and was buried in the same spot. Notes on a Luders’ sale of effects are available from the Georgian Newspaper Project, with reference to various works of art.

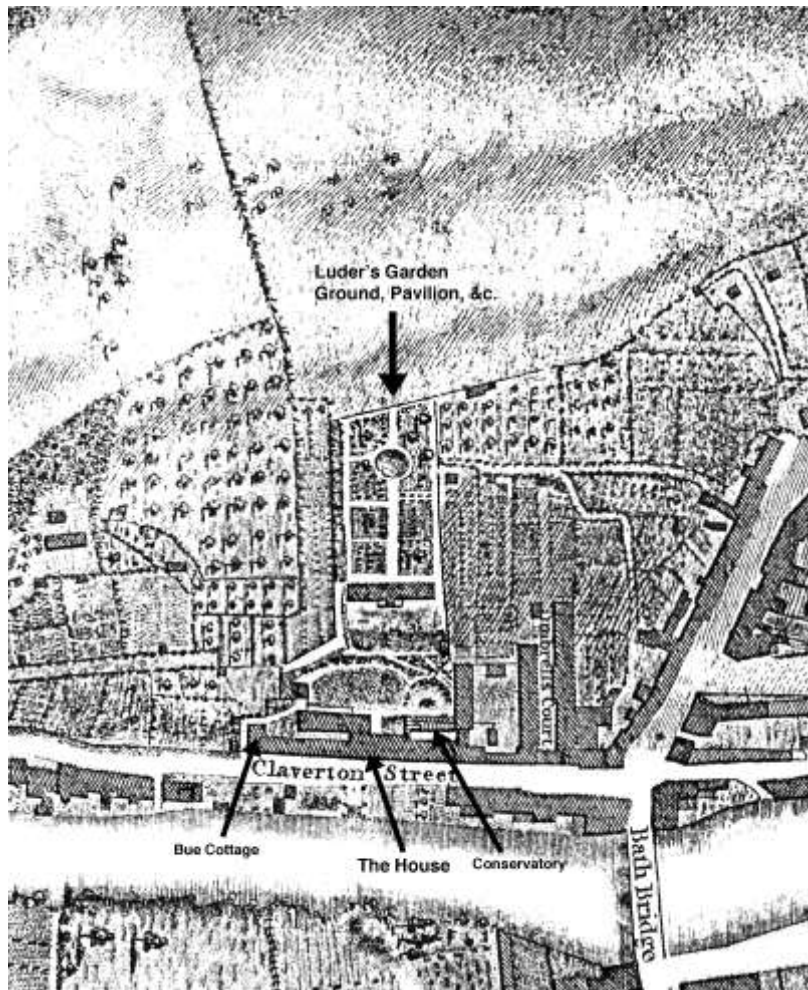
The Luders’ House and Grounds

Harcourt Masters’ map, first published in the later 18th century, shows the house and land occupied by the Luders family. It is only through the present study that it is possible to see the significance of his drawing, which might otherwise have been dismissed as ornament, especially as nowadays all that remains on the site of the Luders’ mansion is the retaining wall, topped by laurels. On Harcourt Masters’ plan can be seen the ornamental gardens running up the hill towards the summit of Beechen Cliff. These would be terraced and landscaped, presumably a piece of 18th century garden planning. (The name of the designer is obviously not known.)

At the top of the garden is the land taken over by St.Mark’s School for a school playground, as shown in some school photographs. On Harcourt Masters’ map we see a circular bed or piece of lawn. Perhaps this is the site of the round temple mentioned by Peter Coard in his introduction to the third part of *Vanishing Bath*.⁴ Presumably it housed a nymph in the Grecian style or a pair of lovers. It is reported that, when demolished, the stones of the temple were used to build a wall lower down, to hide the sight of the burial ground from the poor folk.

Below is the pavilion, shown on the sale plan of 1825. It will have stood on a terrace and commanded a wide view over Bath to the north, and was presumably used sometimes for receptions. *Al fresco* meals would have been carried out to it, in the style of the picnic in *Emma*. Drinks would have been served, and one would expect to find musical entertainments.

Lower down on the right is a semi-circular sloping garden rather in the style of a miniature Greek amphitheatre. Again, it is possible that entertainments were staged there, possibly classical, as classical Greek was understood by most educated people at the time. Below again is the Luders' conservatory. This may have been an orangery, but it was already being used as a school for poor children by 1825. There is talk about its having a red-brick floor.



One can see the house, with its frontage of about 60 feet along Claverton Street. A second long building appears behind it. Presumably this contained stables and coach-houses, a laundry, store-room and accommodation for staff. Bue Cottage is visible at the eastern end of the terrace of houses, possibly serving as a gazebo, looking towards the river and city. Bue Cottage survived until the 1960s and was illustrated by Peter Coard, while Elizabeth Holland took the opportunity to photograph the back.

Alexander Luders

As Alexander Luders was born in 1756, he would have been about nine years old when Theodor von Luders brought his family to Bath c.1765. It is said Alexander was educated at St.Andrew's College, Scotland. He became a barrister; his will confirms that he belonged to the Inner Temple. In 1811 he became a Bencher and in 1819 Reader and Treasurer of the Inner

Temple. Obviously he would have been in London a considerable part of the time, leaving his family in the house. Alexander wrote a number of works described as 'historico-legal', which showed 'great learning and patient research', 'proficiency in many languages and profound legal acquirements'.

In 1787, at 31, Alexander Luders married Sarah Seawell, of a Norfolk family. They had a son, Alexander, who was the last Luders owner of the house, and a daughter, Penelope. The father, Alexander Luders, died in November 1819. It is said he had become over-cold on the coach journey from London. Apparently on the morning after his return he was found dead in bed by his manservant, with his supper, an apple, resting untouched on his chest. His will specified that he should be buried in old Widcombe churchyard if he died within a day's journey of it.⁵ His wife had already been buried there in 1806. The marble tablet at St.Thomas à Becket's refers to his life of Piety and Beneficence.

Lucretia

Alexander's sister Lucretia was a lively member of the family. She was born in 1751, being older than Alexander. When she came to Bath with her parents she would have been fourteen or fifteen. Meehan suggests that she was unusually good-looking and was toasted as one of Bath's beauties. He also suggests that she was painted by Gainsborough; however the biography states that the painting was later destroyed by damp.

In 1776 Lucretia married William Light of the Madras Civil Service in the Abbey at Bath. She accompanied her husband to Madras but returned ten years later a widow with four children, in 1786. In 1791 at St.Swithin's Church, Walcot, she married Robert Anstey, the son of the Bath poet Christopher Anstey. He was ten years her junior and her mother and brother Alexander had both opposed the marriage. They set off for India, leaving Lucretia's four 'Light' children with brother Alexander and his wife. In India, Lucretia had one child who died. In 1794 the couple were back in England, and Lucretia died soon afterwards at Tiverton. Her husband remarried in 1796.

When Lucretia married Robert Anstey, it appears they were anxious for their share of the Luders estate in cash - Alexander Luders was generous in his estimating but, all the same, Lucretia wanted extra. She claimed that when she had lived at the Luders home (presumably 1786-1791) she had paid for painting and papering the principal rooms, and had repaired the offices and the buildings in the gardens. It appeared that she claimed £4,050 as her share of the Luders estate.



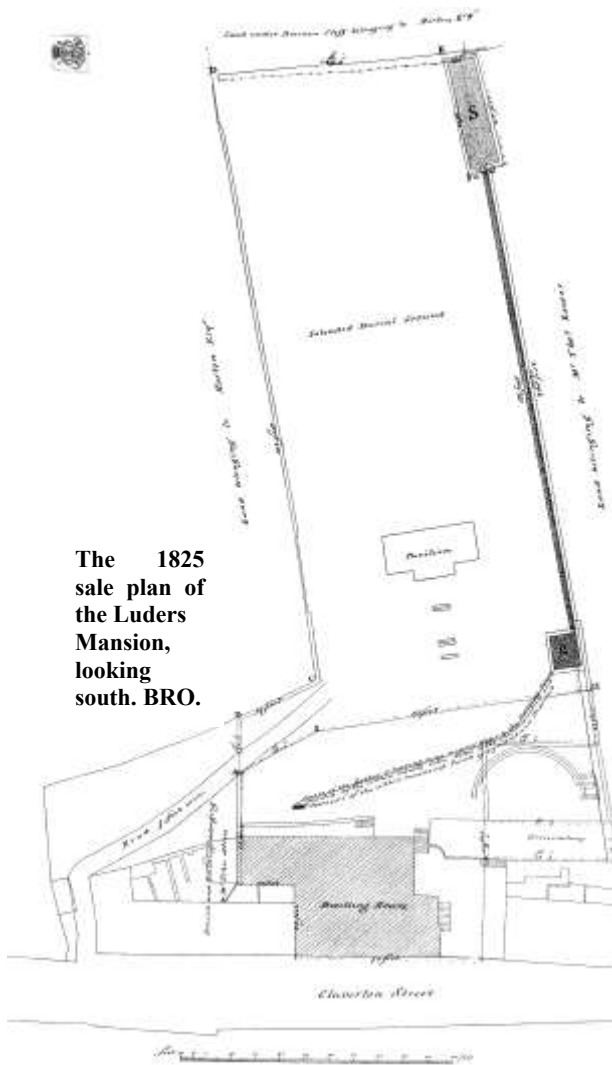
MISS LUCRETIA LUDERS, 1772-73.
FROM A MINIATURE BY JOHN SMART, 1741-1811.

Some readers may remember that in Georgette Heyer's Regency and late Georgian novels, the heroine is often a young lady who marries a rich man and then runs up huge bills redecorating his Town House. She chooses the latest wallpaper and most fashionable furniture and, of course, Georgette Heyer made careful notes of what was fashionable at any particular time. Queen Anne and Stuart furniture is regarded as hopelessly old-fashioned in these stories, and is relegated to the attic or the servants' rooms. Lucretia probably held very smart parties, with visitors arriving by carriage or sedan chair. At that time Claverton Street was a smart street. A well-known clockmaker, Thomas Bullock, had his shop there, among others. (A long-case clock by him turned up in a sale room lately.⁶)

The Poor House

Alexander Luders' only son, Alexander, became a clergyman and held livings elsewhere, not needing the house. By the time of the first Alexander Luders' death in 1819 parts of the district south of the river had gone down in the world. Both the Dolemeads and Holloway were regarded as slum areas. There was talk of putting a canal through the land near the Old Bridge while the Greyhound Alehouse and houses by it actually were cleared away in the 1820s. The towpath was created and Claverton Street, which at that time ran down to the Old Bridge, was widened where it joined the north end of Holloway. A developer, John Allen, began buying up land round about. He also acquired a good deal of property within Bath. He is referred to as a radical, though a radical of those days would probably be a reactionary now.

At this time Widcombe's Overseers of the Poor were looking for a larger Poor House. As Alistair pointed out in his previous article, the one on Lyncombe Hill now consists of four narrow houses still to be seen on the east side of the hill, towards the bottom. In the time of the Poor House these were two houses, presumably one for men and one for women, each house having its own entrance and a stone staircase within. As this accommodation had now become inadequate, the Overseers were seeking something more commodious. With the purchase of the Luders mansion in 1825, the Overseers were obviously planning to keep all the poor in one place. The system of 'out-relief' practised at this time could be very expensive. Out-relief sometimes meant making up labourers' wages to a better standard. It also meant boarding people out. In studies of other parishes, widows are mentioned, as well as illegitimate children and orphans.



**The 1825
sale plan of
the Luders
Mansion,
looking
south. BRO.**

The sale plan of 1825 shows the large property which the Overseers purchased. The main house was to be used as the Poor House. The extra five houses and a stable to the east remained with John Allen. East of these, the way uphill to the Luders' garden was retained as the way to the burial ground and also (from 1832) the way to St.Mark's Church. As we have already seen, the deed of sale states that a school for pauper children was already being run in the Luders' conservatory. The pavilion was evidently demolished. As has also been said, Peter Coard suggests that the stone of a round temple was used to create a wall to secure the Poor House.

Life under the old Poor Law depended on which parish was running it. Some were strict while others were more humanitarian. In a parish like Widcombe and Lyncombe, with families which had lived here for many years, things probably went quite easily. However, it is doubtful whether the inmates of the Poor House had the money to sample the many pubs in Claverton Street and Holloway. At least in theory, they were only allowed out to work.

The Burial Ground

The Luders' former garden was used as a burial ground from the time of purchase, the first burial occurring in July 1825. St.Mark's Church was consecrated in 1832. It was built on land bought from a Mr.Mant, another developer, who owned what was called 'Beechen Cliff Estate', formerly the property of

the Collibeys and then of Collibee Horton. St.Mark's also had a stretch of burial ground to the north of it. Downhill from that, St.Mark's Cottages were built, which flanked the way uphill which we have mentioned.

The indenture for the sale of the house and land has a complicated financial transaction whereby the parish would pay annual instalments. Moreover it includes the text '*In trust nevertheless for the said Parish of Lyncombe and Widcombe and to and for no other use trust end intent or purpose whatsoever*'.

In fact the burial ground was used as a general one. The number of burials of occupants of the Poor House was quite modest, accounting for only 141 out of over 6,500 burials, i.e. about 2.5%. What is more important are the burials on the site of the poor of the parish of St.James, which didn't have any space, which accounted for over 30% of burials in the late 1850s.⁷ By the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, parishes could band together and create Union Workhouses, so the Bath Union Workhouse at Combe Down, the site of the later St.Martin's Hospital, was erected and was in use by 1838 (briefly discussed in Alistair's former article). The Poor House at Claverton Street was then no longer needed.

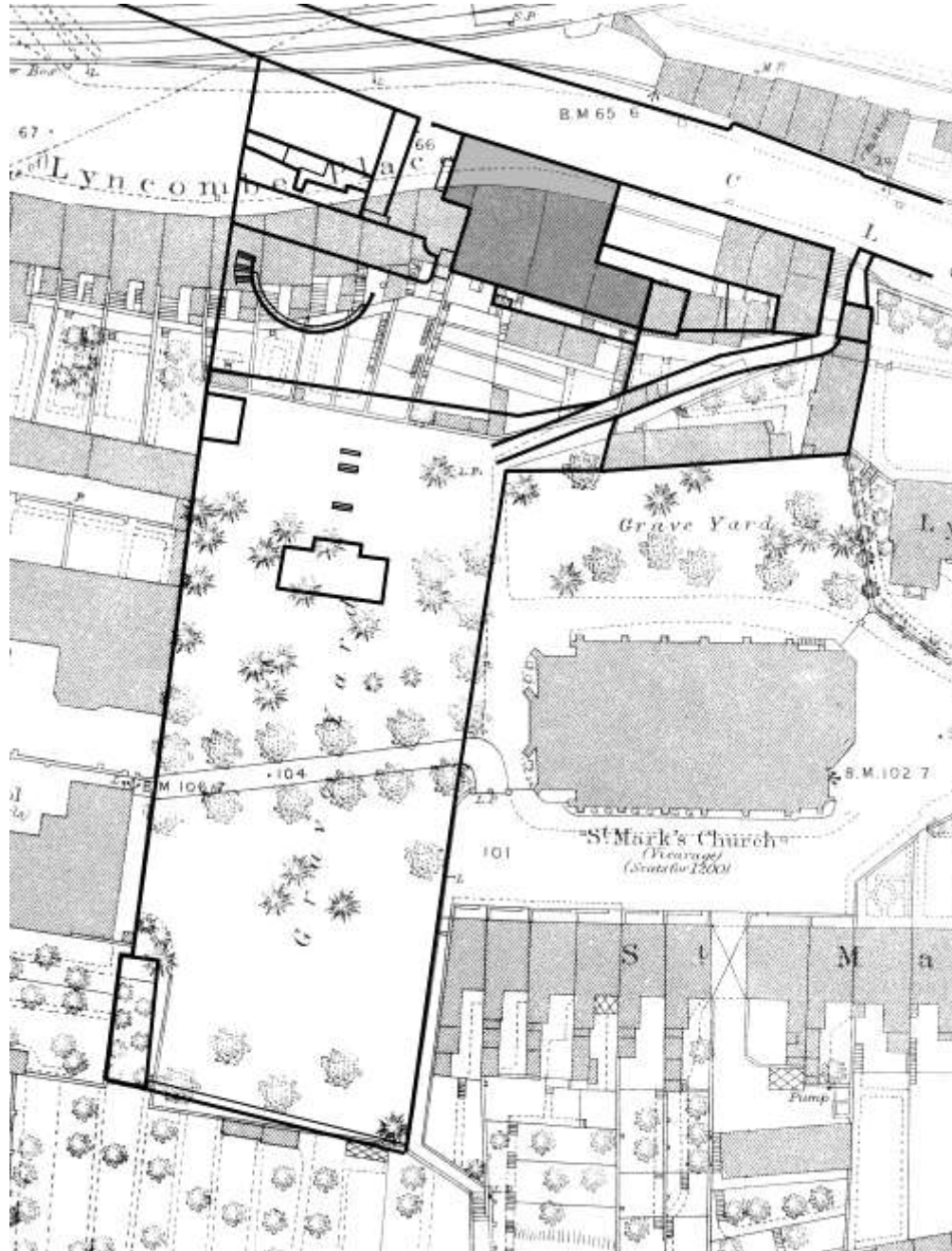
The Railway Company

The next stage in the history of the site is its use as offices by the Great Western Railway Company. Brunel's railway was partly in use by 1840 and finally completed by 1841. Further housing was swept away to accommodate the viaduct, including the Angel Inn by the Old Bridge. By 1838 the Railway Company is mentioned in the Rate-book in the house next door to the Poor House. By February 1839 it is listed both for No.92 and for 93, the Poor House. In the 1841 census the enumeration district covering

Claverton Street is defined as commencing with 'the Railway Office or Old Work House'. The Luders' family mansion was now the site office for the creation of the new transport of the Victorian age.

Lyncombe Place

The next stage was one of street development. The presence of the railway had forced the removal of Claverton Street away from the river to the south of the railway line. At its western end it was now too narrow for effective use and steps were taken to widen it. Houses at the corner of Claverton Street and the street called Holloway were removed in the 1850s. The Luders' mansion went as part of the creation of Lyncombe Place, apparently constructed from 1844 onwards. Lyncombe Place appears in the Rate-books in 1848.



Extract from an 1888 OS map sheet showing Lyncombe Place (top) and St. Mark's graveyard, overlaid with the detail on the 1825 sale plan of Luders' house and grounds.

Lyncombe Place itself was demolished in 1963, as part of a general scheme to rebuild the Holloway area. Later on the road was widened further, as part of the scheme which included Rossiter Road. All that remains of the site now, is the retaining wall, with of course the burial ground, now disused, running up the hill south of it. A pathway runs across the ground to the site of the old schoolhouse, now known as the Timothy Richards Architectural Gallery.

What was once a great mansion with a fashionable family, became the local Poor House. After that came the Railway Company, representing the modern transport of the time. Then came Lyncombe Place, with a row of shops and dwelling places, representing the spirit of the 19th century. Then came the age of the motor car, creating the site that we know today.

Appendix

Main provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834:

1. Three fit persons were to be appointed as the Poor Law Commissioners, to carry the act into execution. They were to report once a year to the Houses of Parliament.
2. Parishes who did not possess Workhouses were to build them. If necessary parishes were to combine into unions to build Workhouses for their common use.
3. Boards of Guardians were to be established to direct poor relief in the parish unions. The Commissioners might also decide that a Board of Guardians should be established in a single parish.
4. The Commissioners were to make 'Orders, Rules and Regulations' for the government of the Workhouses. [The principle of making life in Workhouses harsh to render them 'less eligible' had been accepted as the basis of the Act, though not mentioned in it.]
5. The Commissioners were to have the power to decide whether out-relief should be given in any parish, whether in money, or in kind such as food, clothing and so on. [It is said that in 1841 1,300,000 people were receiving relief, only 192,000 of them actually in Workhouses, the rest obtaining outdoor relief, costing nearly £3 million.]

With thanks to Dr.Marjorie Bray for information supplied. Many Victorian writers referred to Workhouses. See for instance *Daddy Darwin's Dovecot*, by Mrs.Ewing, where a workhouse boy is apprenticed out to a rich employer, because of his love of the employer's fancy pigeons, and of course makes good and inherits. (See also the article by W.H.A.Chislett in *The Survey* No.22, 2007, on Bath Union Workhouse, pp.22ff.).

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Colin Johnston and Bath Record Office for assistance with the study and for the use of material. Also to everyone else who has assisted, including Philip Bendall, Margaret Burrows, Mike Chapman, Doreen Collyer, Elizabeth Holland, Bernadette Kondrat, Ainley Wade and Ann Wyatt.

Notes

1. William Tyte, *History of Lyncombe and Widcombe, with personal recollections of the parish in the thirties*, 1898, second edition 1920.

J.F.Meehan, 'Famous Buildings of Bath and District, No.114. The Luders Family of Bath', in *The Beacon*, September 1907, p.107. (see also 115 & 116.)

John Alexander Temple, *Annals of Two Extinct Families of the Eighteenth Century (Von Lüders and Light) with some account of their vicissitudes in Hamburg, Bath, the East Indies, British Guiana, and Canada*, F.V.White and Co., 1910.

2. 6 April 1825 (Counterpart) Appointment & Release in Fee of Ground for a Burial Ground, Mr. John Allen to the Churchwardens & Overseers of the Poor and other Inhabitants of the Parish of Lyncombe and Widcombe in the County of Somerset. Bath Record Office 102A/190. (This document also mentions the house as being already sold. There is another copy in the deed packets, BC153/1388/1.) See also Abstract of the Title of Mr. John Allen to a Messuage Tenements etc. BRO 102A/192.

3. Medieval deeds - see the Rev. C. W. Shickle, *Ancient Deeds Belonging to the Corporation of Bath XIII-XVI Cent.*, Bath Records Society, 1921: Bundle No. 6, Nos. 15ff.

Richard Jones, 'The Life of Richard Jones, who for many years was in the Service of Ralph Allen of Prior Park', in *Records of Bath History* Vol. 1, Survey of Old Bath 2008 (Bath Central Library, No. 22886, the MS.)
'Survey of the Parish of Widcombe 1737', in *ROBH1* as above. (Part of BRO Accession 853).

4. Peter Coard, Preface to *Vanishing Bath*, Part III, Kingsmead Press, 1972.

5. Will of Alexander Luders Esquire, Barrister at Law of the Inner Temple, 5 January 1819, Proved 26 January 1820, National Archives, 11/1624.

6. 'An Inlaid Walnut Tall Case Clock, Thomas Bullock, Bath, the 12-inch square dial with brass chapter ring with Roman and Arabic numerals Height 7ft. 9in. (2.36m.)'. Dr. Michael Rowe has pointed out that the face bears a reference to the 'Large Bread Warehouse'. This may have been Gibbs' Mill near to Bullock's shop, as the owner William Gay was advertising 'Large Bread' at that time. No other advertisement for Large Bread appeared until after his bankruptcy. (See the Georgian Newspaper Project.)

7. St. Mark's Cemetery, Lyncombe, Bath - *Burial Register Index*, P. J. Bendall 2009. Copy deposited with Bath Record Office.



Peter Coard, 'Bue Cottage'.
Published by permission of Bath Preservation Trust
Collection/Bath in Time.

JOHN JEFFERYS' LETTERS

Colin Johnston

Principal Archivist, B&NES

Based on a talk given by Colin Johnston to the History of Bath Research Group on 13 January 2009.

Introduction

In February last (2008) I heard that Bonham's London sale-room was offering at auction the collection of over 500 letters from the office of John Jefferys, Town Clerk of Bath. The guide price was estimated at £3000, but I knew from past experience that these figures are often far exceeded on the day and I ought to expect nearer £5000, possibly £6,000.

With just 3¹/₂ weeks to go before the sale, I contacted the same two grant-providers I had been successful with when some two years ago I bought for the Record Office the letters of Beau Nash for £4,200. These two charities are The Friends of the National Library, and the MLA/V&A Purchase Grant Fund. I composed an identical application to both bodies, highlighting 'Designated' status (i.e. that our entire archive holdings are one of only 8 local authority archives whose collections are considered to be of international significance); I also stressed the importance of Bath regaining the records of its 18th century Town Clerk and the significance to Bath's history of many of the letter writers: Pulteney, Wood, Baldwin, Allen, Oliver, Palmer.

Both organisations are accustomed to the need for quick decisions and both replied, within two weeks, and just 5 days before the sale itself, that they would each contribute 50%, up to a maximum of £4,500 or £5,500 each. There was a small hiccup when the V&A realised that we in Bath would not be contributing anything, which apparently goes against their principles, so their offer was reduced to 38% (still very generous and enabling me to set off for the London sale-room in confident mood). The hammer-price - was £5,800, which after commission totalled £7,163, of which £6,338 was repaid to us in grants. So the collection came to us here in Bath at a cost to the Council of just £825, - being 11¹/₂% of the purchase price. I feel even the most curmudgeonly Council-tax payer would see this as minimal expenditure for the asset obtained, although I am acutely aware that I must justify what might be deemed unnecessary cost by those not interested in our city's history.

Before leaving the financial side of this, can I say how much I appreciated the support and encouragement I received from several people here in Bath who got to hear of the sale in advance, and who even offered to find additional funds if I were struggling to raise enough cash.

Having now had the opportunity to read through the letters in detail, I find it increasingly obvious that Jefferys had offices in London, at The Temple, Staples Inn, besides Bath Guildhall, also in Green Street. I am now of the belief that the collection just acquired spent much, if not all, of its early life in Jefferys' London offices, and almost certainly remained there at the end of his career. That the collection has survived until today is therefore all the more remarkable.

Jefferys the man

John Jefferys, an ex-Quaker, had settled in Bath about 1740, aged about 13, and was appointed Town Clerk in 1760, a post he held until 1800. In addition, he was financial adviser to the younger John Wood, at a time when he was finishing the Royal Crescent, begun by his father. Jefferys in fact had his family home at No.19 for the years 1771-1800 (see Monica Daly: *The Royal Crescent in the 19th century* on R.C.S website, where she describes the 19th century history of this house and its occupants, based on the evidence of census returns).

We know very little about the Jefferys family, and the Jefferys letters, (being mostly business papers) tell us virtually nothing on this aspect. The Quaker burial ground which until recent years existed at Batheaston, by the Batheaston bypass, is our best source of information. Here we find the burial of John Jefferies in 1800 aged 73, and described as a 'non-member' due to his having converted to the Church of England in the 1770s; Mary, his wife, who died in 1790 aged 56; and six children buried between the years 1759-1790. I have not traced John and Mary's marriage in the years up to 1760, so I am assuming this took place away from Bath (all marriages pre-1837 had to be performed in an Anglican church, not non-conformist such as Quaker). Two of the children (Jack and Betty) we learn a little about from just one letter in the Jefferys collection written by his wife Mary, the only one giving us any insight into his family, and which I think shows a happy and loving relationship:

My dear Husband,

We came to this place wednesday last about five oClock, & thank God safe & well, we had a very good Chaise, Horses, & driver, - Jack was very sick from Bath to Radstock, which obliged us to stop there, I did not intend it as we set out so late from Bath, we reached Hatspen half after two, Mr & Mrs Dickenson intends seting out for Lime some day this week - they made no mention of my going with em, neither did I find any sort of difficulty in coming away that evening, tho it Rain'd very hard, & had done ye whole time of our being there, - when we came to ye Inn at Sherborn we there me [met] with Mrs. Summer & her sister Bush, so that I spent ye even'g very agreeable, ye Children was not half so much tired as myself. They never slep the whole day - but was in as good spirits at nine oClock at night as they was when they set out in ye morning - I am in ye same House as when I was here last, here is two Friends from Bristol in the same House, who intends to return in our Chaise tomorrow, the man have stay'd a day for em - Jack & Betty desires their duty to you, pray let me have a line soon from you, I shall want to here how you are - I am dear Love

yr Affect. Wife
M.Jefferys

Isn't it remarkable how little can change over 250 years. Those who are parents will recognise the scenario; a journey down to Weymouth; you're hardly out of Bath when you have to stop in Radstock for one of the children to be sick. It sounds so familiar!

The Keppel Affair

Readers may already be familiar with Trevor Fawcett's article, 'A Silly Ridiculous Jack in Office: Bath's Town Clerk and the Keppel Affair'. Essentially, Jefferys was a figure of considerable influence in the city, and of even greater controversy, being accused of exercising tyrannical powers over the Corporation. Because he refused to illuminate his house in the Crescent while the city fêted the acquittal of Admiral Keppel in February 1779 under Court Martial for cowardice, under the pretext that he had failed to engage the French fleet, an effigy of Jefferys dressed as half Quaker and half lawyer and labelled 'John the Scrub' was tossed onto a bonfire in front of the Crescent.

The Bath newspaper openly criticised Jefferys' actions, not merely for showing no celebratory illuminations at his own house, but in silencing church bells and having the Corporation flag removed from the Abbey tower. The paper stated he had acted like an officious impertinent fool, '.. a silly ridiculous Jack in Office, a blockhead absurd enough to suppose that public rejoicings for the honour of the Navy of England ... and the King's own Admiral, should be considered an insult to the king'.

The newspaper criticisms went beyond this issue of the Keppel celebration, and included other personal attacks on Jefferys' perceived growth of power and influence within the Corporation, and his recent conversion from Quaker to Church of England for alleged political and commercial expediency. The response to this criticism in the Bath press was a reply from the Corporation, published in a London newspaper, justifying its actions as an attempt to control the riotous occasion which had developed out of the celebration.

For several months from the initial controversy in February 1779, the accusations against Jefferys' over-reaching power in the Corporation's affairs rumbled on. The actual bonfire incident involving the effigy of Jefferys occurred in mid-March when Admiral Keppel himself visited Bath on his triumphal progress around the country. The gist of the newspaper's continued criticism was that the Corporation had allowed far too much scope to the Town Clerk's '.. vanity and avarice ... insolence and tyranny'.

Neither the Corporation or Jefferys make any further response, and Council minutes of the period give no hint of this business. Jefferys continued in his post as active as ever; with full approval of Councillors. Just 3 years later in 1782 Councillor Henry Harington praised Jefferys as '.. an incorruptibly honest Town Clerk, knowledgeable in law, and moderate in fees'.

19 Royal Crescent (Grace Norton correspondence)

Jefferys purchased No.19 Royal Crescent from John Wood in 1771 via Simon Crook as his agent. We know from the evidence of Walcot Poor Rate books that he continued to occupy and pay rates on the house until his death in 1800.

The only 'item' in this correspondence dealing with building work is very late, dated 3 July 1797, and is from John Palmer of Charles Street in Bath, architect and builder, contracted by Jefferys to make alterations to his house, which I am assuming is still 19 Royal Crescent. It reads as follows:

Sr

The alteration to your Parlour is doing under my daily Inspection, & with as much speed as the Nature of the Work will admit of. The plastering must have the first Coat dry before the second is put on. The Mahogany Sashes are made, & have been fitted in, & are now at the Glaziers. The alteration of the Shutters, Wanscot [sic] &c. about the Windows is nearly done, & this Week will nearly give time for finishing the Plaster's Work excepting the Cornice. If your stay from Bath should exceed a Week, we should be glad of some Sketch of a Cornice, if you should see anything in any of the new Buildings in London as you like - otherwise we shall endeavour to do the best we can, agreeable to the instructions set forth in your Letter

Am Sr. your Obed. Hble Sert.

Jno. Palmer

So here we have substantial work to the Parlour; re-plastering, installation of glazed mahogany sashes, alteration of the shutters and wainscot and, most notably, new cornicing based on new London fashions. Mahogany was an expensive imported wood, used only in the best furniture, and then often only in veneer. Were these replacement window sashes made in mahogany? Or were they new soft-wood sashes stained and grained in imitation of mahogany? Was the new plasterwork cornice particularly lavish? Sadly we have little chance of finding out as No.19 (if indeed it was this house being worked on) suffered extensive damage in the Blitz attacks of 1942, when windows and ceilings were blown out, though not as total a destruction to the interior as happened to its neighbour No.17.

We have very little evidence of the fitting out of the Royal Crescent interiors in the 18th century. Only one relevant item exists in the Record Office's collections, and this relates to No.14 where in 1773 Samuel Kirkham, victualler of Bath, drew up an agreement over the house he was having built so that it could be fitted out to the requirements of his new tenant the Hon.Charles Hamilton, son of the Earl of Abercorn, with many interesting details as to the work to be done.

It is tempting to speculate that Jefferys was having the extensive refurbishment of his home carried out in order to make it more up-to-date and attractive to a potential new wife. We have evidence from a draft of a letter he wrote in June 1791 to Grace Norton. Jefferys' wife Mary died 18 months previously, in January 1790, and this remarkable draft letter to Grace reveals the lengths he was prepared to go to, to win her over as his new wife:

I have a good Freehold house at Bath in no bad situan. of the Annual Value of 150£ but if that is not agreeable to you I will buy any house in London or ar [another?] place that may be more Pleasing & suitable unto you for your residence.

I believe he was exaggerating to impress the lady. His house in Royal Crescent clearly shows in the Rate-books that 16s.8d. was paid, at a rate of 2d. in the pound. By my calculation this gives a rateable value of £100, not £150 as he boasted, but perhaps we should allow him some leniency here.

The opening part of the letter he drafted to Grace in 1791 certainly has a tone of desperation: desperately lonely, perhaps, or desperately unhappy?

Dr Madm.

Deeply sensible of the ever Grateful and continued lively respect shewn unto me by the noble Root and all the Branches of your Honble and distinguished Family, attracts and brings unto them by the tenderest and Dearest of all Ties, Heartfelt Genuine Friendsp - from the unerring Principle, I was induced [?] not with Vanity but decently and respectfully I hope from your attractive Grace & one of the Distinguished branches of your Noble Family to make the Heartfelt Honble address & Proposition I did to you founded in Sincerity the Noblest of all Human Passions for the furtherance of my own and of your Happyness inseperable therewith And to lay this foundan.sure and Permanent I now offer to lay at your Feet 30,000£ to be settled on you, as may be mutually agreed on, and to which if your own is added but yt [that] shall be as you think fit, it will produce an Annual income that will neither be mean nor Pitiful but such as ought and & will I trust support your Rank and Dignity, but if the above shod not be thought adequate to the Honorable End I will increace it.

We know that Jefferys never did remarry. He was at this stage aged 64. There are many more drafts of letters to Grace throughout the rest of 1791. He increases his offer of monetary settlement from £30,000 to £50,000. He becomes increasingly ardent:

19 June 1791.

And you bring all that rich treasure unto me. My heart is forever panting after you, as the only joy of my life, my portion in time; seeming outward things cannot alone reach, & satisfy the inward cogitative motives of the heart. For though the annual income of my fortune may be near to £2,000 a year, tax-free, exclusive of professional grounds which (all in my own power & at your service) I never disclosed to anyone save now only to you my Dearest Friend, yet this cannot alone give real inward lasting satisfaction from the very nature of its limited being and end.

Who could resist the lure of such a fortune? But Grace's replies, brief and purely social, make it clear she has said all she needs to say:

2nd July 1791

.. and it will also be needless, I hope, to put you in mind of the contents of my former letter, and at the same time I thank you for the honour you have done me by conceiving so favourable an opinion of me.

I am Sir,
Your obliged friend,
Grace Norton

Her mother also reminds Jefferys he is '*an old friend of Grace's father*', from which we can surmise a considerable age-gap between Jefferys and Grace. What other objections her mother may have had, she does not say!

Completely unrelated to Jefferys' own matrimonial intentions, but demonstrating the experiences of others within his own family, the collection includes one stray letter from Jefferys' sister Elizabeth, written much earlier in his life in 1763. Elizabeth clearly has a keen eye to the prosperity of her own

husband's business, whatever trade that may have been, but was evidently frustrated by his business acumen, or rather, the lack of it. She writes to John Jefferys in secret, complaining of her husband's abominable crossness.

John Wood

One of the principal letter-writers in the Jefferys collection is John Wood junior, with 27 separate letters covering the years 1766-1780. The business in hand is not clearly defined in any of them; they are mostly very brief and to the point, none more than half a page. Unsurprisingly, many deal with property transactions, granting of leases, etc., in which Jefferys was employed by Wood to handle his legal affairs. Almost all the letters are concerned with substantial sums of money; money owed, money due, money which cannot be paid for one reason or another, and the attendant excuses offered.

What does come through clearly from John Wood's correspondence with Jefferys is his cash flow problem. Many of the letters ask for specific sums of cash as a matter of urgency, often to pay tradesmen their weekly wages. For instance:

I find myself under a necessity of borrowing £500 more as my mother is so near her End I should be glad to have it on personal security only to save Expence, but if you cannot get it me on that, I can give £44, or £50 ground rent security only [?] £15 pr An. already commenced, the remainder commencing Lady Day 1767. I must have £300 by Saturday to answer some bills drawn on me unexpectedly that I have accepted, & I do not choose to be under obligations. Let me know this afternoon if you can serve me.

I am
Sr yr very hum servt
Jo: Wood

Thursday March 20 1766

It is quite understandable to believe that Wood had difficulty in juggling income and outgoings in such high-value property speculation which occupied him in Bath. Meanwhile his dealings with such people as the Garrards, freeholders of all the Walcot lands which Wood and his father developed, were clearly not smooth and amicable, but closer to acrimonious, as his letters show, reminiscent of his comments about the Corporation in his letters in the Thoresby Park papers at Nottingham. Most emphatically of all, we see Wood's outrage that Sir Peter Garrard had brought in a lawyer to argue his case with Wood:

Janry 23d 1779

Sir

I fear we shall have more trouble with the Baronet, or rather with his Brother that we could wish, they have brought down with them a Lawyer from Winchester, one Duce, who is a wrangler; as soon as I knew his profession I told the Bt he was very unfair, that they were above my match 4 to 1; so that I should be very cautious what I said; that if I had known how they were armed I should have brought you; however I did very well. Mr Rivers will have the perusal of the Deed as it is ingrossed with his Attorney before he signs or appoints a meeting with you, which with great State and selfconsequence Duce said he should have no objection to; and then threw out that he was of opinion the Deed must be re-ingrossed, as his Clients would never consent to an antedate. The Bart lodges at No 6 Alfred Street, or at Mr Smiths the Corner of Church Street, but the place of meeting is at No.6. I beg therefore you will send the Deed to them that we may put an end to the affair. I make no doubt but that you will do every thing that is right on my behalf. I leave it all to you; for my own part I care not how little I have to do with them.

I am
Sr.
Yr. obt. Hum. Servt
Jo: Wood

To round off looking at Wood's correspondence with Jefferys, we have a few curiosities which I have included just for their own sake in giving an insight into Wood's private rather than his business life.

Firstly, in a letter of 11 February 1770, Wood signs off with the news that:

We have been very busy in detecting a Gang of Footpads. Three I have committed who will certainly be hanged, & have two more in custody. I hope your business will soon be done for I want much to have you at Bath. I have executed the conveyance to Sr.Peter Dinis.

There must be a story behind this, either to be found in the pages of the *Chronicle* or in the Quarter Sessions and Assize papers for the county.

Secondly, an undated letter in which Wood closes with the following intriguing note:

Mr.Neal is much indisposed this morning and our design of going on Board the India Man is postponed. I therefore will wait on you tomorrow twixt 1 & 2.

An Indiaman was a large merchant vessel trading with India. Presumably therefore they had intended to visit Bristol.

And thirdly, a letter from John Wood's wife Mrs.Elizabeth Wood at Batheaston (certainly Eagle House?) dated 12 September 1780 in which she charmingly writes:

Sir

Mr Wood desires to see you over at Bath-easton to morrow, hopes it will be Convenient for you to come in the fourpart of the day, as he generally lays down in the afternoon.

I am Sr.your Humble Servt.

E.Wood



Eagle House in 1904, before later alterations.

Batheaston Society Archive

Wood was 52 years of age in 1780, and was to die the following summer on 16 June. Perhaps his health was weakening already? Ison, in his *Georgian Buildings of Bath*, confirms that Wood died deeply in debt, and Jefferys was one of his principal creditors, having supplied loans over many years, with no interest repaid:

When the younger Wood died on June 16th, 1781, he was deeply in debt, although nominally receiving the fee farm rents on some 250 houses. Having had to provide substantial dowries for his sisters, and a legacy for his brother, under the terms of his father's will, the younger Wood and his mother had been obliged to raise the necessary funds by mortgaging some of their fee farm rents. Needing to pay the interest on these loans, and having a large family to support, Wood was compelled to resort to further borrowings. One of his chief creditors was his attorney, John Jefferys, and as he and the other creditors had received no interest for some time, they acted together and by resorting to law ensured that the rents were paid directly to them. No copy of Wood's will seems to have survived, but it seems obvious that shortage of money compelled his executors to advertise, during August 1781, their willingness to let for four and a half years the family's home, Eagle House, Batheaston, then described as 'A HOUSE fit for the reception of a genteel family, late in the possession of John Wood, esq; with convenient offices, stables and coach-house thereto belonging, a very good pleasure and kitchen garden, hothouse, green-house, &c. And Also a Farm House adjoining, with barns and stables, and about 70 acres land'. There followed on November 1st, a sale of Wood's farming stock, comprising six horses, eight cows, two heifers, poultry, etc.

Pulteney

Here we have letters in the Jefferys collection covering two distinct periods: December 1771 – December 1772; March 1774 - July 1774. Let us look at how this surviving correspondence fits in with the chronology of the Pulteney family's development of Bathwick.

In October 1767 Frances Pulteney inherited the Estate from her father's cousin General Harry Pulteney. Frances's husband, the Edinburgh lawyer William Johnstone Pulteney, immediately began to make plans to develop the estate, and to negotiate with Bath Corporation about his proposals for a bridge to connect his land with the city centre. In 1769 a private Act of Parliament was obtained by Frances's husband to raise £3,000 for the cost of the bridge-building, to designs of Thomas Paty of Bristol. By July 1770 the foundations of the bridge had been laid, to the design of Robert Adam, and now including the remarkable rows of shops. After a second Act of Parliament was successfully obtained in 1772 to raise a further £3,500 to finance the bridge-building, the bridge was completed in 1773. In 1774 a further private Act raised an additional £4,725 to meet escalating costs.

This, then, is the, sequence of events against which to look at the Jefferys letters from Wm. Johnstone Pulteney which cover the years December 1771 – July 1774. We know that Pulteney continued to involve Robert Adam in his plans for Bathwick, thanks to the survival of accounts which include in 1773 a payment to Adam for 'a Plan of the Streets, Buildings, and Squares of a New Town in the Bathwick side of the river'. However, Adam's plans were to come to nothing as in the same year, 1773, the Bath boom ended, with the outbreak of the American War of Independence, and the grand bridge served only to give access to Bathwick meadows and the Mill for many more years.

Much of the Pulteney correspondence in the Jefferys collection relates to the sending back and forth between Jefferys and Pulteney of drafts of deeds for acquiring the land on which Bridge Street was to be built. Pulteney was evidently a stickler for the minutiae of boundary lines, ownership and the use of vaults beneath the roadway, and future liability for maintenance costs. Interestingly the letters make repeated reference to Pulteney's wish to open up a parade from the South side of Bridge Street towards the Pump Room, along what Pulteney called 'The Parapet Wall' (presumably the line of today's Newmarket Row). For instance the following extract, from his letter of 13 April 1774:

With respect to the parapet wall, I apprehend I was under a mistake, in thinking, that the Corporation had conveyed it to me **X** and am very glad that such is the case, as I should have been sorry if any point had occurred in which Mr Street and I should differ, but there is one point to which Mr Street can certainly have no objection, and that is to declare that notwithstanding the parapet wall, all persons shall have free Liberty to pass & repass along any parade or Street which may be built along the sd. River, leadg from the South side of Bridge Street & adjoining to the said parapet wall - no part of any Treaty with Mr Street or Mr Laurence, ever went the length of shutting up this communication, which may hereafter be of so much consequence to the Manor of Bathwick by

making a much shorter passage to the Pump Room nor can Mr Street wish to have this power of injuring me & the Public. **X** indeed it would have been very wrong if they had done so.

Again on 26 April 1774:

My absence from Town prevented my receiving yours till this morning. I think the clause respecting the parapet wall will answer the purpose. With respect to the other points, as you do not say, that the alterations which I proposed on the draft, would injure Mr Street, I own I would have taken it kind if you had shown a little indulgence to my idle notions, when it could have been done with so much ease. I am sure I did not make them from any doubt of your great abilities, and I think it would have been an instance of the superiority of your genius, if you had rendered the draft, palatable to my mind, as well as right in itself. However, I do not want to get into any dispute about a matter which may probably be very immaterial on either side, and therefore I hereby agree to the draft as it stands. I am Sir

Your most obedient servt,
William Pulteney

Jefferys would appear to have been 'touting for trade' in a private capacity with William Pulteney in 1772, as the evidence of Pulteney's letter to Jefferys on 27 July that year implies Jefferys had requested to act as Pulteney's lawyer in drawing up all necessary deeds in connection with acquisition of the land for Bridge Street, and its re-conveyance to trustees acting for William's wife, but reserving all the vaults beneath to Pulteney. Another letter from Pulteney is dated 6 August 1772:

It seems to me of little consequence who is employed about the Deeds provided they be thoroughly understood and settled before executing. As to any recompence to you, it is certainly very proper and may be made as ample for perusing & settling the Deeds as if you was solely employed in framing them. Such a sum can certainly be no object in an affair of this sort to the partys concerned. You will certainly be solely employed in the Deed between me & Messrs Laurence & Purdie, & in the Leases to be granted to builders in that street. I imagine the corporation must be partys as well as the Trustees in the Deed of exchange with me, but that matter shall be settled when we meet. I am Dr Sir

Your obedt servt
William Pulteney

And now coming to one of Pulteney's longest letters to Jefferys, and I think giving us the most information on his proposals for the Bathwick side of the new bridge, we have the following dated 12 September 1772, which I will include as it stands, because I feel it is the most illuminating:

Bath 12th September 1772

Mr Pulteney presents his Compliments to Mr Jeffries. He finds that the money allowed by the two several Acts of Parliament, amounting to £3000 and £3500 or £6000 in the whole will fall greatly short of the purposes intended and that Mr Pulteney will be obliged to lay out several thousand pounds more in order to open a proper communication to the building ground. By the plan of the new Buildings it is proposed to leave a large open Circular space next the Bridge from whence five large streets are proposed to run in different directions, and as the whole ground must be raised for the Building (by means of earth and rubbish) so as to be above the highest flood mark, and the underground storey of the houses must be raised above or on the top of that raised ground, the consequence is that the several terminations of the five streets, which will run across the aforesaid open Circular space and all join at the Bridge, must be arched at Mr Pulteney's expence to the height of the parlour story's of the intended houses, but after entering the several streets, the persons who build the houses on each side will arch the street which lyes between them at their own Expence. It is supposed that the Arches to be thus raised at Mr Pulteney's expence may be lett for Stables and Coach houses as a method has been invented of making them perfectly dry by claying over them in a new invented manner. As this is the Case Mr Pulteney thinks it will be proper to take a Lease of ninety nine years of this circular piece of ground to a Trustee for his behoof in order to secure to him any rent which may arise from the said Arches when Converted into Stables and Coach houses, as

some return for the money which he must lay out upon this Entailed estate, and as the Expence of arching will be greater than any probable return from the Coachhouses and Stables will answer, he thinks the ground rents ought to be but a trifle. He should be very glad to give such a lease to any person who would undertake the Expence of arching under the five roads, but he believes none will be found to accept of it, and besides there might be inconveniencies in making such a Lease to a Stranger who might obstruct any future alterations in the plan or might take advantage of any defect in the Covenants and thereby injure or obstruct the whole Scheme.

Mr Pulteney begs the favour of Mr Jeffreys to prepare the draft of a Lease of this sort, for which purpose he sends him the last Act of Parliament. The lease must refer to a plan, and Mr Pulteney must covenant to erect Arches of a specified height and length from a Certain point at or near the entrance of the new Bridge along the line of the five intended streets, to the entrance of such streets, and to pitch and pave over the same, so as to make a proper communication between each street and the said bridge, and to keep the said Arches and pavement in repair, but the future repairs he thinks should be regulated by the Act of parliament for the City which now extends to these fields, and Mr Pulteney must have power to make use of these Arches for Coach houses and Stables and to have a free Communication to the same, provided that the dung of the Stables shall be carryed off dayly or concealed from sight in such a manner as to occasion no nuisance or disagreeable smell. Mr Pulteney has enclosed a Sketch of the intended Circular space next the Bridge, and of the Streets, in order to give Mr Jeffris a clear idea of the matter, and he will wait upon Mr Jeffris to explain the matter further is necessary any time this day.

No drawing remains with these letters. But it is interesting to speculate on how different the Bathwick side of the bridge might have looked if these five radiating streets had been built. Walter Ison describes Robert Adam's proposals just a few years later for six radiating streets. What we have today of course is Thomas Baldwin's solution: Argyle Street. As to the coach-houses and stables underground, I am doubtful they could ever have been made damp-proof by clay-lining.

Baldwin

Only one document in the Jefferys papers relates to Thomas Baldwin, architect of many fine Bathwick houses, and city architect and surveyor, responsible for architectural treasures: the Guildhall and Cross Bath. However, whilst much is known about Baldwin's civic career from Corporation records, and most notably his bankruptcy in 1793 which spelled the end of his civic career, the one item newly acquired relates to Baldwin's personal business, of which virtually nothing is known to exist.

We have here an invoice from Jefferys for conveyancing work for which Baldwin was the client. It covers the period August 1778 to March 1781, and relates to several purchases of houses, and land for building upon. So, between August and September 1778 Baldwin purchased from Mr Harington '.. a house and garden near the Square to build on'. In December, Baldwin bought from Mr.Harington and wife the leasehold of a house in Trim Street, and also took a building lease from Harington of 'a plot of ground in Wood Street to build a house on ... with a reservation of rent to Mr Harington, and with Nice and Proper Clauses, conditions, and agreements to secure the same, and to build a house thereon, and to repair the same, etc.' In April 1779, Baldwin took a lease on two houses and building-ground in Queen Street, and another plot for building in Harington Place. Finally, in May 1789, Baldwin bought from Mr.Tylee a house in Milsom Street and a house in Weston Lane.

The total bill from Jefferys for conveyancing work during this three-year period was £151.6s.0d., an enormous sum when one considers Baldwin's salary as city surveyor was £140 per annum in 1776. Clearly Baldwin must have been making a considerable income from his private practice as an architect, and from property speculation on these various building-plots, but it is a revelation to see the big money involved, not just in Baldwin's private speculations, but for Jefferys also in his private practice as solicitor.

Jane Root, in her very detailed study of Baldwin's work for the Corporation in the 1770s and 1780s, makes it clear that Baldwin overstretched himself in the sheer volume of work he took on, and that his

ultimate dismissal from corporate office and personal bankruptcy in 1793 was almost certainly due not solely to deliberate fraud but also to ‘*carelessness and mismanagement resulting from sheer lack of time to attend to details*’.

Baldwin was clearly in his ascendancy as one of the foremost architects of Bath at the time when he made the property purchases detailed in Jefferys’ account. In 1777 he had completed the new Town Hall, having been appointed City Surveyor in 1775. In 1778 he added Deputy Chamberlain to his responsibilities. By 1781 he designed the little pavilion in the centre of the King’s Bath. On a personal note, he married on 15 September 1779 in St.James’s Church Elizabeth Chapman, daughter of John Chapman the saddler, six times mayor of Bath. I like to imagine William and Elizabeth Baldwin made their married home in the house he bought in Milsom Street in May 1780, befitting both his own and his wife’s status in the Bath community. The city Rate-books in 1789 give no mention of his paying rates, which would indicate his home address in the city. We know that he settled across the bridge in Bathwick later in life, amongst buildings of his own design.

Brereton

Major Brereton is one of the lesser-known Masters of Ceremonies in 18th century Bath. More is known about Wade, or Derrick. But one document in the Jefferys collection relates to Brereton, and its content is probably a common theme for many notable figures of the period - that of financial debt. This item printed (and presumably intended for general distribution) in Bath in March 1780 by a certain William Maxwell, is titled *A STATE of FACTS* and sets out in considerable detail how Brereton had been in debt for £400 some eight years earlier, and despite repeated promises to repay the debt to Maxwell and others who had stood surety for the Major as an act of kindness, most of the amount was still outstanding. As I said, we have considerable detail on the circumstances of how the debt is being prolonged, and I would like to include a section of this broadsheet or ‘Statement of Facts’, from which it appears Brereton is something of a rascal, always promising what he couldn’t, or wouldn’t, deliver:

In the course of this Transaction, I addressed myself to the Major in the following manner: Provided this Money is raised for you, when, and in what Time do you think it will be in your power to repay us? He said, “in a Month;” and produced a Memorandum-Book, to shew that he had upwards of *Three Thousand Pounds* due to him, which ought to have been paid some years ago. My reply was, Major, if you think you cannot pay the Money in a Month, take Six Weeks, take Two Months or Three, or a Year; whatever Time you take, I expect you to be punctual, or you may depend upon it, you will find me as much your enemy, as I am now inclined to be your Friend. However, the Time was stated at Six Weeks. I particularly recommended it to the Major, to use his utmost endeavours to raise the Money, and whenever he was possessed of ever so small a Sum, to give it to Mr Gyde as he was the only one that raised the Money, it must be paid to him, and him only: He sincerely promised.

At the expiration of the six weeks, no money was paid in; I met the Major in the Churchyard, when I talked to him very roundly upon the subject, and after great altercation, he promised to pay in part of the Money, and at Mr. Wade’s Ball, Mr. Gyde received *One Hundred Pounds*, upon condition that he gave up that Bond, which he did. After this, Creaser became a Bankrupt, and some time after Yescombe died insolvent; Gyde called upon me, and said he thought it was necessary that the matter of Brereton’s should be settled, and begged that I would go with him and Mr. Percival to the Major upon this business; we did so, and after informing him of the nature of our business, he acknowledged the debt all but the *One Hundred Pounds* which had been paid by Mr. Wade; but begged our indulgence till a future day, when we might depend upon it he would pay the greatest part, if not the whole.

At Bath Races the Major received, in my presence, a capital sum of money, when I intreated him to let Gyde have half of it, which he assured me he should have the next day; but I am certain he never gave him any part of it, and that he has never received any part of the said debt, except the *One Hundred Pounds* paid by Mr. Wade.

WILLIAM MAXWELL

BATH, March 17, 1780

Having said that little has been published about Brereton, I have uncovered information on his family which is of local interest. I suspect that he was of Irish origin, since I have not traced his birth or marriage in England. The database of the Mormon Church's *International Genealogical Index* shows his wife's name as Marion Edmonston, and we know that in the 1780s she was running a lodging-house in Bath, because just a couple of years ago the Record Office was given one tiny invoice for board and lodgings at Mrs.Brereton's in Southgate Street.

I have traced three children to Major William Brereton, all born in the early 1750s, who are interesting in their own right. A son William became an actor, and a portrait of him exists at the Holburne Museum of c.1780 by the British painter Henry Walton. It shows a youngish man leaning against a fireplace beneath a portrait of David Garrick of Drury Lane theatre. Garrick was a friend of William's father, the Major and Assembly Rooms MC, and this association provided William for many years with work in Garrick's company of actors. He apparently did not shine, as one contemporary wrote: 'He is a pretty figure, but wants lemon in his voice'. His ending was sad and premature. Having married in 1777 the Bath actress Priscilla Hopkins, mental illness took hold, and after attempting to kill Priscilla he was committed to an asylum where he died soon after in 1787. Priscilla subsequently married the noted actor John Philip Kemble.

Two daughters of the Major, Janetta and Julia, also had their portraits painted. An article in *Country Life* back in 1973 describes two missing portraits of Julia and Janetta, dressed as a shepherdess and a huntress, reputedly by Sir Joshua Reynolds, or possibly by Thomas Hickey. Janetta married in Bath at St. James's Church on 19 November 1771 her cousin George Brereton of County Kildare, and subsequently in the same church a daughter Miriam was baptised in 1772, a daughter Juliana in 1775, and in 1776 daughters Jannetta and Alicia. Interestingly, the register entry in 1776 states that Alicia had already been baptised in Ireland. Janetta married for the second time in Dublin a Colonel Robert Kennan, and it is these Irish connections which lead me to believe Major Brereton MC was of Irish extraction.

I traced no death or burial of the Major in Bath, and it seems most likely he moved away from the area. A portrait of him exists at the Royal National Hospital for Rheumatic Diseases. He was Master of Ceremonies at the Lower Rooms in Bath from 1777 onwards. He had also sought election to the post of MC in 1769, and again at the new Upper Rooms in 1785, but without success. As to his personal finances? Well, I think we have a pretty clear indication of his circumstances from this single item in the Jeffreys papers.

Conclusion

In conclusion I suppose the overriding theme which I have picked up running through this correspondence of Jefferys is one of 'debt', not his own, but the financial management, and mismanagement, of his clients. But then, Jefferys is already well-known in history as John Wood's financial adviser. Jefferys also amassed a considerable personal fortune; an income of £2,000 per year, and in a position to settle £50,000 on Grace Norton, if she would have him.

Inevitably, this collection of Jefferys business papers deals with exactly this: business and money. But I think you will agree that this lucky find, this stray Lot from the auction room, has given us a lot more, particularly an insight into Jefferys the political man, Jefferys the family man, and I suspect, ultimately the lonely man.

This article represents a shortened version of Colin Johnston's talk. It is hoped a fuller version will be published elsewhere one day.

**CHARLES NORRIS WILLIAMSON (1857-1920) JOURNALIST AND NOVELIST
AND
ALICE MURIEL WILLIAMSON (NÉE LIVINGSTON) (1859-1933) NOVELIST**

W.H.A.Chislett

Foreword

These notes are the result of my research on Charles Norris and Alice Muriel Williamson; both died in Bath and are interred in Bath Abbey Cemetery. Many Bath citizens were involved in some way with the couple while they lived here and these notes may be of some interest to members.

The findings proved to be most interesting, in particular regarding Alice, who seemed to want to keep her early life in the USA close to herself. Little of that period is contained in her autobiography. It would appear that there were aspects of her life that she was quite guarded about and that she may even have been previously married and have had children. It was possible that she came to Britain to make a new start and that she had been given a letter of introduction to Charles Norris Williamson, whom she later married, by her cousin Alice Livingston. Alice Muriel Williamson lost a considerable amount of money during the Wall Street Crash of 1929.

The connection with the Austin Commercial School and Typewriting Offices in Pierrepont Street, Bath, is most interesting. Fred Weatherly also used this facility. Are any of the items left to Florence Gertrude Austin still in Bath, in particular the red lacquered Japanese desk or other articles of furniture and jewellery?

I. Charles Williamson

Charles Norris Williamson was born 12 December 1857 at Park Place, St.Leonard, Exeter, Devon, the son of Stewart Williamson, a Dissenting Minister (Baptist) and Emma Williamson (née Norris). Charles was educated at University College, London, where he studied science and engineering until the age of 23; he then became a journalist and joined the staff of the *Examiner*. He later joined the editorial staff of the *Graphic* and remained there for eight years. In 1881 he published *The Life of Thomas Carlyle* (two volumes), and in 1891 started the *Black and White* magazine where he was the editor for eight years. A great traveller, his articles on his travelling experiences and automobilism were always accepted by leading publications.

Williamson married Alice Muriel Livingston on 24 August 1894, at Hampstead, London Registrar's Office. With his wife he wrote many bestselling novels that attracted worldwide popularity, and it was believed that the couple had the largest circulation of modern writers of that time. Many of their books were based on motoring and travel. Their first bestseller, *The Lightning Conductor*, based on a tour of the Continent in a motor car, was published in 1902. So popular was the book that King Edward VII sought them out at their Hampton Court Hotel. The King had actually motored to the Hotel to meet the couple because he had so much enjoyed their



"C.N." IN HIS FIRST MOTORING COAT.



THE Lightning Conductor CAR, STRANDED AS USUAL!

book, and took afternoon tea with them. *Set in Silver*, published in 1909 described in facile language a motor tour through many parts of England, and included a chapter on Bath and a stay at the Empire Hotel. It is thought that the tour first brought the attention of the city to them.

Prior to settling in Bath the couple lived in Surrey and in the South of France where they built a house, *La Dagonnière* on Cap Martin, later sold to Lord Rothermere; they also built *La Pausa* at Roquebrune, sold to a millionaire and later to Chanel, the couturière. The couple were

living in France at the outbreak of the First World War and worked for the Red Cross during the war and witnessed the terrible fighting on the western front before most other civilians. Their experiences provided material for their book, *Crucifix Corner*, which gave prominence to the United States' participation in the war in Europe.

Charles having been diagnosed with cancer whilst in France, for his health's sake the Williamsons came back to England in 1918 and first stayed in a Leeds nursing home, and then came on to Bath later in 1918. He first stayed at the Medical and Surgical Home run by the Misses Pidgen and Bell at 7 and 8 Upper Church Street (now converted into apartments) and being so enamoured of the city decided to make Bath his home.

When Mr. Frederick Edward Weatherly, a barrister and celebrated lyricist moved from Grosvenor Lodge, Combe Down, to 10 Edward Street, Bathwick, the Williamsons took occupation of the Combe Down house and changed its name to St. Christopher (probably because St. Christopher was the patron saint of travellers). It is amusing to note that the Bath stone gatepost (that weighed at least 3 tons) had been turned through 90 degrees so the previous name of the house could not be readily seen. After the death of Charles, Alice M. resided there until 1924.

Charles Norris Williamson died 3 October 1920 at St. Christopher, Combe Down, his home where he had lived for a year. Dorothy Burroughs, a nurse present at the time of his demise, reported his death. He was buried in the Bath Abbey Cemetery on 7 October 1920. On the coffin was placed an Union Jack and the French Tricolour that were buried with the deceased and earth transported from St. Christopher's was poured into the grave. The Rector of Bath (Prebendary Boyd) officiated and the funeral arrangements were entrusted to Mr. Wherrett of Combe Down. Mourners included his Honour Judge Gwynne James, Charles M. Coates, Mr. A. Robinson, Mr. A. Simons, Mr. J. W. Latham, Mr. R. Frampton and many villagers from Combe Down. One of the floral tributes recorded that Mr. Williamson founded the popular journal, *Black and White*. It read, 'To my dearest friend "White" from his *Fidus Achates* "Black"'. Other floral tributes were from Mrs. Alfred Spender, Mr. and Mrs. Frith Bryden, Mr. Astley Wakefield, Hilda M. Rodwald, his nurse; Sir Henry and Lady Nettle, Harriet, Falc and Ralph; Rose and Florence; Walter Styer, Mr. and Mrs. Wherrett; Mr. and Mrs. Milsom, A. Russell and the Savage Club. Probate was granted to his widow, London 11 June 1921.

Background

Although Charles Williamson was born in Devon, the family were not of West-country stock. In 1881 he was living with his mother and widowed sister at 14 Charlotte Street, St. George, Bloomsbury. His father Stewart Williamson (1811-1873) was born in Woolwich. Later the 1851 census for Bristol shows him as living in Clifton, a widower and newspaper proprietor.

Stewart Williamson married his second wife Emma Norris, a spinster aged 31 at the Buckingham Baptist Chapel, Clifton, Bristol on 29 November 1853. At the time Stewart was living in Appledore, North Devon, where he was a Baptist Minister. By 1861 the family was living in Heavitree, Exeter. Stewart died in 1873 aged 62, in Marylebone, London. Emma Norris had been born in Tenby, North Wales, a daughter of a Charles Norris. At the time of her marriage she was living at 17 Pembroke Place, Clifton with her sister-in-law Catherine Norris, an annuitant (born Hackney, London 1815). Isobella (Isobel) Charles's older sister was also born in Exeter, in 1855, and in later years looked after her mother who was in poor health. The 1901 census shows that Isobel was working for the *Black and White* magazine.

Bath Abbey Cemetery

On a visit to the cemetery with my wife on Sunday 14 November 2004, we found the grave in a sorry state, overgrown with brambles, weed and moss. However the plot was cleared and tidied up, and after moving about two inches of soil a cross, probably marble, was found lying horizontally on top of the grave. The cross and the inscription on it were in a remarkably good condition.

The site of the grave was marked with a bronze orrery mounted on top of a pillar that in turn was mounted on a double plinth. The base of the orrery was inscribed thus:

His joy was in giving sunshine to others

The pillar (not Bath stone but probably composite) was about seven inches in diameter, four feet high, and was inscribed:

Charles Norris Williamson
Left this life
Oct 3rd 1920
Loved adored
And
Alice Muriel Williamson
His wife
Sep 4th 1933
Aged 66

The cross bears an inlaid leaded inscription thus:

I am the resurrection and the life

II. Alice Williamson

Alice Williamson was born in Cleveland, Ohio in 1859, a daughter of Marcus A. King, lawyer, and Jeannie Livingston Thomas, and not at Manor House near Poughkeepsie, New York, USA, as reported in some publications. She was however a great-great-granddaughter of Chancellor Robert Livingston, a member of the committee who drafted the Declaration of Independence.

Educated privately in the USA, she wrote her first novel at the age of 15 and sold it for \$50. In 1893 she arrived in England and took up lodgings in London. She called on Charles Williamson who was then editor of the *Black and White* magazine, and undertook to write six serials simultaneously for the magazine. Later she was commissioned to write other serials for the *Strand* magazine. Alice married

Charles Williamson in 1894 and they moved to live in Surrey. Prior to her marriage to Williamson she had written several novels including *The Barn Stormers* and *The Golden Silence*.



THE AUTHOR.

Photo: Lefebvre.

Charles Williamson was asked to write a series of articles for a newspaper about motoring in France, which at the time was a novelty. However before they could appear the paper discontinued publishing. Alice rewrote them as lively letters and the result was the book titled *The Lightning Conductor*. Printed in several languages it became a bestseller in America and England in 1903 and was well acclaimed by King Edward VII as described above.

She also wrote occasional scenarios for the silent movie films, regularly visiting Hollywood where she advised film companies on films of the Foreign Legion, in which she had an interest. Whilst in Hollywood she also helped young aspiring men and women to obtain work in the film industry. The death of her husband in 1920 affected her badly and it was reported that she lost a lot of money in 1929 (\$150,000) when the American Stock Market crashed.

Alice died on Sunday 24 September 1933 whilst in residence at the Empire Hotel, Bath, and her death was not without controversy. The purpose of her visit to Bath in September of 1933 had been to lay a wreath on her late husband's grave on 3

October, the thirteenth anniversary of his death. She was cremated at Arnos Court Crematorium and her ashes interred with her late husband at Bath Abbey Cemetery.

The Visit to the Empire Hotel

On arrival at the Empire Hotel on the evening of Friday 22 September, she was not feeling well, was tired and went to her room asking not to be disturbed next morning. As there had been no communication from her in the morning, nor had she rung the bell for attention after midday, a hotel servant went to her room and it appeared that Mrs. Williamson still did not want to be disturbed. The hotel servant called her again at 3 pm and there was still no reply and the door was locked. Thinking that something must be wrong, the servant called the hotel manager who in turn called the police and the door was forced. The novelist was found half-unconscious lying half out of bed. Medical assistance was called for and artificial respiration and oxygen applied, however death occurred at about 5 am on Sunday morning.

There had been suggestions that Mrs. Williamson anticipated the possibility of her early demise as she had a heart condition. In consequence, letters written by her to her executor Mr. Harry Robinson of Bank House, De Montalt Place (now Church Road), Combe Down (the manager of the Provincial Bank at Combe Down) were carried in her handbag. When interviewed on the subject of possible financial losses Robinson said that he was not aware that she thought she was in trouble. Mrs. Williamson had written to him the previous week and intended to telephone him when she arrived in Bath on the Saturday, but he did not get any message. Mrs. Williamson had also written a letter to the hotel manager to the effect that she had a heart condition, and if anything happened to her he was to call Mr. Robinson.

Agony Notice

Inquiries by the Bath police resulted in establishing a connection between a note that appeared in the personal column of the *Times* on 20 September 1933 and Mrs. Williamson. The message read: 'S.A. Terribly important. Alicia's financial interest. Get in touch with you.' Mrs. Williamson was known as Alicia to her intimate friends and it was practically certain that the initials belonged to someone well known in the literary and stage circles. However from enquiries made, the person was in a nursing home.

In the hope that 'S.A.' might be able to throw some light on the announcement and the various financial worries of Mrs. Williamson, Bath police requested Scotland Yard to obtain an interview.

In a statement to the *Daily Express* by Mrs. Theodore Cory of St. Albans, Hampton-on-Thames, Mrs. Cory said 'On Wednesday of last week Mrs. Williamson rang me up on the telephone. She was in a state of great agitation and was unable to get in touch with one of her greatest and most trusted friends. It was essential that she communicated with him for advice because of certain money which she had entrusted to a friend of which she was in dire need'. Mrs. Williamson also brought to the attention of Mrs. Cory the personal notice she had placed in the *Times*. Mrs. Theodore Cory was a well-known novelist who went under the pen name of Winifred Graham and was a close friend of the deceased.

The Inquest

The inquest was reported in the *Times* on Friday 6 October 1933. Mr. Robinson gave evidence, including the fact that at her death Mrs. Williamson possessed a substantial bank balance. The chambermaid, Evelyn Gullick, described how she had called on Mrs. Williamson without reply. Detective Constable Alcock explained how he had forced the door and found her lying on the bed, with a number of tablets strewn about the room.

A Dr. Watson described how he was called to the room and applied artificial respiration. When he left at 6pm the patient was breathing regularly and her pulse was moderate. However at 5am on the 24th the nurse rang him up to tell him that the patient had turned blue in the face, with very deep breathing, a temperature of 102° and respiration 36. He testified that it seemed to have been the effect of a sleeping drug of some kind.

Dr. Henry Heathcote, the pathologist who made a post mortem examination, stated that the only signs of organic disease were an old pleurisy on the left side and the fact that the heart muscle was very poor, but not sufficient to cause death. His opinion was that death was caused by veronal poisoning and it was possible it was accelerated by a clot forming on the brain. It was suggested that Mrs. Williamson had inadvertently taken more sleeping tablets than she should have done. In conclusion the Coroner said that he had better read a letter that was addressed to the manager of the Empire Hotel:

I have been feeling ill for the last few days. I have been told that I have a leaking heart, so anything may happen to me at any time. If anything should happen call up Mr Robinson, bank manager of the National Provincial Bank at Combe Down, and I can quickly be spirited away without being seen or making trouble in the house or anyone knowing of death in this room. Of course I will write this letter wherever I go just now, as I feel so very tired and feel so absolutely down and out. But very likely nothing will happen.

The Coroner concluded; 'I think on the evidence that we have heard the proper verdict is that she died of veronal poisoning accidentally administered by herself'. (It is interesting to note that the Coroner made no reference to the agony notice placed in the *Times* newspaper).

Mrs. Williamson's Circle

An attractive blonde proud of her Scottish/Welsh ancestry, Mrs. Williamson was an indefatigable worker and performed many unobtrusive kindnesses. Among her large circle of friends in Bath were Madame Sarah Grand and H.A. Vachell of Widcombe Manor. On hearing of her death Madame Grand said, 'I had known her for many years and admired her very much, both as a writer and a woman she was clever and charming.'

Self-styled Madame Sarah Grand (Frances Bellenden McFall (née Clarke) 1854-1943) arrived in Bath around the same time as the Williamsons and Ella Wheeler Wilcox. Grand was the first of the 'New Women' novelists and became a leading activist on feminine social and moral purity. All three women had one thing in common, writing, and they also toured and lectured. In particular Ella Wilcox and Sarah Grand lectured on sexual matters. Sarah Grand toured the USA in 1901 giving lectures. She was six times

Mayoress of Bath in the 1920s with Alderman Cedric Chivers, a widower and businessman who had business interests in the USA.

It is worth recording here that Ella Wheeler Wilcox (1850-1919), the famous American poet and writer, was also a patient in the same Medical and Surgical Home as Charles Williamson in 1919. She had also returned from France, where she became ill through exhaustion having toured US army camps giving poetry recitals and talks. Shortly after returning to the USA later in 1919 she died. Her will was written and proved in Bath.

Alice Williamson's Will

Alice Muriel Williamson's will was proved at the Bristol Probate Registry 27 March 1934 and administration granted to Mr. Harry Robinson. The will had been drawn up in Bath on 28 March 1929, giving her permanent English address as Hotel Milestone, Kensington, London, and witnessed by two of the staff of the Empire Hotel. Included in her beneficiaries was a Florence Gertrude Austin of Pierrepont Street, Bath, to whom was left jewellery, plated articles, furs and other wearing apparel, a red lacquered Japanese desk and other articles of furniture that she might care to select, but not Mrs. Williamson's books and manuscripts.

Florence Austin and her husband Edgar Austin were the proprietors of the Austin Commercial School and Typewriting Office at 9 Pierrepont Street, Bath. The business had been at other locations in Bath until 1919 when it moved to Pierrepont Street, just 100 yards from the Empire Hotel. It remained in business until about 1959. The site then became a Turf Accountants office. At the time of writing the premises are now let into apartments and rather run down.

Principal works by C.N and A.M. Williamson - *A Woman in Grey*, 1898; *The House of the Lock*, 1899; *Lady Mary of the Dark House*, *The Lightning Conductor*, 1902; *The Princess Passes*, 1904; *My Friend the Chauffeur*, 1905; *The Car of Destiny*, *Betty Across the Water*, 1906; *Scarlet Runner*, 1908; *Set in Silver*, 1909; *Lord Loveday Discovers America*, *The Golden Silence*, 1910; *The Guests of Hercules*, *The Heather Moon*, 1912; *The Lightning Conductress*, 1916; and *Crucifix Corner*, 1918.

Principal works by Mrs. A.M. Williamson - *Alias Richard Power*, 1921; *The Lure of Vienna*, 1926; *Cancelled Love*, 1926; *Told at Monte Carlo*, 1926; *Children of the Zodiac*, 1929. Autobiography - *The Inky Way*, published November 1931 by Bookman (London).

Notes

1. Bath Record Office possesses a copy of the will of Alice Williamson, also of *Set in Silver*.
2. A photograph of St. Christopher's appears in the *Survey* No.20, October 2005, p.20, in an article by Rosemary Simmons on the Combe Down Buildings Record.
3. The age of Alice inscribed on the memorial is not correct - she was about 73. Likewise Charles' age on his death certificate is also incorrect. He was in fact 63 - not 50 as reported!

References/Acknowledgements

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MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ AND NO.22, THE CIRCUS, BATH

Sydney T.Chapman

In an earlier article I recalled the life and work of the landscape artist John Taylor of Bath (1735-1806) who lived at 22 The Circus, and later in Duke Street. In *Notes and Queries* for July 21, 1900, under the heading 'Major André's House at Bath' - though without any reference to Taylor - it was reported that a memorial tablet bearing the inscription 'Here lived Major André A.D 1770' had been placed on No.22, the writer reminding readers how 'the brave young Major André' had been 'shot' (in error for 'hung') by order of George Washington at New York on a charge of spying for the British government. This new tribute to his memory was duly reported in the *New York Times* on 2 September 1900.

However, within six years the veracity of the statement was being questioned by J.F.Meehan in a short chapter 'Major André and Bath' in his *More Famous Houses of Bath and District*. There he declared that he was going to be 'quite frank' with his readers, stating that 'there is no evidence that Major André was ever in Bath' in spite of the fact that the 'mural tablet' had been placed over the entrance-door of the house stating that André had dwelt there in 1770.



John André: engraved frontispiece self-portrait in J.H. Smith's 'An Authentic Narrative Of The Causes Which Led To The Death of Major John André' (London 1808)

He knew that there was indeed an interesting family connection with the city and house in question through André's widowed mother and three spinster sisters who 'took shelter from society' there from the later years of the 18th century, until 1845, nor did he rule out the possibility that John André had been in Bath before his family settled there 'almost with the sorrow of his death fresh upon them'. He thought it unjustifiable nevertheless to assert that Major André who on 2 October 1780 'fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his king and country' had actually lived at No.22. He felt there was 'a fair amount of André interest in Bath of an undoubted character' through this family connection without 'wandering in the by-path of supposition'. The idea that Major André himself was connected with the Circus was probably of long standing and had been mentioned several years earlier, again without reference to Taylor, by R.E.M.Peach in his *Historic Houses in Bath and their Associations* (1883-4). Peach, however, perhaps simply in error, placed the André's at No.23. What is remarkable in all this is that neither author troubled himself to find out who was in ownership or occupation of the house in the year 1770 when André is stated to have lived there, or why the year 1770 was significant.

Moving on a few decades, R.W.M.Wright (Director of the Victoria Art Gallery) in his notes on Bath artists observed that the rate books show Taylor living at No.22 and, in passing, that those for 1789 showed Mrs.André residing at that property. Hers is but one of several names he mentions in attempting to establish Taylor's links with the house over time; he makes no mention of Major André and perhaps he had been persuaded by Meehan that the connection was unsubstantiated.

My research on Taylor has now established precisely how the house came into the possession of the André family and, earlier, of the artist himself. Documents in the city archives show, first of all, that the residence was bought on Christmas Eve 1766 from John Brabant and Mark Davis, cabinet-makers of Bath by John Taylor and his father Abraham (BC153/562/1); Abraham Taylor, formerly Colonel of the Association Regiment in Philadelphia, was a friend of Benjamin Franklin and co-founder with him of the

Public Academy in that city, and had returned to England after making his fortune. The papers also reveal that 22 years later John Taylor, 'only son and heir of Abraham Taylor of Bath, Esquire, deceased', and Rebecca his wife sold it by a lease and release dated 23-4 November 1788 to Mary Hannah André, Ann Margaret André and Louisa Catherine André, 'all of Bath, spinsters', for the sum of £1,850 (BC153/562/4). John Taylor is now said to be 'of Grosvenor Place in the parish of Saint George, Hanover Square, Middlesex Esquire', confirming other literary and genealogical sources which speak of the artist as 'of the Circus, Bath and of Grosvenor Place, London'.

Clearly Taylor did not sell the house for several years after the deplorable event of Major André's execution in 1780, but it is possible that the sale of the house to the André family was no coincidence. Perhaps they, John André included, had been no less keen than many other distinguished visitors, including Royalty, to view the rooms Taylor had opened to the public and which he had decorated with many examples of his paintings as well as interesting and fine objects. Most young men of his background (André was twenty years of age in 1770) and certainly any of an ambitious and adventurous disposition would have been intrigued by Taylor's connections with men of affairs and the arts. These included, as mentioned, Benjamin Franklin and fellow Americans Francis Hopkinson, signer of the American Declaration of Independence, designer of its Great Seal and 'star-spangled banner' and the new nation's first composer, and Benjamin West, latterly Court painter and President of the Royal Academy; of these we know from the Franklin papers that Hopkinson stayed at 22 the Circus for a fortnight as guests of the Taylor family in 1766. It should be remembered that André was himself possessed of considerable talent as an artist and produced accomplished portraits, silhouettes, and designed fancy dresses and scenery for masques and private theatricals as Mrs.F.Nevill Jackson has described ('Major André – Silhouettist' in *The Connoisseur Magazine*, 1926, pp.209-218). He was also, as we are about to see, connected with the world of literature. Taylor's wider links with the arts, then, are also likely to have impressed the young André.

The date on the plaque, 1770, suggested of course that John André's connection with No.22, if true at all, was brief; it may have been just for the season, or for a shorter period. Yet it is understandable that André's posthumous fame would allow any interval, however short, to be deemed fit to be commemorated in this way. One has only to reflect on the plaques, fixed to buildings along his marching route, recording the stay of The Young Pretender for as little as one night. But a clue is possibly lurking elsewhere in Meehan's own book, for he would also recall (p.85), how, according to Richard Lovell Edgeworth, a native of Bath, the young André had travelled in the very year 1770 to the west Midland town of Lichfield to see Miss Honora Sneyd.

He had fallen very much in love with her, having probably been smitten by her charms the previous year when he met her there among the coterie of the poetess Anna Seward. It is not inconceivable, then, that on his journey thither or thence in that year André had detoured briefly to Bath and visited or stayed with the Taylor family. This is likely to have been recounted subsequently by one of the artist's family; perhaps Dr.Richard Taylor, one of the artist's sons, whose recollections of his father's life at Bath are likely to have extended beyond the few contained in his short obituary. One of André's sisters, Hannah survived until her death at Taylor's former house, aged 93, in 1845 and she or another of the long lived sisters, or indeed his brother William who was created a Baronet and lived at Bath, may have perpetuated the story linking No. 22 with Major John André.

It is one thing, however, to dismiss a story due to lack of evidence and another to dismiss it with a palpably false notion like that retrospectively justifying the removal of the plaque in the 1940s published in the Ward Lock Bath guidebook. There, as Elizabeth Holland kindly pointed out to me, it was stated that André could not have stayed at No. 22 in 1770 since the premises were in an uninhabitable state. This is hardly possible for a house less than a decade old when André is said to have stayed there. There is no evidence of a disaster befalling the building around that or any time, though it experienced a near miss in the 'Baedeker raids' in WWII. Even so, until firmer evidence linking Major André with No 22, The Circus, and particularly with the year 1770, comes to light the question of whether he visited or resided for a while at Taylor's will still, frustratingly, remain unresolved.

BATH'S FIRST THREE MEDICAL OFFICERS OF HEALTH

Malcolm Hitchcock

In the middle years of the 19th century as medical science advanced and public understanding of the factors that caused ill-health increased, it was recognised that in order to improve the health of the nation the state itself would need to play a central role in providing the basic necessities that had been identified as preventing sickness. Thus several great Acts of Parliament were introduced in the 1840s through to 1875 to require Local Authorities to put in place schemes for the provision of things we now take for granted - pure water, safe sanitation, elimination of ordure, immunisation, isolation of infectious diseases, etc. In order to monitor these proposals the General Board of Health in 1851 issued general guidelines for local 'Officers of Health', whose duty would be to report progress to the Board and provide statistics as to the nature and causes of death in their area. The first Officers were appointed in London four years later and the scheme was introduced gradually throughout the country, Edinburgh in 1862, Leeds and Bath in 1866 and Manchester in 1868 against a background of continuing legislation culminating in the Public Health Act of 1875.

Dr.Clement Barter

Bath's first MOH, Dr.Clement Barter, then aged 29, was appointed in 1866. He satisfied the fundamental requirement of the Board in that he was a Medical Practitioner with some specialisation in the prevention of disease, who would act in the interest of the whole community as an impartial advocate and adviser on its behalf, to investigate and if necessary to support complaints when they arose. Either acting alone or sometimes accompanied by one of the Committee's Inspectors he reported to the Bath Council Sanitary Committee, whose duty it was to take action to eradicate the source of any complaint.

Since the MOH was a public employee the job entailed a conflict of interest, firstly in reconciling the measures he considered were needed and the resources required by the Council to carry them out, and secondly as his statistics were available nationally he had to be aware that Bath's reputation as a health resort should not be tarnished. Dr.Symons, Bath's third Medical Officer of Health, writing thirty years later, commended his attitude: *'Dr.Barter's first report is admirable in all respects, the object being to supply statistics which form the bedrock of sanitary reforms and to give advice as to the best method of preventing disease; to make an advertisement for the City should be altogether a secondary matter. His report could not be looked on as a good advertisement as it showed rather that Bath was a City of epidemics'*. This latter point is discussed by Graham Davis¹, but Barter's frustration on the former can clearly be seen from his reports to the Committee² written a year after he had taken up the post:

3 July: On 23 July 1866 I reported that pigs which were kept at a slaughterhouse belonging to Mr.Weeks of Peter Street should be removed, as I considered them injurious to Public Health. Although nearly a year has elapsed I find from the Inspector that the pigs are still there.

13 November: On 11 June and 30 July 1866 I reported on the condition of Ostrich Court, Grove St. to the Board. I visited the Court on Tuesday last, and found a condition similar to that of summer last year. The houses are dilapidated and some very dirty, requiring whitewashing and cleaning. Two privies - the only ones in the Court - are choked up with soil nearly level to the seats. There is no water supply to them or to the Court. A large tub in the yard which formerly contained water is now a receptacle for offal and rubbish. The paving in the Court is bad, many windows are broken and one sash completely gone. The fronts of some houses are covered with green vegetable growth.

In its present condition the Court would form a nest for fever or any infectious disease, and I suggest that the Board close up the Court if they do not have the power to improve its condition.

Dr.Anthony Brabazon

Dr.Barter died after only ten years in the post, aged about 39, and was succeeded by Doctor Anthony Brabazon in June 1876. Dr.Brabazon had a long and distinguished career, in his early years having

volunteered to serve as a Civil Surgeon at the military hospital at Scutari in the Crimea. He had arrived in Bath in 1861 to take up the post of a General Practitioner with his surgery opposite the church of St.Mary Bathwick, which he regularly attended and in which he held office for many of his 35 years in Bath. As well as being appointed MOH he held other appointments, as a physician at the Mineral Water Hospital and medical officer at Bath College, and was a painstaking and conscientious public servant throughout his life. This was recognised by the erection of a memorial window on the north aisle of St.Mary Bathwick after his death. The inscription, set below an image of St. Luke, reads:

Anthony Beaufort Brabazon, M.D.
Honourable Physician at the Bath Mineral Water Hospital
Medical Officer of Health for City of Bath
Senior Warden of the Church of St.Mary Bathwick 1878-1896
Member of the Guild of St Luke Evangelist and Physician
Born 1820. Departed this Life March 13 1896
His many friends offer to God this Memorial of his beneficent and loving life

At the time of Dr.Brabazon's appointment the number of deaths per thousand population in Bath stood at 22.5 for the winter quarter; the lowest it had been since records began. Under Dr.Barter the previous year's figure was 35.6. (We are not familiar with this statistical form, preferring that of life expectancy, and the relationship between them is given in the Appendix). The most dangerous time was in the first five years, as the tabulation below for deaths in this same winter quarter shows:

Between ages:	Birth to 5 years:	76 (16 of these at birth, and 4 accidentally suffocated)
	5 to 20:	10
	20 to 60:	98
	over 60:	112

Respiratory disease (mainly bronchitis and pneumonia) at 87 was the most common cause of death.

Out of the 296 total, 19 people had died in hospital, and 27 in the workhouse.

Brabazon continued over the next twenty years to carry out his duties in much the same way as his predecessor, submitting weekly, monthly and annual reports on categories of fatal illness, a subject on which it must have been difficult to identify clear trends and thus provide future guidance. Sometimes the work must have seemed rather dull and beneath his capacity: taking an example in October 1877:

I accompanied the Inspector to 6 Park Street to ascertain the cause of an alleged foul smell generally pervading the house but particularly the back bedroom on the 3rd floor and the parlour. The cause of the nuisance was stated by the complainants to be from a waste pipe of a water closet recently erected in an adjoining house and placed in immediate contact with a party wall corresponding to the 3rd bedroom. Inspection proved that the waste pipe was not in contact with the party wall as asserted, and on enquiry I found that the WC had been there for 8 years without complaint. We inspected it and found it to be in perfectly good working condition. I see no present cause for interference on sanitary grounds. (Signed WBB)³.

During this period the statistics show that the health of the Bath population improved in line with the national trend. For some diseases it was much better than the national average (one such being that of typhoid fever, which was attributed to the cleanliness of the town water supply). One recurring theme in Dr.Brabazon's reports was that the population should do more for themselves, for example by cleaning their houses, to reduce the likelihood of infection. From his 1877 report:

The number of deaths of infants under 5 years is in my opinion much larger than it should be; and I think might possibly be decreased in great measure were those who are responsible to be instructed in the absolute necessity of cleanliness, proper food and clothing, and obedience to the dictates of common sense in the management of their children⁴.

Dr. William Symons

Dr. Brabazon died, still working at the age of 76, and his funeral and achievements were effusively reported⁵. He was succeeded by Dr. William Symons, aged 42, appointed from a field of 23 candidates, and, as the *Chronicle* in his obituary⁶ pointedly put it, 'soon after his election it became evident that developments were to be expected', and it was not long before there were complaints by members of the Sanitary Committee that the new MOH was 'expensive and extravagant'.

They received an early shock, for within a month of his appointment Symons wrote a memorandum pointing out that best practices and equipment were not in place to sterilise equipment and buildings used in the treatment of infectious diseases, and requested new items be purchased to the tune of £2000. This was typical of his approach to the reduction of disease - for thirty years the Sanitary Committee had received a wealth of statistical data as to the causes of death, but, particularly in Brabazon's time, with very little analysis of the underlying causes. All this was about to change, as Symons set about examining every aspect of city life that could have a bearing on prevention of disease.

His first few years must have been an unsettling time for the members of the Sanitary Committee. In addition to the disinfection equipment requested above (a steam disinfecter, incinerator, day shelter, isolation cottage, and another ambulance), at his insistence the council house-building programme was started, he attacked the Council for licensing 46 slaughterhouses, 32 of which were in use, saying they should be replaced by one Public Abattoir. He proposed that a veterinary surgeon be appointed to inspect the 24 dairies and 12 farms within the city limits since there was evidence that fatal cases of diarrhoea in children were caused by unboiled contaminated milk. He suggested new bye-laws, a reorganisation of the Survey Department, and requested an assistant to permit him to carry out his duties more effectively. However, it was not all bad. He congratulated the Council on the provision of the Statutory (Isolation) Hospital at Claverton (now the site of Wessex Water offices) and on the very low death rate from zymotic diseases in children.

His range of interests was wide, and this can be seen in his Annual Reports to the Sanitary Committee, transforming them from three or four pages of copperplate handwriting by Dr. Brabazon into typed documents of some 50 pages crammed with statistics, including trends and other data covering all aspects having an impact on public health. To emphasise the importance of his work the cover of each report carried an epigraph, for example – *Salus populi, suprema es lex (Cicero)* or, *Death Borders upon our birth, our cradle stands in our grave. One generation passeth, another cometh, none stayeth (Bishop Joseph Hall, b.1574)*.

Typically, the 1899 Report⁷ covered the following:

Bath - its Site, Soil & Elevation; Marriages, and Birth Rates; Vaccination Returns; Elementary Schools; Population, Birth Rate & New Cases of Infectious Sickness by Parish; Disinfection Procedures; Mortuary Accommodation; Death & Death Rates analysed by parish, cause, age, etc, and compared to national figures; Protection of Food from Contamination; The Water Supply; Mineral Water Factories (*This branch of our food supply appears to be overlooked*, he wrote); Bakehouses; Dairies, Cowsheds & Milkshops; Slaughterhouses; Storage, Collection & Disposal of Refuse; Housing the Poor; Inspection of Canal Boats, and finally Meteorology. This last subject was one of his great passions, setting up measurement stations in Henrietta Park, the Parade Gardens, at his newly-built house at Combe Park, and on top of the Guildhall [Fig.1] such that by the year 1900 five fully equipped climatic stations, supplemented by another three measuring rainfall, were in operation and read twice daily.

The committee complained at the cost of producing these extensive reports, but he was unrepentant, for the first page of the 1903 Report contained the epigraph 'Statistics is the bedrock of sanitation'. He had singled out the high rates of infant mortality for attention, being concerned for those too young to help themselves. He produced pamphlets on childcare and, following the Midwives Act of 1902, proposed and obtained several measures aimed at improved child welfare. '*Most of the physician's work lies among the poor*', he wrote, and these and the very young, who could not look after themselves were his particular concern. He was distressed to find some of the families who had been displaced from Lampard's



Fig.1 Dr.Symons reading the Campbell-Stokes Sunshine Recorder, on the Guildhall Dome, 1900.

Buildings when those slum dwellings were replaced by council houses, living in the same squalid conditions in another part of town, and to help these and others similarly placed he requested a female Health Visitor be appointed, in 1905, which was approved two years later. A Medical Inspector of schoolchildren - another full-time post - was started in August 1908. By that time the Health Department had risen to five, with a permanent Sanitary Inspector carrying out thousands of house visits a year.

He produced leaflets for general distribution as guidance for citizens, with such titles as:

The Housing of the working classes

Precautions against the communication of Consumption

Home-nursed cases of Infectious Diseases

Instructions for Home-nursing cases of Blood Poisoning, Erysipelas, Puerperal Fever, Measles and Whooping Cough

How to rear healthy children, and How Infants should be fed

Disinfection

Dangers of alcoholism and smoking (example shown here, Fig.2).

He also ran one-hour health courses for the general public on the Laws of Hygiene over a term at the Technical School.

However, there was another side to his character that must have been a constant irritant to members of the Council, in that he did not appear to be a 'Man of Bath' in the way that Brabazon had been. In producing the leaflets and lectures he must have given the impression of 'jumping over' the Committee to get to the people who mattered. He also wrote learned articles for professional journals on subjects on which he had carried out research (one in *The Lancet* defending Bath against the charge of being a City with a tendency to cancer), and was often away attending or delivering papers at medical conferences – he purchased a

Season Ticket for the London train every year – and the minutes of Sanitary Committee meetings often quote that Dr.Symons was absent on external business. Also, he had no other occupation within the City, unlike his two predecessors. There was even a debate as to whether his employment was full- or part-time (no doubt with some strong feelings being expressed since his salary was twice that of Dr.Brabazon) and very unusually his contract was renewed on a yearly basis.

His last report was prepared for the year 1915, and to the distress of the Sanitary Committee he died the next August, it transpiring later that he had been ill for a long time. One small indication of his detachment is that he named his house in Combe Park ‘Hampstead’, and he is buried in Hampstead rather than in Bath.

Concluding Remarks

We owe a great debt of gratitude to these late-Victorian Medical Officers, who on health matters acted for the voiceless poor who were unable to pay for treatment, by insisting that the authorities raise basic standards of hygiene. Reading their individual reports one is shocked by the state of much of Bath, and the maladies suffered by many of its citizens. The improvement in public health given at the end of the Appendix showing an improvement of fifteen years life expectancy over the period of their stewardship, both in Bath and nationwide, is perhaps their finest epitaph.

Appendix: Death Rate and Life Expectancy

The Victorian medical profession used a measure of the health of the population of a town quoting local ‘deaths per 1000 population’. This measure means little to us nowadays as we are accustomed to the term ‘life expectancy’. However, these can be related, as follows: Life Expectancy assumes that we will live until a certain age, and then all die in that year. To convert to ‘Deaths/1000’ we must assume that the population ages are evenly spread, i.e. there are equal numbers in each age bracket, and also that there is no population growth i.e. birth rate equals death rate. So, for example for a Life Expectancy of 70 years, for a population of one thousand, 1000 divided by 70 will die that year; a rate of 14.3 per thousand. We can now construct a table:

Life Expectancy:	30	40	50	60	70	80 years
Deaths/1000:	32	25	20	16.6	14.3	12.5

This was termed the ‘Crude Death Rate’, which improved in Bath over the previous 35 years in line with the national trend. In later years this was then corrected by Medical Officers of Health since the assumptions above were too simplistic. They took no account of high numbers of deaths in early childhood - stillbirths followed by deaths from zymotic infectious diseases (scarlet fever, whooping cough, measles, etc), and also since Bath had a higher female population (for example widows tended by maidservants) who lived longer than men. Thus corrections were applied and these were quoted to give comparative figures for other towns. This led to controversy, as pointed out by Graham Davis¹.

The following Table shows the improvement in the Death Rate for Bath compared to other southern and Welsh towns of similar size over the 40 years since the appointment of Dr.Barter, expressed as deaths/1000 of population:

Year	1868	1905
Bath	21.56	15.2
Average for nine towns	19.65	14.82

Equivalent to some 15 years improvement in life expectancy in both cases.

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Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Colin Johnston and his staff in the Guildhall Record Office for supplying most of the material upon which this article is based, assistance and advice in its interpretation and permission to reproduce the two figures.

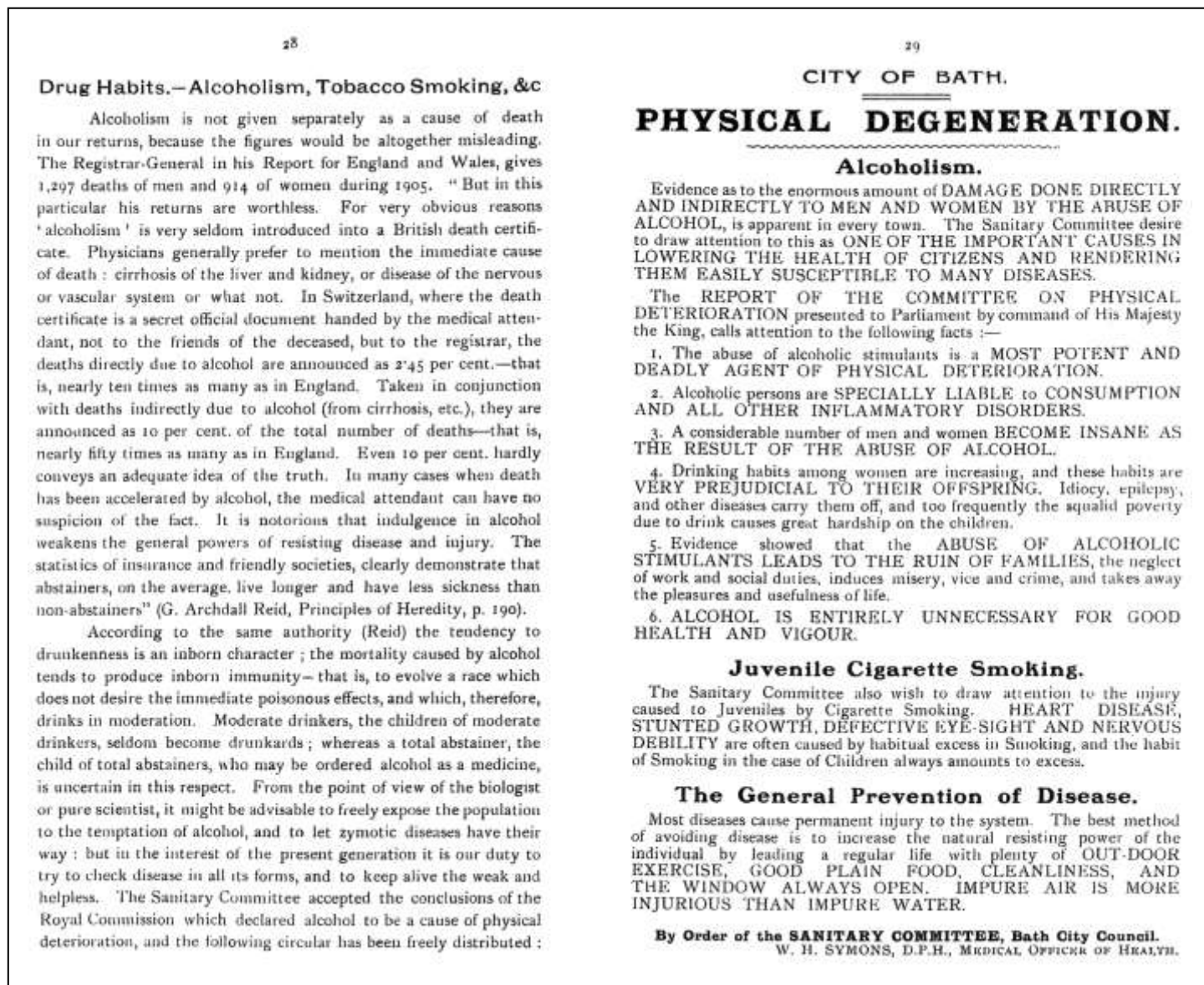


Fig.2 Dr.Symons' leaflet on Physical Degeneration: Alcohol and Smoking, 1906.

NATHANIEL FISHER, ROUGH-MASON (1691/2 – 1749)

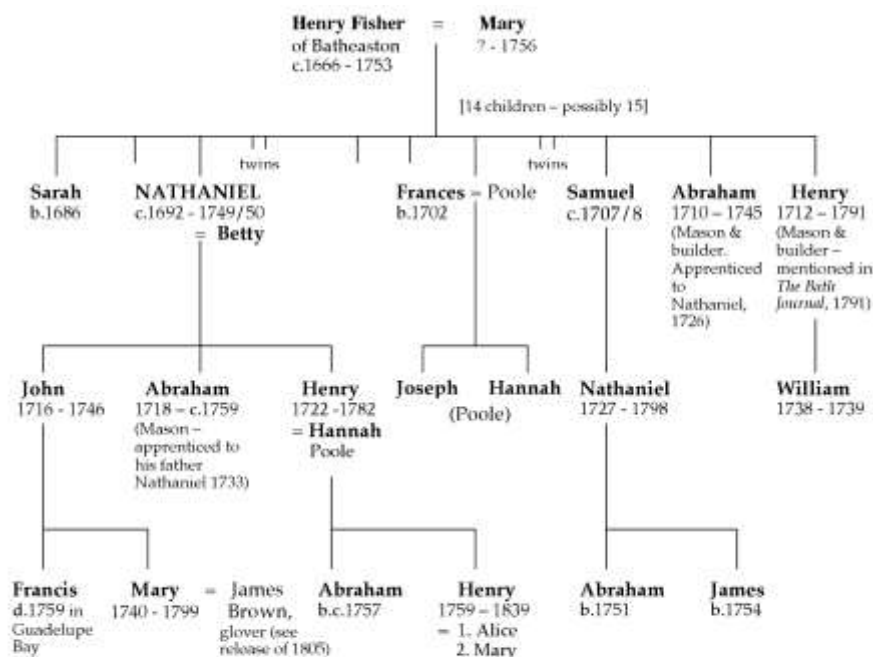
Allan Keevil

Family Background

Nathaniel Fisher was the eldest son (and possibly third child) of Henry and Mary Fisher of Batheaston, twelve of whose children are recorded in the register as having been baptised there,¹ although fourteen (not all of whose baptisms were recorded) have been identified, and there may have been at least one other, all born between 1686 and 1712. Although as will be shown, Nathaniel was obviously among the oldest of the children, his baptism is unfortunately one of those not recorded, because of defective registers. Nevertheless, his relationship and position within the family can be discovered from other documents.

Apprenticeships normally commenced when a boy had reached his fifteenth birthday, and Nathaniel Fisher began his seven-year apprenticeship to William Webb, rough-mason, on 2 April 1707.² There are no register entries or bishop's transcripts for Batheaston between 20 March 1690/1 and 3 April 1692. The parents, Henry and Mary Fisher, had a daughter, Susanna, baptised there on 1 March 1690/1, and twin daughters baptised on 21 September 1694. To be 15 by 2 April 1707, Nathaniel would have been born by 2 April 1692, and he may have been baptised during the period for which the Batheaston registers are missing.

The two youngest recorded children (believed to be the fourteenth and fifteenth) of Henry and Mary Fisher were Abraham, baptised on 23 September 1710, who was apprenticed 'to his [much older] brother, Nathaniel' on 25 March 1726,³ when he would have been about 15, and Henry, baptised at Batheaston, 27 December 1712. The latter's apprenticeship is not recorded in the Apprentice Enrolment Book, but he obtained his freedom of the City of Bath on 24 February 1734.⁴ His payment of 6/- to the Corporation, the usual fee when the freedom was obtained as a result of completion of apprenticeship to a freeman, was entered in the accounts.⁵ Although his apprenticeship is not recorded, it is almost certain that he, too, had been apprenticed to his much older brother, Nathaniel, for, like Nathaniel and Abraham, he too is described in documents as a 'rough mason', and for a time all three men were building in close proximity to one another



For further details on the work of this branch of the Fisher family, see Allan Keevil, 'North Parade Buildings, its Builders and the Palmer Connection', *The Survey*, No.17, November 2002, pp.31ff

Henry became a very successful mason and builder, and lived the longest of the three brothers. In the announcement of his death, at the age of seventy-nine, in November 1791, *The Bath Journal* described him as ‘an eminent master builder of this city’.

Nathaniel Fisher had obtained his freedom of the city on 21 April 1714, upon completing his apprenticeship⁶ and paying the usual 6/- fee for the privilege. He probably married his wife, Betty, in 1715. The entry of the baptism of their eldest child, John, was made at Bath Abbey on 29 August 1716,⁷ and in the St.Michael’s register, two days later.⁸ It is curious, but there is little doubt that the entries refer to the same child (and, of course, the Abbey was the mother church of St.Michael’s - see information given on various occasions in the Abbey registers, when a marriage occurred there, even though the bride was a parishioner of St.Michael’s).

Green Street

Nathaniel Fisher’s association with Green Street began when, with ten other original purchasers of building plots there, he purchased his plot of 16½ ft. width fronting the street for £15, from Mary, widow of William Waters, gent. (died 19 August 1714), their eldest son and heir, Joseph Waters, soap-boiler, of Bristol, and Christopher Devonsheir, merchant of Bristol (assignee of the residue of the term of William Waters’ 500-year mortgage of the property), by lease/release (conveyance) of 13/14 July 1716.⁹

Fisher immediately built on it the house which became known, in the 19th century, as No.21 Green Street at the south-west end of the street. The names and trades of all eleven purchasers of building plots are given in the vendors’ deed of covenant with the purchasers, dated 12 February 1716,¹⁰ in which it is stated that it was made with Walter Dallamore, maltster, on his own behalf (probably as purchaser of the largest building block there, which was on the northern side of the street) and also on the behalf of others: Methuselah Hutchings, carpenter, who built more than one house at the south-eastern corner of the street, John Cornish, milliner, William Webb, rough-mason, Samuel Emes, rough-mason, Nathaniel Fisher, rough-mason (the last three building adjoining houses, while Emes and Fisher had been fellow apprentices to William Webb), Giles Collins, tiler, Richard Underwood, hostler (or ostler - ‘he who has the care of horses at an inn’), all of Bath; Robert Gay, of St Andrew’s, Holborn, Middlesex (see item 1 in the Appendix for details); Richard Collins, of Swainswick, Somerset, carpenter, and James Perryman, of Bathwick, in the same county, wheelwright.



The western end of Green Street in 2009. No.21 is the gabled building in the centre of the picture.

Three of them, Hutchings, Dallamore, and Cornish had purchased blocks of building plots, the others single plots each. It is obvious that Dallamore, Gay, Underwood, Perryman, and Cornish would not have constructed their own properties, but would either have employed someone to build for them, or sold to others for building. Jane Root, in the well-researched study of various Bath street developments,¹¹ was able to show the association of five of the men listed above with particular properties in Green Street, but her study was published before the document of 12 February 1716, listing all the original purchasers, had become available for research, so that she was unaware of the others. Further identifications are provided in the present article.

St.Michael’s Church Rate Books, 1741 & 1743,¹² are the earliest and only survivals, until those of 1766, and they list Nathaniel Fisher (who may then have been living at the house, although later it was leased to others) as paying

the rate on his property. By his will, dated 9 February 1748,¹³ he left instructions regarding his Green Street house. City Rate Books and Poor Rate Books for St.Michael's from 1766,¹⁴ generally show that the tenants were then paying the rates on this property.

The Green Street House after Nathaniel Fisher

At his death, Nathaniel Fisher left his estate, which of course included his Green Street house, for the benefit of his wife (who also had the care of their two orphaned grandchildren, children of their eldest son, John), for her life. The house was next to go to Francis, one of these children, provided he paid £100 to his sister, Mary, the other orphaned grandchild. The grandmother, Betty Fisher, died eight months after her husband, Nathaniel. The grandchildren, during their minority were then in the care of their guardians, one of whom seems to have been Henry Fisher, the youngest brother of Nathaniel. Francis was killed on naval service, aboard *HMS Glasgow*, in Guadeloupe Bay, in 1759, his sole heir being his sister, Mary.¹⁵

Mary was still a minor (aged 20), when she married James Brown, glover, with the consent of her guardians (her uncle, Henry Fisher, and Jane Jelly, wife of the latter's business partner, Thomas Jelly - Henry and Jane being witnesses at the marriage) at the Abbey in 1760. She died in 1799, having had four sons by her husband, James Brown, the Elder, who was to have the benefit of the Green Street property for life, and then, by mutual agreement, it was to be inherited equally by the four sons (not just the eldest).

There is a release and indemnity of 5 June 1805 for James Brown, quoting the marriage settlement and bond of 1 May 1760, which concerned the Green Street property.¹⁶ This 1805 document recited, *inter alia*, that the four by then adult sons of the marriage of James Brown, glover, then of Allen Street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex (was Allen Street named for Ralph Allen, who is known to have sponsored certain London buildings in Bath stone, in order to demonstrate its quality?), and his deceased wife, the former Mary Fisher, had agreed to discharge their father from payment of a £200 bond (described further in the Appendix, item 2).

In this 1805 document, Fisher's Green Street house was described as being at the time of the 1760 bond,¹⁷ 'between a tenement now or formerly of Mrs.Harford on the east, a tenement formerly of Richard Underwood, since of Mr.Graham, but now of ..., on the west'. It had formerly been in the possession of Joseph Hant (Hunt?), exciseman, and Thomas Jelly, carpenter (architect of the former King Edward School building in Broad Street, and partner in business of Nathaniel's youngest brother, Henry, in the Ambury and Kingsmead developments), as tenants of Mary Brown (née Fisher). (Further details of the Graham property can be found in the Appendix, item 3.)

It is interesting to note that in the City Rate Books for Green Street, for 25 December 1768 and 24 June 1769,¹⁸ against the property that became known as the former No.21 Green Street, Mr.Randell Gauton (the tenant) is shown as paying the rate, but in the margin is written the owner's name, 'Brown', and in 1785/6, 'James Brown' (as above).

The 1805 *Bath Directory* shows Stephen Leedham, grocer, at No.21 Green Street, when he was probably still merely the lease-holder, as it did not become his freehold property until August that year. By the time of the 1809 *Bath Directory*, Leedham is shown at No.1 New Bond Street, but this was corrected in 1812 to No.1 New Bond Street Buildings (the former Graham property, see Appendix) which he used in conjunction with the adjoining No.21 Green Street. In 1840, St.Michael's Poor Rate Book¹⁹ for Green Street and New Bond Street Buildings, shows that No.1 New Bond Street Buildings and the former No.21 Green Street were treated as one property, under the latter address, a situation which seems to have persisted to the present time.

The *Streetscape* authors, were apparently misled by the plan in the 1806 Corporation lease to Atkins of No.16 New Bond Street²¹ into believing that Atkins also owned No.21 Green Street, as well as No.20, on its eastern side. It was Leedham, not Atkins, who owned No.21, and who also developed New Bond Street Buildings.

Description of the Green Street House

The former No.21 (built by Nathaniel Fisher in 1716) is, like No.14 (although actually four years earlier in date), a tall, narrow-fronted, single-gabled, four-storey property, but plainer in style and well-proportioned, if one ignores the modern shop-front of the ground floor. It is clearly in the style of that early transitional period, with steeply-pitched gable-end facing the street. The western side of the gable is stepped part-way down to provide a link with the northern facade of No.1 New Bond Street Buildings (probably achieved when the latter was built on part of the site of the former Graham property, c.1806).



Elevation of No.21 Green Street.

The house has a tier of three evenly-spaced windows at both the first and second floors, and two evenly-spaced windows at the top floor. An unbroken drip-stone runs across the whole facade of the building, about a foot above both the first and second floor tiers of windows, defining the floor levels. At the gabled top floor, an unbroken drip-stone runs about a foot above the two windows, but extends merely to the width of the pair, one of which is blocked. It is possible that the glazing bars in the existing windows at the second and top floor levels are of the original proportions.

The first floor windows are framed by very lightly-moulded architraves. The whole frontage has been covered in a pale, creamy-yellow wash, beneath which the stone-work appears to be in good condition. The colouring, although to be condemned by purists, gives it a not unattractive appearance. No.21 is, perhaps, one of the few Green Street houses with which one can feel fairly certain that the building style of its present frontage (other than the alterations to its ground floor) is the one constructed by its craftsman builder, Nathaniel Fisher, rough-mason, in 1716 - even its now blocked, former front entrance, remains in the original position.

Sir Thomas White's Charity

Nathaniel Fisher seems to have benefited from Sir Thomas White's Charity. This Charity apparently dated from 1 July 1566.²² It provided the free loan of £50 for ten years to two young men beginning their craft or trade. According to Wood, it appears that the benefactor had listed twenty-four towns, of which Bath was one, which were to take their turn for ever, in the order in which they were listed, to receive the annual sum of £100. This money was to be lent to the artificers of such places, without interest, to enable them to set up or carry on their trades. The first payment to the Corporation of Bath was made in the year 1595.²³ Wood also shows that the second payment was made to the Corporation of Bath in 1619, but that the third was made in 1646, and then at subsequent twenty-four year intervals.²⁴ The reason for this can be found in a memo., following the recital of a Bath City Council minute of 7 November 1670, which states 'that the 100£ payable to the City of Bath in 1643 was by reason of the wars not paid till 1646 - P.Story, *script.*, 1707'.²⁵

There is an entry dated 15 November 1729, in Bath Corporation Book No.158,²⁶ the earliest available original book of accounts concerning Sir Thomas White's Charity money: 'Nathaniel Fisher, d[ebto]r. to the Corporation for thirty pounds principal money; Henry Fisher of Batheaston [presumably Nathaniel's father] and Charles Milsom, junior, his trustees'. This may refer to a loan from the Charity, granted to Nathaniel ten years earlier, and so due for repayment - perhaps overdue, if granted him on obtaining his freedom of the city, and setting out in business.

The same volume also shows that on 9 April 1770, a committee of the Corporation considered that certain bonds be immediately called in, followed by a list of names in groups of three, giving their trades or status, and showing the date of the bond. It is assumed that the names in each group of three refer first to the bondholder, followed by his two sureties. One bond listed, dated 1 October 1743, shows Abraham Fisher, rough-mason (the bondholder), Henry Fisher, mason, and Nathaniel Fisher, mason (his two sureties?), for £25. This Abraham was probably the son of Nathaniel (baptised at St. Michael's on 26 June 1718), who had been apprenticed to his father, 29 May 1732,²⁷ and who obtained his freedom of the city on 7 March 1742,²⁸ and so would have been just setting out in his career in 1743. His two sureties were probably his uncle, Henry (above), and his father, Nathaniel.

Corporation Work

Nathaniel Fisher seems to have carried out various works for the Corporation between 1726 and 1749 (the year he died - see below), as shown by entries in the Chamberlain's Accounts during that period.²⁹

The payments were of much higher sums than those recorded as paid to William Webb (his former master, and builder of No.20 Green Street). Fisher received the following sums: £201.3s.0d. (in accounts dated 29 September 1727, for the years 1725 & 1726); £280.4s.0d. (in accounts dated 22 May 1728, for years 1727 & 1728); £177.19s.0d.; 14/-; and £104.0s.0d. (in accounts dated 11 September 1730, for years 1728 & 1729); £2.15s.2d. (in accounts dated 2 September 1734, for years 1732 & 1733); £26.4s.6d. on 31 March 1743 (precise dates being given for this and subsequent payments); £60.12s.0. on 14 June 1743; £91.4s.0d. on 8 October 1743; £73.9s.0d. on 23 January 1744; £2.12s.6d. on 2 January 1746; £67.12s.0d. on 3 May 1748; £154.3s.6d. on 6 December 1748; £219.13s.0d. on 3 February 1749.

In only one case do the Council Minutes identify the actual work carried out by Nathaniel Fisher. This evidence begins with the Council Book minute of 26 December 1726:³⁰ 'The Chamber to pay expences in putting a common shore (i.e. sewer) from the upper end of Cheap Street to the Bridge [the former St.Lawrence's Bridge over the River Avon, at the foot of the former Southgate Street]; the Mayor and Chamberlain to receive proposals of workmen to lay the same before the Corporation'. This was followed on 23 January 1726: 'Nathaniel Fisher's proposals for making the aforesaid common shore accepted'; and on 11 April 1727: 'Agreed the common shore shall be repaired as far as it is good, from Mrs.Bletchley's house, and to be carried to the upper end of Cheap Street at the charge of the Chamber'. This would seem to account for the first three amounts listed in the Chamberlain's Accounts, as set out above.

It is possible that some of the work resulting from the following Council minutes of 11 October 1742 had also been carried out by Nathaniel Fisher: 'Two or more slips to be made for the Hot Bath. The walls of the King's and Queen's Bath to be altered - according to the plan now exhibited by Mr.Chapman, Chamberlain of the City. Another dry pump to be erected near the present one. The alteration to be made at the Hot Bath according to the Plan exhibited by Mr.Chapman. The place called the Parlour at the Queen's Bath to be converted into a slip. A pump to be erected in Westgate Street where the old cistern formerly stood, in order to keep the said street clean, and two others in proper places in the Market Place'. Similarly in response to the Council minute of 28 March 1743: 'A new stone gutter to be made to secure the water that runs to waste from Beacon Hill, and to bring the same to the town', the Chamber may have called upon the services of Nathaniel Fisher. He also carried out work either for private clients or on his own behalf.

The Quay

By his will, dated 9 February 1747, Nathaniel Fisher bequeathed 'to my son Abraham Fisher [baptised at St.Michael's on 26 June 1718] all that my messuage ... on the Key ... now in the possession of one William Tucker'.³¹ The ground on which Nathaniel Fisher built that house was obtained by lease/release (conveyance) of 26/27 March 1733, 'for him and his heirs for ever', from Francis Bave and William Horton, for the sum of £52.10s.0d., free from encumbrances except for a perpetual annual rent of £2.10s.0d. to be paid to the Proprietors of the Navigation of the River Avon.³²



Above left:
A calotype photograph of the Quay, c.1850. The Waterman's Arms stands behind the timber cart.

Above right:
The Quay during the floods in 1937.

Left:
The Waterman's Arms in the late 19th century.

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The ground be purchased was described as 'half part of all that plot, 25 ft. in front next the river, depth 77 feet 6 inches, bounded with ground granted or intended to be granted to Milo Smith, mercer, on the west, and with a warehouse on the east'. The house he built on the site in 1733 became known by the 19th century as No.3 Broad Quay, *The Waterman's Arms*. It stood near the western end of the Broad Quay, on the western side of the warehouse belonging to the Navigation (see photograph taken during the floods in the area in February 1937, when an old property immediately west of it had already been taken down).³⁴ All the remaining property in that part of the Broad Quay was removed during the great alterations to the area in the 1960s.

The Church Rate Book for St.James's Parish,³⁵ of 1747, shows that a rate of 2/8d. was being paid on 'Nathaniel Fisher's house' on the Quay. It seems that Nathaniel Fisher's son Abraham probably died within ten years of his father's death, because the St.James's Rate Books show it as 'Mr.Henry Fisher's house', from 1759 to the 1770s, but from 1779 -1790, 'Mary [sometimes 'Mrs'] Fisher's house' (when the Rate Book labels the property as 'poor', which apparently refers to the rate-payer, not the property - Bath Archivist - although, in this case, the family concerned could not be described as 'poor', so it may have been that the property had been allowed to deteriorate, in the hands of a tenant). The repetition of the same Christian names within the family makes it difficult to be certain as to the identity of this Mary. However, the will of Henry Fisher who died at Batheaston in 1839³⁶ - whose second wife was a Mary - shows that he had been the owner of the house on the Quay, presumably by inheritance, as he was a grandson of Nathaniel, the son of the latter's son Henry (baptised at St.Michael's on 29 January 1722), who, according to Nathaniel's will, was to have inherited if Abraham, his brother, died without issue, as seems to have happened. Nathaniel's will shows that if one of his two sons (Abraham and Henry) died without issue, the property left to him was to pass to the other.

Avon Street

On 24 February 1736, Nathaniel Fisher had obtained a lease from Mr. Joseph Jones (residuary legatee of the Bristol timber merchant who had possessed part of the Kingsmeads), for a moiety of 99 years (depending on three lives) of a wide V-shaped plot of ground, of 2,490 sq. ft., part of Little Kingsmead (St. John's Hospital land) in the parish of Walcot. It fronted 'westward to a certain close called the Mews Court, 128 ft.' in Avon Street which ran from Kingsmead Square to the river, a little to the west of the Broad Quay.³⁷ The former Mews, for stabling and carriage-housing, was swept away by the Avon Street Improvements of 1932, with the extension of James Street eastwards, to a junction with Westgate Buildings and St. James's Parade³⁸ (see conveyance of properties by the Master of St. John's Hospital to Bath Corporation, 8



The area between Avon Street and The Quay in the late 18th century, showing The Mews, top left.

November 1932, in St. John's Hospital deeds 7/61). The Mews was situated on the eastern side of Avon Street, approximately where the present James Street cuts through that side of Avon Street. Nathaniel (until his death in 1749), and others having stables in the Mews, paid Walcot rates on their property there.³⁹ He had built the stabling on his ground there, in 1736, and laid the paving in the Mews, which, at that time, became known as 'Fisher's Mews', but much later, as 'Pickwick Mews or Stables', when most of it was in the possession of Moses Pickwick and his family of the *White Hart* in Stall Street.

Each of Nathaniel's two youngest brothers, Abraham and Henry, seems to have built a house in Avon Street (part of the scheme for the Kingsmead area, begun in 1727, to the designs of John Strachan, a Bristol architect) c.1736, near the entrance to the Mews (the latter, Henry, leaving his property there, by his will of November 1791, to 'Abraham Fisher, son of my nephew, Nathaniel'). The house in Avon Street built by Henry Fisher (1712-91), youngest brother of Nathaniel, seems to have been the one that became No.17.⁴⁰ St. John's Hospital deed for No.18 (formerly No.19), of 11 August 1881⁴¹ shows that it was 'bounded on the north with ground and buildings, now or late belonging to Henry Fisher', thus confirming that Henry Fisher's was No.17 (one of the houses on the eastern side of Avon Street which backed on to The Mews, and was the fourth house north of the entrance to the Mews). Henry's brother Abraham (baptised Batheaston in 1710) built No.16. Both brothers are shown as paying the Walcot Church rates on their houses in Avon Street from 1737,⁴² although by 1742 Abraham Fisher's name is crossed out (apparently after his early death) and replaced by the name 'Rider', with the premises marked as 'void'.

Thomas Thorpe's Survey, 1742

The Survey of the City of Bath and of Five miles round made by Thomas Thorpe in 1742, was published by subscription, and the names of those subscribers, in alphabetical order, appear in the margins of the map, which Thorpe dedicated to 'the Nobility and Gentry, the worthy subscribers and encouragers of this work'. Both Mr. Nathaniel Fisher (builder of the former No.21 Green Street) and his brother, Mr. Henry Fisher, are listed among the subscribers (but not his brother, Abraham, who had probably already died),

and it is interesting to note some of the other names: Mr.Samuel Emes (one of the Green Street builders), Mr.William Sainsbury, Mr.John Ford (both well-known Bath builders), Mr.John Hutchings (who built a house in Gallaway's Buildings, and was a relative, possibly a son of, Methuselah Hutchings, one of the Green Street builders), Mr.Robert Smith (carpenter, builder, and churchwarden of Walcot Church). Of other people mentioned in this article as being possessors of building plots in Green Street, the following names appear among the subscribers to Thorpe's *Survey*: Mr.Giles Collins, Mr.Richard Collins, Mr.John Cornish, and Thomas Gay, Esq. Such well-known names as John Wood, Esq., Richard Naish (sic), Esq., Alexander Pope, Esq (the poet and frequent visitor to Prior Park), Mr.Jerry Peirce, surgeon, Ralph Allen, Esq., Doctor Oliver, Philip Bennet, Esq. (of the house now called Widcombe Manor), also appear among the subscribers. Among members of the nobility whose names are listed are the Earl of Chesterfield and the Duke of Norfolk.

Nathaniel Fisher's will

Nathaniel Fisher died in 1749, probably aged about 57, and was buried 'in the church' of St.Michael's, on 22 January 1749/50.⁴³ His widow, Betty, died seven months later, and was buried on 18 August 1750.

By his will (dated 9 February 1748, Old Style) Nathaniel made provision for his father and mother to be paid 4 guineas annually, by 4 equal quarterly sums out of the interest on his assets. Both of his parents outlived him, surviving well into their eighties, and apparently dwelt in his house at Batheaston (actually the house called The Fosse, in Fosse Lane), because he bequeathed 'my house and orchard in Batheaston to my son, Henry, after the death of my father and mother'.

Nathaniel also left to his son Abraham his messuage at Weston, but Abraham appears to have died without issue, and this property seems likewise to have passed to Nathaniel's other son, Henry (see will of the latter's son, also called Henry, who died in 1839, in possession of the Weston house, which was then 'in the occupation of ... Richards, cabinet maker').⁴⁴ It is hoped to be able to identify the house, but it is proving difficult to trace through existing records.

Perhaps Nathaniel's most interesting legacy is his Green Street house, among the few remaining transitional style buildings in the city. Nathaniel was also responsible for training, during their seven years' apprenticeships, at least four other members of the family: his two youngest brothers, Abraham and Henry, and his two sons, Abraham and Henry. Both Henrys were successful builders, especially Nathaniel's youngest brother, but their stories await a future occasion.

Nathaniel appointed as Trustees of his will 'my good friends' Mr.Francis Hales (a tallow chandler, and later thrice mayor of the city, to whom Nathaniel's son, John, had been apprenticed), and 'my brother, Henry Fisher' (Nathaniel's youngest brother, born 1712). He wanted them to sell 'all my stock in trade and working tools, and household goods and plate, to the best advantage, and to get in all my debts, and to put that money and the money arising from the sale aforesaid out to interest'.

Among his bequests, he wanted his trustees to pay 'to my kinswoman Sarah Pope' the sum of five pounds, as soon as they conveniently can. Of the rest of the principal money, he left two thirds to his son, Abraham, and one third to his son, Henry. If either of his sons died without issue before the other, then the other son was to inherit that share. Only Henry had progeny and outlived his brother, Abraham.

Nathaniel's Trustees were to pay themselves out of his estate all reasonable charges in execution of their trust, and during their trusteeship, he ordered them to take 'half a hogshead a-piece of Cyder yearly, in case my orchard in Batheaston shall yearly produce two hogsheads'.

As a builder, Nathaniel, who had commenced his career by constructing property in a transitional style (as in his Green Street property), thereafter built in a typical mid-18th century Georgian manner (as on the Quay). As a craftsman, he certainly influenced a great many, in particular his youngest brother, Henry, whose work left a much greater mark in the architecture of the city.

Appendix: Additional details

1. Robert Gay, of St Andrew's, Holborn, Middlesex. The description of Robert Gay's occupation is not given in the deed of 1716, but it is known that he was a London barber-surgeon who had purchased the Manor and Rectory of Walcot (except Barton Farm), in 1699, from William Saunders. He then acquired Barton Farm, in the right of his wife, Mary, daughter and heiress of William Saunders, and was soon to become MP for Bath.

2. The bond requested Robert Lidiard [mason, and a nephew of Nathaniel Fisher, being son of his sister, Jane], John Palmer (carpenter, builder and architect), and Henry Fisher [mason, a son of Nathaniel Fisher], executors of the will of Henry Fisher (rough-mason, youngest brother of Nathaniel Fisher), then deceased, the previously surviving trustee of the 1760 marriage settlement and bond, to cancel the bond, and deliver the recited lease/release of 13/14 July 1716, as above, to James Brown the Elder and his four sons. It seems that had Mary's marriage not produced children, the Green Street property was to revert to Abraham and Henry, two sons of Nathaniel.

3. The Graham property, formerly Richard Underwood's, at the time of its construction c.1715 can be identified as having been at the south-west corner of Green Street, next to No.21, with a western frontage on Burton Street, and a northern frontage on Green Street. *Streetscape*⁴⁶ drew attention to a 1788 print by Thomas Malton⁴⁷ showing a distant view of a two-storey, three-gabled house (similar to the existing No.3 Green Street), apparently on the south-west corner of Green Street, but with its frontage on Burton Street, before New Bond Street Buildings was developed there. This would have been the Graham property, on the site of Richard Underwood's building plot of 1716.

This freehold property (originally one messuage, but divided into three messuages, before the end of the 18th century), was apparently later acquired by Stephen Leedham, grocer (who also purchased the former No.21 Green Street, the house Nathaniel Fisher had built), was taken down, set back on the western frontage, and rebuilt by him, c.1805, as the present Nos.1 & 2 New Bond Street Buildings, to adjoin the former 21 Green Street.

Leedham also acquired, on 25 June 1806, a lease from the Corporation of the triangular plot, to the south-east, and erected No.3 New Bond Street Buildings on it.⁴⁸ This triangular site was 'bounded on the north by freehold ground and buildings of Stephen Leedham' (i.e. Nos.1 & 2 New Bond Street Buildings, and the former No.21 Green Street), and on the east, by property leased by the Corporation to Charles Atkins (see description and plan in assignment by Leedham of No.3, in trust for the benefit of any children of the marriage of his daughter, Mary Ann, to George Fuller, coach-builder, 15 May 1820).⁴⁹ The eastern side of Nos.1 & 2 New Bond Street Buildings abutted as already said on the former No.21 Green Street.⁵⁰ Leedham had purchased the latter, for £900, from James Brown (Brown's wife, the former Mary Fisher, having died) and his four sons. It was conveyed to him, by lease/release 15/16 August 1805 (Leedham having previously acquired, from James and Mary Brown and their sons, a 21-year lease of the property, described as 'a messuage with shop and premises', on 8 October 1794, to commence 24 June 1798, at rent of £40 p.a.).⁵¹

Notes and References

1. Somerset Record Office (SRO), Batheaston parish registers, originals; Bath Library (BL) and Bath Record Office (BRO), transcripts of registers, Rev.C.W.Shickle (n.d., but c.1910).
2. BRO, Apprentice Enrolment Book (2 April 1707).
3. *ibid.* (25 March 1726).
4. BRO, Freeman's Book (24 Feb 1734).
5. BRO, Chamberlain's Accounts (dated 1736 for 1734 & 1735, listing Henry Fisher's 6/- payment).
6. BRO, Freeman's Book.
7. SRO, Bath Abbey Registers (originals); BL & BRO, E.S.Jenkins (Bath 1980), printed transcripts.
8. BRO, St.Michael's registers (originals); BL & BRO, Shickle transcripts.
9. BRO, Acc.0575/6/2 (13/14 July 1716).
10. BRO, Acc.0575/6/1.
11. Bath Historical Streetscape Study (Streetscape), M.Beaton, M.Chapman, A.Crutchley and J.Root, for Bath & NE Somerset Council, 2000, pp.50-60.
12. SRO, D/P/ba mi 4/3/1, St. Michael's Church Rate Books (1741 & 1743).
13. BRO, Deed packet 0575/6/3, will of Nathaniel Fisher, 9 February 1748.
14. BRO, City Rate Books and St. Michael's Poor Rate Books for 1766.

15. BRO, Acc.0575/6/3, 5 & 6.
16. SRO, DD/CRM, Box 2 (Lidiard papers, release 5 June 1805).
17. BRO, Acc.0575/6/5 (1760 bond).
18. BRO, City Rate Books (December 1768 & June 1769).
19. BRO, St.Michael's Poor Rate Book (1840).
20. Streetscape, *op.cit.*, pp.59 & 60.
21. BRO, BC 153/2617.
22. BRO, St.John's Hospital Records, p.201, Item 1, Sir Thomas White's Charity, dating from 1 July 1566, see 19th-century copy of a deed under which the Charity was founded.
23. John Wood, *Essay*, 1742 edition, p.201, describing the above details concerning the Charity.
24. *ibid.*
25. BRO, memo following recital of Bath City Council minute of 7 November 1670, stating 'that the £100 payable to the City of Bath in 1643 was, by reason of the wars, not paid till 1646 - P.Story, *script.*, 1707'.
26. BRO, Bath Corporation Book, No.158, 15 November 1729.
27. BRO, Apprentice Enrolment Book (29 May 1732).
28. BRO, Freemen's Book (7 March 1742).
29. BRO, Chamberlain's Accounts (1726-49).
30. BRO, Council Book (items beginning from minute of 26 December 1726).
31. BRO, Deed Packet 0575/6/3 (will of Nathaniel Fisher, 2 February 1748).
32. Deed Packet 746.
33. *ibid.*
34. BRO, City Engineer's Work No.4, Ref.Nos.195-198, and Pt.of 166; also BL, photograph L12/2, street view, Broad Quay, c.1853-61, showing also the old building immediately east of Fisher's.
35. BRO, St.James's Parish Church Rate Book (1747).
36. SRO, will of Henry Fisher, Batheaston, 1839.
37. SRO, Lidiard papers, DD/CRM, Box 2, lease 24 February 1736, Mr.Joseph Jones to Mr.Nathaniel Fisher, part of Little Kingsmead (St.John's Hospital land), in Avon Street.
38. St. John's Hospital deeds (St.J.H. deeds), 7/61, conveyance 8 November 1932, Master of St.J.H. to Bath Corporation.
39. SRO, D/P/wal. SW 4/1/1, Walcot Rate Books.
40. St.J.H. deeds, 7/14.
41. *ibid.*, 7/15.
42. SRO, D/P/wal 4/1/1, Walcot Church Rates, from 1737, Avon Street (originals); and BRO, PP 349 (transcripts).
43. SRO, St.Michael's parish, original registers (see 1749 & 1750, Old Style); BL and BRO, Shickle transcripts of the registers.
44. SRO, will of Henry Fisher, Batheaston, 1839 (with reference to his Weston house 'in the occupation of ... Richards, cabinet maker').
45. SRO, Weston parish Rate Books.
46. Streetscape, *op.cit.*, p.59 .
47. J.Lees-Milne & David Ford, *Images of Bath* (Richmond-on-Thames, 1982), No.875.
48. BRO, BC 153/2618/1 (lease with plan).
49. BRO, BC 153/2618/2 (description & plan in assignment by Leedham of No.3, in trust for the benefit of any children of the marriage of his daughter, Mary Ann, to George Fuller, coach-builder, 15 May 1820).
50. BRO, Cotterell & Spackmen, large scale Plan of Bath, 1852; OS, 1885, 1:500, Somerset Sheet, XIV, 9, 5.
51. BRO, Acc.0575/6/9 (lease, 8 October 1794).

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