



5.11.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BATH NATURAL HISTORY

AND

ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

VOL. X.



BATH :

PRINTED (FOR THE CLUB) AT THE HERALD OFFICE, NORTH GATE.

1905.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOL. X.

No. 1.

	PAGE
1.—WILLIAM SMITH, THE FATHER OF BRITISH GEOLOGY, BY DR. HY. WOODWARD, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S....	1
2.—NOTES ON AN ANCIENT HOUSE AT WITHAM, BY WALLACE GILL	15
3.—ANCIENT ROYAL COINS, DISCOVERED AT BATHWICK, BY REV. C. W. SHICKLE, M.A., F.S.A.	16
4.—THE ELM, BY T. FREDERIC INMAN	19
5.—THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SOMERSET DOMESDAY, BY REV. T. W. WHALE, M.A.	38
6.—TWO DEMOLISHED HOUSES, BY THOMAS S. BUSH ...	86
7.—THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF BATH, 1901, BY A. CASTELLAIN	88
8.—SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS AND EXCURSIONS, 1901-2, BY REV. W. W. MARTIN	91
9.—LIST OF MEMBERS, BALANCE SHEET, &c., 1902 ...	104

No. 2.

1.—THOMAS LINLEY AND HIS CONNECTION WITH BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.	111
2.—RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN AND HIS CONNECTION WITH BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A. ...	131
3.—THOMAS MATHEWS AND HIS CONNECTION WITH BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.	177

No. 2—*continued.*

	PAGE
4.—SOME NOTES ON STONE CROSSES OF SOMERSET, THEIR HISTORY and CONDITION IN 1902, BY E. J. APPLEBY	192
5.—ON C. S. CALVERLEY AND A TOMBSTONE AT SOUTH STOKE, BY M. H. SCOTT	204
6.—ON TOKENS OF BATH TRADESMEN, BY S. SYDENHAM	207
7.—THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF BATH, 1902, BY A. CASTELLAIN	239
8.—SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS AND EXCURSIONS, 1902-3, BY REV. W. W. MARTIN	243
9.—LIST OF MEMBERS, BALANCE SHEET, &c., 1903 ...	262

No. 3.

1.—RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN AND THOMAS LINLEY, THEIR RESIDENCES AT BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.	267
2.—THE ACCOUNTS OF THE CITY TRAIN BANDS, BY REV. C. W. SHICKLE, M.A., F.S.A.	297
3.—ANCIENT INTERMENTS AT NEWTON S. LOE, NEAR BATH, AND SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES IN BATH, BY J. P. E. FALCONER ,	312, 315
4.—NOTE ON A DOLMEN AT STOKE BISHOP, BY M. H. SCOTT	318
5.—BATH TOKEN ISSUES OF THE 19TH CENTURY, BY S. SYDENHAM	320
6.—THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF BATH, 1903, BY A. CASTELLAIN	352
7.—SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS AND EXCURSIONS, 1903-4, BY J. LANGFIELD WARD AND M. H. SCOTT ...	356
8.—LIST OF MEMBERS, BALANCE SHEET, &c., 1904 ...	370

No. 4.

	PAGE
1.—JOHN WILKES AND HIS VISITS TO BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.	375
2.—THE LEADING FOSSILS OF THE UPPER AND LOWER GREENSANDS OF WILTS AND BERKS, BY E. C. DAVEY... ..	412
3.—BATH CITY AND TRADERS' TOKENS ISSUED DURING THE 17TH CENTURY, BY S. SYDENHAM	423
4.—THE VIA JULIA AND LANSDOWN TUMULI, BY A. TRICE MARTIN	526
5.—THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF BATH AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE YEAR 1904, BY A. CASTELLAIN	527
6.—SUMMARY OF EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE BATH FIELD CLUB FOR THE YEAR 1904-1905, BY J. LANGFIELD WARD AND M. H. SCOTT, HON. SECS.	534
7.—LIST OF MEMBERS, BALANCE SHEET, AND SOCIETIES IN EXCHANGE OF PROCEEDINGS WITH THE FIELD CLUB	542

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7 DEC. 1905





PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BATH NATURAL HISTORY
AND
ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

VOL. X., No. 1.

1902.



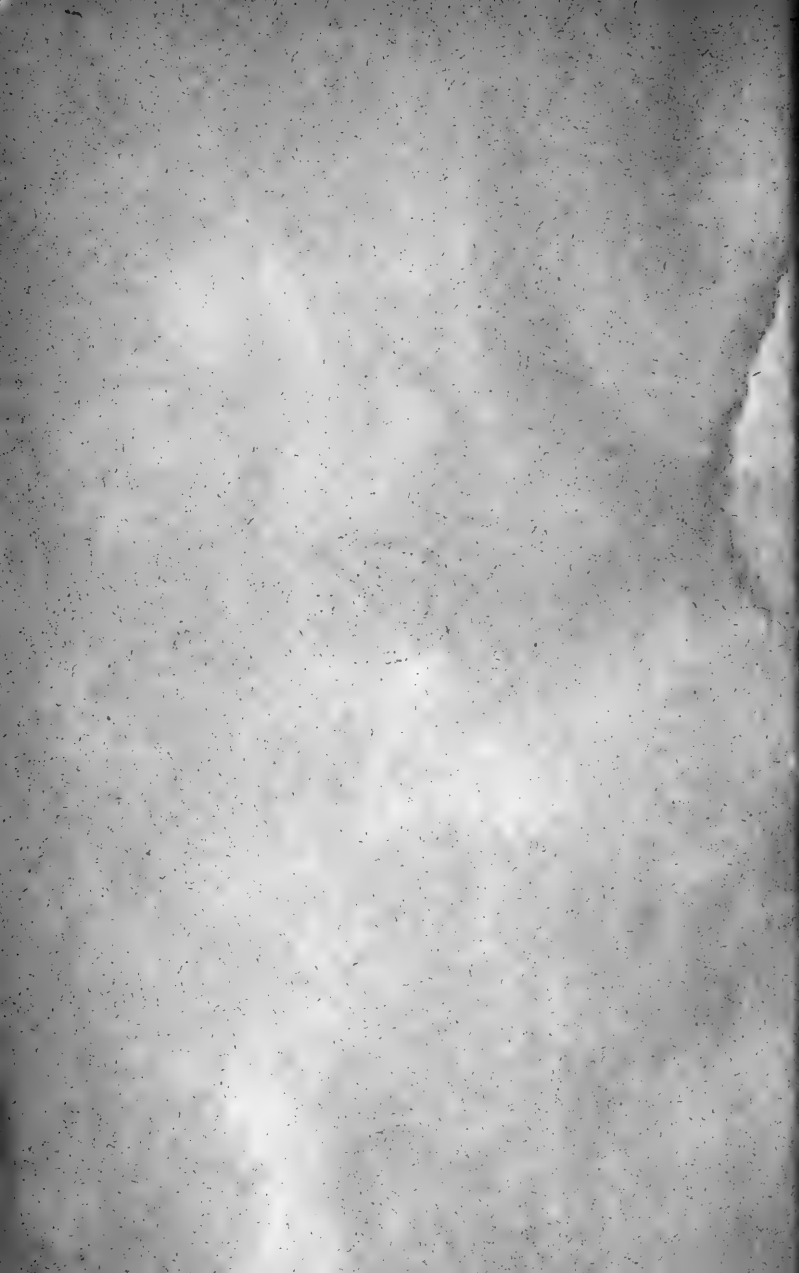
PRICE, HALF-A-CROWN.

BATH.

PRINTED (FOR THE CLUB) AT THE HERALD OFFICE, NORTH-GATE.

1902.









W^m Smith L.L.D
aged 69.

William Smith, LL.D., "Father of English Geology." By
HENRY WOODWARD, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Keeper of
Department Geology British Museum N.H. (1880-1901).

(Read November 27th, 1901.)

The story which I am about to tell is that of a poor country lad, named William Smith, who was born of humble parents at Churchill, a village in Oxfordshire, on the 23rd March, 1769. His father, also named William Smith, was a very ingenious mechanic, and it was while engaged in the erection of some machinery in 1777, that he caught a severe cold from the effects of which he died before the boy was eight years old.

After his father's death, his mother contracted a second marriage, and the lad William was passed over to the guardianship of his father's eldest brother, a small farmer at Over Norton. He seems to have been sent for a time to a village school, but the means of instruction at this were very limited and rudimentary, and he much preferred the study of Nature in the fields to that of his lessons in the School-house on the village green.

We who are privileged to live in this 19th Century are so encompassed on every side with the comforts and conveniences of modern discovery, refinement and civilization, that we can hardly conceive amidst all our advantages, how very many things English people who lived 130 years ago had to do without. Education throughout the country was at a very low ebb indeed. Books were few and dear. Such places as Public Libraries and Lecture-halls did not exist. Newspapers had hardly begun to be regularly published. Stage-coaches were few, and most of the high roads were still very badly kept. In 1761, Brindley, the engineer, was beginning to construct canals in various parts of England, and these were looked upon as marvellous methods of easy transport for goods and merchandise. It is true that James Watts invented

the steam engine in 1765, but it was fully 10 years after that before working engines began to be made for mines and collieries.

The first practical steam-boat made by Robt. Fulton was not constructed until 1807, and the first locomotive engine by George Stephenson till 1814. The Liverpool and Manchester line was not inaugurated until 1829, and the London and Birmingham until 1838. These were among the first lines opened to carry passengers.

In fact Steam-boats, Railways, Gas, Cheap Postal Arrangements, Telegraphs, Photographs, Daily Papers, Cheap and Good Books and Illustrations all really belong to quite modern times.

When to the absence of so many good things we have to add that the Government of the country was not an enlightened Government; that taxation was very oppressive, and that abroad we were at war with America, with France, Spain and the Netherlands, you will understand that we have very much for which to be extremely thankful.

But to return to William Smith, the orphan boy. His uncle was a hard-working farmer who farmed his own land, and had no ambition or toleration for anything besides.

Book-learning he didn't care about, having done very well without it himself. But this nephew of his was not only fond of reading when he got the chance, but he also went about the country lanes, the fields and roadside-quarries, picking up stones and fossils (called "pundibs," "pound-stones" or "quoit-stones,") of which he found many in his native place.

Such idle habits, the farmer thought, could lead to no good. But when the boy began to take an intelligent interest in the processes of draining and improving the land, then the old farmer's heart softened sufficiently to give his nephew money to buy a few books by which he might be enabled to instruct himself in the rudiments of geometry and surveying. Thus without sympathy or instruction the youth worked on; labouring for and with his uncle on his farm, and devoting every moment of his leisure to his

studies and to the great stone-book of Nature beneath his feet, the pages of which he loved so to explore.

He began to draw natural objects, and to colour them, and he also prosecuted with diligence his study of geometry and mathematics, and whatever he could learn about surveying, until at last, at the age of 18, he so strongly recommended himself to Mr. Edward Webb, Land Surveyor, of Stow-on-the-Wold, that he took him into his office as an assistant to make with Mr. Webb "a complete survey of the Parish of Churchill for the purposes of enclosure."

From this time a career seems to have been opened out to him, and the opportunities afforded him of making extended observations over wide areas of country, and pursuing the bent of his mind for geological investigation.

Edward Webb, like his assistant William Smith, was a self-taught man, but he possessed great ingenuity and skill in mechanics, in mensuration, logarithms, algebra, &c. His practise as a Surveyor included many things now conceded to the Engineer, such as the determination of the forces of water and the planning of machinery.

Speedily entrusted with the management of all the ordinary business of a Surveyor, William Smith traversed in continual activity the Oolitic lands of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire; the Lias Clays and Red Marls of Warwickshire (1788); the Sapperton Tunnel on the Thames and Severn Canal (1790), and examined the Boring for Coal in the New Forest, at Plaitford.

All the varieties of soil in so many surveys in different districts were particularly noticed with the general aspect and character of the country, and how the nature of the ground affected the agricultural and commercial interests, the physical features, and the trees and plants peculiar to each part.

In 1791 Mr. Webb entrusted his young assistant with the task of making a survey of an estate at Stowey, in Somersetshire. To reach Stowey Smith went on foot, as was often his wont, passing

Burford, Cirencester, Tetbury, Bath, Radstock, Temple Cloud to Stowey.

Here he was surprised to find, as well as at High Littleton, the Red Marl, evidently like that of Worcestershire, lying in the same relation to the Lias and overlying rocks, and similarly employed for marling the lands.

Thus commenced William Smith's career as a geologist. At this time he wrote as follows:—"Coal was worked at High Littleton beneath the 'red-earth,' and I was desired to investigate the collieries, and state the particulars to my employers. My subterraneous survey of these coal-veins, with sections which I drew, of the strata sunk through in the pits, confirmed my notions of some regularity in their formation; but the colliers would not allow of any regularity in the matter of the hills above the 'red-earth,' which they were in the habit of sinking through; *but on this subject I began to think for myself.*" These observations of William Smith at High Littleton were continued through the years 1792 and 1793, and from notes left by him we know that he was already aware of the effect of what geologists call "faults" upon the outcrops and depth of the coal. Several gentlemen at Camerton noticed Mr. Smith's ability and perseverance, and began to interest themselves in promoting his success in life. A canal was projected for the transport of coal from High Littleton to join the Kennet and Avon Canal, near Bath, and William Smith was appointed first to make the preliminary surveys necessary for the work, and afterwards to superintend the construction of the canal itself.

In August, 1794, the Directors appointed Mr. Palmer, Mr. Perkins and Mr. Smith (their Surveyor) to make a tour through England to see all the canals, locks, embankments, &c., of most importance, with a view to facilitating their work on the Somersetshire Coal Canal, and this tour was extended to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

In those days travelling was mostly done by post-chaise, and going up hill being slow, William Smith always walked in order to

notice the rocks and the shape of the country, and to try and pick up fossils, and so confirm his theory.

The Canal Bill passed the Houses of Parliament in the same year (1794), and in the preliminary surveys, and also in the making the canal itself, Smith was led to arrive at two of the greatest facts in geology which more than 100 years of subsequent work has not only failed to upset, but tended to confirm.

These facts are, first, that the several layers of rock from the New Red Marl (Trias) upwards followed one another in regular and orderly superposition, one overlying the other, and *always following the same order*: and secondly, that the fossil-organisms such as shells, corals, and so forth, found in each are characteristic (as a rule) of that particular formation, and serve to identify the beds wherever they have been met with.

"For six years," he writes, "I was Resident Engineer on the Somersetshire Coal Canal, which put my notions of coal stratification to the *test of excavation*; and I generally pointed out to contractors and others, who came to undertake the work what the various parts of the canal *would be* dug through. But the great similarity of the rocks of Oolite on and near the ends of the canal towards Bath, required more than superficial observation to determine whether they were composed of one, two, or even of three kinds of Oolite rock."

William Smith was thus led to direct his careful attention to the characteristic fossils which he found embedded in each separate rock-formation.

"This discovery of a mode of identifying the strata by the organised fossils respectively embedded therein, the sharpness of these in their primitive sites contrasted with those rounded and water-worn in gravel, led to the most important distinctions." ("Phil. Mag.," 1833).

Smith remained in the service of the Canal Company till June, 1799, and in this year he drew up his first table of the order of succession of the British strata, although not published until long

afterwards ; but it was sent by his friends Rev. Benj. Richardson and the Rev. J. Townsend, to Sedgwick, and was preserved in the Museum of the Geological Society of London.

Liberated from the Canal Company's service, William Smith was quickly occupied in various works as a Surveyor ; his desire to see different parts of the country, leading him to enter upon engagements far and wide. Wherever he went, he was possessed with the idea of making notes of the strata and plotting them down upon such topographical maps as he could procure. After a time he had all these facts transferred to one of Cary's large Maps of England and Wales, 8ft. 9in. by 6ft. 2in., and on this he laid down the solid geology of the country, adding to and correcting as he went along. During all this time he was working very hard as a professional Surveyor and Engineer occupied in the draining and irrigating of land, the protection of coasts, the guarding against landslips caused by springs, and in matters of water supply, for which he had a high reputation. Lord Leicester, the Duke of Bedford, Sir Joseph Banks, and Mr. Crawshay were among his patrons, but although for years in receipt of a very good income, he impoverished himself with the one idea of publishing his cherished map.

His Books, Maps and Collections were removed to London from Bath, and after repeated vain attempts in 1812 he accepted a proposal from Mr. Cary, the engraver, to publish his great map. Terms were soon settled and the work begun in January, 1813. In 1814 some portions of the map were completely coloured, particularly four sheets of the vicinity of Bath.

The first copy completed as regards the geological colouring was on May 23, 1815, exhibited at a meeting of the Board of Agriculture.

The Society of Arts awarded its author a premium of £50, which he might have claimed ten years earlier had not an honest desire to produce his work *complete* withheld the attempt.

Just as his cherished map was completed, upon which he had

expended nearly all the savings of his life, a heavy reverse of fortune awaited him. He had purchased a small property near Bath, which he had greatly improved and had laid down a railway to bring the Freestone of Combe Down to the Coal Canal, opened new quarries, and fitted up machinery for cutting and shaping the stone for buildings. At first the project looked well, but it failed by reason of the unexpected deficiency of the stone on whose good quality the whole success depended. A compulsory sale followed leaving a load of debt to be discharged.

In order to meet these difficulties he determined to sell his beloved Geological Collection which he had so much prized, and in January, 1816, it was transferred to the Trustees of the British Museum; a Supplemental Collection being added two years later (1818).

In 1817 a part of a descriptive catalogue of the Collection sent to the British Museum was published under the title of "Stratigraphical System of Organised Fossils," also another work published in parts, entitled "Strata Identified by Organized Fossils," consisting of numerous figures of fossils engraved by Sowerby, and printed on paper to correspond in some degree with the natural hue of the strata. But these works, like his map, were too costly to yield any profit to the author after paying their first expenses of production. In 1819 Mr. Smith gave up his house in London, and sold off all his furniture, collections and books, and for the next seven years he became a wanderer in the North of England, rarely visiting London save on professional engagements.

During this period he spent much of his time in making detailed surveys for a series of County Maps, published by Carey, and coloured upon the same system as the Great Map, but going into greater minuteness of detail. These extended over 21 English Counties, with a four-sheet Map of Yorkshire. During this period he was constantly accompanied by his nephew, John Phillips, afterwards the successor in the Chair of Geology of the famous Professor Buckland, in the University of Oxford.

In 1824 Mr. Smith was invited to deliver a course of eleven lectures on Geology before the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, then just founded in York. From the Syllabus of these Lectures, which has been preserved, we may gather how wide was the grasp of geology to which Smith had attained.

In 1826, while studying the geology of the coast at Scarborough and Whitby, Mr. Smith became acquainted with Mr. (afterwards Sir Roderick) Murchison, and was able, for the first time, to explain his views of the succession of the rocks to this eminent geologist.

In 1828 he accepted the post of Resident Land-Steward to Sir John V. B. Johnstone, Bart., of Hackness; here he made a beautiful map of the Hackness Estate, but he could not be persuaded to write out a detailed memoir of his life and experiences as a Geologist and Surveyor, which was the earnest hope of his friend and patron.

In 1831 the Council of the Geological Society of London awarded to William Smith the first Wollaston Gold Medal and Fund "as a great original discoverer in English Geology, and especially for his having been the first, in this country, to discover and to teach the identification of strata, and to determine their succession by means of their embedded fossils."

Professor Sedgwick (the Woodwardian Professor of Geology in Cambridge), who, as President of the Geological Society, occupied the chair, sketched a brief but satisfactory history of Mr. Smith's career, and demonstrated the propriety of the award. Professor Sedgwick spoke as follows:—"The men who have led the way in useful discoveries have ever held the first place of honour in the estimation of all who in after times have understood their works or trodden in their steps. . . . I, for one, can speak with gratitude of the practical lessons I have received from Mr. Smith: It was by tracking his footsteps with his maps in my hand through Wiltshire and the neighbouring counties, where he had trodden nearly 30 years before, that I first

learned the sub-divisions of our Oolitic series, and apprehended the meaning of those terms which we derive from him as our master, which have long become engrafted into the conventional language of English Geologists, and also adopted by those of the Continent."

"If in the pride of our present strength we were disposed to forget our origin, our very speech would bewray us; for we use the language which he taught us in the infancy of our science. If we, by our united efforts, are chiselling the ornaments and slowly raising up the pinnacles of one of the temples of Nature, it was he who gave the plan, and laid the foundations and erected a portion of the solid walls by the unassisted labour of his hands."

The British Association, founded at York in 1831, held its second meeting at Oxford, and on this occasion the Wollaston Gold Medal awarded the year previously by Sedgwick, was handed to William Smith by Dr. Buckland: and he was further gratified by the announcement that in response to the united expression of English Geologists, the Government of His Majesty King William the Fourth had granted Mr. Smith a pension of £100 a year.

It was one of his greatest pleasures to attend the annual gatherings of the British Association, where he met so many geological friends who were glad to hail him by the title (conferred upon him by Sedgwick) that of the "*Father of English Geology.*"

In 1835 he attended the Meeting of the Association in Dublin, and while there the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, conferred upon William Smith the degree of LL.D.

In 1839, while on his way to the British Association at Birmingham, he rested at the house of his friend, Mr. George Baker, of Northampton. Here he took a cold which brought on other and more dangerous symptoms, and on 28th August he breathed his last at the age of 70 years.

It would be impossible to give in this brief sketch any adequate idea of the value and importance of William Smith's Geological

work. But that he should have been able to produce the first Geological Map of England and Wales ever attempted, and that the chief contour-lines on this early map (published more than 70 years ago) should continue (in the main) correct, is sufficient to prove with what energy and perseverance he must have laboured, and how keen must have been his powers of observation.

Then, too, as regards his determination of the various strata by means of their fossils, this was a marvellous discovery, and needed great care and caution and yet quick and accurate observation to recognize the same organisms in very different localities, and to know them again at once, and the horizon to which they belonged.

In the "Geological Magazine" for 1897, p. 439, Professor Judd drew attention to the date of William Smith's MS., Maps, &c., preserved in the Museum of the Geological Society at Burlington House. These documents were presented by William Smith to the Geological Society on February 18th, 1831, when he received the first Wollaston Gold Medal at the hands of Professor Adam Sedgwick, the President. These documents were as follows :

1. A table of the Order of Strata and their embedded Organic Remains, in the vicinity of Bath, examined and proved prior to 1799.
2. A Map of the Country five miles round Bath, on the scale of one and a-half inches to the mile. "Coloured geologically in 1799 by William Smith."
3. The first draft of a Geological Map of England and Wales, entitled "General Map of Strata found in England and Wales, by William Smith, Surveyor, 1801."

Doubtless other and still earlier documentary evidence in the form of manuscript sections and maps once existed, but it is highly probable that, by the year 1831, all such manuscripts, which could be regarded as important pieces of evidence, had been given away or lost by William Smith, with the exception of the three he then presented to the Society. These documents must therefore be regarded as of the very highest importance and of priceless value.

Four facsimile reproductions of these records have been prepared. One set is exhibited in the room devoted to Geology and Mineralogy in the Museum of the Royal College of Science, South Kensington, one in the Library of the Geological Society, one in the Natural History Museum, Cromwell Road, and one to be preserved in the British Museum Library at Bloomsbury.

Professor Judd's object in publishing the account of William Smith's Maps was to claim for him the right of priority of geological colouring over any other contemporary worker.

The MS. Map of the Country around Bath, at the Geological Society, bears the inscription in William Smith's own handwriting ; "Coloured geologically in 1799, and presented to the Geological Society February 18th, 1831." His Map of England coloured geologically bears the MS. title, "General Map of Strata found in England and Wales by William Smith, Surveyor, 1801."

How far William Smith was in advance of his contemporaries is shown by a comparison of this map of the country around Bath (dated 1799), showing carefully indicated lines of outcrop, with the excellent map of the environs of Paris by Cuvier and Brongniart in 1809, in which colour is spread over the areas occupied by the several formations, without any clear and definite indications of the actual limits of the outcrops. The colours used by Smith in this map were the same as those employed by him in the later maps of 1801 and 1815, and thus we have in it the first indication of a scheme of colour now very generally adopted by geologists.

William Smith's Collection is now preserved, with other historical collections, in the Geological Department of the British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, as a centre case on the East Wall of Gallery No. 11.

"It was commenced to be formed about the year 1787, and was purchased by the Trustees in 1816, a supplemental Collection being added by Dr. Smith in 1818.

"It is remarkable as the first attempt made to identify the various strata forming the solid crust of England and Wales by

means of their fossil remains. There had been other and earlier Collections of fossils, but to William Smith is due the credit of being the first to show that each bed of Chalk or Sandstone, Limestone or Clay, is marked by its own special organisms and that these can be relied upon as characteristic of such stratum, wherever it is met with, over very wide areas of country, not only in England but also abroad.

“The fossils contained in this Cabinet were gathered together by William Smith in his journeys over all parts of England during thirty years, whilst occupied in his business as a Land Surveyor and Engineer, and were used to illustrate his works, ‘Strata Identified by Organized Fossils,’ with coloured plates quarto (1816; four parts only published); and his ‘Stratigraphical System of Organized Fossils’ (quarto, 1817).

A coloured copy of his large Map, the first Geological Map of England and Wales, with a part of Scotland, commenced in 1812 and published in 1815—size 8 feet 9 inches by 6 feet 2 inches, engraved by John Cary—is exhibited on the right hand side of this Gallery, near the entrance. It is well worthy of careful inspection.”

The bust of William Smith above the case which contains his collection is a copy of that by Chantry surmounting the tablet to his memory within the fine old Norman church of St. Peter’s, at Northampton, where he lies buried a few feet from the west tower. The bust is placed within the church, against the west wall of the nave, south of the grand Norman arch over the entrance to the tower. It stands on a marble pedestal inscribed:—“To honour the name of William Smith, LL.D. This monument is erected by Friends and Fellow-labourers in the field of British Geology. Born 23rd March, 1769, at Churchill in Oxfordshire, and trained to the Profession of a Civil Engineer and Mineral Surveyor. He began, in 1791, to survey collieries and plan canals in the vicinity of Bath, and having observed that several strata of that District were characterized by peculiar groups of organic remains he





Monument erected by the Earl of Ducie, F.R.S., F.G.S., to the memory of William Smith, "the Father of English Geology," at Churchill, Oxfordshire.



This view of William Smith's Monument at Churchill has been prepared from a photograph taken by Lord Moreton, by whose permission it is reproduced here.

(See "Geological Magazine," 1892, P. 96.)

adopted this fact as a principle of comparison, and was by it enabled to identify the strata in distant parts of this Island, to construct sections, and to complete and publish in 1815 a Geological Map of England and Wales. By thus devoting, during his whole life, all the power of an observing mind to the advancement of one Branch of Science, he gained the title of the 'Father of English Geology.' While on his way to a Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Birmingham, he died in this town, at the house of his friend George Baker, the historian of Northamptonshire, 28th of August, 1839."* (See "Geological Magazine," 1892, P. 144.)

A monument has just been erected by the Earl of Ducie, F.R.S., F.G.S., to the memory of William Smith, at Churchill, Oxfordshire, where he was born; a village already famous as the birthplace of Warren Hastings.

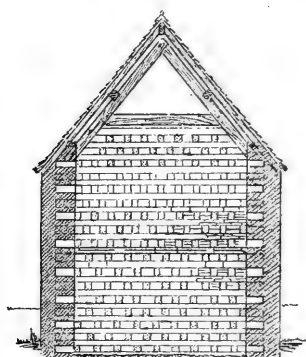
The monument is formed of huge Oolitic ragstones of the district, similar to the Rollright stones. The name "Oolite" was given by William Smith to the rocks of the formation of which the higher grounds in this locality are a part.

It is a monolith standing on a double base. The lower base is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet high, the upper one is $6\frac{1}{4}$ feet square, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The monolith stands 9 feet high above the upper base, and is about 3 feet square. A marble slab is inserted in the side facing the road from Chipping Norton, and bears this inscription:—"In Memory of William Smith, 'The Father of British Geology;' Born at Churchill, March 23rd, 1769; Died at Northampton, August 28th, 1839. Erected by the Earl of Ducie, 1891."

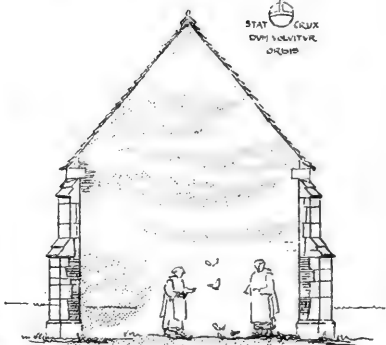
* I am indebted to the Rev. E. N. Tom, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Northampton, for the above transcript. There is no sculptor's name on the bust.



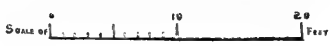
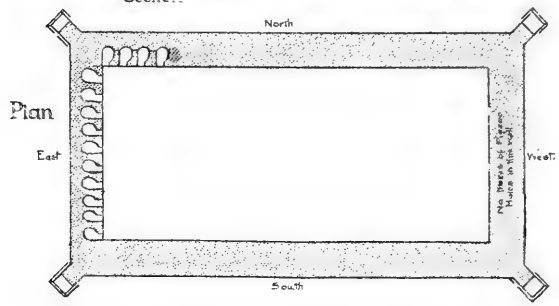
Dovecote of the Cistercian Priory of Wilham.



Section.



End Elevation



Some Notes on an Old Building at Witham. By WALLACE GILL.

(Read December 18th, 1901.)

At Witham, near Frome, about fifty yards to the south-east of this Church is an old building of the fourteenth century, which has been considered by some antiquaries to be the "Hospitium," or Guest House of the Carthusian Monastery, founded at Witham about the year 1173.

This building, which belongs to the Duke of Somerset, is about 36 feet long and 19 feet wide, having an angle buttress at each corner, the walls being about 3 feet thick.

I have recently superintended some alterations to this building in order to convert it into a Parish Room; and on clearing out a lot of modern cross walls and floors we found that this building was one large room, and that the whole of the walls had been originally lined with pigeon cots, formed in the main structure of the building, not added subsequently.

Clearly this building was a large "Columbarium," or pigeon house.

The place had been very much pulled about several times during the last two hundred years, and no traces could be found of the original doors or of any windows. All the original work we found has been carefully preserved, but the west wall was in such a dilapidated state that we had to rebuild it. Probably the original doorway was in this west wall.

We were obliged to form new doors and windows, and these we managed to put in without disturbing any original work.

I consider that there were probably about a thousand pigeon holes in the building as first constructed.

The original floor was some four feet or more below the present floor, and the roof was about three feet below the present roof; traces of the line of this old roof can still be seen.

All the existing pigeon holes were found walled up and plastered over; this was probably done a century or so ago when the place was turned into two cottages.

I had all the plaster knocked off so that the cots can now be traced, and a few of them are opened so that their construction can be seen. Traces of grain were found in all the pigeon holes that were opened.

The history of this monastery (which was the first Carthusian house founded in England) with an account of the rule and life of the Monks of this Order, is fully dealt with in Miss Thompson's "History of the Carthusians in Somerset;" and interesting papers on Witham, with theories as to the Church and other buildings are to be found in the "Somerset Archæological Transactions" of 1887 and 1893. Viollet-le-duc gives a good description of a typical Carthusian Monastery, with a plan, in his "Dictionnaire de l'Architecture," Vol. I., p. 307. A small book, published since I read my notes, entitled "Hugh of Lincoln" also deals with this place, S. Hugh having been the third Prior of Witham.

I trust that some day the site of the whole Monastery will be properly explored, so that the plan may be traced of this, the earliest and most interesting of all the English Carthusian houses, in the same way as it has been done at Mount Grace, in Yorkshire, which belonged to the same Order; then and then only can this vexed question be settled, whether the Monastery at Witham followed the usual Carthusian plan, or was divided, as some consider was the case, into two establishments (one for the Monks and the other for the Lay Brothers) about a mile apart.

Ancient Roman Coins Discovered at Bathwick. By the

REV. C. W. SHICKLE, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read December 18th, 1901.)

That much money has been lost at the Old Bathwick Brewery would be readily assented to by the advocates of Total Abstinence, and that no modern coins should have been found in levelling the

ground after the removal of the Brewery premises is rather surprising. A considerable number of much earlier date have, however, been dug up, and that is of considerable interest to those who make a study of the ancient history of Bath and the neighbourhood.

The coins in question are of no great intrinsic value and only of inferior metal, but they date from the time of Nero, 54—68 A.D. to Gratian, at the end of the 4th century, and are about 50 in number.

At the same place was also discovered a small Roman altar about a foot high, which, from its appearance, had evidently seen considerable service. Of other remains I have heard nothing, although there certainly was a villa of considerable size somewhere near the Old Bath College, which is evidenced by the midden which exists in Sydney Gardens, just outside the boundary of the playground. We should scarcely expect to find any old buildings so near what must have been a marsh in those ancient days, but the alterations which took place in Bathwick parish at the end of the 18th century make it hard for us to realise the proper or original position of the parish, and why it was that (6 Anne, 1706) in the first Act of Parliament for improving the roads of Bath, lighting the city and fixing the fares for chairmen, parts of Walcot should be included and no mention made of Bathwick, which now is so close to the centre of the city. Bathwick was then a collection of about 50 houses stretching from the old Bathwick Church along what is now Bathwick Street, and the way from the city to the parish by means of the ferry at Monk's Mill was used more for the purpose of going through the fields to Hampton Down, possibly by a road up Bathwick Hill, or up the path from the canal near Cleveland House, and which now crosses the North Walk at Queenborough. But the chief point of interest is that as Bathwick was always held with Woolley there must have been direct communication between the two parishes, and the position of Walcot exactly

opposite Bathwick points to the existence of a ford. Several roads would in this case meet at this point, and what more natural than for the Romans to erect a fort to guard the ford and protect the entrance to the town.

The London Brewery in Walcot is of very ancient date, and it probably marks the junction of the London Road with the Bathwick Street which then ran in a straight line, passing by the side of the old church and between the Rectory and the present church of S. John direct to the river. One road leads thence up what is now Margaret's Hill to the Lansdown Road, and there was a direct path up Snow Hill, Tynning Lane, and by the footpath which crosses the fields and now comes out opposite the turn to Woolley. This being so, we can understand how it was possible for one priest to perform the duties necessary to the two parishes, and also how it is that Roman remains are found along this line of road, which most likely then went by Abbey View House, up Tynning Road, and thus past Widcombe Old Church along the edge of the Convent property to Frome. The road may have been chosen as the boundary of the estate when the land came into the possession of the Monks. Along this road there would be considerable traffic, and some miles would be saved by avoiding the road through Bath, and possibly also some dues. Whether the altar and coins had any connection one with the other, whether they mark the spot where the travellers halted after and before they crossed, whether it was here they paid their dues, we must leave to imagination.

The existence of a ford at this conjunction of the numerous roads is of still further importance.

Where Waller crossed the Avon in marching from Claverton to Lansdown, in July, A.D. 1643, has always been a difficult question to solve. To cross at Bathford would have obliged him to expose himself to an attack from the Royalists marching towards Bannerdown and hurrying to enter Bath at Grosvenor or Dead Mill.

To have come over Bath Bridge he would have been obliged to make too great a detour, and left his flank exposed. His direct road would have been down Bathwick Hill, and then he could have easily thrown out his men along the hill from Larkhall to Woolley, which position we know he held when the Royalists arrived, and this point he could scarcely have gained had he marched round by the Bath Bridge or have taken up if he had crossed the ford at Bathampton.

These notes are made because we ought to chronicle every discovery connected with the ancient history of any parish, for it is only by such means that we can learn what took place centuries ago. Mistakes can be corrected and light thrown on points which are difficult to understand if we do not possess such knowledge.

Of numismatics I am quite ignorant, but, through the kindness of the Rev. J. F. Poynton, Rector of Kelston, and Messrs. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., and G. F. Hill, of the British Museum, I was able to discover the period over which the coins extended.

The Elm, with a Notice of some Remarkable Varieties in the Victoria Park, Bath. By T. FREDERIC INMAN, Vice-President.

(Read January 15th, 1902.)

Most of us know that there are two kinds of Elm common in the neighbourhood.

If you walk on the New Warminster Road, towards Claverton, you will find during the last half mile, the road passes through Elms on both sides. It is a good place to compare the two species.

Those on the left are the Scotch Elm, *Ulmus Montana*. Those on the right, the English Elm, *Ulmus Campestris*.

The Scotch Elms were probably planted when the New Warminster Road was made.

The English apparently grew on the side of a disused lane, part of which was taken into the new road.

The Scotch, though seeding profusely, do not appear to have increased in number since they were first planted. The English on the other hand, though rarely producing perfect seed, are surrounded by a dense undergrowth of similar Elms, and have encroached on, and in some places, destroyed the hedge.

These two Elms are now considered to be the only true species in Great Britain. All others to be merely varieties of one or other of these two. (1)

In the second part of this paper I will endeavour to give a short account of the varieties of these two species, and particularly will call attention to the remarkable specimens of some of these varieties in our Park. But in the first place I will confine myself to the history of the Elm.

The Scotch Elm is considered to be undoubtedly native, (2) that is, it has not been introduced by human agency.

The first question that arises is whether the English Elm is a native of this country.

It is now considered that it is *not* (on the ground mainly that it does not usually ripen its seed here). (3)

Mr. Clement Reid says "The common Elm (*Ulmus Campestris*) in England, only produces perfect seed about once in forty years. (4)

Mr. Chisholm Batten in his paper on "The Forest Trees of Somerset" gives the following note. (5) Some sceptics maintain

(1) "Hooker's Students' Flora of the British Islands," p. 362. "Selby's Forest Trees," p. 103.

(2) "Selby's Forest Trees," p. 124. "Hooker's Students' Flora of the British Islands," p. 362.

(3) "Hooker's Students' Flora of the British Islands," p. 362. "Bentham and Hooker's British Flora," 5th Ed., p. 401.

(4) "The Origin of the British Flora," p. 11.

(5) "Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.," Vol. 36, p. 176.

that the Elm is not indigenous, but introduced by the Romans. This opinion is refuted by the Elm being found in a submarine forest near St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall. Dr. Boase found there, says Sir H. De la Beche, remains of a wood consisting of Alder, Oak and Elm. (1)

This statement, however, is referred to by Mr. Chisholm Batten, apparently with some hesitation in a subsequent paper. (2)

If the Submarine Forest spoken of was not of recent formation the discovery of Elm in it would not of itself entitle the Elm to be called Native any more than the remains of the Elephant and Rhinoceros found by Mr. Winwood in the gravel beds near Bath (3) would entitle the Elephant and Rhinoceros to be called Natives of Somersetshire. The name *native* could only be given to what existed here in historic times.

Mr. Murray, in his recent Flora of Somerset asks, "Is the Elm found in Submarine Forests?"

Mr. Winwood has kindly helped me to answer this question of Mr. Murray's, and has referred me to "The Origin of the British Flora," 1899 (above referred to), by Clement Reid, F.R.S., who is, he says, the greatest authority on the subject.

The following are extracts from Mr. Reid's book:—"The Peat and submerged Forests of the Foreland yield numerous remains of trees," amongst these, according to Mr. A. Bell, the Elm appears. (4)

"At Happesburg, Norfolk. Slabs of clay-ironstone full of leaves and twigs are thrown up by storms at this spot." He specifies amongst other trees the elm. (5)

(1) "Report on the Geology of Cornwall, Devon and West Somerset," p. 418: citing "Trans. Geol. Soc. of Cornwall," Vol. 3, p. 173.

(2) "Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Proc.," Vol. 37, p. 108.

(3) "Bath Field Club Proc.," Vol. 6, p. 95.

(4) "The Origin of the British Flora," p. 69.

(5) "The Origin of the British Flora," p. 74.

At p. 142 he adds :—*Ulmus Montana*. Sm. Blashenwell, Dorset ; Dursley, Gloucester (in calcareous tufa of doubtful age) : Digby Fenn (Elm-wood recorded by Skertchly from a depth of 10 feet.)

Interglacial :—Grey's Essex (badly preserved leaves) Pre-glacial (Cromer Forest-bed), Happesburg, Norfolk.

“In each case the leaves are small and more like *Ulmus Montana* than *Ulmus Campestris*. The difference in the leaves is very slight and I have not been able to obtain the more characteristic fruit.”

The leaves of *Ulmus Montana* are larger than those of *Ulmus Campestris*, and Mr. Reid informs me that the passage quoted above should read—“The leaves are small but more like *Ulmus Montana* than *Ulmus Campestris* in outline (rounded ovate).”

These statements will sufficiently answer Mr. Murray's question “Is the Elm found in submarine forests?”

We must next consider whether remains of Elm timber can be found in the oldest habitations of which we possess any relic.

Perhaps the oldest are those in the Lake Village near Glastonbury, unearthed by Mr. Bulleid, and which were visited by this Club in September, 1892. (1)

Mr. Bulleid informs us that a great quantity of timber was used for the foundations of the habitations, their walls, the Palisade, with which the village was surrounded and defended, and in the making of the ways through the marshy ground to the village. Also in the wood carvings, &c., found therein.

Mr. Bulleid sent specimens of the wood found to Mr. J. G. Baker, F.R.S., of Kew, who pronounced them to be oak, alder, birch and hazel. No Elm was found.

The date of the village was from 200 to 300 years B.C. down to the Roman occupation of England in the first century.

(1) “Bath Field Club Proceedings,” Vol. 7, p. 357.

He, in conjunction with Mr. Boyd Dawkins, gives his reasons for this opinion. (1)

I have argued that because no Elm was found in the lake dwellings, therefore no Elm existed in the neighbourhood.

It is true that no wood of any kind of fir was found, although it is certain that the Scotch pine was then existing in this Country, but the Elm was the most suitable of all woods for many of the purposes above named, as it lasts in wet ground longer than any other.

Elms flourish now in that neighbourhood, as the splendid specimens near Glastonbury Abbey testify, while the Fir is confined to the hilly ground about six miles from the village.

If therefore Elm then existed it would have been probably close at hand and readily obtained, while having to bring Fir six miles in the absence of roads would sufficiently account for its not being used.

We may therefore, I think, assume that at the time of the occupation of England by the Romans, the English Elm did not exist here.

The inhabitants of the Lake Village would certainly not have used Hazel for their roads through the peat if they could have obtained Elm.

The following is an extract from Aubrey:—"I never did see an Elme that grew spontaneously in a wood as oakes, ashes, beeches, &c., which consideration made me reflect that they are exotique; but by whom were they brought into the Island? Not the Saxons; for upon enquiry I am informed that there are none in Saxony nor in Denmark, nor yet in France spontaneous; but in Italy they are naturall e.g. in Lombardie, &c. Wherefore I am induced to believe that they were brought out of Italy by the Romans. The Saxons understood not nor cared for such improvement nor yet had hardly leisure if they would." (2)

(1) Vol. 40, "Proceedings of the Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.," for 1894, p. 150.

(2) "Aubrey's Wiltshire," Cap. 9, as quoted in "Lindley's Treasury of Botany," p. 1188.

As the Saxon period lasted about five centuries, from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eleventh century, I think the last observation by old Aubrey requires some modification.

The following is taken from a paper by Mr. E. Chisholm Batten :—(1) “The cultivation of Elms was an important work of Roman gardeners and husbandmen. Columella gives directions for its culture. It was the tree principally selected for supporting the vine which was encouraged to trail up it to a great height.”

Loudon says :—(2) “In England the Elm has been planted from time immemorial, and probably from the era of the possession of the Island by the Romans.”

Canon Greenwell says :—(3) “It is obvious as has often been suggested that the Romans who introduced the vine may have introduced with it the ‘pillar’ Elm, the two plants being so commonly wedded in Italian husbandry, as in both Italian and English poetry.”

It would have prevented further doubt on the question of the introduction of the Elm by the Romans during their occupation of England if we could have found Elm timber in their buildings. Mr. Reid informs me that “Roman Ilchester yields no remains of Elm.”

As so much of their building has been uncovered and examined by Major Davis, the City Architect, I hoped he might have been able to say that he had found some. I wrote to him on the subject, and he was kind enough to send me a most interesting letter, the contents of which are as follows :—

“In my excavations where they were exclusively amongst Roman work, I found some timber, but it was of small trees of withy, hazel, and I think, ash ; but these must have grown in the baths, or have been washed into them after the year 577.

“In excavating adjoining the buildings that formed part of

(1) 37 “Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Proceedings,” for 1891, p. 108.

(2) “Arboretum,” Vol. 3, 1st Ed., p. 1380.

(3) “British Barrows,” by Greenwell and Rolleston, p. 722.

the ancient monastery of Bath, which it is believed was commenced about 676 or possibly as late as 781, I found a tree, placed to secure the foundations, of somewhat large size, and judging from its bark and other peculiarities, I believe was Elm.

“If you go into the Museum beneath the new buildings at the baths and search in the north-west corner you will find some fragments of timber; these were found with this tree, but it is difficult to say whether these are of Elm.”

A specimen of this timber was sent to Mr. Baker. Mr. Baker writes to me that “Sir Dietrich Brandis and Mr. Massie, who have experience in wood structure, have examined pieces of your specimen under the microscope and do not doubt its being really of Elm.”

So I think you may safely take it for granted it is Elm.

Elm timber, therefore, was used in Saxon times.

As it is pretty certain from what has already been stated that the English Elm did not exist in the South of England until the Roman occupation, and that for a considerable time afterwards they would be too much engaged to send for trees or seed from Italy, it may be interesting to consider what was the general aspect of the country when the Romans left it in 410.

The Elm, now the chief feature in our landscape, would then be comparatively scarce, although as the Roman occupation had continued for upwards of three centuries and a half, it may well have begun to form a conspicuous object, particularly in the neighbourhood of the town and of Roman villas.

Bath had been destroyed by the Saxons after the battle of Dyrham, 577.

The City must have laid for 100 to 200 years in a state of desolation, a vast city of stones and buildings but without inhabitants. (1) The country was mainly woodland. (2)

No weirs kept back the water of the river, the swampy margin

(1) Prof. Earle, Vol. 6, “Bath Field Club Proceedings,” p. 156.

(2) “Reid’s Origin of the British Flora,” p. 21.

of which was covered with water plants, with abundant Alders and Willows. The prevailing trees in the lower ground would have been Oak, Willow, Alder and Hazel, with here and there the Elm.

Corn fields were not absent, for during the Roman occupation, Britain became one of the corn exporting countries of the world. (1)

The hills were covered with a forest of Scotch Fir, *Pinus Sylvestris*, extending probably to Bournemouth. Only a few specimens of this Fir still remain on our hills, and are fast disappearing. (2)

Mr. Green is quoted by the Rev. A. C. Smith (3) to the following effect:—"At the close of the Roman Rule, Britain was an Isle of blowing woodland, even then a wild and half reclaimed country, the bulk of whose surface was occupied by forest and waste, but in the earliest times densely covered with medieval scrub." "The town of Devizes is situated on the brow of the hill looking down over the Avon basin upon the forest which ran unbroken westward as far as the outskirts of Bath." (4)

After the Roman occupation ceased, the Elm, as we have seen, would begin to form a feature of the landscape.

The name Elm is the same as in the Saxon.

Collinson, in his "History of Somerset" (5) says that the village of Great and Little Elm was named from the Saxon word on account of the quantity of Elm trees.

Loudon says:— (6) "There are about 40 places in England mentioned in the Domesday Book (1071) which take their names from that of the Elms, such as Barn Elms, Nine Elms, &c. But

(1) "Green's Hist. of the English People," p. 21.

(2) Rev. L. Blomefield, "Bath Field Club Proceedings," Vol. 6, p. 39.

(3) "British and Roman Antiquities of North Wiltshire," p. 43.

(4) Green, "The Making of England," pp. 8, 93, 97, 338, 347.

(5) Vol. 2, p. 206.

(6) "Arboretum," Vol. 3, p. 1373.

too much reliance must not be given to the names now borne by places—a place in this neighbourhood now marked on the Ordnance Map ‘The Vineyard’ was called ‘Naboth’s Vineyard’—the origin of the name had nothing to do with vine growing.”

Leland, 1540 to 1542, speaks of the Elm wood he saw in Somersetshire. (1)

WELLS TO BRUTON.—“This far I saw some store of Elm wood.”

SOUTH CADBURY TO ILCHESTER.—“Al this way the pastures and feeldes be much enclosed with hedge rowes of Elmes.”

CREWKERNE TO BRIDGWATER.—“From Crokehorn by hilly ground but plentiful of corne grasse and Elme wood wherewith most part of al Somersetshire ys yn hegge rowys enclosed.”

The Saxon time lasted until about 800 years ago.

Enough has been said to show that the English Elm had long been a tree of the country when that time came to an end. Since then it continued to increase, and the Elm, the “Somersetshire weed” as it is called, has long been the prevailing tree.

Professor Earle, in his recent work, the “Alfred Jewell,” p. 112, has the following:—“In Alfred’s time the eye was greeted by a variety of trees which are not observable now. The Elm predominates all over the plain. I asked the occupier of Athelney Farm about the trees on his land, and he said there was hardly anything but Elm. Of other kinds he had only two ash trees and one beech; ‘but,’ he added, ‘we find bog oak in the moors and it makes good gate-posts.”

“The Elms have driven out both oak and ash, and whatever other sorts they touched in their ‘wrestling’ progress.

“These sombre grenadiers dress up their lines so close as to leave little room for other trees. They suck the fruitful soil more than any other tree, and they repay their costly nurture with

(1) See “Pro. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.,” Vol. 37, p. 111.

timber of inferior value. Introduced by the Romans to serve as stakes and props in the culture of the vine they have over-run the land, like the imported rabbits in some of our Colonies. In Alfred's days these hungry aliens had not yet usurped the field, and there was still room for the display of the rich variety of nature, oak, ash, beech, fir, maple, yew, sycamore, hornbeam, holly, poplar, aspen, alder, hazel, wych-elm, apple, cherry, juniper, elder, willow, mountain-ash, spindle tree, buckthorn, hawthorn, wild plum, wild pear, service tree, &c. But now the fair places of the field are encumbered by the tall cousins of the nettle, and the most diversified of English counties is muffled with a monotonous shroud of out-landish and weedy growth." (1)

Interesting as this extract is, I can hardly forgive my friend Mr. Earle for his attack on what I consider the grandest and most beautiful of our trees. It is true that the English Elm has to a certain extent ousted the native trees, but in doing so it has only imperfectly copied the example of our ancestors, the Anglo-Saxons, who completely ousted the native British from this county.

But whether Professor Earle is right as to the beauty or not, will the Elm long continue the prevailing tree in the landscape?

I doubt it! To give a reason for my doubt I will take merely one district, Batheaston. When I went there about 45 years ago, there was a most beautiful avenue of trees from the villa where Lady Miller lived, to the place where the celebrated vase, spoken of by Dr. Johnson and now in the Victoria Park, stood in her time.

I do not think a single tree of that avenue is left. Numbers of the Elms in the grounds have been cut down and other kinds of trees substituted.

(1) See also "British Barrows," by Greenwell and Rolleston, p. 721, note, and De Candolle's "Géographie Botanique Raisonnée," 1855, Vol. 2, pp. 645-705, therein cited.

In the churchyard some very fine Elms are gone and a large number of other trees, chiefly evergreens, planted.

In the avenue to the house at Elmhurst a number of Elm trees were blown down and since Mr. Broome's death, great numbers of remarkably fine Elms, notably those in the Church path, previously a striking feature in the landscape, have been cut down. No Elm, so far as I know, has been planted there since Mr. Broome's death. On the opposite side of the river, at Hampton Manor, numbers of the Elms, said to have been planted by Ralph Allen, have been blown down. The trees since planted are chiefly lime trees. The grand trees in Bathampton churchyard are being cut down. This account extends to only a small locality.

I think I need add no more on this head, though I could easily do so.

Business considerations also have their weight in lessening the planting of Elms.

The Elm timber was the best for the keel, &c., of ships. Iron now takes its place for that and other purposes. The various uses for which Elm timber was applied are stated by Evelyn, Loudon, and Selby. (1)

The Elm used to be planted for shelter in mixed plantations. It is now considered unsuitable for that purpose. (2)

But the Elm will make a good fight for it. For wherever you cut down an English Elm, a dozen suckers will spring up ready to take the parent's place.

A curious instance of the way these young suckers will force their way up, even through cracks in the pavement, is mentioned by Collinson (3), who speaks of an Elm inside a pew at Weathill Church, two feet high, with upwards of thirty branches.

It seems that at the restoration (1660) loyalty frequently took the form of Elm tree planting.

(1) "Evelyn's Silva," 5th Ed., p. 44. "3 Loudon's Arboretum," p. 1380. "Selby's Forest Trees," p. 113.

(2) "Selby's Forest Trees," p. 110.

(3) "Collinson's Hist. of Somerset," Vol. 3, p. 450.

Elms were believed to have been planted in the churchyard by the Man of Ross.

One of these trees was cut down and two suckers came up one on each side of the pew formerly used by the Man of Ross.

There is a drawing of these trees made on the occasion of the visit of the Woolhope Club in 1878. From the drawing, the trees would appear to be about 20 feet high. (1)

These trees were both dead when the Woolhope Club revisited the Church in 1884, but the dead trees were there with a creeper planted to climb up them. (2)

In addition to the foregoing reasons why it seems improbable that the Elm will continue to be the prevailing tree, are, amongst others, the following :—

It is essentially a hedge row tree, and it has been for some time the practice to do away with hedges as much as possible. The Elms we see are many of them those formerly in hedges, which hedges have been destroyed. These Elms have been left, but as they are cut down others are not planted in their places.

The Elm timber has been somewhat brought into disrepute by the habit nurserymen have of raising plants of the Scotch Elm and grafting the English Elm upon them.

The seed of the Scotch Elm (which fruits here) can, of course, be obtained here in any quantity without cost.

It is therefore cheaper to graft on the Scotch Elm.

Mr. Veitch informs me that “the seed of the *Ulmus Campestris* (the English Elm) is obtained from Germany, but the true English Elm is always propagated by grafting, as it does not come true from seed.” (3)

This practice is strongly objected to by Selby on the ground that the Scotch Elm requires a much better soil than the English Elm, and, therefore, that the English Elm when grafted on the

(1) “Transactions of Woolhope Club,” 1878, p. 115.

(2) “Transactions of Woolhope Club,” for 1884, p. 210.

(3) See also “Selby’s British Forest Trees,” p. 103.

Scotch Elm will not thrive on many soils where it would do very well if raised from suckers or layers of the English Elm. (1)

In bad soils he advises that it should be grafted on the "corky Elm" *Ulmus Suberosa*, a variety of the English Elm which thrives on soil of inferior land and strong clays.

As has already been mentioned the Elm timber is not used for many purposes for which it was formerly considered essential. Further, it has gone out of fashion. We no longer see avenues of Elm trees planted. In the grounds about houses, evergreen trees chiefly of the Pine tribe are now those for the most part substituted.

It is possible that there are some persons who admire a monkey puzzle (*Araucaria Imbricata*) more than a fine Elm tree as we see so many planted, though I cannot understand the feeling.

But when the Elm disappears will the country be left devoid of trees?

Perhaps I am travelling rather away from my subject, as I suppose that the imported timber I am about to speak of is pine, not Elm, but it would be curious if the pine, which was driven out of our neighbourhood by the Elm, should again cover our hills, driving out the Elm. The land, in consequence of Free Trade, can now be got at a low price, either to buy or rent, and Sir H. Maxwell thinks that the growing of timber might be made profitable if it was conducted on strictly business principles.

In his most interesting article on Forestry in the October number of the "Nineteenth Century," he states that we imported in 1899 upwards of 21 millions worth of timber, and that there is no reason why the whole of this should not have been grown on British soil. He adds that if this were done we should find employment in the country for those agricultural labourers now crowding into the town. He adds that where a single shepherd now suffices, eight or ten men will find employment, an employment which is always attractive and healthy, that of forestry.

(1) "Selby's British Forest Trees," p. 111.

Where rabbits abound seedlings and coppice are destroyed. To fence with wire netting would swallow up the profits.

He does not consider that we need give up game but that rabbits must be exterminated.

The planting of trees, in considerable numbers would no doubt add to our water supplies—a matter of increasing importance.

From the foregoing I have formed the following conclusions :—

1. That the Elm is found in submarine forests and in pre-historic formations.
2. That it did not exist in recent times in this part of the country.
3. That it was introduced here by the Romans, and spread so rapidly, that it was in use as timber during Saxon times.
4. That after driving out the fir and other trees, its period of decline has now come, and it is far from impossible that it may in its turn be superseded by trees of the fir tribe.

Before turning to the second part of my paper, I will say a few words about the Elm bark beetle (*Scolytus destructor*) which some people suppose, as I think mistakenly, to have lately killed four or five fine Elms in the Park near the Miller Vase.

Col. Blathwayt informs me that this beetle is only successful in its attack on injured or diseased trees.

That great authority, the late Miss Ormerod, in her account of this beetle has the following remarks :—

“The circumstance of *Scolytus* attack, and sickly growth of the tree or decay of the bark occurring together, has given rise to much discussion as to whether the *Scolytus* attack caused the decay, or weakened health induced attack.”

“It is observed by Dr. Chapman, from whom I take much of the above life-history (see “*Entomologists' Monthly Magazine*,” 1869, pp. 126, 127), that healthy growing trees are supposed to repel the attacks of this genus of beetles by pouring sap into their burrows.”

“He notes that in the case of the *Scolytus pruni* he had

observed burrows less than one inch long, some of which containing a few eggs already laid, had been abandoned uncompleted by the beetles, apparently on account of the presence of a fluid which must have been sap, as no rain had fallen to account for it."

At a meeting of the Woolhope Club, at which I was present, and which was attended by a member of our club, the late Mr. Broome and other very great authorities on the subject of Fungi, the question was raised whether the attacks of the Fungi were the cause or the consequence of the tree being in a dying condition. The opinion of those present was (I think unanimous) that it was the consequence, and that Fungi did not appear on a healthy tree.

It was not beetles or Fungi that killed these fine trees.

My paper has already extended to too great a length, and I do not, therefore, propose to go into any minute account of the species and varieties of the Elm. This can be found in many easily accessible books. The account given in "Selby's British Forest Trees" is very interesting. The short account in "Hooker's Students' Flora of the British Islands" contains the present botanical view on the subject by the highest authority. To these I would refer. We have already seen that it is now considered that there are two species only, *Ulmus Campestris* (the English Elm) and *Ulmus Montana* (the Scotch Elm).

The following is a good description of their difference in "habit:" (1) "In some Elms the branches and head are generally subordinate to an elongated conspicuous central trunk, as is seen in the usual growth and appearance of *Ulmus Campestris* and most of its varieties. In *Ulmus Montana*, on the contrary, the central column becomes divided at a greater or less height in the great diverging boughs or arms which form the head of the tree!"

The chief *botanical* distinction is that in *Ulmus Campestris* the fruit is deeply notched, the notch almost reaching the seed-bearing

(1) "Selby's British Forest Trees," p. 102.

cavity ; in *Ulmus Montana* the fruit is slightly notched at the top, the seed-bearing cavity placed considerably below the notch. (1) *Ulmus Campestris* scarcely ever ripens its seed and produces a great quantity of suckers : *Ulmus Montana* ripens its seed in profusion, but throws up no suckers.

The Elms flower early in spring, before the leaves, and thus give a red colouring to the trees.

Of the *Ulmus Campestris* in the Kew "Hand List of Trees grown in the Arboretum" 27 named varieties are given. In the same list of *Ulmus Montana* 15 varieties are given.

A large number of them will be found, particularly in the Royal Avenue.

The first lease of the Royal Avenue is dated 1st September, 1830, and is from Dame Martha Rivers Gay to John Davies, Chemist, and Thomas Blanchard Coward, Linen Draper. These gentlemen were conspicuous amongst those to whom we owe the Park.

The Royal Avenue was soon after laid out and the Elms planted. This will give their age at about 70 years.

It appears from the Plan on the lease that the ground where the Royal Avenue now runs was then enclosed fields. This with the Lower Common was rented by the then Park Committee, and the paths across the Common laid out and planted with trees, chiefly Elms, the more rare varieties being planted in the Park, particularly in the Royal Avenue.

In Mr. Hanham's "Manual for the Park," published in 1857, the varieties of *Ulmus Campestris* therein included are stated to be 9 and of *Ulmus Montana* 14, also of *Ulmus Americana* 3.

At present we have all of these except two, and we have three not in his list.

The greatest trouble has been always taken by the late Mr. Gore, by Mr. Bartrum, and at the present time, to keep up the

(1) "Handbook of British Flora." Bentham and Hooker. p. 401.

number of varieties. In some cases it was impossible to replace Elms. For instance, *Ulmus Campestris Concava-folia*, a very beautiful variety, which could not be purchased, was ultimately obtained by grafting from a tree we had.

The difficulty is that the varieties do not come true from seed, and the suckers of the tree, grafted on *Ulmus Campestris*, come up the common English Elm; the varieties therefore die out. I have been trying to get *Ulmus Campestris Virens*, which is very highly spoken of by Selby and Loudon; it is stated to be almost evergreen, but Mr. Veitch cannot procure it.

In answer to my enquiries, Mr. Milburn, the highly valued Superintendent of the Victoria Park, has sent me the following, from which I conclude that to obtain a tree of any particular variety the only way is to graft. He says:—

“I feel sure that all our varieties (not species) have been grafted. My reason for this conclusion is, they have all been transplanted, and grafting is the usual means of perpetuating varieties, especially of forest trees.

“As regards the older or matured trees it is difficult to trace the position of union between the scion and stock, the reason for this being, and more particularly in earlier days, the grafting of trees was performed close to the ground so that after a few years the position of union would become obliterated. I quite believe that on account of *Campestris* being a shy seed-bearer this would sometimes be grafted on *Montana*; there appears to be some evidence of this in the last old tree, west end, in Royal Avenue, In our younger Elm trees there are one or two exceptions to the rule of grafting close to the ground; in variety *Louis Van Houtte* growing in the bank near Queen Square entrance, and in variety *Webbiana* near the Lake (these varieties have evidently been grafted on the opposite species to which they belong, thus showing two distinctive kinds of bark which will no doubt be perpetuated throughout their lives); in these two instances the point of union is a considerable distance from the ground. The

point of union of grafts is readily distinguishable in the weeping varieties.

“I do not think that any of the Elm trees grown in the Park have been home raised either from seed or suckers ; all have been obtained direct from the Nursery.”

Mr. Milburn has furnished me with the following list of varieties of Elms now in the Park, with their localities. This list will enable anyone to further study the subject, and will be a record for the future.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Milburn for this list and for the help he has given me.

Also, in conclusion, I have to thank Professor Earle, the Rev. H. H. Winwood, Major Davis, Mr. F. H. Baker, of Kew, Mr. Clement Reid, and Colonel Blathwayt for their help.

MR. MILBURN'S LIST.

There are at present growing in the Royal Victoria Park, Bath, twenty-three species and varieties of Elm ; most of them are specimens of seventy years' growth.

The following are the names and the localities in which they are growing in the Park —

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| <i>Ulmus Campestris</i> , | City entrance, Royal Avenue, Botanic Garden, &c. |
| ” | ” |
| ” | Variety <i>Cornubiensis</i> = <i>Ulmus Stricta</i> —the Cornish Elm or upright growing Field Elm, Royal Avenue and by the wood yard. |
| ” | ” |
| ” | ” <i>Sarniensis</i> (the Jersey Elm), Royal Avenue and by water fountain. |
| ” | ” |
| ” | ” <i>Foliis variegatis</i> , lawn leading to Botanic Garden, and opposite side. |
| ” | ” |
| ” | ” <i>Viminalis</i> (the twiggy Field Elm) Royal Avenue, western end. |

Ulmus Campestris—continued.

- ” ” Variety *Concavæfolia*, Royal Avenue and North Road.
- ” ” ” *Webbiana*, a small elegant tree planted recently near the lake.
- ” ” ” *Louis Van Houtte*, branches golden tipped, bank overlooking Queen’s Parade field, young tree.
- ” ” ” *Myrtifolia*, North Road.

Ulmus Suberosa, supposed to be a variety of *Campestris*, (the cork barked Elm) in Cow Lane, by the farmhouse, and between obelisk and lake.

Ulmus Montana (the Scotch or Wych Elm) Royal Avenue.

- ” ” Variety *Vulgaris*, road-side, near the lake.
- ” ” ” *Rugosa*, Last but two western end Royal Avenue.
- ” ” ” *Cevennensis*, a small tree and very scarce, near wood yard.
- ” ” ” *Nigra* (black Irish Elm), Royal Avenue.
- ” ” ” *Pendula* (weeping Scotch Elm), lawn near the lake, and by the wood yard.
- ” ” ” *Fastigiata*, eastern side of lake on the bank.
- ” ” ” *Montana glabra* (the smooth leaved Wych Elm), Royal Avenue.
- ” ” ” *Glabra Vegeta* (the Huntingdon Elm) at new entrance at Park Lane, and each side of the pathway opposite through the Common.
- ” ” ” *Glabra microphylla pendula* (the weeping Scampston Elm), top of the walk leading to lower dell, opposite Botanic Garden.

Ulmus Montana—continued.

- „ „ Variety *Glabra major*, Royal Avenue.
 „ „ „ *Glabra latifolia*, at the eastern end of
 the pathway, in the Common leading
 from Marlborough Buildings.
 „ „ „ *purpurea*, young tree south side of
 North Road.
Ulmus Americana, variety *Fulva*, western end of the lake.
 „ „ „ *Fulva macrophylla*, near the wood
 yard.

An interesting tree allied to the Elm is the *Planera Richardii* or *Zelkova crenata*, band lawn near Marlborough Buildings. It differs in the fruit and bark from the Elm and the bark peels off like that of the Plane tree.

Principles of the Somerset Domesday.

By Rev. T. W. WHALE, M.A.

(Read February 12th, 1902.)

GELD ROLL OF A.D. 1084.

From the death of Edward the Confessor (1066) till the year 1084 no evidence is forthcoming of any inquiry into the incidence of danegeld. Judging from Domesday inquisitions nothing formal had been done. But the inquisition of 1084, usually called the Geld Roll, was a step in this direction. That it was not simply a copy of the assessment in use T.R.E. Domesday itself conclusively proves. The King's councillors could not have thought it altogether satisfactory, because the Domesday Survey was ordered within two years. It is, however, of great value in explaining the plan of danegeld, and the way in which it was collected; moreover it is very helpful to identifications. Un-

fortunately the essential parts, the actual payments to the King, are only a summary, which for Somerset amounted to £514 os. 11d. (f. 527), and was carried to Winchester. In the final days of danegeld, 2nd and 8th Hen. II., as the Pipe Rolls show, the assessment amounted to £277 10s. od., the payments were £179 7s. 10d.; levied no doubt at a lower rate, and accounted for by the Sheriff at the Exchequer.

Looking to the plan of the assessment, Mr. J. H. Round (Feudal England, p. 54) assumes "that the Hundreds themselves were first assessed, and that such assessments were multiples of the five-hide unit." But one of his Somerset examples is contradicted by the Geld Roll. Crucha (Eyton I., p. 134) is 39 hides in the Roll, though possibly corrected by Domesday. The other, Witestana, is indeed 115 hides (not 120), here I readily admit the 5 hide multiple applies. The Glastonbury holdings were mostly of a peculiar character, created by the great drainage system out of the moors and fens, and forming rectangles bounded by the drains, each constituting a multiple of the hide, often of 5 hides. How different the holdings of early settlers, of irregular shape, and areas mostly containing virgates and its fractions!

But take the geld list of the 41 hundreds, and we have only the following multiples of 5 hides; Witestana 115, Bada 95, Brunetona 5, Cumba 20, Cingeberia 40, Wivelescoma 15, Regis Brunetona 10, Ciu 35, Monachetona 15. Clearly, then, the assessors and collectors of the Geld Roll had no idea of a 5 hide unit. As to Mr. Bates' attempt to prove the theory, after manipulating manors *ad libitum*, transgressing the bounds of hundreds, and utterly disregarding Geld Roll and Domesday principles, the whole has ended in conspicuous failure, and proved that as regards Somerset the 5 hide unit is a myth. (See "Somt. Archl.," Vol. XLV. p. 51.) Moreover, a single mistake in identification would bring down the whole fabric, and the subtractions, additions, and new creations of hidage would have a like effect.

As to the hundreds of the Geld Roll (see p. 54) the order

is entirely different from that of the Domesday Survey (f. 64), though not entirely following the divisions of the County as in Devon. Sometimes two or more hundreds are grouped together, probably because they had common fegadri or hundred men. Several are omitted, presumably because they were entirely in the King's hand, and subject to his bailiffs, viz., (2) Vicecomitis Brunetona, (9) Regis Brunetona, (11) Duluertona, (14) Cliua, (28) Mertocho, (18) Crica, (17) Nortchori, (48) Suthbrent; and Glaestingeberia which never gelded.

(33) Sumbretona may, perhaps, have been lost, or the King from its peculiar character, may have kept it under the control of his servants, and apart from the County. It must be borne in mind that mistakes are much more likely in the Geld Roll, which was only an ordinary tax levy, than in the Domesday Hundreds.

Presumably each hundredman was supplied with a copy of his Hundred Roll, and after collecting the tax submitted his account to the county authority which, judging from the Hen. II. record, was the Sheriff and others with him. He would be furnished with a list of exemptions in respect of demesne, and would hand over defaults or defects on behalf of those who claimed further exemption, or failed to pay their quota. A careful examination of this so-called inquisition, or Geld Roll, results in the following conclusions. It is not the inquisition itself, but only a digest of it, bearing to it somewhat the relation of the Exon Domesday Book to the original survey.

The inquisition itself was in the form of Rolls of the Hundreds, with an index in an imperfect state to be found at f. 63. The index for Devon is more complete. Doubtless the Clerks of the Exon Domesday had this inquisition before them, but instead of copying it into their book, as apparently was done in other districts, they merely noted the total tax of each hundred; the sums paid by the hundredmen, as to which there was no dispute; exemptions for demesne lands held by tenants in capite, subject to fluctuation; and lastly defects and exemption claims,

many of them for demesne, probably only lately subtenanted lands, to be settled by legal process, and for some items of which the hundredmen themselves were held responsible at their audit, for example in the Hundred of Abediccha. This digest is on parchment sheets of the same size and form as the Domesday Book, and so far as can be ascertained the two have always been kept together. Not that it was very carefully compiled, for in the Wiltshire part there are triplications not entirely corresponding with each other. Some important hundreds are not entered with the rest, but will be found at f. 526, and probably Somerton was lost.

THE SOMERSET DOMESDAY.

In the year 1086 the King gave orders for a general survey of the whole Kingdom, appointing Commissioners to take the oversight of the several districts into which it was divided. The western district included the Counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts. In eight months the work was completed. The Commissioners were to make their inquiries by hundreds, taking in rotation the several manors in each hundred. A jury was summoned consisting of the Sheriff of the County and others, adding the Lord of the Manor, the reeve, the priest (if any), and some of the principal tenants. No doubt the smaller manors had to content themselves with juries chiefly made up from their neighbours. The manor itself was the unit of taxation, consisting of a house with a varying quantity of land attached, separately rated; and the tax was demanded at the manor house. If the manor had under-tenants, it was the duty of its bailiff to collect from them, and pay the King's officer, called the hundredman, at the Court House. No evidence seems forthcoming to show whether the Commissioners met at the County town and summoned juries before them from hundreds and manors; or whether they visited each hundred in order.

The following questions, among others, were submitted to the jury:—

1.—What is the name of this manor? Who was its tenant T.R.E.? Who is the present tenant?

2.—What geld did this manor pay, T.R.E.?

3.—How much land is there in this manor?

4.—How many geld hides in demesne? How many have the villani?

5.—How many carrucæ in demesne? How many in the villa?

6.—What lands have been added since T.R.E.? What lands taken away?

Other questions of detail are omitted, as not pertinent to the general principle.

It may, perhaps, be convenient to anticipate somewhat after results, and notice in the first place,

1.—The phrase “T.R.E.” used in the Exchequer copy meant “in the time of King Edward the Confessor;” its equivalent in the Exon Book is “*eâ die quâ Eduuardus rex fuit vivus et mortuus*”—on the day of King Edward’s death—and we think Domesday hence derives its name: the Saxon word *dóm* is equivalent to the modern *doom*. The sum paid for geld dates back to the Confessor’s time, and ignores the assessment of 1084.

2.—The meaning of the word land (*terra*) in question (3) cannot be too carefully noted. The Exon and Exchequer books in every case give us the headings of the tenants in *capite*—*Terra*—land (*of the Bishop of Coutances, &c.*). Even in case of the King’s lands it is “*terra*” in all cases but one, and there it is “*Dominicatus Regis*;” and in this one the Exchequer writes “*Terra Regis*.” When portions are taken from, or added to a manor, universally these are “*terra*.” “*Terræ occupatæ*” is the general heading. Beyond all question, then, *terra* here denotes the whole of the measurable land held by each Baron, or thegn though not, as we think, the waste. Coming to details, the lands held directly of them by their tenants in the several manors, what

can "terra" possibly mean but the whole measurable land of the Manor? What can "terra addita" or "terra ablata" mean but the whole measurable land thus added or taken away?

Taking this meaning of *terra* for granted, it seems to follow from internal evidence that the waste is not included. Otherwise whatever area may be assigned to "terra quam potest arare una carruca," or "terra ad unam carrucam," or its Saxon equivalent *sulung*, it becomes impossible to reconcile discrepancies. This is in a measure confirmed by the entry 491. "2v. belonged to the King's farm of Curi, it was waste." Now this is not entered as an "ablata terra" from Churi (f. 89), because it was waste, but so soon as it ceased to be waste and was added to Capilanda, it became "terra" and geldable.

Mr. Bates, indeed (p. 92, Vol. 45, "Somt. Assn."), writes, "this I venture to think was only the result of trying to make every hide contain so many acres of land, a belief from which Eyton could never shake himself free;" so again at p. 104. But Eyton knew too much of his subject to doubt for an instant that "terra ad unam carrucam" represented a *fixed* area, however difficult it may be to decide what that fixed area is. Imagine the Commissioners recording *this manor contains terra ad unam carrucam, this it must be noted is not a definite quantity*, and we see the *reductio ad absurdum*.

Hidata, bovata, carrucata, virgata, villata, are simply participles of—hidare, bovaré, carrucare, virgare, villare; from the nouns—hida, bos, carruca, virga, villa; *i.e.*, terra reduced to hides, boves, ploughs, fourthings, villas.

A peculiar expression occurring seldom should be noted, of which take Derstona (441) as an instance—Richard has in demesne 1h. 1¼v., and the villani *the rest of the land i.e.*, 1h. 1½v. In these cases, instead of taking the remaining hidation, the land itself is noted.

The investigations of Professor Maitland and others scarcely leave it longer doubtful that Eyton is right in accepting 120 statute

acres as the extent of the terra ad unam carrucam, though we must bear in mind terra is not terra arabilis, but a general term for all kinds of land except waste. We must try to ascertain what acre was in use in the western district at the time of Domesday. There are reasons for thinking that it was what is technically known as the small acre, $12\text{-}16$ ths of the statute acre, *i.e.*, 160 of these acres = 120 statute acres.

The Exon Book admits, though the Exchequer fails to interpret it, an unit of width for land measure, viz., the furlong, 40 perches. The square furlong 40×40 perches is called the quarantena or quadrigenaria, 10 acres. ("Eyton's Dorset," p. 30.) Taking this to be the fering or ferling of Domesday, these equations follow. 1 hide = 4 virgates = 16 ferlings = 160 acres. Why Eyton (Vol I., p. 25) takes the fiscal ferling as 3 acres it is difficult to see. Regarded as tax the hide in 1084 represented 6 shillings, but as a question of area 160 small acres. In later times the Glastonbury Cartulary proves beyond doubt these measurements to have been used. (Vol. V. "Somt. Records," p. 25). It would be easy enough to explain a change from the small acre to the statute one; we can hardly imagine the small acre taking the place of the statute one. But further difficulties must be faced—What was the carruca of demesne, and of the villani? Was it a team of oxen? Or was it some area of arable land? In the first place there is a general correspondence between the number of plough lands and the number of ploughs in a manor, and if a plough land represents land of all kinds, and a plough 120 statute acres of arable land, what becomes of the wood, pasture, &c.? On the other hand there are many notable exceptions. Cantetona, Willetona and Carentona (89) have together 106 plough lands, but only 52 ploughs: Betministra (90b) has 26 and 13: Briuuetona (91), 50 and 21: King's Brompton (103), 60 and 23: Dulverton, 21 and 10: Cleeve (103b), 33 and 21: Winsford (104b), 60 and 15: Chruca (105), 40 and 27: Chewton (114b), 44 and $30\frac{1}{2}$, and so on. Surely these ploughs are utterly

inadequate for the plough lands, if all were arable. In fact, however, King's Brompton never had 7,200 acres of arable land, nor Winsford a like quantity.

Since writing the above it has seemed desirable to enter in each hundred a complete list, not only of plough lands, but also of ploughs both in demesne and in the villa. As a result, plough lands and ploughs are often very different in number. If they nearly correspond we infer that the manor was mostly arable. On the other hand instances of no plough in a manor indicate absence of arable land, often a park. Moreover we can compare the amount of arable in demesne and villa. The comparative value of land in different hundreds will also appear by comparing the number of geld hides with the number of plough lands.

The difficulty would be in a great measure dissipated by assuming that the statement in the "*Liber niger*"—*the hide consisted at first of 100 acres*—referred to the *carruca* of demesne and *villani*. *Carruca* and *hida* are certainly convertible terms. We should thus have a convenient margin for wood, pasture, &c., and also for the part of the King's forest lands not excluded as waste.

The Boldon Book makes the *bovate*, and therefore the plough, a somewhat varying quantity.

However, Domesday items of area are after all only roughly approximate; the great purpose of the survey was fiscal, other items incidental. Not a tittle of evidence exists of a survey of area. The whole work was completed in less than a year. When the jury were asked—how much land in this manor? and they answered in multiples of plough lands, very rarely taking notice of a half, we may safely conclude that fractions of a plough land were disregarded; in other words the question was answered without previous thought and with limited knowledge.

As regards the status of the undertenant in a manor, clearly the manor was divided into demesne and villa; and the undertenants were the *villani*, as *In ipsa villa* (169) Monchetona proves, so

Roda (148b) is called a villa because the whole is underlet. And seemingly if the demesne land came to have undertenants it was said to be *villata*. The villanus was not of necessity below the rank of thegn. In the Geld Roll for Chiu (Eyton I. 139) the King's villani of Stocha claimed exemption for 6*½*. 1*v*. Assuming these to be Roger under Wm. de Moione, Estochet (363b): Serlo de Burceio (452b), Cilela and Stocca: Aluard and his brothers (491) Estoca: inferentially they claimed as undertenants of the King in the Manor of Chewstoke to be free of tax; but the Commissioners must have adjudged them to hold of the King in capite, and yet they had not lost their rank when holding as villani. In short the King's Manor of Stocha was being dismembered.

When the survey was completed, as would seem in 58 parchment rolls of hundreds, with an index (folio 64), it was placed in custody of the Bishop and Canons of Exeter.

THE DOMESDAY BOOK.

No doubt the survey was made in the 20th year of the reign of William 1st, but how is it proved that the transcription from the rolls now constituting Domesday *book* was completed at once? That there was not an interval of four years before the Exon Book had been sent to the Exchequer, and the Exchequer Book transcribed from it?

That the survey was made with a view only to future assessments of Danegeld we cannot think. Danegeld was becoming moribund, and died outright after 8 Hen. 2: no roll for this date, nor any indeed after 1084 exists—only the sum totals paid into the Exchequer, with a list of exemptions ever increasing, and including the King's civil servants.

We think, in short, that Domesday Book marks the first step in the direction of military tenure, of the feudal system, and that its arrangement in fiefs (as we may say by anticipation) points to this.

The 58 parchment rolls of hundreds with index are supposed to be in the hands of the transcribers. Internal evidence, f. 82 and elsewhere, shows that Reginald (probably de valle torta) took the oversight, and himself copied. He was assisted by a Norman clerk, and by at least two Saxon clerks. The Saxon clerks are easily known, as Sir William Ellis has shown, by their symbol for "et." In the Analysis of the Somerset part of the Book, the Norman scribes are noted by *A*, the Saxon by *B*.

Reginald provided himself with 47 books of parchment of uniform size, corresponding to those of the Geld Roll, but varying in number of sheets. Each of these is to be filled with the holding in the successive hundreds of the King, a baron, or a thegn respectively, following a definite order, that of the index, with the readjustment of making Sutpetret No. 9 follow Nortpetret No. 1, and making Chori Mallet follow Chori Rivell. A Saxon scribe takes the first roll, Nortpetret, and enters the King's manor, and two others (see No. 28 Geld Roll), and then passes it on to a Norman scribe. He next takes Sutpetret (No. 31 Geld Roll) and copies throughout by himself, except one entry (490b) Seuenametona. Very likely he was then entering No. 2 Vicecomitis Brunetona (15 Geld Roll) containing only 2 manors. Next comes No. 3 Chori Rivell (38 Geld Roll), all entries except three in Saxon writing. Afterwards, we think, was entered Chori Mallet No. 22 (32 Geld Roll). From this stage the index was followed without interruption. Thus three or four scribes were entering simultaneously from as many hundred rolls, and their work crossed, and so in a measure interrupted the index order in each fief.

To test the above theory, take the analysis of the Domesday Exon Book, examine the order of hundreds in each fief, do the same in terræ occupatæ, and no doubt will remain that entries are made in the order of the rectified index.

One objection made against the Exon Book is the number of corrections and marginal entries, which indeed shows that the

scribes did their work somewhat carelessly. Sometimes omissions were detected and entered later on in false order ; for instance—Lituna (160), Aissa, Miluerton are inserted at the end of the Bishop's land, either as omissions, or as involving questions of title. Aissa—terr. occ. f. 520 is also out of order. But at intervals comes a general review, and “*consummatum est*” announces this fact. Another objection against the Exon Book as compared with the Exchequer is the *succession* of fiefs. The answer is simple and recorded in the Book itself. In the year 1816 Mr. Ralph Barnes, Chapter Clerk, copied it for the Government, and afterwards revised the proof sheets. The parchment sheets, or books, or fiefs, had hitherto been only stitched to one another. Mr. Barnes himself numbered the folios as in the printed copy, discarding previous numberings, and apparently not consulting the true order of fiefs as revealed in the Exchequer fac simile, had the book bound up in false order. To show how carelessly the book was kept in the 17th century, one of the fiefs was lost, and afterwards found in the 19th century among the papers of a Devon magnate ; one is missing still.

Take, then, the following rules as guides to identification.

(1) Hundreds in a fief should be in index order of hundreds, allowing for cross order caused by simultaneous entries, and for omissions entered *late*.

(2) An identification, introducing a hundred roll *before* it came into the hands of the clerks, must be false.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE DOMESDAY BOOK.

Folios 88 to 117 contain manors in the hand of the King. Every manor was either the caput of and gave name to a hundred, or was already included in a hundred. Notice how regularly “*nescitur*” comes in the King's demesne. These manors, that is, were always in the King's hand as pertaining to the Crown, and therefore never liable to danegeld. As is commonly said, they were extra hundredal, because of this exemption. But they were

the very centre of hundredal organization, and gave first life and name to the hundred. No doubt, at no long time anterior to Domesday, every hundred was in the hand of the King. The hundred court was the centre of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and a source of considerable revenue to the King.

What hundreds were in the King's hand in 1086 may be doubtful. Certainly Ilchester, Milborne Port, Bruton, Langport, Axbridge, Frome, were ; for (107b) the Sheriff rented the King's share of them for £8 15s. a year. In the days of Hen. II. the Sheriff farmed the King's county revenue for £360 ; deducting various payments, and allowances for lands the King had sold or given, including Meleburn, Bedminster, Witham, Baggworthy, Langport and Curi with hundred, and parts of Northcure, Cungresberi, Cedresford, Norton, reducing the net income to £155 in the 4th year.

The Church Barons were rapidly getting the control of the hundred courts of their own lands, and exemptions from the King's courts are largely referred to in the Hundred Rolls of 2nd Ed. I. Manors thus acquiring courts of their own with full criminal jurisdiction were called liberties, free manors, and even hundreds ; the Episcopal hundred, and the hundred of Whitley are newly constituted records of full liberty to the Bishop of Wells, and the Abbot of Glastonbury. Apparently the Sheriff had the control of the hundreds of Cutcombe, Minehead, and Sheriff's Brompton.

After the King's demesne the Comital lands follow which had escheated to the King ; these are all hidated, because they had been in the hands of subjects. Where the King's part of the hundred of Miluertona (103) was afterwards paid is not recorded, his part in some other hundreds (103b) was added to the Manor of Cliua. Besides these, two distinct kinds of additions were made to manors. (1) Thegn lands which T.R.E. had been held pariter, *i.e.*, the thegn owners had held directly of the King according to their peerage or rank. Some of these had either

sold their lands, or after the battle of Hastings had forfeited their rank and held their land in villeinage incorporated in the manor. Others held still in *paragio* or *libere*, but they elected no longer to "*defendere se*" and hold of the King in *capite*; retaining their right to go to any lord with their land they enjoyed the rights and privileges of the manor which they joined. This again seems to indicate the coming feudal system, the share they had to take in the military service of the manor.

(2) Integral portions of a manor sold and detached from it, and so bought and added to some other manor. Clearly, then, *ablata terra* should be registered by Domesday elsewhere as *addita terra*. A great difficulty is here. For example Chenolla (465b) containing *1h. 2v.* From this manor has been taken 1 hide of land which belonged to the manor T.R.E., and this was added to Witeham (382b). Was this hide a part of the *1h. 2v.*, or in addition to it? But Melecoma gelded only for *1v. 2f.*, and yet 2 virgates which belonged to it T.R.E. had been taken from it, so these 2 virgates must have been additional, and the inference seems fair that it is additional in all cases, unless there is a notification to the contrary. Note carefully in the Analysis the marginal references in these cases, in order to trace the transaction. If the ablatum be from the demesne of a King's manor it becomes geldable and adds to hidation in either the ablatum or additamentum, not in both; so likewise waste of a manor taken from it and no longer waste becomes geldable.

Sometimes a member of a King's manor is detached from it and held of the King in *capite* as a separate manor, and becomes geldable; thus (90) Wedmore. An example of a very perplexing set of cases is (106b) Camel, *in it are 15 hides, and the items of demesne and villa amount to 15, but it gelded T.R.E. for 8½ hides.* How did the Geld Roll enter this, for 15 hides, or for 8½? We infer concealment, but not conclusively; if, however, Domesday and the Geld Roll are to correspond, we are driven with uncertain data sometimes to think that the mistake was corrected in the

1084 assessment, and sometimes not. In the case of Ciuetona (114b) the Geld Roll certainly entered 29 hides, not 14.

The Church Barons, according to their rank, follow the King, and it will be well to mark the order in the Exchequer Book facsimile (p. IV.). Kelston does not appear among the lands of the Abbess of St. Edward (193b); inferentially it was not yet formally separated from the 20 hides of the Borough of Bath. Lands given to the Holy men or Clergy of the King should be carefully noted; the spiritual needs of his manors were well regarded, each had its church and chapelries. No doubt from notices of clerics and presbyters in the Bishop's land, the same care may be inferred. We doubt very much whether many of the larger lay manors had their churches. That parishes did not yet exist is forced upon us by Domesday. We read, indeed, of *parochiani presbyteri*, but *parochus* was the diocese, and *parochiani presbyteri* were the Bishop's Chaplains. (See Geld Roll of Episcopal hundred, Eyton, p. 142.) The Lord of a Manor by the law of the Church must pay tithes, to whom they were paid was left to his discretion, sometimes to a monastery, sometimes to a baptismal church, and in return, perhaps, itinerant priests ministered in the manor. We note as a remarkable fact that between the years 1259 and 1286, 88 churches were dedicated ("Randolph's Bronescombe," p. XII.) in the diocese of Exeter—were they not previously the private property of the manors?

The King had in hand both in 1084 and 1086 the Glastonbury estates, and alienated to a great extent the thegnlands belonging to the Abbey. The concluding entries from 172b—Limigtona and onwards—are not surveyed in detail (as Eyton observes II. 33), but the reason is obvious, they are alienations, and the details are given under the holdings of the new owners, as the marginal references plainly show.

Next in order come the lands of the lay barons according to their rank, commencing with the King's relatives. In Suttona (435b), at the end of Roger de Courcelle's land is an omission, entered on revision, observe in a different handwriting.

We have collated the Record Office copy with the original at Exeter and corrected a few copyist mistakes, thus (448b) Hesdinc should be Hesding.

After these, the lands of the Norman thegns, or, as they are called at f. 456, Norman Knights, are entered; the Exon and Exchequer books follow a notably different order. The Exon takes strictly its usual index order of hundreds, the Exchequer enters the whole fief of each thegn consecutively.

Then come the lands of the King's household servants with like arrangements respectively; and lastly in like manner lands of the English thegns, who we take for granted had fought on the Norman side, concluding with a revisional entry (493) Otrametona.

For convenience A fitz B is written throughout instead of *A filius B*. In the identif. 1303 refers to the important Tax Roll of A.D. 1303.

EXCHEQUER FAC-SIMILE.

This, we unhesitatingly think, is a transcript from the Exon Book. Critical examination finds a few copyist's errors in which the Exon Book is more correct. Mistakes and false entries are much fewer, simply because the Exon Book had already done the more difficult part of the work. It is written throughout by Saxon scribes or scribe. There are some important differences of detail to note. The latinized termination to names of manors is rejected. Terra regis is arranged in different order beginning with Summer-tone. The Bishop of Winton is put at the head of the Prelates. The primary entry of the land of a Baron or Thegn forms the caput of his honour, and generally his principal residence, this should be specially noted; the demesne lands mostly follow. One omission Mundiforde (p. XV., f. 356) is entered at the foot of the page, and another Bredene (p. XIII.), another Gatelma (p. XIV.), another Middeltone (p. XIX.). That Stochelande

(p. XX., f. 356) should have been Wm. de Moion's caput seems strange. The omission of the name of Rob. Fitz Gerold's second manor (p. XXIII.) as in the Exon Book is significant and perplexing.

Marginal notes, or marks, p. II., an omission. Pages VI., XII., XX., XXV., Glastonbury thegn lands which the King had alienated.

Page XII., alienation from the Church of St. Swithin.

Page XIV., alienation from Tantone.

Page XXVI., XXVII., corresponding marks to show that Hunfrid's land in the latter page ought to have been entered at the former mark.

Isti sunt hundredi de Sumerseta.

GELD LIST OF HUNDREDS.

f. 75	. 1	Tantotone	(see 40)	21	Tierleberge
		and	f. 79	. 22	Giuele
	. 2	Pipeministre	79b	. 23	Cruche
	. 3	Miluertone		. 24	Willetone
	4	Witestane	80	. 25	Winesfort
75b	5	Cainesham		. 26	Cantetone
	6	Porberie	80b	. 27	Meleborne
76	7	Bade		. 28	Nortpedret
	8	Cetdre	81	29	Ciu
76b	9	Codecoma		. 30	Andretesfelt
		and		. 31	Sut peretone
	10	Manehefue	81b	. 32	Abedicche
	11	Harecliue	82	33	Briuuetone
	12	Betministre		34	Lochesleie
77	13	Carentone		35	Ringoltdeswee
	14	Winestoc		36	In mansione Hame
77b	15	Brunetone		37	Monachetone
	16	Bimastane	526b	38	Bolestane
78	. 17	Hunespille		39	Manerium torne
	18	Ciuuetone	(see 21)	40	Manerium torleberge
	19	Cungresberie	527	41	Frome
78b	. 20	de 1 parte terræ Gisonis			

These are genitive cases, and there is a mark of contraction under the e final, indicating the diphthong.

e.g. Tantotone = of Tantotona

Eyton gives a table of hidage from Domesday, the following is an attempt to reproduce that of the Geld Roll.

	Domesday index f. 64b	f. 75 Geld Roll	h.	v.	f.
24	Lidiart Hundred	1 Tantotona	}	120	3 1
30	Tantona Hundred	2 Pipeministra			
31	Pinpeministra Hundred	the addition makes		121	1
		Eyton I., 191: II., 33.			
		Vol. III. Somerset Records, 19, 78, 144.			

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.			Villa.			
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.						
363b	... Lidiard ...	...	2	0	0	...	B	...	1	...	—		
173b	... Tantona	...	54	2	2	...	B	...	120	...	32½	...	77
175	... Lidiarda	...	2			...	B	...	4	...	—	...	—
	and												
	Lega	...	...	2		...	B	...	1	...	—	...	—
175	...	...	2	0	2	..							
175	...	...	1			..							
175	...	...	1			..	B						
273	... Bradeford	...	5			...	B	...	8	...	2	...	6
273b	... Nortona	...	5			...	B	...	10	...	3	...	8
273b	... Aeford	...		2		..	B	...	1	...	1	...	—
286b	... Tedintona	...	1			...	A	...	4	...	1	...	2
364	... Bageberga	...	3			...	B	...	10	...	3	...	4
364	... Estoca	...	2			...	B	...	6	...	—	...	2
364	... Herfelt	...	3	2		...	B	...	6	...	1	...	1
374b	... Hilla	...	3			...	A	...	6	...	1	...	1
433	... Acha	...	3	2		...	B	...	6	...	2	...	3½
433	... Talam	...	2			...	B	...	6	...	2	...	4
433b	... Holefort	...		2		...	B	...	1	...	—	...	—
433b	... Holeforda	...			2	...	B	...	½	...	est in ea...	...	—
442b	... Halsa	...	4			...	B	...	7	...	2	...	3½
160	} ... Aisxa	...	2			...	B	...	4	...	1	...	2
443b		... + Aisxa	...	1	1		...	B	...	3	...	1	...	2½
444	... Opededra	...	3	2		...	A	...	5	...	2	...	4
444	... Cedra	...	2	2		...	A	...	4	...	1	...	3
464	... Bagaberga	...	1			...	B	...	4	...	½	...	2½
173b	... Pinpeministra	...	15			...	B	...	20	...	2	...	14

121 : 2 : 2

The King (terr occup. 517) had granted to John Hostiarus, Alured de Hispania, and the Earl of Moriton 4*h.* ov. 2*f.* which were in Tantona T.R.E., to be held of him in capite, and these were geldable in addition to 54*h.* 2*v.* 2*f.*

Sanforda 286b is Sampford Brett, hundred of Williton, for (Vol. III. Somt. Records, p. 6) it was of the Barony of Chester which Earl Hugh held in 1086. Alra (286b) is very likely bykenalre as Rev. E. H. Bates suggests, but it had passed (Vol. III., p. 6) to the Barony of Dunster. Clearly also, Hulofort (362) is in the hundred of Williton.

The "presbiteri de Tantona" of the geld roll were probably Wluard and Aluard in Lidiarda and Lega.

Hilla (374b) was of the honor of Nether Stowv (Vol. III., p. 20).

Halsa (442b) went to the Hospitaliers (Vol. III., p. 185), and so became a liberty. The Exchr. (fac-simile xviii.) makes Halse Rog. Arundel's caput.

It is doubtful whether Aisxa ever belonged to Bishop Giso, the added part did, and without legal process had been taken from the Bishop's manor of Lidiard. Note the divergence (160) jacet, jacebat. In case of doubtful title we are liable to a double entry.

The thegn holdings of Tantona (174b) are 17*h.* 2*v.* 2*f.*—excluding the 2 hides of Leueua the Abbess of St. Edward, who was not a thegn, the addition is correct.

f. 64 12 Miluertona

Geld List 3.

Miluertona

h. v.
24 2

Eyton I., 170; II., 27.

Vol. III Somerset Records, 14, 75, 190.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
113	... Miluertona ...				... A ...	16	... 1 ...	9
160	... Miluertona ...				... B ...	—	... — ...	—
197	... Church of Miluertona				... A ...	1	... — ...	—	
269	... Aissa ...	4	0	0	... B ...	10	... 2 ...	4	
	+ 2 thegn lands	1	2	0					
269	... Grindeham ...	1			... B ...	2	... 1 ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	
269b	... Appeleia ...	1			... B ...	2	... — ...	1	
315b	... Apeleia ...	0	3	0	... A ...	2	... $\frac{1}{2}$...	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
362b	... Badeheltona ...	2			... A ...	5	... 1 ...	4	
362b	... Maneurda ...	1			... A ...	3	... 1 ...	$4\frac{1}{2}$	
363	... Runetona ...	2			... A ...	2	... 1 ...	1	
363	... Pousella ...	0	2	0	... A ...	2	... — ...	—	
	+ ...	0	2	0		1	... — ...	—	
363	... Lega ...	0	2	0	... A ...	2	... 1 ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	
373b	... Stauueia ...	3	0	0	... B ...	—	... 2 ...	—	
431b	... Sanforda ...	2			... A ...	7	... 2 ...	3	
432	... Torna ...	1	3	0	... A ...	5	... 1 ...	3	
443	... Chedesforda ...	2			... A ...	7	... 2 ...	$3\frac{1}{2}$	
478b	... Welesforda ...	1			... A ...	2	... 1 ...	1	

24 : 2 : 0

Miluertona, Mill-weir-ton, was the King's, and not geldable. The Church of Miluertona is not entered in the demesne exemptions of Geld Roll, and so did not add to the hidage of the hundred.

Prestetona (374) is placed by Eyton (p. 27) in this hundred and identified with Preston Bowyer, which became a freemanor held of the Prior of Goldclive.

Welesforda (478b) included Langeford (Budville) in the Tax Roll of 1303; so likewise Maneurda (362b) included Leyhegha. One virgate of Welesforda, apparently lay in Ashbrittle, though not perhaps included in 269.

Etymologies in these notes are only to be regarded as suggestive in some cases.

47 Huuistestan.

Geld List 4.

Witestana.

115h.

Eyton I., 195; II., 33.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 33, 54, 225.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
166	... Piltona ...	20			... A ...	50	... $17\frac{1}{2}$...	19	
166b	... Pennarministra	10			... A ...	12	... 5 ...	8	
167	... Baltunesberga ...	5			... A ...	6	... 2 ...	2	
167	... Doltin ...	20			... A ...	20	... 3 ...	8	
167b	... Batecomba ...	20			... A ...	16	... 5 ...	$5\frac{1}{2}$	
169b	... Dicesget ...	30			... B ...	30	... $7\frac{1}{2}$...	15	
171b	... Dunchefde ...	3			... B ...	5	... — ...	3	

108

This hundred got its name from a stone at the meeting place of the eight manors composing it.

Pennarministra (166b) gelded T.R.E. for only 10 hides, it is assumed that the additional 10 hides of the items came to light in 1086.

Alhampton and Lamyatt get their names from the Alham. Dicesget is the gate of the dyke or fosse road. West Pennard very likely contained the 10 hides now hidated, perhaps lately reclaimed by draining. West Bradley (Eyton 197) was formerly a chapelry of East Pennard, and not in Glastonbury 12 hides (Vol. III., p. 34).

Downhead (171b) included (tax roll 1303) Stoke Lane and Whitehole Farm. Eyton (II., 33) is wrong in identifying Stoca (277) with Stoke Lane.

The adjoining hundreds of Huuistestan, Ciuetona, and Froma are full of difficulty, because the King was alienating the thegn lands of Glastonbury. Taking the three together the hidage only exceeds the geld list by a virgate. Collinson tells us that East and West Cranmore were chapelries of Doltin, so they must have been part of the manor. The geld list for Froma shows that the King had 5 hides in demesne in Crenemere, i.e., 5 hides at least of Doltin were in Cranmore and in the hundred of Froma, and the identification of Crenemella (170) as Cranmore falls through. But the same geld list gives to Hardin de Viltona 9 hides in demesne. Harding held Crenemella for 12 hides, but with only 6 hides in demesne. We may easily suppose he held in capite, for Crenemella was thegnland of Glastonbury. Again 13 hides of Dicesget did not account for geld in the hundred of Huistestan, they were held de rege, and so would not be under its jurisdiction. May they not have paid in Froma or Ciuetona? Probably the 2 virgates of Lamieta are a Domesday oversight. But where was Crenemella? Crannel Farms and Cranelmore N. of Glastonbury sound like it, but there is no mill, and the hundred is wrong. Can it be Leigh in the Liberty of Melles with a new name?

Mr. J. Vacy Lyte, of the Record Office, has kindly referred me to Dugdale I. 62 showing that William 1st conceded to Harding de Wilton the land of Cranemere for 3 hides. Probably, then, Crenemella of Domesday, contained the N. part of Cranmore bounded by the road on the S., and 9 hides in Melles.

39 Betministra.

Geld List 5.

Cainesham.

104h.

Eyton I., 119; II., 17.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 48, 68, 89.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.		Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v. f.			Demesne.		
113b	... Cainessam	... 50	...	... B	... 100	... 10	...	64½
141	... Ferenberga	... 5	...	... B	... 5	... 2	...	2
	+ Ferenberga	... 5	...	... B	... 5	... 2	...	—
142	... Sanfort	... 4	...	... B	... 6	... 3	...	4
144b	... Comtuna	... 10	...	... B	... 14	... 1	...	6
169b	... Mercesberia	... 10	...	... B	... 8	... 2	...	3
185	... Priscetona	... 6	...	... B	... 8	... 1	...	6
185	... Stantona	... 3	...	... B	... 3	... 1	...	2
185	... Wimmadona	... 3	...	... B	... 4	... 2	...	1
282b	... Cele Worta	... 3	...	... B	... 3	... 1	...	1
447b	... Celleuert	... 5	...	... B	... 5	... 1	...	1

104

Against Sanfort in the Exon book is a mark in form of a cross, the Exchequer omits the word *Witen*, also 1½ hides, also *R witen holds this for 1 manor*. The Roger of the next manor is Roger fitz Ralph. Again at Esttuna 143b the tenant is Roger dispensator.

The hundred changed its name at 1086 to Betministra.

A peculiarity of the Geld Roll for this hundred is the exemption of the King's demesne, probably the remainder paid geld; but the King's villani were 17h. 2v. in arrear, and, no doubt, claimed exemption.

The Exon book has 7 hides and 2 plough lands for the first Ferenberga, clearly a mistake of the copyist. The figure in the original is Y meant for V; the Exchequer copied it correctly. Celle Worta was long afterwards so called (Vol. III., 48, 69, 93), but it becomes Chelwood (p. 297). In Bowen's map it is Chelworth. Nempnett Thrubwell (Eyton p. 148) was a hamlet of Stanton Drewe.

43 Porberiet.

Geld List 6.

Porberia.

h. v.
86 2

Eyton I., 179; II., 29.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 42, 62, 233.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.			
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.					
141b	Westona	...	7	...	B	...	6	...	3	...	3	
142	Estona	...	12	...	B	...	9	...	2	...	7	
142	Portesheue	...	8	...	B	...	8	...	2	...	5	
142	Westona	...	3	1	...	B	...	3	...	2	...	2
142b	Clotuna	...	5	2	...	B	...	5	...	2	...	3
143b	Porberia	...	8	...	B	...	18	...	2	...	16	
145	Worocosala	...	20	...	B	...	26	...	3	...	25	
	+	...	1	...	B	...	1	...		...
438b	Ticheham	...	8	2	...	B	...	9	...	3	...	6
447b	Waltona	...	3	2	...	B	...	4	...	1	...	3
448b	Ticheham	...	1	3	...	B	...	3	...	—	...	—
450	Cluedona	...	5	2 2	...	B	...	6	...	2	...	4
			84	0 2								

The *et* in Porberiet, and the like, seems to represent *head*, e.g., Doniet = Downhead; Wintret = Winterhead. Cluedona is Cliff-down.

This hundred is *zh. xv. zf.* short. No. 11, Porberiet or Harecliua is *zh. cv.* over, so that they nearly compensate; some transference should be made, perhaps Alduica 452.

42 Bada

Geld List 7.

Bada.

95h.

Eyton I., 102; II., 13.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 49, 70, 79.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.			
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.					
114	Estona	...	2	...	B	...	10	...	1	...	5	
114b	Bada (burgum)	...		...		...		...		...
144b	Firforda	...	2	2	...	B	...	3	...	2	...	1
144b	Lancheris	...	2	2	...	B	...	5	...	3	...	2
144b	Wica	...	4	0	...	B	...	4	...	3	...	—
	Wllega	...	1	0	...	B	...	3	...	2	...	1
144b	Wica	...	1	0	...	B	...	1	...	—	...	—
185	Bada (manor)	...		...	B	...		...		...
185b	Westona	...	15	...	B	...	10	...	2	...	6	
185b	Forda	...	10	...	B	...	9	...	2	...	6	
185b	Cuma	...	9	...	B	...	8	...	3	...	5	
186	Cerlacuma	...	4	...	B	...	4	...	2	...	2	
186	Lincuma	...	10	...	B	...	8	...	3	...	3	
186	Estona	...	1	2	...	B	...	2	...	1	...	1
186	Hamtona	...	5	...	B	...	6	...	2	...	3	
186b	Vudeuica	...	2	2	...	B	...	3	...	—	...	—
448b	Westona	...	5	...	B	...	7	...	2	...	3	
448b	In Bath	...		...	B	...		...		...

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe	Plough Lands.			Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.		Demesne.					
464b	... Tateuiuca	...	1	2	... B	...	1	...	1	...	—
465	... Tata Wica	...		2	... B	...	1	...	1	...	—
465	... Heorleia	...	1		... B	...	3	...	2	...	1
465	... Estona ...	...	3		... B	...	5	...	1	...	2
465	... Claferttona	...	5		... B	...	6	...	2	...	4
492b	... Wica ...	...	2		... B	...	3	...	2	...	1

88

Oddly enough Bada (f. 185) is surveyed as a *manor* which is called Bade, which is the caput of the Abbey, in it are 24 burgenses, and a mill, and 12 acres of meadow. The Exchequer writes:—*The Church of S. Peter of Bada has in the Burg itself.* The Burg belonged to the King (f. 114b).

The monks' devolutions of title are not trustworthy, though they show the possessions of St. Peter of Bath some two centuries later. The geld list is obscure but suggestive. We think that the 20 hides of the Borough were before the Law Courts, and being in the King's hand formed a record separate from Domesday, but now lost. Estona (114) has 1 hide in demesne, and 1 hide in dispute. The Abbess of St. Edward has 3 hides in demesne, but none in dispute. Clearly this is Kelston. Rob. Greno's holding is in dispute, this appears to be the same as in Vol. VII., p. 49, Grenta de N. Stoke. These we take to be parts of the 20 hides; the 15 hides of Weston certainly were not. (See a careless mistake about this in the Transactions for 1899, p. 147.) Now 7 hides must be found to make up the 95 of the geld list, and the 2 of Estona are already included, Kelston and N. Stoke may very well represent these. There are still 11 hides to identify, and among these should be found S. Stoke and St. Catherine's. Later on the Hundred and Manor of Wellow belonged to the honor of Gloucester, probably now given to the Earl of Moriton. The Bath records (Vol. VII., p. 31) show that 3½ hides in Welewstoca, adjoining Woodborough in Wellow, were given to the Abbey. These together seem fairly to account for the 20 hides now being dismembered.

27 Axebruga. Geld List 8. Cetre.
h. v. 7 3

Eyton I., 132; II., 19.

(in Winterstok) Vol. III. Somerset Records 46, 50, 65, 269.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.			Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.		Demesne.					
90	... Cedra	...	nescitur	...	... B	...	20	...	3	...	17
138	... Stocca	...	5	1 0	... B	...	5	...	2	...	4½
432b	... Ceder	...	2	1 0	... B	...	4	...	—	...	2
492	... Draecotta	...	1	0	... A	...	½	...	2 boues...	...	—

7 3 0

Contitone (283) is a difficulty (Eyton I., 214); but it seems very doubtful whether Compton Bishop was part of Banwell; for Loxton on the other side of the stream belonged to Earl Eustace; and if the tenant of Contitone Mathildis was the Queen it would have been free of tax—and we may suppose that it was in the hundred of Axebruga, and afterwards acquired by the Bishop.

Rob. de Otburguilla's ablatum from Cedra has no corresponding additamentum that I can detect, perhaps made after 1084. Stocca (138) gelded T.R.E. for 4 hides; *in it* were 5s. 1v., yet the demesne and villa items only amount to 4 hides; the villa items are obscure, the Exchequer never enters them; the additional 1s. 1v. were in dispute, and therefore unpaid in the Geld Roll; but an increment of hidation in the hundred of 1084; the Commissioners required payment in 1086.

4 Cudecoma.	Geld List 9.	Codecoma and
6 Manehefua.	10.	Manehefua.
		h. v.
		10 1

Eyton I., 129; II., 19.
(in Carintona) Vol. III.: 38, Somerset Records, 38, 76, 245, 275.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage. h. v. f.	Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Ploughs.	Villa.
357b ...	Vdecoma ...	3	... A	... 15	... 6	... 6	6
358 ...	Manehuea ...	5	... A	... 12	... 3	... 3	10
359 ...	Torra ...	0 2	... A	... 1	...	...	—
359 ...	Auena ...	0 2	... A	... 2	... 1	...	½
360 ...	Mena ...	0 2	... A	... 2	... 2	...	—
360 ...	Bratona ...	0 3	... A	... 4	... 2	...	2

10 : 1

Vdecoma more easily becomes Woodcombe than Cutcombe, there is a Woodcombe near Mynehead. Maneheua and Mena seem to have a common derivation, the stream at Minehead. It is not very easy or important to decide on the modern Carhampton manors which formerly constituted the hundreds of Codecoma and Manehefua. Torra has no ploughs, because it was the lord's park.

43 Porberiet	Geld List 11.	Harecliua.
Portbury,		h. v.
Harecliua and	Eyton I., 146; II., 23.	80 1
Betministre.	Vol. III. Somerset Records, 29, 42, 62, 93.	

Folio.	Name.	Hidage. h. v. f.	Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Ploughs.	Villa.
142b ...	Attigetta ...	1 2 0	... B	... 1	... 1	... 1	—
143 ...	Bacoila ...	10	... B	... 14	... —	... 14	14
143 ...	Budicoma ...	3	... B	... 3	... 1	... 1	5
143 ...	Berua ...	10	... B	... 14	... 2	... 2	12
143b ...	Esttuna ...	20	... B	... 30	... 6	... 6	14
145 ...	Wenfro ...	10	... B	... 22	... 5	... 5	14
	+ ...	1	... B	... —	... 2	... 2	—
169 ...	Weritona ...	20	... B	... 32	... 10½	... 10½	21
198 ...	in Ragiol ...	2	... B	... —	... —	... —	—
450 ...	Caluica ...	1	... B	... 3	... 1	... 1	2
452 ...	Alduica ...	2	... B	... 5	... 1	... 1	—
452b ...	Ragiol ...	2	... B	... 2	... 1	... 1	—
	+ ...	1 1	... B	... 3	... 1	... 1	—

82 : 1

Attigetta (at the gate) lying on the main road from Bristol, Eyton puts in South Brent. Weritona, Wrington, so called from a mill weir on the Yeo. Caluica, Alduica, the cold wic, and the old wic; vicus a hamlet. Godwin held *in Ragiol* of the King in alms, formerly he held the whole manor, there is no survey of the items, but the geld list enters it among the unpaid items. He claims and gets exemption.

44 Bedmynstra.

Geld List 12.

Betministra.

h. v.

6 2

Eyton I., 101 ; II., 11.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 42, 62, 96.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.	
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.			
90b ...	Betministra ...	nescitur	...	B	...	26	...	3	...	10
141b ...	Bischeurda ...	2 0 0	...	B	...	2	...	1	...	—
141b ...	Biscopuaurda ...	1 2 0	...	B	...	2	...	—	...	2
198 ...	Lega ...	1 0 0	...	B	...	1	...	—	...	—
447 ...	Canola ...	2 0 0	...	B	...	3	...	1	...	2

6 : 2 : 0

Lega was certainly in this hundred, as the Geld Roll proves ; no ploughs in it, a park without arable land. Turstin the tenant was very likely the exiled Abbot of Glastonbury. The Abbots of Wytelond and St. Augustin, Bristol, held lands in this hundred.

Canola from the Saxon cnoll belonged to the hospital of St. Katharine, Bristol, Betministar=By the minstre.

10 Carentona.

Geld List 13.

Carentona.

h. v. f.

40 1 3½

Eyton I., 126 ; II., 19.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 36, 76, 245.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.	
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.			
89b ...	Carentona ...	nescitur	...	B	...	—	...	—	...	—
104b ...	3 thegn lands ...	2	...	A	...	4	...	—	...	—
139 ...	Winemeresham	1 1 0	...	A	...	5	...	1	...	1
139 ...	Chetenora ...	1 1 0	...	A	...	2	...	1	...	—
139 ...	Widicomba ...	3 0 0	...	A	...	10	...	2	...	8
196b ...	in Church of Carentona	1 2 0	...	A	...	—	...	1½	...	1½
196b ...	in Honecota ...	0 2 2	...	A	...	2	...	1	...	—
315 ...	Porloc ...	3 0 0	...	A	...	12	...	—	...	—
344 ...	Ar ...	1 0 0	...	A	...	6	...	2	...	4
358 ...	Aucoma ...	1	...	A	...	3	...	1	...	2
358 ...	Bruna ...	1	...	A	...	6	...	2	...	4
358b ...	Langeham ...	1	...	A	...	6	...	3	...	3½
358b ...	Coarma ...	0 2 0	...	A	...	4	...	1	...	1
358b ...	Bichecomba ...	0 1 0	...	A	...	2	...	1	...	1½
358b ...	Bradeuda ...	2 0 0	...	A	...	1½	...	1	...	1
359 ...	Estantona ...	0 3 0	...	A	...	2	...	—	...	1
359 ...	+thegn land ...	0 1 0	...	A	...	1	...	—	...	—
359b ...	Aisseforda ...	0 0 1	...	A	...	2 boves	...	—	...	—
359b ...	Aisseforda ...	0 0 1½	...	A	...	½	...	—	...	—
359b ...	Estauueit ...	0 1 0	...	A	...	1	...	1	...	—
359b ...	Wochetreu ...	0 0 2	...	A	...	1	...	½	...	1½
360 ...	Alueronecota ...	0 0 2	...	A	...	2	...	½	...	1½
360 ...	Hernola ...	1 0 0	...	A	...	3	...	1½	...	1
360b ...	Lolochesberia ...	1 0 0	...	A	...	4	...	1	...	3
360b ...	Lolochesberia ...	1 0 0	...	A	...	3	...	1	...	1

Folio.	Name.	Hidage. h. v. f.	Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Ploughs.	Villa.
362b	Comba	1 0 0	B	1	1	4 ani = malia in Carr.	
369	Otona	3 0 0	B	10	3		3
373	Radeheuis	0 1 0	B	1	1		—
380	Locumba	1 0 0	A	6	1		2½
426	Widieta	0 3 0	A	1½	½		1
426b	Wortha	1 2 0	B	3	—		2½
430	Edmundes Wortha	0 1 0	A	6	1		3
430	Donescumba	0 0 1	A	1	1		—
430	Aisseforda	0 0 2	A	2	1		—
430	Aisseforda	0 0 1	A	1	1		—
430b	Esthoca	0 0 2	A	2	1		1½
430b	Bagaleia	0 0 2	A	—	1		1½
430b	Comba	0 1 0	A	1	1		—
430b	Alra	0 2 0	A	1	1		1½
431	Gildencota	0 2 0	A	1½	½		1½
431	Hunnecota	0 2 2	A	2½	—		2
431	Doueri	0 1 0	A	1	—		—
431	Holma	0 1 0	A	2½	—	inter se omnes 1½ Carr.	—
431b	Aisseforda	0 0 1	A	1	—	inter se omnes ½ Carr.	—
431b	Estana	0 0 2	A	2	—		—
442	Timbracumba	1 2 0	B	8	1		1
	+ ..	0 0 1		1	½		—
463	Locumba	2 0 0	A	8	3		4
463	Seleurda	1 0 0	A	5	2		3
463	Alresforda	1 0 0	A	5	2		1
463b	Bosintuna	1 0 0	A	5	1		1
463b	Traberga	0 2 0	A	5	1		—
473b	Carma	0 3 0	A	3	1		—

39 : 2 : 2½

The King's manors of Carentona, Willetona, and Cantetona contained together, with appendages, 106 plough lands, on which were 11½ ploughs in demesne, and 40½ among the villani. The land of the Church of Carentona was held by Bishop Peter in 1084. Note carefully at 359b 2 *boves* as a measure of 1-4th of the plough *land*. In other districts this was written *bovates*, but at any rate an ox, or a bovate, was a measure of 1-8th of a plough *land*, but this land *lies in pasture*, there is no portion of a plough in it. Below at 425b we have 2 *boves* among the ploughs in demesne, representing 1-4th of a plough. Moreover at 362 we find among the ploughs of the villani 4 *animals in a plough*, representing ½ of a plough. Note again (431) Holma and (430 and 431b) Aisseforda, in which the lord and his villani own the ploughs in common: also Donescumba (430) was waste when Aileua got it. Wortha (426b) comes in a sequence of Cantetona and Carentona manors, and therefore, is most likely Worthy in Porlock, Eyton says in the hundred of Somerton. Gildencota (431), comes among a number of Carentona manors, and though now in the *parish* of Old Cleeve is close on the boundary of Carhampton hundred. Hunnecota (431) may be part of Holnicote, but more likely is Huntscott, Wootton Courtenay.

Coarma (358b), Comba (430b), Gildencota (431), Carma (473), Eyton places in the hundred of Willetona.

On the other hand (p 19) he places—Eppsa (464), Cibewrda (362), Comba (362), Sordmanneford (362), Lega (363), Pudesham (429b), Pilloc (425), Blackamore (426), in this hundred. He is very wrong over Haekuuella (491), for Norton Hauteville knew nothing of its territorial owner at the time of Domesday.

Honecota—the cot in the Hollow. Coarma, from cwearn, a mill. Estanton has the perplexing initial letter, meaning, seemingly, *The*. The stone-town. Aissa in Aisseforda, in modern times Exe, has some affinity with Isca an old name for the Exe. Radehuuis—Road house, on the main road, (431b) Estana having become waste should cease to be hidated. Seleurda, the worthy of the sele or residence of a lord. Traberga is not a Celtic word with the Cornish prefix *tre*; it means, three barrows; the same name comes with the three barrows in Dartmoor near Holne. These barrows served for boundary marks, many are met with on the bounds of Exmoor and Devon, and help the identification of perambulation bounds. Holma (431) seems to be Whiteholehames, a hamlet of Exton (Vol. III., p. 76), the water, hollow, hams—Hollams on the bank of the Exe.

25 Wenestoc.

Geld List 14.

Winestoc.

h. v. f.

129 0 2

Eyton I., 204; II., 37.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 50, 65, 264, 46.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.			Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.			
137	... Hascecomba	2	3	0	...	A	3	2	2	2
139b	... Harpethreu	5			...	A	5	2	2	3
139b	... Hotuna...	5			...	A	5	1	2	2
140	... Illebera...	3			...	A	4	2	2	1
140	... Wintret (included in Winescoma)				...	A	2	1	1	1
140	... Aisecoma	3	2	0	...	A	5	2	2	3
157	... Banuella	30			...	B	40	12	2	31½
161	... Winescoma	15			...	B	35	7	7	9
173b	... Bledona	15			...	B	17	4½	4½	11
272b	... Harpetreu	5			...	A	5	2	2	2
282b	... Lochestona	5			...	A	7	2	2	3
350b	... Worla ...	6	2	0	...	B	15	4	4	9
350b	... Mildeltuna	1	2	0	...	B	2	—	—	1
354b	... Hecuiuuicca		1	2	...	B	1	—	—	—
369b	... Worsprinca	6	1	0	...	A	12	—	—	6
	+	3			...	A	8	3	3	3
433	... Sipeham	4	0	0	...	B	6	2	2	1
433	... In pantesheda	0	2	0	...	B	—	½	½	—
452	... Blachedona	10			...	B	10	3	3	6
452	... Opopilla	6	2	0	...	B	10	4	4	3
					...	B	2	1	1	1
					...	B	1	—	—	1
479	... Mideltona	1	0	0	...	A	1	—	—	½

128 : 3 : 2

Banuella, with its 40 plough lands = 4800 acres, is made up thus: 43½ ploughs = 4350 acres + 300 of wood, 100 of meadow, 120 pasture = small acres 520 = 390 statute acres; together 4740 acres. Mildeltuna (350b) is placed by Eyton in the hundred of Bruton.

It was omitted in the Exchequer copy, but afterwards inserted at the foot of p. xix (see Sir H. Ellis p. xii, Eyton p. 6).

Pantesheda may be Towerhead, the head of the pant (Celtic for plain).

Lochestona (282b) is the Town on the Lox water.

Geld roll for this hundred is partly illegible. The hidage for £23 3 10½ should be 77*h.* 1*v.* 1*f.*, making the total 129*h.* 1*v.* 0*f.*

Roger de Corcella has 3 plough lands in Winescoma, and there he has "carr tot." Does this mean that it is entirely arable?

Bishop Hobhouse seems correct in identifying 369b as Kewstoke (including Woodspring and Locking).

2 Vicecomitis Brunetona.

Geld List 15.

Bruneton.
5 hides.

Eyton I., 110; II., 13.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 75, 129.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
357 ...	Burnetona ...	3	2	0	... A ...	12	...	2	... 8
357 ...	Clateurda ...	1	2	0	... A ...	7	...	2	... 5

5 : 0 : 0

46 Bimastan.

Geld List 16.

Bimastana.
h. v. f.43 0 3
supplement 8 1 0

51 : 1 : 3

Eyton I., 107; II., 13.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 7, 60, 169.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
141b ...	Cluiewara ...	0	2	3	... B ...	2	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	... 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
159b ...	Wedmor ...	10	...	...	... B ...	36	...	4	... 9
164 ...	Bodeslega ...	1	...	...	... A ...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	... 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
197b ...	Peritona ...	6	...	...	... B ...	12	...	2	... 6
351 ...	Werra ...	6	...	...	... B ...	8	...	2	... 2
351 ...	Bageuerra ...	2	...	...	... B ...	2	...	1	... 1
351 ...	Aluuarditona ...	11	...	...	... B ...	8	...	3	... 4
351b ...	Ternoc ...	1	...	...	... B ...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	... —
351b ...	Ternoc ...	1	...	...	... B ...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	3	... 1
351 ...	Alnodestuna ...	4	2	0	... B ...	6	...	3	... 2
354 ...	Burneham ...	4	...	...	... B ...	12	...	2	... 10
354 ...	Brien ...	2	...	...	... B ...	8	...	3	... 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
355 ...	Alesistuna ...	1	...	...	... B ...	3	...	1	... 1
355 ...	Hunespil ...	...	3	0	... B ...	2	...	1	... 1
355 ...	Hiuius ...	...	1	...	... B ...	1	...	est ibi	... —
355 ...	Hiuius ...	...	1	...	... B ...	1	...	1	... —

51 : 1 : 3

Cluiewara = Cliff-weir (Angl-Sax. waer); lower down the Axe are Weare and Lower Weare.

Wedmore waer—water-moor—but in it are 11 hides—the demesne and villa land only account for 10 hides of this. Was Modeslega, now a part of Wedmore, formerly Bodeslega (164)? or was Butleigh Wooton an outlying part of Wedmore? Werra (351) gelded T.R.E. for only 5 hides, but 6 hides are now included in demesne and villa, and it is assumed that 6 were registered in 1084.

It is hard to detect in the original the mark of correction 1. over the 3 virg. of Bodeslega (164), making it 1 hide, as in the copy of the Exon book; the Exchequer writes 3-virg.; in the details demesne 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ virg.; the villa—the other land—which gives no help.

Bageuerra—at the back of, or near Werra—was a member of Cungresbury (Hund. Rolls, Ed. I., p. 130). Where was Bimastan? I suspect somewhere near the boundary stone of Wedmore, which, (f. 90) was an ablatum of Cedra, held *de roge*, and should have given its name to the hundred.

Peritona (197b) there are 6 hides in the items of demesne and villa. The Geld Roll is confused owing to Walter de Duaco's tenants paying irregularly. Peritona is put in Lochesleia, but tables as arranged seem to give the best explanation. Peritona became a free manor.

Hiuius means a house.

56 Hunespil.

Geld List 17.

Hunespilla.

1 h.

Eyton I., 148; II., 23.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 47, 48, 60, 87, 253.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Ploughs.		Villa.	
		h.	v.	f.							
354	... Honspil	...	1	...	B	...	13	...	2	...	11

Names like Honspil, Hunnecota, &c., are derived from hon or holn a hollow between hills.

35 Iatona hundred.

Geld List 18.

Ciuetona.

h. v.

127 2

Eyton I., 136; II., 21.

Vol. III. Somerst Records, 38, 69, 108.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Ploughs.		Villa.			
		h.	v.	f.									
141	... Claueham	...	2	0	0	...	B	...	3	...	1	...	2
143	... Chent	...	2	...	...	B	...	—	...	—	...	—
150b	... Chingestona	...	1	...	...	A	...	17	...	3	...	11
151	... Chingestona	...	...	...	...	A	...	7	...	—	...	6½
151b	... Megela	...	1	...	...	A	...	2	...	—	...	2
159	... Iatuna	...	20	...	...	B	...	22	...	5	...	17
466b	... Brocheleia	...	4	...	...	A	...	4	...	—	...	4
55 Ciuetona Hundred.													
114b	... Ciuetona	...	29	...	...	B	...	40	...	9	...	19
114b	... Church of Ciuetona	...	...	...	...	A	...	3	...	½	...	2
149b	... Ferentona	...	5	...	...	A	...	7	...	3	...	4
150	... Estona	...	4	2	0	...	A	...	6	...	3	...	4
150	... Herpetreu	...	5	...	...	A	...	4	...	½	...	3
150	... Amelberga	...	3	...	...	A	...	4	...	2	...	5
150b	... Cameleia	...	9	0	2	...	A	...	9	...	4	...	4
151	... Helgetreu	...	4	3	2	...	A	...	6	...	1½	...	2
151b	... Liteltona	...	5	...	...	A	...	5	...	2	...	3
154	... Contona	...	5	...	...	A	...	3	...	2	...	2
354b	... Contona	...	4	...	...	B	...	3	...	2	...	½
	+ Contona	...	1	...	...	B	...	1	...	—	...	½
354b	... Harpetreu	...	5	...	...	B	...	4	...	1	...	2
438b	... Hantona	...	8	...	...	A	...	6½	...	2½	...	3
446	... Tumbeli	...	5	...	...	B	...	5	...	1	...	3
446	... Estona	...	1	2	0	...	B	...	1	...	1	...	—
453b	... Comtona	...	5	...	...	B	...	5	...	2	...	4
453b	... Morthona	...	5	...	...	B	...	5	...	2	...	3
480b	... Estona	...	1	1	...	A	...	2	...	2	...	—	

134 : 3

The two Chingestonas, the King's towns, gelded T.R.E. for only 1 hide, but the items of 1086 amount to 5½ hides. If we could suppose that the hidage was increased after T.R.E., because the land was reclaimed before 1086, a great point would be gained. The modern spelling of Yatton is misleading as regards etymology, the true spelling is Ya-ton, the town on the Ya or Yeo, meaning water. So Ciuetona is on the Chew. Chent (143) is called terra not mansio, separately hidated but without a house, only a serf lived there without a plough. It was a chapelry of Yatton. In the geld list for this hundred no allowance in demesne is made for the Church of Ciuetona, the King may have granted it after 1086.

Ferentona (149b) is derived in Bosworth's Dictionary from *fearn* = fern. Harpetreu is from *harepæth* and *reu*, Cameleia from the river Camel, and *eia* water. Helgetreu, the hill gate of the *reu*.

King Henry granted to Hugh de Vivonia for 1 fee (Vol. III., p. 38) Chewton, Midsomer Norton, Welton, Widecombe, and West Kingston in the County of Wilts, which was a member of Chewton, i.e. held of the manor of Chewton. Roger Tyrel holds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Childe Cumtona of the Bishop of Salisbury (114b): (Vol. III., p. 40): Adam de Bicton holds the other $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Barony of Hugh Lovel of the fee of Kary. Lovel inherited the Lands of Walter de Duaco, so this is 354b.

32 Congresberiet. Geld List 19. Cungresberia.
19 h.

Eyton I., 124; II., 17.
Vol. III. Somerset Records, 65, 264.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.		Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Ploughs.	Villa.
		h.	v. f.					
106 ...	Cungresberia ...	20		... B and A...	50	...	9	37 $\frac{1}{2}$
159b ...	less Weimorham	1						

19

The undertenants, 3 thegns, Aluard, Ordric and Ordulf, also held T.R.E., no doubt of the King in capite, and were free for their demesne. Gislebert and Serlo, who had recently become undertenants, paid in full. The King's villani were returned in arrear, as were also the villani of Bishop Moricius for the glebe, though he held in alms.

Geld Roll, de 1 parte
of the land of Bishop Giso. 20.
218 h.

Eyton I., 142; II., 23.
Vol. III. Somerset Records, 45, 63, 66, 132, 195, 222.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.		Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Ploughs.	Villa.
		h.	v. f.					
<i>15 Cumba Hundred</i>								
156 ...	Cumba ...	20		... B	16	...	3	12
<i>19 Cingebertia Hundred</i>								
156 ...	Chingesberia ...	20		... B	24	...	2	11
156 ...	Cerdre ...	8		... B	20	...	2	14
156b ...	Littelaneaia ...	2		... B	8	...	2	2
158 ...	Winesham ...	10		... B	16	...	3	9
<i>20 Wyluescom Hundred</i>								
156b ...	Wiuelescoma ...	15		... B	36	...	4	7
<i>23 Walintona Hundred</i>								
156b ...	Walintona ...	14		... B	30	...	4	25
	+ ...	1		... B	3	...	3	—
<i>24 Lidiart Hundred</i>								
157 ...	Lidegar ...	9	3	... B	16	...	2	9
160 ...	Aissa ...	3	1	... B	—	...	—	—
143b ...	... ..	...	...	...	4	...	1	2
	... ..	...	...	...	3	...	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>29 Wella Hundred</i>								
158 ...	Wella ...	50		... B	60	...	20	35
2 hides which never gelded								
		2		... B	—	...	—	—
158b ...	Euercriz ...	20		... B	20	...	7	4
158b ...	Westberia ...	6		... B	8	...	2	5
159 ...	Chiu ...	30		... B	50	...	13	34
159 ...	Lituna ...	8	2	... B	7	...	2	4

219 : 2

Cumba had ceased to be in the hundred of Abedicche, and was now included in Bishop Giso's hundred (Eyton 94.)

Atsor Fitz Torod held Cumba, (156), T.R.E. The Bishop bought it A.D., 1072 (Eyton p. 50).

Harold held Banuella T.R.E.

Ailsi held Winesham T.R.E.

John Danus held Iatuna T.R.E.

Littelanea. We find also Micheleneia, and Mideleneia (189): i.e. the little, great and middle waters. Eyton rightly identifies this as Huish Episcopi. Litelande of the Exchequer, is taken to be an error of the copyist, nor is it to be found in Chard.

Aissa (159b) Roger Arundel had held under the Bishop in his manor of Lidiart, but now illegally he holds it of the King in capite. In the Geld Roll (Eyton p. 142) Alvered, Roger Arundel's under tenant, hold of him 1½A. (in Aisxa) fully surveyed at 443b. Two Knights hold in Lidiart 3 hides of the land of the villa.

The Canons held Lituna (159) of the Bishop.

The 2 hides of 157 which did not geld T.R.E. must be looked for among the unpaid items.

Haia (157, 480) is surely part of the 50 hides of Wella.

Haia, Heghe, Heghen is an enclosure; this was in the King's custody during the widowhood of Gath, wife of Manasses; it contained no plough or arable land, and may represent either Haydon Farms in the parish of Wells, or Henton in the parish of Wookey.

Geld List 22.

Giuela.

h. v.

157 2

Eyton I., 164; II., 27.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 22, 67, 223.

13 *Tintenella Hundred*

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.			
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.					
266b ...	Tintehella ...	5	0	0	...	A	...	10	...	2	...	8
		2	1									
266b ...	Chingestana ...	8	0	0	...	A	...	8	...	2	...	5
267 ...	Estochet ...	2	1	2	...	A	...	3	...	2	...	—
267 ...	Draecota ...	2	0	0	...	A	...	3	...	1½	...	1½
267b ...	Estocha ...	5	2	0	...	A	...	8	...	2	...	3
	+											
267b ...	Estochet ...	1	3	2	...	A	...	2	...	—	...	—
280b ...	Bisobestona ...	9	0	0	...	A	...	7	...	7	...	2

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 24, 66, 183.

36 *Hundesbera Hundred*

274 ...	Cinioc ...	7			...	B	...	7	...	3	...	4
274 ...	Peredt ...	10			...	B	...	8	...	1	...	3
274 ...	Odecoma ...	5			...	B	...	5	...	2	...	3
274b ...	Ceoselbergon ...	5			...	B	...	5	...	1	...	4
274b ...	Cinioc ...	3			...	B	...	3	...	1	...	1
274 ...	Cinioc ...	4			...	B	...	4	...	2	...	2
275 ...	Nortona ...	5			...	B	...	5	...	1	...	3
492 ...	Halberga ...	10			...	B	...	8	...	1	...	5

Eyton I., 209; II., 37.

(Coker) Vol. III. Somerset Records, 24, 66, 192.

107 ...	Cochra ...				...	A	...	15	...	3	...	12
107 ...	Hardintona ...				...	A	...	10	...	2	...	8
275 ...	Penna ...	5			...	B	...	5	...	3	...	4
275 ...	Clouesuurda ...	7			...	B	...	6	...	3	...	3
444 ...	Sutona ...	5			...	B	...	5	...	—	...	—

(Stane) Vol. III. Somerset Records, 4, 57.

45 *Ascleia Hundred*

113 ...	Accheleia ...	2										
374b ...												

58 *Stana Hundred*

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 3, 57, 210.

116 ...	Modiforda ...	5			...	B	...	5	...	2	...	3
---------	---------------	---	--	--	-----	---	-----	---	-----	---	-----	---

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.			
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.					
154	... Seueberga	1	2	0	...	B	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	—
	... + Seueberga	1	2	0	...	B	...	1	...	1	...	1
197	... Church of Chruca	10			...	A	...	13	...	3	...	10
271b	... Meriet	7	0	0	...	A	...	7	...	2	...	4
105	} Esteham	2			...	A	...	2	...	2	...	—
272												
438	... Hantona	13	0	0	...	A	...	12	...	4	...	10
491b	... Meriet	5			...	A	...	6	...	2	...	2
		40 : 0 : 0										

Possibly Godwin—the King's bailiff and hundredman—did not include his charge for survey. The items in Domesday for the Church of Chruca only amount to 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides, though *there are there* 10 hides. The Abbott's demesne in 1084 (Eyton, p. 134) was 7 hides, for which he was free; and presumably the 3 hides of his undertenant at Domesday were liable to geld.

8 Willetona.

Geld List 24.

Willetona.

h. v.
92 2

Eyton I., 198; II., 35.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 5, 75, 165.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.			
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.					
89b	... Willetona	nescitur			...	...	(see Carentona)					
428	... + 2 manors	2			...	B	...	5	...	—	...	3
	... + Waistou	2			...		...	1	...	—	...	—
104	... Netelcomba				...	A	...	12	...	2	...	7
104	... Capintona				...	A	...	5	...	1	...	1
139	... Essatuna	2	1	1	...	A	...	12	...	2	...	7
188	... Cipestapula	2	2	0	...	B	...	6	...	1	...	5
197	{ Church of St. Mary in Waruerdineſtoc }	2	0	0	...	B	...	4	...	—	...	2
266	... Crauecoma	4	0	0	...	B	...	12	...	3	...	10
268	... Brucheford	2	0	0	...	B	...	12	...	1	...	2
286b	... Sanforda	2	0	0	...	B	...	5	...	1	...	2
286b	... Alra	0	2	0	...	B	...	2	...	1	...	—
344	... Estauueia	0	1	0	...	A	...	3	...	2	...	—
360b	... Cantocheheue	3	2	0	...	B	...	8	...	3	...	6
360b	... Chiluetun	10	2	0	...	B	...	10	...	4	...	5
361	... Niuetuna	4	2	0	...	B	...	7	...	2	...	5
361	... Ulfertuna	2			...	B	...	1	...	—	...	2
361	... Eluurda	3	0		...	B	...	5	...	2	...	3
361b	... Willet	2			...	B	...	4	...	1	...	3
361b	... Colforda	1	3		...	B	...	2	...	—	...	1
361b	... Wacet	1			...	B	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	—
361b	... Turuestona	1	2	0	...	B	...	3	...	2	...	2
362	... Hulofort	1	0	0	...	B	...	2	...	2	...	1
362	... Haretreu	1	0	0	...	B	...	4	...	1	...	1
362	... Cibuurda	1	0	0	...	B	...	3	...	1	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
362b	... Comba	1			...	B	...	3	...	1	...	{ 4 ani- malia in carr

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
362b	... Sordemanneford	1			B	...	½	...	—
373	... Selura	1	2	0	B	...	9	...	7
373	... Estaluueia	3	0	0	B	...	5	...	2
373	... Estaluueia	2	0	0	B	...	4	...	1
373b	... Alfagestona and Ledich	2	0	0	B	...	3	...	2
373b	... Lega	2			B	...	1½	...	—
374	... Prestetona	2	3		A	...	5	...	1
374b	... Can Toca	1	1		A	...	1½	...	1½
383	... Sindercoma	1	0	0	B	...	5	...	3
427	... Selua	2			B	...	1½	2 boves	1
427	... Selua	2			B	...	1½	...	1
427	... Halsuueia	3			B	...	3	...	1½
427	... Colforda	0	3		B	...	½	...	—
427b	... Heuuis	3			B	...	2	...	1
427b	... Fescheforda	2			B	...	1½	...	1
427b	... Fescheforda	2			B	...	2	...	1
428 89b	... Imela	2			B	...	2	...	—
428	... Cliua	2	2	0	B	...	4	...	2
	+ Hilla	2	0	0	B	...	2	...	½
	+ Perlestona	2			B	...	1	...	½
428b	... Waiecoma	1	0	0	B	...	1½	...	—
428	... Westou	1	0	0	B	...	2	...	½
428b	... Ascuuei	2	1		B	...	6	...	2
429	... Brofort	1	0		B	...	2	...	1
429	... Brofort	0	1		B	...	½	...	—
429	... Potesdona	1	0		B	...	2	...	—
442	... Schiligata	1	1	0	B	...	4	...	1
442	... Mildetuna	3	3		B	...	3	...	1
442	... Radingetuna	2	0	0	B	...	8	...	4
442b	... Hiuuys	2	3	0	B	...	12	...	6
463b	... Cantocheheua	7	0	0	B	...	20	...	7
464	... Heuuis	1	2	0	B	...	6	...	3
464	... Wiahalla	1			B	...	2	...	—
478b	... Lulestoc	5			B	...	—	...	—
479 104b	... In uuidepolla	0	2	0	A	...	4	...	—
491	... Stauue	0	3	0	B	...	3	...	—
491	... Haukeuuella	1	1½		B	...	3	...	1

90 : 3 : 1½

If we take the 5 acres of 424 as ½ ferd, the addition very nearly corresponds with the geld list.

The Geld Roll (Eyton, p. 198) has an unpaid item 1 virg. which Rannulf holds of Strengestona. Surely this is le dich (373b). It has also 1 hide of Imela and Oda and Waistou making up the 1 hide (89b) of 2 manors and Waistou. Imela is written in the Exon Book I. mela, i.e. one mill. The demesne and villa of Netelcomba only amount to 2 hides, the corrections in the Exch. mean that the 2 hides were there, but no virgates; the 3 virg. are accounted for in 139—Essatuna—3 virg. of *Netecoba belonged to Essatuna*, which must not be reckoned twice over.

Waistou—the stow on the wai. i.e. the residence on the great road—Eyton (p. 35) identifies with Watchett, which is found at 361b, however both Williton and Watchet were held by Ralph le fitz Uris (Vol. III., p. 75), but perhaps Yeow Farm, Stogumber. Dodington (Vol. V., p. 31) got its name from the family of Dodington, very likely its old name was Niuetune (361)—for which Mr. Bates suggests Newton, Bicknoller, containing nothing like 840 acres. Eluurda (351) contained 4 virg.—

1 in demesne, 2 in villa; and 1 virg. the King held in the manor of Willetuna; viz., Ledforda (f. 509b), which therefore was not geldable.

For Comba (362) we suggest Combe Sydenham, Stogumber.

In 14 Ed. 1, 90, John de Mohun—Combe, Hartreue and Codford are in succession; Hartrow and Catford are in Stogumber.

Sordemanneford (362b) given to Cleeve Abbey (spelt Stortmanford) with Slaworth by Mohun about A. D. 1254—Reginald Mohun after the death of his wife, Avis, confirms the gift (see Vol. XV., p. 23; and Vol. VI., p. 28, Somerset Association.

Perhaps a locality on the banks of the Wash towards the stort or promontory. Prestetona (374) is doubtful, but see Vol. III., p. 167, and Eyton, p. 28.

The spelling Can Toca (374b) is very important. Can (Bosworth's Saxon Dictionary) is a clearance. Toc is the past tense of take (see wid toc). So Can Toca, now Quantoc, represents the clearance and enclosure of a portion of forest land, called in Dartmoor *in-take*; and elsewhere in Devon *Limet* or *Nimet*. The assart of the Pipe rolls. The root of Stoke or Es-toca will then be Toca, and its meaning an enclosure of forest land by metes or bounds.

Very likely Prestetona (103) (272), should be included in this hundred. Fescheforda is clearly Vexford (pace Mr. Bates (p. 70, Vol. XLV.), who has carelessly said that I identify Freshford with Vexford). There is no *r* here to produce Freshford; F becomes V by a very usual country process, and *cs* is *x*. The sequence test must "be insisted on," it is almost beyond question here.

"In uuidepolla" (479) was a member of Winsford, but the law courts adjudged it to be thegnland, i.e. to be held of the King in capite, and not of the manor of Winsford.

Sanforda and Alra (286b) Eyton puts in hundred of Tanton. So Cibeurda, Comba, Hulfort, Sordemanneford, Holecumba, Pudesham, Imela, Hauekuella, Eyton places elsewhere.

Estaweia (344) indicates the vicinity of a Roman road. Perlestona (428) is named from Perlo its owner T.R.E. So Wluuardestona (424) from Ulf, or perhaps the town of the guard of the wol—suggested, Walford's gibbet, Dodington. Wacet (361b) is most likely the head or mouth of the Wash. Prestetona (374) the priest's town.

Ascuuei (428b) = the road by the asc or Ashwood.

Eyton II., 39.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Ploughs.	Villa.				
		h.	v.	f.									
9 <i>Regis Brunetona</i>													
<i>Hundred</i>													
103	Brunetona	...	10	...	B	...	60	...	4	...	21		
—	Prestetona	...	1	4	...	1	...	1		
11 <i>Duluertona Hundred</i>													
103b	Duluertona	...	2	2	0	...	R	...	11	...	2	...	3½
...	+ 13 thegn lands	...	1	3	3½	...	B	...	10	...	—	...	4½
478b	+ to Duluertona	...	1	0
Eyton I., 211; II., 39.													
14 <i>Cluia Hundred</i>													
103b	Cluia	...	4	1	0	...	A	...	33	...	3	...	18
Vol. III. Somerset Records, 75.													

28 Mertocho.

not in Geld Roll.

Eyton I., 212; II., 39.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 17, 67, 129.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Ploughs.	Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.							
113	Maertoch	...	38	...	B	...	40	...	3	...	30
...	+ thegn land	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

King's Brompton Dulverton, Cleeve, and Mertocho Hundreds were altogether in the King's hand, and so not assessed in the Geld Roll. Prestetona (103b)—undertenant Hugh de Valletorta, (272) Rob. fitz Ivo; this requires explanation. The priest's towns are a difficulty; Eyton (p. 39) identifies this with Preston Torrel's Milverton. I suppose the Preston Uttiel of Vol III., p. 75, but in this same page is the Prior of Geldive's Preston, a free manor which the Taxation of Pope Nicholas seems to fix on as Preston Bowyer. The priest of Brunetona holds of the 10 hides 1 hide de rege—is it the Prestetona just below which was demesne?

16 Winesforda.

Geld List 25.

Winesfort.

h. v.
2 1

Eyton I., 199; II., 35.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 76, 180.
(Carampton free).

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
104b	... Winesforda ...	3	2	0	...	60	2	...	13
104b	... added to it 2v. }	1	1	0	...	4	—	...	—
473b	... Carma 3v. }								
(hundred Carentona)									

2 : 1 : 0

Part of the manor of Winesforda is assumed to have been in the hundred of Carentona, and assessed there.

5 Cantetona.

Geld List 26.

Cantetona.

h. v. f.
45 1 3

Eyton I., 121; II., 17.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 15, 77, 140.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
89	... Candetona ...	nescitur			... B	...	see Carentona		
89	} +	2 0							
478									
163	... Dereberga ...	2	0	0	... A	3	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	2
196	... ..	1							
196	... Bera ...	1			... A	1	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
196b	... in Church of Cantetona ...	2	2		... A	2	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	—
282	... Commiz ...	1	2	0	... A	6	...	1	2
356	... Estochelanda ...	4	1	0	... A	5	...	3	$\frac{1}{2}$
	+ Sedtāmetona ...	3			... A	1	...	in demesne	
356b	... Aili ...	2			... A	2	...	1	1
369	... Estocha ...	4	2	0	... A	14	...	4	10
	+	2			... A	1	...	which is there	
372	... Strengestona ...	1	0	0	... A	3	...	2	1
	+		2		... A	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	—	—
372	... Espachestona ...	2	2	0	... A	8	...	3	3
372b	... Otrametona ...	1	2	2	... A	3	...	2	2
372b	... Ratdeflot ...	1	3		... A	$1\frac{1}{2}$	...	—	1
372b	... Planesfella ...	1	0	0	... A	2	...	—	—
372b	... Mulsella ...	1	0	0	... A	1	...	—	—
423	... Cilletona ...	1	0		... B	1	...	—	—
423	... Rachedevuorda ...	1	0		... B	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	—	—
423	... Cerdeslinc ...	1	2	0	... B	3	...	2	2
423	... Curiep l ...	1	0	0	... B	4	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	3
423b	... Puchelega ...	1	0	0	... B	4	...	2	2
423b	... Godelega ...	2	0		... B	2	...	1	1

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
423b	terra colgrini	...	2	...	B	... 2 boves	—	...	—
424	Otramestona	...	2	0	...	B	...	1 ½	...
424	Wluwardestona	...	2	...	B	...	—	...	—
424	Holecumbe	...	1	—	B	...	2	...	1 ½
424	Dudesham	...	3	2 + 5 acr	B	...	2	...	2
424b	Perredeham	...	2	...	A	...	1	...	1
424b	terra aluuni	...	1	1	...	A	...	1	...
425	Estochelanda	...	1	2	0	...	A	...	2
425b	Edeuestona	...	2	2	0	...	A	...	4
425b	Radeflota	...	2	...	A	...	2	...	2
425b	Suinduna	...	1	0	...	A	...	1	...
425b	Terra tedrici	...	1	0	...	A	...	1	2 boves
426	Terra olta	...	1	0	...	A	...	1	...
426	Strengestuna	...	1	2	...	A	...	1 ½	...
426	Ichetocha	...	1	0	...	A	...	1 ½	...
426	Blachamora	...	1	0	...	A	...	1 ½	...
441b	Fitintona	...	4	0	0	...	A	...	6
441b	Tochesuilla	...	1	0	...	A	...	1 ½	...
462b	Stochelanda	...	3	0	0	...	B	...	5
463	Comich	...	1	2	0	...	B	...	6
478	Hederneberia	...	1	0	0	...	A	...	2
89)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
478)	Candetona	...	...	...	A	...	1	...	1
490b	Tochesuilla	...	2	...	A	...	1	...	1 ½
493b	Otrametona	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1

46 : 2 : 1

Otrametona (493b). The other mete town. Osmer had the full virgate in the geld list.

The Church of Cantetona is allowed in the Geld Roll 2 virg. as demesne. Commiz is spelt with the final z in the original book, and also in the Exchequer. Eyton (p. 123) notes that "the modern parish of Stockland represents but a section of its Domesday manorial elements," and so answers Mr. Bates' objections. Probably they included Stert. Rachedevuorda (423) - Rakesworthy (423) and Dudesham (424) were on the stream from Enmore to the Parret. (Somt. Records Vol. XI p. 412.) The T.R.E. tenants of terra aluini, terra colgrini, terra tedrici, terra olta, were Aluuin, Colgrin, Tedric, Aluuard - whence the names. Hederneberia the geld roll places in this hundred; seemingly it was without arable land. The nun Eddida is allowed 1 ferl. in the geld roll, and adds thus much to the hidage of the hundred, clearly then if we are to make the hundred figures correspond with the geld roll this must be her allowance for the 12 acres representing, as I think, 1 2-5ths ferl. Ichetocha (426) Eyton puts in N. Petherton. Blachamora (426), the bleak-moor.

Rotbert holds one hide of Spachestona seems to be the explanation of the entry in the geld list (Eyton, pp. 121, 122). Radeflota (425b) was a part of Spaxton, and was held by Rodbert.

Wm. Fitz Robt. is probably the certain Knight who held 372, part of Spaxton.

The commissioners' note of Tochesuilla (490) that in it is ½ virg. rejecting Bristuis' claim for exemption in the geld list.

Wm. de Moione held in this hundred Aley in Overstowey. He also held Estochelanda + Sed-trametona. Now (tax roll 1303) the King was in 1303 custos of John Walrond, holding in Stoke Curcv Wyke, and Radewei to which part of Assholte and West Postrigge belonged. Also Farndon (i.e. Farrington Hill) was held of Wyke. Also (Kirkby Quest, Vol. III., p. 16) Rob. de Waleraund ought to hold of the heirs of John de Mohun. Serletone (i.e. Shurton) was also held of the same heirs. We cannot but think, then, that Mohun's Estochelaunda and Setrametona represent Wyke, Farrington Hill, Shurton: Rodway, part of Asholt, West Postrigge, and Stert. Thus Stockland Bristol will lose 720 acres, much of which will be added to Stoke Courcy.

Wluwardestona, the town towards the wold (424), is not in Bicknoller, but is Woolston in Stoke Courcy. We learn from Hund. Rolls, 2 Ed. I., p. 118, that in the Hundred of Kaninton Henry de Gaunt, Master of St. Marc's of Bileswyk had withdrawn the men of Egeline de Columbaris in Wolwardeston, together with the tithing of Stoclaunde. Now Stokland Lovel and Wolwardstone were held of the Manor of Netherstawe, or in other words Philip de Columbaris (5 Ed. III. 50. p. 105) owned them as of this fee. This part of Stockland Bristol represents f. 462b, which had belonged to Ralph Paganel. (See Vol. XXXVII., Arch. Journal, p. 157.)

57 Hareturna.

Geld List 27

Meleborna.

115½h.

Eyton I., 176; II., 29.

(Horethorne) Vol. III. Somerset Records, 25, 59, 216.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage. h. v. f.	Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Demesne.	Villa.
91b	Mileborna	nescitur	B	50	4	55½
	Church of Meleborna	1 0	B		1	
107	Hesterige	10	A	24	5	16
116	Corfetona	7	B	7	1	3
116	Witecumba	5	B	4	1	2
152	Weregraua	2	A	1	1	½
152	Estanwella	3	A	4	2	2
153b 467	} Come	8	B	8	3	2
	+ Turnie	3		½		
173b	Rintona	5	B	5	3	3
193b	Comba	5	B	5	2	2
278b	in Gatelma	1	A	2	1½	½
278b	in Meleborna	1	A	1	1	—
278b	Merstona	5	A	5	1	3
279	Merstona	2	A	2	—	2
279	in Etesberia	3	A	½	½	—
279	Trenta	7	A	5	1	4
279	Ponditona	2 2	A	3	1	2
281	Socca	3 2	A	5	2	2
286b	Hengesterich	4	B	3	2	1
355b	Ateberia	1 1	B	1	1	—
364b	Ciretona	3	B	3	1½	3 boves.
384b	Ciretuna	2	B	2	1	—
386	Horstenetona	11	B	10	2½	7½
386	Cherintona	6	B	6	2	3
436b	...	10	B	10	3	5
466b	Sanforda	6	B	6	3	3
171b 197b 522	} Giuelcestre Church Glebe	3	B	3	2	1

115 : 3

The 50 plough lands of Mileborna prove that Holwell was included. Weregraua (152) is taken as Wydergrave in Hardington (Eyton II., 26); the entry precedes Howell in Hareturna, Vol. III., p. 2. John le Sor held Herdington for 1 fee, together with the tenement of Werdergrave. Simon de Tornay held 1 fee in Hardington, hundred of Chinesmordone; and John Peyteyevn held of Simon de Tornay ¼ fee Wedegraua, hundred of Hareturna (Tax Roll of 1303)—Hundred Rolls, Ed. I., p. 133. Hundred Horethorne—the tithings of Wedergrove and Saundford withdrawn by Earl of Gloucester after the battle of Lewys. Surely all this points to Watergrove South of Shepton Beauchamp as an outlying part of the Hundred of Hareturna.

John de Bures, Vol. III., p. 60, holder of Estanwella, and John de Bures of Norton Ferris (p. 67) should be John de Ferrers.

Come (467) is not duplicated in the Exchequer.

"in Etesberia" 279, or Over Adber was called Hummer from its holder Hamo.

Hengesterich is the ridge of the hengen, i.e., the enclosure or park, it was of the fee of Doneyt (Tax Roll 1303). See 20 Ric. II., p. 203—Wm. de Montecuto appears to have held Goathill, Henstrigge, Charlton Canvyll and Donyat in demesne. Only this Charlton Canvyll is there. Rob. Earl of March 22 Ric. II., p. 232, held 5 Charltons.

Sanforda (466b)—All Hunfrid's manors were added to the honor of Bristrie, i.e., Gloucester, but they did not belong to it, they were free to leave. Coma (467) did not pay on demesne in the geld list (5 h. for Coma, 3 v.r.g. for Turnietta), if the Chaplain held as *under-tenant* he was not exempt, he was so since 1084.

I Nort petret.

Geld List 28.

Nort petret.

h. v. f.
38 3 0½

Eyton I., 184; II., 31.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 10, 74, 244.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
88b ...	Peret ...	nescitur			B	30	3	23	
191b ...	Haumet ...	I			B	4	I	I	
196 ...	Church of St. Mary of Peretuna				A	I	et est ibi	—	
282 ...	Neuuentona ...	I	3	0	A	4	I	3	
350 ...	Estragella ...	2			A	2	I	1½	
350 ...	Estragella ...	2			A	I	2	1½	
350 ...	Wallepilla ...	3			A	I	I	1½	
350 } 422 }	Doneham (part of Hateuuera)				B	margin	—	—	
350 ...	Cruca ...	I			A	I	I	—	
350b } 477b }	buR ...	2			A	3	I	2	
353 ...	Brugia ...	5	0	0	B	10	3	8	
353 ...	Wadmenduna...	2			B	6	2	4	
353 ...	Bagatrepa ...	2			B	8	I	5	
353b ...	Bredeneia ...	I			B	1½	I	5½	
353b ...	Hursi ...	2			B	7	2	5	
353b ...	Paulet ...		I	0	B	I	I	—	
356 ...	Tetesberga ...	2			A	4	I	3½	
371b ...	Ulmerestona ...	2	0		B			I	
	+ ...		2						
371b ...	Bur ...	2	0		B	5	—	—	
	+ ...		I	0		I	—	—	
371b ...	Hunteuorda ...	I	0	0	B	2	2	—	
422 ...	Niuuetona ...	3	0		B	I	I	—	
422 ...	Hateuura ...	I			B	1½	I	½	
422 ...	Peri ...	I	0	I	B	2	I	I	
422 ...	Ulueronetona ...	I	0	I	B	2	I	I	
	+ Peri ...		I	0		2	I	2	
422b ...	Claihella ...	I	0	0	B	3	I	I	
422b ...	Siredestona ...	2			B	I	I	I	
423 ...	Rima ...	2			B	2 boves	—	—	
424b ...	Cildetona ...	2	0		A	2	I	2	
425 ...	Cildetona ...	2	0		A	2	½	2	
425 ...	Pilloc ...			½	A	½	I	—	
441 ...	Derstona ...	2	3	0	A	4	I	3	
441 ...	Santfort ...	I	0	3	A	3	I	I	
441 ...	Peri ...	2	0		A	I	I	—	
441 ...	in Neuuentona...	I	0		A	½	—	—	
443 ...	in Sideham ...	I	0		A	I	—	—	
465b ...	Grenedona ...	2	0		B	½	all demesne	—	
477 ...	Peghenes ...	I	I	0	A	2	I	—	
	Presbiter there ...						I	—	
477 ...	Neuuentuna ...	2	0		A	I	I	—	

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
477	Peri	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	A	I	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
477	Cildetona	I	0	...	A	I	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
477b	Michelescerca	2	...	...	A	I	...	...	...
477b	Melecoma	I	2	...	A	I $\frac{1}{2}$	...	I	...
477b	Siuuoldestona	I	...	...	A	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...
477b	Neuuentona	I	I	0	...	A	...	3	2
		40 : 0 : 2							

282—Note that in the Exchequer, Earl Eustace, of Boulogne, ranks as the premier Earl.

The Church of St. Mary of Peretone got exemption for demesne in the Geld Roll. Rademer the tenant of Walpole was the radimarius, the Knight in charge of the King's highway. Gosfrid and Raimar were sons of Walter (Vol. 7, p. 39). Bridge-water gets the later part from Walter de Douai who held it in demesne. Siredestona (422b) from the tenant T. R. E. Siret.

Ulueronetona (422) is perhaps Walldron's Farm, Wembdon.

Rima (423) is, seemingly, Parker's Farm; Anschetil the tenant was the Parker. Ryne denotes one of the drains of the district—is there not one bounding Parker's Farm?

Grenedona (465) may be an oversight and late insertion, but the identification is doubtful. Grandon in the hundred of Froma would satisfy order.

Peghenes (477) gelded for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 12s., but the items of demesne, villa and priest amount only to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides.

The ablatum from Melecoma (477b) must after all mean that the manor of Bur had been part of Melecoma, but was now a separate manor.

Santfort (441) Eyton puts in Milvertone, but sequence says North Petherton.

Cruca (350), "Wm. Trivet, Jr., holds Cruke of Wm. de Paulet for $\frac{1}{4}$ fee" (tax roll 1303), probably East Crofte, Wembdon. Note Cruca (88b, 263) Cricket St. Thomas; also the hundred of Cruca. Creech, Crick, Crock, Cruc from Crúg a hill.

34 Chiu.

Geld List 29.

Ciu.

35h.

Eyton I., 139; II., 21.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 46, 50, 64, 136.

Folio.	Name	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
140	Clutona	10	...	...	B	8	...	3	6
140b	Temesbara	3	...	...	B	3	...	I	I
	+ Temesbara	2	...	...	B	2	...	I	I
140b	Nortona	5	...	...	B	8	...	I	3
363b	Estochet	2	...	...	B	2	...	2	—
446	Chiuuestoc	I	2	...	B	2	...	2	—
452	Stocca	2	...	...	B	I	...	I is there	—
452b	Cilela	3	...	...	B	2	...	I	I
	+ Stocca	2	...	...	B	I	...	—	I
464b	Timesberua	5	...	...	B	4	...	I	I
491	Estoca	3	...	...	A	2	...	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
492	Stocca	I	3	...	B	2	...	...	I
		35 : 0							

The Bishop held in this hundred (Vol. III., pp. 47, 64) Norton Hauteville, Sutton and Staweye. Chew Magna 159 belongs to the Episcopal hundred, the greater part was in the hands of undertenants, Aluric de Stauue holding 1h. 3v.

Bechenstoke is certainly in this hundred. Its etymology (Records, Vol. XII., p. 28) is welcome "Bycchenstoke juxta Chew," i.e., By—the King's stoke. (Vol. III., pp. 51, 64.) Thos. de Barry holds $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in Bycchenstoke of John de Humfraville. Lucas de Bairy holds Stok militis, see hon. Gloucester, 18 Hen. VI., 193. Bycchenstoke, then, is Stok militis, represented, most likely, by the modern Stoke Villici.

26 Andretesfella.

Geld List 30.

Andredesfelt.

h. v.

9 1

Eyton I., 99; II., 11.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 31, 73, 162.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.				
	The Castle										
282 ...	Lechesurda	...	1	...	A	...	2	...	$\frac{1}{2}$...	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
363b ...	Brunfella	...	3	0 0	...	A	...	10	...	1 ...	4
374 ...	Gahers	...	1	3 0	...	A	...	6	...	2 ...	3
374b ...	Malrige	...	...	2 0	...	A	...	$2\frac{1}{2}$	...	1 ...	$1\frac{1}{2}$
432 ...	Animera	...	1	0 0	...	A	...	4	...	1 ...	3
432b ...	Lechesurda	...	...	1	...	A	...	1	...	—	1
432b ...	Lechesurda	...	...	1	...	A	...	3	...	—	2
432b ...	Blachessala	...	...	1	...	A	...	3	...	—	2
443 ...	Haseuilla	...	1	0 0	...	A	...	2	...	1 ...	1
479 ...	Derlega	...	...	2 3	...	B	...	3	...	1 ...	2
479 ...	Hustilla	...	...	1	...	B	...	2	...	1 ...	1

9 : 0 : 3

Hund Rolls pp. 122, 129—4 villani at Castell, hundred of Andretesfella were of the King's demesne pertaining to Sumertona. Four tenants hold 2 virg. of land of the manor of Somerton and used to pay 11s. a year.

Hustilla 479—of this 3 ferd. belonged T.R.E. to the King's manor of Sumertona.

Surely these entries refer to the same place, probably Rook's Castle. How Hustilla hidated in 1084 it is difficult to determine, but if an allowance of 3 ferd. was made, as in the hand of the King, the hidage would fall short, and at Domesday the items make up the full virgate.

Eyton places Malrige in Cantetona, and Hustilla in N. Petherton.

18 Crica

not assessed.

Eyton I., 211; II., 39.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.				
104b ...	Crice	...	10	2	...	A	...	8	...	2 ...	6
191b ...	Lega	...	...	1	...	B	...	—	...	2 ...	2

not assessed.

17 Nortchori.

Eyton I., 211; II., 39.

Vol. III., Somerset Records, 51, 64, 104.

104b ...	Nortchori	...	20	A	...	40	...	5 ...	34
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Crice and Nortchori were in the King's hand in 1084, and so not assessed.

7 Sutpetret.

Geld List 31.

Sutpetret.

h. v.

66 2

Eyton I., 188; II., 31,

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 18, 72, 200.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.				
88b ...	Sutpetret	...	nescitur	...	...	B	...	28	...	2 ...	26
88b ...	In Stratona	...	2	0 0	...	B	...	—	...	—	—
136b ...	Douelis	...	2	1 0	...	B	...	$1\frac{1}{2}$	...	1 ...	$\frac{1}{2}$
	+ 2 manors	...	4	...	...	B	...	...	...	1 ...	2

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.		Plough Lands.	Demesne.	
	+ 1 manor (in Chori Mallet)							
136b	... Caffecoma	3	2	0	... B	3	... I	... I
	+ ...	1	3	0	... B	2	... —	... 2
191b	... Seuenametona	2	0	0	... B	2	... I	... I
196b	... in Sutperettona	1	0	0	... B	1	... I	... —
265	... Cruca	6	...	...	... B	5	... 3	... 3
265b	... Seuenhantuna	7	...	...	... B	7	... 3	... 3
265b	... Contona	3	...	...	... B	3	... I	... I
265b	... Stantuna	3	...	...	... B	8	... I	... 3½
266	... Sceptona	6	...	...	... B	4	... I½	... —
266	... Lopena	1	...	...	... B	1	... —	... —
356b	... Lega	3	...	...	... B	4	... I	... —
357	... Estrat	1	2	...	... B	2	... 4 boves	4 boves
426b	... Chenolla	1	1	0	... B	2	... I	... ½
	+ illega	3	...	...	... B	2	... —	... I
427	... Lopena	1	...	...	... B	1	... I	... —
435	... Barintona	2	...	...	... B	—	... —	... —
438	... Watelega	1	...	...	... B	1	... —	... —
441b	... Cudeuorda	3	2	0	... B	4	... I	... ½
478	... Winchinberia	2	...	...	... B	1½	... I	... ½
490	... Bochelanda	1	2	...	... B	3	... 2	... —
490b	... Seuenametona	3	...	...	... A	3	... I	... —
490b	... Lopen	2	...	...	... B	2	... I	... —
490b	... Dunintona	3	...	...	... B	3	... I	... 2

66 : 2 : 0

Barintona (435) was a member of the royal manor of S. Petherton, Roger, probably, held it in 1084, and so it was geldable; the survey is incomplete.

Seuenametona most likely got its name from Seuard the tenant T.R.E., who had charge of the see—the town of the inner mete of the see—Estrat, via strata, the fosse road.

		h. v. f.	
Geld List	32.	Abedicche.	137
	38.	Bolestana.	18 0 2

Eyton I., 94; II., 11; I., 97; II., 11.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, I, 71, 187, 30, 71, 173.

15 Cumbe 20h. now removed from this Hundred of Abedicche and placed in Bishop Giso's, so Abedicche should be 117 hides, and these hundreds 135h. ov. 2f.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.		Plough Lands.	Demesne.	
	3 Chori (Rivell) Hund							
	Bolestana							
89	... Churi	...	nescitur	...	... B	13	... 3	... 10
	I virgt. taken from it (and added to Seuella f. 263) (518) included in the 3 hides.							
188b	... Draitunna	20	0	0	... B	15	... 6	... 9
197b	... In Church of							
	... Chori	...	...	...	... A	—	... I	... —
266	... Isla	6	...	...	... B	6	... 2	... 2
268	... Seuella	3	...	...	... B	4	... I	... 2

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.		Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.	
		h.	v f.			Demesne.			
268b	... Bretda	...	I	...	B	...	I	...	—
271	... Hachia	...	5	...	B	...	6	...	3
268b	... Bradeuuei	...	I	...	B	...	I	...	— ¹ / ₂
269b	... Bredene	...	2	...	B	...	2	...	—
269b	... Bretda	...	I	...	B	...	I	...	—
272	... Cruchet	...	3	...	A	...	4	...	— ¹ / ₂
374	... Ila	...	2	...	B	...	2	...	I
429b	... Pokintuna	...	I	2	...	B	...	I ¹ / ₂	...
	+ Pokintuna	...	I	2	...	B	...	I ¹ / ₂	2 boves
					B				
429b	... La More	...	(part of the 20 h. of Drayton)		I	...	I	...	—
431b	... Fihida	...	I	2	...	B	...	2	...
431b	... Erneselt	...	2	...	B	...	I ¹ / ₂	...	—
464	... Eppsa	...	2	...	B	...	I	...	—
478b	... Ernesel	...	I	...	B	...	I	...	—
491b	... Brada	...	I	...	A	...	2	...	—
492	... Bochelanda	...	I	...	B	...	4	...	—
	22 Chori (Mallet) Hund						Abedicche		
136b	... West Dowlisli...	...	3	...	B	...	...	I	...
188	... Ilemonstre	...	20	...	B	...	20	...	3
188	... Ila	...	5	...	B	...	5	...	2
188b	... Ila	...	I	2	...	B	...	I ¹ / ₂	...
188b	... Cathangre	...	I	2	...	B	...	I ¹ / ₂	...
191	... Atiltona	...	8	...	B	...	12	...	7
268b	... Aissella	...	5	...	B	...	5	...	2
270	... Doniet	...	5	...	B	...	5	...	I
270	... Estapla	...	10	...	B	...	9	...	3
270b	... Bichehalda	...	5	...	B	...	5	...	2
271	... Bera	...	5	...	B	...	4	...	—
429	... Curi	...	3	2	...	B	...	4	...
	+ Curi	...	3	2	...	B	...	4	...
443	... Wyslagentona...	...	10	...	B	...	10	...	I
491b	... Capilanda	...	I	...	B	...	2	...	I
	+	...	—	...					

139 : 2

If we deduct from this 3h. 3v. paid in another hundred and $\frac{1}{2}$ fer. which the fegadri could not account for, there is left 135 : 2 : 2 $\frac{1}{2}$.

(Hund. Rolls, p. 139.) Cury Rivell and burg of Langport were of the King's demesne pertaining to Sumerton, for Hen. I. gave it to Urtico. Chori Nos. 3, 32 in the index; Chori Rivell was the caput of the first part, Ilminster of the other, perhaps lately granted by the King.

The Church of Chori is not in geld roll demesne.

Hachia (271) is locally in Chori Mallet hundred, but it paid rent to Chori Rivell.

Opposite Pokintona (429b) is the mark of a cross in the Exchequer, and a like one opposite the Church of Muceleneia, showing that St. Peter here is St. Peter of Muceleneia.

Brada (491b) is Gose Bradon, for (tax roll, 1303) it was of the fee of Meriet, Hardinc was the holder of Brada, Capilanda, Meriet, Bochelanda. The Exchequer puts Curi (429) as the caput of de Courcelle's barony; perhaps the added Curi was East Curi in Stoke St. Gregory, hundred of Northcure, but the present parish of Curry Mallett is large enough for both. The 2 virg. added to Capilanda were waste of Curi Rivell (89) not surveyed there, seemingly because the waste was neither taxed nor included in the terra of a manor.

Geld Roll says—the Abbot of Micelineia paid geld belonging to hundr. of Abediccha 3h. 3v. in another hund.

Stocklinch Ottersey and Magdalen (Vol. III., 2, 71, 189) are not in Domesday. (Eyton, p. 75). 14 Ed. 1, 90, hon. of Dunster : 10 Ed. 3, 42, John de Bellocampo.

52	Briuuetona.	Geld List 33.	Briuuetona
53	Wincainetona.		232h.
		h. v.	
		addition shows	232 3

Eyton I., III ; II., 15,

Bryweton. Vol. III. Somerset Records, 32, 58, 101.

Cattasashe. Vol. III. Somerset Records, 44, 56, 206.

Norton. Vol. III. Somerset Records, 23, 67, 97.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage. h. v. f.	Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs. Demesne.	Villa.
91	... Briuuetona ...	nescitur	... B	... 50	... 3	... 18
151b	... Opetona ...	3 0 0	... A	... 3	... 1	... 3
160	... Wandestreu ...	4	... B	... 4	... 2	... 3
275b	... Gerlinggetuna ...	7	... B	... 7	... 1	... 2
275b	... Ufetuna ...	3 1 2	... B	... 2½	... 1	... 1
276	... Reliz ...	4	... B	... 6	... 1	... 1
364b	... Briuueham ...	12	... A	... 15	... 4	... 13
	+ ...	3 0	... A	... ½	—	—
(434b)	— 2 hides ...	—	... A	... 3	... 1	... 2
382b	... Pidecoma ...	5	... B	... 5	... 2	... 3
382b	... Estropa... ..	1	... B	... 1	... 1	—
434b	... Briuuetona ...	1 1 0	... B	... 2	... 1	—
450	... Mideltuna ...	10	... B	... 6	... 2	... 3
465b	... Chenolla ...	1 2 0	... B	... 3	... 2	... 1
493	... Digenescoua ...	1	... B	... 3	... 2	... ½
493	... Shepbuurda ...	2	... B	... ½	—	—
493	... In Estropa ...	1	... B	... ½	... 4 boves	—
<i>Cattasashe Hundred</i>						
106b	... Camel ...	8 2 0	... A	... 15	... 1	... 11
					4 Exch	
273	... Esturt ...	2	... B	... 3	... 2	... 1
276	... Sutuna ...	5	... B	... 5	... 2	... 2
276b	... Chintuna ...	5	... B	... 5	... 3	... 1½
277	... Berrouena ...	5	... B	... 5	... 1	... 4
277b	... Aldedeford ...	5	... B	... 5	... 1	... 2
277b	... Babakari ...	2 2 0	... B	... 3	... 2	... 1
278	... Fodintona ...	1 1 2	... B	... 2	... 1	... 1
278	... Westona ...	1 2 2	... B	... 1	... 1	—
283	... Kinuardestuna...	5	... B	... 8	... 2	... 5
352b	... Cari ...	15	... B	... 20	... 6	... 17
352b	... Sparkeforda ...	5 1 0	... B	... 5	... 2½	... 4
352b	... Almondesford ...	5	... B	... 6	... 2	... 5
353	... Berua ...	5	... B	... 5	... 2	... 3
383	... Cadebiria ...	12	... B	... 12	... 3	... 8
	+ Westona ...	2 2 2	... B	—	... 1½	... 1
383	... Westona ...	2	... B	... ½	... ibi est 1	—
383b	... Sut Cadebiria ...	0 3 0	... B	... 3	—	—
	+ ...	2 1 0	... B	—	—	—
	+ Ulftona ...	1	... B	... 1	—	—
	+ Clopptona ...	2	... B	... 3	... 1	—
383b	... Cumtona ...	6	... B	... 6	... 4 boves	... 5

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.		
384	... Malperettona ...	5	...	...	B	6	2	3
434	... Bertona...	1	2	0	B	2	1	1	
434b	... Chintona (lay in Bertona T.R.E.)								
453	... Louintona ...	6	...	...	B	8	2½	6½
453	... Watehella ...	3	...	...	B	4	1	—
466	... Fodindona ...	2	1	0	B	3	2	1	
466	... Babecari ...	2	2	...	B	3	2	3	
466b	... Fodindona ...	1	1	2	B	2	2	—	
480	... Bertuna ...	3	2	...	B	6	1	—	
493	... Lideford ...	9	...	...	B	8	3	4
	53 <i>Wincainetona</i>								
163	... Blacheforda ...	4	...	...	A	6	3	4
276	... Sheptuna ...	5	...	...	B	5	2	3
	+ Stocca ...	3	...	...	B	4	1	2
277	... Stoca ...	3	0	...	B	5	1	2	
277	... Cocintona ...	7	...	...	B	6	1	2
278	... Cloppetona ...	3	...	...	B	3	1	—
352	... Broctuna ...	4	...	...	B	8	2	4
352	... Wincalletona ...	3	...	...	A	7	1	7
	+ 2 virgt. )		...	...	A	5	1	3
383b	... Blachafort ...	1	...	...	B	1	1	—
436b	... Cerletona ...	5	...	...	B	12	3	8
445	... Penna ...	3	...	...	B	3	1	1½
447	... Gernefella ...	2	...	...	A	3	2	1
453	... Chilmatona ...	1	...	...	B	5	1	4
466	... Haltona ...	2	...	...	B	2	1	½

233 : 0 . 2

The ancient demesne of Bruuetona had 50 plough lands, 6000 acres, certainly not all arable; but it must have included South Breham and Stourton, thus with adjuncts and North Bruueham Domesday accounts for 9540 acres: the modern acreage being 9584.

Wandestreu East (Vol. III., 59) is in this hundred; Wandestreu West (Vol. III., 55) hundred of Frome. The Geld Roll has the arrears of Isaac who was presumably Dean of Wells (Eyton II., 113); and this suggests that Wandestreu was part of the 14 hides held by the Canons of St. Andrew (157).

Mideltuna (450) held by Alienora Lovel in the 1303 roll.

Hund. roll p. 133—Bruton—Reymund de Clivedon's land of Milton. Eyton (p. 114) has gone wrong over this.

Reliz has 9 acres f. 91, 20 acres f. 520—the former is probably right.

Shepbuurda (493) (Sheep wurd = value) would seem to represent a sheep farm, having only 10 sheep at Domesday, and will well stand for Sheephouse Farm, Bruton.

Briuuetona and Briuueham take their names from the river Brue. Wandestreu marks the vicinity of the Roman road, Wan as a prefix means deficiency.

Camel (106b) contained 15 hides at Domesday. The deficiency should be found in the lower columns of the geld roll as representing legal objections. If we take in the geld roll Wm. de Durvill's 1½, and the 5¼ which Malger pays elsewhere, the 15 hides are completed. Camel (Hund. Rolls p. 129) belonged to the manor of Somerton, till King Henry gave it to Hubert de Burg.

On this same principle the 4 hides deficient in Chilmatona (453) are those which Ralph held in the same list, the Abbess of St. Edward claiming exemption as demesne.

Again Wincalletona (352) has now 4 hides, it gelded T.R.E. for 3 hides, but the geld roll arrears leave 1 hide to be accounted for by Ranneval.

But, further, do these deficiencies sometimes re-appear in Domesday under some other name?

Goscelin de Riuaria held of Rob. fitz Gerold (91) part of Briuuetona; he also held of the same Cerletona (436b), making its identification as Charlton Musgrove very probable.

383b. Cloppona—Ralph trencart is a copyist's error for Ralph tenet (see Exchequer).

Sutcadeberia (383b), I have above noticed, tells us that Reginald himself is now copying.

Witeham (434b) was held T.R.E. of the manor of Briuueham and could not be separated from it because the manor paid its tax, now it is held as a separate manor and pays its own tax, so it seems to follow that the two hides were part of the 12 hides.

38 Locheslega.

Geld List 34.

Lochesleia.
47h.

Eyton I., 174; II., 29.

(Part of Wytele) Vol. III. Somerset Records, 27, 53, 115.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.			
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.	Villa.				
161b	... Sapæsuuica	...	30	...	A	...	60	...	16	...	26½	
162b	... Souui	...	12	...	A	...	20	...	2	...	14	
162b	... Cosintona	...	3	...	A	...	6	...	1	...	5	
163	... Estauuella	...	2	2	...	A	...	2½	...	1	...	1

47 : 2

40 Ringandesuel.

Geld List 35.

Ringoltdeswea.
59h.

Eyton I., 182; II., 29.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.	Villa.			
163b	... Waltona	...	30	...	A	...	40	...	7	...	26
164	... Dondeina	...	5	...	A	...	4	...	2	...	3
164	... Lega	...	4	...	A	...	10	...	4	...	5
165b	... Boduccheleia	...	20	...	A	...	20	...	10	...	9

59

41 Monechetona.

Geld List 36.

Hama.
17h.

Eyton I., 141; II., 21.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 55.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.	Villa.			
f. 165	... Hama	...	17	...	A	...	20	...	5	...	10

41 Monechetona.

Geld List 37.

Monachetona.
15h.

Eyton I., 163; II., 25.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 55, 260.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.	Villa.			
169	... Monechetona	...	15	...	B	...	20	...	7	...	9½

54 Blachethorna.

Geld List 39.

Manerium Torna.
7h.

Eyton I., 172; II., 27.

(North Curry) Vol. III. Somerset Records, 51, 64.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.	Villa.			
271b	... Torna	...	6	...	A	...	6	...	2	...	2
272b	... In Aissa	...	1	...	A	...	1	...	—	...	1

7

17 Nortchori. Geld List 40. Manerium Torleberga.
 (part of) Eyton I., 172; II., 27. 3h.
 (North Curry) Vol. III. Somerset Records, 51, 64, 105.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.	Villa.			
271b	... Torlaberia	...	3	...	A	...	9	...	2	...	7

Eyton puts Cosintona in the Hundred of Bimastan.

Eyton (I., 6) says the Exon Book treats Aissecota (163) a member of Walton as a distinct manor. But not so, the words used are *inde habet*, showing that it belonged to Walton.

Lodreford (165b) zh. of the manor of Boduccheleia, Bowen's map puts S.E. of Ashcott. Humfrid held it *de rege*, it is not among Humfrid's holdings in capite (466b, &c.), but here it is a marginal entry, and forms part of the 20 hides of Boduccheleia.

Hama is not in the index, but Vol. III., p. 55, takes Moncketon and Hamme together.

Morchetona (169) is most likely a mistake for Monachetona.

Torna and Torleberga were assessed as detached from the King's hund. of N. Curry.

Geld List 41. Froma.
 Eyton I., 149; II., 25. 298h.
 Vol. III. Somerset Records, 12, 61, 84. Weluue.
 2, 69, 158. Chinemersdona.
 8, 55, 124. Froma.

49 *Froma Hundred.*

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.			Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.		
		h.	v.	f.			Demesne.	Villa.			
90b	... Froma	...	nescitur	...	B	...	50	...	3	...	40
147b	... Loligtona	...	7	...	B	...	5	...	2	...	4
147b	... Hordcerleia	...	5	...	B	...	4	...	3	...	2
148b	... Roda	...	9	...	A	...	9	...	6½	...	4½
149	... Caiuel	...	1	I	...	A	...	1	...	I	—
168b	... Wateleia	...	5	...	A	...	5	...	2	...	3
170b	... Crenemella	...	12	...	A	...	10	...	1	...	3
198 } 90b }	... Church of Frome	...		...	B	...	8	...	2	...	6
198	... Abbot of St. Mary	...	5	...	B	...	3	...	2	...	2
275b	... Claforða	...	10	...	B	...	9	...	3	...	7
364	... Nonin	...	5	...	A	...	3	...	1	...	1
382b	... Witham	...	1	...	B	...	2	...	1	...	1
	+ Wlftuna	...	1	...	B	...	1	...	1	...	—
384	... Wandestreu	...	5	...	B	...	5	...	2	...	1
384	... Kaiuert	...	0	2	...	B	...	½	...	½	—
434	... Estalreuuicca	...	1	2	...	B	...	3	...	1	—
434	... Hecferdintona	...	1	...	B	...	4	...	—	...	3
438b	... Lauretona	...	10	...	B	...	10	...	3	...	4
444b	... Bechintona	...	10	...	B	...	10	...	2	...	6
444b	... Bercheleia	...	2	2	...	B	...	3	...	2	1
444b	... Mersitona	...	3	2	...	B	...	5	...	1	5
447	... Telma	...	5	...	A	...	4	...	1	...	3
449	... Reddena	...	1	0	...	B	...	3	...	3	—
466b	... In Roda	...	1	...	A	...	½	...	—	...	—

Folio.	Name.	Hidge. h. v. f.	Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs. Demesne.	Villa.
50 <i>Chinesmordona Hundred.</i>						
Vol. III. Somerset Records, 2, 69, 158.						
145b	... Stratona	... 3	... B	... 3	... 2	... 1½
	+ Picota	... 1 2	... B	... 1	... —	... ½
146b	... Estoca	... 7 3	... B	... 9	... 3	... 4
147	... Hardingtona	... 4	... B	... 4	... 2	... 3
147	... Babbingtona	... 5	... B	... 4	... 2	... 3
147b	} ... Millescota	... 5 2	... B	... 5	... 1	... 5
168		... 0 2	... B	... ½	... —	... —
187		... Escuica	... 0 2	... B	... ½	... —
168	... Mulla	... 20 0	... A	... 20	... 2	... 3
198	... In Church of Chinemersdona	... 2	... A	... —	... —	... —
315	... Hamintona	... 21	... A	... 20	... 4	... 12
375	... Lochintona	... 5	... B	... 5	... 2	... 1
480	... Picota	... 3 2	... B	... 4	... 2	... 2
480	... Waltuna	... 3	... B	... 4	... 1	... 1½
492b	... Bochelanda	... 12	... B	... 7	... 1	... 4
493	... Writelinctuna...	... 6	... B	... 5	... 2	... 3
51 <i>Welleua Hundred.</i>						
145b	... Fuscota	... 5	... B	... 4	... 2	... 2
146	... Ingeliscama	... 10	... B	... 10	... 3	... 6
146	... Tuuertona	... 7 2	... B	... 10	... 3	... 6
146	... Tuuertona	... 2 2	... B	... 2½	... 2½	... —
148	... Tablesforda	... 2	... A	... 3	... 2	... 1½
	+ ...	... 3	... A	... 4	... 1	... 2
149	... Liteltona	... 2	... A	... 2	... 2	... —
149	... Neuuetona	... 3	... A	... 4	... 2	... 2
	+ ...	... 7	... A	... 8	... —	... 6
170	... Camelertona	... 10	... A	... 10	... 3	... 3
186b	... Corstuna	... 10	... B	... 9	... 2	... 3
186b	... Euestia	... 1	... B	... 1	... 1	... —
276b	... Credelincota	... 3 2	... B	... 3	... 2	... —
276b	... Eccheuica	... 1	... B	... 1	... —	... —
384b	... Duncretuna	... 3	... B	... 8	... 4	... 4
	+ ...	... 1	... B	... —	... —	... —
434	... Ferlega	... 2	... B	... 1	... —	... 1
434	... Witochesmeda...	... 1 0	... B	... 2	... 2	... —
437	... Hantona	... 10	... B	... 10	... 3	... 6
437	... Nortuna	... 10	... B	... 10	... 3	... 3
447	... Vdeberga	... 1	... A	... 2	... 1	... —
492b	... Cuma	... 2	... B	... 5	... 1	... 4

295

The Abbot of Glastonbury's demesne in the geld list (Eyton, p. 149) 20h. 2v., we take to be Mulla 10h, Camerton 7h., Bishop of Contance's part of Mulla 2h. 2v., and Godeva's part 1h.

From (90b) 50 plough lands = 6,000 acres.

{ 51 ploughs = (including 8 of the Church) 5,100
small acres } acres
{ 1 sq. league = 1,440; add 30 and 50 = 1,520 = 1,140 } 6240

186b. Escuica containing only 60 acres, can hardly represent the parish of Ashwick, containing 1,700 acres, which was a hamlet of Chinesmordona. The bounds (Vol. VII., p. 66) suggest the N.E. part by the Mill.

Again Euestia 186b must be on the banks of the Camel, and by Dipford, by the spring at the ford by the Ramleagh way, by the hœrpath (Vol. VII., p. 26). probably Middle Twynhoe, N. of Wellow.

Froma (90b) in the tax roll of 1303 included Flintford and Feltham. Caiuel (149) and Kaiuert (384) seem to have the same root. Cai changed into Key: uel has probably the same meaning as wella closely connected with villa. Vert means in Dartmoor *underwood*. So (446) Celle-uert. This must be distinguished from uuer a weir, in such cases as Dul-uert-tona, Mil-uert-tona, Tu-uert-tona, Ul-uert-tona.

Abbot of St. Mary (198), identified by Eyton as part of Nunney. He puts Estropa (493) hundred of Briuetona in this hundred, but see Vol. III., p. 59. (Hund. Rolls, p. 139.) Manor of Witheham hund. of Bruton, this refers to 434b. Witheham = the water ham.

Middeltona 161b. Eyton puts in this hund., but order and locality are both against it. The Clerks had not at this stage begun to enter the Domesday roll of Frome; and the geld roll evidence is inconclusive.

Loduntona (375) is Lochintona in the original.

Estoca (146b) became Rad-stock, the Stoke on the Fosse Road: The Church of Chinemersdona (198) adds to hidation of the hundred, see geld roll arrears, no doubt a claim for exemption.

Millescota (147b, 168) was held *de rege* by the Bishop of Coutances. Eyton is wrong in his note (p. 157) on this manor. Domesday at f. 168 records *no value*, terr. occup. (520) puts the value at 25s. There may have been two parts equally hidated, but of different values. Observe the name Millescota is not mentioned at 168; or there may have been a reduplication both in the Geld Roll and Domesday, and so a false hidage added to Froma hundred; the surcharge of 5s. 3v. in the Geld Roll to the fegadri adds to the suspicion.

Eyton's reason for placing in the hundred of Bath (434) Witochesmede = the water boundary meadow seems strange.

Eccheuica (276b) not in the maps in Wellow. Is it Wick Lane, Camerton; or Week English-combe?

33 Sumbretona.

(lost)
Eyton I., 208; II., 37.
Vol. III. Somerset Records, 20, 58, 67, 201.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.		Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v. f.			Demesne.		
89b	Sumertona	...	nescitur	...	B ... 50	...	5 ...	40
	+ burg: Lanporda	...	...	...	B ...	...	...	...
89b	+ 3 thegn lands	5	2	...	B ... 4	...	1 ...	3
116	Petenia	0	2	...	B ... ½	...	—	—
117	Petenia	0	2	...	B ... 1	...	1 ...	—
161b	Middeltona	...	6	...	B ... 6	...	2 ...	4
161b	Lideforda	...	4	...	B ... 5	...	2 ...	1½
189	Camella	...	10	...	B ... 16	...	5 ...	7½
191	Sutuna	...	10	...	B, A ... 16	...	5 ...	6
273b	Ceorlatona	...	5	...	B ... 6	...	3 ...	1½
433b	Liteltona	...	1 2	...	A ... 2	...	—	} 2 boves in car.
	+	...	1 2	...	A ... 2	...	2 ...		½
438	Geueltona	...	8	...	B ... 8	...	3 ...	5
	+ 5 thegns	...	2	...	B ... 2	...	—	—
443b	Cari	...	3 3	...	A ... 1	...	1 ...	—
443b	Cerletona	...	3	...	B ... 6	...	1 ...	3
464b	Alra	...	2	...	A ... 4	...	2 ...	2
479b	In Warna	...	2 2	...	B ... ½	...	—	—
479	Cari	...	1 0 1	...	A ... 1	...	1 ...	—
479b	Cari	...	2	...	A ... 3	...	2 ...	1

64 : 0 : 2

(116) Putten' and Werne, hund. Sumerton—hundred rolls p. 139. Denesmodesuella as taken from Sumertona and hidated ought to be found in Alured's fief, it is written denemodes Wella in terr. occup. (515b): I suggest Welham Farm—possibly denemodes may be a mistake for demesne.

Alra (464b) held of the honor of Hodyngsele, i.e. of Limeseio or Braynes (Feudal Aids. Vol. I., p. 414).—Cerletona (443b)—f. 516 Warmund held ¼ of Roger Arundel, but became a freeholder, then Roger repudiated responsibility, and Warmund held directly of the King.

Cerletona (273b) cannot be in the hundred of Hareturna, index of order forbids; for certainly the scribes at this stage had not commenced this hundred.

Suttona (435b) is South-town.

48 Suthbrent.

not assessed.

Eyton I., 212 ; II., 39.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 27, 54, 249.

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.		Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v. f.			Demesne.		
104b ...	Langefortda ...	5	...	A ...	10 ...	1 ...	...	8
170b ...	Brentamersa ...	20	...	B ...	30 ...	11 ...	...	18
171 ...	Iodena Worda...	2	...	B ...	5 ...	2 ...	...	4

Hund. of S. Brente is not in Kirkby quest; but in the tax roll of 1303. Hund. of Whitlegh—*heirs of Rob. de Brente hold one fee in Cusington and Suthbrente.* Probably, considering that Wm. 1st had in hand the Glastonbury estates, S. Brent, Langford, and Edingworth were held entirely by him in 1084, and so not surveyed.

not in the index.

not assessed.

Eyton I., 213 ; II., 41.

Vol. III. Somerset Records, 34, , 204.

(pp. 289, 320 contain modern additions.)

Folio.	Name.	Hidage.		Scribe.	Plough Lands.	Ploughs.		Villa.
		h.	v. f.			Demesne.		
171b ...	Glæstingeberia	12	...	B ...	30 ...	5 ...	...	5
	which never gelded							
	Mera 60 acres		...	...	1	which is there	...	—
	Padenaberia 6 acres		...	...	—	—	...	—
	Ederesiga 2 h. of land		...	...	—	1	...	—
	which never gelded							

These 12 hides did not include West Pennard, nor West Bradley.

Two Demolished Houses. By THOS. S. BUSH.

The two houses here depicted have been cleared away within the last year or two. Cornwell House stood between Walcot Street and the river, and was pulled down to clear the ground for the new Walcot Schools. There does not appear to be any history attached to the house, and it will be seen that, with the exception of the hood over the doorway, there is no particular architectural feature about it. The interest lies in the name. One would, of course, expect to find a well or spring close by. "Wood," in his "Description of Bath," Vol. II., says "the Conduits that supply the Public with Cold Water, are all situated

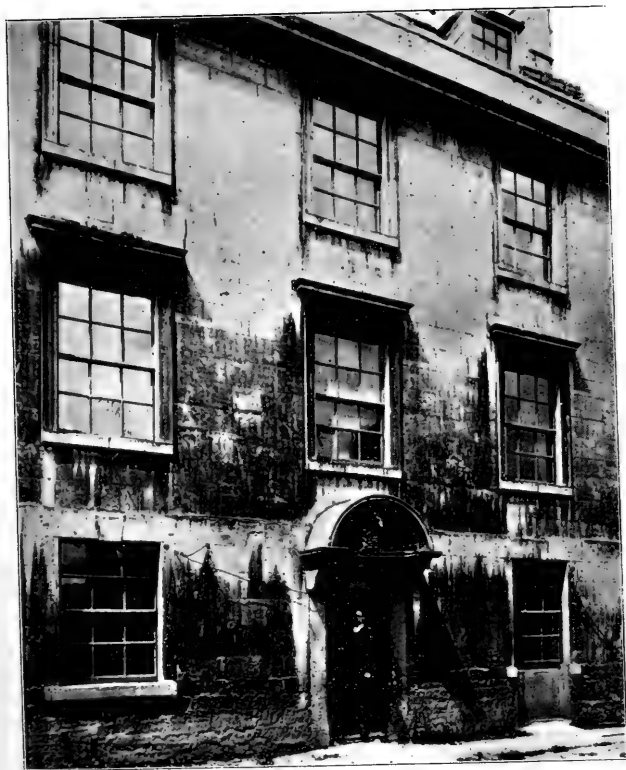


Photo. by

[Surgeon-Major Adcock.]

CORNWELL HOUSE.



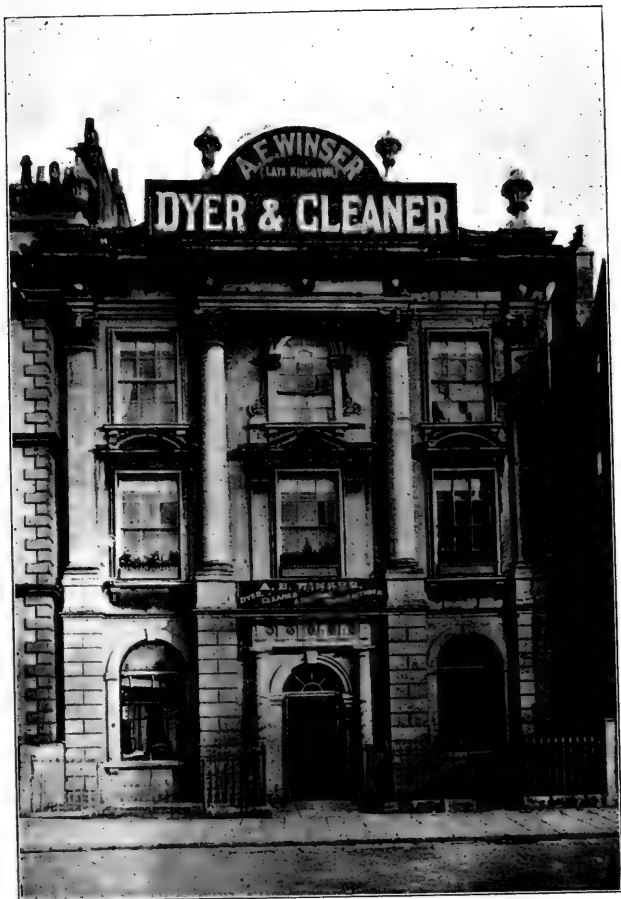


Photo. by

{Surgeon-Major Adcock.

NASSAU HOUSE.



in open and exposed Places ; and Carnwell being the First, the Water issues out of a Spout in the back Wall of an Alcove, formerly placed on the west side of Walcott Street, where a High Cross or Tower antiently surmounted the Mouth of the Spring, and stood a small matter within the North End of Saint Michael's Parish. The Sides and Covering of this Alcove were lately taken down to widen the Road before it ; and the Workmen, by penetrating into the adjoining Banks to continue on the additional Breadth of the Way, or Street, met with huge Blocks of Wrought Stones as the strongest Testimonies of a Publick Structure once existing in the Situation."

Amongst the Bath Abbey Chartularies (published by the Somerset Record Society) Lincoln M.S., No. 171, is a Deed dated A.D. 1268, one of the witnesses to it being Robert de Cornwell. Whether this Robert took his name from the district or had any connection with Bath there is nothing to show. Another Deed, No. 384, "Covenant made on the Feast of St. Martin, 1290, between Thomas, Prior, &c., and Thomas Noy, and Agnes his wife, by which the Prior grants to the said Thomas and Agnes, a house with a curtilage in Walcote juxta Cornwell, the site whereof pertains to the Kitchen of Bath. Witnesses : Stephen Baker then Mayor of Bath, John Tailor, then reeve, and others.

Nassau House is said to have been built by Richard Boyle, 4th Earl of Cork, and at one time occupied by the Prince of Orange, when he was here taking the Bath Waters. It formed one of a block of buildings that stood on the east side of Orange Grove, and was pulled down in 1901 for the purpose of making a road in front of the Empire Hotel.

Birds and Flowers of Bath and its Neighbourhood, with the periods of their first Singing and Flowering, observed by A. CASTELLAIN, in the year 1901.

BIRDS.

- 3rd Jan. large and small blue tits and hedge-chanter sang.
 4th " heard wood pigeon at Lansdown Grove.
 5th " heard large blue tit, hedge-chanters, nuthatch
 and green woodpecker, Bathampton.
 22nd " missel and song thrushes sang.
 6th Feb. saw peewits at Weston.
 9th " chaffinch, missel thrush and hedge-chanter sang.
 19th " larks sang.
 7th Mar. heard nuthatch.
 11th " yellowhammer sang, Farley Hungerford.
 12th " heard greenfinch; saw 3 Egyptian goslings,
 Park.
 21st " saw fieldfares, Langridge.
 9th Apr. saw swallow, Warminster; cliffchaff at Limpley
 Stoke (J).

FLOWERS.

- 3rd Jan. primrose and toadflax in flower, Monkton
 Combe.
 22nd " (snowdrops), hepatica, anemones, cyclamen,
 winter aconite and honeysuckle in flower,
 Botanical Gardens.
 12th Feb. hepatica in flower, Botanical Gardens.
 18th " crocus in flower, Botanical Gardens.
 21st " japonica in flower.
 28th " dandelion in flower, Viaduct.
 6th Mar. celandine in flower, Combe Hay.
 7th " periwinkle and plum in flower (College).
 9th " coltsfoot in flower, Bathampton.
 11th " rockcress in flower, Farley.
 12th " squills and dogtooth violet in flower, Botanical
 Gardens.
 14th " daphne in flower, Kelston.
 15th " almonds in flower.
 27th " dog violets in flower, Englishcombe.
 8th Apr. ribes in flower.
 9th " potentilla and white violets in flower, War-
 minster.

- 12th Apr. heard wyneck, chiffchaff, nightingale, Avoncliff.
 13th " saw magpies, Botanical Gardens.
 24th " heard blackcap, cuckoo and nightingale, Limpley Stoke.
 25th " saw martins; heard whitethroat and redstart, Freshford.
- 4th June missel thrush sang.
 7th " Egyptian goose, 9; wild duck, 6; and waterhen, 3; young, in Victoria Park; heard willow wren and lesser whitethroat.
 8th " heard redpoll, chiffchaff, willow wren and cuckoos (no nightingales), Limpley Stoke.
 10th " saw redstart; missel thrush and willow wrens sang, Kelston.
 14th " young blue tits at Combe Hay.
- 21st " chaffinch and greenfinch sang in Park.
 25th " heard redpolls, larks, chiffchaffs and whinchat; saw bullfinches, Box.
- 3rd July heard chiffchaff.
 4th " heard blackcap, willow wren, redpoll and white-throat.
- 8th " chiffchaff and blackcap sang, Sydney Gardens; saw sparrows building; heard nuthatch and stockdove, redpoll and greenfinch.
 10th " heard chiffchaff, skylarks, redpoll and black-bird, Batheaston.
- 11th " heard willow wren and hedge-chanter.
 12th " linnnet and hedge-chanter sang, Claverton Down.
 13th " heard redpoll, Henrietta Park.
 17th " heard blackbird, thrush and nuthatch; saw flycatcher, Combe Down.
- 12th Apr. germander speedwell, Monkton Combe.
 24th " wild parsley in flower.
 25th " hedge mustard in flower, Freshford.
- 1st June oxeye daisy in flower
- 8th " selfheal, bramble, yellow vetch, dove's foot, crane's bill and wild rose in flower.
 10th " catchfly, thyme, rockrose and celandine in flower, Kelston.
 14th " mallow, forget-me-not, knapweed and water lily in flower, Combe Hay.
 25th " meadowsweet, meadow, crane's bill and figwort in flower.
- 10th July purple vetch and drooping thistle in flower, Combe Down.
 17th " scurvygrass in flower.

- 18th July saw nightingale at Bradford.
 22nd " heard stock and turtledoves and skylarks, Southstoke.
- 29th " heard redpoll ; saw wheatear and (?) cuckoo.
 5th Aug. heard stock and turtledoves, Combe Down.
 13th " saw swifts.
- 2nd Sept. saw swifts (?), Prior Park ; pipit, Weston ; young thrush.
 5th " heard nuthatches.
 12th " heard chiffchaff, Botanical Gardens.
- 23rd " heard siskin, Hampton Downs.
 29th " heard larks and green woodpecker ; saw magpie and pipits, Prospect Stile.
- 3rd Oct. saw nuthatch and swallow ; heard lark and linnet.
 9th " saw martin.
 14th " thrush sang.
 16th " thrush sang, Weston.
 30th " heard nuthatch and thrush.
- 28th Nov. saw flocks of larks and yellowhammers, Fossway
 29th " saw woodpecker.
 4th Dec. thrush sang.
 5th " heard green woodpecker.
- 18th July restharrow and skullcap in flower.
 22nd " yellow and pink centaury, teasel, verbena fleabane, small spiked yellow vetch, large willowherb, harebells and campanula in flower.
- 5th Aug. yellow toadflax and St. John's wort in flower.
 20th " chickory, St. John's wort, restharrow and marjoram in flower, Englishcombe.
 2nd Sept. yellow vetch in flower.
 5th " coronilla and St. John's wort in flower.
 13th " forget-me-not and honeysuckle in flower, Kelston.
- 29th " campion, herb Robert, dove's foot, crane's bill, yarrow, clovers, harebells, blue milkwort, ragwort, yellow bedstraw, knapweed, mint, scabious, hawkweeds, thyme, coronilla, &c.
 3rd Oct. campions, trefoil, yellow centaury and celandine in flower.
- 30th " knapweed, yarrow, herb Robert and buttercup in flower.
 31st " small golden vetch in flower, Combe Down.

*Summary of Proceedings and Excursions for the year 1901-2. By
the Honorary Secretary.*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—

The Field Club commenced its proceedings this year by meeting at the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution on February 18th, and re-elected Mr. H. D. Skrine as its President. Mr. T. Frederic Inman and the Rev. C. W. Shickle were elected Vice-Presidents, and the other officials were re-elected to their several posts. The Treasurer, Surgeon-Major Mantell, produced his balance sheet of the Club's accounts, which showed that the funds of the Club were very prosperous, the balance in favour of the Club now standing at £88 6s. 4d., besides £4 5s. 1d. interest accrued on the money deposited in the National Provincial Bank of England. The thanks of the Members were tendered to Dr. Mantell for his past services as Treasurer, with the expressed hopes that he may long have such a pleasant account to produce of the Club's assets. The Field Club had the misfortune to lose its President this year by the decease, on September 25th, 1901, of Mr. H. D. Skrine, of Claverton Manor. Many Members attended his funeral out of respect for his character and valuable services he had long rendered to the Club. He joined the Field Club as long ago as 1865, and died at the good old age of 86. He had been in failing health for many years, and for some months past had been unable to actively participate in the deliberations of the many bodies with which he was associated. One of the last, if not the last, meetings which he attended in Bath was the annual gathering of the subscribers to the Bath Eye Infirmary, of which he was always a generous supporter; we recall that he spoke of the pleasure with which he attended, and told the committee that if ever they badly needed funds they knew where they might apply. Mr. Skrine's most important public office was that of County Councillor for the Weston Division, but

it must have been nearly two years since he had been able to visit either Wells or Taunton. Mr. Skrine had been spending some weeks at Seaton, on the South Devon Coast, and being taken seriously ill there was hastily removed home. It was apparent that at last Mr. Skrine's great resources of vitality were waning, and he became worse day by day, never leaving his bed after his return home.

Mr. Skrine's family history may be traced back many centuries. There is a tradition that when Philip of Spain came over to marry Mary in the middle of the 16th century, he was attended by one Don Eskrine. When Philip returned Don Eskrine did not, and was given a grant of land and the arms of Spain to wear. There is still in the possession of the family a portrait said to be of Don Eskrine, but there is not conclusive evidence of the story, and it is more probably true that Mr. Skrine belonged to an ancient family of County Durham. The manor of Warley was purchased in 1634 by one Henry Skrine, and the now deceased Mr. H. D. Skrine himself acquired the Claverton estate, which once belonged to the postal reformer, Ralph Allen. He also had property near Maidenhead. Mr. Skrine completed his education at Oxford, and left the University a highly-cultured English gentleman, with an inherited devotion for Church and State and a deeply-rooted love of nature. He spent his long life amid his charming estate, dividing his time and wealth between the educational and charitable institutions he found so glad of his help in the city of Bath, and his library and the many fascinating pursuits available about his charming house for the lover of nature. It may be recalled that the late Mr. H. D. Skrine was a painter of no ordinary ability, and some of his canvases representing scenes at Claverton, were the wonder of the last loan collection at the Art Gallery, when regarded as the quite recent works of an octogenarian. Mr. Skrine married a Suffolk lady named Miles, and had no less than eleven children. The eldest son (born in 1844) is Colonel H. Mills Skrine, of Warley, Hon. Col. of the 1st V.B. Somerset L.I., and then in order of birth come Mr. Duncan W. H.

Skrine ; the Rev. J. Huntley Skrine, Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, Perth ; Mr. Edward Harcourt Skrine (for many years a Ceylon tea planter) ; Mr. Sholto Douglas Skrine and the Rev. Vivian Eccles Skrine vicar of Leadenham, co. Lincoln (twins) : Mr. Osmond Percie Skrine and Mr. Walter Claremont Skrine. There were three daughters—one married to Mr. G. A. R. Fitzgerald, barrister, and another to Mr. Douglas C. Richmond, barrister and Charity Commissioner ; the third is Miss Mary Catherine Skrine. Mrs. Skrine died in 1890.

Mr. Skrine was for a very long period a county magistrate, and in his more active days, before the County Council deprived the Quarter Sessions of their control of county affairs, he did not confine himself merely to serving on the Bench at Weston (he was chairman for many years, retiring in 1879), but was prominent at the quarterly meetings of the justices at Wells and Taunton. When the County Councils were established in 1889 it was no surprise to find him willing to be the representative of the Weston division, and he was elected without a contest. At successive triennial elections he was never opposed, and it will not be easy to find anyone willing to take his place, for the office requires the expenditure of much time and no little expense. He was a Deputy Lieutenant of the county and had served the office of Sheriff.

It is a difficult task to attempt a recital of the many associations Mr. Skrine had with the social, charitable and educational life of the neighbourhood. Nearest his heart, perhaps, was the Selborne Society, of which he was the founder in 1886 and then the President, for a love of animal life and desire for their protection was one of his ruling passions. A presentation was made to him in November, 1897, by the Members of the Society. To the Bath Literary and Philosophical Society he read many papers, and of the Institution he was in his time the moving spirit. His ancestors were among the founders of the Blue Coat School, and to this institution Mr. Skrine was extremely generous ; he had been a Trustee since 1858. Of the Mineral Water Hospital he

had been a Governor since 1856, and as a Trustee of Partis College Mr. Skrine held the office of Chairman longer than any of his predecessors. He was President of the Bath Eye Infirmary, of the Bath Church Schools Managers and Teachers' Association (for something like 40 years), and was connected with many other similar bodies, including the Bath Field Club. The deceased gentleman was one of the warmest supporters of Bath College, and at the financial crisis of three years ago was one of those who generously came forward with assistance. The British Association meetings in the locality naturally attracted Mr. Skrine's interest, and when the excursion took place from the Bristol Meeting in 1898 he entertained the visitors at Bushey Norwood, in the vicinity of the British Camp there. He was a contributor to the handbook to the Bath Meeting of the Association, which was edited by the late Mr. J. W. Morris. Politically, too, many organisations will deplore his loss. He was for many years the Ruling Councillor of the Bath Habitation of the Primrose League, and many of its gatherings, as well as of other associations, have been held at Claverton Manor. The Monkton Combe Conservative Association deplores the loss of its President. An appeal for the assistance of Voluntary Schools was never addressed to him in vain, and in January, 1898, in conjunction with his eldest son, he presented new schools to the parish of Claverton as a free gift to the parish. He did so, he explained at the opening, to save the parishioners from the expense of a Board School and to secure, if possible, that the School should be a Church of England School in perpetuity. He felt he had only done what was his duty. The expense of the restoration of Bathford Church, commenced as far back as 1854, was principally borne by Mr. Skrine, and then 20 years later, the tower being out of keeping with the church in its restored form, Mr. Skrine very generously offered to erect a new one, bearing the entire cost of £1,600.

The Field Club has also lost eight Members by resignation during the year, and received two new Members among its ranks.

Mr. M. H. Scott, the Hon. Secretary for Excursions, informs me the Excursions for the year were not well attended. Those in the published Programme for April 23rd, 1901, to Chew Magna and Stanton Drew, and for May 21st, 1901, to Cadbury Camp and Queen Camel took place with only nine Members attending each. The third Excursion arranged for the year to Abingdon, Dorchester and Wittenham, on June 18th, failed through paucity of replies from Members desirous of taking part therein, only two expressing their desire to see these interesting places. The fourth Excursion to Montacute and Trent was altered by a vote of the Club to a trip to Symond's Yat and Goodrich Castle, and duly took place on July 16th, 1901, again only nine Members attending. Mr. M. H. Scott sends me his notes on the three Excursions which were successful, and I here give them.

Chew Magna and Stanton Drew, April 23rd, 1901.—The Bath Field Club were favoured with a splendid day for their first outing of the season. Nine members started at nine o'clock in a brake for Chelwood, which was reached about 11 o'clock. The church, which is small but interesting, was visited. The tower is Early English, the font Norman, and in the West window is some Rouen glass, which had evidently at one time been removed and had puzzled those who put it up again, for it presented a kaleidoscopic medley. On the South wall is a tablet to the memory of the Rev. Richard Warner, formerly rector of Chelwood, and author of the "History of Bath," published in 1800. He was subsequently rector of Great Chalfield, where he died in 1857.

The party next drove to Chewstoke, where they were received at the church by Mrs. Waldy, in the absence of the rector, the Rev. R. V. S. Penfold. The church has been very much "restored," and is garish with painted texts round the arches and everywhere else where they could be put. There are angel corbels in stone in the nave, in wood in the south aisle. The arches of the nave arcade have no capitals, but pseudo-capitals have been made by surrounding them with a ring of angels with extended

wings where the spring of the arches would ordinarily be. The font partakes of the general scheme of colour. The old Rectory near the church is an interesting building with numerous coats-of-arms. Mrs. Waldy conducted the members past the new Rectory, and the party went on to Chew Magna, where there is a fine church, the tower being especially remarkable. In the church is an effigy of Sir John Hauteville. This Knight was engaged in the Barons' wars in the time of Henry III., and accompanied Prince Edward to the Holy Land, on his return from which he settled in the parish of Norton Hawkfield, or Hautefield, where he built a castle. When the church there was pulled down his monument, made of a single block of Irish oak, was removed to Chew Magna Church. The whole figure is in armour, with a loose red coat without sleeves, and bound round the waist with a leather girdle fastened by a gilt buckle. He has a helmet and gilt spurs. On the opposite side of the church are the effigies in stone of Sir John St. Loe and his wife. That of Sir John is 7ft. 4in. in length and 2ft. 4in. across the chest. He is represented with his legs crossed, but nothing seems to be known about him. One of his descendants, another Sir John St. Loe, was one of the four husbands of "Bess of Hardwicke," with whom he resided at Sutton Court. The steps and shaft of a cross are in the churchyard. The font is Norman, and there are other interesting features in the church. Some of the Members visited Chew Court, a little beyond the church, where there is a fine old gatehouse. The sundial on the lawn bears the date 1665 and the letters I A M. After lunch at the Pelican, the drive was continued to Stanton Drew, where the party was met by the Rev. H. D. Perfect, who guided them round the stone circles, pointing out the avenue which joined two of them, and read a paper describing and explaining the arrangement of the stones, their probable age and object in considerable detail. He also read a paper in the church noting the various points of interest and drawing attention to the base of the font which he believed to be Saxon, the bowl

being Norman. From the churchyard the "cove" can be seen, three stones which may or may not have some direct connection with the circles. Passing the old "Bishop's house" and the quaint bridge over the Chew, the party proceeded to Pensford, where, after inspecting the church, which dates from the 14th century, the head of a churchyard cross was pointed out, inserted in the wall of a modern cottage. One panel is a rood, with the Saviour in the centre upon the cross, the Blessed Virgin Mary on one side and St. John the Divine on the other. The other panel is difficult to explain, even if it represents our first parents under the tree of the forbidden fruit. It was now getting late, so after tea at the Rising Sun, the party returned to Bath via Keynsham, the cyclists of the party, five in number, preceding them; and Pulteney Street was reached at 7.30 p.m., after a fine sunny day, of which full advantage was taken by the photographers of the party.

Cadbury Camp, Queen Camel, &c., May 21st, 1901.—This Tuesday was an ideal day for an excursion, and though only nine turned up, one of these being a non-member, the Field Club can congratulate itself on a thoroughly successful day. Sparkford was reached at one o'clock, the journey, itself short, being tedious owing to the inconvenient arrangement of the trains. A well-horsed brake, provided and driven by Mr. Abbott, of Queen Camel, met the party at the station, and a start was at once made for North Cadbury. The Rector was absent at a Ruridecanal Meeting, but Mrs. Boys, in her husband's place, very kindly conducted the Members over the church, which is dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. There are some altar tombs, and a lengthy epitaph on a small brass to Lady M. Hastings, who, it appears, was so "churchy" in her tastes that she always had three priests in her house. The bench ends are finely carved and of great variety of design; a good deal of the carving bears the "linen pattern." On the back of one of the seats is the date 1538 in Roman lettering. The entrance to the rood screen is

very perfect, and in the chancel arch are still the hooks from which the rood and the attendant figures of the B.V.M. and St. John were supported. The church formerly belonged to a college of priests, and there are two parvises, over the north and south porches. The former can be entered from the porch; the entrance to the latter is inside the church. In the north parvise lived for many years an old parish pensioner, Granny Nanny, whose supposed tomb was pointed out in the churchyard. It is a weather-worn ledger tomb, with the effigy of a female or a priest of very early date. In the vestry, which was formerly used by the priests as a school, are two black letter alphabets on the wall. There was a tradition, to which the height of the window sills lent colour, that the chancel was furnished with choir stalls, containing *misereres*, and it has recently been ascertained that these *misereres* have been found in Exeter. The effigies on the altar tombs are those of Lord and Lady Botreaux and Sir F. Hastings and his wife. Lady Botreaux rebuilt the church in 1427.

Mrs. Boys very kindly procured for the party the entry to the Manor House, now in the occupation of Colonel Kelly, but the property of the Bennetts, once wealthy traders of Bristol. The mansion is Elizabethan, and was probably built by one of the Hastings family. The date, 1581, is over the door in the great hall.

At Blackford, which was next visited, the church, dedicated to St. Michael, has a Norman arch in the south porch, thrust out of shape, with two dissimilar columns. There is a curious low Norman font, and in the chancel a stone to a former rector, Barnaby Dicke, dated 1620.

Passing the prettily situated church of Compton Pauncefoot, an old Perpendicular church with a spire, which could not be visited for want of time, and noting a crescent of cottages, an unusual feature in a village, South Cadbury was reached. The tower of the church is peculiar, the stair turret ending in a small square tower with pinnacles. The church has been carefully restored,

the squint and the piscina of a chapel in the south aisle being preserved. Near the latter, on the splay of a leper squint in the wall, is the figure of St. Thomas à Becket, the patron saint, said to have been drawn in blood by one of his murderers.

From this place two Members returned to Bath, the others climbing the hill to view Cadbury Castle, or Camp, which stands on a small detached hill about two miles from Sparkford. The area of the camp is over 18 acres. The majority of ancient British forts in Somerset were composed of three enclosures, the first for cattle, second fortified for dwellings, and lastly the stronghold, answering to the keep of a Norman Castle.

At Cadbury there are four consecutive ramparts and trenches, besides which there are detached outlooks on the N. and N.E. sides. The scarped terraces, still traceable, were no doubt for cultivation purposes only. Rough masonry work has been found in the camp, which, from its character, must have been the work of successive generations, and shows that the ramparts must have been several times raised.

There were certainly two entrances, at the N.E. and S.W. corners, the former being the main entrance; and there were possibly more, but authorities differ.

That Cadbury was of Roman origin seems unlikely, as it lacks all the characteristics of a Roman fortress; but it is very possible that the Romans used it as they did other British Camps, and Roman coins and pottery have been found here. The highest ground, near the western side, is called "King Arthur's palace," and was probably used as a look-out station.

In all likelihood, this hill was once an island, being fortified when the waters receded. It has no authentic history as a fortress. Leland describes Camalet as "a famose town or castelle, at the very south ende of the chirche of South Cadbyri." Camden was of opinion that the fortress may have been the cathbergion mentioned by Nennius, where King Arthur overthrew the Saxons in a memorable battle; but the MS. copies of Nennius do not

agree on this point. Camelet is not mentioned in the Norman survey. The name is merely Cad = fight + burig or bury, a fort or camp, and there is another Cadbury camp above Tickenham, one of the fortresses on the Wansdyke.

There are two springs in the camp ; that on the north side is called the "Wishing Well," the other, near the keeper's cottage, was probably dedicated to St. Anne.

Legends of King Arthur cluster about Cadbury Castle, or Camelot, and traces may still be seen of an old-world track leading from the S.W. entrance towards Glastonbury, and known by the name of "King Arthur's Hunting Causeway." Though there is considerable doubt as to the existence of the legendary Arthur, who was very likely a combination of several heroes represented as one individual, it would seem that the Somerset "Arthur" was a popular warrior and leader of the V. century, who succeeded to Ambrosius Aurelianus, and carried on his war of defence against the Saxon invaders. Nennius, who relates almost all that is known about Arthur dates from the VIII. century. Shakespeare in "King Lear" says:—"If I had you upon Sarum Plain, I'd drive ye cackling home to Camelot." No doubt he (or Bacon) had come across Leland's report of his tour in Somerset. (1533-1540.)

Tempore Edward III. North and South Cadbury belonged to the Lords Moels, and descended by marriage to the Courtneys, again by marriage to the Hungerfords, and afterwards came into the possession of Sir Francis Hastings, who having no children, sold both Cadburys to Richard Newman, High Steward of Westminster, who was degraded by Cromwell for loyalty to Charles I., but rewarded by Charles II., who granted him an augmentation of arms, gules, a portcullis crowned, or. This family still held Cadbury in 1813.

Looking from the highest point of the camp towards the north-west, over the Fosse Way, on the left hand is the high ground where Somerton lies and the eastern spur of the Polden Hills.

Beyond these Glastonbury Tor stands sentinel over Avalon, backed in the distance by the Mendips.

A short distance from this is Sutton Montis, where there is an old church, having a Greek portico! The tower is Norman, the chancel decorated with a well-preserved Norman arch of finely-cut dog-tooth design. The old-fashioned high pews remain, and there is a "three-decker" pulpit, with a painted canopied top, a piscina and aumbry.

The Church of Holy Cross, Weston Bamfield, is old, Gothic in style, but was completely restored in 1873. The approach to the rood loft is in good preservation, and there is an ancient font. The north door is blocked up. The peculiar feature of the church is the tower which is octagonal above the first course. There are only 12 other octagonal towers in Somerset. This solid tower, and the absence of a west door or window, give a peculiar appearance to the church. Two ledger tombs in the churchyard are believed to cover some of the Bampfylde, Lords Poltimore.

The last place to be visited was Queen Camel. The church, dedicated to St. Barnabas, is a fine one, in the Gothic style, with a tall tower, containing five bells. The fine carved oak screen which had for many years been under the gallery at the west end, was at the Restoration in 1858 restored to its original position at the chancel. There is a curious and finely carved old font, and the canopies of the sedilia and piscina are beautifully carved and in good preservation. The old part of the ceiling has some fine bosses, with quaint devices, and small full length wooden armoured figures. The large and handsome wooden eagle lectern resembles those often met with in the continental churches.

Time pressing, the party had to hurry away to Sparkford, where, after a frugal tea at the hotel, the 6.54 train was taken to Bath, which was reached at 9.32, after a very pleasant day amid lovely scenery.

Symond's Yat and Goodrich Castle, July 16th. 1901.—The

weather was all that could be desired when nine Members of the Club and friends started on July 16th, at 9 a.m., for the Wye. From a glance at the map, it would hardly be believed that it would take nearly four hours to travel from Bath to Symond's Yat, but the railways give as much fun as possible, ordering a change of train wherever possible, and sometimes making passengers leave the train to enter it again half-an-hour later. But the excursion fare is undeniably reasonable. So one has to take things as one finds them, and be thankful.

Symond's Yat having been duly reached, and luncheon at the Rocklea Hotel disposed of, the party left by boat for Huntsham (or should it be Huntholme) bridge, whence the boatman said it was only a quarter of an hour's walk to Goodrich Castle. Three of the party returned after having reached the church, the rest went on to the castle, where Mr. Bennett, the custodian, explained, so far as time allowed, what is known about the castle, which has been a ruin since 1646, when it was demolished by the Parliamentary army. The castle has been so often described that there is no occasion to say more about it here. Some amusement was caused by a yokel, who directed the party to the "Horse Artillery." The sign post, when reached, pointed the way to "The Hostelry." So discursive and eloquent was Mr. Bennett that some anxiety was felt as to catching the train, but the sinewy arms of the boatman, notwithstanding a forced disembarkation on account of the low state of the river, brought the party to the Rocklea Hotel in time for a cup of tea before the train arrived. A pleasant and cool journey, not too rapid to allow of a survey of the beauties of the Wye, brought the party back to Bath at 10 minutes past nine.

The Afternoon Meetings in the winter for hearing Papers, contributed by Members on subjects connected with the city and neighbourhood were opened on November 27th, 1901, by the Vice-President, Rev. C. W. Shickle, reading a very interesting paper contributed by Dr. H. Woodward, Keeper of Geology in

the British Museum, Cromwell Road, on "William Smith, the Father of British Geology." It is published at the commencement of these Proceedings, with a portrait of William Smith, the first discoverer of Stratigraphical Geology. This meeting was followed on December 18th by a second, whereat Mr. Wallace Gill gave to the Club an account of an ancient Dovecot belonging to the Carthusian Monks at Witham, which he had discovered when making structural alterations in some cottages. At the same meeting the Vice-President, Rev. C. W. Shickle, exhibited some Roman coins discovered on the site of the former brewery in Bathwick Street. Both papers appear in these Proceedings. Mr. T. Frederic Inman, Vice-President, contributed, on January 15th, 1902, a very interesting paper on "The Elm, with a notice of some remarkable varieties in Victoria Park, Bath," and the season was closed on February 12th, by a learned paper by Rev. T. W. Whale, on "The Principles of the Somerset Domesday."

The Library of the Field Club has been materially increased during the year, both by the published Proceedings of the Smithsonian Institution of the U.S.A., and of the various Societies with which our Club is in exchange of Proceedings. Many gifts have also been made to the Library during the year, and have been thankfully accepted. The number of Members has been considerably reduced, and it is to be hoped that renewed interest will be taken in the Excursions and some new members added to our ranks.

W. W. MARTIN,

Hon. Sec.

BATH NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

INSTITUTED FEBRUARY 18th, 1855.

LIST OF MEMBERS FOR THE YEAR 1902.

PRESIDENT.

1889 *Rev. C. W. SHICKLE, M.A., F.S.A., 5, Cavendish Crescent.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1866 *J. McMURTRIE, Esq., F.G.S., Radstock.

1895 *Rev. T. W. WHALE, M.A., Mountnessing, Weston, Bath.

SECRETARIES.

1872 *Rev. W. W. MARTIN, M.A., 49, Pulteney Street.

1893 *M. H. SCOTT, Esq., 5, Lansdown Place, W.

LIBRARIAN.

1892 *Thomas S. BUSH, Esq., 20, Camden Crescent.

TREASURER.

1883 *Surgeon-Major A. A. MANTELL, M.D., The Elms, Bathampton.

1865 GREEN Emanuel, Esq., F.S.A., Devonshire Club, St. James, London

1867 *INMAN, T. F., Esq., Kilkenny House, Sion Hill.

1870 HARPER C., Esq., L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., Manor House, Batheaston.

„ WATTS J. Onslow, Esq., Warleigh Lodge, Bathford.

1872 SHUM Fred., Esq., F.S.A., 17, Norfolk Crescent.

1874 TAGART W. H., Esq., F.R.G.S., Parkfield, Park Gardens.

1875 BLATHWAYT Rev. Wynter T., M.A., Dyrham Rectory, Chippenham.

„ EVANS Major J. Ll., J.P., 12, Cavendish Place.

1876 LEWIS Harold, Esq., B.A., Brislington, Bristol.

„ *HENDERSON W. H., Esq., 9, Royal Crescent.

1878 MACKILLOP C. W., Esq., J.P., 14, Royal Crescent.

„ SKRINE Col. H. Mills, J.P., Warleigh.

„ FOXCROFT E. T. D., Esq., J.P., D.L., Hinton Charterhouse.

1880 GAINÉ Charles, Esq., M.R.C.S., Weston Lea, Weston Park.

„ SHUM F. Ernest, Esq., 3, Union Street.

1881 PHILP Capt. Francis Lamb.

- 1882 *BARLOW W. H., Esq., Cleveland Villa, Bathwick.
 ,, *NORMAN G., Esq., M.R.C.S., 12, Brock Street.
 ,, TUCKER J. Allon, Esq., J.P., 9, Green Park.
 ,, POWELL G. F., Esq., 25, Green Park.
- 1883 KITT Benjamin, Esq., C.E., Sydney Lodge, Bathwick.
 ,, BLATHWAYT Lieut.-Col. L., F.L.S., F. Ent. S., Eagle House,
 Batheaston.
- 1885 KING Austin J., Esq., F.S.A., J.P., 19, Portland Place.
 ,, BYROM Edmond, Esq., 3, Edgar Buildings.
- 1886 GEORGE Rev. P. E., M.A., Winifred House, Sion Hill.
 ,, LEWIS Egbert, Esq., 12, Bathwick Street.
 ,, FULLER E. N., Esq., 6, Ainslie's Belvedere.
- 1887 SCOTT R. J. H., Esq., F.R.C.S., 28, Circus.
 ,, PALMER-HALLET T. G., Esq., M.A., J.P., Claverton Lodge,
 Bathwick Hill.
 ,, HOLST Johan, Esq., 35, Pulteney Street.
- 1889 ALEXANDER P. Y., Esq., The Mount, Batheaston.
 ,, NIMMO Major-Gen. T. R., C.B., 94, Sydney Place.
 ,, THOMSON Col. H., The Elms, Weston Park.
- 1890 *FANSHAW Col. T. B., 24, Park Street.
 ,, WEST Rev. W. H., M.A., 25, Pulteney Street.
 ,, ROSE H. F., Esq., 18, Grosvenor.
 ,, DAVIS Col. T. Arnoll, R.A., J.P., 4, Marlborough Buildings.
- 1891 RICKETTS Col. Montague, Shelbourne Villa, Lansdown.
- 1892 PIGOTT W., Esq., 25, Circus.
 ,, BRAIKENRIDGE W. J., Esq., J.P., 16, Royal Crescent.
 ,, BUSH Robert C., Esq., 1, Winifred's Dale.
 ,, DAVIDSON Major-Gen. James, 23, Queen Square.
 ,, PRYCE Ernest, Esq., 10, Cavendish Crescent.
- 1893 HANDYSIDE W., Esq., 3, Pulteney Road.
 ,, CASTELLAIN Alfred, Esq., 59, Pulteney Street.
 ,, SEALY Lieut.-Col. H. H., Elmhurst, Batheaston.
- 1894 COPPINGER A. W. D., Esq., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., 24, Gay Street.
 ,, MASKELYNE E. Story, Esq., Hatt House, Box, Chippenham.
 ,, KEMBLE W., Esq., J.P., Beechfield, Bathampton.
 ,, WILSON John H., Esq., Woodville, Lansdown.
- 1895 STONE Robert S., Esq., Bath and County Club.
- 1896 SMITH Lieut.-Gen. Clement J., 22, Marlborough Buildings.
 ,, DAVIS C. Price, Esq., J.P., Manor House, Bathampton.
 ,, SCARTH Leveson E., Esq., M.A., Keverstone, Cleveland Walk.
- 1897 PEARSON Rev. G. F., M.A., 2, Winifred's Dale.
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 ,, NASH Lieut.-Col. G. S., 7, Laura Place.

- 1897 RAWLINS Major Edw. B., St. Albans, Weston, Bath.
 „ SPENCER Sydney, Esq., Mount Beacon House.
 1898 MARTYN Gilbert King, Esq., B.A., M.D., 12, Gay Street.
 „ NEAL Alfred E., Esq., Lyde House, Sion Hill.
 1899 ADCOCK Surgeon Major J., 1, Queen's Parade.
 „ COTTERELL T. Sturge, Esq., 5, Bridge Street.
 „ KELLY Rev. W. F., B.D., Rectory, Charlcombe.
 „ BOODLE Charles E., Esq., B.A., Somerset House, Sion Hill.
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 „ RICHARDSON Rev. A., Brislington Vicarage, Bristol.
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 „ HANDCOCK Rev. R. G., M.A., 1, Somerset Place.
 „ PEACOCK Henry G., Esq., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Broadlands,
 Highweek, Newton Abbot.
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 „ ARNOTT Arthur Philip, Esq., M.A., 2, Belmont.
 1902 SISSMORE Rev. T. L., M.A., 31, Green Park.
 „ APPLEBY E. J., Esq., 8, Argyle Street.
 „ WARD J. L., Esq., M.A., The Lawn, Lucklands Road, Upper Weston.
- * *Members of Committee of Management.*

HON. MEMBERS.

- 1864 DAWKINS Professor W. Boyd, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c., Owen's College,
 Manchester.
 „ EARLE Rev. Prebendary, M.A., Swainswick Rectory, Bath.
 1873 HERIOT Major-Gen. Mackay.
 1868 TAYLOR Col. R. L., C.B., 22, Gay Street.

RULES
OF THE
BATH NATURAL HISTORY AND
ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

1902.

- 1.—The Club shall be called "THE BATH NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB," and shall consist (for the present) of not more than One Hundred Members.
- 2.—The object of the Club shall be to make Excursions around Bath, with the view of investigating the Natural History, Geology, and Antiquities of the neighbourhood.
- 3.—A President, one or two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, Librarian, and Treasurer, shall be chosen each year from among the Members at the Anniversary Meeting on the 18th of February, and should a vacancy occur in an office during the year the vacant post shall be filled up at the next Quarterly Meeting.
- 4.—The Committee shall consist of the past and present officers, and three other Members of the Club (the latter to be elected annually), whose business it shall be to consider and determine all matters connected with finance, and printing the Proceedings of the Club, or papers read at any of its meetings; or any business requiring consideration.
- 5.—Quarterly Meetings for the election of Members, and for other business, shall take place on the *First Tuesday* in April, July, October, and January.
- 6.—There shall be Four Excursions during the year, to be fixed at the Anniversary Meeting, *subject to alterations* at any previous Quarterly Meeting, if agreed to by all the Members present—six to form a quorum. A list of such Excursions, with the respective places of Meeting shall be suspended in the Vestibule of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution. Such Members as feel disposed shall also meet every *Tuesday*, at the Institution, at 10.30 a.m.
- 7.—The hour of Meeting shall not be changed, except for the convenience of taking particular trains, when it is arranged to go by rail to any place; in which case the altered time shall be posted at the Institution not later than Twelve o'Clock on the *Tuesday* previous.
- 8.—In arranging the Excursions, due regard shall be paid to Natural History, Geology, and Antiquities, so as to secure an equal share of attention to each subject; with this view, when the same Excursion does not include them all, they shall, as far as practicable, be taken in turn.
- 9.—Special Meetings shall be appointed for the Reading of Papers or Exhibition of Specimens, notice being given to the Secretary at, or previous to, any one of the Quarterly Meetings, by Members having such communications to make to the Club.

- 10.—Gentlemen wishing to join the Club may be proposed and seconded by any two Members and will be elected by ballot at any of the meetings of the Club (three black balls to exclude), notice of their nomination being given in writing to the secretary not less than fourteen days before any such Meeting. The Committee shall have the privilege of electing Four New Members during the year, provided there are vacancies.
- 11.—Any Member of the Club may invite a gentleman not resident in Bath to accompany him on the proposed Excursions, but when an offer of hospitality has been accepted by the Club, then only one visitor staying with a Member will be allowed to accompany him.
- 12.—The Secretary shall take Notes of the Excursions and read a Summary of the Year's Proceedings at the Anniversary Meeting; he shall also see that notices of all Excursions and Meetings are suspended at the Institution and posted to every Member at least seven days previously; such notices shall include the names of any candidates to be balloted for, together with those of their proposers and seconders.
- 13.—The Treasurer's audited accounts shall be examined and passed at the Anniversary Meeting.
- 14.—A subscription of Ten Shillings shall be paid yearly by each Member, with an Entrance Fee of Five Shillings, to defray any expenses the Club may incur otherwise than by journeys and refreshments. This Subscription to be considered due on the Anniversary. Newly elected Members to pay the Subscription for the current year and the Entrance Fee at the time of their election.
- 15.—Members whose Subscriptions are in arrear for three months after Feb. 18th shall be considered as having withdrawn from the Club, if, after application, the same be not paid up.
- 16.—There shall be a Supernumerary List for Members whose absence from Bath does not exceed three years. Such Members, on their return, and on payment of their Subscription for the then current year, may be admitted to the Club at once, or as soon as a vacancy occurs.
- 17.—Members may borrow Books from the Club's Library, entering their names and title of the volume in a book kept by the Librarian for the purpose, but shall not retain them longer than one fortnight. Members of the Royal Institution can also read them on the premises, but not take them away. Members may also purchase back numbers of the Club's Proceedings at half-price.

WALTER W. MARTIN,

Hon. Sec.

*The Honorary Treasurer in Account with "The Bath Field Club," for the Year ending
December 31st, 1901.*

Dr.	£ s. d.	Cr.	£ s. d.
Balance from last year (1900), Pass Book	48 6 4	Rent of Room for 1901	...
88 Subscriptions at 10s. each	...	Hon. Librarian's Account	...
1 " at 5s. (No. 76)	...	Hon. Secretary's Account	...
1 " paid in excess	...	Somerset Record Society	...
2 Entrance Fees at 5s. each	...	Refund to the Rev. P. George	...
Sale of Proceedings by Hon. Librarian	...	Messrs. Lewis & Son's Account, Printing, &c.	...
Deposit with the National Provincial Bank	...	Messrs. Powell & Powell (Book Case Doors)	...
(excluding interest)	...	Deposit at the National Provincial Bank	...
	40 0 0	Balance at the National Provincial Bank	...
	<u>£134 5 7</u>		<u>£134 5 7</u>

Examined and found correct,

R. L. TAYLOR,

Auditor.

A. A. MANTELL,

Hon. Treasurer.

January 30th, 1902.

*SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS TO WHICH THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLUB ARE
ANNUALLY FORWARDED.*

Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill., U.S.A.
 Barrow Naturalists' Field Club.
 Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution.
 Belfast Naturalists' Field Club.
 Berwickshire Naturalists' Society.
 Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.
 Bristol Naturalists' Society.
 British Association for the Advancement of Science.
 British Museum, Copyright Office, Bloomsbury.
 " " Natural History Department, South Kensington.
 Cardiff Natural History Society.
 Christiania Royal Norwegian University.
 Clifton Antiquarian Club.
 Cornwall Royal Institution.
 Cornwall Royal Polytechnic Society.
 Costa Rica National Museum. S. José.
 Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club.
 Geological Society.
 Geologist Association.
 Glasgow Natural History Society.
 Glasgow Philosophical Society.
 Hampshire Field Club.
 Hertford Natural History Society.
 Holmesdale Natural History Club.
 Linnean Society.
 Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society.
 Manchester Microscopical Society.
 Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society.
 Nottingham Naturalists' Society.
 Nova Scotia Institute of Science, Halifax.
 Smithsonian Institute, Washington, U.S.A.
 Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
 Upsala Royal University Geological Institution.
 Warwickshire Naturalists' and Archæologists' Field Club.
 Washington U.S. Geological Survey of the Territories.
 Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
 Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

PRESENTED

30 AUG. 1902





CONTENTS OF VOL. X. PART 1.

	PAGE.
1.—WILLIAM SMITH, THE FATHER OF BRITISH GEOLOGY, BY DR. HY. WOODWARD, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S.	1
2.—NOTES ON AN ANCIENT HOUSE AT WITHAM, BY WALLACE GILL, ARCHITECT	15
3.—ANCIENT ROMAN COINS DISCOVERED AT BATHWICK, BY REV. C. W. SHICKLE, M.A., F.S.A., PRESIDENT	16
4.—THE ELM, BY T. FREDERIC INMAN, VICE-PRESIDENT	19
5.—THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SOMERSET DOMESDAY, BY REV. T. W. WHALE, M.A., VICE-PRESIDENT	38
6.—TWO DEMOLISHED HOUSES, BY THOMAS S. BUSH	86
7.—THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF BATH, 1901, BY A. CASTELLAIN	88
8.—SUMMARY OF EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF BATH FIELD CLUB FOR YEAR 1901-1902, BY REV. W. W. MARTIN, M.A., HON. SEC.	91
9.—LIST OF MEMBERS, RULES OF THE CLUB, BALANCE SHEET, AND SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE FIELD CLUB FOR EXCHANGE OF PROCEEDINGS	104

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BATH NATURAL HISTORY
AND
ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

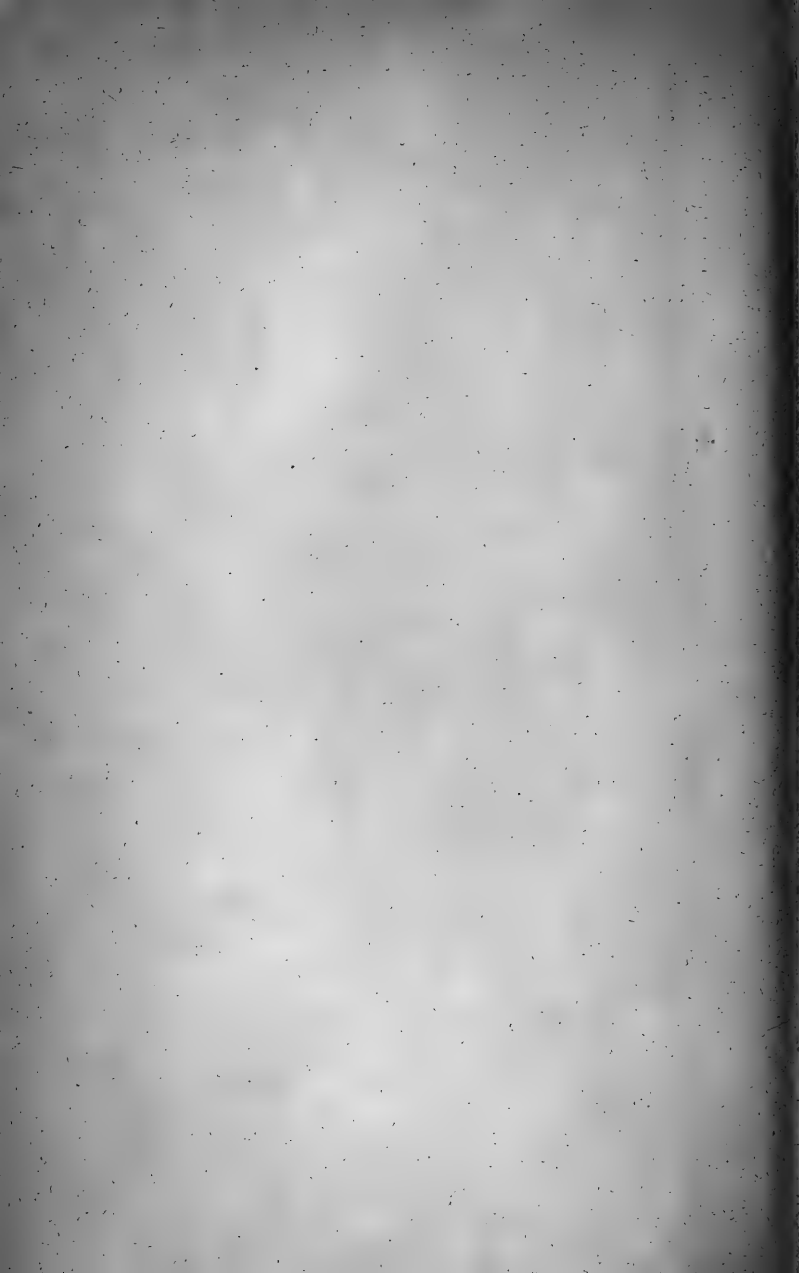
VOL. X., No. 2.

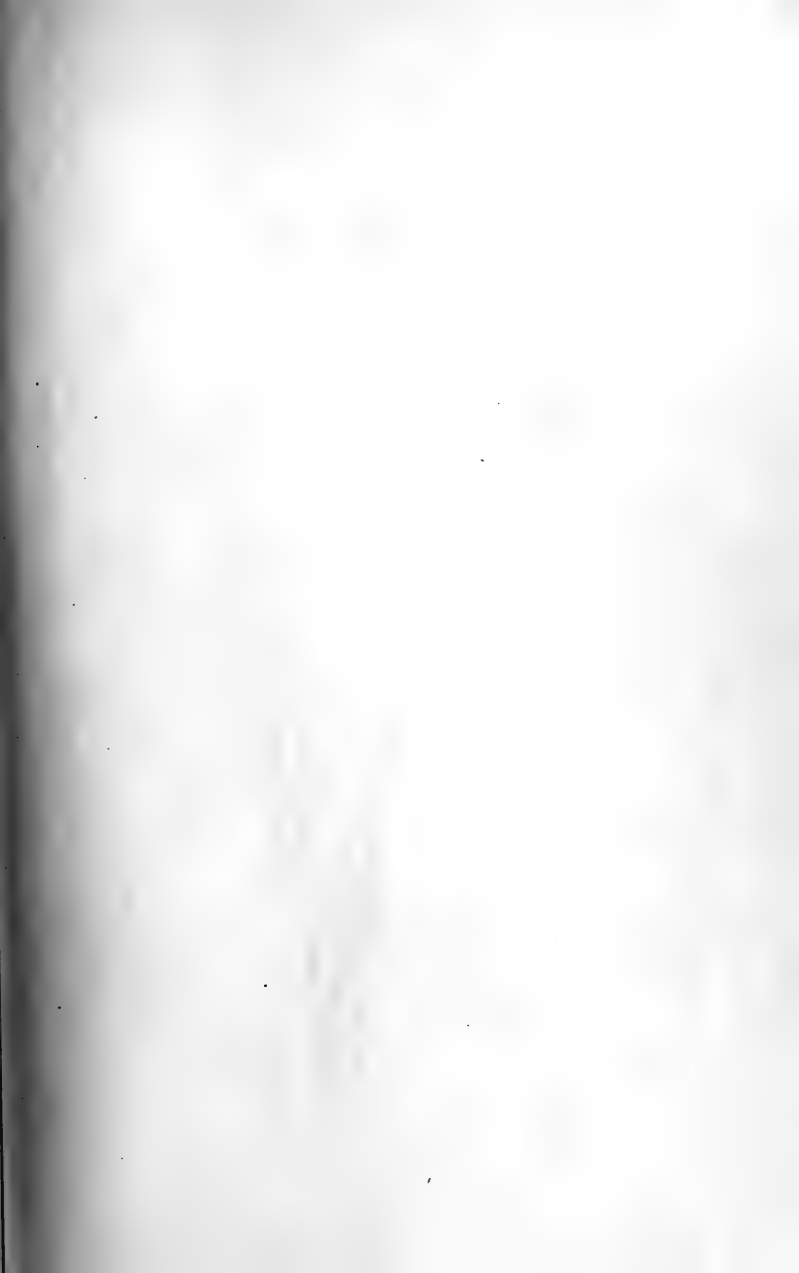
1903.

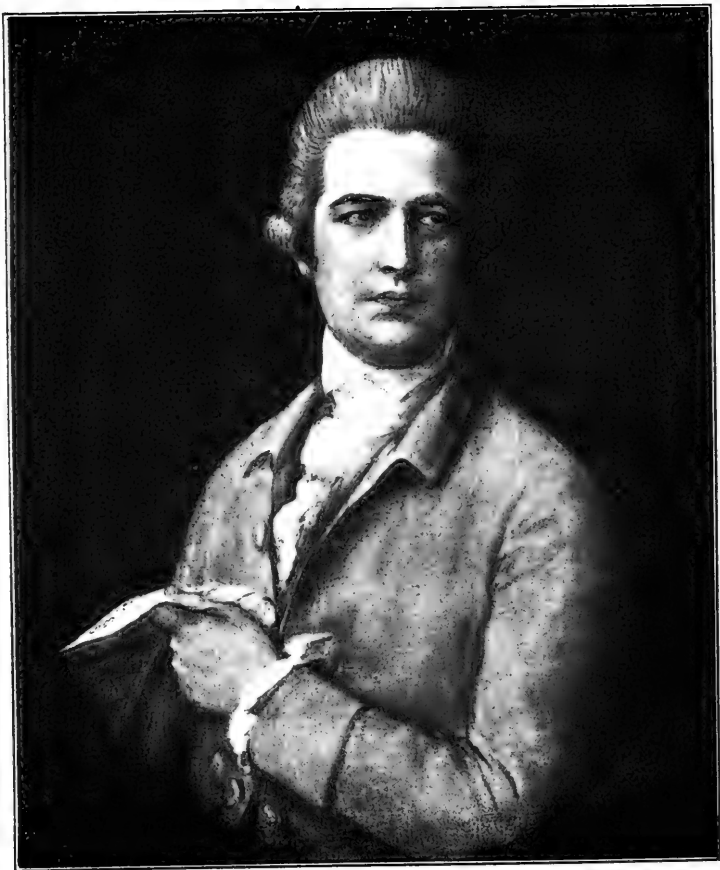


PRICE, HALF-A-CROWN.

BATH:
PRINTED (FOR THE CLUB) AT THE HERALD OFFICE, NORTH GATE.
1903.







THOMAS LINLEY.

Thomas Linley. His connection with Bath.

By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.

(Read December 3rd, 1902.)

Thomas Linley and his family were for a time so prominently associated with Bath as skilled musicians, and from other public circumstances which will be alluded to they attracted also so much notice, such a wide interest outside Bath, that some local record of them should be available. Of what has been already said about them much is by no means exact. There has been too often a :—

Mis quoting, mis dating,
 Mis placing, mis stating,
 At war with truth, reason, and fact.

If, therefore, these notes should sometimes seem rather minute, it must be understood that they are so with purpose aforethought but without malice ; criticism and correction are especial points intended.

Thomas Linley, says the "Dictionary of National Biography," "was born at Wells in 1732, the son of a carpenter. Being sent to do carpentering work at Badminton, the seat of the duke of Beaufort, he derived so much pleasure from listening to the playing and singing of Thomas Chilcot, the organist of Bath Abbey church, that he determined to become a musician," and so he presently studied under Chilcot at Bath.

This account just varies from another which tells that he was the son of a carpenter and was originally intended to follow his father's business. Being however one day at work at Badminton, the seat of the duke of Beaufort, he was overheard to sing by Mr. Chilcot, at that time organist at Bath, who was so much delighted with his voice that he prevailed with his father to allow him to quit the trade and study music.*

* "Musical Biography," Vol. 2, p. 210.

A few thoughts must be given to these stories. First an estate like Badminton would hardly require a carpenter from Wells, such mechanics being usually regularly employed. Then a carpenter to be sent out on day work would be at least twenty-one years old, hardly a time to throw up an already acquired trade skill to begin a new and difficult study. Further if he came from Wells, a place where he cou'd every day hear

Godless boys God's glory squall—

neither singing nor the organ could have been new to him. The writer of the first notice evidently writing without considering his words, from some tradition but without personal or local knowledge, seems to have had no idea of the relative positions of Bath, Wells and Badminton. Yet had he known enough to have avoided confusing the father, who was a carpenter, with the son Thomas who never was so, there is, as will be seen, just a substratum of truth in the story. Another form of the story, modern, but not new, says that Chilcot noticed a little boy of musical taste and took him as a pupil. He came from Wells, &c.* From the omission of a few necessary words this reads as if little boys easily wandered alone from Wells to Bath to be casually noticed and picked up.

Whilst the above accounts make the birthplace Wells, another makes it Gloucester,† and yet another, a very recent one, gives the rather wide guess that he came from Yorkshire. He had at least in the last county plenty of room for a start. This statement should not have been written, it simply helps to confound confusion. If the writer did not know he could not tell and should have acknowledged that position or have said nothing. The last account makes him born at Bath in 1725, but repeats that he became a pupil of Chilcot, &c.‡

* "Fitzgerald's Lives of the Sheridans," 1886.

† *Tinsley's Magazine*, Vol. xxxix. p. 134, 1886.

‡ "Biographical Dict. of Musicians." By Thos. Baker, 1900.

Dismissing all former accounts and guesses, the origin of the family may be given and all doubt settled. The carpenter then came from Badminton and he brought with him three children, Thomas, Isabella, and William. To clear the way somewhat, Isabella the daughter of William and Maria Lingley, as the name is spelled in the register, was baptized at Badminton 9th October, 1737. She married in the Abbey church, Bath, one Richard Philpot, 17th October, 1764.

William, the youngest of the three, son of William and Maria Linley, spelled now without the g, was baptized at Badminton 29th July, 1744. Nothing more can be told of him. As this youngest child was baptized at Badminton in 1744 it would have been soon after that date that Linley the father, the carpenter, moved to Bath, just when by reason of much building there must have been a great demand for mechanics of all sorts. He continued his business at Bath and was alive there in 1770 with a somewhat improved status. In 1772, 26th November, an advertisement relating to St. Margaret's chapel announced that a plan of the pews in the new chapel being now settled and the prices thereof, those disposed to take seats should apply to Mr. William Linley, Clerk of the Works at the chapel, or at his house in the Market Place.* He is found as a ratepayer for some years after this. In 1773 he purchased and was living in his own house in Belmont Row, rated at £70 per annum,† and in 1779 and until 1792 he paid poor rate for the same house. He was buried at Walcot 26th October, 1792, and was soon followed by Mrs. Maria Linley, who was buried in the same grave 22nd December, 1792.

There now remains the eldest of the three children, Thomas our musician, who was baptized at Badminton, the son of William and Maria Lingley, with the g, 20th January, 1733.

Thus he would be at the time his father probably came to Bath

* *Bath Chronicle*, p. 1, col. 3. † Water Rents.

between eleven and twelve years old. From all the notes and notices of Thomas printed during his life it is clear that he was early acquainted with Chilcot and as his first start was engaged to him in the humble station of errand boy. He soon showed such a tendency to and fondness for music that Chilcot was attracted to the boy and encouraged and indulged him in his hobby. Eventually he took him as an apprentice, behaved well to him and taught him thoroughly all the rudiments and practice of the art.* No indentures are on record, so the exact time served cannot be given. In March, 1752, Thomas Chilcot paid six shillings for Freedom fees.† An early, rapid, and extraordinary proficiency brought Chilcot some profit for a time, but as soon as he could the pupil left the master, got engaged in the public rooms at Bath, and so "played into his own pocket." He next started as a teacher, and in this position became at once promptly recognised as having great ability and skill for the work. He was thus successful and established and well known by the time he was twenty. He is reported to have gone abroad and completed his musical education under one Paradies or Paradisi, but he could have had neither the means nor the opportunity for doing so.

With this first knowledge of this extraordinary young man, his own family and after career may next be traced.

As showing his early prosperity he married very young, when about nineteen, but as in such cases the man usually goes to the bride's home for that occasion, it is too often barely possible without some guide to find notice of the event. Two sons presently get the name of Thurston, thus suggesting a possibility; but at the moment the actual record has not been met with. From this young couple the next great interest now arises. They are said generally to have had seven children, three sons and four

* *The Craftsman*, 10th October, 1772.

† "Chamberlain's Accts.," Vol. 48.

daughters, but in fact they had twelve, seven sons and five daughters. The production of evidence for the first time will prevent all doubt.

1753. 12 March was baptized in the Abbey church, Bath, George Frederick, son of Thomas and Mary Linley.
1754. 25 Sept. was baptized at St. Michael's, Bath, Elizabeth Anne (presently to be the heroine of this story).
1756. 11 June, Thomas was baptized in St. James's church, Bath.
1758. 10 Feb., Mary was baptized in St. James's.
1759. 15 May, Thurston, a son, was baptized in St. James's.
1760. 23 June, Samuel was baptized in St. James's.
1761. 8 Sept., William Cary was baptized privately and brought to St. James's to be received.
1763. 10 Oct., Maria was baptized in St. James's.
1765. 22 Aug., Osias Thurston was baptized in the Abbey church, the son of Thomas and Mary of St. James's.
1767. 17 Feb., Jane Nash and Charlotte, a twin, daughters of Thomas and Mary Linley of St. James's parish, were brought to church, having been privately baptized.
1771. 27 Feb., William was baptized in St. James's.

It must be noticed that the first two, George Frederick and Elizabeth Anne, were baptized in different churches, and so would be born in the respective parishes, thus suggesting that with very modest means the young couple had then an unsettled domicile. The others all show fixture in the parish of St. James's, where their residence was No. 5, Pierpoint Street.* All these children, even as children, became accomplished musicians. Endowed all of them with great musical talents, to these talents the father compelled the most assiduous and stringent attention. On one occasion the whole family, "down to the seven year olds," appeared together at the New Rooms. The household, now notorious, was dubbed a nest of linnets. The latest mention of this little story changes the birds to nightingales, thus destroying the point, the pretty play upon the name.

* Peach. "Historic Houses."

The careers of these children, and then of the parents of this second generation, may now be traced.

GEORGE FREDERICK, so named after Handel, died an infant.

ELIZABETH ANNE early showed a specially marked genius for music, which her father strongly fostered. Under his skilled and qualified and interested guidance her voice was most carefully cultivated, and so successfully, that when only twelve years of age, about 1766, the poor child was put forward as a public singer in the Rooms at Bath, and, too, with an immediate success. She married Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and the remainder of her story may be told with his. She died at the Bristol Hot Wells 28th June, 1792, and was buried in the cathedral at Wells. There is a portrait of her as St. Cecilia at Bowood by Sir Joshua Reynolds; there is another portrait by Gainsborough at Delapré Abbey, and another with her sister Mary, by Gainsborough, in the Dulwich Gallery.

THOMAS, the next son, became early a very skilled violinist, and performed in public when only eight years old. In 1773, when only seventeen, he became solo violinist at Bath, and promised to become great in his profession. He then went to Italy according to the fashion of the day to study under Tartini, or as one account says, under Nardini, who had himself been a pupil of Tartini. On his return he took up the leadership of the orchestra at Bath, his father being then in London. He was thus his father's pride and hope, but alas, he was drowned when away on a visit by the upsetting of a boat, 5th August, 1778. There was published in 1778:—

A Monody (after the manner of Milton's *Lycidas*) on the death of Mr. Linley who was drowned August the 5th, 1778, in a canal at Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire the seat of his grace the duke of Lancaster.

This tells us from Milton:—

He must not flote upon his watery bier
Unwept, and welter in the parching wind,
Without the meed of some melodious tear.

From the Monody the following few lines are extracted :—

You knew Linlœus ! ah who knew him not ?
Once, once the pride and treasure of these plains,
The blithest, sweetest of arcadian swains.

Eolus, that blustering god had oft with envy heard
The praises justly given to young Linlœus,
He oft had heard the soft melodious sounds
Which from his lyre his dextrous fingers swept.
He felt their magic power, and wept.
And much his hated rival's lyre he fear'd,
No sooner therefore did he see the boat
Then—a rude wind—upon his skiff he laid
And thus avenged his blasted fame.

Or how disturb the peace of such a pair,
He best of men, she fairest of the fair,*
More for their virtues than their rank rever'd,
By nobles, vassals, artists, all belov'd,
And e'en to royalty itself endear'd.

Each son of genius on Britannia's plains
Laments the loss of young Linlœus' strains.

There is a portrait of him, with his sister Mary, by Gainsborough, at Knole in Kent, and another also by Gainsborough in the Dulwich Gallery.

MARY married Richard Tickell, a political pamphleteer and a dramatist, who is said to have been born at Bath about 1751.† There is a portrait of him by Gainsborough. She died at the Hot Wells 27th July, 1787, aged 29, and was buried at Wells, “where she enjoyed happiness and poverty the first year of her marriage.”‡ There is a portrait of her by Romney,§ and, as above, by Gainsborough at Knole, and another with her sister Elizabeth in the Dulwich Gallery, also by Gains-

* His sister Elizabeth. † Murch, “Bath Celebrities,” p. 317.

‡ Rae, Vol. 2, p. 26. § Romney. By Sir Herb. Maxwell.

borough : and a crayon by Sir Thos. Lawrence. She left a daughter, who became the mother of John Arthur Roebuck.*

In error, from similarity of name, this Richard Tickell is sometimes supposed to have been the proprietor of a once advertised Ethereal Anodyne Spirit, but the owner of this was William Tickell, a surgeon and chemist who lived in Queen Square, Bath.

THURSTON, the first of the name, died in 1763, and was buried in St. James's church, 13th May.

SAMUEL by the time he was 19 displayed great musical genius on the oboe, but having the offer, he abandoned music as a profession, entered the navy as a midshipman, and sailed on a short cruise in the Thunderer, 74 guns, Capt. Walsingham. On his return he obtained leave and visited his family in London, where he was seized with malignant fever and died. It is curious that had he survived and joined his ship death would have still come to him as the Thunderer sailing again, never returned, was never heard of more. There is a portrait of him by Gainsborough in the Dulwich Gallery.

WILLIAM CARY died in 1762, and was buried in St. James's 9th October.

MARIA continued a musical career, and it seems strange that she has received no separate biographical notice. She witnessed a marriage in Bath Abbey church 31st October, 1782. She died unmarried, aged only 21. The *Bath Chronicle* 9th September, 1784, says :—†Monday, died after a few days' illness Miss Maria Linley, second daughter of Mr. Linley, one of the patentees of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. But as the *Chronicle* was published on thursday the 9th, monday would be the 6th, which is not correct, as she died on the 5th. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, giving the date 5th September, says :—Died at Bath of an inflammatory fever Miss Linley,

* "Dict. Nat. Biog." † P. 3, col. 3.

daughter of Mr. Linley, manager of Drury Lane Theatre. Her death "is a loss almost irreparable to the musical world. Those who remember her performance at the oratorios will join in this opinion. The union of a sweet voice, correct judgment, extensive compass, and above all beauty of mind and person, distinguished the much lamented maid, and her character will be dear while memory holds a seat in this distracted globe."* Another account says she died of a brain fever at her father's house at Bath, 15th September, 1784.† Again the date was the 5th, and further, as her father had at this time no residence at Bath, her death must have been at the house of her grandfather in Belmont. She was buried at Walcot 11th September. In the same grave, in 1792, were buried the grandfather and grandmother, the three in one, Maria being there first in order of date. The grave was No. 26, Row 15 north. Maria in 1784 was No. 722, and in 1792 William was No. 2469, and his wife No. 2493, showing presumably the burials in those eight years. Not a trace or mark can now be found to show the spot, and this has been the case for many years. There is a crayon portrait at Dulwich said to be Maria, by Sir Thos. Lawrence.

Some pretty poems on Maria help the story and confirm the date of death. The first appeared in the *Bath Chronicle* of the 9th September, and corrects the above-noted date error in the same issue. The title runs : —

ON THE DEATH OF THE LOVELY AND MUCH LAMENTED
* * * SEPTEMBER 5, 1784.

If beauty, wit, and innocence could charm
And set aside the monarch's stern decree
These dear Maria had unnerv'd his arm
Or turned averse his fatal shaft from thee.

* Vol. 54, p. 717, † "Dict. Nat. Biog."

No more thy strains shall charm our listening ear ;
 But we for thee no longer ought repine
 Since God commands thee from our converse here
 To celebrate His praise in strains divine.

Dear blessed saint ! regard with pitying eye
 The heartfelt sorrows of thy weeping friend
 Teach him, like thee to live,—like thee to die
 Then share with thee those joys which ne'er shall end.

A week later, 16th September, there appeared some more lines :—*

ON THE DEATH OF THE LATE MISS M. LINLEY.

Arcadian nymphs and college swains
 Your rustic mirth give o'er
 And in soft plaintive dying strains
 Maria's loss deplore.

Oh ! she was gentle as the dove,
 Mild as the opening spring,
 Replete with innocence and love
 But fate hath clipt her wing.

The nightingale will drop a tear
 His mistress to bewail
 And cease to charm the ravish'd ear
 At news of the sad tale.

Oh, no ! he envied her sweet note
 And feels a conscious pride
 He yet will swell his little throat
 And grieve not that she died.

Soft hallelujahs will inspire
 Her true seraphic lays
 She's mingled with the heavenly choir
 To chant her Maker's praise.

There is one other poem of similar intention which may be

* *Bath Chronicle*, p. 3, col. 2.

noticed, as it is with fair certainty unknown. It was written by Charles Leftley, a friend of her brother William, and is entitled—

A DIRGE
ON THE MUCH LAMENTED DEATH OF THE
BEAUTIFUL MARIA LINLEY.*

Larded all with sweet flowers
She bewept to the grave did go
With true—love showers.
—Shakespeare.

Underneath this ebon shade
Mark'd by a rudely sculptured stone
The lov'd Maria low is laid ;
Soft be the turf she rests upon.

These flowers that grow around her tomb
All bear a paler hue
And die almost before they bloom ;
Their sympathy so true.

The pensive powers who haunt the grove
Shall here their vigils keep
Chaunt their wild requiems o'er my love
And soothe her lasting sleep.

Pity for her shall touch the string
And breath her softest sigh
And here her holy strains shall sing
Of heaven taught melody.

For she was sweet as opening buds
Mild as the hours of May
Bright as the sunbeam on the floods
And constant as the day.

* "The Cabinet," Vol. 1, p. 65.

Friend of my youth ! for thee my tears
 Spontaneously shall flow
 And memory through a length of years
 Shall nurse the sighs of woe.

For thee when autumn flows around
 An offering sad I'll pay
 Deck with fresh wreaths thy hallow'd ground
 And mourn the fatal day.

On thee amid life's varied part
 My tenderest thoughts shall rest
 Bemoan'd while love can warm my heart
 Or friendship cheer my breast.

OSIAS THURSTON, called in the "Dictionary of National Biography" the eldest son, matriculated at Christ Church college Oxford 19th March, 1785, became B.A. in 1789, took orders and was beneficed in Norfolk.* In 1816 he resigned his preferments and became Organist Fellow, then so called, of Dulwich College, where he died in 1831, aged 65 it is there said, but he was born in 1765. He was the second son who had the name of Thurston, and this with his unusual first name attracts attention. Among the out rate-payers of Bath for 1779 appears in Lansdown Road, Horasha Thurston, and so again in 1780. In 1785 he is gone, but in the *Bath Journal* 5th July, 1790, is an advertisement that Mr. H. Thurston, of 3, Burton Street, will sell by auction, &c. The use of two such unusual forenames seems to suggest there must have been a family connection, and possibly through the mother. By his will proved 29 March, 1831,† he left all his estate real and personal to his brother William absolutely. There is a portrait of him at Dulwich College, and a crayon by Sir Thos. Lawrence in the Dulwich Gallery.

* Foster, "Alumni Oxonienses." † Tebbs, 162.

JANE married Charles Ward, the secretary at Drury Lane Theatre. There is a crayon portrait of her at Dulwich, by Sir Thos. Lawrence.

CHARLOTTE died young.

WILLIAM, the youngest, entered St. Paul's School, London, in 1785, his age being there recorded as fourteen. He afterwards joined the Civil Service of the East India Company, retiring in 1796. He was a musical composer and from time to time visited Bath, being a joint proprietor of St. Margaret's chapel, where his anthems were performed.* He wrote the rhymed epitaph on the Linley tablet now in the cloisters of Wells cathedral, and he printed, in 1819, a small volume which bears an unusually descriptive title:—

“Sonnets and Odes, by William Linley esq. late in the Civil Service of the East India Company, and the late Charles Leftley parliamentary reporter to the *Times* newspaper, both educated at St. Paul's School.”

This is the same Charles Leftley who wrote the Dirge on Maria. He died in 1797, aged 27. William died in London 6th May, 1835, aged 64, and is buried in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, where a tablet on the north wall within, towards the east and above that of his mother records the fact. There is a portrait of him in the Dulwich Gallery as a pretty youth by Sir Thos. Lawrence. There is another somewhere, in later life, by Lonsdale. This has been engraved.

And now comes the last eventful history, that of the parents. From the time of his daughter Elizabeth's successful débüt, until 1772, Linley's income was thus suddenly very largely increased, and his career generally marvellously assisted by this especially gifted child. He with the harpsichord, his sons with violin and 'cello, and the daughters with their voices made up this attractive and celebrated family. So, then, with conducting oratorios, a style of music wherein his family especially excelled, and composing and playing his own compositions in Bath and elsewhere

on demand, he was a busy man. He became widely acknowledged a master in his profession, equally well versed in the theory as in the practice of music,* and especially proficient on the harpsichord. So prosperous were his affairs and so altered was his social status that he moved residentially to the Crescent. This move has never been credited, but by good fortune the diary of John Wilkes, Alderman Wilkes, settles the point. Being at Bath, Wilkes enters under 3rd January, 1772—Breakfasted with Mr., the two Miss Linleys, Rolleston, and Miles Andrews, at Mr. Linley's house in the Crescent. So, for the first time this doubt is cleared. Wilkes was much struck with Elizabeth, who he thought the most modest, pleasing, and delicate flower he had † seen for a long time, superior to all the handsome things he had heard of her. But, alas, as the damsel developed into womanhood all this prosperity was spoiled by the bobbing around of that often nuisance, the amorous male, and eventually Elizabeth eloped with young Richard Brinsley Sheridan. This sad act broke up the prosperous Bath home, and largely tended through disappointment and a constant lasting regret to break up the life if not the heart of the father, who was thus, for a second time, deprived of his dearest solace just "in the pride of genius and the meridian of celebrity." A few months after this event, in 1772, Linley left Bath for London. Some connection with Bath, however, was necessarily kept up for a time as the concerts and other work required attention and his house in the Crescent would be on hand. In London he and his family were soon engaged in the oratorios at Drury Lane, and in 1774 he took over their management. In 1776 he bought a share in the Drury Lane patent and so in the business of the theatre and musical composition he spent his life. To his family grief and regrets he here added financial troubles, caused chiefly by the carelessness and erratic conduct of his

* "Rees Encyclopædia." † Almon. "Memoir of Wilkes."

partner Sheridan. In the end he sank into imbecility. He died, says one account,* on the 18th November, 1795; whilst another account† puts the event on the 19th November, suddenly, in Southampton Street, Covent Garden. The obituary notice gives us the contemporary opinion that as a musician his works were not distinguished by any striking marks of original genius, but they showed uniformly, taste, feeling, and a full knowledge of the musical art. He did not astonish by sublime effects, but his compositions always soothed and charmed by delicacy, simplicity and tenderness. Two pieces of his music (1) "The Royal Merchant," a comic opera; the other "Elegies for Three Voices," with accompaniment for a harpsichord and violoncello, have been dated respectively 1768 and 1770. If these supposed dates be correct these pieces would have been published during his life at Bath, but the dates being only approximate, and there being no notice of local publishing, this must remain a doubt. His publishing seems to have begun in London. His remains, says one account,‡ were interred, November 29th, in the vault in Wells cloisters with his daughters, Mrs. Sheridan and Mrs. Tickell. There are two errors here, one of them, considering after events, requiring special notice. The interment, according to the cathedral register, was on the 28th, and then again it was not in the cloisters but in the cathedral. Strangely enough the memorial tablet duly erected by the family, and now to be seen on the east wall of the cloisters, helps actually to confirm this error. It reads:—

Near this place are deposited the remains of Thomas Linley esq. who departed this life November 19 1795 aged 63, together with those of two of his daughters and his granddaughter: Elizabeth Ann wife of R. B. Sheridan, esq. Mary wife of Richard Tickell esq.: Mary infant daughter of the former.

* *European Magazine.* † *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 65, p. 973.

‡ *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 1052.

The lines following or beneath this inscription were, as aforesaid, written by his son William and were first printed in the *European Magazine* for October, 1796.*

The latest writer who has touched on this subject, who should have been more exact, writes of—the tablet and graves in the cathedral—thus continuing confusion, as both statements are wrong. The interments were not in graves and the tablet is not in the cathedral. But as a fact, to make all clear, the tablet was originally on the north wall of the north aisle, just westward of the north door. It was removed, with others, during the “restoration” in 1850, and was then placed where it now is—where, as aforesaid, it tells an untruth, as its “place” is not near the Linley vault. An addition should be made to it notifying that it had been removed from the north aisle. Whether there was originally an incised stone on the floor over the vault, “restoration” does not record; if there were, it was “restored” away, and the wall being bared by the removal of the tablet, no place evidence could be seen or detected. The site was lost, after only fifty-five years, but some little search soon brings it back. Phelps, in his “History of Somerset,”† 1839, writing of the cathedral, says:—“Near the north door is a handsome monument bearing the following inscription, &c., *i.e.*, to Thomas Linley, &c. As the north door has two sides this notice is of only partial service. Another account, 1825,‡ is clearer, as it tells that:—“On the west side of the north entrance into the nave” is a handsome marble monument to the memory of Thomas Linley, &c. With one more record comes the one piece of information wanted, and all is clear. Britton, in his “History of the Cathedral,” 1847, says:—On the north wall of the north aisle near the northern entrance is a marble slab commemorating Thomas Linley, &c. The

* Vol. 30, p. 275. † Vol. 2, p. 86.

‡ Davis J., “Concise Hist. of Cathedral.”

family vault is immediately beneath.* Had he written like Davis as above, on the west side of instead of "near" the northern entrance, his note would have contained full and exact information. On the late visit of the late lord Dufferin, a descendant from the Elizabeth commemorated, the vault site was looked up, and with the assistance of the above guides and of at least one old inhabitant who could recall seeing the tablet in its original place, the spot was determined. By direction of lord Dufferin an incised stone has been placed on the floor over the vault, and on removing the pavement for this purpose, the crown of the vault was clearly seen. The newly incised slab bears:—

Here lie the remains of
 THOMAS LINLEY ESQ.
 who died November 19th 1795
 aged 63
 together with those of his two daughters
 and granddaughter
 ELIZABETH ANN SHERIDAN
 wife of Richard Brinsley Sheridan
 who died July 7th 1792
 aged 38
 MARY TICKELL,
 wife of Richard Tickell
 who died August 2nd 1787
 aged 29
 and
 MARY infant daughter of the former
 who died November 26th 1793.

It must be noted unfortunately that the dates of death given on this slab, excepting that of Thomas, are really the dates of burial extracted from the cathedral register, thus adding one more error curiosity to this story. There is also one more as the

* Britton J., p. 127.

register records that Elizabeth daughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Mary his wife was buried November 26th, 1793, whereas it was Mary who was the daughter buried and Elizabeth who was the wife.

No statement can be found, no reason has been given why Wells became the place of sepulture. The children from Bath during their earliest childhood seem to have spent some time now and again with an aunt at Wells, but whose name is not otherwise given. This must have been Isabella, the only aunt, but no trace of her or her husband has been found at Wells. When Elizabeth died, herself very famous at the time, and also as wife of Richard Sheridan some influence may have been used; and it may be imagined further, between the lines, that Linley had a strong personal wish towards Wells. The fact that he had secured a family vault there and that he was himself brought so far to be placed in it seems to show a strong predetermination on his part. It is to be regretted that Bath was not chosen, being the native place of the children, the starting point of his own career, and where so much prosperous time had been spent, and besides he would have been within a fane equally worthy and with surroundings and associations much more suitable. Although by reading the obituary notices and generally, the impression is conveyed that Thomas Linley died rather in financial difficulties, this was not so. During his residence at Bath he had purchased house property there and he had also an interest in St. Margaret's chapel. These properties it would seem were probably sold to meet the purchase cost for the theatre. He also bought estate at Didmarton a village adjoining Badminton. By his will dated August, 1788, and proved 1st April, 1796,* in which he describes himself as of Norfolk Street, formerly of St. Clement Danes, late of St. Paul's Covent Garden, he gave his harpsichord and all his printed and manuscript musical books to

* Harris, 195.

Elizabeth, and his other music interests to Osias and William. Some of these manuscripts are now in the British Museum. To Osias he left his property at Didmarton, and failing issue after him to William. The picture of Mrs. Sheridan and Mrs. Tickell he left to R. B. Sheridan. This is now in the Dulwich Gallery. One hundred pounds each went to his other daughters, and the residue with his interest in Drury Lane Theatre to be equally divided after his wife's death, but the theatre interest to be kept in or sold only to one of the family as long as possible. To his wife he left an annuity of £300 a year. There is a portrait of him by Gainsborough in the Dulwich Gallery. The wife, of whom there are two portraits at Dulwich College, whose life business in London had been the care of the theatre wardrobe, survived him, and died in the forenoon of the 18th January, 1820, aged about 92 says one account,* but another account tells more clearly that :—
 “Mrs. Linley, relict of the celebrated Mr. Linley, died yesterday morning (18th January) at her house in Southampton Street, in the 93rd year of her age. She was the mother of the first Mrs. Sheridan.”† These immediate accounts are clear enough, the second of them appearing especially exact. But here comes again a very curious but not the final discrepancy. A tablet, erected may be some time after her death, but erected by her own children, and yet still on the north wall within St. Paul's, Covent Garden, tells that she was aged 91. It records that :—

Near this place are deposited the remains of Mary Linley widow of Thomas Linley esq. late of this parish who departed this life on the 18th January 1820 aged 91. This tablet erected by her sons Osias Thurston and William.

This is on the west side of the wall space between the second and third windows counting from the west. The floor is boarded over so that any slab if there cannot be seen.

* *Times*, 19th January, col. 1.

† *Morning Post*, 19th January, p. 3., col. 3.

Recording this tablet, the latest Sheridan biography* says it is in St. Paul's, Bloomsbury, a place no one could find, Bloomsbury for such a purpose having as much to do with Covent Garden as it has with Bath.

Osiat, Jane, and William survived, and of these William the last died in 1835. By his will† dated 1832 William left his property to be divided equally between his nieces Elizabeth Ann Tickell and Mary Esther Ward, but as Mary Esther predeceased him, by a codicil he left all to Elizabeth. Besides his farm and lands called Oldbury in Didmarton and his share in Drury Lane theatre he bequeathed to her his leasehold house in Fountain Buildings, Bath (it was No. 10)‡ and his share in St. Margaret's chapel, Bath. He bequeathed also to her the portrait of himself, seen now in full manhood, by Lonsdale. An engraving of this forms the frontispiece to his "Eight Glees," published about 1830. Other family portraits, including his father "in a white coat," by Gainsborough, he bequeathed to Dulwich College, where, as above noted, they now are. His tablet in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, records him as the last of this family of genius.

* Rae, Vol. 2, p. 8. † Gloster 369. ‡ "British Directory."

Richard Brinsley Sheridan. His connection with Bath.

By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.

(Read January 7th, 1903.)

Just when Thomas Linley had become prosperous and prominent, there came upon the scene another family, destined greatly to influence his after life. Mr. Thomas Sheridan, an Irishman, himself an actor, but "respectable" only as such, having come to grief and loss over a theatrical speculation in Dublin, adopted the teaching of oratory and elocution as another means of livelihood, claiming that a knowledge of such accomplishments should form part of a gentleman's education. Following out this plan, in 1758 he, with his family, moved from Dublin to the wider field of London,* determined to give lectures so to attract notice and pupils. Previous to this he had designed the production of an English dictionary, and in connection with this work he published a pamphlet entitled:—

A dissertation on the causes of the difficulties which occur in learning the English tongue; with a scheme for publishing an English grammar and dictionary upon a plan entirely new, the object of which shall be to facilitate the attainment of the English tongue and establish a perpetual standard of pronunciation. Addressed to a noble lord.

This now scarce pamphlet has some local interest as it was reprinted at Bath in 1856, at the Pitman Phonetic Press† As Mr. Sheridan's means were nil, by the influence of Mr. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough,‡ who had been a pupil, and through Lord Bute§ the noble lord to whom the above pamphlet was dedicated, he was granted a pension, in 1762, of £200 a year under the pretence of monetary assistance for the

* "La Belle Assemblée." Vol. 29. † *Phonetic Journal*, Vol. 15.
‡ "The Cabinet," Vol. 4. § "Dic. Nat. Biog."

dictionary. Always extravagant, stinting nothing of the exterior of a gentleman, he now, aided by this grant, for "47 years lived upon his wits."*

In 1763, at christmas time, Mr. Sheridan, with Mrs. Sheridan, went to Bristol on a lecturing tour, and coming from Bristol the beginning of 1764, both visited Bath. During this visit Mrs. Sheridan made the acquaintance of Sarah Fielding, who lived in a small house between Bath and Batheaston;† and she visited Allen, at Prior Park. She also took lessons in singing from Linley, and so commenced an acquaintance which was presently to be renewed.

Mr. Sheridan gave his lectures at Foote's theatre in London, "a miscellaneous species of amusement, consisting of recitations, singing and music," under the high sounding name of "An Attic Evening's Entertainment."‡ Foote quickly burlesqued these lectures in a farce called, "The Orators." Herein a soap boiler being ambitious to join the City Council, his wife tells him he must first learn to make speeches, when just opportunely the master professor of the art of oratory comes to the city with his lectures. Husband and wife attend, and are "told such things about verbs, and nouns, and adverbs and emphasis and accents," that never entered their heads before. As showing the difference in time, during the evening a gentleman in a box cries:—Holloo! Snuffers, snuffers, snuffers. Whereupon enter the—Candle Snuffer—with—Your pleasure, sir. Mr. Sheridan being presently harried by creditors, was obliged to leave London, and taking a circuitous route got to Dover, then over to France and so to Blois. From Blois, after a visit to Paris, he moved to St. Quentin where he purposed leaving his children in the hands of Protestants to whom he had been strongly recommended.§ Here Mrs. Sheridan died

* "The Cabinet," 1808. † Lefanu, "Life of the Sheridans."

‡ Watkins' "Life of R. B. Sheridan."

§ "European Maga.," Vol. 32, p.p. 11, 12.

and was allowed burial in a Protestant cemetery. Writing from Blois, 1st August, 1766, he says:—"Mrs. Sheridan has writ a comedy called 'A Trip to Bath,' in which some good judges in England find a great deal of merit." This little thing obtained the sanction of Garrick and Murphy, and through them it was believed that Dr. Johnson perused it and gave his judgment decidedly in its favour. Notwithstanding this high approval it was never acted nor published. Three acts in manuscript are preserved for us, and hereon it must be noted the title reads, "A Journey to Bath; a Comedy."* It has always, however, been mentioned, and so is better known, under the first title, "A Trip to Bath." The whole thus preserved is contained in 70 pages, or 37 leaves including the title. The scenes are laid in Bath, on the Parade, and in Spring Gardens, and the third act shows the Rooms with different parties at cards, one table to be filled with children at "Lottery Tickets." The influence of this play may perhaps be traced in her son's comedy "The Rivals." The same son wrote another comedy known now as "The School for Scandal," but which in its first state was named "The Slanderers; A Pump Room Scene."† This son, known as Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was born in Dublin, says one account, on the 30th October, 1751,‡ and baptized on the 4th of November in the parish church of St. Mary.§

Moore, in his life of him, actually begins his first lines with an error when he says he was born in September, 1751, in Dublin, and baptized on the 4th of the following month, which would be October. Then with one account is given a literal extract from the registers, as reading:—"Richard Brinsley, son of Thomas and Frances Sheridan, baptized November, 4th, 1751."|| Another account gives it, "as appears from the following extract from the

* Brit. Mus. : Add MSS. † Earle's "Bath."

L. Sanders' "Life of Sheridan." § Watkins' "Memoirs of Sheridan."

|| "Life of R. B. Sheridan" (Anon.).

register of St. Mary's, Dublin" :—" Richard Brinsley, son of Mr. and Mrs. Sheridan, baptized 4th November, 1751."* And another, so late as 1886, † gives a similar "extract." But the Mr. and Mrs. will not pass as so extracted. These later notices are clearly not extracts but only copied variants from the first. In these researches it is rarely possible to learn the date of birth, but the date of baptism is an authenticated fact, and as this ceremony took place as soon as convenient after the birth, the birth date here late in October would be nearer the truth than one in September. One other account of 1812 says he was born at Quilca, near Dublin, in 1752. ‡ Besides that Quilca is not near Dublin ; it was his father, Thomas, who was born there on a farm the property of his mother, who was a Miss McPherson.§ Finally, but most remarkable, the latest biography || seems to show that neither of these former statements could have been really literally extracted as in the register as seen and read by the author, the name is entered as Thomas Brinsley, not Richard. In due time, by reason of his father's better position after the pension grant, Richard, as he must be called, was sent to Harrow School, where he was considered careless and indolent, although at times giving evidence of a "quick ingenuity." So presently this "elegant sluggard" was sent into the world to do the best he could for himself. ¶

In 1770, about October, Mr. Thomas Sheridan, now a widower with daughters and two sons, moved to Bath, his intention being to carry on his business there and lecture on elocution. Here, as being both public entertainers, the earlier acquaintance with Linley was soon renewed, and even business relations commenced ; this being all made further mutually agreeable by the presence of the young people of both families. What exactly Mr. Sheridan

* "Authentic Memoirs of R. B. S." † Fitzgerald.

‡ "Biographica Dramatica." § "Hist. and Biog. Maga.," Vol. 2.

|| "Sheridan," a biography, by W. Fraser Rae.

¶ "Life of R. B. S.," Lefanu.

did, or intended, towards establishing himself, may best be learned by giving his first advertisement in full. This reads* :—

At Simpson's Concert Room on Saturday next, 24th. instant will be the first Attic Entertainment, consisting of reading and singing, the reading part by Mr. Sheridan, the singing by Miss Linley. In three parts. Part i. 1. A discourse on Oratory in which the necessity of that art towards forwarding the perfection of man's nature is shewn in a new light by Mr. Sheridan. 2. A Scotch ballad beginning : I oft have heard Mary say—by Miss Linley. 3. Pope's verses to the memory of an unfortunate lady, by Mr. Sheridan. Part ii. 1. Two dialogues between Adam and Eve from the 4th book of Paradise Lost, the first beginning at line 411, and the other at line 508. 2. Elin a Roon, an Irish song by Miss Linley. 3. Milton's Allegro, by Mr. Sheridan.

Part iii. 1. The Hermit from Dr. Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, by Mr. Sheridan. 2. Black eyed Susan an English ballad, by Miss Linley. 3. Dryden's Ode, by Mr. Sheridan. 4. Rosey Bowers, from Purcel, by Miss Linley.

The entertainment will be continued on the Thursday and Saturday in the following week and the pieces and songs will be entirely different each day, the particulars of which will be mentioned in the bills previous to each performance. The subscription to be a guinea for which six tickets will be delivered two for each morning or to be used on any of the days in such proportions as the subscribers shall think proper. Three subscription tickets for ladies only will be delivered for half a guinea, single tickets 5s. each. Subscriptions will be received and tickets delivered by the Booksellers, at the Coffee Houses, and at the Rooms.

On the 27th December another advertisement† announced that on monday, the 7th January, 1771, this attic entertainment would be repeated, the reading again by Mr. Sheridan, the singing by Miss Linley, and to be continued on the two following mondays.

* *Bath Chronicle*, 22nd November, 1770, p 3, col. 2.

† *Bath Chronicle*, p. 3, col. 4.

The subscription was a guinea, for which now one gentleman's and two ladies' tickets were issued for each day, or the nine to be used all on one day as the subscriber thought proper. Three tickets to admit either gentlemen or ladies for half a guinea. Single tickets at a "crown" each. To begin each morning at half past eleven.

To this there was a note added, that—

Mr. Sheridan is now ready to receive the commands of such persons as wish to have their children regularly instructed in the art of reading and reciting and in the grammatical knowledge of the English language upon the terms formerly advertised and by the desire of several gentlemen whose sons have returned home during the holidays he will immediately receive pupils at his own house in Kingsmead Street till a proper place shall be fitted up for their accommodation.

On the 3rd January, 1771, another advertisement* announced that Mr. Sheridan proposed to give a new course of three attic entertainments. The pieces of composition both in poetry and prose to be for the most part different from those delivered in the former course, as also a variety in the songs. The first entertainment was to be on monday, the 7th January, to be continued on the two following mondays. The subscription and time of commencement as before. By reason of Mr. Sheridan's sudden indisposition the first for the 7th January was deferred until monday, the 13th (? 14th), and an advertisement† of the 10th January announced that to finish the course in the time first proposed, the second and third would be on the saturday and monday following. Such subscribers as this alteration may not suit were at liberty to have their subscriptions back. A slight addition to the former notices, requested of the company to come early to prevent interruption, as the entertainment would begin precisely at the time mentioned.

* Page 3, col. 1. † *Bath Chronicle*, p. 2, col. 4.

On the 17th January a final advertisement* gives fuller particulars of the performance at the second entertainment for the 19th. It was as before in three parts. Part i, 1. Some passages from Milton's *Lycidas*. 2. A song beginning: One day I heard Mary say. 3. Grey's verses on the distant prospect of Eton College. Part ii. 1. Mallet's *Edwin and Emma*. 2. The noon-tide air, a song. 3. The two soliloquies, *Hamlet* and *Cato*. Part iii. 1. A Scotch song, called, *Low down i' the broom*. 2. A discourse on the powers of oratory with regard to the improvement of human nature. 3. *Mad Bess*, from *Purcell*. To this there was now an additional note that particular care will be taken to have the room made as warm as possible.

Notwithstanding the judicious aid and the excellent advertisement by the association with the popular *Miss Linley* this entertainment seems to have been unsuccessful. The programme certainly does not read as very strong. Of *Mr. Sheridan* it is recorded that he was pedantic, and as a reader was "elaborate, noisy, and sonorous, varying merely his tones," and presumably did not generally attract. *Dr. Johnson* is credited with the remark that *Mr. Sheridan's* mode of oratory, if followed, would clear a room. But the programmes give a desired information, some idea of the musical style or practice of *Miss Linley* which is here seen to be the ballad. On other occasions with her sisters, as a family all were foremost in the oratorio. *Mr. Sheridan* does not again appear locally prominent. It is only known that he had certainly one pupil, the *Hon. George Grenville*, afterwards 2nd *Earl Temple* and 1st *Marquess of Buckingham*, who boarded with him in 1771 as hoping to be cured of a stammer or some difficulty in speech. He came again in 1772 accompanied, for pleasure only, by his brother *Thomas*, whose well-known library now graces the *British Museum*. *Mr. Sheridan* continued resident at *Bath*, travelling when required, reading his

* *Bath Chronicle*, p. 3, col. 1.

lectures to subscribers and giving private lessons to pupils, being assisted by his son Charles, and so getting a living "sometimes abundant and sometimes meagre,"* until about October, 1772.

Miss Linley, on her first appearance in the Bath concert room, was much admired both as a charming girl and for her voice; and two years later with a little more development, when only fourteen she was dubbed "an angel" and was known as the Syren.† Receiving the highest praises everywhere, complimented in private, and applauded in public for her singing; of her beauty it was written that tenderest sensibility was the character of her countenance, the most perfect proportion that of her frame; it was impossible to contemplate her without affection.‡ Her accents were so melodious that listening Envy would have dropped her snakes and stern eyed Fury's self have melted at the sounds.§ Pages of this sort of thing could be quoted. Thus "sung by bards," she was soon "fought for by heroes."

The story of her wooers is a sad one. The life of this young girl in her teens was made unbearable.|| Of these troublers three only need be mentioned here. Mr. Walter Long,¶ a gentleman of property, declared himself and with every honourable intention. As his income was estimated at £10,000 a year, the parents received the proposal with rapture, but Miss was not so willing, yet, after some pressure consent was nominally obtained, and the usual preparations made for the wedding, when the young lady made excuse and resolutely refused to proceed further.¶¶ She pleaded that she could not give up her public appearances and yet this very thing, the exhibiting her person for money, was the one thing she most disliked. The difference in age, she was sixteen and he was sixty, was also pleaded. In the end the young lady

* "Life of Frances Sheridan." † *London Magazine*, Vol. 27.

‡ *New Lady's Magazine*, Vol. 7.

§ *Historical and Biographical Magazine*, Vol. 2. || Oliphant.

¶ "Sheridan," by an Octogenarian.

¶¶ "Craftsman," 10th October, 1772, p. 4.

so persuaded Mr. Long that he most kindly undertook to bear all the odium of the breaking off, and further paid the father £1000 as compensation for the temporary loss of his daughter's valuable services during the engagement. Later this sum by Mr. Long's generosity was extended to £3000,* which was placed in the father's hands, settled on the young lady to be paid when she became of age. Besides this she had jewels to the value of £1000 and other valuable presents.† This episode attracted much public attention, nothing else was talked of at Bath. Great was the envy of the ladies and great the chagrin and disappointment among the young men when the engagement was known.‡ Foote made the whole the ground of a comedy called "The Maid of Bath," a name by which the damsel was well known, and in the dialogue she appears as Miss Linnet, an adopted play upon her name. Mr. Long is unkindly portrayed, and accused of decamping and changing his mind at the last moment.§ He appears as Solomon Flint, an amorous old squire, and the epilogue speaks of him as—

The rake of sixty, crippled hand and knee,
Who sins on claret, and repents on tea.

This is now seen to be too severe and untrue. Mr. Long lived to a good old age.|| Here may be noticed another of the often careless inaccuracies, when in an account of Mr. Long it is written that "though the son of a carpenter now living at Bath" he was a man of good fortune.¶ Mr. Long was never other than he here appears to be. It was Linley, the father of the young lady, who was the son of a carpenter.

The younger Sheridan, Richard, who had joined his family early in 1771¶¶ fresh from his tutor, often met Miss Linley and soon began to be gallant and soon perceived a mutual feeling.

* "Octogenarian," p. 38. † Lefanu. ‡ Watkins.

§ *Bath Chronicle*, 27th June, 1771, p. 3, col. 3.

|| Stainforth's "Life of Sheridan." ¶ *London Magazine*, 1772.

¶¶ Sanders.

These two lovers were very young, he being barely twenty, she seventeen. As the youth had nothing, was without either profession, business, or means, and was trifling away his life in sheer idleness, Prudence, wrote one, might have dictated another choice as if Prudence dictated under such circumstances.

When the engagement with Mr. Long was off, one Nathaniel Halhed, a schoolfellow of Richard Sheridan, and now a student at Oxford, hoped to obtain the notice and favour of the damsel, and some correspondence was carried on with her, Richard being the go-between ; but it happened that expected letters failed from time to time to reach Halhed, and presently just when he received an appointment under the East India Company, he was made to see that he had no chance. So he was quietly choked off. Then Charles Sheridan, the elder brother, tried and hoped also, until presently he too surprised found himself superseded when he retired to the country some seven or eight miles from Bath. So in turn he was got rid of. The position of the youngsters towards each other becoming known and the prospect being so opposite to the first possibility for his daughter, the passion of papa Linley, who had ambitious views, was not the passion of the lovers, and curiously the objection of the youth's papa was equally determined. Both parents protesting strongly all meetings were forbidden and every means used to prevent them. Still as usual meetings did occur. Among the earliest of the family acquaintances at Bath was Mr. Thomas Mathews, who, having been in the army, is sometimes called Captain Mathews, who was at this time a rather new resident. Richard Sheridan early became the genial and inseparable companion of Mathews, and from the close intimacy between the three families, visits being constantly exchanged at their respective houses, young Sheridan often met his inamorata at Mathew's house.* So commenced the first act in a strange

* *London Magazine*, 1772, Vol. 41.

eventful comedy, almost a tragedy. At this time of social gaiety Sheridan's mind showed that tendency to comedy literature which developed a little later. There happened to be issued at Bath a sketch called "The Bath Picture," by Richard Fitzpatrick, *i.e.*, Miles Peter Andrews, and this, under the signature of Asmodeo, Sheridan answered with "Clio's Protest or the Picture Varnished," the last eight lines in this beginning "Marked you her eye, &c.," alluding in praise to Lady Margaret Fordyce, were set to music. Lady Margaret was the sister of Lady Anne Fordyce, the author of "Auld Robin Gray."* This has somewhat a further local interest, as Auld Robin Gray was set to music by Mr. Leeves, rector of Wrington. Another little humorous sketch by Sheridan was called "The Ridotto," in style after Anstey, written on the opening of the new Assembly Rooms, September, 1771. A ridotto was a "bal paré" or in semi-evening dress. It was first printed in the *Bath Chronicle*, October, 1771, and was then issued in ballad slip form, price one penny, but although the demand required a large issue, not a copy seems to have survived. It was re-issued in 1773, and later in a work entitled "The New Foundling Hospital for Wit," Vol. I., and has been thus saved to us. It was further re-printed in 1819.

There was also some sort of joint literary scheme between Sheridan and his friend Halhed at Oxford. The plan advanced so far that Halhed made a translation of a pretended Greek author or writer, who assumed the name of Aristœnetus, which he published in 8vo. in 1771. The title was:—

"The Love Epistles of Aristœnetus," translated from the Greek into English metre.

The preface is signed "H.S.," which has been supposed to mean Halhed Sheridan, but Sheridan's work was only to read such of the translation that Halhed sent to him. Halhed speaks of the

* A Lefanu.

work as "my" Aristœnetus. A nominal second edition appeared in 1773, simply a re-issue with a new title page and the last page re-printed. The thing was a failure, "monkish trash on which the translator had ill-spent his time."

At this time, too, Sheridan showed that cleverness and ingenuity which had served him so well at Harrow, and which served him constantly through life. Thoughtless of consequences he managed without means to appear in a style of elegance which astonished those who were acquainted with his finances,* and so he managed to associate intimately with Mathews and other gentlemen of fashion and extravagance, men of leisure and of pleasure, and to keep up the tendency of his nation to conviviality, and the social enjoyments of the table and wine, "too early indulged in and in after life too freely pursued."

But meanwhile the young lady, prominent from her public position, and as the general theme of conversation, was followed by all the young men of fashion at Bath, all proud to be in the list of her admirers.† The poor, penniless lover was consequently always facing the number and wealth of these possible rivals, and watching the temptations to which his lady-love was exposed. His mind was thus kept full of jealous fears and in a perpetual state of unrest, well calculated to develop other national characteristics, the hasty temper and hot quick passion unrestrained by judgment. Mathews, as an early friend of the Linley family, had also become the earlier friend and companion of Miss Linley. Their frequent appearance in public together presently attracted the notice of the censorious, who considered this indiscreet, Mathews being already married, and, in the fashionable set at Bath. Such watchful censors are easily found to-day, but here the position was clearly very difficult, as the young lady being a public character must have been known by sight to everyone, and generally could not move without being watched. As in all such

* "Imposter Unmasked," by Patricius. † Beau Monde.

cases their being together must have been mutually agreeable. What Linley was for Mathews, Mathews was for Linley, and perhaps his presence kept off others not desired. The young damsel too, was certainly unfortunate, being the eldest of her family, with a father severe and exacting and a mother who seems to have been entirely unsympathetic. She thus apparently had absolutely no other male friend. Ladies at this date did not go out without escort so it does not follow that Mathews and Miss Linley were always alone, but they were often in company together. Bath, too, was not without fame for the invention and circulation of slander, or we should not now be able to read—"The School for Scandal." At first then, insinuations and surmises were circulated, "sharpened by the malice of the women, who envied the pretty warbler both her charms and her popularity"; "the old ladies condemned in very affecting language," and the young ones chose to "wonder at the laxity of their sister, in walking about with a married man." But besides the spite of the women there was the jealousy of those men who wished to gain her affection or even some attention, but who were thus barred from approach. What, ever the restless eyes of the censors may have seen or their small minds imagined it must be noted that the general family intimacy continued and was never interrupted. Mathews' attentions were not noticeable, there was nothing to cause suspicion or distrust, nothing was said or noted in either family. The young lady herself was entirely ignorant of any gossip and was also quite "innocent of having given cause for it." To quote a note of the time which well shows the exact position—"the censorious were very anxious for virtue without knowing whether it was in danger."* Now comes the curious error upon which the future story rests, Mathews when he learned of the gossip and the remarks made about him, instead of withdrawing or taking care even for the damsel's sake, did exactly the wrong thing. Either proud of

* Craftsman, 10th October, 1772.

the position or treating the gossip with contempt, he fanned the notoriety by increasing his courteous attentions in proportion as the matter attracted notice.* This at last raised the fiend of jealousy in the breast of young Sheridan, who with youthful ardour and a feeling of being privileged, ventured to protest and expostulate with his friend hoping he would modify his conduct. Thus originated the difference between these two which produced such notoriety for both and for Bath in connection with them. Seized by this jealous frenzy, in a state of captious unsatisfied temper and ill-directed imagination, every action, every attention or courtesy to the young lady became mystified into a terror, the lover's "days were hours of care, his nights of watchfulness." Having got rid in former time of his friend Halhed and after him of his own brother, he could no longer brook even the semblance of a rival in the young girl's mind, so he proceeded to get rid of Mathews by making him odious first in her eyes and then trying to do the same in the eyes of all Bath. Using his opportunities he put the story in its worst form before Miss Linley, who became greatly depressed at this new trouble. Mathews, her only male friend, was thus got rid of in turn, and the young lady was consequently entirely isolated. Taking advantage of her hatred of her profession and her equally hated bondage to her father, the youth now persuaded her that flight alone would save her from these troubles. She did not consult her father, we are told, fearing his anger; so he was another kept out of the way. It happened, too, just now that Mr. Sheridan the papa was called away to Ireland, so he also was out of the way, when the son seized the opportunity of persuading the girl to elope.† The affair being thus determined and arranged, to give confidence at the start, young Sheridan engaged a woman servant to act "propriety" as a third party, and whilst she waited in a post chaise in Walcot Street on the

* Watkins. † Watkins.

London road the "bold" protector conducted the young lady in a chair from her house in the Crescent and off they went. The *London Chronicle* of Tuesday, 24th March, 1772, under date from Bath, 23rd March, says—on Wednesday (*i.e.*, 18th March): "The eldest Miss Linley, of this city, justly celebrated for her musical abilities, set off with Mr. Sheridan, jun., on a matrimonial excursion to Scotland." Such would be the first impression with everyone. This affair again brings up thoughts of cleverness on one side or easiness in business matters on the other, or how did this extravagant youth without any apparent means manage to plan thus and start with post horses and a servant for London and beyond. In connection with this point it has never been remembered that the young lady could hardly have been without means, as besides her important earnings from which she may have had pocket money, she had in her own right the money investment settled by Mr. Long. On arriving in London the runaways spent a night with a friend, Mr. Ewart, a brandy merchant. From here Sheridan seems to have written to Bath and giving his route plan, which, however, as may be expected, he did not follow. Leaving the propriety duenna behind, aided by Mr. Ewart's shipping interest the couple next crossed to Dunkirk. From here they proceeded to Lille where the young lady was deposited or got herself deposited as a boarder in a convent.

Thus so far this story is told, from contemporary sources, for the first time; told just as Bath must have known it at the time. With this knowledge of cause or causes the way in which it has been since told will be better understood.

Sheridan died in 1816, when some short notices of his life appeared, and in 1817 Dr. Watkins published a fuller account. A more extended biography being thought necessary the material collected was handed to Thomas Moore to edit and his work, published in 1825, became the accepted authority on the subject. But it must be distinctly remembered and under-

stood that he did not write this Bath part of his story from contemporary or authentic documents, but published, almost in its entirety, a long account sent from Mrs. Henry Lefanu, who was further Sheridan's sister Elizabeth, written from attempted revived recollections over 50 years after the events, and by a lady nearly 70, who was but a girl of only 12 or 13 at the time.

Recently although Sheridan has been long dead and long forgotten, another biography has boldly appeared wherein this Lefanu letter is again fully used and relied upon.* Moore using the narrative often almost word for word prints without inverted commas, thus giving a greater appearance of originality to his book. The last work very properly uses these marks, thus enabling the reader to well distinguish the new and the old. Both these issues must now be glanced at. First a new form is given to the elopement as we are now told that Miss Linley, terrified at the attentions of Mathews, consulted the Misses Sheridan, and they, in turn consulted their brother, and that Miss Linley had conceived the idea of retiring to a convent in France until she came of age, meaning to indemnify her father with part of her compensation money. Sheridan chose to accept the idea and offered to be her conductor "as a friend without any desire to take advantage as a lover,"† thus appearing according to his sister's estimate as a trusted "advisor" and "protector" entirely without guile. It is difficult to realise this convent story as being supported by any adviser, an imagined retreat for four years in a place the young girl had never seen and of which she could know nothing, and further that the father would not be equally angry and spoil all equally here as at home, and then that the youth was taking this disinterested trouble simply to wait for four years somewhere outside when he could do that as well or better at home. But so it was. Having the idea the young girl was worked upon as if carrying out her

* Rae. † Moore.

own plan, and the youth accepted it as suiting his, to get away, to make a start, and let the result follow. Then, it may be remembered, that the four advisers in council were—Miss Linley, herself just seventeen, Miss Sheridan about the same age, and her sister, the writer of the letter with this story, only thirteen, and the penniless lover-brother, the chief actor and worker, but twenty. Yet the biographies write glibly of these events, without explanation, as if these young things were fully grown and had some little common sense, almost as if the affair were blameless and a worthy example for others. As soon as they were well abroad the chivalrous and disinterested protector became “more explicit” mildly writes the lady sister, “degenerated into a mere selfish lover” as Moore plainly puts it, and so pressed the usual argument that after the step they had taken she could not possibly appear again in England but as his wife, or as the latest biography elaborates it, “the same eloquence which had been used to persuade her to leave Bath was employed to persuade her to become his wife in order to silence the tongue of scandal.” Accordingly, continues the same, but without the slightest evidence, “they were married by a priest well-known for such occasions.” It can be said with equal certainty that they were not. Dr. Watkins, in 1817, says distinctly there was no marriage at this time and this will be borne out by facts. Whatever may have exactly happened the poor young girl was strong enough to resist all blarney, and on reaching Lille carried out her plan and got herself deposited as a boarder in a convent, and so at once was safe from further persistence. Here in a place so strange and new and in a foreign unknown country she became ill naturally enough and so next, passed first to the professional care and then to the house and protection of an English medico resident at Lille.

As soon as the elopement was discovered the landlord of the house in which the Sheridans lived went off at break of day to inform Charles Sheridan at his retreat in the country, Mr.

Sheridan, as already stated, being away. A great stir too arose in Bath. Mathews busied himself to find out where the fugitives had gone, and called naturally enough on the Sheridans as being most likely to know. Here Charles Sheridan agreed with him in condemning his brother's conduct and both used the strongest language about him, not only did these two agree, but Sheridan's father presently agreed with them, and was, perhaps, more severe. In the course of their chat, Charles, we are told, "unguardedly" dropped these expressions of displeasure. As all his expressions must have been of the same tenor why "unguardedly," is not clear. Sheridan left behind him letters against Mathews charging him with designing the seduction of Miss Linley, thus throwing the blame of the elopement upon him and claiming for himself the virtuous roll of saving the girl from the snares of vice and dissimulation. Whilst the whereabouts was unknown Mathews constantly called on the Sheridans, or as Lefanu puts it rather sharply—he never ceased for the four or five weeks the youngsters were absent—to haunt the family with inquiries, rumours, and other disturbing visitations.* In the new biography this sentence is echoed and becomes—this incomprehensible man continued to plague the Sheridans with visits and inquiries.† Why should this or the man be considered incomprehensible. In such a case it may be concluded that others also must have made inquiry. Mathews, the intimate friend of Mr. Linley and the familiar of the lost girl, was angry enough as any other would be, and was certainly the first to be justified in his anxiety. Lefanu's account makes this conduct as of the worst as "almost avowing in his rage the unprincipled design" which this elopement had frustrated.‡ The "almost" here must be noted in this pretty insinuation. In the last version this is improved, the "almost" is dropped and then we are told as if a fact—he was outrageous and made no scruple of avowing his passion and

* Moore 53. † Rae 173. ‡ Moore 53.

hopes of success but for this intervention. Yet there is not one tittle of evidence shown for such an assertion. Then in the course of elaboration the story descends to "He is said." He "is said" to have added the menace of ruining her character if she refused him.* So we have the usual scandal corner with "They say," "They do say," "It is whispered," "It is said," and so on. Yet this gossip is printed and reprinted and so re-asserted for acceptance as fact without further consideration or thought.

But all this time neither of the biographies has given a thought to Mr. Linley. What must have been the father's state when he learned of this affair? Struck dumb with anguish, as he must have been at the thought that his universally beloved child, his own ambition, was gone, and gone, too, for what, who could say. Doubt, grief, and horror must have been his, and it may well be imagined and hoped that others must have been as sadly pained and shocked as was Mathews. Gone with this extravagant and useless youth, who had worked this against the declared wishes of both fathers, as utterly regardless of consequences as the worst of men could have been, a pretended adviser and protector, who had taken this young girl from her home in the midst of panegyric and applause, in the height of her prosperity and renown, broken and half ruined her father by thus depriving him of his daughter and of the ready resources her skill brought him, and taken her foreign he knew not whither. Mathews, Mr. Linley's intimate friend, against whom so far he knew no ill and had no ill-feeling, came with his sympathy and rage, and the reiterated question between them must have been—where are they? It was to get an answer to this question that Mathews busied himself, and yet even for this blame is thrown upon him. Soon the prejudicial report or charge against Mathews left behind or circulated by young Sheridan reached Mr. Linley and he, accepting it, thereupon refused to

* Moore 48.

see his old friend. "So, so, all over the town already." Vexed and hurt now here, as much as he was before enraged, Mathews as a defence and a challenge against these tales publicly contradicted all by the following advertisement,* which will give clearly the position from the other side :—

Bath, Wednesday, April 8, 1772.

Mr. Richard S having attempted in a letter left behind him for that purpose to account for his scandalous method of running away from this place by insinuations derogating from *my* character and that of a young lady *innocent* as far as relates to *me* or *my knowledge*, since which he has neither taken any notice of letters or even informed his own family of the place where he has hid himself I can no longer think he deserves the treatment of a gentleman, and therefore shall trouble myself no further about him than in this public method to post him as a L (iar) and a *treacherous* S (coundrel). And as I am convinced there have been many malevolent incendiaries concerned in the propagation of this infamous lie, if any of them, unprotected by *age, infirmities* or *profession* will dare to acknowledge the part they have acted, and affirm *to*, what they have *of*, me, they may depend on receiving the proper reward of their villainy in the most public manner. The world will be candid enough to judge properly (I make no doubt) of any *private* abuse on this subject for the future, as nobody can defend himself from an accusation he is ignorant of.

THOMAS MATHEWS

This announcement (*i.e.*, the advertisement) says the last biography "was alike comical and absurd. Mathews arrogated to himself the right of debauching Miss Linley, and he treated as an enemy the young man who had thwarted him."† The comical thing here must be rather in this paragraph, as Mathews is not seen or shown as arrogating anything of the sort. As Sheridan was gone, address not known, the advertisement seems the only means at hand for self-vindication and for a public

* *Bath Chronicle*, 9th April, 1772, p. 3, col. 3.

† Rae, Vol. I., p. 174.

repudiation of what Mathews considered the slander clearly left behind him. Then as to the "young man" he was treated as an enemy simply because he had taken off this young girl to her ruin, perhaps, as many then thought and as many would think to-day, and had left behind an abusive letter and circulated an "infamous lie." It is actually further argued that by thus showing his anger Mathews acknowledged his defeat. How any such thought can be so read it is impossible to see. Such writing o'erleaps itself. The feeling raised against Mathews was for a time apparently very strong, and a better way of meeting it than this advertisement does not seem possible. Further* a letter to Sheridan is given, dated 22nd March, 1772. No reference is made as to its whereabouts nor is the address noticed, but it is from one W.B., and evidently in reply to another from London from Sheridan, but Sheridan could not have received this in London. Now that herein the exact date of the elopement is given, viz., 18th March, it can be better understood. It says, "the morning after you left," this would be presumably the 19th, "Mathews came to me with many oaths; his present situation and feelings (i.e. on the 22nd) are not to be envied, but bad as he is the town has so little charity for him they make him worse perhaps than he deserves." So here it must be noted that this particular friend, obliged necessarily to write in an acceptable tone about Mathews, does not care to endorse the position as being deserved. In a further conversation with Mathews the writer ventured to suggest that he should leave Bath. This last suggestion is, perhaps, about as absurd as any could be as a means of meeting slander, as it would certainly have shown cowardice and weakness indeed. Instead of leaving Mathews inserted the advertisement, its cause being thus made clear.

The convent game being now over Sheridan presently wrote to his brother (15th April) that he hoped he had not been

* Rae, Vol. I., p. 171.

uneasy lest anything should tempt him to depart from the honour and consistency which engaged him from the first ; but the brother was not altogether with him on this point, as he wrote to his uncle—the circumstances might allow of their being dubious. There is also a letter extant from Mr. Sheridan “which shows his lack of charity,”* whatever that may mean, and so it is not printed “inasmuch as he puts a much harsher construction on his younger son’s conduct than the elder had done.” Father and brother then were at least agreed with Mathews about this most reprehensible affair, and the father could write as harshly as the brother had “unguardedly” spoken. “As letters had been sent to Bath from Lille, Mr. Linley could not be ignorant where his daughter was to be found.’† This insinuation is not very kindly. Mr. Linley would not have rested a moment had he known where the girl was. He did not know as no letter had been received or sent from Lille. If the whereabouts was known why did Mathews “haunt” the Sheridans with inquiries for some weeks? It was not until the 15th April that Sheridan wrote, and we are told Mr. Linley arrived at Lille a few days after the “despatch” of the letter. Whilst Mr. Linley here clearly did not rest when he knew the whereabouts, so it must be remarked he would not start after the despatch, but after the delivery or receipt of the letter. Supposing it took four days it would be delivered on the 19th, just a month after the elopement. Money must have been getting short. Then Mr. Linley starting perhaps on the 20th would arrive at Lille about the 24th. On his arrival, restraining all show of anger and avoiding further rupture or opposition he did the amiable, and so after spending one night at Lille he departed with the lost one, and would be in Bath perhaps by the 30th April. Here must be noticed some

* Rae Vol. 1., 185. . . + Rae, p. 171.

curious statements on this small business. Arriving at Lille, says Moore, Mr. Linley found the fugitives and took both back, "they set off amicably together," or as Mrs. H. Lefanu. from whom this is taken, writes—"The whole party set out together the next day" Then again* we are told Sheridan arrived at Bath (whither he travelled with Miss Linley and her father), &c. Mrs. H. Lefanu goes one better, she writes.—on arrival from the Continent Sheridan found Mathews was in London, &c., he left Miss Linley with her father at the hotel, and with pistols went to Mathews, who was surprised and alarmed at seeing him. This is too much even for the last biographer, who felt bound to remark that Mathews could hardly have been surprised as he must have expected something of the sort sooner or later. Dr. Watkin's account, written fortunately without the aid of Lefanu, says more truly, the damsel was "conveyed to England by her father, followed by her lover." Thus Mrs. Lefanu is wrong, they did not return together nor did they proceed to Bath together. The next narrative will explain and clear these points and show the value of Mrs. Lefanu's facts.

Here, then, Sheridan can tell his own story. He says† he arrived in London at nine o'clock at night (*i.e.*, on Friday, 1st May). He had spent the previous night at Canterbury, and there is no mention of anybody being with him. He had learned that Mathews had spoken disrespectfully of him during his absence, and now about ten o'clock, hearing that Mathews was in town he resolved, with national impetuosity, to call upon him that night. What he did for the next two hours is not in evidence, but at half-past twelve at night he appeared at the house in Crutched Friars where Mathews was lodging, pistols in pocket, to demand satisfaction. It is here Mrs. Lefanu makes out that he was surprised and alarmed. Surprised he might well be, but alarmed certainly not. As the door was locked, the house

* Moore. † Rae, p. 179. Moore, p. 54.

closed, as might be expected, the landlord refused admittance at such a time. Presently, however, Mathews came down to the door, and after some words retired again, but as the noise continued Mathews dressed and came down again, and so now at two o'clock in the morning the determined young man was admitted. To his great surprise, so contrary to his own intentions, Mathews received him courteously and to his further surprise evidently, as the words are in italics in his account, he asked him to "sit down." So these two were together, the pistols visible in Sheridan's pocket, until Mathews by diplomacy eventually pacified him, but it was seven o'clock in the morning before he got rid. In the course of this long interview, Mathews seems to have told the story of his own strong words and condemnation, and that Sheridan's brother, and another at Bath not named, had also spoken equally strong about him. With this idea the young man's wrath was turned on his brother, and he hastened off at once to Bath—post-chaise of no consequence—and arrived there the same evening. Mathews is even accused* of having treasured up this against the brother to be used when required, as if such opportunity could have been imagined or foreseen. No accusation seems too foolish if against this man. Then Mrs. H. Lefanu writes that "he did not hesitate to assert that Charles was privy to the advertisement," but again this does not appear by the advertisement or anywhere in fact. When the brothers met in Bath a high quarrel at once ensued, but it would be about the strong words spoken in condemnation of Richard's conduct. After a long altercation the advertisement seems to have been produced—"Dick coming here saw the advertisement for the first time," wrote Charles. Charles could well and safely deny having had any part in this, but it at once diverted Richard's wrath again to Mathews, his brother was forgiven, peace ensued

* Rae.

between them, and Charles adopting diplomacy agreed even to be the bearer of a challenge to Mathews. The two brothers now joined the family circle to the relief of all, and passed a short evening very amicably. This passed on Sunday night, says the last biography, relying as usual on Mrs. H. Lefanu, who is again wrong, as it was on Saturday night (2nd May). As soon as all had retired the two young men left the house, Richard having been in Bath, as by his own account, but three hours, and again there was a post-chaise back to town. Before he left Bath he wrote a letter at the Parade Coffee House to Mr. Wade, dated Saturday, 12 o'clock, 2nd May, 1772, "the evening before his second duel,"* says Moore, but it was two evenings before the first—in which is a full account from his own point of view of the Crutched Friars meeting. Arriving in town (on Sunday, 3rd May) the young men were driven to Mr. Brereton's lodgings, "from whom a message was despatched to Mathews."† This is Mrs. H. Lefanu again, and reads as if Mr. Brereton sent or took the message, but Charles himself tells that "the same evening" after their arrival (Sunday, 3rd May) he carried the challenge to Mathews to meet in Hyde Park next day. Ever ready to accuse and blacken Mathews, Richard chose to associate him with the house being closed and the denial of entry in Crutched Friars, and reported his conduct as the most craven and dastardly conceivable. An Irish song says of a neighbour:—

If you choose to call at his door
 And find that he isn't within
 He affronts you, the son of a whore,
 Ogh—make a round hole in his skin.

Looking now reasonably at this extraordinary freak neither lodgers nor landlords expect to be raided after midnight by a heated, angry and armed man. The wildest act of the wildest man in the wild west could hardly have intent more madly

* Moore, p. 54. † Rae, p. 178.

outrageous. A duellist expects a different mode to this. Mathews clearly did right and diplomatized very patiently for five hours, thus avoiding increased anger and serious trouble. He could not wish to shoot or be shot in such a way. Charles in his mission remembering the "dastardly" conduct as told him by his brother had a notion of getting some concession from Mathews, but after two hours altercation he tells that he would "make no concessions." Just so. The position now was altogether different from the night attack on Crutched Friars. A demand for a duel brought in due form was duly accepted.

Accordingly Sheridan, with Mr. Ewart for his second, Mathews with Captain Knight, met in Hyde Park next day, Monday, the 4th May, 1772, about six p.m., and one account says they fought there, but after wandering for some time no acceptable or suitable place could be fixed upon, so they returned through the streets and sought a tavern, but either their appearance or manner caused suspicion and they were more than once refused. In the end they met at the Castle Tavern, then at the north-west corner of Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, opposite Bedford Court.* Bedford Court stands where it did and over against it is still the north-west corner of Henrietta Street where it joins Bedford Street, but the old houses are gone, the street is modern but lately rebuilt. In a first-floor room in this confined space in semi-darkness, by candle light, the two at once engaged with swords and soon Sheridan, unexpectedly making a rush in—contrary to rule—surprised and disarmed Mathews, and so was able to compel him to beg his life and give a written apology. The apology as printed in the *Bath Chronicle*, 7th May, 1772,† reads:—

"Being convinced that the expressions I made use of to Mr. Sheridan's disadvantage were the effects of passion and misrepre-

* "Authentic Memoirs," &c. † P. 3, col. 1.

sentation, I retract what I have said to that gentleman's disadvantage, and particularly beg his pardon for my advertisement in the *Bath Chronicle*."

THOMAS MATHEWS.

With this Sheridan hastened back to Bath the same night, taking no bed rest, to get it inserted in the *Bath Chronicle* as a counter or set off to the advertisement. Even in this small matter criticism becomes curious. First the statement that they fought in Hyde Park was followed by a newspaper report that on saturday morning (2nd May) Th—s M—th—s, Esq, and Mr. Sh—r—d—n met in Crutched Friars and came to an immediate decision of their well-known quarrel when the latter was run through the body and carried to Mr. E—s,* Thames Street, where it appears the wound is not mortal. Mr. M—— is gone to France with Capt K—t,† his second. Then the *Bath Chronicle* of 7th May announced—"We can with authority contradict the account in the *London Evening Post* of last night ‡ of a duel between Mr. M—t—ws and Mr. S—r—n as to the time (saturday, 2nd May) and event (*i.e.*, place and result) of their meeting, Mr. Sheridan being at this place on saturday, and both these gentlemen being here at present."§ It must be noticed that the writer of this paragraph alludes to the *Evening Post* of "last night," that was tuesday, the 5th May, so he was writing the paragraph on the 6th for the *Chronicle* issue on the 7th. He also only denies the time and event, simply that there had been no fight in Crutched Friars, nor on saturday the 2nd May, as Sheridan was at Bath on that day. In fact, he had just posted down. The meeting in Crutched Friars was on the night of friday, 1st May, the duel in the tavern was on monday evening, the 4th May. The two papers mixed somewhat two different events. The *Evening News* was rather too elaborate for the Crutched Friars

* Ewart's. † Knight.

‡ Tuesday, 5th May, 1772, p. 4, Col. 3. § *Chronicle*, 7th May.

event, and could not have had a report of the actual duel in time, whilst the *Chronicle* had the advantage of having the two accounts in hand and chose to be mysterious.

Next for other accounts. One says* that Sheridan's second was his brother Charles, who held candles in his hands, as it was now dark. The *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1816, at the time of Sheridan's death, from which the above account is probably taken, says the same, as also does the *Times* on the same event. Mrs. H. Lefanu says that Mr. Brereton was the second, and that Charles Sheridan remained at Mr. Brereton's lodgings, and so was not even present. Sheridan's own account says it was Mr. Ewart who took up lights in his hand. Which of these accounts can be accepted? As Sheridan twice makes Mr. Ewart his second, and he certainly ought to know, Mrs. Lefanu is wrong again. Soon after the fight Mathews also returned to Bath and gave his account of the affair, differing from what Sheridan had reported. Sheridan at once contradicted boldly, Mathews he declared "misrepresented the whole transaction." The matter being officially investigated a statement was drawn up by Mr. Brereton, and agreed to and signed by Capt. Knight as correct, and was so acknowledged by Mr. Brereton, so that Sheridan gained nothing here, his statement was rejected and not found acceptable. But the feeling was against Mathews about his defeat; it was considered ungentlemanlike and unpardonable. Being thus obliged to leave Bath, he retired into Wales.

On arriving in England poor Mr. Linley determined to face the trouble and take his now soiled daughter to Bath again, hoping to stop the "wicked" suggestions going about, and here she was when Mathews left. Besides that every lover has a tendency to become a poet; at this date writing poetry was a pastime and fashionable amusement for those not in love. It was now in the

* Oliphant.

merry month of May, after a stolen meeting in a grotto, that Sheridan wrote the well-known lines :—

Uncouth is this moss-covered grotto of stone,
And damp is the shade of the dew-dripping tree,
Yet I this rude grotto with rapture will own
And welcome, thy damps are refreshing to me.

The poem consists of twelve verses, of which the above is the first. It can be gathered from other verses that the young couple had a tiff. Jealous, as usual, he seems to have protested, but the young lady was not to be lectured, so he sullen, and both vexed, they did not leave the grotto together :—

And tell me, thou willow, with leaves dripping dew,
Did Laura seem vexed when Horatio was gone.

In 1777 Mrs. Sheridan, as she then had become, was at Bath on a visit to her father, says Moore, but it would be to her grandfather, when Sheridan again addressed her in poetic form :—

But where does Laura pass the lonely hours,
Does she still haunt the grot and willow tree ?

And still addressing Laura he writes :—

Once on a blossomed crowned day,
Of mirth inspiring May,
Silvio beneath the willow's sober shade,
In sullen contemplation laid.

By this allusion the time or date of this grotto poem is made clear.

Chafing under the social coldness Mathews was, or chose to feel, insulted by the insertion of his apology in the newspapers. Supported in this by Mr. Barnett, who considered his position somewhat unmerited, he suddenly returned to Bath at the end of June to demand the usual satisfaction, and at once sent Sheridan strongly worded letters requiring a signed paper certifying the propriety of his conduct in the late duel ; or satisfaction. The challenge was accepted. The second meeting which ensued,

being a local event and of an extraordinary character, has added much local colour and interest to this story. Mrs. Henry Lefanu wrote that this duel occurred on Claverton Down, and this Moore accepted and has handed down without thought or investigation, notwithstanding that he had before him documents, which he quotes, telling a different tale. Everyone in Bath knows Claverton Down, as it is always in evidence, and this lady writer, writing after years had elapsed, remembered this name, perhaps did not know more or did not think of historical exactness. So, then, thanks to Mrs. Lefanu, we have the well-known story of the fight on Claverton Down, and that Sheridan wounded was carried to the White Hart Hotel. Very lately there has been a further addition to the story, which happens to be really delightful. Here we are told that after the meeting "Sheridan was taken to the nearest place of succour, which happened to be the White Hart Inn, the inn that still stands at the foot of Widcombe Hill. It is erroneously supposed he was brought to the old White Hart of Pickwick and Sam Weller fame, that stood on the site of the present Grand Hotel."* Thus boldly all previous writers are flatly contradicted, and this without giving any authority or reference, apparently only because there happens to be a White Hart Inn at the foot of Widcombe Hill. It happens also, and very unfortunately for this new discovery, that the Claverton Down story is all untrue. The duel took place on Kingsdown.

First, as to the question of the actual day for the event. Moore is responsible again for the present error. He writes—"The *Bath Chronicle* on the day after the duel, July 2nd, &c."—and thus causing the date of the duel to be read as the 2nd July. The proper form for the reference would have been—"The *Bath Chronicle* of the 2nd July, the day after the duel, &c.," and all would have been clear,

* Meehan's "Memorable Houses," p. 25.

as the *Chronicle* of Thursday, the 2nd July, published early in the morning could not contain news of that morning, it must have gone to press sometime late on wednesday. The duel took place then on the 1st July, not the 2nd, as usually stated. Gathering now the facts, the combatants and their seconds met at the White Hart Hotel, where chaises were to be ready at three o'clock in the morning of wednesday, the 1st July, 1772* ; they next drove to the top of Kingsdown, where at four o'clock they encountered. It was agreed that each might have a friend as his second, but it was further specially agreed that neither second was to interfere under any circumstances "whatever might be the consequences."† Sheridan's friend was a Mr. or Captain Paumier ; Mathews had Mr. Barnett. Thus the intention is clear this fight was for both a life struggle, one was to die. Arrived on the top of Kingsdown a fierce fight commenced, which for "intense animosity and frantic violence" has hardly been paralleled.‡ Mathews had a conviction that Sheridan would rush him as before, and he proposed that pistols should be used ; but this Sheridan declined drew and called on Mathews to do so. At first Sheridan was baffled, and Mathews had the advantage. Then, again,* forgetting rule, Sheridan attempted his first plan, rushed on Mathews,§ closed, and both stumbling both fell, and the swords of both were broken in the fall. Sheridan, the first to make the move, at first was uppermost, or as Mr. Sheridan papa wrote—at first my son had the advantage, having thrown Mathews down,|| but Mathews, seven or eight years the elder, and so the heavier man, getting the top could not be removed. Whilst struggling thus, both hacked at each other with the piece or hilt end of the sword which he had retained, Sheridan's being the shorter piece could not be very effective,

* *Chronicle*. † *Craftsman*, 10th October, 1772.

‡ Octogenarian. § Lefanu. Rae, p. 197. || Rae, p. 204.

and Mathews' piece longer was too long to be effectually used, as swords are not sharp for cutting towards the hilt. Presently Mathews, being able to reach out, got hold of a pointed end, thus gaining a useful weapon, and, first having offered Sheridan his life, which he refused, he presently stabbed and pinned him through the ear and neck. Finding that resistance ceased he exclaimed, "I have done for him"—rose, and being himself not much hurt, chiefly* a wound in the left part of the belly, entered one of the chaises in waiting, with four horses, and drove off, accompanied by his second, for London,† and so presently he crossed to France, there to await until the great storm raised by the affair had subsided.‡ Sheridan, who had received besides his ear wound three or four other wounds in his face, breast and sides,§ and with his hand cut, was assisted to his chaise,|| showing hardly a sign of life, and driven off rapidly, accompanied in turn by his own second, to the White Hart Hotel—a painful ride for a man in a state of collapse. So ended this most unmanly struggle. Two surgeons, Mr. Sharpe, and Mr. Ditcher a friend of the family, were sent for and quickly attended, but would not allow him to be further removed. The next morning his sisters "found the situation from noise and heat so uncomfortable they obtained leave to remove him to his own house." As the White Hart Hotel at this date was never asleep, could hardly have been quiet, especially if on the ground floor either by night or day this removal must have been a great relief. On the 7th July a London paper announced that by private letter from Bath had come the information the general opinion of the faculty was that Mr. Sheridan would not recover from the wounds he received in the duel¶; but, two days later, on the 9th July, it was

* Moore. † "Historical and Biographical Magazine."

‡ *General Evening Post*, 4th July, 1772.

§ *Chronicle*. || Moore. ¶ *General Evening Post*.

announced differently that he was then out of danger.* Some weeks passed, however, before his confinement ceased

Before considering the general reports on this duel, another example of the curious differences in a story may be noted as in part it relates to Mr. Ditcher. During the first residence of the Sheridans in Henrietta Street, London, a daughter Anne Elizabeth, their last child, was born, "who married Mr. Ditcher, a surgeon of Bath"† Another account says this child was named Anne, after the daughter of Samuel Richardson, who married Mr. Ditcher, surgeon, of Bath.‡ By the first statement it would seem that Anne Sheridan was married to Mr. Ditcher, by the other it is not clear whether Mr. Ditcher married Anne Sheridan or Anne Richardson, but as Anne Sheridan would have been hardly old enough this reading must be wrong, and so it must be intended that Anne Richardson was married to Mr. Ditcher. Then, turning to another notice, the latest, the confusion increases as we are told that Samuel Richardson, the novelist, who was a friend of the Sheridans, had daughters Mary and Anne. Mary married, in 1757, Philip Ditcher, a surgeon, of Bath. She died a widow in 1783. Anne died unmarried.§ The decision of the points does not form part of the present purpose, so may be left to anyone interested. But there is still another Bath interest here, as Samuel Richardson married for his second wife Elizabeth, sister of James Leake, the Bath bookseller. She died 3rd November, 1773, aged 77.

Some notes or authorities in full may now be quoted to close the story of the duel. First Mrs. Lefanu, who is again wrong, writes of this event as some time in June.|| The *Bath Chronicle* published on thursday, the 2nd July, says—"This morning at 3 o'clock was fought on Kingsdown, &c." This

* *Chronicle.* † "La Belle Assemblée," Vol. 29. N.S., p. 48.

‡ Lefanu. § "Dict. Nat. Biog." || Rae, p. 200.

morning here refers to the day the paragraph was written, which was wednesday, the 1st July. The *Bath Journal* also gives the place as Kingsdown. For the purpose of having an official accurate account the depositions of the postillions were taken before a magistrate, and these witnesses deposed to being present at a duel on Kingsdown.* Mr. Barnett, one of the seconds, tells that "on quitting our chaises on the top of Kingsdown, &c."† The London papers record that—"Reports are arrived from Bath that the son of a celebrated actor, who though very young had all the romance of honour in his character which is attributed to the heroes of antiquity, fell two days ago in that city defending a young lady's honour against the aspersions cast upon it by a certain military gentleman."‡ A London letter, dated from Bath 1st July, says—"On Kingsdown, about four miles from this place, &c."§ Another says the same—"On Kingsdown, &c., Mathews, not much hurt, is gone off.|| Another letter, dated from Bath, 6th July, says—"We are informed that the last affair between Mr. M—— and Mr. S—— was not in consequence of any dispute concerning a certain young lady, but was occasioned by Mr. S—— refusing to sign a paper certifying the spirit and propriety of Mr. M——'s behaviour on the former encounter. The latter gentleman then sent a challenge, which was accepted, and they went by agreement to Kingsdown in order to decide their quarrel. After a few passes they fell, &c."¶ Another account, given as an extract from a letter from Bath of 1st July, says—"Young Sheridan and Capt. Mathews of this town, who lately had an encounter in a tavern in London upon account of the Maid of Bath, have had another this morning upon Kingsdown, about four miles from this place. Sheridan is

* Moore, p. 80. † Moore, p. 65. ‡ *General Evening Post*.

§ *London Evening Post*. || *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*.

¶ *General Evening Post*, 9th July.

much wounded, but whether mortally is not known."* Yet another extract from a letter from Bath, 1st July—"Young S——n and Capt. M——s had another duel this morning upon Kingsdown, about four miles from this place. S——n much wounded. They hacked at each other rolling on the ground, the seconds standing by quiet spectators."† This conduct of the seconds, it must be remembered, was in accordance with the previously made determined agreement already mentioned. The *Times* memoir after Sheridan's death in 1816 and the *Gentleman's Magazine*‡ on the same subject both record the event as having been on Kingsdown. Thus these contemporary accounts agree, and must be more reliable than the recollections or imagination of a lady fifty years after the event, who is the sole authority for the Claverton story, and whose other statements are so often untrue. Moore's life, published in 1825, quotes the depositions of the postillions, yet he seems but carelessly to have read his own story or he could hardly have allowed Claverton Down to have remained. Probably all the ladies of or visitors to Bath know this Down, as it is always before their eyes, but how many knew, or even to-day know, of Kingsdown four miles away. The reason why Kingsdown was chosen is clear enough, as the fight being for life the London road must be available at once for escape. Sheridan in this second affair, unlike Mathews in the first, having refused his life, was considered to have done well and right, according to the views of the time; and Mathews now by his challenge and conduct and success was considered to have wiped off the stain left by his former submission, and so at once he was socially reinstated. There was thus no other feeling against him.

It happened that at the time of the duel Miss Linley was sing-

* Bingley's Journal, 11th July.

† Say's *Weekly Journal*, 11th July. ‡ Vol. 86.

ing at Oxford, but learning on her way back to Bath of the fight and the consequent trouble she surprised her companions by exclaiming—"Oh, my husband, my husband." Sheridan, too, as he lay ill trying for an interview "begged it by the tender appellation of husband." No one believed in this little piece of comedy. As previously stated the elopement gave increased opportunity for the censorious, and hence a pretended marriage story was circulated, as hoping to benefit or cover the insensate folly of the now soiled damsel. The date given for the marriage was the end of March whilst on their trip to France, but it may be noted that Sheridan writing from France, 15th April, still writes* "Miss Linley" is fixed in a convent. Other efforts were made to the same purpose. A rather ambiguous paragraph of July, just after the duel states—it is now confidently asserted that nothing criminal passed between Mr. S. and the Maid of Bath in their late tour in France, but that Mr. S., the young gentleman said to be killed in a duel with Captain M., at every place they put up at requested the landlady's company, and took care to have Miss L constantly provided with a bedfellow † Whatever Sheridan's intentions by this elopement might have been and such folly led to no other thought, it may be taken for certain that—to use a newspaper phrase—he did not effect his purpose. Whether they are married or not, wrote one, their parents have been very industrious in keeping them separate, ‡ and to aid this intention, Miss Linley was now sent away to some relation at Wells. The exact connection with Wells is not traced and there seems to be no record or guide at Wells. It may be suggested that the aunt Isabella, who married Philpot may have been living there, but if so she has left no mark. The young lady wrote to her lover—§ it is strongly reported that we are married,—yet she makes no further assertion or allusion in

* Rae, p. 170, Vol. 1. † *General Evening Post*, 4th July, 1772.

‡ *London Magazine*. § Rae, pp. 207, 208.

confirmation, but adding that her father had declared he would rather see her to her grave than see her married to him. Throughout all this trouble there came no insistence, no claim for a marriage from either of the interested couple. When sufficiently recovered, Sheridan in turn was sent away to Waltham in Essex, where he arrived on the 27th August, and so with this removal his connection with Bath ceased. From Waltham he wrote to his sister—remember me to the Lynnets—alluding to a family named Lynn—and to this he adds in brackets—how like Linnets,—alluding here to a play on the Linley name, as a musical household. Soon afterwards, in October, 1772, Mr. Sheridan and his family also quitted Bath and returned to Dublin.* The Sheridan connection with or residence in Bath then it must be distinctly noted was only from say October, 1770, to October, 1772, just barely two years; and so far as Richard is concerned only from early in 1771 to August, 1772. The Linley family, too, the home being broken by these events, also soon moved away to London, where the young lady found professional engagements. Just as after the first duel, conflicting reports were now spread about relating to this second. Mr. Sheridan, sen., naturally took his wounded son's side, accepted his report and, with the feelings of an angry father, chose to consider Mathew's conduct "by no means fair and honourable"†; this is improved by his daughter, Mrs. Lefanu, losing no chance to drop down on Mathews, into "considered him in the light of a murderer," "a vile assassin."‡ Such words in such a case are meaningless and absurd. Both writers forgot or rather did not know that the fight was unto death, that on no account were the seconds to interfere. Had Mathews killed Sheridan on Kingsdown, it was only what Sheridan would have done to Mathews. It must also be clearly distinguished, as is not quite the case in the biographies that these fatherly and sisterly opinions refer to the effects of the duel

* Moore. † Moore. ‡ Rae 206.

and in no way refer to or imply any public opinion on the original social scandal which produced it. In the last biography, perhaps detecting the weakness in the great authority so often used, it is remarked that—Mrs. Lefanu “wrote in good faith and her statement of facts is at once lucid and conclusive. With regard to her opinions or conjectures her testimony cannot have any special weight with any competent critic.” Yet when the “lucid and conclusive facts” are examined they too are found to be nearly all conjecture, and some entirely untrue, only just equal in weight with her opinions. This document should never have been published or accepted as history without close examination.

Other reports got into circulation reflecting on the veracity of Sheridan, who had been found tripping on the other occasions. This he in turn did not like. As before by reason of the contradictions, an official investigation was made, an impartial relation drawn up and deposited with Mr. Wade, and submitted to Mr. Barnett and Captain Paumier, and through Mr. Brereton declared to be true and impartial, “upon the whole as accurate as could be expected.” Mathews was declared to have discovered as much genuine, cool, and intrepid resolution as man could do. Sheridan was thus again beaten with his denials, his “account did not disprove anything material.”* When Sheridan left Bath the old position of the combatants was reversed, Mathews now retained the field. Sheridan, like Mathews before, chafed at his defeat and became irritated at the decisions against him and by reports and gossip not in his favour. Thus from Waltham he wrote asking were there any reports about after I left Bath, to which was answered 4th September, 1772, none had been heard. This did not satisfy, and he seemed determined to stir up another quarrel with somebody. “Let me entreat you to be calm and compose your mind,” wrote his

* Moore p. 65—93.

friend Grenville. He wrote to Capt. Knight (Mathews' second) and gave a copy of the letter to Capt. Paumier (his own second) and he intended sending a copy to Mr. Wade, lest "they" might suppress it, and he wished this fact, with the copy, to be shown about.* But his friend Paumier did not apparently act or see matters as he wished, so he in turn came in for insult—"I have written for the last time to Paumier in such a manner as if he has the smallest pretence to honour or feeling will punish him sufficiently for his present mean sacrifice of both"† Some one seems to have kept him supplied with unfavourable news, as under date 8th December, 1772, he wrote that he had an account of the basest, meanest, and most disgraceful piece of treachery that ever disgraced human nature, and then he charges Mathews with bullying Paumier to sign some "infamous falsehoods," which he was told were credited. I shall seek the bottom of this treachery, and if I do not revenge it may I live to deserve it. A friend wrote him again begging him not to suffer himself to be too much enraged. A little later he received letters from Bath, which although not quite so satisfactory as he might have wished, yet he learned that what he had been previously told was "misrepresentation highly exaggerated and malicious." This satisfied him somewhat, but on the 4th January, 1773, he was still "very uncertain" about this affair, and was disgusted with the "whole set of them" on "both sides," and shall grow weary of their machinations: "I never now reflect on that place but it puts me out of sorts." Yet he was the first to start the game, and would have liked it well enough had there been but one party, had his own versions been always accepted. All trouble now disappeared, Mathews and his party held the ground, his veracity had never been doubted.

Moore closed this part of the "Life" with an anecdote which

* Rae, p. 214. † Rae, p. 244.

“used to be related by Woodfall.” A statement of Sheridan’s conduct in the duels having appeared in one of the Bath papers “so false and calumnious” as to require immediate answer, he asked Woodfall to insert the “false” statements in his paper, promising a denial or answer to follow. Woodfall, continues the story, “lost not a moment” in transcribing the “calumnious article into his paper,” but no answer or denial ever came. In another work this story reads,—the charges were reprinted in full in *The Public Advertiser*, but were never refuted.* For such an absolute statement an exact reference should be given. An examination of *The Public Advertiser*—Woodfall’s paper—from September, 1772, to April, 1773, shows no such thing. The only paragraph noted is one on the 19th November, 1772,† which, under date Bath, 16th November, says—“Mr. Sheridan, jun., is entirely recovered of his wounds but has lost the use of his right arm from receiving a shot between the bones of the joint.” As pistols were not used this is one more of the curiosities of this history. It may be remembered that the story of what Woodfall “used to say” in 1772, was now being repeated or so attempted in 1825. If there were any foundation for the story, it must have materially differed in fact. Next, on the 6th April, 1773;—Mrs. Lefanu, with her usual inexactness says it was in September, 1772;—Sheridan entered as a student in the Middle Temple, and so came again very near his lady love, who was singing often at Drury Lane. An advertisement of 19th February, 1773, shows the performance at Drury Lane Theatre of Judas Maccabeus, the principle vocal parts by Miss Linley and Miss Mary Linley, with, at the end of the first act, a “concerto” on the violin by Mr. Thomas Linley. But her position was not as it was before the elopement, her name became associated with more than one, presumably towards marriage, and this caused and revived the old jealousy with Sheridan as they

* Wilke’s Sheridan, &c., by W. F. Rae, p. 153. † P. 4, col. 1.

could not meet, and he presumed to rebuke as before, the result, a quarrel, and now a demand from the damsel for the return of her letters. Thus again showing clearly that as between themselves there was no idea of a marriage. This last position has some local interest as in the *Bath Chronicle*, 15th April, 1773,* is given a correspondence purporting to be between the young lady and a noble lord. His letter reads :—

“Adorable Creature,

Permit me to assure you in the most tender and affectionate manner that the united force of your charms and qualifications have made so complete a prisoner of my art (*sic*) that I despair of its being set at liberty but through your means.

Under this situation I have it ever to lament that the laws will not permit me to offer you my hand. Here I cannot assist my fate; but what I can dispose of, my *heart* and my *fortune* are entirely at your devotion, thinking myself the happiest of mankind should either be acceptable.

Lady A— who will deliver this and who obligingly vouchsafes to be my mediator, will, I flatter myself, urge the sincerity of my heart on this occasion so as to obtain a permission for me to throw myself at your feet to-morrow evening. In momentary expectation of which

I am your devoted admirer,

Wednesday evening, 4 o'clock.

G———R.”

The G———r here is given as Grosvenor. Miss Linley's letter replies :—

“My Lord,

Lest my silence should bear the most distant interpretation of listening to your proposals, I condescend to answer your infamous letter.

You lament the laws will not permit you to offer me your hand, I lament it too my lord, but on a different principle—to convince your dissipated heart that I have a soul capable of *refusing* a coronet when the owner is not the object of my affections—depising it when the offer of an unworthy possessor.

* P. 3, col. 3.

The reception your *honourable* messenger met with in the execution of her embassy saves me the trouble of replying to the other parts of your letter, and (if you have any feelings left) will explain to you the *baseness* as well as the *inefficacy* of your design.

L.—y.”

These letters are or were accompanied by the ensuing note to the editor:—“The following letters are confidently said to have passed between Lord G—r and the celebrated English syren Miss L—y. I send them to you for publication not with any view to increase the volume of literary scandal which I am sorry to say at present needs no assistance, but with the more laudable intent of setting example for our modern belles by holding out the character of a young woman who, notwithstanding the solicitations of her profession and the flattering example of higher ranks has added *incorruptible virtue* to a number of the most elegant qualifications

Grosvenor Square.

HORATIO.

These letters were also printed in *The Macaroni*. But, notwithstanding the desire of the sender, they do not read and can hardly be accepted as genuine, yet, here re-produced for the first time the tone just helps towards realising the unpleasant position and the surrounding “literary scandal.”

Thomas Grenville wrote—“Why was her fate so cruel, so early to bring upon her the imputation and censure of the world.”*

Under the above circumstances and the persistence of the young people, Mr. Linley at last consented to a union which he saw he could hardly prevent. Mr. Sheridan, however, still persisted in his objection to his son's choice of a lady “whose name had been so much the subject of public discussion.” She sang in the Messiah on the 2nd April; and she sang also the Messiah with her sister, on the 6th April in the chapel of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and

* Rae, p. 223.

deserted young children in Lamb's Conduit Fields. The charge for admission was 10s. 6d., and gentlemen were desired to come without swords and the ladies without hoops.* Her last appearance was at a grand concert of vocal and instrumental music for the benefit of her brother Thomas at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, on the 12th April; the eve of her marriage. Curiously enough, the contributor evidently not knowing what was about to happen, the same Bath paper in which the above letters appeared announced,† taking care to be emphatic—"We have the best authority to assure the public that Mr. Richard Sheridan, now a student in the Middle Temple, was yesterday married in London to the justly celebrated and admired Miss Linley." In this paragraph, as with others already noticed, the yesterday was the day before it was written, not the day before the *Chronicle* was published. Considering the doubtful and wild antecedents an absolute confirmation of their marriage has always been wanted. The *Gentleman's Magazine*,‡ under marriages, 13th April, gives—"Mr. Sheridan, of the Temple, to the celebrated Miss Linley, of Bath." He had been in the Temple just a week. Another announcement,§ putting it under date 14th April, says—"The celebrated Miss Linley, so well known in the musical world, to Mr. Sheridan, son of Mr. Sheridan, the actor." The error in date here seems to arise from the printer omitting the figures 13th altogether. As no place for the ceremony has as yet been given complete proof of the event is still wanting. Long afterwards, in 1792, one writer and the only one who ever ventured alluding to Sheridan's life at Bath tells that "there he married the celebrated Miss Linley."|| With such a lead necessarily a search had to be made at Bath, a troublesome labour lost, as this was found to be

* *Public Advertiser*, 5 April, 1773, p. 3, col. 2. † *Chronicle*, p. 3, col. 4.

‡ Vol. 43, p. 202. § *London Magazine*, Vol. 42, p. 205.

|| *New Lady's Magazine*, Vol. 7.

another piece of imagination, "our own make." At last, after continued search, the one little word came up and curiously twice in the same day, when the marriage is given under date 13th April, 1773—"Mr. Sheridan to the celebrated Miss Linley at Marybone church"* The register of Marylebone church accordingly records the marriage now for the first time published.—"13th April, 1773, between Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq., of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the county of Middlesex, a bachelor, and Elizabeth Ann Linley, of this parish, spinster, a minor, by license, with the consent of the father of the said minor." One of the witnesses was Thomas Linley. The writing of the two signatures of the contracting parties is so strangely alike both might have been done by one hand.

What should we think of the "syren," the "angel" to-day. There is an engraved portrait of her when young published in September, 1772,† just after the duel, until now unknown but approved and considered "elegant" at the time. The portrait in the Dulwich Gallery taken later in life after marriage has the advantage of being in oils and by an artist alive to his duties and well skilled in the picturesque. But does either impress with a vision of rapturous beauty. May not the notoriety of public life, public advertisement, or public praise, have helped the impression as with many it so often does. Every notice of a woman seems to be in praise of something, even of her "frock," as to publish the contrary may be very wrong.

At first the young couple went to a cottage in the country and then moved to a house, furnished by Mr. Linley, in Orchard Street, Oxford Road‡ better known now as Oxford Street, as Orchard Street is also better known as near Portman Square.

* *Town and Country Magazine*, p. 223.

* *The Lady's Magazine*, Vol. 4, p. 223.

† *London Magazine*, Vol. 41, p. 406.

‡ "Historical and Biographical Magazine."

Next came the settlement over the £3,000 compensation money. Here, considering that the lady was only nineteen, and so had two years' loss to account for, and remembering the loss during the first engagement, Mr. Linley took £1,500 and the other moiety £1,500, was handed over to the new housekeepers. This was the first considerable sum Sheridan had ever possessed, and he at once "acted as if the mines of Peru and Potosi had been at his command,"* and proceeded to live gaily until it was gone. Presently necessity compelled some sort of exertion. Sheridan has received lavish praise because his wife did not again appear in public, the credit being placed to his resolution, but it is clear through her life that this was the hated work she wished to escape. She once told her father that if she married she would do so to be free, and her marriage certainly removed her from the parental exactions. It must have been as much her will as his that she thus retired. After her marriage she improved in appearance, the peaceful rest must have been most acceptable. Yet Sheridan found himself in a difficulty as usual never anticipated, as besides that he had notions that it did not become a "gintilmin" to work for money, he considered a public appearance before an audience a degradation, a sentiment in which his wife would be entirely in accord. He was often stung when twitted on being the son of a player, and once when boasting of a kingly descent another present remarked aside, "He tells the truth for once, the last time I saw his father he was King of Denmark." Yet stories were started that they so far altered their resolution that Mrs. Sheridan gave certain concerts both at her own house and at Bath.† Another account said these were private subscription concerts "by which perhaps more was obtained than could have been the case in places of general admission.‡

* "Annual Biography, &c.," Vol. 1, p. 146.

† "Lady's Monthly Museum," Vol. 23. ‡ A. Lefanu, pp. 402, 403.

This was contradicted with the assertion that no money was taken or received, and that the entertainment was simply an ordinary and private return for other social favours received. At one of these concerts given in Orchard Street at which were assembled "A host of nobility and gentry" Mrs. Sheridan sang *Ellen Aroon*, the same she sang at the first Sheridan entertainment at Bath.* No such concerts were given at Bath.

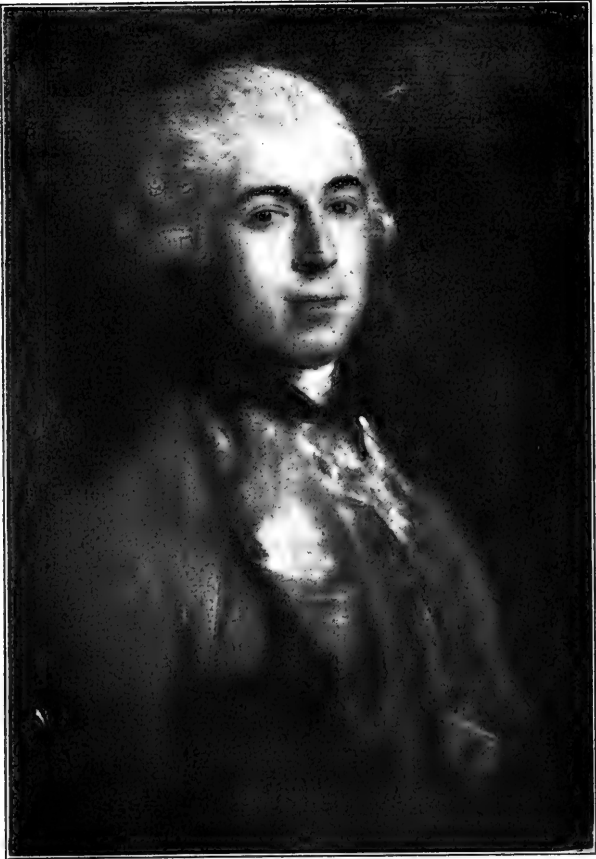
After what must have been but a poor life, Mrs. Sheridan died at Bristol Hot Wells, 28th June, 1792, at the early age of 38, and was buried with her sister, with "decent funeral pomp" and with a large and polite attendance, in what became the Linley vault in Wells Cathedral.

Sheridan under the pressure of necessity at first tried theatrical literature, and afterwards using his opportunities was introduced to the "phrenzy" of politics, and was for a time member for Ilchester. As the boy so was the man, and after ruining "the fairest promise that ever blossomed" by his innate profligacy, neglecting every virtue, he only just escaped death in a debtor's gaol. His political life has now no interest especially here, but of his not large contributions to literature, two of his pieces—"The Rivals," and "The School for Scandal"—must live for all time. It happened that on the morning of the day "The School for Scandal" was produced, Mrs. Sheridan gave birth to a son. The next day a notice of the play, says:—"Yesterday morning Mrs. Sheridan was delivered of a son. The mother and child are likely to do well. In the evening of the same day Mr. Sheridan's muse was delivered of a bantling which is likely to live for ever"† These two pieces being especially based on local scenes and manners, the result of his own knowledge and experiences, will always still further inseparably connect his name with the city of Bath.

* Parke W. T., Vol. 2, p. 136.

† Parke W. T., Musical Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 9.





(Capt.) THOMAS MATHEWS, of Bath.

*Thomas Mathews : and his connection with Bath.**By* EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.*(Read February 25th, 1903.)*

Whilst the two other names already noticed have received biographical attention, of Thomas Mathews no biography has yet been written, for the reason that next to nothing is known about him and new matter not easily found. Considering how prominent he was in his day and as being a man of known family and property this is somewhat strange. The passing references to him hitherto have been found almost entirely in the biographies of the Sheridans. It has thus been gathered that he was connected with Llandaff and that he had an interest in property in Glamorgan but whereabouts or to what extent has not been known. Having this Welsh tradition in mind, when making a start with these notes, there came up a curious and rather startling incident, as in the registers of Bath abbey church under date 25 Sept 1735 Benjamin Mathews of Llandaff married Rachel Densham of Bath ; and in 1744 about the date that our Thomas under notice should have been born, there appears as baptized in the same church, 23 June, Thomas son of Benjamin and Rachel Mathews. He must be passed however as being another baby.

Following up the lead to Llandaff and the history of Glamorgan, the Welsh pedigrees are soon found faulty. There were two Mathews families at Llandaff, one at the Court within the town and another at Radyr a few miles out, so the local accounts get mixed. The Radyr branch was more connected with Ireland, having property at Thurles.

Thomas Mathews of Llandaff Court, who was born in 1676, was M.P. 1744, commander of the fleet in the Mediterranean, elected elder brother of the Trinity House 1745 and was

made admiral of the white the same year.* He married twice, his second wife Millicent Fuller survived him. He died 2 Oct 1751 in Bloomsbury Square, leaving a son Thomas born 1711, who became a major in the army. The major married Ann daughter of Robert Knight of Congresbury, whose brother would be the uncle Knight and Captain Knight often previously noticed in the Sheridan story. Returning somewhat, the admiral by his will, proved 28th Oct 1751,† a long and verbose document, evidently showed want of confidence in his son the major and foresaw coming events. From the estate which was put under trust, one of the trustees being John Baynard of the Navy Office, the major was to have £700 a year for life ; the admiral's widow an annuity of £300 ; and the grandson, our Thomas, the son of the major, had £120 a year until he was sixteen and after that £400 a year until he was twenty one, and besides, after the death of his grandmother her annuity of £300 was to be continued to him in like manner for his life : and in 1793 all the trustees being dead administration was granted to him as "residuary legatee for life." The major died 25 June 1768 in Dean Street,‡ and in July administration was granted of the goods and chattels and credits of Thomas Mathews esq., of St. George's, Hanover square, widower, to Thomas Mathews esq., the son of the deceased. With the major's death his annuity ceased and so there was nothing to will. The major who while in the service may have often changed his station resigned the army in 1744. He must have been very little at Llandaff and a slight lead prompts the thought that he must have been in Ireland at the time of his resignation and this happens to be also the time when our Thomas was born. In a little book or skit by Peter Paul Pallet (*i.e.* rev. Richard Warner)

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 21, p. 477, col. 1.

† Busby, 288.

‡ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 38, p. 349 and p. 303.

entitled—Bath characters or sketches from life—published in 1807, Tom Rattle is Thomas Mathews. Some one approaches singing, when says—

Ramrod. Do my ears deceive me or is it my old friend Tom Rattle.

Rattle. The same in sober truth my dear Ramrod.

Ramrod. I protest the sight of your phizz is quite a cordial to me, a very ophthalmic, a cure for a distempered vision. But prythee Tom, where hast thou concealed that comical face of thine these last three years past. From what region dost thou now come.

Rattle. Surfeited with fiddling and casino, family dinners, monday's lies and every day scandal, with political preachers and preaching politicians, I turned my horses heads one morning towards the mountains of Wales,—then—crossing St. George's channel I landed safely in my own dear country which I had not visited for almost half a century.

First here he speaks of Ireland as his own country which it could only have been by the chance of birth. Then it was "almost" half a century since he had seen it. If we could take this to mean say forty eight years from the date of this skit, the difference takes us back to 1759 when he would be sixteen, entitled to the larger income and his working life about to begin. He was not baptized at Llandaff.

Next on the 29th May 1762 Thomas Mathews was commissioned as ensign in the 86th regiment of foot. In 1765, 19 April, he exchanged to the 54th regiment* to rank with the date of his first commission. He left this regiment, 26th July 1766, as ensign Mathews and is not in the army list for 1767. Next he appears married, but where or exactly when this event happened, as almost always usual, it is hard to

* Army List.

discover. He married Diana daughter of Robert Jones, of Fonmon Castle* in the parish of Penmark in Glamorgan, but he was not married at Penmark. With this marriage he had a further jointure income, thus in the little sketch already noticed by P. P. Pallet—he is made to say he started first towards Wales to court the charms of unsophisticated nature “upon his jointure farms” in Glamorgan.

In order of time, the *Bath Chronicle* of thursday the 4th October 1770, tells us that the season was begun, and that on saturday the 6th, the theatre would be opened, on monday the music would begin at the Pump Room, and on tuesday would be the first ball. Following this the arrival list soon swells and amongst these arrivals during the week, as announced in the *Chronicle* issue for 11th October 1770† are Mr. and Mrs. Mathews. There is so far nothing to connect these with the subject here but presently it will be found with fair probability that it was so.

Mathews from his general qualifications was soon in the vortex of Bath life, and a well known man. Thus he was early acquainted with the Linley family and would be so in time with the Sheridans who it may be noted must have arrived in Bath about the same date. Then came his association with young Sheridan through 1771, and presently the quarrels of 1772, these being necessarily already told in connection with, as inseparable from, the Sheridan story.

Examining now the records, the contemporary idea of the trouble, was not that which has been later published. The *General Evening Post* of 4 July 1772, only three days after the second duel, says that Sheridan fell defending a young lady's honour against the aspersions cast upon it by a certain military gentleman.

A later notice in January 1792, twenty years only after the event,‡ says,— Among the admirers of Miss Linley was a Mr.

* Clark G. T., Limbus, &c., p. 216. † P. 3, col. 3.

‡ *Historical and Biographical Magazine*, p. 11.

Mathews a gentleman well known in the fashionable circles at Bath. A paragraph inserted in a newspaper was construed to imply a reflection on the intimacy between Mr. Sheridan and Miss Linley and traced through the printer to Mr. Mathews. Mr. Mathews having set out for London was followed by Mr. Sheridan. They met,—they fought a duel with swords in a tavern &c. Mathews gave an apology and with this—Sheridan hastened to Bath to make the apology as public as the insult.

Another account of 1808 shows the same intention, this says—Mr. Mathews one of the distinguished votaries of fashion at Bath had the audacity to insert in a public paper a paragraph reflecting on Miss Linley's character. Sheridan followed him to London and "found Mathews at a tavern in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden and a duel on the spot was the consequence." This was still the prevailing idea and opinion and was repeated when Sheridan died in 1816, the only blame on Mathews was that he had "aspersed the character and libelled" the young lady in a provincial paper. Dr. Watkins in 1817 puts the matter a little clearer when he says—after the elopement—"some animadversions upon the fugitives in a local paper excited much attention as evidently coming from the pen of one who must have been well acquainted with their affairs and former history." All these allusions, not exactly recording fact, show the effect of or allude to the advertisement which neither writer troubled to hunt up, but so far it is clear there was no idea or charge that Mathews had behaved offensively in any other way. When the elopement was known—"it was buzzed about in Bath" that Mathews had been privy to it,* but this he promptly denied. Yet this helps to show how little suspicion or thought of injury there could have been against him at the time. It was only after the elopement when Sheridan's charge purposely left behind him got into circulation that such a thought originated.

* "The Craftsman," 10 Oct., 1772.

The future author of the *School for Scandal* knew well his work and that in a few days his story would be all over the town. Then came the irritation following the refusal of Mr. Linley to see him after these reports to his prejudice had reached him, which prompted the idea of the advertisement as the only ready means of a public denial of the slander and with a public accusation of the slanderer. As the thing stands to-day no expressions of denial could be more forcible, nor could there be a shorter or more public way of proclaiming it. Naturally the Sheridans did not like it and protested. Although for a time the story had some effect in the local coterie it took no lasting hold; as the affair became better known and understood the slander died away, and was soon forgotten. The next event is the duel which followed. A charge or insinuation when once started loses nothing by repetition; and if any man commit a wrong action especially if against the code of honour he will be condemned with but little hesitation. The feeling against Mathews after the first duel ran high, his defeat and having begged his life and given an apology was considered unpardonable. Some thought this censure in some decree unmerited, but he was consequently obliged to leave Bath and so retired into Wales to be "among strangers"* hoping for forgetfulness; but in vain the story followed him.

Again later, after the second duel, Mr. Sheridan vexed and angry at his son being wounded wrote of Mathews, who had gone to France,—if he show his head at Bath again he will be shunned as one infected with the plague.† These remarks as met with in the biographies read, or are made to read, as if they referred to the Linley social trouble. This was not the case; that charge was never to the fore; the allusions refer entirely to the duels. Mathews left Bath after the first duel because of his "ungentlemanlike" defeat; and the above allusions of Mr.

* "Craftsman," 10 Oct. † Rae, 204.

Sheridan after the second duel are entirely his own expressions ; his wish was father to the thought, as from the unusual character of the fight he considered his son almost murdered. But Mathews on his return had no such experiences, he held his own ; and more, his conduct was approved.

Mrs. Lefanu's narrative, written after Mathews' death puts Mathews always in the worst light. The charge that he had "persecuted Miss Linley with unlawful addresses," or as the latest improvement elaborates it,—he tormented and terrified the gentle Miss Linley with obnoxious and ungentlemanly addresses—has been accepted, and notwithstanding the—"it is said"—treated as fact and copied and reprinted, without thought or investigation ; without attempted verification. Whilst accepting and using the Lefanu narrative freely and willingly, the latest biographer seems to have had some misgivings as already noticed. The same writer too says of Moore, he was always ready to glean but not particular about the source or authority of his information. Why then use him? Why should these statements continue to be echoed? Such testimony is worse than useless, serving only to propagate untruth. Sir said Dr. Johnson, many things that are false are transmitted from book to book and gain credit in the world.

There appeared later another letter or narrative purporting to be from or by Elizabeth Sheridan (Mrs. H. Lefanu) but which on examination has been declared a forgery. It is an elaboration of Lefanu's published account but stronger in expression as seems to be the general drift of additional work on this subject. Yet this too has been used* as the basis of the story against Mathews. The "Dictionary of National Biography," under Sheridan, Elizabeth, mentions this letter as appearing in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Oct. 1815, and then as noticed as a forgery in the *Athenæum*

* Octogenarian.

20 Jany 1895. First it is not in the *Gentleman's Magazine* as noted and then there is no *Athenæum* for the 20 Jany 1895. In the latest Sheridan biography too the date of this letter in one place is given as 2 May 1771 and in another as 1770. The thing appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Oct 1825, was reviewed in the *Quarterly* in March 1826, condemned as a "foolish forgery" in *Macmillan's Magazine* for January 1861, and further noticed in the *Athenæum* of 26th January 1895. It is not noticed by Moore because it was fabricated after his work was published.

Besides other untruths Mrs. Lefanu's narrative has another fallacy when Mathews for the first and only time is dubbed a major. This helps again to confusion, for this utterly false statement has been copied into the "Dict. Nat. Biog." and incorporated in prominent letters in the head lines of the new biography. A new learner now will be puzzled to know and will have to find out whether he is reading of the father, who was a major, and who the other major was, and then to find the captain. After the duels, hunting for some notice of Mathews and his antecedents the only note met with tells that—Captain Mathews son of the late Major Mathews has made his escape to France.* Small as this is it helps to show that he was the son of the major and that he was sometimes called Captain. He has become major solely by effluxion of time, another recollection of Mrs. Lefanu, fifty five years after the events.

Moore having the Lefanu story before him, and writing generally not without some bias, in conclusion is obliged to record of Mathews and the young lady,—“all that could be said was that he presumed in public too much on the intimacy and innocent familiarity which her youth and his status permitted.” Just so. The latest biography after using at every chance the most opprobrious words and names against Mathews, is obliged

* *General Evening Post*, 4 July, 1772.

also to close the attempted condemnation with—"apparently however nothing worse was thought of Mathews by most of his contemporaries than that he had acted somewhat rashly and in very bad taste."* Just so again; and it is the contemporary opinion which should be sought and which must be taken. With the above conclusions of the two biographers and the contemporary opinions herein brought together for the first time, this accusation, the imagination of an interested, scheming and jealous youth endeavouring to cover his own foolish act, must in all fairness be newly weighed. Three times the charges made by this youth against Mathews, after official enquiry, were found to be untrue. It may well be then that this other was equally so. Besides that Mathews' veracity was never doubted, after the official enquiry which followed the second duel he was declared to have "discovered as much genuine, cool, and intrepid resolution as man could do,"† was forgiven his defeat, and was at once reinstated in society and remained a valued and prominent social leader in Bath for nearly fifty years. Young Sheridan's attempt to revive the quarrel with somebody or anybody, although ineffectual kept the subject privately somewhat alive until the end of 1772 and the beginning of 1773. The "Mathews party" however was too strong for him, opinion was against him, and so he came to hate the place.

There is one other insinuation repeated in the latest, which reads,—“Mathews is said to have been rich and married,” and—“lived in Bath as a bachelor.” First note the—is said—this being the sole authority for the statement,—and then, as a bachelor, he must have been without his wife. He clearly did no such thing. There is no warrant but this lowest form of gossip for such scandal.

It is difficult now to follow the remaining social side of the

* Rae, 174. † Moore, 67.

Bath life, but a few lucky notes will fairly help. John Wilkes being at Bath notes in his diary

2 Jan'y 1773. Dined and supped at Captain Mathews, with Captain and Mrs Mathews, Miss Wilkes, Mr and Mrs Brown, Colonel, Mrs and Miss Gould, Captains Rice and Nugent.

11 Jan'y 1773. Dined at the mess of Captain Rice in Orange Court with Captains Rice, Mathews, Oliver, Fonnereau, and Day.

13 Jan'y 1773. Dined at Dr Delacour's in Prince's Buildings with Mr and Mrs Delacour, Captains Howard and Mathews.

14 Jan'y 1773. Dined and supped at Captain Mathews with Mr and Mrs Mathews, Miss Wilkes, Mr Day, Captains Rice and Howard.

Passing over some years Wilkes was again at Bath for a short visit when he records—

1 May 1778. Dined with Colonel Whitmore, at Miss Temples in Galloway Buildings, Captain Mathews and Edward Morgan, esq.

The allusion above to a dinner at Dr. Delacour's is of some further interest for it forms part of an often repeated joke or pleasantry which was even considered worthy of being included in an edition of "Joe Miller." It is headed

No Variety.

When Sam Foote was once at Bath he was asked what fare he usually had at Mr. Delacour's table. Sir he replied—we have always a piece of beef, a saddle of mutton, a couple of chicken, and—Captain Mathews.* Foote was fond of good living. An epigram criticising this habit tells that he kept

A table so spread, and a cellar so stored,
With a service of plate too—Foote lives like a lord.

* "Joe Miller" (Ward, Lock & Co.), Joke 657, p. 145.

* "Wit and Wisdom or the World's Jest Book," Jest No. 848.

* "Excerpta of Wit or Railway Companion," p. 252.

From these chance allusions it can be seen that Mathews' presence anywhere was always welcome, was a very "ophthalmic cure for distempered vision."

Besides his social qualifications he has left a much wider repute, more valued and remembered perhaps than all other adventures or duelling squabbles. Bath during this time was the centre or head quarters for the game of whist and in this game Mathews became the leading spirit and authority, being always referred to for many years in all the first circles at Bath on disputed points in the game.* His name is well recalled by all players to-day from his having published a little book entitled—Advice to the young whist player. The first issue in 1804 was in part anonymous by An Amateur, now rarely met with. There were twenty numbered editions of this work besides others unnumbered and others printed in Paris.† In time after Mathews' death it was issued first only with another name as "editor," and then presently as with other works was absorbed and the original name lost, but the rules and maxims continued much the same. At the Club established in York Buildings in 1790, and in other card rooms it was always placed ready for reference.

So then time passed on until presently a short obituary notice tells us that in 1820 on April 25‡ died at his house in Portland Place in this city at the advanced age of 77 Thomas Mathews esq., a gentleman of a very ancient and respectable family in the county of Glamorgan and nearly half a century an inhabitant of Bath where he was well known and esteemed by an extensive circle of friends, associating with the prevailing wits and celebrated characters who during that long period visited this fashionable city. The expression "nearly half a century" must

* Courtney W. P., "Whist, &c."

† Green E., "Bibliotheca Somersetensis."

‡ *Bath Journal*, monday, 1 May 1820, p. 3, col. 5.

be noted as had he lived to Oct it would have been just half a century since the arrival list announced the coming of Mr. and Mrs. Mathews. The *Chronicle* of thursday, 4th May,* says— Sunday died at his house in Portland Place, &c. The *Chronicle* by naming the day as sunday makes the death on the 30th April, not the 25th as in the *Journal*. Another curious discrepancy on what would seem so simple and certain. The will of Thomas Mathews of Bath esqre. dated 13 Dec 1818, proved December 1820,† being short as his estate interest ceased with his life, is here given nearly in full :—

I give and bequeath every thing of every kind without the exception of the most trifling article to my wife Diana and appoint her whole and sole executrix, to do therewith as she may please.

One witness was Charlotte Jones of Fonmon Castle.

Next, the *Chronicle* of 4 April 1822,‡ records the death on “thursday,” (*i.e.* 28 March) at her house in Portland Place in her 83rd year of Diana relict of Thomas Mathews esq. Through the long life of this much esteemed lady she evinced her charitable disposition in continual acts of kindness to the poor and distressed by whom as well as by her immediate connections her death will be sincerely regretted.

By her will proved 26 Nov 1822,§ she bequeathed legacies, valuable pictures and jewels ; and besides an interest in the house, a thousand pounds to her niece Charlotte ; and whereas I am entitled to considerable arrears of annuity from my late brother Robert in Glamorgan now the possession of my nephew Robert, from this I give to be paid any monies due as advanced to my husband or myself.

An oval tablet in the Abbey church now inside the west

* P. 3, col. 3. † Kent, 685. ‡ P. 3, col. 2.

§ Herschell, 605.

front in the recess between the large west doors and the small south west door, rather high,—bears for inscription—

Sacred to the memory of Miss Harriett Mathews who died June 1768.

Also of Thomas Mathews esqre grandson of the late Admiral Mathews who died April 23rd 1820 aged 77.

Also of Diana relict of the above Thomas Mathews and daughter of Robert Jones of Fonmon Castle in the county of Glamorgan esqre who died 28th March 1822 aged 82.

Also of Charlotte Jones, 3rd daughter of Robert Jones of Fonmon Castle, Glamorganshire esqre and niece of the above Diana Mathews, who died 29 Dec 1839 aged 62.

This tablet requires some special remarks. Who Miss Harriett may have been does not appear but her presence shows an earlier connection with Bath. As to Thomas it must be observed that here as well as elsewhere he is esquire, not even captain. He accepted presumably the courtesy rank but personally never used it. The tablet differs again with the death date of the 23rd April instead of the 25th of the *Journal* or the 30th of the *Chronicle*. The fact would seem that both journals got behind with their news. The *Chronicle* means sunday week which would be the 23rd and the *Journal* has adopted a useful misprint. Then the tablet tells that Diana was a daughter of Robert Jones and that Charlotte was also a daughter of Robert Jones and niece of Diana but how she became niece to Diana is left as a puzzle. By her will proved 27th January 1840* Charlotte calls herself third sister of Robert Jones, late of Fonmon, and 19 Portland Place, now of 9 Edgar buildings.

There were then three Roberts. Robert i had Robert ii and Diana. Robert ii in turn had Robert iii and daughters, Charlotte being his third daughter and so niece of Diana, and equally third sister to Robert iii.

* Arden 35.

The family grave or rather from its size it must be a vault, is in the nave of the Abbey church on the north side, just about two feet, the width of one grave in fact, straight south of the centre of the first or western column. A stone slab now hidden tells that—underneath repose the remains of Miss Harriett Mathews who died June 1768; also of Thomas &c., and so repeating the tablet.

On the occasion of the late visit of the late, the first, marquess of Dufferin this Mathews story was looked up and information asked for. In connection with this was announced the discovery in “a castle” in Wales of a portrait which was declared to be that of Captain Mathews.* Another account a week or so later tells that the picture was found in “Llandaff palace” where Mathews great great grandson resides. Llandaff palace is the residence of the bishop and further as Mathews was childless a sight of his great great grandson would be a great novelty. The pictures were found in Fonmon Castle still the seat of the Jones family. It has always been known that many Mathews family relics were there, but as pictures and especially portraits rarely bear a name, as they all ought to do, very little usually can be known about them. A visit by chance when reparations and redecorations of some sort were in progress, when the pictures were down, enabled a closer examination which revealed the information written on the back of two that they were the counterfeit presentments of—Captain and Mrs. Mathews of Llandaff and Bath. Then it was desired to know where Mathews lived at Bath and the *Chronicle* in time announced that success had attended the tracing this actual residence and that an article would shortly appear which will contain new facts &c. The article appeared and the new fact was that Mathews lived at 19 Portland Place,† but as the “proofs are withheld” said the *Herald* very properly, “those interested in such matters

* *Bath Chronicle* 1 Sept 1898. † *Bladud* 7 Sept 1898.

can "form no opinion of the discovery."* The point is a very small one, hardly of interest, but why should there be any mystery, why should information asked for, if known, be withheld. The address can be easily found in the Bath Directory of the time and is now confirmed by the wills quoted.

After being entertained to luncheon lord Dufferin was driven round the city, duly visited Portland Place, and then passed on to Claverton Down to see the site of the duel. Here a spot "supposed" to be that where was fought the Du Barry duel was selected and with some little ceremony shown as "probably"—the "probably" being kept in the back ground—the place for the Mathews-Sheridan one. Yet the duel did not take place there. As all this however was done in good faith the actors therein should they now feel a little sore or vexed have only to thank Mrs. H. Lefanu for one of her "lucid and conclusive" facts.

* *Bath Herald* 9 Sept 1898.

Notes on Ancient Stone Crosses of Somerset. By E. J. APPLEBY.*(Read January 14th, 1903.)*

To Mr. Pooley, and his book on the Somerset Stone Crosses, published in 1878, I am indebted for much information, and especially for guidance as to their positions in the county. And the condition of the crosses in the past year I shall have the pleasure of showing by a few selected photographs. I say a few, because in the short time a paper before this Society is expected to occupy there will be barely time to give very many illustrations. Mr. Pooley discovered about 200 remnants or crosses in fair condition, but of these some have in the 25 years' interval quite disappeared, others are mere fragments of stones which are hardly worth photographing, while some have been preserved in safe places or restored, which should be the aim of such Societies as these to encourage. I am glad to learn from enthusiastic collectors who have sent me specimens for a general collection I am making, that many Antiquarian Societies are taking up the matter of Archæological Survey, and that Stone Crosses will receive more consideration in the future than in the past.

Somerset is particularly rich in these stones, which Prebendary Earle, in a paper read before this Society in 1887, claimed to be the earliest churches of the people; *Church* being but the English for *Crucem*, the Cross. This was true as far as Churchyard and some wayside Crosses were concerned, but Crosses were erected and used for other purposes. There were *Wayside* Crosses, used for praying and depositing alms for necessitous pilgrims; *Weeping* Crosses; *Boundary* Crosses, particularly to mark the limits of religious property; *Direction* Crosses to church and other ways, as in Devon on Dartmoor; a *Sailors* Cross, near mouth of River Avon; *Market* Crosses, to shelter market people assembled for *sales*, and to pay dues to religious houses; and even a *Dancing* Cross, now disappeared, at Maper-ton, in Somerset. Again Somerset is given the credit of having been

the seat of the earliest Christianity known in Britain. That may or not be true, the statement is evidently made by virtue of the legend of Glastonbury, which is entirely traditional ; but so far we have good evidence from earliest writers, such as Gildas, of 6th Century, and the Venerable Bede, 7th and 8th Century, and from Roman History in the life of Constantine the Great, who, succeeding Diocletian, the greatest of persecutors, gave Christianity that freedom, which it enjoyed ever after ; also from many antiquarian discoveries of the last century that Christianity existed among the Britons some time before the Romans left the country, and as early as 2nd or 3rd Century. But the invasions of the Northmen, the Saxons, Angles and Jutes, savage Pagans we must call them, although they were our ancestors, overthrew Christianity for a period wherever they could penetrate, and the Britons were driven, after many heroic struggles, into remote corners of the kingdom, such as Cornwall, Wales and Ireland, and even over the sea to a corner of France, now called Brittany, and of which Mr. Baring Gould has given us such interesting information in his recent books.

We have no record in Somerset of this period. The earliest relic of Christianity I can show dates from about 9th or 10th Century, although the year 634 is given as about the time the Kingdom of the West Saxons (of which Somerset was a great part) was converted from Paganism by a Monk from Gaul.

This is as far as I can go into the history of the Cross and its earlier use as a Christian Symbol and aid to the Missionary. Any further remarks I have to make must be given with each slide as it is shown.

Chronologically arranged, they are :—

Saxon Period, late.

Early Norman. Part of 11th and 12th Century.

Decorated Architectural Period. 13th and 14th Century.

Perpendicular Arch. Period. 15th Century to end of Henry VII.
thence no more but chaos and destruction.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

I.—THE SAXON PERIOD.

BATH.—A fragment or two found whilst excavating in the Roman Baths and first thought to be portions of the Roman Temple known to have existed near about the site, but Prebendary Scarth pointed out the usual carvings and tracery common with Saxons, and particularly the triquetra knot. Mr. Scarth thought the date to be 7th Century. One originally stood in the Cross Bath (hence its name), which was restored by a Secretary of State in James II.'s time to commemorate the benefit derived by the Queen from the mineral waters. Long since destroyed.

WEST CAMEL.—A similar specimen to that at Keynsham and Rowberrow, but more of a Pagan-Scandinavian character. The interlacing work seems to be a continuation of some reptile; the one at Rowberrow, on the Mendips, is just like it. Both were found built into the chancels of the respective churches. Probably, were parts of shafts of crosses, and used up as ordinary stone when churches were restored. The stone at West Camel is carefully preserved by the Rector near the font in the church, where I photographed it, by permission. That at Rowberrow is inserted, rather unwisely, in the gable of the porch, exposed to atmospheric influences, and will soon be destroyed.

KELSTON.—Found by present Rector, the Rev. F. J. Poynton, at the time of restoration of the church in 1860. It was built into the wall and covered with mortar, which Mr. Poynton with much care and diligence completely removed. It represents the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; two stems rise from two steps forming Calvary, thence twine about in opposite directions, each terminal ending in a cordate leaf; while here and there in the axils of the branches are bodies supposed to represent fruits. The Cross is divided by a cable, the lower part being filled by usual form of endless interlacing knots forming a twisted root, symbolic of eternity.



STONE IN WINCANTON CHURCH PORCH.
See Page 195.



STONE AT WEST CAMEL.
See Page 194.



WINCANTON.—A piece of stone found during one of the many restorations of the church, and now preserved in the north porch, but covered with yellow lime wash and much injured, hence it was difficult to photograph it. Considered to be part of the base of a Cross, and according to Mrs. Jameson it illustrates a miracle of Bishop St. Eloy, which is recorded on the base of a monument in marble erected to his memory in 1420 on the outside of an old church in Florence, "Or San Michele," and dedicated to the Guild of Blacksmiths. St. Eloy was a blacksmith. *The Miracle* is thus recorded :—"On an occasion an animal was brought to his forge to be shod, but it became so violent and uncontrollable that it frightened and drove all the workmen away. St. Eloy deeming this the work of Satan put on his ecclesiastical robes, seized and bound the animal, cut off its leg, shod it properly, and then making the Sign of the Cross over the animal replaced the leg, and sent it off in charge of its owner, to the amazement of the faithful."

II.—NORMAN, 11TH AND 12TH CENTURY.

TELLISFORD.—A head only, found in an old wall of the church. Consists of four canopied niches—

No. 1. Virgin Crowned, with child on the left arm.

No. 2. On the left, Effigy of St. Margaret, a popular saint of the Middle Ages.

No. 3. On the right, Figure of St. Catherine, another saint. Both are crowned, the Symbol of Martyrdom.

No. 4. The Holy Rood, rather imperfect.

The relic is preserved in Taunton Museum.

EAST HARPTREE.—Head found in a chimney stack of an old cottage used as an inn. Also in Museum at Taunton. Very fair state of preservation in spite of rough usage. On one side is depicted the Holy Rood. Opposite side, Virgin and Child, with a youth kneeling at her feet.

13TH AND 14TH CENTURY.

THE DECORATED PERIOD OF ARCHITECTURE.

MONTACUTE.—Remains of a fine old Cross, probably of the time of Henry I., placed in the churchyard about 40 years ago by a late Rector. Whence he removed it there is no record, probably it was the Village, or a Wayside Cross. Shaft, fairly well preserved, shows plainly the remains of a richly carved niche, with crocket and finial, and the sculptured figure of an ecclesiastic, probably the benefactor of the Priory of Montacute.

CROWCOMBE.—Churchyard Cross, originally bore on the shaft three figures in canopied niches.

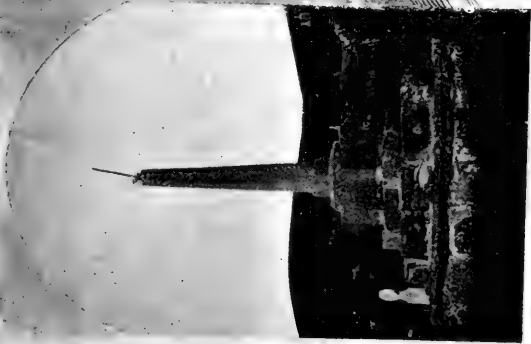
W. Front. A Bishop in cope and mitre, with his right hand raised in benediction.

N. Side. St. John the Baptist, in camel's hair raiment.

S. Side. A Prioress, doubtless of the Monastery of Studely, in Oxfordshire, to which the Manor of Crowcombe had been made over, for the benefit of nuns, end of 12th Century, and held until the Dissolution.

The Village Cross, Crowcombe, said to be one of the most graceful in existence, not excepting the Iona Crosses. Now jealously guarded by the village folk and the Lord of the Manor, who bears the expense of keeping it in repair.

BISHOP'S LYDEARD.—This Churchyard Cross is said to be unrivalled in 14th Century work, although much weather worn and covered with lichen. Calvary, three steps, socket and shaft, surmounted by a modern Crusaders's Cross. On the east face of the shaft may be seen a canopied niche enclosing a figure, holding a cross, apparently John the Baptist, with camel's hair raiment and girdle of skin; the lateral niches enclose figures of ecclesiastics in robes, but much defaced and unrecognisable. The socket of this Cross is unique, each of its eight faces being an oblong sunk panel, on six of which are represented the Twelve Apostles (two on each), St. Peter with the keys being easily



CHURCHYARD CROSS, BICKNOLLER.
See Page 197.



VILLAGE CROSS, WEDMORE.
See page 197.



CHURCHYARD CROSS, CROWCOMBE.
See Page 196.



recognised. On another panel is Our Lord in Majesty seated on a Throne, while the west panel shows the Resurrection, with Mary Magdalene and the other Mary kneeling at each end of the tomb. Steps of Calvary much worn. On one side a piece is cut out, possibly for the purpose of the offertory, or a stoop. Design and execution doubtless belong to the early Italian school.

The remains of an old *Market Cross* also preserved in churchyard, only the stump of a fine shaft remaining, showing three decorated niches, each containing same figures of Virgin and Child, but now very much defaced.

BICKNOLLER.—Nothing particular about it. Old octagonal form, very fine tapering shaft ; iron rod at top originally held the head in position, which has disappeared.

WEDMORE.—Still called the "Royal Town," on account of King Alfred's connection with it. Two Crosses are here, one in the churchyard, and the other in a garden in the village street.

That in *Churchyard* has a square tapering shaft, once ornamented by recessed canopied niches, now almost destroyed. Shaft surmounted by a modern ball instead of a cross.

The *Village Cross*, known as Jeffery's Cross, is in a garden facing a house, which is said to be where Judge Jeffreys stayed when on his notorious circuit. It may be the place, but is certainly not the house, which is a modern 19th Century house, with all the ugliness of the period. Tradition says the Judge hung a doctor on this Cross, for dressing the wounds of a Puritan rebel, and that he was buried near it. It is one of the few Canopied Crosses which have escaped destruction, although the head is now much mutilated, and figures hardly recognisable. The sculptures on the sides of the head were :—

- E. Side. The Holy Rood, figures now headless.
- W. Side. Virgin and Child.
- N. Side. An Ecclesiastic in Vestments.
- S. Side. A Warrior in Armour.

The Calvary has disappeared, but the socket is square, and noticeable for being channelled round, as if to hold water. Socket may not be original, and probably when the Cross was moved to this garden, the Calvary was left behind. Some writers seem to think these Crosses were the outcome of Judge Jeffreys' tyranny, but they are evidently of two centuries previous to that period. Doubtless they were used for prayer and supplication by the persecuted people of Wedmore, and this gave rise to the opinion that the Crosses were erected for the purpose.

Stoughton Cross, nearby to Wedmore, was used until very recently by the Rector, to preach from on certain days of the year to remind people of its ancient sacred use.

CHEWTON MENDIP.—Another of the few rare Canopied Crosses left in the county, now found in the churchyard, but it was possibly a Wayside Cross. Head very much mutilated, but the subjects have been recognised as recently as 30 years ago, although they are scarcely so now. It is said a gale of wind damaged the Cross, and the head was blown to the ground, but more likely knocked off by idle boys and men, who are known to have kicked it about the churchyard, until some benevolent person rescued it, and restored the Cross at his own expense. Some time before Mr. Pooley wrote on this Cross in 1877, the subjects had been described as on

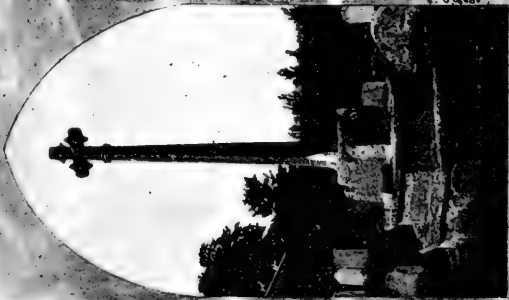
W. Side. Holy Rood.

E. „ Group of three figures, *doubtful*, but one figure in centre appeared to have long hair, and be bare to the waist.

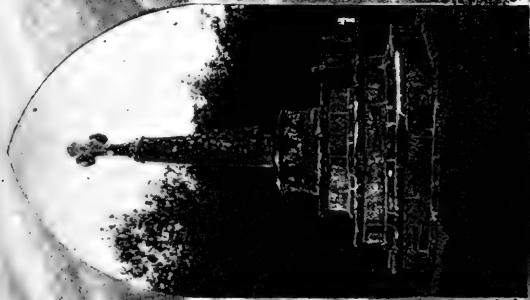
N. Side. A figure apparently crowned, a martyr.

S. „ An ecclesiastic with maniple on left arm, and holding a staff.

Most likely connected with the Carthusian Priory, established in time of Henry II.



CHURCHYARD CROSS, WATCHET.
See Page 200.



CHURCHYARD CROSS AT
BISHOP'S LYDEARD.
See Page 196.



CHURCHYARD CROSS, OLD CLEEVE.
See Page 199.



BLEADON.—Stands *outside* the churchyard. Calvary and socket ancient, modern shaft square, tapering and fluted. A good imitation of the old shaft, a small portion of which may still be seen let into a wall near the Cross, with an iron ring attached to it, and used to tether horses to. Known thereby to villagers as the “Hitching Stone.” Finial modern; Cross restored about 1850, and again recently by present Rector at his own cost, after much damage had been done to it by village boys. Recent work of the Rector has caused it to be much more respected.

Bleadon Porch Cross, discovered a few years since on restoration of church, but much injured in removing the plaster which covered it, and is now freshly covered with a coating of yellow lime wash, which prevented my photographing it. I take advantage of Mr. Pooley's idea of what it once was. Centre figure, Virgin with Child on left arm, a figure either side in adoration, one probably her husband, Joseph the Carpenter, with the emblem of his trade, a *hammer*, in his girdle; the other a Franciscan Monk, with cowl thrown back. Evidently a *Cross of Glory* and not a *Cross of Shame*.

HINTON ST. GEORGE.—Same type as Bishop's St. Lydeard and Crowcombe, but not so fine. Has been much wilfully damaged; the niche, which is said to have enclosed St. John the Baptist, is completely gone. Recently restored.

MUCHELNEY.—A Modern Cross, restored about 50 years ago by Walter Long, Esq., the facsimile of an Ancient Cross which stood on the same spot, but time after time it was knocked down and replaced, until a new one was necessary, and this, too, has suffered from village vandalism. An old custom was to offer bread and eggs at this Cross, on Easter Day and Ash Wednesday. Doubtless connected with the splendid Benedictine Abbey once at Muchelney.

OLD CLEEVE.—A good specimen of a Churchyard Cross, but the Calvary is much dilapidated, and needs repair. Connected

with Old Cleeve Abbey, Cistercian. There was also a Market Cross nearer to the Abbey, but only the base of it now remains, out of which grows a huge sycamore tree.

COMPTON BISHOP.—A fine Churchyard Cross, in a beautiful valley, under shelter of the Mendips. It is placed near the church and carefully guarded by the Rector, and parishioners. Restored in 1850, by a late Rector.

WATCHET ST. DECUMANS.—A similar Cross to that at Compton Bishop, and very recently restored. Stands near the church, right up the hill, on the way to Washford, overlooking a charming landscape and the sea, as well as the sheltered harbour of Watchet.

15TH CENTURY.

CHARLTON MACKREL.—Identical in age and structure with those at Doultling and W. Pennard. Notice the more massive architecture than those of the Decorated Period, also the alternate angles of the socket, buttressed by square shafts, with caps and bases, and on the four sides lozenge shaped sunk panels, with engraved subjects on each, viz. :—

C. Mackrell. The Emblems of the 4 Evangelists.

Winged Lion of St. Mark.

Eagle of St. John.

Angel winged, and holding a book. St. Matthew.

Winged Ox, with Scroll. St. Luke.

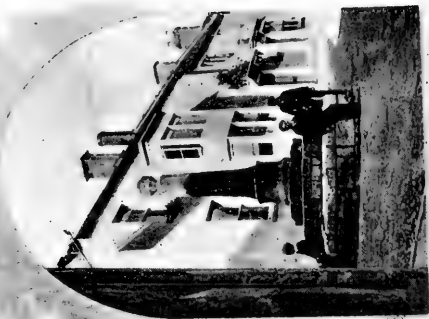
Covered with lichen and worn by exposure.

DOULTING panels bear emblems of the *Crucifixion*.

W. PENNARD ditto.

Also *R. B.* and Mitre, evidently intended for Richard Bere, the builder, last Abbot of Glastonbury 1490 to 1524.

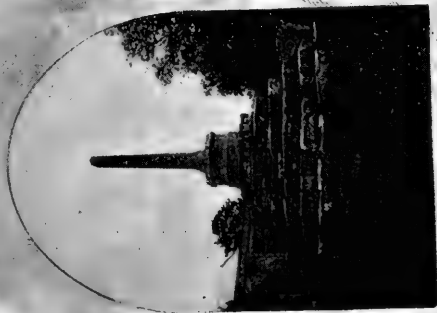
CROSCOMBE.—A very old Cross by roadside, with modern ball on top of it, in place of cross. Remarkable for the reverence paid to it by villagers, who rose *en masse*, when waywardens declared their intention of removing it. Ball perhaps placed on top to



VILLAGE CROSS, CROSCOMBE.
See Page 200.



CROSS AT WICK ST. LAWRENCE.
See Page 201.



CHURCHYARD CROSS, CHEW MAGNA.
See Page 201.

W. Lewis & Son, 2016



conciliate some objectors to finial, but there has been no further attempt to remove it.

QUEEN CHARLTON.—A Wayside Cross, now enclosed on the village green, opposite the church. Often used for many purposes, sticking bills and such like. Once bore a sundial on top of shaft, but now destroyed. The Cross is little cared for, except that it is enclosed within a space used as a playground. Doubtless connected with Keynsham religious houses.

CHEW MAGNA.—A very fine Calvary; nothing else particular about it. Wants attention, or it will soon fall to pieces.

DUNDRY.—Churchyard Cross, close by the fine tower of the church on the top of the hill, overlooking Bristol. Note here also the square socket and four square shafts, angles projecting, with bases and caps.

WICK ST. LAWRENCE.—This handsome Cross stands outside the churchyard, but still in the shadow of the ancient yew tree. Its massive Calvary, and buttressed socket, angles with panels on side, relieved by pairs of trefoil headed flat arches, proves it to be of the Perpendicular Period, and allied to Dundry. Recently repaired by the Rector.

CHEDDAR.—Generally considered to have been a Market Cross. Bishop Joceline, in time of Henry III., obtained a Charter to hold weekly market there. The structure then was different, the steps and shaft, with finial, being of the earlier time, but the heavy stone canopy is later, probably Henry VIII., when it was doubtless used as a Preaching Cross, by the clergy from the church. Steps of two designs, hexagonal and octagonal. Only one foot being between piers of canopy and steps, it could not have accommodated many people for market sales, &c. In this present restored structure, the shaft pierces the roof, and is crowned by a cross as finial, while the abacus supports also four busts of priors; but it is not known whom they represent, possibly some connected with Glastonbury.

SHEPTON MALLET.—A remarkable Market Cross, said to have no rival in England, except it be Chichester, which some architects prefer. Originally intended as a High Cross, resembling one at Bristol, but it was decided to increase its utility, by erecting a canopy around it, capable of sheltering many people. Built in year 1505 by Walter Buckland and his wife.

GLASTONBURY.—This old Cross (now disappeared) was a very quaint structure, and unique, as it can hardly be associated with any of the different kinds of architecture, covering the period from Norman Conquest to the Dissolution of Monasteries. Its history is entirely lost, and as the Cross fell into decay, the stones were carried away, like those of the monastery and monastic houses, to use for other purposes—some will say to repair the roads.

The *Modern Cross* is graceful, and evidently in imitation of others, such as Bristol and Gloucester, but it scarcely harmonises with its surroundings. Note the Pilgrim's Inn behind it, "The George," which still preserves its old character, and was from earliest times a house of accommodation for pilgrims to Glastonbury, which did not suffer so much from Pagan and Puritan destroyers as other places.

DUNSTER.—In the churchyard there are but a few remnants of the Cross left, although the venerable yew tree still flourishes near them. My illustration represents the ancient market known as the "Yarn Market," and is a picturesque feature of the town, but whether it has been identified with any old Cross, I have not been able to discover.

TAUNTON.—Market Cross of same date as Shepton, viz., end of 15th or beginning of 16th Century. Destroyed in 1769. Photograph is from a drawing now in the British Museum. Statues in niches not known or recorded. Surmounted by a square dial, and figure of a clock, in place of the Cross.

The *Modern Cross* is a poor substitute, although it has been restored. Dr. Kinglake bore entire expense of it, as a memorial to his father and mother, in 1867.



MARKET CROSS, SHEPTON MALLET.
See Page 202.



MARKET CROSS, CHEDDAR.
See Page 201.



MARKET CROSS, TAUNTON.
See Page 202.

W. Lewis & Son, Bath.



SOMERTON.—The latest of all the Market Crosses, date 1673, time of Charles II. Architecture not so beautiful as earlier ones, but carved gargoyles are very grotesque, and it has a tiled roof. Ball on top, in place of Cross.

Other Market Crosses were at

BRIDGWATER,

AXBRIDGE,

but have disappeared some years.

CONCLUSION.

I feel this is a poor attempt to draw attention to interesting relics, now about to pass away through neglect, and the Paper is incomplete without many more illustrations than the Publisher and space will permit ; but if I succeed in rousing those in charge of the various localities where these stones are to be found, to make some attempt to preserve them as much as possible in their present condition, my effort will not have been without its reward.

C. S. Calverley and a Tomb at Southstoke. By M. H. SCOTT

(Read February 11th, 1903.)

In the churchyard of S. James, Southstoke, at the west of the West Tower, is a tomb of the Calverley family. At the east end of the tomb is an inscription in memory of "Frederick Haggitt Calverley," who died in 1841, aged 12 years.

Leaning against the wall at the east end of the churchyard is a mural tablet to "Frederick Haggitt Blayds," who died in 1841, aged 12 years. This was found by Colonel Bagnall O'Cahan, of The Hall, Southstoke, in a rubbish heap. It had evidently been removed from the interior of the church, where, on the east wall of the aisle, is a blank niche of the same size.

The Rev. Henry Blayds, who came from Martley, in Worcestershire, to the vicarage of Southstoke, in 1852 changed his name, from Blayds, which the family had borne for some 50 years, back to Calverley, the name by which the family had been known before the Conquest in their native county, Yorkshire. Calverley is an old English name, its derivation being *cal-verd-lea*—the field of the cold wood. One of the family was the ferocious Walter Calverley, whose exploits and death are commemorated in "A Yorkshire Tragedy," a play formerly attributed to Shakespeare. Having changed his name, the vicar altered the inscription relating to the son who had died some ten years previously, and the mural monument, as differing from the name on the tomb, was probably removed at the same time.

Our interest in these memorials is due to the fact that another of Mr. Blayds' sons, Charles Stuart, not only won considerable fame as an author and a scholar, but was a man of most lovable character.

Born at Martley in 1831, he was educated chiefly at Harrow, where his wonderful proficiency and elegance in the classics was speedily recognized. As an instance of this the Head Master,

Dean Butler, relates that on one occasion his translation, in class, of part of the eighth Æneid of Virgil was so exquisite that "there was a rush of admiring sympathy, which seemed to extend to the Head Master also. He was not pulled up till he had finished the whole of the lesson, probably some sixty or seventy lines." Blayds also won fame as an athlete.

At Oxford, where he entered Balliol College in 1850, Blayds maintained his reputation of being one of the best Latin verse writers of his time, and in 1851 won the Chancellor's Prize with his beautiful poem "Parthenonis Ruinæ." His high spirits, however, got him into trouble with the authorities, and he had to leave Oxford in 1852.

Taking advantage of his father's change of name, Blayds went to Cambridge as Charles Stuart Calverley, and in October, 1852, was admitted as a Freshman at Christ's College. Here he seems, profiting by experience, to have shown no inclination to defy rules or authority; on the contrary, his contemporaries hold that the taste for reading among the undergraduates at this period was largely due to the example of Calverley and Seeley (afterwards Regius Professor of History and author of "Ecce Homo"). Calverley won the University Prize Poem for Latin verse in 1853 and 1855. Of his efforts in lighter vein, perhaps the examination paper on "Pickwick" was one of the best things that Calverley ever did. The examination was held in his rooms, and the prize was taken by the late Sir Walter Besant, Professor Skeat being second. "There was a good deal of talk about the examination," says Sir W. Besant in his Autobiography, "copies of the paper were in request all over the University, and for a whole day Skeat and I were famous."

Calverley had a remarkable ear, and possessed a voice of great purity and sweetness. He would frequently compose his own songs, and the musical evenings at his rooms were among the most pleasant memories of his contemporaries.

After taking numerous honours, Calverley was in 1858 elected

a Fellow of his College, but only held the fellowship until his marriage with his cousin, Ellen Calverley, of Oulton, Yorkshire, in 1865. His first published work was "Verses and Translations," in 1862. He was called to the Bar as a member of the Inner Temple in 1865, and practised regularly till a year and a half later, an injury to his head received while skating, compelled him to abandon all active business. He died on February 17, 1884, and was buried in the cemetery at Folkestone, by the side of his infant daughter, laid there sixteen years before.

A want of energy throughout his life caused Calverley's "output" to be limited, but what there is is charming. The interest of his life lies rather in what he was than in what he achieved. "One of the things," says a friend, "which made him 'the most delightful companion in the world was that his temper 'never gave way, even under little irritations of the moment, 'which too often make weaker brethren use 'language.' " There never was a man more thoroughly, more truly domestic in his tastes and habits, and more likely by disposition and habits to make a home bright. In the Somerset village in which previously to his marriage his home life was chiefly spent, many stories of his sympathetic good nature were current, and nowhere was the news of his untimely death heard with more sorrow.

Those who have read "Verdant Green" will remember that the Blades therein commemorated as an Oxford undergraduate was chiefly conspicuous as an athlete. The character, with the spelling of the name slightly altered, was in great measure drawn from Charles Stuart Blayds.

Bath Token issues of the 18th Century.

By MR. S. SYDENHAM.

(Read February 11th, 1903.)

The historic life of a city, in some degree, may be read in the tokens of its traders, and the token issues of Bath tradesmen during the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries are of interest, as a section of local history comparatively unexplored.

The Bath tokens of the 17th Century were dealt with in a paper read some years ago by Mr. Bidgood, of Taunton, and although a little more light can be thrown on this issue, and there is also evidence that a similar medium of exchange existed in Bath, as at Bristol, towards the end of the 16th Century, I purpose now dealing solely with the Bath tokens of the 18th Century.

You are no doubt aware, that in the traders, as distinguished from the Regal Coinage, there have been three distinct periods; the first or 17th Century roughly from 1648 to 1672, when their issue was suppressed by Royal proclamation, the Regal copper of Charles 2nd taking their place, and from 1672 till 1787 no traders tokens were struck or issued in the Kingdom; the second or 18th Century from 1787 to 1797; the third or 19th Century from 1807 to 1818.

From 1775 until the last decade of the 18th Century the Government neglected to issue sufficient copper coinage for the requirements of trade, and the copper in circulation had been exploited by forgers to such an extent that nearly one half of the small change was computed to be base, and many traders refused to receive any—good or bad. Meetings were held in all parts of the country to protest against the condition of the currency. Petitions were presented to the House of Commons praying for redress, and great efforts made to stop the counterfeiting, but still the evil grew, and at this crisis,

when the Parys or Anglesea Copper Mine's Company, in 1787, put into circulation some 300 tons of copper pence and halfpence, with "full public approval," the trader's coinage came again into vogue, and the period of the 18th Century tokens began, the example of the Pary's Company being quickly followed by other companies and private traders.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, at this time, a writer signing as "Civis" (Thomas Wright of Dundee), thus wrote of the traders' coinage: "Excepting the Coins of the Romans, there has nothing occurred parallel to these, within so short a period, since the era's of the independent States of Greece, when almost every city had its distinct coinage," and this praise was well deserved.

Foremost as makers of tokens were the manufacturers of Birmingham, their town had long been a centre of the button-making industry (fashion in the 18th Century called for most elaborate buttons), but the demand was waning, and having in their employ die-sinkers (or as then known die-engravers) of the highest talent, they utilised their machinery and staffs to place upon the market tokens which were eagerly ordered by the traders of the country for every day use.

Of the Birmingham manufacturers, Peter Kempson struck most largely—closely followed by W. Lutwyche (specimens of their private tokens shown), and most of the Bath issues were struck by them. Boulton and Watt, the famous firm at Soho, Birmingham, also made large quantities, and from 1787 to 1797 many thousand tons of copper were used in the production of pence, halfpence and farthing tokens.

The immediate popularity of the tokens was unquestionable, and they were freely accepted in every part of the United Kingdom as a regular medium of exchange, being redeemable at their face value in Coin of the Realm at the business places of their issuers. For want of a better term, what may be called clearing-houses must have existed as a matter of convenience between the various traders, as many of the tokens, in addition to

the address, &c., of their issuers, bear, principally on the edges, promises to pay or to redeem at other towns.

Kempson initiated what are known as the "Building Tokens" on his own account, striking some 27 pieces illustrating the buildings of Birmingham, and the success of these led to the issue of a similar series for Bath and Coventry.

The devices used on the tokens are legion, and many of them are fine specimens of the artists skill in design and execution, although it must be confessed that this description does not apply to all. Attracted by the great variety of tokens, towards the close of the period, rose numerous collectors who eagerly waited the production of new pieces, and gave high prices for the more artistic specimens. The demand for varieties created a supply, and many tokens known as "Mules" were struck, these being obtained by mixing various dies, but many of the costly specimens soon passed into ordinary circulation at their size value (chiefly halfpenny). Of surpassing interest to a local collector is the prominent position Bath traders filled in connection with the token issue. In point of the number issued by various towns London is first, Birmingham second and Bath third. For much information on the tokens of this period we are indebted to a work by Chas. Pye, an engraver at Birmingham: "Provincial Copper Coins, or Tokens of Trade and Cards of Address on Copper, circulated between the years 1787-1801," in which, as to the "Mules," the author writes:—"Mr. Lambe and Mr. Jelly, of Bath, who were collectors, and also Mr. Prentis, of Bury, have contributed in no small degree to the number of Mules, by an extravagant combination of their own dies."

The largest issuer in Bath was undoubtedly Lambe, of the firm of Mary Lambe and Son, Stall Street, and he by no means confined his energy to our own City, the Counties of Somerset and Wilts, and the City of Bristol received his attention, and he was responsible for the issue of what is known as the Masonic Penny (specimen shown) manufactured by Lutwyche of Birmingham.

It proved difficult to trace the firm, but thanks to the old custom of making out accounts on the back of advertising sheets, it was found under date, 1766, as Lacon Lambe and Son, Grocers, at the India House, opposite the Three Tuns. In 1767 appears Lacon Lambe only, and the sheet illustrated with a rough woodcut of the "East India House," and one is tempted to give the quaint list of what he then sold, these early bills were "printed by J. Keene in Kingsmead Street." In 1772 appear accounts on present day lines, with a well executed engraving of the "India House" and the firm, Mark Lambe, at the India House in Stall Street. One account, dated Oct. 21, 1772, may interest.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
½lb. Green Tea ...	...	0	12 0
1 ,, Chocolate ...	...	0	4 6
7 ,, Raisins ...	...	0	2 6
A Pack of Cards...	...	0	1 6
	<i>£</i>	1	0 6

Received the contents in full,

THOS. HOBBS.

The accounts are mentioned chiefly to shew the use of the "India House" as their trade sign long prior to its use on the tokens.

In the *Bath Journal*, Aug. 21, 1775, appears the following:—

M. Lambe, Grocer and Tea Dealer, takes this method of returning her sincere thanks to the friends of her late husband, for all favours confer'd and begs leave to inform them and the public in general that she intends continuing the said business as usual, where they may depend on being served with the best articles, on the most reasonable terms, and their favours gratefully acknowledged.

By their obedient humble servant,

MARY LAMBE

By 1794, the date of their earliest token, the firm was Mary Lambe and Son, Tea Dealers and Grocers, at the old-established Tea and Grocery Warehouse, corner of Stall and Bath Streets (No. 36, Stall Street, and soon after No. 1, Bath Street as well), and it is of interest to note that at these premises a grocery business was carried on till very recent times.

For the County of Somerset, Lambe issued the following :

PENCE.

- | | | | |
|---------|-------|-------------|---|
| Atkins | Somt. | <i>O</i> : | A sword, spear and trumpet crossed, a hat and pair of spurs. <i>Leg</i> : SOMERSET YEOMANRY CAVALRY. * 1796. * |
| No. 1. | 1. | | |
| | | <i>R</i> : | Three horsemen, one carrying a flag. THEIR TOKEN. <i>Ex</i> : P. A. ET. F (Pro Aris et Focis ; for our Religion and Property). |
| | | <i>ED</i> : | Indistinct, one inscription being struck over another. V.R. |
| Not in | 1a. | <i>O</i> : | As last. |
| Atkins. | | <i>R</i> : | Arms of West Cowes (a chevron between three dolphins). |
| | | <i>ED</i> : | MANUFACTURED BY W. LUTWYCHE, BIRMINGHAM. V.R. |
| Not in | 1b. | <i>O</i> : | As last. |
| Atkins. | | <i>R</i> : | Incuse impression from Reverse die of Atkins SOMT. 55 (see later). A scroll. READY MONEY ONLY within a circle and before legend had been sunk (a trial piece, unpublished). |
| | | <i>ED</i> : | Plain. |
| Atkins | Somt. | HALF-PENCE. | |
| 21. | 2. | <i>O</i> : | A military trophy, as before. <i>Leg</i> : SOMERSET YEOMANRY CAVALRY. * 1796 * |
| | | <i>R</i> : | Three horsemen. THEIR TOKEN. |
| | | <i>Ex</i> : | P. A. ET. F |

- Atkins. Somt.
 21. 2. *ED*: WE PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND ONE HALF-PENNY . × . R.
 Of interest, as the only type of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. token known bearing this edge.
- Not in Atkins. 2a. *O*: As last.
R: Arms of West Cowes, as before.
ED: YORK BUILT A.M. 1223. CATHEDRAL REBUILT A.D. 1075 + V.R.
 Die-engraver, Arnold; Manufacturer, Lutwyche.
 Only a small number of the County tokens were issued and the pence were struck from the $\frac{1}{2}$ d. dies, the difference being simply the extra thickness of metal. As explaining their issue great interest was taken in the Fencible Cavalry Regiments all over England at this date, and frequent references are found in the local newspapers of the time, as
 "The Somerset Cavalry are gone to Barham Camp."
 "Two troops of the Somerset Cavalry are stationed at Reading."
- Atkins Bath PENCE.
 No. 6. No. 1. *O*: A camel and rays of sun. TEAS, COFFEE, SPICES & SUGARS.
Ex: A pentagonal star (holed in centre).
R: View of a building, INDIA HOUSE above, 1794 under, within a circle of invected lines. *Leg*: M. LAMBE & SON, TEA DEALERS & GROCERS, BATH.
ED: ON DEMAND WE PROMISE TO PAY ONE PENNY . × . C.
- Not in Atkins. 1a. Similar to No. 1, but edge plain. R.

- Atkins. Bath.
- Atk. 7. *ib.* As No. 1, but date 1795. V.R.
8. *ic.* As No. 1, but date 1796. V.R.
10. *id.* *O*: Shield, Bath Arms, without supporters. *Leg*:
THE ARMS OF THE CITY OF BATH † within
toothed border.
- R*: View of building, INDIA HOUSE above, 1794
under; the whole within a circle of invected
lines. *Leg*: M. LAMBE & SON, as No. 1.
- ED*: WE PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER ONE
PENNY. R.
11. *ic.* Similar to last, but dated 1795, and circle of
two plain rings. V.R.
12. *if.* As last, but dated 1796, and circle of acorns. V.R.
In those dated 1795-6 the railings before the
India House are of finer work—the doors and
windows on ground floor are not filled in—
and the ground is indicated more than in
the—94 type.
- Atkins Bath *O*: View of a Church. ABBEY CHURCH *Ex*: BATH
- No. 2 No. 2 *R*: View of a public building GUILD-HALL *Ex*: BATH
- ED*: Plain (in collar)
Struck in copper, brass and white metal.
copper, c; others, R.
- Not in *2a* *O* & *R*: As last.
- Atkins. *ED*: ON DEMAND WE PROMISE TO PAY ONE
PENNY . × . V.R.
- No trace has yet been found of the issuers of
2 and 2a, and they are probably medals
pressed into currency.

One of the most interesting pieces is the
Botanic Garden token; till recently the
position of this Garden was unknown,
Spring Gardens, Bathwick, being generally

accepted as the site, but it was situated in the Camden Road, where Prospect Place now stands. In Pye's work, to which allusion has been made, a Mr. Tolly is given as the issuer, but while preparing this paper I found an advertisement proving Tolly to be an error for Jelly. The advertisement, under date April 16th, 1795, is most significant of that troubled financial time in Bath (two local Banking firms had recently failed, one for over £90,000, the latter carrying Baldwin, the Architect of the Guildhall, &c., with them, and bankruptcies were numerous). "By order of the Assignees, Mr. John Jelly, Bankrupt, his residence, Elm-Bank, the furniture, pictures, prints and large Garden $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Acre to be Sold, with "the movable frames and stock of the Botanic Garden," and by 1800 the Garden had been built over.

Jelly who was an Attorney (Clerk for many years to Walcot Parish), and evidently a token collector as well as issuer; was also in part responsible for the issue of a number of political tokens, known as the Badminton (Gloucester) series. He was at one time wealthy, as shewn by the long list of his property in Bath, scheduled for sale, and his ruin was possibly brought about by too extensive building operations. His tokens are of fine design and execution, and are distinguished by an apt quotation from the 1st Book of Kings, where as to the wisdom of Solomon, it is noted that "He spake 3000 Proverbs and his Songs were a thousand and

Atkins. Bath.

five," and "He spake of trees from the Cedar tree, that is in Lebanon, even unto the Hyssop that springeth out of the wall."

Atkins Bath
3. 3.

O: View of entrance to the BOTANIC GARDEN, a small A on the pavement leading to entrance.
Leg: HE SPAKE OF TREES FROM THE CEDAR TREE THAT IS IN LEBANON +

Ex: BATH TOKEN . 1794.

R: Hyssop growing on a wall, and a Cedar tree.
Leg: EVEN UNTO THE HYSSOP THAT SPRINGETH OUT OF THE WALL +
Ex: I : KINGS : CH : 4 : V : 33.

ED: ON DEMAND WE PROMISE TO PAY ONE PENNY . × .

This design is struck on Small and Large flans, the latter having a wide toothed border.
small, c ; large, R.

4 4.

O: *Leg*: GLOVER^S LONDON, SHEFFIELD & BIRMING^M WAREROOMS. In centre of field BATH.

R: Bust to left. STANHOPE . NOBLE WITHOUT NOBILITY within toothed border.

ED: PAYABLE BY I FOSTER LAMBERHURST and struck over this but legible MANUFACTURED BY W LUTWYCHE, BIRMINGHAM. V.R.

This token was issued from 39, Milsom Street, which had been occupied by the Bath and Somersetshire Bank (Horlock, Anderdon and Co.), and on their failure was advertised to let, enquire of Glover, 1, Acton Street, Grays Inn Road, London. Soon after Glover appears to have started business here, on the Terrace Walks, and in March, 1795, he moved from there to Milsom Street.

Atkins. Bath.

“No. 39, Milsom Street, Bath,
London, Sheffield and Birmingham
Warerooms

Mr. Glover, original proprietor of the Repository on the Walks, most respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry and Publick in general, that the Warerooms are opened this day on the same plan, as the Repository was conducted for several years, in Elegant and Commodious Rooms. Over the late Bath and Somersetshire Bank.” Glover was an enterprising trader, and advertised as an House Agent, & Dealer in Gold and Silver, Clocks, Jewellery, Piano-fortes and Barrel Organs “fit for churches or chapels,” Carpets, Looking-glasses and French horns, Japanned Goods, &c., “all at 20 per cent. less than other traders charges;” with whom he is careful to point out “he has no connection.” About 1797 he added No. 40 and opened a branch in Bristol. The Repository was sold off in 1802, and the premises advertised to let.

Atkins	Bath	<i>O</i> :	Crowned bust to right. <i>Leg</i> : ALFRED YE GREAT REFOUNDED BATH . A.D. 900.
5.	5.	<i>R</i> .	A Tower within a Wall (the Mayor's Seal) AND SURROUNDED IT WITH WALLS AND TOWERS.
		<i>ED</i> :	WE PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER ONE PENNY . V.R.

The Bust of and statement as to Alfred shews the reliance placed by Bath Citizens on Wood's statement in 1765, that “the wall which surrounds the body of Bath, is a piece of work so good of its kind, that in my opinion it can claim no other original, than the hands of King Alfred's workmen.”

Atkins. Bath.

This token was issued by Payne and Turner, Silversmiths, Jewellers and Pawn-brokers, No. 1, New Westgate Buildings. They retired from business in 1812, and were succeeded by Cripps and Fuller.

9. 6. *O*: A scroll inscribed READY MONEY ONLY within a plain circle. *Leg*: WOOD & CO., LINEN DRAPERS, &c. +
R: Perspective view of a street, BATH STREET.
Ex: BATH.
ED: (Not known). V.R.
15. 6a. *O*: As last.
R: Shield, Bath Arms. *Leg*: THE ARMS OF THE CITY OF BATH +
ED: WE PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER ONE PENNY V.R.
- Wood, as one of the issuers, has not been clearly traced. In December, 1792, James Wood, Cheap Street, signed the book of the Bath Loyal Association, and in 1794, Wood of Cheap Street was paid £18 12s. od. by the Committee for supplying warm clothing to the British troops in Flanders, in 1819 appears Shum and Wood, Woollen Drapers, 1, Union Street (in line with Cheap St.), and in 1826 Wood only, at same address.
- Atkins Bath *O*: Shield, Bath Arms without supporters. THE
 10. 7. ARMS OF THE CITY OF BATH +
R: Bath Arms and Supporters. *Leg*: W. GYE .
 PRINTER & STATIONER + BATH . 1794 .
 within toothed border.
ED: WE PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER ONE
 PENNY. V.R.

Atkins. Bath.

14. 7a. *O* : As last.

R : A seated female, vases at her feet and with olive branch in her left hand, arm resting on a vase. Right hand directing a boy with a key to open the door of a prison, from the grated window of which a basket is held forth to receive contributions for imprisoned Debtors. Above, GO FORTH radiated. The whole within a beaded circle. *Leg* : REMEMBER THE DEBTORS IN ILCHESTER GOAL . + within a toothed border.

ED : PAYABLE BY I FOSTER LAMBERHURST OVERSTRUCK ON THIS MANUFACTURED BY W. LUTWYCHE, BIRMINGHAM. V.R.

The tokens issued by Gye are to Bath Citizens the most interesting from their associations, and they are also the finest productions of the Bath series. W. Gye was a Printer at No. 4, Westgate Buildings (house removed to make way for the Chapel there), and with his Father and four of their workmen in December, 1792, signed the book of the Loyal Association. By 1794 the business of Printer and Stationer at No. 13, Market Place was added (now Dawsons ; it is interesting to note the continuity of the business). He must have been energetic and of kindly disposition, and acting as Agent for the Debtors confined at Ilchester, then the County Gaol of Somerset, Gye issued most impassioned appeals on their behalf for help, and pleading for improvement in the methods of dealing with Debtors. He also acted for the Debtors in the Bath Gaol, and was constantly collecting

Atkins. Bath.

subscriptions for them. His tokens (metallic messengers) with their appeal stirred the whole country, and the example was followed by traders in other places, the same design, seated female, &c., and legend, but in some varieties omitting the word Ilchester, being used as Obv., and as Rev., a Bust of Howard to left, JOHN HOWARD . F.R.S. HALFPENNY, and payable at various places, such as "BANBURY, OXFORD & READING," "LONDON OR DUBLIN." Some thirteen varieties of these are known, all taking their inspiration from Gye, and the movement resulted in a great improvement of the laws relating to, and the condition of the Debtors. It was a time when men were liable to be balloted to serve in the Militia, and Gye was the proprietor of the "Bath Militia Office," where, by paying a premium of 5s., a substitute could be procured to serve, and at the same price policies could also be obtained covering the Counties of Somerset, Wilts and Gloucester.

- Not in Bath *O*: Shield, Bath Arms without supporters, THE
Atkins 8. ARMS OF THE CITY OF BATH + within
toothed border.
- R*: A tea urn. *Leg*: IRONMONGERY, BRAZIERY
& CUTLERY.
Ex: F. HEATH, 1794.
- ED*: WE PROMISE TO PAY BEARER ONE PENNY.
This specimen was illustrated in the *Numismatic
Circular*, December, 1900. EX.R.
- Atkins 8a. *O*: As last.
16. *R*: View of a building. WEST FRONT OF NEW
PUMP ROOM, BATH.

Atkins. Bath.
16.

Ex: HEATH, IRONMONGER, &c., 1795.

ED: MANUFACTURED BY W. LUTWYCHE,
BIRMINGHAM. V.R.

Not in 8*b*. *O&R*: As last, but struck on larger flans.
Atkins.

ED: PAYABLE BY I. FOSTER, LAMBERHURST, struck
OVER MANUFACTURED BY W. LUTWYCHE,
BIRMINGHAM. V.R.

Francis Heath, the issuer of these, has not been clearly traced, but he carried on business just previous to 1800 at No. 2, Bath Street, next door to M. Lambe and Son, and being opposite to the building, probably accounts for his using the newly completed front of the Pump Room as a device on his (1795) tokens.

The pence of one trader are sometimes found struck over the design of another, proving that manufacturers when pressed did not wait for fresh blanks, the last piece described, is clearly struck over a penny of Halls, London (Atkins, Middlesex, 26), and some Surrey pence are known struck over the common penny of M. Lambe and Sons (Bath, 1).

HALF PENCE.

At that time of scarcity of change, numerous small medals were issued, commemorating the visits of George III. to various places, these were chiefly of halfpenny size, and were readily accepted as part of the currency.

Of this type is the following: in copper and copper gilt:—

Atkins. Bath.
23. 9.

O: Laureate bust to right, D under. GEORGIUS
III. REX.

Atkins. Bath.

23. 9. *R*: Shield, Bath Arms, between sprigs, VISITED
BATH CITY, SEPTEMBER 10th, 1789.

ED: Plain.

Manufacturer, Boulton, Soho Mint, Birmingham, the D under bust is the initial of Droz, at one time an eminent engraver in Paris, but sent for and employed by Boulton. Some of this type were also issued plated as specimens of the newly discovered process known as "Soho plate."

The $\frac{1}{2}$ d. tokens, proper, are numerous.

22. 10. *O*: View of entrance to Botanic } see penny
Garden } Bath No. 3.
R: Shrubs, tree, &c.
ED: Plain (not in collar, but rounded). c.

10 cwt. of these were struck for Mr. John Jelly, the owner of the garden; maker, Lutwyche; die engraver, Arnold.

22a. 10a. *O&R*: As last, but *ED*: PAYABLE AT LEEK, STAFFORDSHIRE.

22b. 10b. As last, but *ED*: PAYABLE AT W.PARRIS, DIMCHURCH

22c. 10c. As last, but *ED*: PAYABLE IN LANCASTER, LONDON, OR BRISTOL.

22d. 10d. As last, but *ED*: MASONIC TOKEN. I. SCETCHLEY, FECIT, 1794.

Those with edges are exceedingly rare.

24. 11. *O*: GLOVER^S LONDON, SHEFFIELD & BIRMING^M WAREROOMS. (In centre of field) BATH.

R: NO. 39, MILSOM STREET in two lines (centre of field). *Leg*: LATE BATH AND SOMERSETSHIRE BANK +

ED: PAYABLE AT NO. 39, MILSOM STREET, BATH . . . + C.

Atkins. Bath.

Of these a large number were struck for Glover ;
 manufacturer, Lutwyche ; die-engraver,
 Arnold.

- 24a. 11a. *O&R*: As last, but *ED*: PAYABLE IN LANCASTER,
 LONDON OR LIVERPOOL. R.
- 24b. 11b. As last, but *ED*: PAYABLE IN LONDON, rest of
 edge, engrailed. R.
- 24c. 11c. As last, but *ED*: Milled. R.
- Not in 11d. *O*: Variation in legend, bottom of H in BATH lines
 Atkins. with G of BIMING^M.
- R*: As No. 11.
- ED*: PAYABLE IN LONDON . × . × . V.R.
- Atkins.
25. 11e. *O*: As No. 11.
- R*: Shield, Bath Arms without supporters, THE
 ARMS OF THE CITY OF BATH.
- ED*: PAYABLE BY I. FOSTER, LAMBERHURST. V.R.
26. 11f. *O*: As last.
- R*: Bust to left as Bath No. 4. STANHOPE NOBLE
 WITHOUT NOBILITY.
- ED*: ADAM SIMPSON ROMNEY. V.R.
- Bath
27. 12. *O*: Incorrect Arms of Bath with supporters.
Leg: W. GYE, PRINTER & STATIONER, BATH.
- R*: A female seated as No. 7a, but on this token
 the boy's robe floats high over the right
 shoulder, the key in his hand is vertical, and a
 man's figure is clearly visible at window,
 holding the basket, long rays (17) from GO
 FORTH, all within a beaded circle. *Leg*:
 REMEMBER THE DEBTORS IN ILCHESTER GOAL,
 first and last letters of legend come close
 together.
- ED*: PAYABLE AT W. GYE S, PRINTER, BATH
 . × . × . V.R.

Atkins. Bath.

Manufacturer, Lutwyche; die - engraver, T. Wyon. This type is very rare, as in consequence of the omission of the bends on the shield and a failure in the die of the reverse, only a few proofs were struck, and 10/6 each was given for specimens at the time of issue.

27a. 12a. As last, but *ED*: PAYABLE BY JAMES TEBAYS,
HASTINGS . x . V.R.

28. 12b. *O*: As No. 12, but bends added on shield.
R: As No. 12, but boy's robe does not float so high, key is sloped, the figure at window is barely indicated, and the rays (19) from GO FORTH are wider apart than on last, the first and last letters of legend are also wider apart, with a period and a trefoil.

ED: PAYABLE AT W. GYE'S, PRINTER, BATH. R
This reverse die also failed and the following was issued.

29. 12c. *O*: As last.
R: Similar, but boy's robe does not go over shoulder, key is sloped, the rays (23) from GO FORTH are short and not so highly struck, the masonry joints are more clearly shown, and letters of legend are smaller.

ED: As last.
Some 8 cwt. of these were struck. C.

12d. *O&R*: As last.
ED: BRIGHTON CAMP HALFPENNY. R.
In 1795 the Somerset Fencible Cavalry were stationed at Brighton.

Atkins Bath

31. 13. *O*: Bust to left with bow and quiver. BLADUD
FOUNDR OF BATH. SUCCESS TO THE BATH
WATERS.

Atkins. Bath

31. 13. *R*: A tea urn. IRONMONGERY . BRAZIERY & CUTLERY.
Ex: F. HEATH . 1794.
ED: PAYABLE BY F. HEATH, BATH.
 Of these some 5 cwt. were issued by Heath, manufacturer, Lutwyche, die - engraver, Wyon. c.
32. 13a. *O*: As last.
R: A public building. WEST FRONT OF NEW PUMP ROOM, BATH.
Ex: HEATH, IRONMONGER, &C., 1795.
ED: Milled.
 Struck on both small and large flans, the latter having a wide toothed border. Scarce.
33. 13b. *O*: As last.
R: A public building. NORTH FRONT OF PUMP ROOM.
Ex: HEATH, IRONMONGER, &C., 1796.
ED: Milled. R
34. 13c. *O*: As last.
R: Shield, Bath Arms. THE ARMS OF THE CITY OF BATH.
ED: PAYABLE AT ANGLESEY, LONDON, OR LIVERPOOL. R.
35. 13d. *O*: As last.
R: Ancient walls and towers (from Payne and Turner's token).
ED: As last. V.R.
36. 13e. *O*: As last.
R: View of building. STALL STREET, BATH.
Ex: INDIA HOUSE, 1794 (from Lambe's token). EX.R.
 This description is taken from a contemporary writer, but no specimen can now be traced.

- Atkins. Bath.
 37. 13f. *O*: As last.
R: A turnpike gate and house. WALCOT TURNPIKE
 TOKEN.
Ex: 1796. NO TRUST.
ED: PAYABLE AT WALCOT TURNPIKE, BATH . × .
 Manufactured for Heath by Lutwyche, die
 engraver, Wyon. Walcot turnpike was
 situated on the London Road, by No. 1,
 Balustrade.
38. 13g. *O*: As last.
R: A tea chest, inscribed M. LAMBE & SON, &c.,
 struck from a farthing die.
E: PAYABLE AT ADAM SIMPSONS, ROMNEY. V.R.
 Not in 13h. *O*: A crowned bust to left with bow and quiver.
 Atkins. BLADUD FOUNDED BATH. Struck from a
 farthing die, on halfpenny blank.
R: A tea chest. M. LAMBE & SON, &c. From a
 farthing die.
E: As 13g.
 The whole of the series having the bust of
 Bladud on obverse, were apparently manu-
 factured by Lutwyche, die engraver, Wyon.
- Atkins
 39. 13i. *O*: A public building WEST FRONT OF NEW PUMP
 ROOM, BATH (from a defective die).
Ex: HEATH, IRONMONGER, &c., 1795.
R: Bust of Fox to right, JAMES under. R^T H^L C. J.
 FOX, within toothed border.
ED: Plain. EX.R.
 Returning to Lambe's Issues.
- Bath
 40f. 14. *O*: A camel and radiation. TEAS, COFFEE, SPICES
 & SUGARS.
Ex: A pentagonal star, holed.

- Atkins. Bath
 4of. 40. *R*: View of INDIA HOUSE, 1794. Railings of coarse work, the doors and windows on ground floor filled in; all within circle of inverted lines. Legend: M. LAMBE & SON, TEA-DEALERS & GROCERS, BATH.
ED: Milled. R.
 This was the first issue, and are struck in brass. Manufacturer, Lutwyche; die engraver, Arnold.
40. 14a. *O&R*: As last. From the same dies as the Penny, No. 1. Struck in copper; about 1 ton issued. C.
ED: PAYABLE BY M. LAMBE & SON - = -
- 40a. 14b. *O&R*: As last.
ED: PAYABLE AT 39, MILSOM STREET . x . x . R.
- 40b. 14c. *O&R*: As last.
ED: PAYABLE AT LEEK, STAFFORDSHIRE. R.
- 40c. 14d. *O&R*: As last.
ED: PAYABLE IN LANCASTER, LONDON, OR BRISTOL. C.
- 40d. 14e. *O&R*: As last.
ED: PAYABLE BY I SIMMONS, STAPLEHURST. R.
- 40e. 14f. *O&R*: As last.
ED: YORK BUILT A.M. 1223. CATHEDRAL REBUILT A.D. 1075. + C.
- Not in
 Atkins. 14g. *O&R*: As last.
ED: PAYABLE IN DUBLIN OR BALLYMURTAGH. V.R.
- 40g. 14h. *O&R*: As last.
ED: Plain (not in collar, and rounded).
- Atkins. Bath.
 4I 14i. *O*: As last.
R: View of building, INDIA HOUSE, 1795. In this the railings are of finer work, the windows and doors on ground floor are not filled in, and more ground is shown at base of building,

Atkins. Bath.

all within circle of two plain lines. *Leg*: M.
LAMBE & SON, as *R* of 14, but two periods
between M. & L.

ED: PAYABLE BY M. LAMBE & SON, BATH
. × . × . × . × V.R.

42. 14*j*. *O* & *ED*: As last.

R: As last, but date 1796, all within circle of acorns.
V.R.

42*a*. 14*k*. *O* & *R*: As last.

ED: Plain (not in collar). R.

Not in 14*l*. *O*: Camel and rays, no legend. *Ex*: 1797.

Atkins. *R*: Tea chest inscribed M. LAMBE & SON, GROCERS,
BATH. *Leg*:- SPICES, — TEAS, — SUGARS,
COFFEES.

ED: PAYABLE BY I. FOSTER, LAMBERHURST.

Probably unique, the *O* & *R* are from $\frac{1}{4}$ dies,
but being struck on halfpenny blank, it may
rank as an halfpenny.

43. 14*m*. *O*: View of a street. BATH STREET. *Ex*: BATH.

R: As 14*a*, date 1794.

ED: As 14*i*. R.

43*a*. 14*n*. *O* & *R*: As 14*m*.

ED: Milled. R.

44. 14*o*. *O*: As 14*m*.

R & *ED*: As 14*i*. (1795.) V.R.

45. 14*p*. *O*: As 14*m*.

R & *ED*: As 14*j*. (1796.) V.R.

46. 14*q*. *O*: Shield, Bath Arms, THE ARMS OF THE CITY
OF BATH.

R: Seated female figure, &c., as Bath 12, Atkins 27.

ED: PAYABLE BY I. FOSTER, LAMBERHURST.

47. 14*r*. *O*: As last.

R: Tea urn, &c., as Bath 13, Atkins 31.

ED: PAYABLE BY M. LAMBE & SON, BATH.

Atkins. Bath.

48. 14s. *O&ED*: As last.*R*: West front of Pump Room, as Bath 13a
Atkins 32.49. 14t. *O&ED*: As last.*R*: India House, &c., 1794, as 14a.

Atkins. Bath.

50. 14u. *O&ED*: As last.*R*: India House, 1795, as 14i.51. 14v. *O&ED*: As last.*R*: GOLD | SILVER OR | COPPER | I CAN COMMAND |
VALUE ONE | HALFPENNY | UPON | DEMAND.52. 14w. *O*: As last.*R*: View of a street. BATH STREET. *Ex*: BATH.*ED*: Engrailed.52a. 14x. *O&R*: As last.*ED*: PAYABLE AT SOUTH SHIELDS AND LONDON.52b. 14y. *O&R*: As last.*ED*: PAYABLE IN HULL AND IN LONDON.52c. 14z. *O&R*: As last.*ED*: Milled.52d. 14aa. *O&R*: As last.*ED*: Plain (not in collar).From 14 to 14aa were manufactured by
Lutwyche; die engraver, Arnold.53. 14bb. *O*: As 14g.*R*: View of a building. PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE
NEW ROOMS. *Ex*: BATH.*ED*: Milled.Not in 14cc. *O&R*: As last.Atkins. *ED*: Plain.The two last; manufacturer, Kempson; die-
engraver, Wyon. These numerous com-
binations with the dies of other issuers were
made to the direction of Lambe, with the

Atkins. Bath.

object of giving a fictitious interest to his issues, consequently most of them are rare.

54. 15. *O*: A crowned bust to right. ALFRED YE GREAT
REFOUNDED BATH, A.D. 900 . + .
R: Ancient walls and towers, AND SURROUNDED
IT WITH WALLS & TOWERS . + .
ED: PAYNE & TURNER, SILVER-SMITHS, BATH . + .
Only a small number were issued. scarce
- 54a. 15a. *O&R*: As last.
ED: I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND ONE
HALFPENNY . + .
This is struck on larger flans than the last, and
is from the dies of their 1d., BATH 5 Only
a few lbs. were issued. Manufacturer,
Lutwyche ; die engraver, Arnold. R.
55. 16. *O*: A scroll inscribed, READY MONEY ONLY, within
plain line circle. *Leg*: WOOD & CO., LINEN
DRAPERS, &c.
R: Shield, Bath Arms. THE ARMS OF THE CITY
OF BATH.
ED: Engrailed. R.
- 55a. 16a. *O&R*: As last.
ED: WILLEY, SNEDSHILL, BERSHAM, BRADLEY. R.
- 55b. 16b. *O&R*: As last.
ED: Plain (not in collar). R.
56. 16c. *O*: As 16.
R: View of a street. BATH STREET. *Ex*: BATH.
ED: PAYABLE AT LONDON. R.
- 56a. 16d. *O&R*: As last.
ED: Engrailed. V.R.
- 56b. 16e. *O&R*: As last.
ED: Milled. R.

Atkins. Bath.

Not in.

Atkins. 16f. *O&R*: As last.

ED: EMSWORTH HALFPENNY. PAYABLE BY JOHN
STRIDE. V.R.

As has been mentioned Wood & Co. cannot be precisely traced, but evidently Lambe had some connection with the firm, as No. 16 was struck to his order. Manufacturer, Kempson; die-engraver, Wyon.

57. 17. *O*: A head, front face. MINERVA, PATRONESS OF
BATH.

R: A Sphinx, badly executed. B.R.

No present day collector apparently has seen this type; it is only known from the description of a contemporary writer.

Although not strictly tokens, yet possibly used as such, and in any case of interest as contemporary are the copper halfpence of George II. countermarked THOMAS, NO. 3, COCK LANE, BATH, CUTLER. The lane is now known as Union Passage, the latter name coming into use in 1796.

The finest specimens of the tokens are the "Bath Building" series, and there is little doubt their issue was the outcome of the demand by collectors of the time for artistic work, but although they were sold encased in small squares of paper, and at a price far beyond their value, the worn condition of some of the more common types permit of the opinion that they often passed into circulation at their size, or halfpenny value.

Atkins. Bath.

58. 18. *O*: Arms and supporters of Bath in a sunk oval, field of oval plain. *Leg*: BATH CITY. TOKEN. Field matted, raised rim.

R: View of a chapel. *Ex*: ALL SAINTS CHAPEL.

ED: Plain (in collar).

59. 19. *O&ED*: As before.

R: View of a chapel. ARGYLE CHAPEL (the original front). EX.R.

60. 20. *O&ED*: As before.

R: View of a street. BATH STREET. *Ex*: BATH EX.R.

Although this view of Bath Street is not rare on the ordinary tokens, yet of this series it is the rarest, and the only specimen I know of is in the British Museum, the cause of its rarity is manifest—a broken die (the business places of Lambe and Heath show to the left on *R*).

61. 21. *O&ED*: As before.

R: View of a building. CROSS BATH PUMP ROOM.

21a. *O&R*: As last.

ED: PORTSMOUTH HALFPENNY PAYABLE AT THO^S SHARPS . X .

62. 22. *O&ED*: As No. 18.

R: View of a church. *Ex*: FREE CHURCH. (Christ Church.)

62a. 22a. *O&R*: As last.

ED: COVENTRY TOKEN and wavy line 


63. 23. *O&ED*: As last.

R: View of a building. *Ex*: FREE SCHOOL. (Grammar School.)

Not in 23a. *O&R*: As last.

Atkins. *ED*: COVENTRY TOKEN, as No. 22a.

Atkins. Bath.

64. 24. *O&ED*: As last.
R: View of a building. GENERAL HOSPITAL.
 (Mineral Water hospital.) *Ex*: OPEN TO
 PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES BATH ALONE
 EXCEPTED
65. 25. *O&ED*: As before.
R: View of a building KENSINGTON * CHAPEL *
66. 26. *O&ED*: As before.
R: View of a building. ST. MARY'S above, CHAPEL
 below it (Queen Square Chapel). The die
 of this *R* failed, and the following was issued.
67. 26a. *O&ED*: As before.
R: View of a building. *Ex*: ST. MARY'S CHAPEL.
68. 27. *O&ED*: As before.
R: View of a building. PRIVATE BATHS above,
 STALL STREET below it (Queen's Baths).
69. 28. *O&ED*: As before.
R: Bridge with houses on it. *Ex*: PULTENEY
 BRIDGE, BATH. R.
70. 29. *O&ED*: As before.
R: Interior of a building, shewing ceiling on it.
 INTERIOR OF NEW PUMP ROOM. *Ex*: BATH
 ERECTED 1796. EX. R.
 A very rare type. Cause as before, a broken die.
71. 30. *O&ED*: As before.
R: Same interior, but not shewing ceiling above the
 cornice. INTERIOR OF NEW PUMP ROOM,
 BATH, ERECTED 1796 (in 4 lines).
- 71a. 30a. *O&R*: As last.
ED: COVENTRY TOKEN and wavy line 
72. 31. *O&ED*: As before
R: View of a building PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE NEW
 ROOMS. *Ex*: BATH (Assembly Rooms).

Atkins. Bath.

73. 32. *O&ED*: As before.*R*: Military trophy, tent, cannon, &c. * * PRO REGE
ET PATRIA * BATH ASSOCIATION, 1798. R.74. 33. *O&ED*: As before.*R*: Arms of Coventry (P. KEMPSON, FECIT, in small
letters). THE ARMS OF COVENTRY, 1797.

The last has been claimed for Coventry, but on pointing out to various collectors that the wording on the Ob: BATH CITY TOKEN, gave Bath precedence, the claim has been acknowledged. Most of the series were issued in 1797; manufacturer, Kempson; die-engraver, Thomas Wyon. The Bath issue was possibly due to the energy of Lambe.

In the following issues Lambe is again prominent.

FARTHINGS.

97. 34. *O*: A tea chest inscribed M. LAMBE & SON, GROCERS,
BATH. Legend: SPICES, — TEAS, — SUGARS,
COFFEES.*R*: View of a building. STALL STREET, BATH.
Ex: India House + 1794 +*ED*: Plain:

Common, no less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons were struck.
Manufacturer, Lutwyche; die-engraver,
Arnold.

98. 35. *O*: As last.*R*: A monogram, two L's interlaced 1795 under.
Legend: A BATH FARTHING, hexagonal star,
holed.*ED*: Milled. Mostly struck in brass.98a. 35a. *O&R*: As last*ED*: Plain (not in collar).

Common, about 4 cwt. were struck, same
maker and die-engraver.

Atkins. Bath.

99. 36. *O*: As last.
R: Monogram, M.L. & S., 1796 under, PAYABLE
ON DEMAND.
ED: Milled. Only a few lbs. struck. R.
100. 37. *O*: As last.
R: A camel and sun rays. *Ex*: 1797.
ED: Milled. Only a few lbs. struck. R.
101. 38. *O*: Crowned bust to left, with bow and quiver,
BLADUD FOUNDED BATH.
R: Bladud driving swine. THROUGH HIS SWINE.
Ex: 1794.
ED: Plain.
About 1 cwt. struck for F. Heath ; manufacturer,
Lutwyche ; die-engraver, Wyon. It may be
of interest to mention that the figure of
Bladud on the *R* is, taken from the sign of
the Bladud Bank, Old Bond Street (now
amalgamated with Messrs. Stuckey's).
102. 39. *O*: Bust of Bladud, as last.
R: View of a building, WEST FRONT OF NEW P^F ROOM,
BATH.
Ex: HEATH, IRONMONGER, &C, 1795.
ED: Plain.
About $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. were issued. Manufacturer and
die engraver, as last.
103. 40. *O*: A tea chest, as *O* of Bath 34. Atkins 97.
R: Bust of Bladud, as *O* of Bath 38. Atkins 101.
Struck for Heath, but to the order of Lambe. v.R.
104. 41. *O*: As last.
R: A balance, with the Persian word Adel (Justice)
between the scales. From the die for the
half pice of Bombay. EX.R.

Atkins. Bath.

105. 42. *O* : A monogram as *R* of Bath 36. Atkins 99.
R : Shield, Bath Arms. From the centre of $\frac{1}{2}$ die.
 Bath 11*e*.
ED : Milled. EX.R.

Not in

- Atkins. 43. *O* : View of building, as *R* of Bath 34
R : As last.
ED : Plain. EX.R.

Not in

- Atkins. 44. *O* : Monogram, interlaced L's as *R* of Bath 35,
 Atkins 98.
R&ED : As last.

106. 45. *O* : A monogram as *R* of Bath, 36.
R : A female standing holding a pole, on which is a
 cap of Liberty. On her right an altar with
 heart in flames ; on her left a pedestal sup-
 porting a balance. EQUALITY . LIBERTY .
 FRATERNITY. EX.R.

With one exception, Bath No. 2, in white metal, the tokens given are all of copper or brass ; no silver issue is known of Bath at this period.

Political feeling ran high at the time all over the country, and many of the token issuers were extreme partisans. Jelly was an ardent politician, as were also Lambe, Heath and Glover : their tokens prove it. At this time a W. Lutwyche resided at 12, Marlborough Buildings, and was prominently connected with an Harmonic Society held at the White Hart, Stall Street, and I like to imagine him either the Birmingham manufacturer, or a connection, and that he knew Lambe and other issuers ; and that this, coupled with the facilities for inter-communication afforded by the number of mail coaches passing

through the city, induced the Traders of Bath to participate so extensively in the issue of 18th century tokens.

Although not Bath tokens, yet as from their edge readings, they more than suggest communication between those who issued them and local traders, the following known edges mentioning Bath are given.

EDGES.	TOKENS.
PAYABLE AT W. GYE'S PRINTER, BATH	... Lancaster. Atkins, 18 <i>a</i>
" " "	... Prince of Wales. Atkins, not local. 165
PAYABLE BY F. HEATH, BATH ...	... Benenden. Atkins, Kent. 3 <i>a</i>
PAYABLE BY M. LAMBE & SON, BATH	... Lancaster. Atkins, 24, but edge not in Atkins.
PAYABLE IN SUFFOLK, BATH OR MANCHESTER	Lancaster. Atkins, 55 <i>c</i> .
" " "	Birmingham Coining Co., Atkins, Warwickshire, 49 <i>h</i> .
" " "	Paris Mines. Atkins, Anglesea, 2409.
" " "	Earl Howe, 1794. Atkins, not local, 112 <i>c</i> .
" " "	Shakespeare. Atkins, not local, 139 <i>c</i> .
" " "	Duke of York. Atkins, not local, 180 <i>a</i> .
PAYABLE AT LONDON, BATH OR MANCHESTER	Guest's. Atkins, Middlesex, 233.
" " "	Kelly. Atkins, Middlesex, 240 <i>a</i> .
" " "	Lyceum. Atkins, Middlesex, 257 <i>a</i> .

It is strange that although M. Lambe and Son in their issues used a number of edges relating to other towns, but one instance is known of another issuer using an edge payable by them. The apparently blundered edge as to York Cathedral on two of their issue of tokens, is repeated on halfpence of York, Hampshire and Dublin.

Towards the close of 1797 the palmy days of the tokens had passed, their use originating in necessity had become a nuisance, and the condition of the token coinage in general was almost as bad as had been the Regal. To this many causes had contributed, the early productions were honest substitutes for the Regal currency, the later in many cases were issued primarily for advertisement. At the outset the tokens were of good value and readily redeemed by their original issuers; but tempted by the facility with which they could be placed in circulation, the opportunity for undue profit was often too tempting, the standard declined and the bulk of the later issues were made of inferior metal and of light weight, and the large number of pieces issued not bearing on the edges names of any person or place, but a title such as "Current anywhere" also contributed in no small degree to the disinclination of the public to accept them.

The Government for some ten years had been considering the expediency of a new Regal Copper coinage, and during the time the firm of Boulton and Watt had laid down a wonderfully complete plant for the production of Coins, Medals, &c.

With this firm in 1797 the Government placed a contract for a supply of the much needed new coinage, the first contract being for 500 tons at £108 per ton, the firm providing everything, including the copper, their commission being 4d. in the £1, and in that year the country saw and admired the once popular broad rimmed twopenny* and penny pieces, over 700,000 pieces being issued each week.

This large issue of Regal Coinage at once sealed the fate of the Private issues, and the period of the 18th Century Traders tokens ceased. Renewed contracts were made with Boulton and Watt till 1807, when they ceased, but during the ten years 4,200 tons of copper were minted by them.

* The 2d. piece weighed two ounces, and eight of them measured one foot; the 1d. piece one ounce, and 17 measured two feet.

There are other interesting tokens of this period, which though not strictly local, yet have much to do with Bath, such as the Mail Coach halfpence, struck in honour of John Palmer, and the Badminton pieces, struck in connection with the famine prices corn had then reached, and for the issue of which a Bath citizen (Jelly) was chiefly responsible. But these, together with the local issues of the 19th Century, may possibly form material for a future occasion.

The numbers, &c., of Atkins refer chiefly to the SOMERSET section of Atkins "Tokens of the 18th Century," published 1892.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.—*O*: Obverse; *R*: Reverse; *ED*: Edge; *Leg*: Legend; *Ex*: Exergue.

C. Common; R. Rare; v.R. Very rare; EX.R. Exceedingly rare.

List of Birds and Flowers of Bath and its Neighbourhood, with the periods of their first Singing and Flowering, observed by A. CASTELLAIN, in the year 1902.

BIRDS.

- 4th Jan. thrush sang, Sydney Gardens.
 5th " thrush sang.
 8th " thrush and hedge-sparrow sang.
 9th " thrushes sang.
 14th " heard nuthatch.
 17th Feb. heard thrushes, robin, oxeye, blue and longtail tits and green woodpecker, Claverton Down.
 27th " missel thrush sang.
 28th " blackbird sang.
 3rd Mar. heard greenfinch, nuthatch, great tit, thrushes, &c.; saw chaffinch (with pairing note), saw bee, saw pair of chaffinches and nuthatches, Prior Park; heard woodpigeons.
 4th " blackbird sang, Charlcombe.
 7th " chaffinches sang, Victoria Park.
 8th " larks sang.
 10th " blackbirds sang, Freshford.

22nd " saw longtailed tit,

1st Apr. yellowhammer sang.

FLOWERS.

- 14th Jan. snowdrops in flower.
 17th Feb. arum and violet leaves sprouting.
 28th " crocuses and snowdrops in flower.
 3rd Mar. hazel catkins out.
 10th " primroses in flower.
 17th " celandine, dandelion, coltsfoot, venus, cress, chickweed, rockcress and japonica in flower; nettles, arum, geraniums and dog's mercury sprouting
 21st " almonds in flower, Lansdown Grove and Park.
 22nd " shepherd's purse and potentilla frag. in flower, Viaduct.
 31st " periwinkles in flower, Summerhill.
 1st Apr. dead nettle, wood anemone, ground ivy, speedwell, potentilla, scented, dog and white violets in flower, Combe Hay.

- 6th Apr. heard swallow.
8th " chiffchaff and goldfinches sang; heard nightingale.
- 5th May heard blackcap; saw swift.
- 6th " heard wood wren, nightingales, whitethroats (Limpley Stoke), sedgewarblers, large spotted woodpecker, larks, greenfinches and yellow-hammers; saw swifts, swallows and sandmartins; heard chiffchaffs, willow wrens, hen cuckoo (?), blackcaps, nuthatch and missel thrush.
- 7th " heard wryneck and cuckoo, Bathampton.
8th " saw heron; heard cuckoo and nightingale, Freshford.
- 10th " saw blackcap's nest, Bath College.
14th " heard linnet and red redstart.
- 20th " heard or saw wryneck, wood wren, landrail, turtledove, skylark, cuckoo, titlark, willow wren, greenfinch, blackcap, nightingale, white-throat, robin, woodpigeons, swifts, swallows, sand and house martins, green woodpecker, song and missel thrushes, and blackbirds.
- 22nd " saw kestrel; heard goldcrest, Limpley Stoke;
saw longtailed tit, sedgewarbler, wryneck, cuckoo and nightingale, &c.
- 31st " heard wryneck and chiffchaff, Freshford.
- 8th Apr. wood anemones, dog violets and potentilla in flower.
- 3rd May wistaria, apples and cowslips in bloom.
5th " dove's foot, crane's bill, hedge mustard, ground ivy and dead nettle (white and pink) in bloom.
- 6th " stellaria holostea, weaselsnout, shiny geranium, veronica, violet vetch, buttercups, herb Robert guelder rose and toad flax in flower, Limpley Stoke.
- 8th " campion and cowslip in flower, Freshford.
- 19th " laburnum in flower, Sydney Gardens.
20th " primroses, hawthorn, strawberry, bugle, purple and white comfrey, dove's foot, crane's bill, lesser stitch-wort, crossleaved bedstraw, trefoil herb Robert and shining crane's bill, ground ivy, weaselsnout, dog violet and pink campion in flower.
- 24th " celandine and clover in flower, Saltford.
3rd June manna ash in flower, Botanical Gardens.

- 4th June heard redstart, North Road.
 5th " heard chiffchaff.
 7th " heard turtledove, cuckoo, green woodpecker, blackcap, willow wren and chiffchaff.
 21st " heard flycatcher.
 28th " buntings, hedge-sparrow, &c., sang, Prospect Stile.
 16th July heard sedgewarbler and larger whitethroat, Corston.
 14th Aug. goldfinch sang, Wellow.
 19th " saw yellow wagtails and gulls, Newton S. Loe.
 20th " thrush sang; saw last swift, Monckton Combe.
 29th " starling sang like thrush, Puitney Mews.
 1st Sept. saw swallows and martins; heard green woodpecker and willow wren, Swainswick.
- 4th " saw swallows and martins; heard willow wren and nuthatch, Claverton.
- 20th " heard woodpecker; saw squirrel, Sydney Gardens.
- 24th " heard gold crested wren and large blue tit; saw swallow, Claverton Down.
- 25th " saw swallows, Weston.
- 11th Oct. thrush and large blue tit sang, Weston.
- 13th " heard goldcrest and woodpecker, Freshford.
- 14th " heard large blue tit, Box.
- 18th " thrush sang, Victoria Park.
- 21st June willowherb, red valerian and geum in flower.
- 16th July yellow toadflax in flower, Corston.
- 1st Sept. scabious, white and pink campion, meadow-sweet, agrimony, St. John's wort and large willow herb in flower, Gloucester Road.
- 3rd " fleabane and bartsia in flower, Lansdown.
- 4th " forget-me-not, marjoram, agrimony, stactys lamia and peppermint in flower, Canal.
- 6th " yellow toadflax, thyme, &c., in flower, Queen Charlton.
- 13th Oct. honeysuckle in flower, Freshford.
- 14th " willowherb, hemlock and yarrow in flower, Box.
- 21st " thistle and deadnettle in flower, North Road.

22nd Oct. toadflax, dandelion, harebell, herb Robert, daisy, carrot, clover, mouse-ear chickweed, hawkweed, trefoil, yarrow, selfheal and buttercup in flower, Claverton.
25th " cornflowers in bloom (Shackell).

29th Oct. thrush sang, Victoria Park.

31st " herb Robert, dove's foot, crane's bill, dandelions, hawkweed, hawkbit, sowthistle, deadnettle (pink and white), hedge mustard, potentilla, daisy, guelder rose, chickweed, mouse-ear chickweed, blackberry, shepherd's purse and dog's mercury in flower, Sham Castle Lane.

3rd Nov. thrush sang, Pulteney Mews.

6th " thrush and wren sang, Pulteney Mews.

7th " thrush and wren sang, Limpley Stoke.

7th Nov. ragwort, buttercups, bramble, clover, toadflax and vetch in flower, Limpley Stoke.

8th " knapweed in flower, Claverton.

16th " missel and song thrush sang.

17th " thistle in flower, Freshford.
18th " periwinkle, laurustinus, speedwell, magnolia, yellow jasmine, toadflax, herb Robert, dove's foot, crane's bill and campion in flower, Lansdown and Bathampton.

27th " missel and song thrush sang, Claverton.

27th " dandelions, sowthistles and toadflax in flower, Claverton and Combe Down.

29th " missel thrush sang.

5th Dec. heard goldfinch; saw peewits, Newton S. Loc.

20th " missel thrush sang.

21st " missel and song thrush sang.

22nd " missel and song thrush sang.

26th " blackbird and missel thrush sang; heard geese,

Pulteney Street.

*Summary of Proceedings and Excursions for the year 1902-3.**By the Honorary Secretary.*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club commenced its new year by meeting at the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution on the Anniversary of its institution, February 18th, and re-elected all the past officials to their several posts, heartily thanking them for their past services. The Treasurer, Surgeon-Major Mantell, announced that the funds of the Club were in excellent condition, standing now with the money on deposit at the National Provincial Bank of England at £76 6s. 7d. in favour of the Club, not reckoning the interest which had accrued on the deposit of £40. The Club during the year has, to its deep regret, lost several Members of long standing by death, and a Honorary Member, whose name formerly appeared as a contributor to several papers in our Proceedings. Prebendary Earle, Rector of Swainswick, who died on January 31st, 1903, joined the Club in 1864, and was the Member of longest standing. John Earle was Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford, and the son of a small landed proprietor who farmed his own estate in South Devon, was born in 1824, received the rudiments of education at Kingsbridge Grammar School, and was (says the *Times*) thence transferred to Oxford. His home authorities, fearful of the Tractarian movement, then in its zenith, entered him at Magdalen Hall, which was held to be a safe refuge from the rising waters. It was not a distinguished house in Oxford literature or society, but Earle never regretted the chance which brought him into close relationship with good Dr. Macbride, the Principal, and into still more intimate friendship with the Vice-Principal, Dr. Jacobson, who became afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity and Bishop of Chester. But it was a curious inversion of the anticipations of his friends when, after obtaining

a First Class in Literis Humanioribus in 1845, he was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1848.

Newman had then left the college, but Earle had among his colleagues Church, Charles Marriott, Fraser, Clough, Matthew Arnold, Henry Coleridge, Grant, Sellar, and Burgon. In this distinguished company the new Fellow was able to hold his own place, for he soon developed the peculiar linguistic faculty that he possessed. It took the direction chiefly of the elder and northern languages of Europe. Borrow, the author of the "Bible in Spain," relates how he found in a Welsh village an admiring memory of the Oxford scholar who, in the course of a summer holiday, learnt to speak the tongue like a native. But it was to our old English speech that he chiefly gave his attention, and when the Anglo-Saxon Professorship, then held only for a period of five years, became vacant in 1849, he was felt by all who knew him to be eminently qualified to fill it, and, becoming a candidate at Dr. Jacobson's instigation, was elected. From that time all his work was turned into its proper channel. A chair *pour rire* was converted into a useful reality, and his life's work was determined. A subject hitherto neglected, or confined to a very small circle, was gradually raised by him into a position of general literary interest. His treatment of it was not mere dry-as-dust philology, but philology in the widest literary sense. The continuity of the English language was the truth he illustrated by works ranging in their subjects from the eighth century to the present day. A long succession of works, of which the "Two Saxon Chronicles," and the "Philology of the English Tongue" (now in a 5th edition) are among the earliest and the most important, restored to its true rank a forgotten study.

Lighter and more popular illustrations of the same topic were found in "English Plant Names," and "Anglo-Saxon Literature," published by the S.P.C.K. "English Prose" is a detailed examination of its history, in which he claims for it—in opposition to the common notion which carries it no further back

than Queen Elizabeth—the high antiquity of the eighth century. Local history is illustrated by his “Handbook to the Land Charters and other Saxon Documents”; while theological literature, always a favourite study with him, has received a valuable tribute in a reprint—imitating, as far as modern type will permit, the aspect of the original—of “The Psalter of 1539.” The ever fresh interest which he brought to bear upon various topics and the many-sided activity of his mind are illustrated by his late contribution to the history of the famous jewel called King Alfred’s—and still more markedly, by his important contributions to the study of Dante, of whom he was a profound and zealous student; witness an article in the *Quarterly Review*, 1896, on the “Vita Nuova” and the personality of Beatrice, and a valuable study of the Earthly Paradise contributed by him to Dr. Shadwell’s translation of the “Purgatorio.”

In 1857 Mr Earle who had been ordained deacon in 1849, priest in 1857, left Oxford for the College living of Swainswick, near Bath. It is a small rural parish, but one that gave an opening to another set of Earle’s tastes. Brought up in the country, he knew and loved fields and gardens; he was familiar with the ways of country folk, and easily made himself at home with his parishioners. His value was soon recognised in the diocese, where he was appointed by the Bishop, Lord Arthur Hervey, a Prebendary of the Cathedral and Rural Dean. In these occupations, varied by frequent lectures, papers for antiquarian and local societies, and other literary labours, he passed 20 tranquil and useful years before he was again, in 1876, invited to fill the reconstituted chair of Anglo-Saxon in Oxford. This involved a six months’ annual residence in the University, and a consequent absence of that time from his parish. But he managed to make arrangements which secured to the parish as little loss as possible, while it enabled him to pursue more fully the special study in which he was an acknowledged master.

Professor Earle married in 1863, Jane, daughter of the Rev. G.

Rolleston, of Maltby, West Riding, sister of the late distinguished Professor Rolleston, and by this marriage formed a link in a curious concatenation, whereby through Buckles, Earles, Rollestones, Richardsons and Fletchers the present Provost of Oriel is connected by kinship with his predecessor, the historic Dr. Hawkins. One of his children, Charles C. Earle, had begun a promising career as assistant to the correspondent of the *Times* in Berlin, which was cut short by an early death in 1896

Lieut.-Colonel A. Pigott, of 7, Cavendish Crescent, who joined the Club in 1882, and for many years took part in all the Excursions, died on June 6th, 1902, at the venerable age of 87, and Mr. W. Daubeny, of 11, St. James's Square, passed away at a ripe old age, lamented by many Antiquarian friends. Four Members resigned owing to departure from Bath, and six new Members joined our ranks.

Mr. M. H. Scott, the Honorary Secretary for Excursions, gives me an account of those which came off successfully, but laments the small numbers of Members who attended the meetings. Two excursions, one arranged for June 17th to Winchcombe and Hayles Abbey, and another appointed for July 15th to Gloucester and Deerhurst, had to be given up, but a bye-excursion to Montacute and Stoke-sub-Hamdon was substituted for the latter, and Surgeon-Major Mantell has presented some photographs of this interesting excursion to illustrate our Proceedings.

I will give the accounts of the excursions in Mr. M. H. Scott's own words, and in order :—

Berkeley Castle, April 30th, 1902.—The first excursion of the season took place on Wednesday, April 30th, sixteen members and three friends leaving the Midland Station at 10 a.m. for Berkeley. Duly provided with tickets of admission, obtained from the Station Master at Berkeley, the Castle, which is now open to visitors on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, instead of on Tuesdays and Fridays, as formerly, was visited. The main approach to the Castle is through the town, past the Church and

over the stone bridge, built by the then Lord Berkeley in 1587, to replace the wooden drawbridge. On the lawn is a large bell which formerly hung in a Buddhist Temple near Ningpo, presented to the late Lord Fitzhardinge by Captain Dew, C.B., of H.M.S. *Encounter*. From the lawn the breach made by order of Cromwell is plainly visible. Entering the castle, the party were conducted to the Great Hall, "one of the finest baronial halls in England. The roof is believed to be the original one of the time of Edward III." The stained glass windows contain the armorial bearings of the House of Berkeley and its alliances from 1115 to 1785. The Berkeley Arms are :—Gules, a chevron between ten crosses pattées argent. The Berkeleys, of Wymondham, it may be noted, a branch of this family, bear ten cinquefoils, instead of crosses. Near the fireplace are the fragments of two banners, carried at Flodden and Culloden by the regiment of the fourth Earl of Berkeley. The maces of the abolished Corporations of Berkeley and Wootton-under-Edge. In the hall and in the great drawing-room are numerous family portraits. The Drake relics, which used to stand on the landing, have been removed to the private rooms of the Castle, a chair only remaining, of Spanish oak, presented to Queen Elizabeth by Sir Francis Drake.

The Chapel retains its original roof, but the traces of the old inscriptions by John Trevisa, vicar from 1350-1412, are few and not easy to decipher. There are some curious old painted glass windows, on one of which is a sun dial with a bee in the centre. Having inspected the kitchens, small but lofty, the keep was visited. Over the stairs is a small room, said to have been that in which King Edward II. was murdered. The bed, a very small one, and the walls are furnished with ancient tapestry of crimson embroidered cloth. On the left is the dungeon room, a totally dark room, in which there is little doubt that the murder of the King took place. Under the floor is the dungeon, 28 feet in depth, which the guide shows by letting down a lantern.

There is a good view to be obtained from Thorpe's Tower, on the opposite side of the keep. The ground level of the keep, as may be seen by looking through the breach made by Cromwell, is many feet higher than that of the court. It is probable that the walls of the keep were built round a previously existing mound, in connection with the Nunnery which so long occupied this site.

After luncheon at the Berkeley Arms Hotel, the party were conducted over the Church by the courteous Vicar, Canon Stackhouse, who pointed out its noteworthy features. The west front is very fine, though the gable is gone, and the effect of the long nave and lofty chancel, with its screen and grand arch, is very fine. The arcades probably date from the 13th century, the font is earlier. The capitals of the pillars are finely carved. The clerestory being on the south side only is a peculiar feature.

The Mortuary Chapel of the Berkeleys is full of beautiful carving. It is entered from outside the Church. It contains the effigies of Henry, 7th Lord Berkeley, and his first wife (17th century) and those of James, 11th Lord, founder of the chapel, and his second son James (15th century). On a pinnacle over the chapel is a figure of the Witch of Berkeley. But the interesting features of the church are too numerous to be specified here.

Passing a small Irish yew, in which the vicar pointed out a thrush's nest containing two eggs, Canon Stackhouse took the party to his garden, near the belfry tower, built on the site of the former tower in 1753, and pointed out the summer house in which Jenner is said to have vaccinated his first patients, the cow, from which the lymph was taken, being tethered close by. Jenner's father was vicar of Berkeley, and Jenner himself is buried there. The present vicar raised subscriptions and erected a fine stained east window to his memory in the church.

Smith, in his "Lives of the Berkeley Family," tells us that Queen Elizabeth, in her progress in the 15th year of her reign, "came to Berkeley Castle, what time Henry Lord Berkeley, the

then possessor, had a stately game of red deer in the park adjoining, called the Worthy, whereof Henry Ligon was keeper ; during which time of her being there such slaughter was made, as 27 staggess were slain in the toils in one day, and many others on that and the next stolen and havocked." And from other records it appears that the Queen sometimes took part in the sport, for not only did she witness " 16 buckes fall having fair lawe pulled down with greyhounds," but the Earl of Leicester writes that " Even by and by her Majesty is going to the forest to kyl some bucks with her own bowe, as she hath done this morning." When ladies formed hunting parties by themselves, we are told by an old writer, they sat astride on the saddle like men. And another says, " the Bury ladies that used hawking and hunting were once in a great vaine of wearing breeches." But Queen Bess would not have done anything so undignified.

Leaving Berkeley by the 3.15 train most of the party proceeded to Berkeley Road Station, some, however, preferring to walk to the junction, and two members returning to Bath on their bicycles. The somewhat long wait at the junction was utilised by a visit to the Prince of Wales Hotel, a few yards from the station, where tea and other refreshments were obtained, and at 5.22 the party reached Bath after a pleasant day, with most enjoyable weather.

Iron Acton, Yate and Horton, May 27th, 1902.—Taking advantage of a fine morning, a small but select party of the Bath Field Club left the Midland Station on Tuesday, May 27th, at 10 o'clock, and joined by another member at Yate, drove to Iron Acton, where the wife of the Rector, in her husband's absence, very kindly conducted the party over the Church, and pointed out its features of interest. The building is of the XV. Century, and contains some old monuments, a stone effigy of one of the Poyntz family, beside which the effigy of an unidentified lady, these figures having been removed to the chancel in recent years. The pulpit is Jacobean, and the altar rails were originally XVII. Century, but many have been

renewed. There are some old bench ends with linen-pattern which has been well imitated in the newer work. The heavy brass candelabrum resembles that at Croscombe, and is probably of the same date. There is some good panelled work on the tower, and there are ogee canopied niches with statues on the buttresses, one of the figures being, it is said, the patron saint, James the Less. The Preaching Cross in the Churchyard is "extremely fine and curious, somewhat mutilated, but not past repair." Entered from the South side, the preacher could address his hearers from all sides, himself under cover. The cross finial is gone. The shields bear the emblems of the Passion, and the Arms of Acton and Fitz Nicholl.

Iron Acton Court is a fine old building, now a farmhouse. Admission to the house is not permitted, so an outside view only could be obtained. The most remarkable feature is the gateway, on which are the Acton Badges—oaks and acorns—and the Poyntz Arms. The Actons former owners were succeeded by the Poyntz family, which died out in 1680. The Manor House was rebuilt in Elizabeth's reign. The cross dates from about 1439.

After a well-served luncheon at the Lamb, Yate Church was visited. The Rector accompanied the party to the Church, which is very interesting, much of the Norman stone work, and even plaster remaining. There are several old monuments, a brass to Alexander Staples (1570) with his two wives and eleven children, and a curious Latin epitaph in four hexameters. The East window is said to be from a design by Albert Durer. The Church was originally cruciform, but has been greatly altered, and the later designs not having been fully carried out, a curious confusion and some puzzling architectural features are noticeable. In the stone credence is a brass, evidently of Puritan times, to a former Rector, the rood stairs are curiously placed on the East side of the chancel arch, not as usually found, on the West side. There are some remains of Jacobean texts and of still older frescoes, which the Rector described as when first uncovered, but

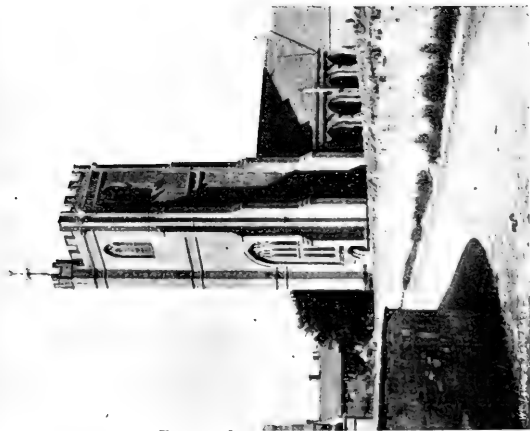
they have faded almost beyond recognition. One, on the South wall, supposed to represent St. Christopher, has somewhat unusual accessories, a mill-wheel, house-door and bucket, &c. Possibly the picture may have been intended for St. Julian Hospitator, the saint to whom the Chapel at Farley Hungerford is dedicated.

The tower of the Church is good ; it was for many years incomplete, but was finished by the present rector with battlements and pinnacles well harmonising with the rest of the building. Yate Court is at some distance from the Church, and is disappointing, for very little remains of the old buildings, and though these are picturesque and ivy-covered the effect is spoiled by the farm buildings erected against them. The gate-house, XIV. Century, remains, and part of the moat. The house was a fortified dwelling, and was occupied by the De Wyllingtons in the XIII. and XIV. Centuries, and by the lords of Berkeley while Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were in possession of their castle.

Dropping two of their number at the railway station, the rest of the party went on to Horton Court, a Manor House partly XII. Century Norman, and partly XVI. Century Tudor Gothic. The North Wing is one of the very few unfortified Norman buildings in England. The outer door is handsome, and there is a good Norman doorway, above which, on an upper floor, is the Chapel, now a mere room, with modern windows, and behind it a priests' room. There is a pretty lawn behind the house, on which are a magnificent tulip tree, and some fine Oriental plane trees, not yet in their full beauty owing to the lateness of the season. As the Rectory had inadvertently been passed, and is at some distance from the Church, which was not open, the latter was not visited. It has a few interesting features and is of the XIV. Century, with later restorations, though its appearance externally is modern. It was growing late, however, so the party returned to the station, whence the 6.17 train conveyed them to Bath by 7.5 ; the day was fine and sunny, but the breeze across Chipping Sodbury Common was almost too keen to be pleasant.

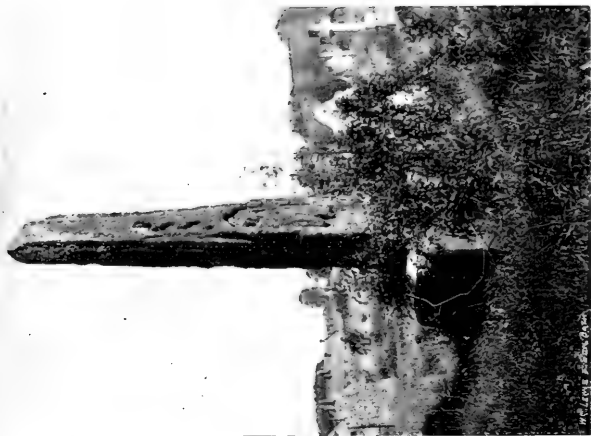
Yeovil, Montacute and Stoke-sub-Hamdon, July 15th, 1902.—On Tuesday, July 15, ten Members of the Club made their way to Yeovil by the 10.26 train. After luncheon at the Three Choughs Hotel, the Church of St. John was visited. This is one of the finest Perpendicular Churches in the County, and has been very well restored. The undercroft beneath the Chancel, now used as a vestry, is considered to be of Early XIII. Century work, and part of the old Church. There are some old brasses, and the lectern, of which both sides are alike, bears an incised figure and an inscription referring to one Martin Forester, on brass.

Passing Preston, with its fine barn, at which the time at their disposal did not allow of a halt, the party drove to Montacute House, which the owner (Mr. W. R. Phelps) had kindly permitted them to visit. The house was built for one of the Phelps's family, whose portrait hangs in one of the rooms, by John of Padua, who also built Longleat and Burleigh. The garden front is the work of John Thorpe (John of Padua) pure and simple. Nine curious statues are set upon this front, locally called the "Nine Worthies." They are supposed to represent three Christians—Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey de Bouillon; three Gentiles, Julius Cæsar, Alexander the Great, and Hector; and three Jews, Joshua, David and Judas Maccabæus. But they are all very much alike. The balustraded garden is very quaint, with its garden houses and temples, and formal flower beds. The Western façade has been embellished by a beautiful stone screen, brought from the Manor House of the Horseys, at Clifton Maybank, and still bearing their arms, three horses' heads, coupéd, or, on a field azure. The Horseys intermarried with the Lytes, of Lytescary. Over the door is the hospitable inscription, "And yours, my Friends." The absence of a grand staircase is probably owing to the depth of the house being so small in comparison to its length. The great hall is a fine room, entered by a curious screen. At the further end is a large bas-relief, representing the custom of riding "Skimmington,"



MONTACUTE CHURCH.

Photos. by Surgeon-Major Maundell.



REMAINS OF A CROSS IN MONTACUTE CHURCHYARD.



which, according to Dr. Brewer, signified that a man was henpecked. He quotes the following passage from Scott's "Fortunes of Nigel":—"Harkye, Dame Ursley Suddlechop," said Jenkin, starting up, his eyes flashing with anger, "remember I am none of your husband, and if I were, you would do well not to forget whose threshold was swept when they last rode the skimmington upon such another scolding jade as yourself." Those who wish to look up the subject may consult Dr. Brewer's "Dictionary of Phrase and Fable," Butler's "Hudibras," and "State Poems."

The other rooms in the House are interesting, and contain some fine wood-carving and good portraits; the library has a fine collection of old heraldic glass, some of the shields having many quarterings. The Phelips family have been at Montacute since 1480. They seem to have come from Wales. The crest is curious, a square beacon, or chest on wheels filled with fire.

The Church at Montacute is an interesting building, the earliest portion being Norman. There are several effigies, said to be of the Phelips family. The supporters of the organ gallery are quaint; only one, however is ancient, the rest being clever imitations of old work. In the adjacent wall is some curious Norman moulding.

In the Churchyard are the remains of a Cross, consisting of a socket and shaft only. The West side is ornamented with a niche, with weather crockets and the finial, in which stands the very weather-worn figure of "an ecclesiastic wearing a mitre, and carrying a pastoral staff in his left hand, with the crook turned inwards, his right hand being raised in the act of Benediction." It is not everyone who can make this out!

Close by is the Priory, founded in 1091 by William of Mortain. The foundation was Cluniac, and the third of these Priors founded in England, the first being that established by William de Warrenne, at Lewes, in 1077. The beautiful gatehouse of Montacute Priory was erected by Thomas Chard, Prior 1514-

1532, whose initials, with a rose and a mitre, are above the oriel window, but at present concealed by a vigorous Virginian creeper. The gate house, with the Church on the right, and the *mons acutus* on the left, in the background, forms a pretty picture.

The name of the village in Saxon times was Leodgaesburh, a name subsequently changed to Biscopestone. William of Malmesbury, describing the pyramids in the cemetery at Glastonbury Abbey, says that on one of them was the name of LOGOR, which he believes to have been that of the person who gave his name to Logperesbeorh (Montacute), another name being Bregden, from whom Brent Knoll takes its name. After the Conquest Robert of Mortain obtained the Manor and built a castle on the conical hill, where a small modern tower now stands, and called it and the village Montacute. Round the sides of the hill are traces of earthworks. It was the son of this Robert of Mortain who founded the Priory.

Long before the Conquest, however, this little village had become famous by the finding of two crucifixes, one of flint, the other of wood, by a blacksmith, to whom they were revealed in a dream. Tofig, Canute's standard bearer, was then lord of the manor, took the wooden crucifix to Waltham, in Essex, where he was then building a hunting lodge, and where the Abbey Church of the Holy Cross was eventually built for its reception. After Tofig's death the cross fell into the hands of Harold, and became the special object of his devotion. It was before that cross that the King knelt in the great crisis of his life, and from the form upon it that he received, it was said, the warning of his coming doom at Senlac.

There are several interesting places at the little village of Stoke-sub-Hambdon, but there was only time for a visit to the little Church of St. Andrew. This contains within its narrow limits more curious and uncommon features than almost any other church. The original Norman north doorway, with its quaint tympanum of Sagittarius, Leo and other figures, and the beautiful



MONTACUTE HOUSE.



MONTACUTE PRIORY.

Photos. by Surgeon-Major Mantell.]



chancel arch are still in good preservation ; on the south wall are the mouldings of two small Norman windows, and the pillars of a south door are standing, though the door is blocked up. There is Early English work in the chancel, where a double piscina, set cornerwise, proclaims its date to be of 1280 or thereabouts. Another cornerwise piscina is in the south transept ; the font, of unusual shape, is Norman, the squints are peculiar, there are remains of mural painting on the chancel arch, there is the effigy of a priest under an arched canopy in the south transept. There is a little Perpendicular work, some windows have been inserted, and the walls and screen have been tampered with. The outside of the church is almost as quaint as the interior, the corbels and the gargoyles being especially worthy of notice.

There was a cross at the junction of the three roads to Yeovil, Ilminster, and Martock, but the last remains of it were used some years ago for repairing the road. The head was fortunately preserved, having been found embedded in a garden wall. It bears the rood on one side, and the Virgin enthroned on the other, the ends are also sculptured. This XIII. Century relic was in the house of a lady at Stoke, but there was not time to inquire about it.

Returning to Yeovil, the party travelled by the 5.26 train to Bath, after a pleasant though rather warm day, thoroughly enjoyed by all the party.

Bristol, September 23rd, 1902.—Notwithstanding the weather, fourteen members and friends took part in the last excursion of the Field Club, on Tuesday, September 23rd. Arriving at Bristol at 11.35, the Temple Church was first visited, the Rev. W. Hazeldine, the vicar, pointed out the noteworthy features of the Church and its treasures, among which are the brass corona, a relic of the old Templars, and much coveted by American visitors, a copper "mazer" case, and numerous papers of the old Kings, Henry and Edward, with the great seals still attached, and a curious paper relating to the Church written in cumbrous old

English by Chatterton. St. Peter's Hospital was next visited and duly admired, the new Council Chamber being a remarkably well carried out piece of new work harmonising with its old surroundings. Passing the street of St. Mary-le-Port, in the Church of which was formerly the chapel of the "Mayden Uncombe" (see "Clifton Antiquarian Club Proceedings," Vol. I.), believed to be the only dedication of the kind in England, Wine Street was reached. Here, where four streets meet, formerly stood the High Cross, till John Vaughan, the banker, who lived in the old Dutch timber house at the corner, procured its removal as being dangerous and likely to fall. Several Members having inquired the meaning of the four brazen tables in front of the Exchange, it was explained that they were formerly in the Tolsey or Mayor's counter or court, and that they used to be locally called "nails," from their shape. The phrase to "pay down on the nail," has been derived by some antiquaries from the bargains concluded at these tables or counters. And Ricart's Kalendar, referring to the ceremonial of the "Boy Bishop," which was in Bristol a civic festival, says "after dyner the said Maire, Shiref, and their brethren to assemble at the mairez counter, there wayting the Bishoppes comming, playing the meanwhiles at Dyce, the towne clerke to fynde theym Dyce, and to have 1d. of every Raphill" (raffle). The Tolsey is referred to in Scott's "Pirate." On the site of Lloyds Bank, opposite the Exchange, stood the Bush Inn, where, as readers of "Pickwick" will remember, Mr. Winkle took up his quarters in his love-lorn quest of the missing Arabella Allen, who was surmised to be hiding somewhere in Bristol or the vicinity. No. 9, Wine Street was Southey's house, and near it was the shop of Cottle, the publisher, the friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge. The Pithay, close by, so-called from the *puit* or holy well, is Elizabethan, and part of the Norman fosse of the old castle is under the old timber house, so that at this part of the city one is surrounded by historical memories, ancient and modern. Passing St. Stephen's Church,

with its handsome tower, the Lord Mayor's Chapel was reached. The tower of this chapel (St. Mark's) is visible from the tramway centre, and has often puzzled visitors, who have vainly endeavoured to find to what Church it belongs. The Chapel is not usually open on Tuesdays, but the Club had obtained special permission from the Lord Mayor, and were shown its points of interest by the intelligent sextoness. It was originally the Church of the Bons Hommes Hospital, one of the oldest monuments being that to Sir Henry Gaunt, first master of the hospital, which is dated 1268. The Gaunt and Poyntz Chapels are very interesting, the latter having a fan roof like that of Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster Abbey. The fine stained glass windows in the Gaunt Chapel and the window representing St. Thomas à Becket, over the arch, were purchased from Beckford's House, Fonthill. The fine painting in the Chancel is a copy by John King, a local artist (1830), from a picture by Rubens.

After luncheon at the Royal Hotel, the Cathedral was visited under the guidance of a most intelligent and obliging verger (*O! si sic omnes!*). An excellent account of the Cathedral is to be found in the Bristol volume of Bell's "Cathedral series." The Church of St. Mary, Redcliff was finally inspected under the able guidance of the genial verger, Mr. Cross, whose remarks on men and things were greatly appreciated. Then, it being late, the party made their way to the railway station, whence, after a welcome cup of tea, they departed for Bath, having spent a pleasant and instructive day, the afternoon turning out quite fine and warm.

Box Roman Villa, October 14th, 1902.—In spite of showery and threatening weather, some nine Members of the Club and their friends travelled to Box on Tuesday, October 14th, to inspect the Roman remains in the grounds of Mr. T. Hardy, of Box, who kindly showed his visitors all that was to be seen. Three hypocausts or heated chambers and two tessellated pavements are uncovered. The pavements, though imperfect, are very good and contains several features of interest in their

patterns. The remains, however, have already been so well described that it is unnecessary to detail them here. The chief point of interest is that they appear to have belonged, not to a single villa or house but to be portions of a terrace or street. Outside the North wall of Mr. Hardy's garden there is a sort of plinth, extending for a considerable distance, with what looks like a culvert, and an entrance. This, or building connected with it, extends to the adjoining land on the East, and also crossing a "drung" to the West. It is stated that building has been found in the Churchyard to the south of the garden. And in the grounds of the Rev. Mr. Ward, of Boxhill House, is a "Roman pond," built with solid masonry, and fed by a perennial spring. It may well be, then, that Box was a Roman town of some importance, and the investigations of the Wiltshire Archæological Society, who are directing the explorations, will be awaited with interest. The pavements are about to be protected for the winter. Some "finds" have been taken to the Museum at Devizes.

A very extensive programme for papers to be read during the winter season was issued at the fall of the year; but before their commencement the Field Club received a kindly invitation from Mr. A. Trice Martin, the Head Master of Bath College, and since a Member of this Club, to hear at the Big School at the College, on November 12th, 1902, a lecture on his excavations and discoveries at Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*) in Monmouthshire, some 25 or more Members accepted the invitation, and an unusually large number of other visitors gathered in the Big School at Bath College, when the Head Master, Mr. A. Trice Martin, delivered a lecture to the School on this subject, directing his attention particularly to the excavations now in progress at Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*), Monmouthshire. It is a subject on which Mr. Martin is well qualified to speak, for these excavations have been a hobby of his for fully 20 years, and it was entirely through his exertions that a fund was formed in 1899 for the systematic exploration of the buried city, and a Committee was

appointed, of which he is the Hon Secretary, and he is a Member of the small Excavation Committee. At the commencement of his lecture, Mr. Martin pointed out that he would be unable to tell them anything about the work carried on that summer, because they had not yet prepared their report, and if they had they would have had to take it to London to the Society of Antiquaries, who had done so much to assist and support them. After briefly recapitulating the leading facts of the Roman occupation, he proceeded to show that the generally accepted idea that Roman civilisation and institutions were swept clean away by the Saxons was not the correct one. In the first place, there were Roman cities remaining, in the case of some of which the continuity of their life was evident. Secondly, many of the so-called Anglo-Saxon institutions were really Roman, under a thin disguise. Thirdly, modern research, in which connection he mentioned the names of Mr. Grant Allen, and one familiar to them all, Dr Beddoc, had shown that the Celtic population of Britain, instead of being driven out, remained among the Saxons, even in the Eastern Counties; and, fourthly, the extraordinarily gradual invasion of the Saxons themselves, who took over 100 years to reach the neighbourhood of Bath. He told them this to show a reason for conducting the explorations, for they were not curiosity finders, although, of course, they found relics; but there was another object, which was to obtain a fuller knowledge of the history of Rome itself, and for this purpose they should study not merely Rome itself, but her rule in her provinces as well. Villas, or country houses, had been dug out until he thought they had come to an end of them, for they were now of similar types; but of the Cities they knew little. Silchester, in Hampshire, was the first to be excavated, and it had this advantage: that since the days of the Romans it had been abandoned but for a few huts, and the very outlines of the place could before

the digging be traced by the way in which the crops grew. The next and only City was Caerwent, where there had clearly been a continuity of life, and where there was at present a village which considerably impeded the work, for, owing to the expenses that would be entailed by keeping open the ground, after the investigations were completed, the places had in most cases to be buried again. The walls of Silchester were by no means symmetrical, while those of Caerwent were almost rectangular, the corners being rounded off, and, in his opinion, this pointed to the military origin of the town. The houses in Silchester were chiefly of two kinds: the courtyard type, with the rooms on three sides of the courtyard; and the corridor type, while in Caerwent they had found a unique type, a thing that helped the find very much, for there the houses were built round all four sides of the open courtyard. Mr. Martin illustrated his lecture with a number of clear and accurate slides, which gave a vivid impression of the remains. The most interesting descriptions being those of the hypocausts or winter rooms, which were heated by fire placed beneath the tessellated floor; and the North Gate, which was discovered through the enthusiasm of a local blacksmith, where traces were found of pipes of varying diameter leading into the City. After describing the various houses found, in one case three being built on the one site, their decoration, and the mosaic work in them, Mr. Martin showed some pillars whose beauty had surprised them, and observed his hearers had greater and finer Roman remains; but they must remember Bath was a much richer place than Caerwent. At the conclusion of the lecture the boys signified their appreciation by vigorous cheering, while on behalf of the visitors the Rev. C. W. Shickle thanked the lecturer.

All the Papers read at the Afternoon Meetings appear in this Number, and will well repay perusal. The Library of the Field Club has received important additions during the year, especially in gifts from the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, U.S.A.

In presenting these Proceedings to the Members of the Field Club, which are the twelfth in succession that I have had the pleasure of editing, I finally lay down my pen as Honorary Secretary of the Field Club, and hope with the new Secretary to be appointed at the Anniversary Meeting on February 18th, 1903, it may acquire renewed vitality and live many years to carry on its interesting investigations in the antiquities, geology, botany and natural history of the Bath neighbourhood.

WALTER W. MARTIN,

Hon. Sec.

BATH NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

INSTITUTED FEBRUARY 18th, 1855.

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-

*The Honorary Treasurer in Account with the Bath Field Club for the Year ending
December 31st, 1902.*

<u>Dr.</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>		<u>Cr.</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
Balance from last year's Pass Book ...	36	6	7		Rent of Room for 1901 ...			0
82 Subscriptions at 10s. each ...	41	0	0		Hon. Secretary's Account ...	5	0	0
3 Entrance Fees at 5s. each ...	0	15	0		Somerset Record Society, Subscription ...	4	17	8
Sale of Proceedings by Hon. Librarian ...	1	7	6		Hon. Librarian's Account ...	1	1	0
Deposit with the National Provincial Bank of England, excluding interest, <i>vide</i>					Messrs. Lewis & Son's Account ...	3	19	8
Deposit Book (the interest amounts to £6 9s. 5d.) ...	40	0	0		Deposit at the National Provincial Bank ...	4	16	5
	59	14	4		Balance at the National Provincial Bank ...	59	14	4
	£119 9 1					£119 9 1		

Examined and found correct,

R. L. TAYLOR,

Auditor.

February 9th, 1903.

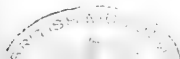
A. A. MANTELL,

Hon. Treasurer.

February 6th, 1903.

*SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS TO WHICH THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLUB ARE
ANNUALLY FORWARDED.*

Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill., U.S.A.
 Barrow Naturalists' Field Club.
 Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution.
 Belfast Naturalists' Field Club.
 Berwickshire Naturalists' Society.
 Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.
 Bristol Naturalists' Society.
 British Association for the Advancement of Science.
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 " " Natural History Department, South Kensington.
 Cambridge University Library.
 Cardiff Natural History Society.
 Christiania Royal Norwegian University.
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 Geologist Association.
 Glasgow Natural History Society.
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 Washington U.S. Geological Survey of the Territories.
 Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
 Yorkshire Philosophical Society.



PRESENTED



CONTENTS OF VOL. X., PART 2.

	PAGE
1.—THOMAS LINLEY AND HIS CONNECTION WITH BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.	111
2.—RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN AND HIS CONNECTION WITH BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.	131
3.—THOMAS MATHEWS AND HIS CONNECTION WITH BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.	177
4.—SOME NOTES ON STONE CROSSES OF SOMERSET, THEIR HISTORY AND CONDITION IN 1902, BY E. J. APPLEBY	192
5.—ON C. S. CALVERLEY AND A TOMBSTONE AT SOUTH STOKE, BY M. H. SCOTT	204
6.—ON TOKENS OF BATH TRADESMEN, BY S. SYDENHAM	207
7.—THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF BATH, 1902, BY A. CASTELLAIN ...	239
8.—SUMMARY OF EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE BATH FIELD CLUB FOR THE YEAR 1902-1903, BY W. W. MARTIN, HON. SEC.	243
9.—LIST OF MEMBERS, BALANCE SHEET, AND SOCIETIES IN EXCHANGE OF PROCEEDINGS WITH THE FIELD CLUB ...	262

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BATH NATURAL HISTORY

AND

ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

VOL. X., No. 3.

1904.



PRICE, HALF-A-CROWN.

BATH:

PRINTED (FOR THE CLUB) AT THE HERALD OFFICE, NORTH GATE.

1904.



Mrs. R. B. SHERIDAN,
(Miss Linley).

Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Thomas Linley: their residences at Bath. By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.

(Read December 2nd, 1903.)

By reason of a prospective visit to Bath of the late, the first, marquess of Dufferin, a descendant of Richard Sheridan, and the further intention of an official civic reception, some interest in the Bath life of the Sheridan family was revived. The prominent reason given for this visit was that the marquess should uncover a tablet to be placed on the house in which Sheridan resided, and so consequently a local desire arose to determine the first imperative point, the whereabouts of the house required. Hence these now purely local notes as an appendix to my former Sheridan papers which have a more than local interest. Besides the question of the house, a second, perhaps an equally interesting one, will be considered, namely the site of the grotto in which Sheridan secretly met his lady love, made further memorable by the well known verses then produced.

On the 4th August 1898 the *Bath Chronicle* announced that lord Dufferin had fixed his visit for monday the 5th September, but the paragraph was obliged to conclude,—it is to be regretted that research has failed to discover the Sheridan residence. Then continuing, it is added,—of the first visit of the elder Sheridan there is no record, he came probably in 1768-9. This is not exact as there is a record : he came first in 1763* when he gave two Attic morning entertainments, the programme showing entirely recitations by himself. He further announced his plan of an academy for teaching the english language. With Mrs. Sheridan he was in Bath again in January 1764. It may just be noted here that in the end “old Sheridan’s academy was laughed “off the stage.”†

The marquess duly arrived, was as duly entertained at luncheon

* *Chronicle* 5 May, p. 4, col. 2.

† “Creevy Papers,” Vol. 1, p. 53.

in the Guildhall, and afterwards driven round the city, concluding with a little comedy on Claverton Down. How keen an interest the "duke" is taking in his visit, says one journal—a Bristol paper,—may be seen from the following letter. Then follows the letter accepting the official invitation. Here the poor man not long made a marquess must be dubbed a duke which he was not: an example of the lowest and worst form of attempted flattery.

As already noted some activity ensued on the residence question which became the more acute as it neared the certainty of disappointment. One contributor to it announced that in overhauling his "extensive collection" he had discovered the much needed fact; but proof being asked for and not forthcoming, the asserted discovery "being persistently left unsupported by any authority," it was well remarked that it had "yet to run the gauntlet of others whose knowledge of such matters is extensive."* Apparently judging that an extensive knowledge was better than an extensive collection of books. After these remarks on this unnecessary mystery it was presently elicited that the authority was from some letters which had belonged to the late Mr. C. P. Russell once librarian at the Institution which placed it beyond a doubt that the house in question was No. 7 Terrace Walk. To whom such letters may have once belonged does not concern any one, but from whom they came or originated and where they are does so, yet they were not produced, their origin was not stated, so that the question, instead of being placed "beyond a doubt" remained still altogether in doubt and unproved. The same writer, apparently, in the then current number of a local political periodical called "The Beacon" further states that at the end of 1770 Richard Sheridan was living with his father in Kingsmead street and that subsequently he resided at 7 Terrace Walk. Hitherto, it is added—we have only the late Mr. James Titley's unsupported statement as to this in his "Memorable Houses of

* *Bath Herald*, 7 Sept.

“Bath,” but the writer “now claims to have documentary evidence “in confirmation of it.” First here Mr. Thomas Sheridan came to Bath in 1770 but Richard was not with him. Richard did not come until he left his tutor in 1771. Then the little pamphlet entitled—*Memorable Houses in Bath*—is by—*Citizen*—and can only be known or recognised by that name. Also *Citizen* as a pseudonym was William Titley not James. To this constant error it was again well but too mildly replied that—in view of the fact that the evidence is not produced the “discovery” loses all its interest* ; and it might have been added that *Citizen’s* statement remained still unsupported. Notwithstanding this criticism the story has been repeated in a book bearing a somewhat similar title,† with the addition,—it is clear that for some portion of his stay in Bath he (Sheridan) was in occupation of a house in the Lower Walks in more recent years known as No. 7. Besides that Sheridan, at this time a youthful idler, never was in occupation of any house in Bath, here the Terrace Walk of the former statement becomes the Lower Walks thus adding to the muddle, and still withal, it must be distinctly repeated, that in the absence of evidence the story remains certainly not clear. It is only clear that one unsupported statement can be of no more worth than another. The little brochure noticed—*Memorable Houses &c. by Citizen*—is perhaps as full of errors as such a small thing can be. It had but a short life ; but few copies got abroad, yet enough alas to be quoted without troubling to verify or test the authority. Thus to the Terrace Walk story *Citizen* adds,—it is said—(is said !!) that he (Sheridan) wrote several of his plays there. Remembering the short time that Richard really lived at Bath, that he was then a youth in his teens, and besides that the dates of his plays are known such a statement becomes very hard reading. The “Walks,” originally a raised ground to give a view over the wall eastward,

* *Bath Herald*. † “Famous Houses” &c. by J. F. Meehan.

was the promenade of early days. The name as a general term for the parades survived for long time and has left its special name for us to day. But this "Walk" with the houses alongside it very much narrowed a sometimes busy roadway and complaint was made of—"the narrowness of the passage leading from the Grove to Simpson's Rooms and the Parades, a place inconvenient and troublesome and when company are assembled even dangerous as the chairmen are careless." In fact complainant got a dig from a chair pole which laid him up for some days.* Here too, on the Parades, in Pierpoint St., and Galloway's Buildings were the silk and lace shops to tempt the ladies and their gallants. In time then the houses were pulled down and the road widened and the present Terrace built say about 1800.† Thus there can be no house here in any way associated with the Sheridans. In the perambulation to which lord Dufferin was treated, notwithstanding the total absence of fact, he was shown this house, as one that was occupied by the Sheridans, but the story stopped there; no tablet fortunately has been put on it. It may be further noticed as a curious instance how soon a statement if not promptly contradicted may be treated as fact as when announcing the death of a Sheridan at the Cape in Sept 1901 it is recorded that he was a descendant of R. B. Sheridan who lived at Bath at 7 Terrace Walk from 1771-3.‡ Sheridan did not live at 7 Terrace Walk and he was not at Bath in 1773. Mr. Peach, who in his *Historic Houses* § and generally had made this subject his own and should not according to rule have been interfered with, "could not assign to Sheridan any definite place "of abode." But, he continues,—“there is little doubt that in his many visits to Bath he resided on or near the Parades and not unlikely at the house of his wife's father.” Mr. Peach should have completed such simple suggestions by simply adding,—or

* *Bath Chronicle*, 4 April 1771.

† "Peach, *Street Lore of Bath*," p. 145.

‡ *Bath Chronicle*, 26 Sept 1901. § Vol. 1.; p. 55.

somewhere else. Now this again is very curious writing and very curious reading. Had a stop been made at—abode—all would have been well ; he had told all he knew. There is not even a little doubt but a certainty that the rest is entirely worse than worthless. Richard did not make many visits to Bath, he did not return after leaving it, but his wife did so, and his father may have occasionally been there. But the question is not of such visits or where such visitors may have lodged for the usual three weeks or month. The times and dates for the present interest are fixed and determined. Had these searchers hunted a little wider they would have long ago turned to Moore's—Life of Sheridan—and would there have found the story told as fully and as much as it is so far known to-day. Moore says—the Sheridans first took up their residence in Kingsmead St., and he adds in a foot note on the same page as if it were a late information—and for a short time in New King St. In Mr. Sheridan's advertisements of his lectures on his coming to Bath he gives his address as Kingsmead St., and there are many Sheridan letters extant all dated from Kingsmead St. There is thus no occasion to doubt or hunt further. The only point is to determine which or whereabouts was the actual house.

Mr. Sheridan on coming to Bath would attract no especial notice as merely a public entertainer struggling for existence. Sam Foote is recorded to have said*—throw a naked Irishman into the Thames at low water and he will come up with the tide at Westminster with a laced coat on and a sword. Having gone under in London Mr. Sheridan came almost naked to Bath hoping the tide would turn him up well laced and comfortable. Although this did not happen exactly, yet from the general tenor of his life there and from letters extant, it may be judged that after his kind and race he managed to live fairly well, the morrow being left to take care of itself. He hardly became a householder

* "Bon Mots," p. 81.

or rate payer but occupied only a furnished house or as much of it as suited him. Letting lodgings or furnished houses was a leading business at this time and to meet the demand what are now known as paying guests were taken by private people as boarders, the power of choice in this case being reserved. It was perhaps with these thoughts that at some time during my wanderings through the streets of Bath, the impression got fixed in my mind that the Sheridan residence in Kingsmead St. must have been the very ornate house at the east end corner of the south side of the street known once as Rosewell and since by different names from time to time, as it was imagined that at the Sheridan time the street was only partially built, and no other house seemed suitable. It was remembered too that the south side looked over Kingsmead Fields since and now always closely associated with his name. From want of observation this house is always wrongly described. It is often or always stated that it is in Kingsmead Square, but it is in Kingsmead Street. The length east and west is in alignment with that street and the main entrance also is in that street. By removing the woodwork now outside the shop fronts, the original front doorway, now divided, would appear, the exact position would be seen. There may have been a side entrance originally from the now Kingsmead Square but the present doorway there is an insertion, its style different and later than the house wall around it and the date above it. On being asked, when the present occasion revived the subject, to name Sheridan's house I gave my above impression but with the direct qualification that there was no authority for it. The thought however got into circulation, was even "discovered" locally, and lord Dufferin was driven by this house also.

Bath was not early with a newspaper but curiously the far away *Kentish Post* of the 3rd Dec, 1740* tells us under date from Bath 26th Nov, that on that morning—"a dreadful fire happened in the

* P 2, col 2.

house of Mr. Frankpit at the Collyflower in Kingsmead St. which consumed that and three adjoining houses. Mr. Frankpit had a boy in his arms who he was bringing through the house into the street but the flames were too excessive so that he was obliged to drop him, though he was his own son, to save himself, and the child was burned to death. The father was also so much burned that his life was despaired of and none of his goods were saved. The generous Mr. Nash took upon himself to make a charitable collection among the nobility and gentry &c for the distressed." Thus it may be seen that Kingsmead St. was commenced earlier than is sometimes thought, and from the following advertisements it may be learned there was early ample accommodation. In 1757* lodgings were advertised such as—six rooms on a floor by the week or by the year; or again—a complete house three rooms on a floor with light closets and a stable for four or five horses. In February 1767 there was to be "lett" a house or any part thereof in Kingsmead St genteely furnished. N.B. Not a new built house nor uninhabited.† In 1770 there was to be "lett" furnished or unfurnished a house in Kingsmead St late in the occupation of lady Monoux deceased.‡ Again in 1771, to be lett or sold cheap several houses in the "new part" of Kingsmead St.§ We may perhaps see from this pressure from without the cause of the removal of the west gate in 1775. The subject being entirely Mr. Peach's was next referred to him, hoping for assistance. At first not understanding for whom the application was made he was clearly reticent not wishing to part with knowledge which he considered was his alone. He had declined to give this to his neighbours fearing it would be appropriated as a "discovery," but eventually, as willing to oblige lord Dufferin,

* *Bath Journal*, 25 Apl, p 4, col 4.

† *Chronicle*, p 4, col 3.

‡ *Journal*, 31 Dec. § *Chronicle*, 28 Feb, p 4, col 4.

he gave it to me, and named the house as No. 55 New King St, and guided at the last moment by this information which should have been stated as coming from Mr. Peach, to this house also lord Dufferin was driven. The record does not report exactly what may have passed but Mr. Peach's name was not mentioned. He thus considered his anticipations realised and that he had been given away, a position which very rightly annoyed him exceedingly. For his authority for his statement he mentioned some manuscripts once entrusted to him for publication but as they were never published and never produced proof remains still dormant, the reference of none effect. As Mr. Peach was preparing a continuation of his house or street history, these various points are just mentioned here as his notes now, with fair certainty, would require very close correction.

One more little episode must be noticed. Previous to leaving the marquess paid a visit to 5 Pierpoint St where—says the recording paragraph*—“his great grandmother was born and from which she made the runaway marriage with Richard Brinsley Sheridan. His lordship was profoundly interested in inspecting the various rooms, and pictured his beautiful ancestress in her childhood and youth within those, to him, memorable walls.”

In so few words no paragraph could be more topsy turvy. The damsel was baptized in St Michael's and would consequently be born in that parish, her father at the time being only twenty just beginning his work, humbly enough. Then her “runaway” was from the Crescent and she was not then married; and finally it may be said that neither her father nor herself ever lived in Pierpoint St. There is however fair and sufficient excuse for the last statement as it has been publicly made, but as yet authority is altogether wanting in proof, and other evidences are against it. We are told that on the occasion of the elopement, Sheridan papa being away in Ireland, the landlord of the house

* *Bladud*, 7 Sept 1898.

in which he resided went off to inform Charles Sheridan the elder son who was living a few miles out of Bath. The allusion here would be fairly to the house landlord as a ground landlord or frecholder is not so familiar with, would not so interest himself in, his tenants. Unfortunately neither the name of the landlord nor of the house or street is given. Just the two words are omitted which would have saved much trouble and doubt. Further search then must be made; every small lead must be followed.

Richard Sheridan left Bath in August 1772 and from his new home in Essex he wrote to his sister in reply to some demand that—Mrs. Bowers seemed alarmed—about a certain debt, then after promising to send the money he characteristically and comfortably adds—you may pay, 'tis all for flowers and likewise for doing ruffles. The Bowers' were evidently closely acquainted as in 1775 Maria Linley writing about the play of the Rivals just performed with great applause at Bath—says—a new scene on the North Parade Mr. Bowers considers better than the one in town. Yet the first production of this piece in London was a failure, a result Sheridan attributed to revenge on the part of some for his quarrel with Mathews.* This idea well shows and from himself, his own consciousness and knowledge of the strong feeling against him for his part in that discreditable affair. Thus he hated Bath and never came to it again. Mr. Bowers seems to have been accepted as a theatrical critic and to have been somewhat a showman himself and had other things in hand. An advertisement of Sept 1770 tells that the healthy and cheerful situation of the Bagatelle at Widcombe in the road of Prior Park† has induced Mr. Bowers to have public breakfasts. At the same spot visitors may amuse themselves by seeing seals cut by the Wicksteed water machine.

* "Wilkes, Sheridan & Fox," by W. F. Rae, p. 156.

† *Journal*, p 4, col 1.

Coffee, tea, dinners, the best wines.* Another advertisement tells that there, in,—

The air serene, tabours play,
We breakfast, dance, and dine,
And, with innocence, crown the day,
Midst flasks of noble wine.†

But success does not seem to have come as on 6th May 1773 was offered for sale in the parish of Widcombe and Lyncombe a valuable spring of mineral water and the Wicksteed machine and Bagatelle &c as let to Messrs. Wicksteed and Bowers.‡ It may be just further noted that Mr. Bowers box keeper at Drury Lane theatre took his benefit 11 May 1767. § As there are no existing parochial records for the time that Sheridan resided at Bath those of the nearest date available may be examined for any further possible clue. Looking up the earliest rate books, in 1775 Mr. William Bowers paid poor rate for his house in Kingsmead St eight shillings and nine pence ; and for his garden in Kingsmead St six pence, and for his garden in James St one shilling and six pence ; and in the same year he paid a water rent in New King St. Houses were not usually numbered at this time. Thus there was advertised for sale|| a house described as,—situated in the parish of Lyncomb and Widcomb next the centre house in the row called Claverton street on the left hand beyond Gibbs's mill leading to Claverton Down. Some others may be noted, as—To be lett a house in the Circus elegantly furnished being the seventh door on the right hand going up from Gay St.¶ Another was at the south east corner of the south east division of the Circus next Gay St,¶¶ and again another in the lower part of Gay St the fifth door from the square.¶¶¶ A tradesman's

* *Journal*, 6 Apl 1772, p 4, col 2. † *Journal*, 20 Apl 1772, p 4, col 1.

‡ *Chronicle*, p 2, col 3. § *Public Advertiser*, p 1, col 2.

Bath Chronicle, 23 Aug 1770, p 3, col 4. ¶ *Journal*, 31 Dec 1770.

¶¶ *Chronicle*, 24 Oct 1771, p 2, col 4.

¶¶¶ *Chronicle*, 12 March 1772, p 3, col 2.

advertisement tells us of possible bargains—at his china shop the Golden Canister in Pierpoint St near the South Parade.* The books show that the rate collector commenced his work on one side of Kingsmead St and returned by the other recording the names but not otherwise marking the whereabouts, so the first question which arises is, on which side must the names be placed; at which end did he begin. Then confusion soon appears as he gives 108 houses all under Kingsmead St whereas to day there are only 38. Presently it becomes clear that this difference is caused by our New King St being included; a plan persisted in after the streets were well established as distinct. The next thought prompts a close examination to find some fixed point or points from which a start may be made. The first to the front is the Casualty Hospital which appears about eighth on the list, and as this is marked on the old maps as on the north side and towards the east end of Kingsmead St it is clear that the list starts from that end. Following on then on this north side the thirtieth or thirty first on the list is the Wesley Chapel and tenements which are still there and so become another good fixed point. Continuing the counting onwards the seventy first on the list is Mr. Wm Bowers. But the collector must have now crossed over at the west end and is returning by the south side, and by still following the list there comes presently the name of John Keene marking the site of the *Journal* printing office which stood where and as it stands to day, and thus forms another good fixed point and fairly proves the route taken by the collector. Beyond Keene there are five houses eastward and to day there are the same, the printing house being now marked as No. 6. But the list contains a name greater than either yet noticed, namely William Herschel. Herschel up to this time was principally engaged as a musician and teacher of music, and as organist at the Octagon chapel he

* *Chronicle*, 1 May 1766, 21 Nov 1771.

worked the musical portion of the service there, as Linley and his family did at St Margaret's chapel. As remarks are often made about this chapel being called St Margaret's, accompanied usually by some errors as to its origin, a few notes here may be excused. On the 12th Sept 1768 subscriptions were invited, and by advertisement made public in the *Bath Chronicle* 6 Oct 1768*, for fifty subscribers of £100 each, for building a chapel in St. Margaret's Court in Brock St. Following this, on the 26 Nov 1772 the *Chronicle*† announced that for seats in St Margaret's chapel now ready, application should be made to Mr Wm Linley, clerk of the works at the chapel or at his house in the market place. Cruttwell's Guide, undated but ? 1774, for the first time adds to its pages that,—St Margaret's chapel situated in the court which bears its name in Brock St near the Crescent was built at the expence of the rev. Mr Martyn, the late Cornelius Norton esq, and Mr. Linley organist, under the direction of Mr. William Linley builder. The dated issue of the Guide for 1777 repeats this. The account is right enough save that it may be read to imply that the court bore the name of the chapel instead of the chapel that of the court. In 1819 was printed,—a selection of psalms and anthems sung at St Margaret's chapel, Bath. As this was,—published and sold by W Barrett clerk of the chapel,—it may be presumed that he knew the prevailing name of that time. Sermons too have sometimes the St, and Wm Linley the last of the family bequeathed in 1835 his share or interest in St Margaret's chapel. So with some that name continued and was used to the last. But there is another side. In 1782 a dated issue of Cruttwell's Guide shows a difference. Now the account reads,—Margaret chapel is situated in Margaret buildings in Brock St near the Crescent, &c. The issue of 1784 repeats this, both issues showing a change of name, the court gone, and the saint and the possessive comma and final s. The name is now

* P 3, col. 4.

† P 1, col. 3.

Margaret chapel in Margaret buildings. Whatever reasons there may have been for this change it certainly brought to the fore the lady owner of the property whose name was Margaret and who being thus more clearly and prominently and personally associated was not obscured or eclipsed by any saintly prefix. As there was no dedication or ecclesiastical interference of any sort with what was entirely a proprietary concern the place could be called by any name, but probably now, consensus of opinion would decide with the modern contention, for the second name and against the saint. In this venture the Linleys being thus financially interested here their musical compositions were often performed and often produced. There was consequently considerable jealousy as Linley did not like the opposition from Herschel's different style of music.

In 1767, 1st January Mr Herschel announced a concert at Mr Simpson's Rooms, to consist by particular desire of pieces entirely composed by himself. Tickets 5/- to be had &c, and of Mr Herschel at his lodgings in Bell Lane.* On the 5th January Mr Herschel thanked those who attended, adding a note that he would continue to teach the guitar, the harpsichord, singing and the violin, to those who would honour him with commands, and giving his address at Mr. Harper's in Bell Lane.† On the 4th Oct 1767, the Octagon chapel was opened applications for seats to be made to Mr Bulman, the clerk, in Beaufort Square. On wednesday 28th and thursday 29th Oct Mr Herschel gave an organ concerto at the chapel, and in the evening of the first day he gave a concert at Wiltshire's Rooms.‡ In December 1767 he gave the first gentlemen's subscription concert at Gyde's Rooms "Mr Herschel one of his majesty's band of music from Hanover" assisting on the hautboy. §

The advertisement of the Octagon chapel, 20 Dec 1770, tells

* *Chronicle*, p 4, col 2.

† *Journal*, p 4, col 1.

‡ *Chronicle*, 8 Oct, p 4, col 1.

§ *Chronicle*, 3 Dec, p 4, col 4.

that six fires are kept for the sake of invalids and that strangers can be accommodated with seats by applying at Mr Herschel's, the "bottom of Kingsmead St."* The next week, 27 Dec, and so on weekly until 27 March 1771 the notice says—apply at Mr. Herschel's in New King St, but the next week on the 4th April 1771 and so on to the 9th May it again becomes Kingsmead St. The advertisement now stops during the summer but on 5th Sept 1771 on the approach of the season it begins again and again reverts to New King St. On the 24th Feb 1772† Herschel advertised a concert for Friday the 20th March at Mr. Gyde's Great Room, the vocal parts by Signora Farinelli. Tickets to be had of Mr Herschel in Kingsmead St. To this there is a postscript or NB—"As Mr. Herschel has been prevented by Mr. Linley from having his concert at the Assembly Rooms, he hopes by this early notice of the day at Mr. Gyde's he will be *justified* if any other musical performance should be opposed to him on that day, as he has great reason to believe it will not be consistent with Mr Linley's interest that Mr Herschel should have a concert and that so great a singer as Signora Farinelli should be heard at all, or to that advantage she deserves." Three days later the *Bath Chronicle* of the 27 Feb 1772 again announces ‡ the same concert,—tickets to be had of Mr Herschel in Kingsmead St; yet the same *Chronicle* of the same day and date, § in the advertisement of the Octagon chapel says, apply at Mr Herschel's in New King St, but the *Bath Journal* 2 March, || only three days later, announcing this concert says—tickets to be had of Mr Herschel in Kingsmead St.

The rise of New King St seems to have been a sort of struggle. In the earliest mention met with it is King Street without the West gate. An advertisement 11 Dec 1766¶ announces lodging and boarding at—the first new built house in "King St,

* *Chronicle*, p 3, col 1. † *Journal*, p 1, col 2. ‡ P 2, col 3.
 § P 1, col 1. || P 1, col 1. ¶ *Chronicle*, p 4, col 1.

Kingsmead St," begun to be built near three years since. In September 1770 are advertised—two good new houses to be let in King St,* and again—to be sold by auction at the Greyhound and Shakespeare in the Market Place, Bath, on the 16th April, a neat well built stone house situate in King St being the seventh house on the south side from Charles St ; an outlet of ground or garden behind the same. It is seen here that the position of this house—the seventh from Charles St marks it as No. 7 of to-day. Again the *Chronicle* 16 May 1771† announces to be sold—a new built dwelling house in King St and five other new built dwelling houses in St Anne's Court in the same street. St Anne's Court is still there and so proves the whereabouts of these houses. Requiring presently some distinction, after appearing once as Great King St, this King St finally became New King St. In 1771 there were to be sold by auction—at the eleventh house on the north side of New King St‡ that and the adjoining house with two tenements on the back ground near the Bristol Road ; and in 1772—there was to be lett in New King St a genteel house with plenty of pump water. §

Returning somewhat, Mr. Sheridan on his arrival at Bath in 1770, issued a prospectus of his species of entertainment called an Attic Entertainment—well known to the ancients but introduced first by him amongst the moderns &c ; and giving his address in Kingsmead St. On the 10th Dec 1770,—Mr Sheridan gave noticell that an academy would shortly be opened for the regular instruction of young gentlemen in the art of reading and reciting and in the grammatical knowledge of the english language. To be conducted by persons properly trained and qualified to teach according to his method and under his own inspection. The terms are two guineas a month sixteen lessons to the month and two guineas entrance. Young ladies may also have an oppor-

* *Journal*. † P 2, col 1. ‡ *Chronicle*, 10 Oct, p 3, col 2.
 § *Journal*, 21 Dec, p 4, col 3. || *Journal*, p 4, col 1.

tunity of receiving instruction in both these articles from one of their own sex in a separate place and upon the same terms. Mr. Sheridan will be ready to receive the commands of any ladies or gentlemen upon this subject at — Bowers's in Kingsmead St. Here is a clear and plain intimation not only that he lived in Kingsmead St but at "Bowers's in Kingsmead Street." This would account for the intimacy between the families.

In the rate book already mentioned William Herschel appears as sixty first on the list, and the last fixed point before him is the Wesley Chapel. If this point be taken as thirtieth on the list, there is a difference of thirty one houses between the two. The counting today is somewhat awkward but there now seem to be say sixteen (there may be seventeen) houses beyond the chapel westward on the north side, and then crossing the street to return by the south side, fifteen houses must be added from this side to make the thirty one, and this brings us exactly to the sixty first on the list, to William Herschel's house, to the house which is to day No. 19. This is not mentioned as acceptable proof of any argument here but as showing how surprisingly and curiously the plan worked out considering the long time which has elapsed. Caroline Herschel in her Memoirs says she lived with her brother at No 19 New King St. Herschel had several house moves in his effort to get a required space for his workshops but Caroline does not give these quite fully. In 1775 and 1776 his name appears as twenty ninth on the rate list in Kingsmead St which would be on the north side near the Wesley Chapel, but the house is marked void. In 1777 he is still in the list twenty ninth, but the house is not void. In 1778 he appears in the list with two houses in Kingsmead St, the twenty ninth and the sixty first. The twenty ninth would be about our No 55 and this he vacated in 1779, settling then in the other on the south side, the No 19 of to day, having a garden behind and an open space extending to the river, and here he remained until he left Bath. This No





THE GROTTO AND NORTH PARADE, 1772.

19 New King St being thus found and accepted as it must be and is as Herschel's house, brings up another very important fixed point.

Although there may be errors, or differences by lapse of time in counting the long list of rated houses, there can be no such difficulty with only a few. As Herschel's house is sixty first on the list and Bowers' house in the same list is seventy first, there should be, and there are, ten others in the list between them. It follows then as Herschel's house was our No 19 that Bowers' house must be our No 9.

Neither Bowers, nor Sheridan, nor Herschel ever lived in Kingsmead St as we know it. They did not then move from Kingsmead St, but Kingsmead St moved from them. At first the whole road here from end to end was included in Kingsmead St, then — "the bottom part of Kingsmead St," — the "new part of Kingsmead St," — "King St, Kingsmead St,"—after a struggle as King St, after a dual existence and being known by either name or by both, was cut off by Charles St and so by 1772 "a short time" before the Sheridans left had become established as New King St.

Thus Sheridan's residence,—Bowers's house—originally a part of Kingsmead St,—would be the house now known to us as No 9, New King Street.

THE GROTTTO.

The other interesting point may now be considered. It happened that during this time young Richard Sheridan, although without means or prospects, had attached himself to Miss Linley then about seventeen, in the zenith of her popularity and with a potentiality for wealth as a public singer. The attachment was strongly objected to by the parents on both sides, so the lovers as usual in such cases had to meet in secret. At one such meeting which ended in a tiff arising apparently from a fit of his usual jealousy Sheridan wrote some verses, often quoted in part, but

being thus generally only partially known are here reproduced to complete the story.

1.

Uncouth is this moss cover'd grotto of stone,
 And damp is the shade of this dew dripping tree ;
 Yet I this rude grotto with rapture will own ;
 And willow, thy damps are refreshing to me.

2.

For this is the grotto where Delia reclin'd
 As late I in secret her confidence sought ;
 And this is the tree kept her safe from the wind,
 As blushing she heard the grave lesson I taught.

3.

Then tell me, thou grotto of moss cover'd stone,
 And tell me, thou willow, with leaves dripping dew,
 Did Delia seem vex'd when Horatio was gone ?
 And did she confess her resentment to you ?

4.

Methinks now each bough as you're waving it, tries
 To whisper a cause for the sorrow I feel ;
 To hint how she frown'd when I dared to advise,
 And sigh'd when she saw that I did it with zeal.

5.

True, true, silly leaves, so she did, I allow ;
 She frown'd ; but no rage in her looks did I see ;
 She frown'd ; but reflection had clouded her brow ;
 She sigh'd ; but, perhaps, 'twas in pity for me.

6.

Then wave thy leaves brisker, thou willow of woe ;
 I tell thee no rage in her looks could I see ;
 I cannot, I will not, believe it was so ;
 She was not, she could not be angry with me.

7.

For well did she know that my heart meant no wrong ;
 It sunk at the thought but of giving her pain ;
 But trusted its task to a faltering tongue,
 Which err'd from the feelings it could not explain.

8.

Yet, oh ! if indeed, I've offended the maid ;
 If Delia my humble monition refuse ;
 Sweet willow, the next time she visits thy shade,
 Fan gently her bosom, and plead my excuse.

9.

And thou stony grot, in thy arch may'st preserve
 Two lingering drops of the night fallen dew ;
 And just let them fall at her feet and they'll serve
 As tears of my sorrow intrusted to you.

10.

Or, lest they unheeded should fall at her feet,
 Let them fall on her bosom of snow ; and I swear
 The next time I visit thy moss cover'd seat,
 I'll pay thee each drop with a genuine tear.

11.

So may'st thou, green willow, for ages thus toss
 Thy branches so lank o'er the slow winding stream ;
 And thou, stony grotto, retain all thy moss,
 While yet there's a poet to make thee his theme.

12.

Nay, more—may my Delia still give you her charms
 Each ev'ning, and sometimes the whole ev'ning long ;
 Then, grotto, be proud to support her white arms,
 Then, willow wave all thy green tops to her song.

Moore remarks* that these verses were "supposed" to have been written in a grotto in Spring Gardens "then a fashionable place of resort." Here be it noted it is again only "supposed," and yet as usual what was only a supposition soon becomes copied and quoted as a fact. Thus the last biography of Sheridan† quoting Moore as the only authority but dropping the supposition, says boldly as a fact,—a grotto in Spring Gardens was the scene &c. Moore marked his words plainly as a supposition and plain words should be so read, without attempted improvement or elaboration. The only fact in Moore's statement is that Spring Gardens at the time was a place of fashionable resort. In the comedy by Mrs. Thomas Sheridan entitled,—A Journey to Bath,—lord Stewkley, one of the characters, makes a breakfast in Spring Gardens and invites such a mixed company that—lady Bell says to him—Why my lord Stewkly you

* "Life of Sheridan," p. 52. † Rae, p 187.

have certainly invited the whole corporation of Bath with their wives and children, the place won't contain them; it's quite a mob.

Again Anstey in the "New Bath Guide" tells that lord Ragamuffen,—

To day with extreme complaisance and respect ask'd
All the people of Bath to a general breakfast.

Then further we are told,—

He carried us all to a place cross the river,
And vow'd that the Rooms were too hot for his liver,
He said it would greatly our pleasure promote,
If we all to Spring Gardens set out in a boat.

In Spring Gardens there might have been grottos or retreats suitable enough but the place would be entirely unsuited for a stolen interview, would hardly be chosen for a secret meeting, as besides being such a very public resort, to reach it the river must be crossed in a not invisible boat or by a public ferry. The little inexact pamphlet already noticed, printed in 1878 but carelessly undated, entitled—"Memorable Houses in Bath," by Citizen—tells that this Ode is said (is said) to have been written in a grotto in the adjacent Spring Gardens. He is writing of the Terrace Walk, so it is difficult to see what was adjacent. In time Spring Gardens disappeared, the name got lost, the place hardly identified, and consequently writers have gone wrong over this grotto story. Thus one says the young couple met—in the Walks or in Sidney Gardens. This mention of the Walks may be remembered as it may seem that in the mind of the writer the Grotto and the Walks were somehow associated. Another writing much later,* copying somewhat, says it was in a grotto in Sidney Gardens where he wrote &c; and another† copying again but using a y for the i in Sidney for a difference, says—a grotto in Sydney Gardens is reported ("reported") to have been the place of meeting. Sydney Gardens has alcoves and

* Octogenarian. † Oliphant.

after rain dampness enough to satisfy any inquisitive traveller, but the place was not opened until 1795. In one more, the most recent issue, the writer tells us plainly as if he had seen it all, that "the grotto in some well kept gardens was reached by well kept footpaths. The old grotto—(nothing has been said of "a new one)—had the shade of a willow tree and those who "like to go down the opening from the centre of Pulteney "St leading to the Recreation Ground of to-day will find the "spot where once stood the grotto at the extremity of the garden "of No 65 Pulteney St. Here is to be found the old weather "beaten willow possibly the tree that Sheridan sung of. Close to "the roots of the old willow are fragments which might have been "portions of the original uncouth grotto of stones."* Examining this extraordinary story, if "the old willow" is only "possibly" the right one, and the "fragments" only "might have been," the most determined imagination will hardly find the "spot" where "stood the grotto." Sometimes Mrs. Sheridan visited her relations at Bath. On one of those occasions Sheridan in a poetical letter alludes to the evidently to them well remembered grotto episode. He wrote,—

TO LAURA.

Near Avon's ridgy bank there grows
 A willow of no vulgar size
 That tree first heard poor Sylvio's woes
 And heard how bright were Laura's eyes.

To this she responded,—

TO SYLVIO.

Soft flowed the lay by Avon's sedgy side
 While o'er its stream the drooping willow hung
 Beneath whose shadow Sylvio fondly tried
 To check the opening roses as they sprung.

The poor willow then at 65 Pulteney St must have drooped sadly two hundred and fifty yards or more from the damp and

* "Famous Houses," Meehan.

sedgy side of Avon's soft flowing stream. As a clear fact also this spot was beyond and outside, and was not within the bounds of Spring Gardens as the slight trouble of a glance at some of the early maps would show.

Then the same work tells that the ferry stairs to Spring Gardens at the bottom of the South Parade are still there. These stairs at the South Parade did not connect with Spring Gardens, the ferry here crossed towards Lyncombe and was known as Whitehall Ferry. Basnett's plan of the city and suburbs published in 1771 shows this ferry and names the place Whitehall stairs. This map shows also Spring Gardens and Spring Gardens stairs and the ferry there. Spring Gardens stairs were at the back, or through the garden, of the house but lately known as the Athenæum at the end of Orange Grove. The place is now gone, the stairs were cleared away with the house without leaving a mark, by the clearance for the Empire Hotel frontage.

An advertisement of 28 January 1770* announces that—at Spring Gardens tomorrow and on every friday evening till further notice, will be a public tea drinking when the company will be entertained with French horns, &c, also violins for those who are disposed to dance, at one shilling each person. But in case the company should chuse to continue dancing by candle light a further reasonable compensation will be expected. Such of the company as prefer tea drinking in separate parties will be properly accommodated. Tickets to be had at Miss Purdie's perfume shop next door to Mr. Gyde's Rooms and at Mr Roubel's jeweller in the Grove. The public breakfast on every monday morning with music and dancing &c will be continued at the usual price. NB. In case friday evening should prove wet the public tea drinking will be on saturday and if monday should also be a wet morning the public breakfast will be on tuesday.

* *Bath Chronicle*, p. 1, col. 4.

Another advertisement 27 June 1771* announces that—in Spring Gardens the public breakfasts will be continued every monday with French horns and music for cotillons, country dances &c, as usual, breakfast to be ready from half past nine to eleven. And by particular desire on every thursday evening will be a public tea drinking &c attended with French horns and other music. Tickets one shilling each which entitles the bearer to tea or coffee. NB. Constant attendance at the passage boat leading from Orange Grove to the Gardens.

A poetical invitation to Spring Gardens, says,—

The boat stands all ready
 The rope is quite steady
 Your passage a penny apiece
 Without wind or tide, on the opposite side
 Safe you're landed and housed in a trice
 Coffee, chocolate, tea, spread before you you'll see
 With provisions well chosen and nice.†

For walking in the Garden the subscription was 2/6 for the season; public days excepted. Mrs. Sheridan improved, contemporary notices say, after marriage, in her womanhood, and like many hundreds of other people at this date she had her portrait more than once painted. We can therefore now compare and reflect. The great praise and flattery bestowed on her as a young girl has been recorded and constantly repeated as if she would be alone in the crowd to receive such. But there were hundreds of others receiving the same thing. Weekly the Journals have verses from the poetasters of the time all fulsomely addressed in the wildest bombast to Chloe, Celia, Delia, Cynthia, Myra, Belinda, and many another, who are all divine, beauteous, and angelic, heavenly charmers. One poet apostrophising the Parade, writes,‡—

To fix where paradise was plac'd why all this talk,
 Here, here's the place, where these bright angels walk.

* *Chronicle*. † *Chronicle*, 7 May 1767, p 1, col 4.

‡ *Chronicle*, 30 Oct 1766, p 4, col 4.

We may surely now be allowed to drop this sexual nonsense and bring the portraits and the story to the judgment of common sense.

One place for this grotto has been overlooked, a place which not only exactly suits the poetical description, but whereon a grotto actually and suitably stands to day ; a place which would exactly suit the lovers and would be well known to them as being so little distant from the damsel's original parental home. Common tradition too tells us that this was the spot.

At the end of the North Parade in the little "garden" or piece of ground now attached to the last house eastward and close to the river bank stands a grotto which until lately had a suitable drooping willow at its side. The house belonging to this garden piece after being vacant for some time and neglected was let as a lodging house and was in process of being painted and made ready for occupation early in 1900. The willow was there then and the grotto clear for examination one day, but by reason of a sudden flood was found the next day half under water. Visiting the place again later, in the spring time of the year 1900, the little piece of river bank or "garden" was now in decent order but the willow was gone, cut down to give light and clear the view from the windows eastward. It was certainly a ragged, "lank," unpicturesque tree, having been trimmed before in its lower branches, but alas being now gone one principal argument or evidence here would be gone also if these personal facts were not recorded. As already mentioned tradition has made this grotto the historic spot and nearly fifty years belief in this tradition has helped now as a spur to many searches in likely and unlikely places and manuscripts hoping to find some contemporary or nearly contemporary mention or record to aid in confirmation. It just happened first that a letter of my own came to light, a letter from Mr Thomas Benet to Mr Ezra Hunt in which he says—"You may see as you cross the North Parade bridge in the garden of the house where captain Lye lives a stone summer house or

grotto where Sheridan wrote his famous poem for the celebrated Miss Linley who he married." The letter unfortunately is undated but as the North Parade bridge is mentioned it must have been about or after 1836, the year the bridge was opened. The Directory for 1819 gives at 13 North Parade G. Lye esq, and this in 1826 is again Mr Lye and in 1829 captain Lye. In 1833 this is captain Jones Lye. The house at this time numbered 13 and the last, would seem on the opening of the bridge to have been divided and the necessary work for this may have disturbed the tenancy of captain Lye as in 1837 there appears a No. 14, number 13 being omitted as possibly not in order, presumably vacant. The plates or drawings of the North Parade up to this time show only one doorway, one house here. A little later at No. 14 appears captain L. Lye who was lord Manvers' agent.

The letter quoted then shows the tradition existing at this time leaving only about fifty or sixty years back to the actual event. Could a similar mention have been found dated say 1800, thirty years earlier and only about thirty years after the event it would have made the search very satisfactory. Yet this tradition must have existed from an earlier time, a time before captain Lye, it could not arise and be accepted without some effluxion of time, and the chance building of such a place say about 1800 could not have been so soon forgotten. By good fortune, persevering, a long search was rewarded by a find which will well settle all doubt. In the topographical collections in the Bodleian library at Oxford there came up a drawing entitled—a north west view of Bath—dated 1773, and here reproduced.* Made actually at the Sheridan time it shows the elevated North Parade, "one of the noblest walks in Europe," with its abrupt ending and the river passing beneath, and shows also exactly for the present purpose, the grotto,

* Gough Maps 28. No 41 b.

standing exactly where and as it stands to-day, exactly stone for stone, looking damp enough on Avon's sedgy bank, surrounded and almost covered by foliage, and secluded enough to suit any pair of clandestine lovers. In other drawings from a different point of view trees large and small are shown here on the river bank which appears as a public spot, not as attached to any house. The arboreal surroundings and the possible seclusion have now disappeared, but,—the bridge being removed from the mind's eye,—the early scene can be at once plainly realised and the conclusion stands out clear, that our tradition is confirmed, and that we have still here with us the veritable original Sheridan grotto.

THOMAS LINLEY.

The former searches into the Linley history were abandoned before completed, the time required being more than could be spared, and so much more than had been anticipated. The rather tedious work has since been resumed to determine if possible where Linley lived in his earlier time before he moved to the Crescent. Having no exact or clear alternative at the moment, the statement that he lived in Pierpoint St. was necessarily accepted but this must now be cancelled. There is no warrantable authority for the assertion.

Bath was so small, so concentrated round a few points at this time that advertisement was not much used, local events were known or could be learned at the libraries and the Rooms, and full particulars were published in the bills of the day. The "infernal arts of scandal, cards, and dice" and the quarrels ensuing could be carried on without journalistic publicity. Just sufficient notice of Linley however occurs. The first mention found is an announcement* 10 Feb 1755 that at a vocal and instrumental concert at Mr Wiltshire's Great Room, — by

* *Bath Journal*, p. 4, col 2.

particular desire Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Linley will sing the celebrated canzonet,—When Ribo thought fit from the world to retreat ;—and the so much admired two part song of Handel, —On the death of the stag. Another advertisement* tells that on the 19th March 1755 for the benefit of Mr. Linley there would be a vocal and instrumental concert at Wiltshire's Rooms, the vocal parts by Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Linley, and a new harpsichord concerto. On the 14th April 1755† another announcement tells that at Wiltshire's Rooms there would be duets and cantatas by Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Linley. To these notices so far no address is given but they show Linley early as a good and prominent vocalist. In April 1755 he sang again, and then no notice comes until Nov 1758 when at Simpson's Rooms, *Acis and Galatea* was performed, the vocal parts by Signor Passarini and Mr. Linley, Mr. Chilcot being at the organ. The next notice is now a better one for the present purpose when at Wiltshire's Rooms Linley took a vocal part in,—*Solomon*, a serenata. Tickets were to be had at the libraries &c, and at Mr Linley's in the Abbey Green.‡ On the 28th April 1759 at Simpson's Rooms was again performed *Acis and Galatea* after the manner of an oratorio ; *Polypheme* by Mr Linley. Tickets &c; and at Mr Linley's in the Abbey Green.§ Thus we have the Abbey Green as the first found and early whereabouts.

On the 28th May 1759 Linley took a vocal part, in the masque of *Comus*, after the manner of an oratorio,|| and again on the 10th January 1760, when he conducted and accompanied on the harpsichord.¶ One influence in these early concerts was Signor Passarini already mentioned. He seems to have been opposed and frustrated in every way and eventually had to contend with a strike of his musicians who demanded a guinea for a concert,

* *Journal*, 17 March, p. 4, col 3. † *Journal*, p. 4, col 3.

‡ *Journal*. § *Journal*, 23 April, p 4, col 1.

|| *Journal*, p 4, col 1. ¶ *Journal*, 7 Jany, p 4, col 1.

instead of the usual half a guinea, although this latter was the actual London price except for a leader or first violin.* In Nov 1761 Passarini came and tried again, but seems to have managed only one concert at Wiltshire's Rooms "by command of the Duke of York."† Perhaps the lull in concert giving which followed this trouble gave Herschel and Linley their chance; the lead eventually falling to Linley. In Nov 1762 Linley sang at a concert at Wiltshire's Rooms,‡ and in May 1763 he played on the harpsichord at Mr. Derrick's concert.§ In March 1765 he played a concerto on the harpsichord and sang in the duet,—Lovely peace &c from Judas Machabeus,|| and in May 1765 he again took a vocal part.¶

These notices so far refer to engagements for a wage in a subordinate position, for other people's concerts. There comes next the event which made him master, which made the great change in his life. Of his large family of now ten children the elder were growing up, and under constant and severe pressure—poor little things — had shown or developed great musical capabilities. No advertisement appeared, so presumably by private effort and patronage Linley got up his own first concert with his young children as the attraction or novelty. The first notice of this concert comes from his own announcement of 14th May 1767¶¶ when he returned his "most grateful acknowledgments to the company for the great honour and encouragement his children had received at their concert. 'To merit their future favour it shall be his constant study by every effort in his power to promote their improvement.'" No address is given with this, neither was there any notice or remark on these infant wonders in either of the local papers. The date of the thanks here, the *Chronicle* of

* *Journal*, 18 Dec 1758, p 4, col 1. † *Journal*, 2 Nov 1761, p 4, col 2.

‡ *Chronicle*, 11 Nov, p 4, col 2. § *Chronicle*, 19 May, p 4, col 1.

|| *Chronicle*, 2 May, p 4, col 1. ¶ *Chronicle*, 2 May, p 4, col 1.

¶¶ *Chronicle*, p 4, col 3.

thursday 14th May 1767, would be the first issue of the paper after the concert and as Linley's day for his concerts was thursday,—as Herschel's was on wednesday,—it may be taken that thursday 7th May 1767 was the date of this first appearance. It is always stated that the girl child appeared first at twelve years old, and this although not quite exact is seen as fairly true as born in Sept 1754 she was rather past twelve and a half. The boy however was younger being only eleven and yet he had actually appeared in public before this in more than one role. The *Journal* notes, quoting *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 19 Feb 1767, reporting a concert—By command of their majesties “a solo on the violin was played by Master Linley. This is the little gentleman that played the part of Puck in the Fairy Favour whose abilities as a child are beyond description.” A reference to the *Lloyd* of the given date does not show such a paragraph. Linley's second concert took place, now after advertisement, at Gyde's Great Room on thursday 26 Nov 1767 when the *Lycidas* of Milton, and Wharton's *Ode to Fancy* were performed, vocal parts being taken by Miss Linley and Mr. Linley. Between the acts was performed a solo on the violin by Master Linley. The concert began at half past six. Tickets were to be had at the Rooms 5s each, and at Mr. Linley's in Orchard St. Books of the performance 6d each.* There followed a short notice “that the whole audience expressed their delight and approbation by loud and unusual applause.”† Still there was no personal praise or special remark about the children.‡ Following this success and the great prosperity ensuing Linley next moved his quarters to the Crescent and from this move comes the information long sought, the exact whereabouts of his house. Already his advertisement has told that his concert tickets could be had at his house in Orchard St, thus showing

* *Chronicle*, 19 Nov, p 4, col 1. *Journal*, 23 Nov, p 4, col 2.

† *Journal*, 30 Nov. *Chronicle*, 3 Dec.

‡ *Public Advertiser*, 5 Dec, p 2, col 3. *London Chronicle*, 5 Dec, p 2, col 3.

a move from the Abbey Green but yet leaving the exact position rather wide. The next notice brings us nearer to the point. On 11th July 1771 was offered—to be lett at Michaelmas a neat convenient house in Orchard St. next the portico in the possession of Mr. Linley.* This is the first authenticated notice of an exact reference to the place, and it shows fairly well that it was at Michaelmas 1771 when he moved to the Crescent ; alas soon, in only six months, to have his pride and plans ruthlessly broken, and in another six months his Bath home gone.

Finally it must be noticed that there are two houses in Orchard St. next the portico. Had the advertisement given one word more and said on the north or south side of the street no doubtful thought could have arisen. Before the present new Relieving office was built its site, — known as Pierpoint Place, — was occupied by two cottages having the usual sloping roofs, known as cottages and well remembered, but not perhaps quite so high as the new buildings, and alongside these on this north side there was, as there is the comparatively modern small house next the portico its front squared to the top but otherwise of the same height as would have been an original third cottage. Further a glance at the back wall of the Pierpoint St. house here, will show that it has never been built against higher up than now seen, and further there is in this house a back window on the second floor which necessarily has never been covered or interfered with ; and still further a visit within this house and the next, will show that other or more building behind than now seen would be impossible. No larger place could have ever stood here on this north side and a small house, even if like that now there, could not have given the required accommodation. The Linley house in Orchard St. next the portico must then have been the original one still there on the south side, a suitable house, the No 1 as known to us to-day.

* *Chronicle*, p 3, col 2.

*Accounts of the City Train Bands. By the Rev. C. W. SHICKLE,
F.S.A.*

(Read January 13th, 1904.)

Under King Alfred all owners of five hides of land were bound to appear as heavy armed men at their own charge, and to serve for the entire campaign. Harold's army only fought on foot because the Knights descended from their horses and surrounded themselves with a ring of staves, as was afterwards the custom of the hoblers, or mounted archers.

Holingshead, in his "History of England," tells us that in the reign of Henry II. "every man that held a Knight's fee was bound to have a paire of curasses, a helmet, with shield and spear, and every Knight, or man of arms, to have as many curasses, helmets, shield, and spears, as he held Knight fees in demaine, and every man of the laitie having goods or revenue to the value of 16 marks, to have one paire of curasses, an helmet, and spear, and a shield."

Every free man of the laity having goods in value worth 10 marks was obliged to have "a Habergeon, a steele cap and a spear, and all burgesses and the whole community of free men to have a wambais, a cap of steele, and a spear."

It was also required that "every man be sworne to have the same before the feast of St. Hilary, no man to sell or pledge such armour, nor was it to be liable to be forfeited, and if the heir were not of lawful age then his guardian was to have care of the armour and paid a man to wear it till he came of age."

In very early days the practice of accepting money in lieu of personal service crept in, and enabled the Norman Kings to fight their battles with hired mercenaries.

Thus when Edward III., 1346, was collecting an army to attack Phillip of Valois, the bailiffs and commonalty of the Town (Villa) of Bath were required to provide six men, but upon the payment of 20 marks the number was reduced to four.

For this reason England has been called the cradle of the soldier. The soldier being the man who fights for pay, *Soldes—soliders*, or as we may say by literal translation of the *Lati*, then man who fights for a shilling. And before a battle an inventory was taken of every horse, the colour and worth being noted, that its owner might be repaid in event of loss. And it often happens that at the end of the roll we find only the name of the man and the amount. The fight having been hurried on and no more time remaining for the other particulars.

During the Wars of the Roses the Feudal system almost came to an end, and it was the policy of Henry VII. to prevent any revival of the power of the barons ; but an army was soon found to be indispensable to the safety of the Kingdom.

When the Pope, at the instigation of Card. Pole, endeavoured to stir up an invasion of England, Henry VIII. proclaimed a general muster. In London the Lord Mayor certified the names of all able-bodied men in the city, and all who could be provided with cotes of white armour, or bore morish pikes and wore sculles were reviewed by the King.

The review took place at Mile End, and must have been a magnificent spectacle, as the numbers were estimated at 15,000.

Holingshead thus describes it :—

“ Sir William Forman, Knight, at that present maior of London was commanded to certifie the names of all able men within the citie and liberties thereof between the ages of three score and sixteen with the number of armors and weapons of all kinds of sorts. Whereupon the said maior and his brethren one in his ward by the oath of the common council and his constable tooke the number of men, armors & weapons, and after well considering of the matter by view of their books, they thought it was not expedient to admit the whole number certified for apt and able men, and therefore assembling themselves again they chose forth the most able persons and put by the residue speciallie such as had no armor nor for whom anie could be provided.

“But when they were credible advertised by Thos. Cromwell Ld. privie seal (to whom the city was greatly beholden) that the King himself would see the people of the citie muster in a convenient number and not to set forth all their power, but to leave some at home to keep the city, then every alderman repared to his ward and there put aside all such as had jacks cotes of plate of maile and brigandines and appointed none but such as had white armor except such as should beare morish pikes, which wore no armor but sculles and there was no stranger (although he were a denisan) permitted to be in this muster.”

“Every man being of any ability provided himself a cote of white silke and garnished their basenets with turves like caps of silk set with owches furnished with chains of gold & feathers, or caused their armor to be gilt and likewise their halberd and pollares.”

“Some and especialle certaine goldsmiths had their armor of silver bullion. The Ld. Mayor, the recorder, the aldermen and every other officer beside were gorgeously trimmed as for their degrees was thought seemly. The Mayor had fifteen tall fellows on foot attending on him with gilt halberds appavelled in white silk doublets and their hose and shoes were likewise white cut after the Almaine guise pointed and pulled out with red sarsenet, their jerkins were of white leather cut and chained about their necks with feathers and brooches in their caps. The Recorder and every alderman had about him four halbediers trimmed also in warlike sort. The Chamberlaine of the City, the councillors, and deputies were appointed to be wiflers on horsebacke which aloft on their armor ware white damask coates mounted on good horses well trapped with great chains about their necks and proper javelin as battle axes in their hand and caps of velvet richly trimmed.”

“The wiflers on foot being in number 400 proper light persons, were clad in white jackets of leather cut with white hose and

shoes, every man with a javelin or slaugh sword in his hands to keep the people in array. They had chains about their necks and feathers in their caps. The minstrels were in white with the armes of the cite and so was every person in this muster without any diversity. The Lord Mayor, recorder and aldermen only excepted who had croncs of velvet or satin pirlcd with gold."

"The standard bearers were the tallest men of every ward, for whom were made thirty new standards of the devise of the city, besides baners. Every alderman mustered his own ward in the fields to see that every man was in furniture provided as was requisite."

"The eight of May being the day appointed for to shew themselves before the king, every alderman in order of battell with those of his ward came into the fields at Mile end and there all the gunners severed themselved into one place, the pikes into another, and the archers into another, and likewise the bill men and there cast themselves in rings and other formes of battell which was a beautiful sight to behold, for all the fields from White Chapel to Mile end, and from Bednall green to Radcliffe and Stepnie were all covered with armour men and weapons and especially the battle of pikes seemed to be as it had beene a great forest. There was every part divided into three battells, a for ward, a middleward and a rear ward."

"About seven of the clock marched forward the light pieces of ordinance with stone and powder. After them followed the drums and fifes and immediately after them a gurdon of the armes of the cite. Then followed Master Sadler, captaine of the gunners, on horseback armed and in a coat of velvet with a chain of gold and four halberders about apparalled as before is recited. Then followed the gunners four in a rank every one going five foot in sunder which shot altogether in diverce places very lively and in specially before the King's Majesty which at that time sat in his new gatehouse at his palace at Westminster where he viewed the whole company."

“In like manner passed the other company of all the three battells in good and seemly order. The foremost captain at nine of the clock in the morning by the little conduit came and entered into Paules churchyard and from thence directly to Westminster and so thro’ the sanctuary and round about the park of St. James and up into the field coming home thro’ Holborn, and as the first captaine entered again to the little conduit the last of the muster entered Paules churchyard, which was then about four of the Clock in the afternoon. The number besides the wiffers and of other waiters was fifteen thousand.”

In Henry VIII.’s reign Coat money and conduct money were given, the first, perhaps, to exclude private liveries, which had been already condemned, and to substitute a national uniform, white with a red cross of St. George.

A similar review was held at Greenwich by Edward VI.

Both of these payments were made in advance, and deducted from any further pay, hence the origin of stoppages.

The Scottish border, on account of the intimate relations between the French and Scots, was always obliged to be guarded through fear of invasion, but after the death of Mary there was little reason for its continuance, and the English army became lamentably deficient.

The office of Master of Ordnance for the custody of stores existed from the time of Edward II., and the appointment of Master General, in 1483, raised it to a position of importance. Both Marlborough and Wellington were Masters General of Ordnance.

The slighting remark of some Spanish Nobles on the deficiency of proper armour in England directed public attention once more to the question of defence, and just as the petition of the French Colonels to Napoleon III., resulted in 1859 in the creation of the Volunteer forces, so it then produced a levy throughout the Kingdom, and the country was soon furnished with armour and ammunition of war, which in every town was kept in a suitable

place appointed by the Parish, and was always ready to be worn at a hour's warning. The Magistrates were required to see that the several weapons were maintained in an efficient state, at the charge of the townsmen, and Holinshed says :—"There is almost no village so poor in England be it never so small that hath not sufficient furniture in a readiness to set forth three or four soldiers as one archer, one gunner, one pike, and a bilman at the least. No there is not so much wanting as their very liveries and caps, so that if this good order may continue it shall be impossible for the sudden invasion to find us unprovided.

"As for able men for service thanked be God we are not without good store, for by the musters taken 1574 & 1575, our number amounted to 117,674, and yet were they not so narrowly taken but that a third part of this like multitude was left unbilled and uncalled.

"What store of munition and armour the queen's majesty hath in her store houses, it lieth not in me to yield account.

"As for the armories of some of the nobility they are so well furnished that within one baron's custody I have seen 3 score or 100 corslets, at once, besides calivers, hand guns, bowes, sheffes of arrows, pikes, bills, polaxes, flasks, touchbores, and targets, the very sight whereof appalled my courage, and therefore both high and low in England.

"*Cymbala pro galeis pro scutis tympana pulsant.*"

Ben Johnson confirms this account of the historian.

"He was so hung with pikes, halberts, petronels, calivers and muskets, that he looks like a justice of the peace's hall."

Nevertheless the years which preceded the defeat of the Spanish Armada were times of great anxiety, and the forces throughout the Kingdom were exercised every alternate week to the dislocation of trade and great expense to the counties and towns.

Surveys were made in all the shires of weapons and stores, and those liable to maintain great horses and Demilances were warned to have them in readiness. Particular attention was paid to large

horses suitable for heavy cavalry, and in Bath a proclamation for breeding them was read 12th June, 1580, the pursuivant being paid 3s. 4d.

In 1573, 15 Eliz., letters patent were directed to the Mayor of the City of Bath for the time being, Sir Hugh Pawlett, Sir Maurice Barkeley, Sir George Norton, George Rogers, John Younge, Arthur Hopton, Esq., George Pereman, William Cavell, John Wyott, Thomas Turner, and John Davies, Aldermen, appointing them Commissioners to array, inspect, and arm men-at-arms, as well horse as foot, and arches and musketeers above the age of 16 and under 60, and ordering them to certify in writing, under their hands and seals, as quickly as possible, what they shall have done in the premises, and to follow the instructions annexed, and such other instructions as should be issued by the Privy Council.

Annexed to the Commission is "A general direction for the Commissioners for the Musters in the Citie of Bathe, howe theie shall procede in the execution of the saide Commission." This "Direction" recites that with the Commission for the general muster of the County of Somerset are sent instructions by the Privy Council, which contain many Articles "verye mete and necessarie for the musteringe and trayninge up of Soldiers in Cities," and instructs them that as the Queen has been pleased to direct a Special Commission to the City of Bath, they are to require from the Commissioners in the "Sheiers" next to them a sight of such instructions and a copy of such parts thereof as shall seem meet.

Special attention was paid to the shooting of these citizen soldiers in Bath.

In 1579, £4 was paid towards making the Butts on land, now called Butty Piece, adjoining the Common, close to the Town, and with the slope of the hill in their favour.

The new cutler was also paid for new tryminge the calivers and 7 murrens 6s. 8d. The procuring the commission for

musters and charges therein in 1580 cost £4. And in 1581 money was paid to Mr. Sherstone, Mr. Chapman and Mr. Peter Chapman for their expenses beyond the amount already received by them.

The Musters were generally held at Wells, but sometimes in Kings Mead, where a tent was erected and the officers entertained.

The armour was kept in a special room in the Council House under the care of an Armourer. Dolton was for many years Armourer, at a salary of £2 a year.

The room was lined to keep off the damp, and in 1581 three pieces of Matting to hang the Armor on cost 4s.

Sir Maurice Berkley and Sir John Horner were the leaders of the Bath Men, and sometimes the Muster was held at Mells, thus the Chamberlain, in 1578, charges 18d. for his charges and haules at Mells Muster, and 13s. 6d. for rydyng with Mr. Mathews to Sir John Horner about the Muster, the preparations for which are stated to have been, mending the Kalvers 16d., the cutler for a sword and dagger 9s. 4d., mending 4 murryons 6d., for a sword and gurdell 8d., and the next year 16d. was paid for a sword gurdell for Mr. John Perman, bought of Robt. Stephens. Mr. Perman was Mayor in 1583—and the next year, Pepwell was paid 1s. 1d. for a paine of glass, and Yerland 3d. for settinge of hym in the Armory windows, while Butler received 9s. 10d. for cleaning 16 swords and 14 daggers, and 15s. for cleaning nine pairs of arlettes, and 6s. for 6 pair of Almond Ryvett.

“The Armourers accomplishing the Knights

With busy hammers closing rivets up,

Give dreadful note of preparation.”—*Shakespeare*.

Mr. Perman had been paid 5s. 1d. for his charges at Wells. Muster, in 1578, and at the same time Mr. Robinson received 23s. 11d. for the expenses of himself and two sowedgers, and 2s. 6d. for going to Sir John Horner's about the muster, and 5s. 10d. had been paid to the Constables for carrying up the Bookes to Sir Morysse Berkeley. The Powder cost 4s. and the matches 4d.

The defeat of the Armada and the release from fear of any invasion did not remove all expenses for the care of arms, for the western counties and towns were expected to loan the contents of their armoury for the use of the 7,000 men sent under Essex against Cadiz, and the 6,000 men sent into Ireland in the following year. Two letters relating to the return of these arms are in the British Museum.

"After our hasty comendations, whereas at the return of me the Erle of essex this last somer from the seas, there was left with you suche armor as was aboard the shippes appertaininge to those countys and out of the which there was men leaved. Amongst the which the pporcon contayned in the inclosed scedul dothe belonge to the county of Somersett ffor as much as the Deputy Leutenants and justices of the peace of that county have signified unto us their desire that the prest armor and furniture may be restored. This shal be to require you to deliver the prest Armour and weapons unto suche psons as shal be authorised by the deputy leutenants to receive the same taking acquittance of them for the receipt thereof. So wee bid you hartely farewell ffrom the Court at Whitall the 16th of Marche 1597."

"After our verie hastie comendacions wee have received warrant from the lordes of yr Mag. most honorable privy councill unto you for redeliverie of such armors as weare left wh you upon the return of the Earle of Essex the last year from the seas appertayninge to this countie of Somerset. And do now send you this bearer thighe Parker for the receipt of the said Armors from you whom we do herbie authorize to receive them unto.

"Hoping that as well in respect you, as ovr counties men borne, as also that our good neighbour your brother Mr. Edward Gorge hath engaged his credit us from whom we hope you have before this time heard to this effect, that as our men weare as well armed as any that went in that expedition for wh we should receive as good and serviceable arms as any as all in your custody. And thus we leave you to ptecon of the Almighty this VIII. day of April 1598.

"Your very loving friende,

"FRANCIS HASTINGS,

"JOHN COLLES,

"HUGHE PORTMAN,

"EDWARD PHELIPPS,

"ELK. HEXT.

"John E. Gorge."

On the same sheet,

“uppon a lre wrytten us to or Cl of the Councell we received this lentre directed unto you and to understand their pleasures we psumed to breake the lre and accordingly have sent this bearer.”

In 1599, 10s. 4d. was paid for making 5 coats, and the uniforms seem to have received some embellishments, as 3s. 6d. was charged for lace, and in 1601 23s. for 2 gross of the same. Henry Stephens received 5s. 6d. for one doz. of Hangers, etc.

In the next year the Waynscott of the Councell House on which the armour was hung was repaired. The Chamber hung round with suits of armour must have greatly added to the dignity of the City Fathers in their Civic Robes. The armours and pikes were carted to the Muster at Welles, as 8d. was charged for the rope to bind it on the horses, though the authorities complained that by this means it was often bruised and damaged. In addition to the Muster at Welles, another was held at Hayden Downe, Hanging Down, on Lansdown (?) to which the city sent 27 men, and this in addition to those who went from Bath to Ireland, for whom the Constables was paid £3 6s. 10d.

The armour was carried to one of these Musters on four horses 9s., under the charge of a constable paid 1s. 4d. for his horse and horse meate.

The repair of the armour in 1610 cost £4 6s. 4d.

Although the men had long been armed with muskets, the old weapons hung on the walls of the Council House, until in 1615 the flecher paid 1s. for the old arrows, nothing is said of the bows.

This year Mr. Mayor received 40s. for 40lbs. of powder.

In 1617 the setting straight the pikes and the supply of the things missing out of order through the carriage to and from Wells cost £6 13s. 3d. And the butts were repaired for 4s.

In 1618 the total cost of the Muster, including the officers' dinner and wine, with a gratuity to the Lieutenant, amounted to £22 2s. 7d.

And Dolton was paid for 3 stakes and touche boxes, one capp, 3 flaske leathers and four scourers, 15s. 6d.

Next year the Captain, Sir Nicholas Haswell, brought his wife, who was also entertained, while the Muster Master received a present of 18s. beyond his proper pay.

Six new musketts with rests and bandeliers were bought 1619, and the Town drum was new headed.

Every year new rests were required, resulting from the hard handling they received on their journies. 3d. for paper to pack the powder in seems strange, but the charge appears more than once. The lieutenants and their Company were entertained at the Hart at a cost of £5 4s. 4d., and not only were the corslets cleaned, but a charge was made for varnishing them.

In 1622 the Muster was in Kings Mead, where a Tent was set up and the entertainment of the officers at the Hart cost £9 7s. 0d. Two men were loath to attend and Mr. Chapman pressed them with 1s. each.

The following are a few of the entries and charges in various years:—

Paid unto Henrie Stephens for two Grosse of Lace to Lace the Souldiers Coates	24	0
Paid more unto Henrie Stephens for one dozen of hangers and girdells	5	6
Paid unto the Carryer for Carryinge of the same ...		6
Paid unto William Dowlton for a newe reste for a Muskett		8
Paid for a newe payre of Mouldes for George Kingston		
Paid for a new scubridge and shape for Roger Lovells sword		12
Paid for three sworde Scabberds more one for George Gibbes, Willm Morford, and George Kingston	2	6
Paid for a newe lockett shape, A newe handell and a newe Scabberd for Rendell Bennet's dagger ...		11
A new pomell for Willm Morfordes sword		2
Paid for a newe handell for Roger ffeildes sword ...		3
Paid for eight newe pickes	27	8

For the hier of a horse to carry the pickes	12
Paid Wm. Dowlton his chardges for his paynes to fetcbe the Pickes Staves	12
Paid for two newe Cappes to putt in hedd peeces ...	2
Paid for mending of three punches	6
Paid unto Richard Storie for newe laceings of IX souldiers coates	8 6
Paid for makeinge of XVI souldiers Coates newe ...	26 8
Paid for makeing of John Hancocks Dublett and Hose	4
Paid for makeing of Willm Barnardes Coate ...	2 6
Paid for dressing of a coate for Willm Baker ...	6
Paid for Arminge of the pickes	12
Paid unto Henrye Norroway for three quarters and a halfe of Cotton to Arme the pickes	3 6
Paid unto John Broad for three yeards and a halfe of frenge to arme the Pickes	2 0
Paid unto Roberte Lapworth for seaven flaske leathers	4 0
Paid unto the constables att Wells for their Chardges and the souldiers there	4 10 7
Paid for two musketts scowerers	6
Paid for a reste for a Muskett	5
Paid for a newe hede for a musket reste	4
Paid for dressinge of three Musketts	18
Paid for a duzen of sword handells	3 0
Paid for the hier of Willm Dowltons horse to Wells at the Muster	3 0
Paid for 21 yeardes of Blewe broade Cloath for the Souldiers Coates	6 6 0
Paid for a coate cloath for Willm Barnard	11 0
Paid for two peeces of Silke seames foe Souldiers Coates	2 6
Paid for the hier of horse and man to carry Sir Anthony Cookes truncks when he carryed upp the rebells	8 0

The bow was the popular weapon and died hard. Every Englishman in Edward IV.'s time, except the clergy, was required to have a bow of his own height and to practise every Sunday

and feast day, and Latimer, in one of his sermons, tells of the care his Father took in instructing him, and praised it as a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise and much commended as Physic. The bows were rubbed with wax, resin and tallow and kept in waxed cloth covers, and each bow had three good hempen strings.

Every archer carried 16 heavy and 8 light arrows, made of hazel, Turkeywood, fustic, alder, beech, black thorn, elder, sallow. The best of birch, oak, ash, service or hornbeam. The heavy arrows effective at 240 yards, the lighter ones at a longer distance.

On November 10th, 1595, Sir John Brockett writes to Lord Burghley—

“I have come to London to receive directions touching the supple of the trained bands.

“Some of our best armour has been employed in foreign service and some with scouring and evil keeping grown un-serviceable, many who found armour are dead and others removed and such as occupy their places being farmers and paying high rents are not able to find any, thereupon suit was made for abatement of 10 in every 100, when we would supply all their wants, make the lands better and stronger than ever, change the bows into musketts and calivers and of the 40 bills in every band turn half into pikes.”

This suggestion seems to have been adopted, but all persons having charge of horse bands were required to see “they are kept in stables.”

At the commencement of the 16th century, the armour of the foot soldiers was bows, bills, halberds, partizans, swordes, pikes, cross bows, and arquebuses. The bows for a soldier were required to be of yew, and for every yew bow the Bowyer had to make four bows of Ash or Elm. The ancient English Bill consisted of a broad hook shaped blade having a short pike at the back, and another at the summit attached to a long handle

and was used by the English infantry, especially against cavalry. They were required to be of good stuff, made of good material, and with pikes at least 12in. long, and armoured with iron to the middle of the staff, like the halberds, which varied in shape at the different reigns, and were intended for both cutting and thrusting.

They were formally carried by Sergeants of foot, and were principally used for signalling orders. The cost of a bill was about 1s. 6d., but the halberd cost 6s. 8d. The partizan was more like a Boar spear, having a long short broad or narrow blade, according to the fashion of the times, with or without wings.

During the first half of the century the Archer was the most important soldier, wearing a steel sallett (*coelata Cassis*, because generally engraved or inlaid) they were distinguished by a projection behind to protect the neck and were made with or without Vizors. They were afterwards termed Sculls, and many of them are still to be found in Churches, and are pointed out to visitors as part of the armour of some village hero whose monument they generally adorn.

The boots formed part of the dress of the horse soldiers, they generally found their way to the Manor House or Hall, and are now generally called Oliver Cromwell's boots. Statutes for the encouragement of archery were enacted by Henry VIII. and Philip and Mary, in which last reign all lay persons with estates worth £1,000 were required to furnish 30 long bows, 30 sheaves and arrows, and 30 steel caps.

The Arquebus was an ancient musket with a very long barrel and short stock, which carried a ball weighing nearly 2 ozs. It was fired through a steel fork mounted on a staff about 4 feet long, which the soldier carried with a match in his other hand, and was sometimes cocked by a wheel.

At first a match was applied to the touch-hole, but afterwards a trigger was introduced, a pan with a sliding cover, which was pushed through it, when not in use, prevented the ashes of the match from exploding the piece.

The Cuirass was a piece of defensive armour made of iron plate well hammered, covering the body from neck to the girdel Habergeon, which was a short coat of mail of armour consisting of a front and back without sleeves, and was formed of iron rings united and descending from the neck to the middle of the body.

The Cuirass seems to have been more generally used in the reign of Charles the First, when the light cavalry were armed with buff coates, having the breast and back covered with steel plates, subsequently this piece of armour fell into disuse and was only reassumed after Waterloo.

The original of these two pieces of armour was the Wambais or Gambeson, a quilted tunic stuffed with wool fitting the body and worn under the Habergeon, it was afterwards made strong enough to resist ordinary cuts and used without other armour.

The interesting paper of Messrs. King and Watts on Cavaliers and Roundheads has already told us much about the Citizen Army during the Commonwealth.

New muskets, pikes and swords were bought upon the return of Charles II., and the same kind of entries appear with decreasing interest as the frequent "as per bill" robs us of many details given in former years.

“Ancient Interments at Newton St. Loe, near Bath.”

By J. P. E. FALCONER.

(Read February 10th, 1904.)

In September, 1869, some men were quarrying road metal in a field known as the “Quarry Field,” the property of Earl Temple, in the parish of Newton St. Loe, and while cutting into the top earth they came upon two or three skeletons lying in what was evidently the site of an ancient burial ground.

The discovery was brought to the notice of Mr. Charles Glover, schoolmaster at Newton, and on examining the place he found a quantity of broken pottery and Roman coins associated with the burials.

For a period of several years after this (1870—1883) he visited the place continually, and, by disturbing the top soil round the edge of the quarry with his stick, he obtained some interesting antiquities, including bronze articles, among which was a fine socketed knife.

“Quarry Field” is situated on high ground to the east of the village, above the Bristol Road, and not far from the site of a Roman villa which was brought to light when the Great Western Railway was made.

In 1876 Mr. Glover exhibited the antiquities he had collected up to that time before the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society on the occasion of their visit to Bath.

Mr. Glover’s collection is briefly referred to in the Proceedings of this Society (vol. xxii, p. 64), but the writer of the notice appears to have been under the impression that the objects were found on the site of the Roman villa. Finding that this was not the case, the present writer wrote to Mr. Glover, jun., for full particulars of his late father’s discoveries. Mr. Glover replied as follows:—

“The quarry, as you know, has a surface of soil of about





BRONZE SOCKETED KNIFE
(actual size).



SILVER RING KEY
found 1903 (actual size).

18in. to 2ft. deep, and I should think the continual ploughing for ages past must have more or less disturbed the buried remains, as numbers of bones, together with small pieces and broken ones, are constantly met with in poking away the soil. . . . my father never used a spade there but only disturbed the soil with his walking-stick. . . . Here and there in the rock would be places where the soil ran a little deeper and had evidently been disturbed at some time or other, and to these places he always paid more attention. . . . You know the kind of things he discovered—bronze pins, some with rudely worked heads; pieces that I should think were armlets; Ring with stones set—this was on a finger-bone. . . . There was no end of pottery, some dark, some red, and some light, and of all shapes—rims, bottoms, &c., some with designs. There is the dagger [socketed knife] which you saw, and the beam of a scale. There was a perfect urn, with a large flat stone on the top; this was taken out whole and it contained burnt remains. Unfortunately this urn fell to pieces on exposure. From a memo. I have found the coins were of:—Galba, Augustus, Pertinax, Constantine, Probus, &c.”

Some years ago the collection was handed over to the Corporation of Bath, who placed it at the Technical Schools, where it has since lain forgotten. The writer is indebted to Mr. Day for having been allowed to examine it. Mr. Mockler has very kindly photographed the principal objects.

In the early part of 1903 the writer visited the quarry, and on disturbing the top earth with a stick, he found the base of an urn, as well as fragments of black coarse pottery a few inches under the soil on the edge of the quarry.

Later in the year he made a further examination of the site, though by no means a satisfactory one, as it was impossible, for various reasons, to make the necessary trenches.

A trench several yards long, with an average depth of 5 feet, was dug along the South side of the quarry, in a place where the rubble underlying the top of the earth had at one time been disturbed probably for the purpose of interments.

The products were :—

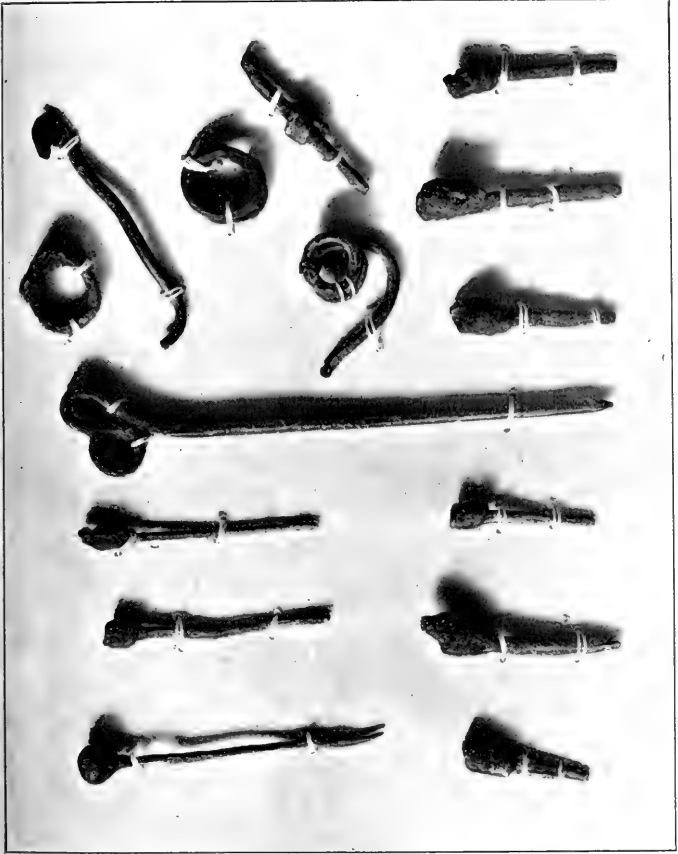
- (1) Much broken pottery, apparently fragments of urns of various sizes and colours, *e.g.*, grey, black, dark red and imitation so-called "Samian" ware.
 - (2) Human bones very broken and scattered, also burnt bone and wood ashes.
 - (3) A silver ring-key, one small brass of Victorinus and sandal nails.
 - (4) The portion of the head of a stone axe and some flint flakes.
-

I have been informed by one who saw a skeleton unearthed here a few years ago (since Mr. Glover's time), that it was surrounded by large iron nails which he considered coffin nails, and which would be the position into which they would have naturally fallen as the coffin decayed.

Mr. Thomas Wright, in his "Roman, Celt and Saxon," p. 310, says :—"Wooden coffins appear to have been extensively used in Roman cemeteries in this country—they are traced by the marks of decayed wood and more especially by the presence of large long nails which had been used to attach the planks of the coffin together."

The two modes of burial at Newton appear to have been by cremation and interment, and the various articles found give proof of the custom which existed among the Romans of supplying the dead with all they should want in a future state.

It is quite possible that this place of burial had some connection with the Roman villa already mentioned. The annexed survey will point out their relative positions.



FROM NEWTON-ST.-LOE.



"Some Recent Discoveries in Bath."

By J. P. E. FALCONER.

(*Read February 10th, 1904.*)

I. During October and November, 1900, while gas pipes were being laid in* Julian Road, Guinea Lane and London Road, some interesting discoveries were made.

On October 25th, 1900, several bones were found in a clay bed about 7ft. below street level in the part of the Roman road immediately opposite Morford Street. These consisted of a skull (No. 1) and an upper jaw, with ulna (right), fibula and two ribs, together with bones of several animals. Two days later another jaw bone (No. 2) was found close by and about 6 inches lower.

After this nothing further was disclosed until November 11th, when a stone coffin of rude construction was found at a depth of 8ft. at the bottom of Guinea Lane, almost opposite Walcot church. It lay East and West, and was full of clayey earth which was afterwards carefully sifted. It contained nothing but some bones and part of a very thick skull (No. 3). The coffin was not removed, and still lies buried in its original position, the top was not visible as the trench only cut through one end of it.

In addition to the above, many fragments of pottery for the most part of the so-called "Samian" ware were picked from the earth thrown out in making the trench close to where the coffin lay. One fragment of this pottery (the base of a vase), bears some letters of a Potter's mark . . . MA (Forma?), and thumb marks can be seen on the base of another.

I am obliged to Mr. Joyce of the British Museum for help in describing the bones.

* These Streets are said to lie on the track of the Roman road known as the Via Julia, and it may be remembered that in Russell Street close by some ancient sepulchral remains were discovered in September, 1852. See Proceedings of the Som. Arch. & N.H. Society, 1854.

(No. 1). *Skull*. Probably of a female. Only the frontal bone and a small portion of two parietal bones remain. Frontal bone broad and low; super orbital ridges and glabella barely marked; sutures unossified.

(No. 2). *Lower Jaw* with teeth—probably of a child about 14.

(No. 3). *Skull*, with numerous bones much perished belong to a male about 28 years, of medium height, and muscular, the bones being thick and heavy.

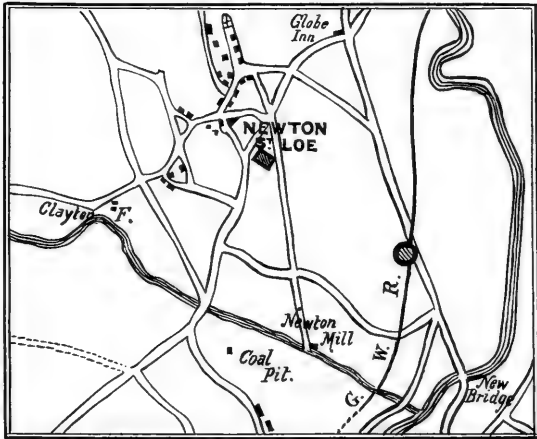
Norma verticalis.—Ovoid in outline; ossification of sutures incomplete, frontal bone long.

Norma facialis.—Super orbital ridges and glabella very strongly developed and frontal region depressed, giving the skull a "neanderthaloid" appearance.

List of Bones found in Coffin :—

- Dorsal.
- Femur (right and left).
- Humerus ditto.
- Os innominatum ditto.
- Scapula ditto.
- Ulna ditto.

II. While excavations were in progress during December, 1902, for the erection of a bakehouse belonging to Mr. Alfred Taylor, in Walcot Street, the remains of an ancient building were brought to light. At a distance of 33ft. East of the footway which fronts on Cornwell Buildings—between Southey Place and Old Orchard—the bases of five piers were found nearly 12ft. beneath the street level. The interval between the piers was 5ft. 4in. The two Northern piers consisted of two stones, of which the upper was 10in. high, and 2ft. 3in. wide. The length was rather greater than the width, and the edge was finished with a rough ovolo moulding. The bottom stone was slightly larger and had no moulding. Of the three others only the lower stone remained. The middle stone of the five was removed by the workmen. Fragments of "Samian" ware, flue tiles and several coins of Constantine were unearthed. The Roman road was about 7ft. 6in. below level of present road and



▨ = "QUARRY FIELD"

● = "ROMAN VILLA"



about 7ft. East of footway. Oak beams were found bedded carefully in blue clay puddle under foundations of the houses next the footway and had been used apparently to make a sound foundation when the water from the Carn* well passed under on its way to the river. Stone sets were found near by forming a road running East and West (towards the river.)

* One of the ancient conduits, highly esteemed for its mineral properties. It was situate opposite the Bladud's Head Inn and destroyed 1740. Gives its name to Cornwell Buildings. A fountain has since been erected on or near its site.

Note on a Dolmen at Stoke Bishop. By M. H. SCOTT.

(Read February 10th, 1904.)

This monument stands to the left of the entrance gate of Druids' Stoke, and just inside the grounds. I quote Seyer's description,* not only as being accurate, but as contained in a work not often met with. Mr. Seyer says:—

“It consists of one large stone, and three small. The large stone is $10\frac{1}{2}$ (feet) in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ at the broadest. It has been thrown down, and having fallen on one of the smaller stones, which stood beneath, it partly rests upon it, and is prevented from lying flat on the ground, so that at first sight it appears a *cromlech* (i.e. dolmen) or altar stone. Of the three smaller stones, the first has already been mentioned, as supporting the great stone; it is about three feet above the ground. Another lies close to it westward, and the third a few feet distant north-westward: the two last are broken off close to the ground, they may be fragments separated when the great stone fell down. That which was its northern or north-eastern face when it stood upright, which now lies nearest to the ground, is tolerably smooth, and of the natural colour of the stone; all other parts are eaten into deep holes by the action of the weather, and are slightly covered with moss, and the colour is dark and dirty. The stone is a millstone grit, or breccia, and was probably brought from the foot of Kingsweston Hill, about a mile distant, where numbers of the same sort, although not of equal size, still lie scattered on the ground, and many more were formerly to be seen, until Mr. F. collected them for the foundation of his house.”

Mr. Seyer, though he seems inclined to doubt that this erection was a dolmen, does not suggest any other theory, and

* *Memoirs Historical and Topographical of Bristol and its Neighbourhood*, by Rev. Samuel Seyer, M.A., 1821. Vol. I., p, 103.



DOLMEN—DRUID'S STOKE.



his remark that the under side of the large stone is not weather-worn is in favour of this stone having been the covering stone of a dolmen. The presence of three smaller stones is also in accordance with this. They are not so large as one would expect the supports of a dolmen to be, but it is possible that some fragments may have been carried away.

Miss Munro, whose father, William Munro, Esq., formerly owned Druids' Stoke, says :—“In my recollection, once a year “a body of men calling themselves Druids, with a Priest (?) dressed “in wonderful garments, used to hold a service at the Druids' “Stone.” On my asking at what time of the year this occurred, she says :—“I am almost sure that the Druids' ceremony took “place in the spring before the grass was put up for mowing. “I have a dim recollection that the Druids wished to have the “ceremony later, but were told that they could not be allowed to “tread down the growing grass, as they came in considerable “numbers.”

So long as Mr. Munro had the property, as also his successor, Mr. Wedmore, this monument was safe enough. But since the death of the latter, the property having failed to find a purchaser, has been put up in separate lots, and it is quite possible, as the stones are so near the road, that at no distant date the land may be sold for building, and the stones removed. I therefore place this note on record.

Bath Tokens of the 19th Century and their Issuers.

By S. SYDENHAM.

(Read March 2nd, 1904.)

The present paper is a continuation of that read before the Club in February, 1903. I then dealt with the Local Tokens issued in the 18th Century, the period covered closing at the date 1797, with the virtual extinction of such private issues, by the Copper coinage in that year issued under Royal Warrant from the famous Soho works of Messrs. Boulton and Watt, Birmingham.

Dealing now with the Token Coinage issued by Bath Tradesmen during the 19th Century period, I have to point out that only a small number of Local Traders then issued Tokens, and that their issues were in marked contrast to those of the 18th Century period, when the Bath Tokens were of small value, being solely of Copper or Brass, issued by Tradesmen acting independently ; but the 19th Century Bath Tokens were of higher value, the bulk of those issued being of Silver, and put into circulation by Tradesmen acting in partnership. The edge readings, so common on the Tokens of the preceding period disappear, the edges of the later pieces being milled or plain, and the Tokens bear the promise that in redemption a One Pound Note will be given for a specified number, this being done to comply with an Act passed in 1809, requiring that Tokens, when presented to their original issuers, should be met with Bank of England Notes.

As to the Silver Tokens, their circulation was limited from early in 1811 to the 19th of December, 1814, after which date, under the Act prohibiting their circulation, they could only be tendered to and redeemed by the original issuers. The Copper Tokens had a longer life, and apparently issued before the Silver Tokens they remained in circulation until 1818.

The conditions existing during the closing years of the 18th

and the opening years of the 19th Century, and which induced the revival in 1811, of the Traders Coinage, are of great interest. After an interval of nearly a century, with at present no lack of currency, it is now difficult, if not actually impossible, to realise the then position of the country as regards the "medium of exchange" so necessary to its business life; one may imagine the amazement that would be caused if such a notice as the following, frequent then, were now issued by one of the Officials of the City:—

Bath Chronicle, January, 1809.

"GUILD-HALL, BATH.

In consequence of the extreme SCARCITY OF SILVER and SMALL GOLD it is earnestly requested, that all Persons will endeavour, as far as it is within their power, to Pay their Rents, WITHOUT REQUIRING ANY CHANGE.

H. WALTERS, Chamberlain."

The Gold Coinage for many years was scarce throughout the country, for although the issues from the Mint were frequent, large quantities of the Gold Coin issued was exported to the Continent. The *Chronicle* notes in 1797 that "An English Guinea now sells at Hamburg for 23 to 24 shillings, and the Jews have found secret means to export our Coin thither by thousands weekly," and despite the passing of stringent Acts by Parliament, making it penal to export or even to sell such Coin, for more than its face value, the traffic continued. The *Chronicle* of December 21st, 1809, states, "£16,000 in Gold were last week seized in the River (Thames) intended for exportation, and carried to the Bank," and in 1811 the Guinea of full weight, passing by law as Coin for £1 1s. od. was as Bullion worth more than £1 5s. 6d.

In explanation of the scarcity of Silver, it is on record that between the years 1760 and 1817 less than £60,000 of such coin was minted, and at the period I deal with, no Silver had been issued since 1787, and the Regal coin in circulation was mostly

that struck during the reigns of Charles II., William III. and Anne, the bulk of it in bad condition, smooth and light in weight from continual wear.

Early in 1797 the Bath Bankers, by advertisement, asked their customers not to "take more specie, gold, silver or copper, than is absolutely necessary," and by the end of February in that year the position was still more serious. At a meeting held on March 1st, 1797, the Mayor presiding, it was resolved "that we entirely approve of the Conduct of the Banks in this City, *in suspending* PAYMENT IN SPECIE until the sense of Parliament be Publicly known," and those present declared their intention of accepting Bank of England, and the Notes of "any of the Bath Banks in payment, and would use the same for payment," and a notice to this effect, signed by the Mayor, Magistrates and 116 Tradesmen of the City was published. Such action was not confined to Bath, as soon after the *Chronicle* names 34 towns as holding similar meetings.

A short advertisement at this date, of a Token issuer (Bath No. 4) mentioned in my previous paper is interesting,

"BANK and BANKERS NOTES
TAKING as USUAL
AT GLOVERS WAREROOMS
NO. 39, MILSOM-STREET."

At this crisis, the Bank of England was empowered to put into circulation Spanish specie, principally Dollars, which had been captured by the Navy in time of war, after counter-marking the coins with the bust of George III. upon that of the Spanish King. These re-issued pieces were at once extensively counterfeited. In August, 1797, an imposing Official notice was issued by the Bath Magistrates, as a "Caution to the Publick against taking Counterfeit Coin" brought into the City by persons "attending Lansdown Fair."

The complaint was then general throughout the Country, and for years afterwards, that the counterfeit pieces were exceptionally

well executed and most difficult to detect, and although the credit, or discredit, for the production of much of the counterfeit coin complained of must be given to misdirected English ingenuity, in the light of information now available, it is certain that much of the Spanish Coin, whether obtained by capture, or peacefully imported into this Country, then officially stamped and re-issued as Silver, was itself counterfeit, being good imitations in Brass thickly plated, of the genuine Dollars ; the plating of the base coin rivalling, if not excelling, anything that could then be produced at the Soho Works, and being also proof against an acid test, it is not surprising that the Bank Officials were often deceived, and so passed into circulation large quantities of coin, the baseness of which was only detected after the actual wear of use.

In 1804, the Bank of England commenced the issue of their own Dollars, chiefly foreign Silver coins re-struck. The *Chronicle* of October 12th, 1809, mentions "The Bank had £100,000 worth of Spanish Dollars new struck at Boulton & Co.'s manufactory at Birmingham, the charge for re-stamping is only one farthing each," and on the 21st of December following notes, "£800,000 in re-stamped Dollars will shortly be added to our Silver currency, they were sent a few days ago from the Bank to Birmingham to be re-stamped."

In 1811, the Bank of England issued Silver Tokens of the value of 3s. and 1s. 6d., and intended to issue Tokens of the value of 9d., but apparently this intention was not carried out. These Tokens were also largely counterfeited, although the penalty for doing so was severe. The *Chronicle* of August 15th, 1811, mentions as to these—"Bank Tokens. Counterfeiters are liable to 7 years' transportation ; Utterers, first time, six months imprisonment ; second time, two years' imprisonment ; third time, fourteen years' imprisonment."

The issue late in 1797 of the coinage from the Soho Mints made a great improvement in the copper currency, but large

quantities of base coin still circulated, and some curious advertisements of Traders who were not too scrupulous appeared. I give one of these from the *Journal* of January 21st, 1799.

“For Sale by Public Auction

4000 Lots in Muslins of every description, Printed Calicoes &c.,

At the Great Auction Room

No. 22 Westgate Street, Bath,

Where any article purchased in Time of Sale by Candle, if disapproved will be exchanged.

J. OWEN acquaints his Friends, and those who have on hand BAD HALFPENCE that he has received a Quantity of Woollen Cloths, Kerseymeres &c., which will be Sold by Private Sale, half payment in BAD HALFPENCE, no PROMISSORY will be Taken, those who have Quantities will find it worth their while.” From 1807, when Boulton and Watt ceased coining, no further issue of Regal Copper coin took place until 1821, and amongst the effects produced by the almost continuous warfare the Nation was then engaged in, Copper so increased in value that it became profitable to smelt the Boulton, and some of the earlier Token issues for the value of the metal. Ruding states that in 1805 “the Boulton pieces were worth when melted down, nearly one third more than their value as coin.” Taking this fact into consideration the scarcity of copper coin of good value at the date of the Token issues is not surprising.

Under date July 11th, 1811, the following notice appeared in the *Chronicle*, and soon afterwards in the *Herald* and the *Journal*:—

“CHAMBERLAINS OFFICE—GUILDHALL—BATH.

To Corporation Tenants.

Notice is hereby given that the Chamberlain will attend every day this week (except Saturday) from Eleven till Two-o-Clock, to receive the Water, Quit and House Rents due at Midsummer when it is particularly requested that all Arrears may be Paid up.

N.B. The SCARCITY OF SMALL CHANGE renders it indispensably necessary to desire that the Tenants will bring their Rents as nearly as possible."

Notices similar to this are repeated at intervals to as late as 1823.

To an unknown correspondent of the *Journal* of October 7th, 1811, thanks are due for an article from which I quote the following :—"The curious phenomenon, occasioned by the state of British coinage, deserves to be recorded, and may be of use to the future historian, who shall consult our pages.

A Guinea made of standard Gold, weight 5 dwts 9 grains, passes by law, for only	£1 1 0
A ditto, 3 grains lighter, is worth as Bullion	1 5 6
A Crown piece, made of Sterling Silver, weight 19 dwts 8 grs, passes by law, for only	0 5 0
A Bank Dollar, weighing 2 dwts less, and the Silver $2\frac{1}{2}$ d an ounce worse, is current for	0 5 6
A Half-Crown piece of Sterling Silver, weight 9 dwts 16 grs, passes by law, for only	0 2 6
A Bank Token, weighing 5 grs less, and the Silver $2\frac{1}{2}$ d an ounce worse, is current for	0 3 0
The lesser Bank Token of 18 pence, weighs 1 dwt 2 grs less than a Shilling and a Sixpence, and the Silver is also worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ d an ounce less."	

The need for small change at last became so acute that Traders throughout the Kingdom, recognizing their interests suffered from the prevailing scarcity, met the difficulty by again issuing Tokens so as "TO FACILITATE TRADE," and this, the 19th Century issue, was participated in by Bankers and Poor Law Authorities, and some Gold and large quantities of Silver and Copper Tokens were put into circulation, the issues being tacitly sanctioned, if not officially recognised, by the Government.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" of November, 1811, it is mentioned, "Provincial Silver Tokens are now becoming prevalent. At Birmingham, Bristol, Southampton, &c., a great number have been issued." "2/6 and 1/- pieces are preparing for Sheffield." "Bath copper tokens have been issued to a considerable extent."

The *Chronicle* of July 25th, 1811, observes, "We feel much pleasure in stating that a very considerable supply of the new Silver coin, has been received by the Bankers of the City, which will obviate the inconvenience so generally experienced from the Scarcity of Change." This notice evidently referred to the Tokens issued to various centres in 1811 by the Bank of England, but the supply was by no means equal to the demand, and the intrinsic value of these Tokens approaching closely to their face value, in general they rapidly disappeared, and probably this was in great part due to their conversion into the lighter Coinage of the Traders; although large quantities of foreign Silver coin was at this time imported, to meet the requirements of the private issuers.

Of the Local issues during this period, I deal first with those known as the Margaret's Buildings Tokens, from having been issued by a combination of substantial Tradesmen, who carried on business in that thoroughfare.

Charles Culverhouse, Baker, &c. . . .	No. 5, Margaret's Bdgs
Isaac Orchard, Auctioneer and Upholsterer. . . .	No. 6, " "
James Phipps, Ladies' Shoemaker	No. 2, " "

Margaret's Buildings (one of the few paved streets still remaining, which were once so common in Bath), from its proximity to the Royal Crescent and from the principal entrance of the then fashionable Margaret's Chapel opening off it, in 1811 was a promenade of considerable importance, although some distance away from the general business part of the City.

The first mention I find of Culverhouse is in July, 1795 when he subscribed to a fund then raised by the Master Bakers of Bath, for supplying the poor with cheap provisions, the weather at that date "being very cold, fires needed everywhere, and *brown* bread 11½ the quartern" (a study of the materials that *brown* bread was composed of does not conduce to appetite). In March, 1810, he subscribed to the Union Blue Coat School, then established at No. 24, Kingsmead Street "to educate and clothe 30 boys from 7 to 14, in the first principles of the Christian religion, without regard to Sect or Party." Samuel Whitchurch and William Dore contributed to the School at the same time.

The Bath Token issuers availed themselves of every opportunity of showing their loyalty by decorating their premises, and these displays are frequently mentioned by the press; at the Peace Commemoration on April 15th, 1814, Culverhouse is noticed as having a specially attractive display of Transparencies with the Motto—

"May Peace on all the Earth descend
And Liberty her course attend."

The business carried on by Culverhouse is still continued at the same premises, but a Commission of Bankruptcy was in February, 1823 issued against "Charles Culverhouse, flour factor, dealer and chapman of Walcot Parish." His property in various parts of the City being soon after sold at Auction by I. Orchard and Son.

The business of I. Orchard, at the "Auctioneers and Upholstery Warehouse" was a considerable one, and from 1797 his advertisements of properties and goods for sale are frequent; these continue till 1817, after which the business was carried on as I. Orchard & Son, until 1829. The business of J. Phipps was an old established one; and prior to 1797 was carried on by Messrs. Melin and Easty; at a later date than the issue of the Tokens it

was transferred to No. 9 in the same buildings as J. and W. Phipps, and from there in 1826 removed to No. 32, Gay Street.

All the local Token issuers it is evident, were intimate friends of S. Whitchurch, and their attitude as to Religious and other Societies is of interest. In March, 1812, Culverhouse and Whitchurch subscribed to the Bath Auxiliary Bible Society, and at the same time, strangely enough, the most determined opponent of the circulation of the Bath Tokens (Francis Ellis) gave Ten guineas. In 1813 Orchard and Phipps were on the Committee of the Bath Sunday School Union. (That Culverhouse in 1799, and later a daughter of Phipps, were married at St. Mary's Chapel, *Atkins, Somt., 66*, may interest some collectors.)

The Margaret's Buildings series are all of Silver and comprise Four, Two, and One Shilling pieces, and those of the highest denomination were apparently issued first, as the *Chronicle* of February 12th, 1812, contains the following advertisement :—

“BASE and SPURIOUS TWELVEPENNY TOKENS having for some time incommoded the Public, and it being now discovered that the only Bristol Tokens, which freely circulated in this City, have been basely imitated to a great extent, we have at length been induced to accede to the pressing solicitations of our Friends, and thus announce to the Public, that they may now be supplied with SILVER SHILLING BATH TOKENS of weight and purity equal, if not superior to any yet issued. As our aim has hitherto been, so it will continue to be, to satisfy the public mind, and supply them with necessary change, of intrinsic worth, as near the nominal value, as can possibly be done, without suffering loss by the issue, and the TOKENS thus issued will be readily exchanged for Bank Notes in any quantity, at either of our Houses.

CHARLES CULVERHOUSE

ISAAC ORCHARD

JAMES PHIPPS.”

As showing the local repute of the Tokens, I quote from an advertisement in the *Journal* of June 1st, 1812.

“SYDNEY GARDENS, VAUXHALL, BATH

In honour of


HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY

on Thursday, June 4th, 1812,

will be

A GRAND GALA.”

“Tickets, Two Shillings and Sixpence each to be had at the Gate of the Gardens, of Mrs. Gye, Stationer ; Mr. Kemp and Mr. Hobbs, Grocers, Market Place.

 To prevent the great inconvenience and delay to the Company at the Gate, and more particularly from the present *Scarcity of Change*, parties are requested to provide themselves with Tickets.

N.B. NO TOKENS taken but those of Messrs. Garratt & Co., Bristol ; Messrs. Whitchurch and Dore, and Messrs. Culverhouse, Orchard and Phipps, Bath.”

(This reference to Tokens in connection with the Sydney Gardens appeared at frequent intervals till August 12th, 1813.)

The *Chronicle* of December 15th, 1814, contains the following :

“The Act of Parliament passed on the 26th November, 1813, enacts “That from and after six weeks from the commencement of the next (now the present) Session of Parliament, no Gold or Silver Token shall pass or circulate for money, and every person who shall, after six weeks from the commencement of the next (now the present) Session of Parliament, circulate or pass any such Token, shall forfeit any Sum not less than £5 or more than £10, at the discretion of such Justice or Justices, as shall hear and determine such offence ; but nothing in this Act shall extend to prevent any person from presenting any such Token for payment to the original issuer thereof ; or to discharge or excuse any such original issuer, from his liability to pay the same.”

“After the 19th inst., therefore, no (Silver) Local Token can be

legally paid or received" "and it is stated from authority that it is not the intention of Government to propose any extension of the Local Tokens Act."

In the *Chronicle* of December 29th following, this advertisement appears :—

" BATH TOKENS.

MESSRS CULVERHOUSE, ORCHARD & PHIPPS

Respectfully inform the Holders of their Tokens, that they continue to exchange them for Notes, in quantities of Not less than One Pound, agreeably to their original engagement with the Public ; at No. 6 Margaret's Buildings, every day in the present Week, between the hours of Eleven and Four, and afterwards on Saturdays only between the same hours.

Bath, December 25th."

The stipulation that Tokens should be presented for redemption, in quantities of not less than One Pound, was in common use by Traders, and caused such inconvenience, especially to the poorer classes, that the question of the legality of this restriction was contested locally, and the *Journal* of January 2nd, 1815, mentions as to "LOCAL TOKENS. We announce to the holders of the Local Tokens that they can compel the payment of them, although it should happen that they have not the value of ONE POUND of them in their possession. A case of this kind was decided in the Court of Requests, in this City on Wednesday. The defendants, Messrs. Culverhouse and Co., contended that they could not be compelled, on the ground of their Tokens expressing that payment should be made in a ONE POUND NOTE for 20 shillings value, but this was overruled by the Court, who decided that every single Token must be paid on presentation, Copper only excepted, at the same time remarking that if it were otherwise, it would be the greatest injustice—the law *now* prohibiting the holder from passing his Token to any but the original issuer."

FOUR SHILLINGS. (Silver)

DAVIS

SOM^T BATH

1. 1. Obv: Arms, in chief two lions passant, on the base argent a Lion rampant holding an oak tree. Motto on ribband below TO FACILITATE TRADE Supporters, dexter, Commerce seated upon masonry, holding shield with left hand, and pointing to shield with fore-finger of right hand; sinister, Justice standing with sword erect in left hand and right arm extended and holding a Balance as Crest. Legend, BATH TOKEN FOUR SHILLINGS The right foot of Justice points between the T and R of TRADE her left foot is over the A in the same word. The right foot of Commerce extends to I of FACILITATE
- Rev: A POUND NOTE GIVEN FOR FIVE OF THESE OUR TOKENS C. CULVERHOUSE I. ORCHARD AND J. PHIPPS in nine lines within an inner circle. Legend, MARGARETS BUILDINGS BATH The name CULVERHOUSE is in line with the S of BUILDINGS R.R.
2. 2. Also in Copper.
Boyne, 12. R.R.R.
3. 3. Obv: As last.
Rev: Similar to last, but ORCHARD is in line with the S of BUILDINGS R.R.R.
5. 4. Obv: As to design, similar to No. 1, but the right foot of Justice is on the R and her left foot spans the A and D of TRADE the right arm is not continuous at the balance. The right foot of Commerce is over the IL of FACILITATE

5. 4. Rev: A POUND NOTE GIVEN FOR FIVE TOKENS
BY C. CULVERHOUSE I. ORCHARD AND
I. PHIPPS No inner circle.
By Halliday. R.R.R.
4. 5. Similar to last, but J. instead of I. PHIPPS
Boyne, 13. R.R.R.
- The alteration of the die from I. to J. on this
is apparent, and it may also be fairly assumed
that this type was the first issue, and that to
clearly indicate the place of issue, the
Legend was added to the later Tokens.
6. 6. Obv: As last.
Rev: The Golden Fleece, suspended from a ribbon.
SHIPS COLONIES & COMMERCE 1811
by Halliday and P. Wyon. R.R.R.
7. 7. Also in Copper. R.R.R.
- The reverse of this piece ; occurs on a Three
Shilling Token of this date of which the
locality of issue is unknown, and possibly I
should be justified in claiming this piece,
and its companions of the value of 1s. 6d.
and 6d. for the Margaret's Buildings issuers.
TWO SHILLINGS.
15. 8 Obv: Arms, and Supporters, Commerce and Justice
the latter holding Balance as Crest, position
of feet &c. identical with Obv of No. 6 ;
Legend, BATH TOKEN TWO SHILLINGS
Rev: A POUND NOTE GIVEN FOR TEN TOKENS BY
C. CULVERHOUSE I. ORCHARD AND J.
PHIPPS
by Halliday. R.
- There can be little doubt that these were early
issues and no varieties are known.

SHILLINGS

17. 9. Obv: Similar design. Legend, BATH TOKEN ONE
SHILLING 1812

Rev: A POUND NOTE GIVEN FOR 20 OF THESE OUR
TOKENS C CULVERHOUSE I ORCHARD AND
J PHIPPS all within a circle (no periods after
initials) Legend MARGARETS BUILDINGS
BATH

by Halliday.

R.R.

16. 10. Obv & Rev: Similar to last, but periods are added
at C. I. and J.

Boyne 15.

R.

The edges of all the foregoing Tokens are
milled, obliquely.

The Silver and Copper Tokens issued by Messrs. S. Whitchurch and Wm. Dore in combination, are of the value of Four Shillings, and One Penny respectively.

At the date of issue, 1811, Samuel Whitchurch was carrying on the business of an Ironmonger, &c., at No. 26; and William Dore the business of a Hosier, Hatter, &c., at No. 24, Market Place, (High Street) their position in the centre of the business life of the City affording the issuers great facilities for putting their Tokens into wide circulation. Before their premises on the main highway to London, the Stage Coaches then at their zenith, passed in rapid succession to and fro. Between them stood the Greyhound and Shakespeare Inn (No. 25) from which some twenty coaches started daily; lower down on the same side of the Market Place, from the Christopher Inn and the adjacent offices of Fromont and Co., numerous Coaches and the great waggons then in use for conveying goods started their journeys; across the road and facing their premises, stood the White Lion Inn, its extensive posting establishment busy with the bustle

of His Majesty's Mails, almost opposite them were the City Markets and the Guildhall, and but a short distance away loomed up the Abbey with its Gothic tower dominating the picturesque and busy area below.

S. Whitchurch, as a youth, came from Frome to reside in Bath, and as a seaman had in early manhood an adventurous career. After voyaging round the world he entered the Navy and served in the Monmouth off the American coast during the War of Revolt. In the action off the Island of Grenada, July 6th, 1779, between the English and French fleets, on the Grafton, Captain Collingwood, he was in charge of the signals; on August 5th, 1781, in the Alert, he was present at the action on the Dogger Bank between the English and Dutch fleets; and on April 12th, 1782, he was in the West Indies with Rodney in the action which drove the French fleet from those seas, and in one action was so severely wounded that the scars always remained visible. In 1788, as an Ironmonger and Brazier, he was in business at No. 3, Bridge Street; and in the *Bath Herald and Register* of March 3rd, 1792, he appears as Secretary to "The Royal Universal Tontine, commenced December 26th, 1791, for 7 years for the benefit of survivors." In 1797 this Society was known as the "Bristol Universal Tontine." Always conspicuously loyal, in December, 1792, he signed the book of the "Bath Loyal Association for preserving Liberty, Property, and the Constitution of Great Britain against Republicans and Levellers."

On September 23rd, 1796,

"SAMUEL WHITCHURCH

IRONMONGER, BRAZIER, SMITH, TINMAN & CUTLER

Respectfully informs his Friends and the Public, that he is removed from his old situation, to, The New House and Shop, next the Greyhound, in the Market Place, and directly facing Bridge Street."

For many years Whitchurch worked with such energy in

connection with local philanthropic work that it is a reproach that no public memorial of him exists. As a member of Argyle Chapel he took a most prominent part in the numerous religious and charitable societies in connection with it. For many years he was Secretary and Accountant of the Bath Penitentiary, and was publicly thanked "for his important and gratuitous services" to that institution. He served on the Committee of the "British and Foreign Bible Society, and was Joint Secretary of the Bath Sunday School Union," and taking keen interest in educational matters, was connected with the Union Blue Coat School, previously referred to. As an intimate friend and earnest supporter of Joseph Lancaster, "Inventor of the Royal British System of Education" in 1812, Whitchurch received subscriptions towards a work Lancaster then published dealing with Education. He was also on the Committee of the Bath and Bathforum Free School, and for some years acted as Secretary and Sub-Treasurer.

Despite his exceptionally numerous public engagements, and attention to his large and prosperous business, Whitchurch indulged in Poetic effusions; his somewhat lengthy pieces are frequent in the local press, and several books were published by him, the first, "The Folly and Madness of War, and other Poetical pieces," undated, but probably in 1795. In 1804 he issued "Hispaniola, a Poem with Notes, and other Poetical pieces," and in October, 1809, a long "Epistle to Mr. Joseph Lancaster." In September, 1812, he commenced the issue, in parts, of "David Dreadnought, the Reformed English Sailor, or Nautic Tales and Adventures in Verse," the complete work appearing in September, 1813.

The close connection of both Whitchurch and Dore with several local Banking firms is curious and interesting. In the *Chronicle* of September 12th, 1810, appeared an advertisement:—

"The Notes of Messrs. Sturges, Gould and Tucker (Bankers, 22, Union Street) will be continued to be taken at the Shop of

S. Whitchurch, Ironmonger, Market Place, either in payment of Debts or in exchange for Goods."

This Bank for a time suspended payment, but soon after this advertisement, resumed business. As indicative of the status of some Bankers at this date, of this firm two of its partners were Coal Merchants, and one of these, Joseph Tucker, was Clerk of St. Mary's Chapel, Queen Square, as well.

At the Peace Celebration in April, 1814, Whitchurch's display of decorations was one of the most noticeable in the City, the following somewhat premature lines, evidently his own writing, being prominent :—

"Commerce unchained—her fleets with streamers gay
Ride unmolested on the Sea's wide way !
And bear the pleasing tidings round the world
Of War's proud banners by Britannia furled."

(Possibly Whitchurch wrote the Motto displayed on the same occasion by Culverhouse).

On the 25th of December, 1817, at the age of 62, Whitchurch passed away. His funeral was practically a public one with every manifestation of regret. A long obituary notice in the *Chronicle* concludes, "His name in Bath will ever be honourably connected with Charity, Liberality and Public Good." In a laudatory epitaph at the time, a local poet apropos of the devotion of Whitchurch to philanthropic work, comments that it

"Sheds a fresh lustre on his honoured name
And gilds it with imperishable fame."

Unfortunately time has proved the conclusions both of editor and poet wrong, the memory of Whitchurch survives now almost solely through his connection with the Token issues. (Since this paper was given a bust of S. W. has fortunately been found.) After his death the business was carried on for a short time by his widow and sons, and then continued solely by his son Thomas Whitchurch.

William Dore in 1798, carried on the business of Hosier and

Hatter, at No. 2, Bridge Street, removing in May, 1799, to No. 7, Northgate Street. By 1809 he was residing in the Market Place, and at this date was one of the Overseers for the Parish of St. Peter and St. Paul. In January, 1811, at a dissolution of partnership between Messrs. Euclid Shaw (Canal Coal Merchant) and J. Giddings Hitchcock, Bankers (Holloway House and Westgate Street), Mr. Dore, Woollen Draper, Market Place, was by advertisement fully empowered to pay all their Cash Notes presented at his place of business. Subscribing freely enough to various Societies, Dore did not take any prominent public position and on September 6th, 1813, he retired from the business, advertising

“Wm. Dore respectfully informs his Friends, the Public and Visitants of Bath, that he has declined his Mercery and Haberdashery Business in favour of Messrs. Bourne and Austen,” and to his late patrons “for favours so liberally bestowed on him, impressed with gratitude, begs their acceptance of his most sincere thanks.”

Retiring to Weston, near Bath, Dore interested himself in educational matters, and in 1817 was prominent as a large subscriber and as collecting large sums from others towards the erection of a new School at Weston, on Dr. Bell's plan. To this fund Whitchurch subscribed and was also employed on the building.

In 1819 William Dore, Esq., of Weston, was one of the two High Constables for Bath. It is probable (but full proof is not obtainable) that early in 1818 Dore was one of the promoters of, and a partner in the Bath City Bank, No. 7, Union Street, established as “Messrs. Dore, Smith, Moger & Evans,” the Bank being carried on under the same names till 1823, when the use of “Dore” ceases.

The Tokens issued by Whitchurch and Dore met generally with approval, the *Chronicle* of September 16th, 1811, stating “We always feel a pleasure in recording instances of public spirit, and such we consider the conduct of Messrs.

Whitchurch and Dore, of this City. These respectable individuals feeling in common with their fellow citizens the great inconvenience arising from the present scarcity of change, have most laudably come forward and issued a Four Shilling Token. This measure has already afforded a considerable relief; and we are happy to hear that a further supply of this seasonable circulating medium is expected in a few days." Some Bath citizens however, took exception to the Tokens, and a vigorous, somewhat acrimonious and lengthy correspondence was carried on concerning them in the local press, and as illustrating my subject, I quote partially but still extensively from this.

From the *Journal* of November 4th, 1811, "there are however some individuals, who, by issuing of Tokens have endeavoured in some degree, to relieve trade from those embarrassments which the scarcity of small gold has occasioned; and where these individuals have honourably avowed their design on the face of their Tokens, to take them back again 'at full value' I think it 'very fair; *after all*, the Public may choose whether such Tokens shall pass current or not' 'a Shopkeeper who should refuse to aid the circulation of such kind of change, could not be celebrated for wisdom of thought or liberality of sentiments' and would 'be deservedly entitled to the honourable distinction of F.R.S. (fellow remarkably stupid).' 'I understand, Mr. Printer, that it is no new thing for shopkeepers to issue Tokens, although an ancient shopkeeper would have jumped over his counter, in a fit of astonishment that any of his fraternity had circulated Tokens of 'four shillings apiece.'

I remain, yours, &c.,

A CITIZEN OF BATH."

In the *Journal* of November 25th, appears

"To the Editor. On the Bath Tokens.

Sir,

In consequence of the great scarcity of Silver, a considerable interruption to our commercial concerns has been occasioned.

As a temporary relief the Bank issued a number of Tokens ; which did not prove equal to the exigencies ; and this has induced a number of persons in different towns, to form a species of provincial Coinage, by which means the difficulty of change has been materially removed. It is supposed by some that the remedy may ultimately prove worse than the evil ; upon this principle many Tradesmen object to the circulation and assert that the proportion of Silver is much inferior to that in the current Coin of the Kingdom. To ascertain whether such a report is well founded Dr. Chichester and myself have subjected to analysis a portion of one of the Four Shilling Tokens issued in this City." After describing in detail the process, he continues, "From this proportion the alloy is 11 per cent. of copper," "and from this analysis it appears that the Bath Tokens are equal in purity to Portuguese Dollars, from which they are probably made (British Dollars having $7\frac{1}{2}$, Spanish Dollars $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of alloy). Sterling Silver is worth 6s. 4d. per ounce, and one of the Bath Tokens weighs 10 dwts. and would sell for old silver for more than 3s." "The small profit the issuers may have they amply deserve for the advantages society continues to receive from change being thus facilitated.

I am, Sir, &c.,

C. WILKINSON."

The writer of this letter was Dr. Wilkinson, then proprietor of the Kingston Pump Room and Baths and a well-known Lecturer on Chemistry and Mineralogy, and the letter led to his being employed to similarly test a number of the Bristol, and some of the London Tokens ; the results he published at length in the *Journal* of February 3rd, 1812.

The *Chronicle* of November 28th, 1811, again refers in terms of appreciation to "The Four Shilling Tokens issued by two public-spirited Tradesmen of the City," and then gives a summary of Dr. Wilkinson's letter. One correspondent was an exceptionally keen opponent of the Token issues ; his letters are frequent and

lengthy, and for want of space I can only give short extracts from them. In contravention of Wilkinson's statements, he writes in the *Chronicle* of December 5th :—" I must however be allowed to confess that these (Wilkinson's) observations do not appear to be legitimately derived from the analysis, the result of which seems little likely to satisfy the many Tradesmen who assert 'that the proportion of Silver in the Bath Tokens is much inferior to that in the current Coin of the Kingdom. To decide on the truth or falsehood of the objection, Dr. Wilkinson should have measured the Tokens by the legal Coin of the realm, not by the paper value of Silver, which these intelligent tradesmen might with truth remark was measuring the yard by the cloth, instead of the cloth by the yard,' and after proving to his own satisfaction that if cash payments were resumed at the Bank of England, and the Tokens suppressed, there would be a loss to the holders of the Bath Tokens of £38 in every nominal £100 worth, proceeds, 'the proportion of Silver in the Bath Tokens is not only much inferior to that in the legal Coin of the realm, but even to that in the Bank of England Tokens. So great, indeed, is the inferiority that a Bath four shilling contains scarcely a single pennyweight more silver than a three shilling Bank token !' and as this inferiority 'offers a direct premium for the conversion of Bank into Bath Tokens, and one still higher for the melting down of good half-crowns for the same purpose, an inundation of counterfeit Bath Tokens may naturally be apprehended,' and concludes, 'The perplexity and loss that may ultimately flow from the Tokens, it is easy to foresee, though not to calculate the extent of ! and while it is yet time, may perhaps be no less worthy the consideration of the avowed issuers, than of the receivers of the Bath Tokens.

I am, &c., &c.,

FRANCIS ELLIS,

(No. 12, Lansdown Crescent.)

The *Journal* of December 16th contains a vigorous reply to this letter, over the signature A.B.C., in which "Francis Ellis, Esq.," is pointedly but not politely requested, as he disapproves of the Bath Tokens, to suggest, if he can, a better way of meeting the scarcity of change, and mentions "that if the liberality of the Bank had supplied the Country with a sufficiency of their Tokens as change, all such Provincial Tokens would never have been thought of," and in the same issue a letter signed "A Tradesman" refers to the melting down of Silver Coin for sale as Bullion, and states that "to this circumstance may be attributed the inconvenience so sorely felt by Tradesmen in general, who having often sustained great losses through the want of change, so far from manifesting the dissatisfaction mentioned in Mr. Ellis's letter, gladly take Bath tokens and justly consider the issuers worthy of public thanks! And, let it be remembered, that these Tokens bear the issuer's promise to pay the nominal value for them, and no one acquainted with this City, will doubt of their ability of making good their engagements."

On the same date Dr. Wilkinson writes "that the Bank tokens are not of the purity of standard silver," and that he has tested "the Bank Tokens and find(s) the alloy 9 per cent.," and continues that "it has been erroneously stated that as many Bank Tokens have been sent to Bath and Bristol, as to enable each person to have 20s. change, and that the provincial Tokens have prevented the influx of the Bank Tokens" "to Bath only two parcels of £2500 each have been sent," "how inadequate such a sum must be to relieve the distress commercial men sustained." and suggests to those opposing the Tokens that they should "enquire of any Tradesman in the City, and presumes there is not one who has not experienced the advantages resulting from the Bath Tokens." "I am informed by an eminent legal character, that the Tokens are to all intents and purposes promissory notes, and constitute a partnership between those whose names are inscribed, and attaches even to survivorship for

security," and as giving the views of a cultured Citizen of that time, I quote further :—"The circumstances under which we are placed, render it politically necessary that these Tokens should not contain a greater value of Silver than at present, they have sufficient for security to the holder, and not enough to tempt people to export them. In political circles it is well known that France is acting on the finance of this Country, through the medium of Portugal, it is by this channel she is attempting the absorption of all our specie, and this has depreciated on the Continent the value of all British Bills. Formerly a Bank of England Note on any part of the Continent was taken at a premium of 4 or 5 per cent., whilst at the present period (1811) it is at a discount of between 30 and 40 per cent."

The *Journal* of December 23rd contains a strong attack on the Token issues, over the signature Is Is; and in the *Chronicle* of January 2nd, 1812, appears a long letter from Francis Ellis, who to strengthen his attack on the Bath Tokens as to their legality, and as to the loss to holders of them from their liability to forgery, in the event of the repudiation of such forgeries by their reputed issuers, had taken the opinion of the "eminent Mr. Sergeant Lens, in a regular way, who in his answer says," "there will be a considerable difficulty in framing any action, as it must be founded on a special undertaking, and none such could be sustained, in proof, unless it could be shewn that Whitchurch and Dore, have personally or by public advertisement, rendered themselves responsible at the time of issuing these Tokens, and some mode of identifying some at least, which they did so issue, shall be capable of being shewn in evidence. If the issuing of certain pieces, similar to the present, could be proved, I think it not impossible to prove, by the similarity of the manufacture of the others, sufficient to throw on the Defendants, the proof of their being forged," and concludes, "On this opinion, I leave the public to make its own comments." And the public, or rather

“the intelligent tradesmen” did so promptly, as the *Chronicle* of January 30th contains the following:—

“To Messrs. Whitchurch and Dore.

Bath, 24th January, 1812.

Gentlemen,

We beg leave to return you our sincere thanks, for the very seasonable relief which your SILVER TOKENS have afforded us, at a time when we (in common with our Fellow Citizens) were labouring under the greatest inconvenience for want of small change. While your respectability at once dissipated every apprehension of loss, your public spirit has impressed us with gratitude, we therefore earnestly hope, that you will not withhold such further supplies as the necessity of the case may require.

We are Gentlemen, yours etc.,

W. Kemp, Grocer, No. 27, Market Place.

James Evill & Son, Jewellers & Silversmiths, No. 21, Market Place.

Edward Gibbons, Grocer, No. 18, Market Place.

Wm. May, Greyhound Inn, No. 25, Market Place.

Evill and Newall, Taylors & Woollen Drapers, No. 22, Northgate St.

John Daniel, Wine Merchant, No. 45, Milsom St.

Evill and Godwin.

S. and W. Slack, Linen Drapers, No. 40, Milsom St.

Sheppard & Trinder, Woollen Drapers, No. 7, Milsom St.

H. Godwin, Librarian & Bookseller, No. 24, Milsom St.

Stephen Leedham, Grocer, No. 1, New Bond St.

John Barnard, Woollen Draper & Tailor, No. 6, Bridge St.

George Barnard, Woollen Draper & Tailor, No. 7, Bridge St.

James Taylor, Hatter, Hosier & Glover, No. 3, Bridge St.

R. M. Payne, Goldsmith & Jeweller to His Majesty, No. 10, Union St.

Moger & Nicholson, Linen Drapers, No. 15, Union St.

B. Shaw & Son, Linen Drapers, No. 18, Cheap St.

Sam Hallett, Ironmonger, No. 5, Cheap St.

Henry Griffith, Union Passage.”

(In the original, only the names of those who signed are given, occupations and addresses I have traced and added.)

On May 14th, 1812, the following advertisement appeared in the *Chronicle* :—

“PROVINCIAL TOKENS.

WHITCHURCH and DORE, beg to inform their Friends, and the Public, that they purpose to continue to take, in exchange for goods at their respective Shops, so long as the wisdom of Parliament may permit such LOCAL COIN to be circulated, the following Tokens, viz., those issued by the MARLBOROUGH BANK, the BRISTOL ANDOVER and GLOUCESTER tokens ; the FROME tokens of one and two shillings each, also the Tokens which have been issued by their neighbours in Bath.—With respect to their OWN TOKENS as their promise is exhibited in very legible characters on the face of every one of them : WHITCHURCH and DORE have only to say that they hold themselves in readiness to perform THAT PROMISE whenever it shall be required of them.

Market Place, Bath, 9th May, 1812.”

It is curious that in the long correspondence anent the Tokens, the Margaret's Buildings pieces are not once directly alluded to, and the omission apparently indicates that the number issued was limited and that consequently they had but a small circulation as compared with those issued by Whitchurch and Dore.

Evidently the various Tokens as partially meeting a recognized public requirement, circulated freely and without opposition for a considerable time, no public notice being taken of them ; the *Chronicle* of July 8th, 1813, notices however, “The circulation of Local Tokens is allowed till six weeks after the next meeting of Parliament,” but that they did not completely meet the necessity of the time, the following references illustrative of my subject will shew, in an advertisement appearing in the *Chronicle* of January 20th, 1814 :—

“MR NIBLOCK (Davis, Somt., 43.)

Feels exceedingly happy to have it in his power to give the inhabitants of Bath and its vicinity an opportunity of passing their REFUSED COPPER as he will accept ONE HALF in payment

of any part of that valuable and extensive stock, now selling in CHEAP STREET, consisting of at least £2000 worth of useful and well assorted articles in Linen and Woollen Drapery, Hosiery, Haberdashery and Millinery Goods. He begs to observe that he cannot positively give the Public a longer indulgence than Saturday next, the 22nd instant."

Various tradesmen of the time issued paper tickets for sums as low as One Shilling, and some Poor Law Authorities, in addition to issuing Tokens, put into circulation Notes of varying amounts, notably at Birmingham, where Notes of the value of £5, £1, 5/- and 2/6 were issued, and a somewhat similar issue took place in Bath, as the Authorities of the Parish of Walcot advertised:—

"Walcot, January 29th, 1814.

In consequence of the great Scarcity of Silver, the Committee for Distributing Relief to the Poor of the Parish, Issue Tickets, of the value of 2/-, 4/-, 8/- and 10/- each, which the Committee request Tradesmen and others to take, and to bring to Mr. Percival, Overseer (of Walcot Parish) in Sums of not less than ONE POUND for payment.

J. C. TUFNELL, Chairman."

(Of these Tickets I have never seen specimens, and confess I should like to add a series of them to my collection). On the 1st of September, 1814, the foundation stone of Bathwick New Church was laid, "the stone being laid in its bed, a Collection of Coins, Medals and Tokens were placed therein, the inscription plate soldered down, and the ceremony concluded." (If a complete series of Local Medals and Tokens of the time is in existence there, disinterment of that stone would be an operation of interest for a collector.) I have previously referred to the Act suppressing the Tokens, and the *Chronicle* of December 22nd, 1814, contains the following:—

"WHITCHURCH and DORE TOKENS.

Whereas, the Act of Parliament, restricts the payment of and for Local Silver Tokens, to the original issuers of such TOKENS, after

the 19th inst., MESSRS. WHITCHURCH and DORE hereby give Notice, that their Tokens will be Received and Paid by themselves only, on this day, and in future, at the Shop of the said Mr. Whitchurch in the Market Place.

Bath, 20th December, 1814."

FOUR SHILLINGS. (Silver)

DAVIS

SOM^T BATH

8. 11. Obv: Arms, argent in chief, two bars wavy, azure; in base a battlemented wall loopholed, over all a sword erect; Supporters, dexter, a Lion rampant; sinister, a Bear contourne, all on a base of rough stonework. Crest, Hands in grip.

BATH TOKEN + FOUR SHILLINGS +

Under the Arms, 1811 The head of the Lion *touches* the B in BATH The cuff on the left lines to the *first limb* of H The tops of the One's in date are *flat*.

Rev: A POUND NOTE FOR 5 TOKENS GIVEN BY S. WHITCHURCH AND WM. DORE.

A Staffordshire knot under, *nearly touching* the legend, *commencing* at W and *terminating* at O in DORE

9. 12. Similar, but the Staffordshire knot on Rev: *commences* at M and *terminates* at the R and is *farther* from the legend.
10. 13. Similar, but the head of the Lion is *quite free* of the B in BATH The cuff on the left lines *between* T and H The tops of the One's in date *slope*, and the last numeral *touches* the base line. R.
11. 14. Similar, but the left cuff lines to the first limb of H

12. 15. Also in Copper R.R.R.
13. 16. Obv: Similar, but the *left* cuff lines *between the limbs* of H The tops of the one's in date are *flat*, and the figures *distant* from the base line.
Rev: Similar, but the knot *commences* at the *last* limb of M and *terminates* at the *first* limb of the R in DORE
BOYNE, 16. R.
The edges of the preceding are milled obliquely.
14. 17. Obv: Within a *wreath of oak*. BATH TOKEN 1811
Legend, FOUR SHILLINGS The tops of the one's in date *slope*.
Rev: Similar to last.
E: Plain. R.R.R.
All by P. Wyon.
- PENCE.
74. 18. Obv: Arms, Supporters and Crest as Obv. of Bath 11.
BATH PENNY + + + TOKEN + + + 1811
within toothed border.
Rev: A POUND NOTE FOR 240 TOKENS GIVEN BY
S. — WHITCHURCH AND W. DORE within
toothed border.
E: Milled obliquely.
SHARP, 196, 2.
68. 19. Obv: A fleece suspended from a ribbon; BATH
TOKEN 1811 The *left* foreleg is *over* the
first one in date, the one's are in a *straight*
line, and *slightly pointed* at the tops, the tail
falls below the hock.
Rev: A POUND NOTE FOR 240 TOKENS GIVEN BY
S. T. WHITCHURCH AND W. DORE
The T of TOKENS is *over* the N in GIVEN
E: Partially milled. R.

SHARP, 196, I.

69. 20 Similar, but the T of TOKENS is *over* the *space* between GIVEN and BY
70. 21. Similar, but the *left* foot of the fleece, *nearly touches* the *first* one in date, the one's are flat. R.
- E: Plain.
71. 22. Similar, but the date is in a *curved* line and farther from the legs of the fleece, the ones are *pointed*.
- E: Partially milled.
72. 23. Similar, but the *first* one in date is *between* the fore legs, the one's in the date are *more pointed* than in the last.
73. 24. Obv: Similar, but the *first* one in the date is *under the right* fore leg; the tail *does not fall* below the hock; the one's in the date *slope*.
- Rev: Similar, but the T of TOKENS is *above* the *last* limb of N in GIVEN
- E: Plain.

At the head of the list of Copper Tokens I have placed No. 74, *Davis, Somt.*, as I conclude it must have been the first of the pence issued, and for which S. Whitchurch only, in conjunction with Dore, was responsible. As to the remainder, from the use of the S. T. on the reverse, it is highly probable that for their issue his son, Thomas Whitchurch, who in 1820 succeeded to the business, was more directly responsible with Dore. With the exception of Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 11 Bath, the devices of the Obv and Rev's of the Tokens are protected by a dotted circle within a raised rim. No information is available as to the number or the value of the Bath Tokens put into circulation at this period, but it is known that they were manufactured by Thomas Halliday,

Medallist, Token engraver, &c., whose works were situated in Newhall Street, Birmingham, and that the dies from which they were struck were the work of an employé of Halliday, Peter Wyon, the father of the more celebrated William Wyon, R.A. (of the Royal Mint), who at Halliday's works learnt the art of die-engraving under his father. For most of the information available, collectors are indebted to Thomas Sharp of Coventry (1770-1841), who, as Librarian to Sir G. Chetwynd, compiled a valuable Catalogue of Provincial Tokens, &c. This was published in 1834, but only 60 copies were issued.

Although not strictly a local item, mention of the following Shilling Token is perhaps permissible :—

DAVIS. GLOUCESTERSHIRE. Obv: PAYABLE BY MESSRS. J. & S.
 No. 3 GRIFFITH CHELTENHAM OR AT
 NO 2 RIVER ST BATH in a circle.
 PAYABLE BY A ONE POUND NOTE
 FOR 20 OF THESE TOKENS
 Rev: The Arms and Crest of Bristol
 within a Garter; inscribed DOLLAR
 SILVER
 Legend: SILVER TOKEN FOR XII
 PENCE. R.R.

The *Chronicle* of December 20th, 1814, mentions that the Local Token Act of 1814 "does not apply to Copper Tokens, which may therefore be circulated as usual," and curiously enough in view of the action of Parliament, an announcement of a Concert to be held at the Assembly Rooms appearing in the same issue, has an appeal to Subscribers in connection with the "Scarcity of Change," a clear enough indication, that although the Silver portion of the Traders Coinage might be suppressed by the Act, the necessity for such a circulating medium was still acute.

As to the Copper the bulk of the later Tokens, owing to the

greed of their issuers were generally inferior both as to quality and weight; some tradesmen refused to redeem their own issues, others became bankrupt, and for commercial purposes the Tokens became insecure as vouchers, and the public becoming alarmed clamoured for their suppression. An influential petition praying for the suppression of the Copper Tokens, on the ground that in general they were not of half their nominal value, was presented to the House of Commons on the 25th of April, 1817, and on the 27th of July following, an Act was passed prohibiting the making of such Tokens, under a penalty of not less than £1 or more than £5. "And it was further enacted that from and after January 1st, 1818, Tokens should no longer pass or circulate on pain of forfeiting for each piece not less than 2s. or more than 10s." "But, nothing in the Act was to prevent any Person from presenting such Token for payment to the original issuer, or to discharge such original issuer from his liability to pay the same."

The attempts of the City Authorities Bankers and Tradesmen to cope with the difficulties caused by the scarcity of change, after the suppression of the Tokens, the rioting that took place in Bath in this connection, and the supply to the City of the much needed new Silver coin in 1817, do not come within the scope of the present paper, but in conclusion, I may point out that although the Local Silver Tokens were suppressed in 1814, those issued by the Bank of England remained in circulation till an Act passed on July 11th, 1817, enacted that after March 25th, 1818, they should no longer circulate, but that they would be accepted at the issuing Bank until March 25th, 1820; a short Act of March 19th, 1818, however, extended their circulation until April, 1819. The *Herald* of March 28th, 1818, contains the following interesting communication:—

"**BANK TOKENS.** The following circular addressed to all Postmasters has been received at the Post Office in this City:—

"General Post Office, 21st March, 1818.

I am commanded to inform you, that by the provisions of an

Act just passed, Dollars and Bank Tokens are authorized to pass and circulate until the 5th of July next, and from that period till the 5th of April next year (viz., 1819) to be tendered and received in Payment of any Taxes, Rates or Duties under the management of the Commissioners of the Customs, Excise or Stamps,—or of any Postage or in the purchase of any Stamped Paper, or in Payment of Rent, Parochial or Public Rate, or for the purpose of being transmitted to the Bank. You will therefore accordingly receive such Dollars or Bank Tokens as may be offered to you, and transmit them to this Office, in the manner pointed out in my letter of the 12th February last.

I am, your assured friend,

FRANCIS FEELING,
Secretary."

I have endeavoured as far as possible, to obtain my references from local sources, and the papers so often referred to are local, unless specially mentioned, and I tender my thanks to the Editors of the local press, through whose courtesy I have been enabled to obtain access to their columns.

In preparing this paper for publication, with pleasure I acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. W. J. Davis, of Birmingham, whose recently issued work (March 25th, 1904) on the "Nineteenth Century Token Coinage," embodying the results of a long period of careful research, is the standard authority on my subject.

NOTE.—The references to DAVIS. SOM^T are taken from "Nineteenth Century Token Coinage," by W. J. Davis.

List of Birds and Flowers of Bath and its Neighbourhood, with the periods of their first Singing and Flowering, observed by A. CASTELLAIN, in the year 1903.

BIRDS.

- 4th Jan. missel thrush sang.
 9th " blackbird sang.
 10th " thrushes sang.
 28th " heard nuthatch, Hampton Wood.
 31st " skylarks sang; saw peewits, Newton S. Loe.
 6th Feb. thrushes sang all this month.
 12th " hedge-sparrow sang.
 13th " chaffinches sang.
 12th Mar. yellowhammer and greenfinch, Limpley Stoke.
 23rd " chiffchaffs, Limpley Stoke.
 26th " bullfinch and goldfinches, redpoll, &c., Conkwell.
 7th Apr. heron and swallows, Warleigh; and martin, Newbridge.

FLOWERS.

- 5th Jan. gorse in flower, Beechen Cliff.
 10th " strawberry-leaved potentilla in flower.
 29th " crocus, snowdrop, daphne, and primrose in flower, Victoria Park.
 4th Feb. forget-me-not in flower.
 9th " almond in flower, Bathampton.
 13th " rhododendron in flower.
 19th " lesser celandine in flower.
 12th Mar. coltsfoot, strawberry, moschatel and dandelion in flower.
 16th " wood sorrel and anemone in flower.
 22nd " pear in flower.
 23rd " cuckoo flower, ground ivy and dog violets, Limpley Stoke.
 25th " wood anemones and spurge, Freshford.
 26th " wood sorrel, white and dog violets, Conkwell.

- 8th Apr. linnets sang; saw yellow wagtail (and crane-fly).
 9th " stockdove, willow wren, and nightingales,
 Limpley Stoke.
 20th " yellowhammer and woodpeckers, Freshford.
 28th " heard cuckoos, wrynecks, titlarks, blackcaps,
 woodpecker, skylarks, willow wrens, chaf-
 finches, nightingales, linnets, redpoll, chiffchaff,
 greenfinches, robins, blackbirds, song and
 missel thrushes, wrens, hedge-sparrow and
 swallow, Freshford; saw brimstone and
 cabbage butterflies.
- 4th May heard redstart, Claverton.
 9th " saw swift sedgewarbler and whitethroat, Midford.
 12th " sandmartins and whitethroat.
 18th " heard wryneck and nightingale, Monkton -
 Combe.
 23rd " heard redstart and wryneck, Corston.
 25th " saw wheatears (and squirrel), Links.
 27th " saw orange tip butterflies, Northstoke.
 4th June lesser whitethroat, Freshford.
- 8th Apr. hedgemustard in flower, Newbridge.
 9th " apple in flower.
 20th " stitchwort (st. hol.), 2 sorts buttercups, bugle
 speedwell, and herb Paris in flower.
 28th " mouse-ear chickweed, shiny crane's bill, pink
 campion and yellow archangel in flower,
 Widcombe Hill and Avoncliff.
- 29th " lovage, woodruff, Solomon's seal, creeping
 speedwell and bog myrtle in flower, Botanical
 Gardens. hawthorn, vetch, self-heal and
 small buttercup (? arvensis) in flower Kelston
 and Weston, spotted orchis in shop.
- 9th May stitchwort and comfrey, Midford.
 11th " celandine (cheldonium).
 12th " garlic and honeysuckle, Avoncliff.
 15th " avens and celandine, Kelston.
 18th " primroses still in flower, adder's tongue and
 oxeye daisy, Freshford.
- 25th " rockrose, Links.
 27th " cornilla, Northstoke.
 4th June elder, man-orchis, hemlock and crosswort,
 Freshford.

- 10th June green woodpecker, stockdove, nightingales, willow wrens, chiffchaff and flycatcher, Kelston.
 17th " bunting, sandpiper and nightingale, Freshford.
 22nd " goldfinch and redpoll, Victoria Park, lesser whitethroat and whinchat, Saltford.
 23rd " wheatears, Combe Down.
 5th July thrush sang in garden.
 6th " martin's nest, Weston, chiffchaff, Kelston.
 12th " thrushes and hedge sparrow sang.
 15th " chiffchaff, linnets, hedgessparrow and willow wren sang, Warminster Road.
 24th " saw painted lady butterfly, Claverton Down.
 3rd Aug. bunting, goldfinch and willow wren, Kelston Hill.
 24th " saw swift.
 25th " swallows and sand martins, Warminster Road.
 26th " house and sand martins and swallows, Combe Down.
 28th " sand martins and flycatchers, Batheaston.
 31st " swifts and martins.
 4th Sept. martins flying high, robin (?) nesting.
 11th " saw swallows, peewits, larks, wheatear and chiffchaff, Prospect Stile.
- 10th June wild rose, white comfrey and catchfly, &c., in flower.
 3rd July gromwell, Claverton Down.
 6th " bee orchis, drooping-thistle and milkwort, Prospect Stile.
 3rd Aug. bellflower (c. glomerata), Prospect Stile.
 19th " clematis, St. John's wort, willow herb and hop in flower, Limpley Stoke.
 26th " eyebright and fleabane in flower, Combe Down.
 29th " round-leaved toadflax in flower, Saltford (since destroyed by road metal).
 11th Sep. bellflower, c. glomerata still out at Prospect Stile.
 15th " toadflax, white campion and agrimony, Saltford.

- 17th Sep. saw linnets, redpoll and pipits, Combe Hay.
 3rd Oct. linnet sang, saw swallows, martin with young in nest, Saltford.
 10th " swallows at Corston.
 23rd " saw goldcrest.
- 27th " thrush sang.
 3rd Nov. saw pipits and larks, Solsbury Hill.
- 2nd Dec. saw blue tit bathing, grey wagtail and chaffinch, Victoria Park.
 4th " saw bullfinch and long tailed tit, Victoria Park.
- 10th " greenfinches sang, Claverton Down.
 14th " thrushes sang, Lyncombe Vale.
- 17th Sop. bellflower, Solsbury Hill, meadow sweet and St. John's wort in flower, Combe Hay.
 3rd Oct. white campion, agrimony and toadflax, Saltford.
- 23rd " herb Robert, clover, thistle, hawkweed, hawkbit, hemlock, parsley, vetch, buttercup, toadflax, woundwort, &c., still in flower, Claverton Down.
- 3rd Ncv. bellflower, pink centaury, clover, avens, herb Robert, shiny geranium, &c., Solsbury Hill.
 4th " laburnum in flower, Victoria Park.
 24th " Glastonbury thorn in flower, primrose, potentilla and honesty, Botanical Gardens.
- 9th Dec. dog's mercury, pansy and primrose in flower, Sham Castle Lane.
 10th " dandelion and shepherd's purse, Claverton Down.
 14th " ivyleaved toadflax still in flower, Lyncombe.

Summary of Proceedings and Excursions for the year 1903-1904.
By the Honorary Secretaries.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club held its Annual Meeting on the Anniversary, February 18th, 1903, at the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution. The statement presented by the Treasurer, Surgeon-Major Mantell, showed that the funds of the Club were, as usual, in a flourishing condition, there being a balance at the National Provincial Bank of England of £99 14s. 4d. in the Club's favour, with interest on the £40 deposit to be added. The largeness of the amount was caused in part by the bill for printing not having been sent in before the end of the year, but even when that was paid there would be a balance of £74. The President and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, and to fill the place of the Rev. W. W. Martin, as Secretary, Mr. Langfield Ward was appointed, Mr. M. H. Scott again undertaking the work of Excursion Secretary. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Martin for his 12 years' services, and deep regret was expressed that through ill-health he had been compelled to give up the work he had so long, so laboriously and so efficiently carried out. Mr. Bush having become Secretary of the Local Branch of the Somerset Archaeological Society, desired to withdraw from the office of Librarian, and as it appeared that of old the offices of Secretary and Librarian were combined, the duties of the post were transferred to the newly-appointed Secretary. Mr. Bush was heartily thanked for his services, and a similar compliment was paid to the Treasurer on his reappointment. Mr. W. H. Henderson and Colonel Fanshawe were re-elected on the Committee, and Mr. Trice Martin took the place of Colonel Jamieson. On the resignation of the Treasurership by Surgeon-Major Mantell, in

April, on a question about a member's subscription and the interpretation of Rule 15, Lieut.-Colonel Nash accepted the office. The departure from the Committee of one who had so ably and zealously performed the functions of so important an office was keenly felt by the Members. The past year has thus seen important changes, and the Club has had a most unfortunate experience in losing its leading officials, whose work and enthusiasm have contributed so much to its success during the last 10 or 12 years. In November the Club sustained another loss in the resignation of Mr. McMurtrie, F.G.S., who had been a Vice-President for two years, and a Member since 1866. On many occasions the Club has been indebted to him for valuable papers on various subjects, embodying the results of careful work and research, and it is needless to say the resignation was received with much regret. Two members have died during the year, Mr. J. Onslow Watts, whose name has appeared on the list since 1870, and the Rev. W. F. Kelly. One who had been a Member since 1889, Major-General Nimmo, died shortly after sending in his resignation. His name appears frequently in our records as being present at meetings and excursions.

The Club, in its endeavours to stimulate interest in antiquarian research, has twice voted £5 towards objects which were conceived to be within the scope of its investigations. The first was given to the work with which Mr. Trice Martin, the newly-elected Vice-President, was so closely identified, the excavations at Caerwent, and may be considered as in some degree a recognition of his lecture, in November, 1902, at the College, to which the Members were invited, and of his guidance of the Club in the Excursion referred to later on. The second £5 was for the work of ascertaining the real character of the so-called Via Julia.

The papers given in this volume are sufficiently varied. The Club is glad to be able to give a continuation of Mr. Sydenham's account of Bath Tokens, which will be read with much interest :

historical investigations have received attention : Roman antiquities and prehistoric remains are treated of : Mr. Castellain continues his valuable summary of the first appearances of birds and flowers in the year. It is, perhaps, a subject of regret that with the exception of this last-named paper there is no contribution to Natural History, and as in the Club's title "Natural History" comes before "Antiquarian," it is to be hoped that some effort will be made to rectify this omission by Members who are qualified to render assistance. No doubt there is much to be done in this direction by a Society such as ours, and what is done in the district ought to be published so as to be available for future reference.

Forest of Dean, May 26th, 1903.—Considering the very fine weather the small number of Members which turned up for this Excursion was somewhat disappointing, only nine forming the party. Leaving the Midland Station at 10 a.m., with only trifling waits at Mangotsfield and Berkeley Road Stations, Speech House Road was reached at 12.11, and a carriage being provided for those who preferred not to walk, the party soon arrived at "Ye Speche House Hotel," as the proprietor styles his house. There was not much time for admiring the scenery in detail, for luncheon was soon announced and duly appreciated. The party were afterwards conducted by the courteous hostess over the house, its notable features being pointed out, amongst others, a whipping post, which now forms a support to the roof of one of the servants' bedrooms. There is nothing to denote its former use, but it was said that formerly the servants would not sleep in the room, alleging that they heard the screams of former victims. The old carved mahogany bedsteads are very fine, and some interest was excited by a basketful of parts of old shoes, which with other rubbish, were found under the floor when the Court Room was repaired some years ago. Some of these shoes, by their size and shape, had evidently been worn by fair maidens in days gone by, and reminded one of Sir Edwin Arnold's pretty verses on a pair

of "Tiny slippers of gold and green, tied with a mouldering golden cord" found in an Egyptian sarcophagus.

The date of the completion of the Speech House was 1680, as appears from an inscription over the entrance to the Court Room. Another inscription on the lintel of the stable door bears the date 1676. The holly trees in the wood adjoining the Speech House are said to have been mostly planted in the time of Charles II. The beeches are numerous and very fine. When was this tree introduced into Britain? Cæsar, in his commentaries, remarks on the absence of the beech and fir in England.

Leaving the Speech House, the party drove to Stanton, which probably takes its name from the Buckstone, which is not far off. There is also a long-stone, or *maen-hir* not far from the village. The Church is a quaint little building of late Norman character, with Early English and Decorated additions. Some round-headed arches remain. The old font, not now used, is apparently a Roman altar, which has been hollowed out to receive the water. The pulpit is curious, it is attached to the wall, and must be passed through by anyone wishing to ascend the belfry stairs. On the road outside the churchyard are the steps and part of the stem of a fine old village cross. There is a local tradition referring to the long-stone mentioned above, that if the stone be pricked with a pin exactly at midnight it bleeds. Some of these isolated stones, at least, appear to have been used as mustering places for fighting men in olden times. The face carved on this *maen-hir* was the production of some rustic artist about 50 years ago.

Just before reaching Newland, the celebrated oak is to be seen on the right, but there was not time to examine it closely. It is one of the oldest and largest trees in the kingdom, measuring 41 feet in girth at five feet from the ground. Newland Church is most interesting, the nave and aisles being of great width, and the clerestory very fine. Two recumbent figures of priests have no inscription, but the effigies of Sir John Joce and his wife, in the

south aisle are in good preservation, and near them is a curious brass. There are numerous noteworthy tombstones in the Church. The style of the Church is mainly Transition Decorated to Perpendicular, and there is evidence that the present are not the original roofs. The south aisle has a double set of corbel tables, and the masonry over the tower arch shows traces of an earlier nave. In the churchyard, which is a large one, the monument of Jenkyn Wyrall is conspicuous. It is an altar tomb supporting full length figures of a forester and his wife, unfortunately a good deal mutilated. The inscription runs:—"Here : lythe : Ion : Wyrale : Forster : of Fee : the whych : dysesyd : on : the : viij : day : of September : in : y^e : yeaere : of oure : Lorde : MCCCCLVII : on : hys : Soule God : have mercy : Amen." This Wyrale, or Wyrall, was, it is said, bow-bearer to King Henry VI. It is believed that the family is extinct. In another part of the churchyard is an incised slab representing a forester armed with his bow, &c.

Newland is the Church of the Forest. The parish was formed in the reign of Edward I., who gave the advowson to the Bishop of Llandaff. But there was evidently a Church somewhere in this locality at an earlier date, for in 1219 Henry III. gave the parson of Welinton, in the Forest of Dean, some land near the Church, and deeds of 1220 and 1222-3 show that this Church was a new one. But the Church, the Manse and even the name of Welintun have utterly disappeared.

From Newland the drive was continued through Clearwell, where a halt was made that the Cross, a restoration in part of an old one, might be photographed. Clearwell Park, once the property of the Wyndhams, now in possession of the Earls of Dunraven, was passed, and Parkend Station was duly reached.

Some surprise has been expressed at the smallness of the greater number of the trees in the forest. But Sir John Wyntour, or Winter, seems to have felled upwards of 30,000 trees in the time of the Civil War, which accounts for the greater part of the forest.

With regard to the name "Forest of Dean." The word *dean* is believed to be the same as the Celtic *din*, a fortified mound or fort, and is found also in Rockingham and the New Forest. Ardennes, and Arden in Warwickshire are traceable to the same root. The Rev. C. Price, in his History of Wales, gives his opinion that the Forest of Dean was the original Feryllwg, or land between Wye and Severn, which at one time formed one of the five divisions of Wales. Feryllwg, corrupted into Ferleg and Ferreg, is probably from the iron works with which the district abounded, Feryll signifying a worker in metals.

The Spanish Armada was specially charged to destroy the oaks in the Forest of Dean, with the object of putting an end to the naval pre-eminence of England.

The Field Club party took train at Parkend, and reached Bath at 7.5, after a pleasant and not too tiring day. The forest was looking its best, and with such facilities for travelling, and so much to be seen, it is surprising that more people do not visit the forest by the Sharpness route.

Wardour Castle, June 16th, 1903.—Owing probably to the very wet weather, only a few of those who had sent in their names turned up at the Midland Station at 9 a.m. Changing trains at Templecombe, Tisbury was reached at 11.24, and the church was at once visited. This is very large, with an imposing central tower, which, however, lacks height, and its effect is marred by a flue of large drain tiles. The XVI. Century work is good, and there are some curious monuments, on one of which, to a former vicar, was an inscription, somewhat puzzling, till it was discovered that the letters after the worthy vicar's name spelled *Jacet hic*, cut over *Hic jacet*. The epitaph is in four hexameters, and the inscription as originally cut would not scan, and was therefore changed.

Sir John Davies, Attorney-General of Ireland for James I., was born at Tisbury. His eccentric wife has been handed down to posterity by Heylin as the author of a foolish anagram on her

maiden name, Eleanor Audley—"Reveal O Danyel." Everybody is familiar with the anagram in which the Dean of Arches set her down—"Dame Eleanor Davies : never so mad a ladie."

About half a mile from Tisbury is Place House, now a farm. The proprietor was unfortunately absent, but a civil farming man showed the party over the premises. Formerly a manor house, it is of the XV. Century, with an outer and an inner gate house, the former having some XIV. Century scroll moulding, probably preserved from an earlier building. The second gate house is connected with the house, but without internal communication. The kitchen has a remarkably fine chimney. There is a very fine XV. Century barn, 188 feet 3 inches in length by 32 feet 3 inches in width, a little larger than the barn at Bradford-on-Avon. The stables are also XV. Century.

After luncheon at the "Benett Arms," the party drove from Tisbury through the grounds of Fonthill House, the residence of Mrs. Morrison, by the side of a lovely lake, and past Fonthill Abbey and the present dwelling house. The agent being from home, permission to visit the Abbey could not be obtained, but a distant view of it in the midst of its woods was had shortly after passing it. On the way the house of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's father was passed, and subsequently Fonthill Giffard and Pyt House, the property of Mr. Benett Stanford, who now resides at Hatch House, a little way off.

Proceeding through lovely scenery, with pheasants feeding all around, and driving past the modern mansion, Wardour Castle was reached. The remains of the castle are considerable though not large, and are valuable illustrations of Early Perpendicular. The inner court is small and hexagonal, the buildings surrounding it unusually lofty and fine. The state staircase from the courtyard remains with its groined vaulted roof. Under the hall, crossing just in the middle, was a vaulted passage connected with the postern gate, with a portcullis in the doorway at each end. Surrounded by magnificent cedars, and overgrown with ivy, the

old Castle makes a striking picture. The so-called "iron-wood" tree at one corner is curious, with its numerous stems and peculiar foliage. There is a specimen of this tree, which is rare, near the Marlborough Buildings entrance to Victoria Park. It will be found on the South side of the road, and is labelled *Planera Richardi*.

The Castle has had an eventful history. It seems to have been a baronial residence in the time of Edward II. In 1392 the then owner, Lord Lovel, obtained a license from Richard II. to crenellate his residence. It was purchased about 1547 from Sir Fulke Greville, to whom it then belonged, by the Arundells, of Lanherne. The first of the family who settled at Wardour was Sir Thomas, younger son of Sir John Arundell, of Lanherne. He had been steward to the neighbouring Abbey of Shaftesbury, and on its suppression was rewarded by Henry VIII. with a large share of its possessions. He married Lady Margaret Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, and sister of Henry VIII.'s fifth Queen, Catherine. He was tried on a charge of conspiring to murder Dudley, Earl of Northumberland, and beheaded in 1552.

Queen Mary, however, restored to Sir Matthew Arundell, elder son of Sir Thomas, the greater part of his forfeited property, and he was able to regain from the Earl of Pembroke, to whom Edward VI. had granted it, Wardour, in exchange for the manor of Fovant. On recovering Wardour Castle, Sir Matthew placed over the great gateway, in the East front, the family arms, and a Latin inscription (quoted in Field Club Proceedings, Vol. V.), which has been thus translated :—

Sprung from the Arundell Lanhernian race,—
 Thomas, a worthy branch, possessed this place ;
 Possessing fell ! Him guiltless, Heaven removed,
 And by his son's success, him guiltless proved ;
 By royal grace restored to these domains,
 Matthew, his heir, increased them and retains ;
 Through ages, may they yet enlarged descend,
 And God the gift resumed, renewed, defend.

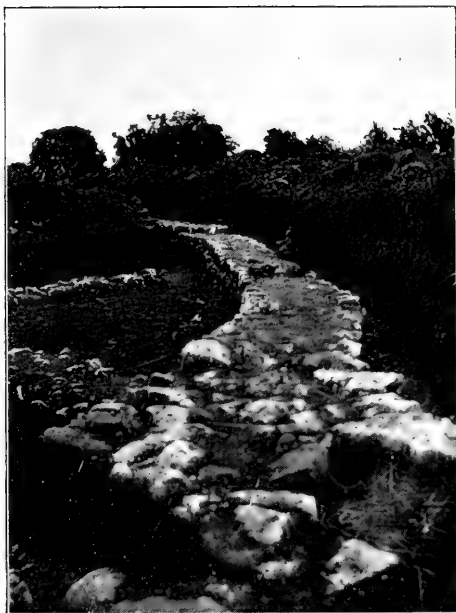
Above this, in a niche, is a carving representing the head of Our Saviour, with a Latin inscription, translated, "Under Thy protection may our house and race be upheld." Both inscriptions are quite legible.

Lanherne, above referred to, is in Cornwall, not far from Bedruthan Steps. The village of Mawgan is in the Vale of Lanherne. The Arundells became possessed of the property in 1231, but on the failure of the direct line of the Cornish Arundells, it passed into the hands of the Lords Arundell of Wardour, by one of whom it was assigned in 1794 for the use of a convent of English Theresian nuns, who had been driven from Antwerp by the French invasion of Belgium.

Sir Matthew Arundell's son, Sir Thomas, was for his services in the Hungarian campaign against the Turks, created by the Emperor Rodolph II. a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. Queen Elizabeth declined to recognise this dignity, but James I. created Sir Thomas Baron Arundell of Wardour. His son entertained Charles I. at Wardour, and in the following year accompanied him to Oxford. During his absence, the Parliamentary forces under Sir Edward Hungerford and Colonel Strode attacked Wardour. Lady Blanche, on her husband's behalf, bravely defended the castle with her little garrison of 35 men, against 1,300 of the enemy, but at last, worn out, had to surrender which she did on honourable terms, which, however, were not observed by the enemy, on the 8th May, 1643. Eleven days later Lord Arundell died at Oxford of wounds received at the battle of Lansdown.

Within a fortnight the heir, Henry, third Lord Arundell, whose wife and two sons were still prisoners, besieged Wardour and eventually retook it in March, 1644. He determined on demolishing the castle to prevent its falling again into the hands of the Parliamentarians, and by battery and mining reduced it to the state in which it now appears. The hill on which his guns





CAERWENT--WALL OF AMPHITHEATRE.

were stationed was duly pointed out to the Members of the Field Club.

The mansion at Wardour was then visited, and a very courteous housekeeper conducted the party through the rooms in which many treasures are stored, a fine collection of china and many good pictures, among which is one of Lady Blanche, who so bravely held the castle, and a portrait of Viscount Falkland, who fell at Nasëby. Among the curiosities is a beautifully carved wooden peg tankard which formerly belonged to Glastonbury Abbey. In the same wing with the Chapel is the State Bed-chamber, which contains the bed used by Charles I. and II. and James II. during royal visits to Wardour. This bed and the tankard are almost the only relics preserved from the old castle.

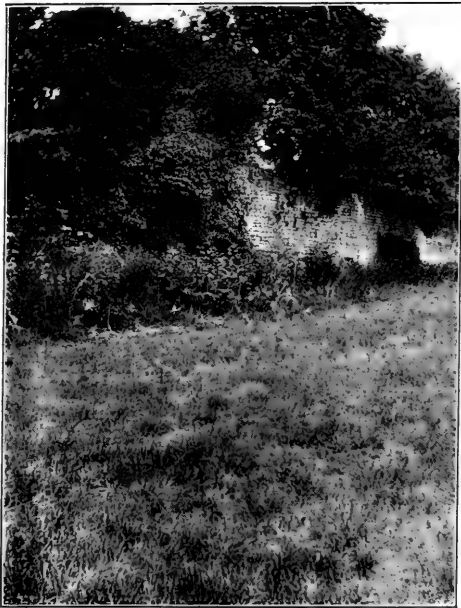
Returning to Tisbury through the park, in which are some magnificent trees, chiefly beeches, oaks, and limes—one seldom sees a lime standing alone, as these do—there was time for a cup of tea at the “Benett Arms,” and the party left by the 5.24 train, reaching Bath at 7.20. The morning was wet, but the afternoon was fine and dry with some sunshine. The thunder and hail which visited Bath avoided the Field Club Excursionists, the only thing which marred a most enjoyable day being that the light was not good enough for photographing the many exquisite bits of scenery. One can now easily comprehend Mr. Hardy’s enthusiasm for this part of Wessex. It will be remembered that the country of “Tess of the D’Urbervilles” is in the neighbourhood of Shaftesbury and Tisbury.

Caerwent, July 14th, 1903.—Leaving Bath by the 10.31 train, 19 Members of the Club proceeded to Severn Tunnel Junction, whence they drove to Caerwent, passing the Church of Itton an old building dedicated to S. Deiniol, now much restored and modernised, and Caldicot Castle. After a frugal luncheon at the “Coach and Horses,” a clean and comfortable little hostelry, Mr. A. Trice Martin conducted the party round the outer walls of Caerwent, which are mostly in very good preservation, being

solidly built of stone and some nine feet in thickness. The city occupied an oblong area one side, running roughly east and west, measuring about 650 yards, and the other about 400 yards. A road now runs through the town. On the south side are three bastions, added after the wall was built. The origin of the town is unknown, but it existed before the advent of the Romans. The name may be a corruption of *Caer Gwent*, or the fortress of Gwent, which was the name of this part of the country. Leland says "it was some time a faire and large cytie. The place where the IIII gates were yet appears, and the most part of the walle yet standeth, but all too minischyde and torn. Within and about the wauill be a XVI or XVII small houses for hosbandmen, of a new making, and a parochie Church of St. Sephyn." The North Gate, though now blocked up, is almost entire, and the iron pipe heads found here show that the Romans had an elaborate system of bringing water into the city.

Coming to the Church of S. Stephen, the masonry of the arches on the south side was pointed out as noteworthy. Among the stones collected for rebuilding the south aisle were some bearing Roman mouldings. The chancel of the church is Early English, the nave is Perpendicular. The pulpit is Jacobean, bearing the date 1632, the initials of some churchwardens, and the arms of Sir Charles Williams, of Llangibby, whose family for many years owned the manor. Round the pulpit is carved "Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel. 1 Cor. ix. 16." Unfortunately the rector was absent, or other features of interest might have been noted.

Outside the churchyard is the village green, which by the consent of the Parish Council has recently been explored. And here was made the most important discovery since the work began. On a massive stone base was found a large stone more than three feet in height, with panelled sides. On one side is a large and well-cut inscription as follows :—(Name wanting). "Legato



CAERWENT—CITY WALL (Outside).



legionis secundæ Augustæ proconsuli provinciæ Narbonensis legato Augusti propretore provinciæ Lugudunensis ex decreto ordinis republica civitatis Silurum," signifying that the stone was erected by the city of Caerwent, in accordance with a decree of the Town Council, in honour of an official (name wanting) who was commanding officer of the Second Legion, Governor of the Senatorial Province of Gallia Narbonensis, and legate of the imperial province of Gallia Lugudunensis. This is apparently the first epigraphical authority for the name of the city, and there are other points in which the inscription is interesting. The Legio Secunda Britannica, or Second British Legion, was located at Caerleon, near Newport, and Camden derives the name Caer Leon from this fact ; large numbers of Roman bricks with "LEG. II. AUG." have been found there.

In a field adjoining the School at Caerwent excavations are proceeding. The foundations of several houses have been uncovered, and the outer wall of a large amphitheatre exposed. Mr. Trice Martin and the resident engineer, Mr. Ashby, having explained the work recently done, as well as much which has had to be covered again, and the mode of working, the party was conducted to the new temporary museum provided by Lord Tredegar, where the "finds" have been neatly arranged and labelled. Here is to be seen the memorial stone referred to above, which is perfectly legible, the upper part only being mutilated. A hypocaust built up of original materials shews how the Romans warmed some of their rooms. And there are specimens of tessellated pavements, and drawings of others. The coins are of several Emperors, and there are numerous objects of interest, including a good deal of broken glass, much of it iridescent. Samian and other pottery are represented, and also metal work. Just outside the museum is a large hypocaust *in situ* which was examined with much interest.

Many years ago, a very fine Mosaic pavement was found here. Mr. Wyndham, who examined it in 1768, and again in 1777,

considered it to be one of the finest that had ever been discovered. It was $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length by 18 broad ; “it had a border edged with a Greek scroll and fret, and scarcely a stone was missing.” A building was erected by the St. Pierre family to secure “this curiosity” from the weather. “But the resident occupier of the land wanting a roof to his brewhouse removed this covering, and the consequence was that not a vestige now remains.”

As time was getting on, a start was made for Caldicot Castle, which, by kind permission of the owner, R. Cobb, Esq., the Club were allowed to visit. The Castle is oblong in general design, with a round keep at the North-west corner, horse shoe towers at the South-west and South-east angles, and a grand gate-house in the centre of the South face. The original Castle was attributed to Harold, but the oldest part, now remaining, of the keep, is supposed to have been erected in the XII. Century by William Fitzwalter, High Constable to King Stephen ; the South front is of Edward II.'s reign, the gate-house and postern tower opposite were built in the reign of Richard II. by Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, son of Edward III. After his murder in 1397, the Castle ceased to be a military fortress, and at the commencement of the XVII. Century was described as having been long in ruins. It seems, however, to have been regarded as of value, for it was annexed by Henry VIII. to the Duchy of Lancaster, which sold it in 1857. The present owner has roofed the gate-house, and uses it as a dwelling. The Castle is moated, and had two portcullises and a drawbridge. It was said that “traces of the species of masonry called Herring-bone” were to be found in one of the chimneys, but entrance to the house was not obtainable.

The church, dedicated to S. Mary the Virgin, was visited, but did not appear to contain anything of particular interest. Continuing their way to the Station, the party left Severn Tunnel Junction at 5.20, arriving at Bath at 6.48.



CAERWENT—NORTH GATE.



The excursions to Athelney and Langport, and to Taunton, did not come off, as no names were sent in, and the weather was so unfavourable that none of the bye excursions were attempted.

THE LIBRARY.—The principal additions to the Library have been the publications of the various societies with which we effect exchanges, and the valuable volumes from the Smithsonian Institute at Washington and the Geological Survey of the United States. These volumes embody the results of much patient research, and must prove deeply interesting to all who take pleasure in scientific studies.

BATH NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

INSTITUTED FEBRUARY 18th, 1855.

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<u>Dr.</u>	<u>£ s. d.</u>	<u>Cr.</u>	<u>£ s. d.</u>
Balance from last year's Pass Book ...	59 14 4	Rent of Room for 1902
Deposit with the National Provincial Bank of England	" " 1903
83 Subscriptions at 10s. each ...	46 16 11	Somerset Record Society, Subscription ...	...
7 " " for 1904 ...	41 10 0	Hon. Secretaries', Librarian's and Treasurer's Accounts ...	1 1 0
8 Entrance Fees at 5s. each ...	3 10 0	Messrs. Lewis & Son's Account ...	7 16 10
Interest ...	2 0 0	Caerwent Fund, Subscription ...	83 10 7
	...	Deposit at the National Provincial Bank ...	5 0 0
	...	Balance ...	40 13 9
	...		4 2 10
	<u>£154 5 0</u>		<u>£154 5 0</u>

Examined and found correct,

ROBERT C. BUSH,
Auditor.

February 13th, 1904

G. S. NASH,

Hon. Treasurer,

From July 7th, 1903.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLUB ARE
ANNUALLY FORWARDED.*

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 Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
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PRESENTED

3 NOV. 1904







CONTENTS OF VOL. X., PART 3.

	PAGE
1.—RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN AND THOMAS LINLEY : THEIR RESIDENCES AT BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A. 	267
2.—THE ACCOUNTS OF THE CITY TRAIN BANDS, BY THE REV. C. W. SHICKLE, M.A., F.S.A. 	297
3.—ANCIENT INTERMENTS AT NEWTON ST. LOE, NEAR BATH, AND SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES IN BATH, BY J. P. E. FALCONER 	312, 315
4.—NOTE ON A DOLMEN AT STOKE BISHOP, BY M. H. SCOTT 	318
5.—BATH TOKEN ISSUES OF THE 19TH CENTURY, BY S. SYDENHAM 	320
6.—THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF BATH, 1903, BY A. CASTELLAIN 	352
7.—SUMMARY OF EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE BATH FIELD CLUB FOR THE YEAR 1903-1904, BY J. LANGFIELD WARD AND M. H. SCOTT, HON. SECS. 	356
8.—LIST OF MEMBERS, BALANCE SHEET, AND SOCIETIES IN EXCHANGE OF PROCEEDINGS WITH THE FIELD CLUB 	370

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BATH NATURAL HISTORY
AND
ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

VOL. X. No. 4

1905.

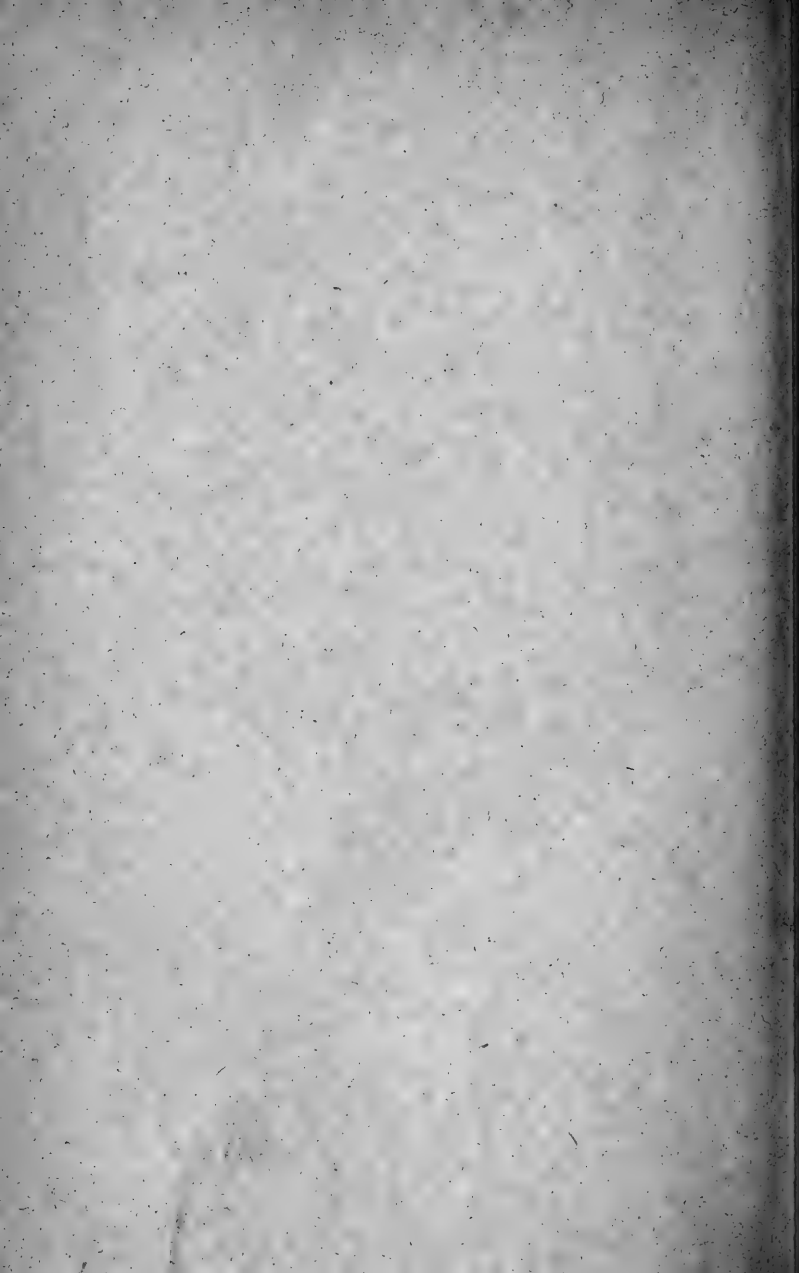


PRICE, HALF-A-CROWN.

BATH:

PRINTED (FOR THE CLUB) AT THE HERALD OFFICE, NORTH GATE.

1905.



John Wilkes and his visits to Bath.

By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.

(Read December 7th, 1904.)

To the majority of people perhaps, the name of John Wilkes implies all that is worst in the political demagogue, socialist, and agitator. This view is however wrong. That he took an advanced position in the politics of his day is true, but to understand that position the politics of his day must be considered and understood. By the influence of the Crown he was illegally imprisoned both in the King's Bench and in the Tower and it was against such proceedings that he raised his protest, yet he wrote that no heart beat more in unison with—God save the King—than his own, with the proviso presumably that the position of King was used constitutionally. He became the idol of the populace and it is recorded that on one occasion a prayer was added in the litany—to show pity upon all prisoners and captives, particularly the patriotic John Wilkes, esq. But this political side of his character is not that which now comes under notice.

The son of a wealthy father, he was well educated. When barely out of his teens he married a Miss Mead, a lady about thirty years of age with a landed estate of £700 a year in Buckinghamshire. Separation unfortunately followed when Wilkes retained the estate and the custody of the child, a daughter, Mary, to be mentioned hereafter. Thus well provided for and well qualified he became sheriff of Bucks, M.P. for Aylesbury, and colonel of the Bucks militia. He became also sheriff of Middlesex, an alderman of the city and was Lord Mayor in 1774. In this year too he was elected M.P. for Middlesex. Well versed in french and italian literature and art, he was elected F.R.S. and a member of the sublime society of Beefsteaks. Later he himself published some good books. But with all this he was very much a man of fashion. Having a great

fund of wit and humour he was always a welcome guest, it "was impossible to be dull in his company." His wit, wrote one—gave a charm to every subject he spoke upon and his humour displayed the foibles of mankind in such colours as to put even folly out of countenance. Besides this he had fine manners, the tone of a scholar, the bearing and presence of a perfect gentleman. His qualifications for the Bath society of his day will thus be apparent and the short visits to be noted will bring before us clearly,—with a little imagination to fill up occasionally,—the class and company met with, the bustle and life, enjoyment and gaiety, which such a visit then implied.

For a time he kept a diary, it is in skeleton form unfortunately, but being until now unknown and still in manuscript in the British Museum, the entries relating to his visits to Bath are here extracted and used for our delectation and perhaps instruction.

Being out of health somewhat, after so much buffeting, he records a visit to Bath—the first recorded but not the first made. Under date—

1771. Dec 24th, he tells that he left Prince's Court at 11, came to the George, Hounslow, about 1, to the Castle, Salt Hill (Slough) at 3. Dined and lay there.
- 25th. Left Salt Hill at 9, arrived at the King's Arms, Reading, by 11, at Speen Hill, the Castle, by 2, at the Castle, Marlborough, at 5. Lay there.
- 26th. Left Marlborough at 10, came to the Devizes, the Bear, at 12, reached Bath at 2. Dined at the Bear, Phillot's. Lodged at Mrs. Harford's in the last house on the South Parade towards the river.

The first lesson learned here is that the journey down occupied three days on the road, the two nights being spent in hotels. The return journey was expected to be hurried and his daughter wrote to him she was sorry he would have but two days for it as this would occasion the very disagreeable necessity of travelling in the dark. As soon as he was gone too she made plans for

communication and for sending packets. She found that the Bath machine set out on monday, wednesday, and friday, from Fleet Market, and the Post Coach the same days from Charing Cross. The letter was duly franked and is stamped "free."

Prince's Court the starting point was, and it may be said is marked still, near Storey's Gate, Great George St., Westminster. The entrance to the Court, although perhaps somewhat widened, remains, the consequence of adjacent "antient lights," thus helping to a good idea of what it was like. Further the original carved or floriated stone replaced in the new south wall shows the name just as it did in Wilkes's time. But the Court is gone, all save this entrance end has disappeared and the site is covered and occupied, in one part by a building marked as the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, and the remainder by a portion of the Crown Office of Works, and by further encroachments by additions to the back part of Old Queen St. It was a rather curious place, as while the front or inner face of the north side was in the Court, the back looked out over St. Janes's park ; a very pleasant out-look.

Continuing, the diary records the daily routine at Bath. Thus on the

- 27th Dec 1771 he Dined at the South Parade at Mrs. Harford's with Messrs. Clutterbuck, Sharpe, and Foot the surgeon.
- 28th. Dined at York House with Watkin Lewes, Miles Andrews, Rolston, Pigot, Foot, &c.
- 29th. Went to dine with Messrs. Walton and Hudson at Mr. Ducket's at Hartham near Corsham the direct road to Chippenham and the first coach turning is the left beyond the 98 milestone.
- 30th Dec. Dined at the South Parade at Mrs. Harford's with Mr. and Mrs. Bull, Miss Webster their niece, Miss Barnes, Captain Wade and Mr. Nixon. Supped

at Major Brereton's in Garrard St. with the family, the two Misses Linley, Mr. Rolleston, and Mr. Miles Andrews.

Garrard Street is now Somerset Street. In a letter reporting this day, he tells that he passed the evening with Mr. Brereton's family and the two Misses Linley, the elder Linley (Elizabeth) he considered much superior to the scene in which she moved. The younger (Mary) "is a mere coquette, a man's jou jou, no sentiment, virtue's just ideal." By jou jou he presumably means sprightly and gay, somewhat a flirt perhaps. There must have been something very attractive in the elder sister, yet notwithstanding the praise so lavishly bestowed on her, judging to day from their portraits, there would be some who would consider the younger the better face to live with. Fortunately in such matters there can be no agreement.

Miles Peter Andrews was the owner of powder magazines, his London residence being 25 Goodge St., afterwards in Gower St. He gave great entertainments, was considered a wit, and wrote plays and farce and some poetry. With other things he wrote, under the pseudonym of Richard Fitzpatrick, a local ballad skit called—The Bath Picture.

The diary continues—

31 Dec. Went with Mr. Bull to Mr. Francis Yerbury's at Bradford and to Mr. Wm. Temple's at Trowbridge; visited old Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Watts there. Returned to Bath and dined at Mr. Sharpe's in the Circus.

1772. Jany 1. Passed a very agreeable day with Mr. and Mrs. Walton about ten miles out. Charmed with the old english hospitality. In a letter to his daughter he acknowledged he was passing a happy time with many old friends. The new Rooms surpassed his expectations. All the late city improvements are in a noble

stile, especially Mr. Pulteney's new bridge building over the river. Writing thus he adds—You are superior to scandal and Bath now affords nothing else.

2nd Jany. Went at noon to Bristol with Mr. Bull and Mr. Watkin Lewes. Dined at Merchant Taylor's Hall. Lay at Mr. Peach's in Trinity Street.

The occasion of this visit was a meeting of and a public dinner by the "Friends of Freedom." Mr. Watkin Lewes next year became sheriff of London.

3rd Jany. Breakfasted with a great deal of company at Mr. Peach's. Went to see Mr. Southwell at King's Weston, returned at noon to Bath with Mr. Bull, Mr. Lewes, and Mr. Mullet of Bristol. Dined at the South Parade at Mrs. Harford's with them, Mr. Dusin, Captain Watson and Captain Rice.

4th. Breakfasted with Mr., the two Misses Linley, Rolleston and Miles Andrews at Mr. Linley's house in the Crescent. Left Bath at one, reached Mr. Clutterbuck's at Luckham House, 9 miles from Bath, at three. Dined and lay there.

5th. Left Luckham House at ten, reached Chippenham at noon, and Marlborough at three, came to the Castle at Speen Hill at six. Lay there.

6th. Left Speen Hill at ten, reached Reading at two, Salt Hill at four, Hounslow at half an hour after five, Prince's Court at seven. Dined and lay there.

He was thus practically again three days on the road. Finally for this trip there is an entry of a Bath bill omitted of 1771, which reads—

Dec 28. Coach maker Edward Morton for mending post chaise, £—9—

The fuller account from which this was omitted is itself omitted; but he adds the form of a Bath bank bill.

No H 555

I promise to pay George Crump esq or bearer
on demand Ten Pounds.

Bath the 26th of Dec 1772.

For Cam, Clutterbuck, Whitehead & Self.

Ent^d E. Jones.

Dan^l Danvers.

In London he attended the routine of the Sessions, and records often dining with Miles Andrews in Goodge St. and with Mr. Rolleston. Then as the season came round, on

- 24 Dec 1772, Miss Wilkes being with him, he left Prince's Court at 11, came to Cranford Bridge about 1, to the Castle at Salt Hill at 3. Lay there.
- 25th Dec. Left Salt Hill between 9 and 10, reached Reading, the King's Arms, at 12, proceeded to the Pelican at Newbury, arrived there at 3, reached Marlborough at 6. Lay at the Castle.
- 26th Left Marlborough at 10, came to the Bear at Devizes at 12, proceeded to Bath, reached that place at 3. Dined at Phillot's the Bear.
- 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th. Dined at the lodgings on the South Parade, Mr. Harford's watchmaker, last house next the river.
- 31st. Dined at the Bear with Messrs. Rice, Colman, Oliver, Leake, &c.
1773. Jany 1. Dined at Mr. Cotes's in the Circus with Mr. and Mrs. Cotes, Miss Wilkes and Mr. Digby.
- 2nd Jany. Dined and supped at Capt. Mathews, with Capt. and Mrs. Mathews, Miss Wilkes, Mr. and Mrs. Brown, Col, Mrs, and Miss Gould, Capts Rice and Nugent, &c.
- 3rd. Dined at Mr. Mason's with Mr. and Miss Mason, Mr. and Mrs. Woolley and Miss Wilkes.
- 4th. Dined at Mr. Drax's on the Queen's Parade with Mr. and Mrs. Drax, Miss Churchill, Miss Wilkes, Capt. Levison Gower, Mr. Adams, Mr. Rogers, &c.

- 5th. Dined at Mr. Deane's M.P., for County Dublin with Mr. and Mrs. Deane, Miss Deane, Mr. Le Hunte, Major Brereton and son.
- 6th. Dined on South Parade alone with Miss Wilkes.
- 7th. Dined at Mr. Sharp's in the Circus with Mr. and three Misses Sharp, Miss Wilkes, Mr. Baines, and Mr. Clutterbuck.
- 8th. Dined at the lodgings in the South Parade.
- 9th. Gave a supper to Capt Wade, Mr. and Mrs. Cotes, Lewis, Mullet, Rice, Day, and Miss Wilkes.
- 10th. Dined at Major Brereton's with Mr. and Mrs. Brereton, Miss Juliet Brereton, Mr. Le Hunt, Miss Wilkes, Mr. Deane, Col. Colvil, Mrs. Moore.
- 11th. Dined at the mess of Capt Rice in Orange Court with Captains Rice and Mathews, Messrs. Oliver, Fonnereau and Day.
- 12th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes and Mr. Clutterbuck.
- 13th. Dined at Dr. Delacour's in Prince's Buildings with Mr. and Mrs. Delacour, Mrs. Gideon, Miss Wilkes, Capts Howard and Mathews. In the evening visited Mr. Melmoth in Bladud's Buildings.
- 14th. Dined and supped at Capt. Mathew's with Mr. and Mrs. Mathews, Miss Wilkes, Mr. Day, Capts. Rice and Howard.
- The usual three weeks being expired, on the
- 15th, he left Bath at noon, reached the Devizes at 3, and Marlborough a little after 5. Lay at the Castle.
- 16th. Left Marlborough at 9, came to the Castle at Speenhill at 12, the King's Arms at Reading at 2, Maidenhead bridge at 4, to Salt Hill at 5. Lay there.
- 17th. Sunday. Left at 10, at Hounslow at 12, to Prince's Court at 1.30. Dined and lay there.

On this occasion there is given a list of bills marking some portion of the expenditure.

Washerwoman—Margaret Cotes	...	£1	7	8
Mending Ruffles—Ann Payn	...	—	7	6
Coalman—John Cox	...	1	12	—
Butcher—Ann Russell	...	1	13	5
Servants—bill	...	1	—	7
Poulterer—Arthur Gifford	...	—	10	9
Grocer—Henry Jennings	...	7	4	—
Ribbons—Ann Payn	...	—	8	4
Baker—Nic Beaker	...	—	16	6
Confectioner—Charles Gill	...	2	17	10
Cook—Richd. Hemming	...	3	5	—
Lodging—Wm. Harford	...	5	17	—
Dressing—ditto	...	—	10	3
Herb woman—Sarah Fisher	..	—	7	3
Henry Phillot at the Bear	...	1	8	—
Gave the servants at the lodgings	...	2	2	—
		<hr/>		
		£31	8	1
		<hr/>		

Mr. Gill is also noted as of Wade's Passage—late cook now confectioner, a promotion presumably.

Of all the cooks the world can boast,
 However great their skill,
 To bake, to fry, to boil, or roast,
 There's none like Master Gill.

Then the vales to the servants may be noted.

Other matters now engrossed attention and he did not come to Bath again until 1776. In 1774—for 1774-5—he was elected Lord Mayor and so could not leave the Mansion House. His mayoralty was considered one of the best, the most brilliant since Beckford. The Lady Mayoress was Miss Wilkes who played her part to perfection. Besides her fine manner and breeding which

she had equally with her father, she was considered one of the most accomplished young ladies in Europe. She understood six languages—english, latin, german, french, spanish, and italian. She died unmarried. It was in this year 1774, May 15, as the diary records that he dined at Mr. Dilly's in the Poultry with Messrs. Edward and Charles Dilly, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Boswell, Arthur Lee, Miller of Batheaston, Dr. Lettsom, &c. Boswell has told us how he thus brought together these two men, saw them seated side by side, and saw Wilkes finally triumph over Johnson's "surly virtue" and heard him declare he was much pleased with Wilkes' company. The well known story has just a local interest as we now know that Miller of Batheaston was present. Again,

4th Dec occurs the entry,—Dined at Mr. Dilly's in the Poultry with Mr. Miller of Bath, &c.

In 1776, saturday Dec 7, he again left Prince's Court at 10. Travelling in two post chaises, himself and Miss Wilkes, and two servants Henri and Berton, the party reached Cránford bridge at 11½ and the Castle at Salt Hill at 1½. At Cranford bridge gave the postillion 4/-, horseler 1s, expenses there 2s. Horses to the Castle at Salt Hill 10 miles, 15s, horseler 1s, drivers 3s. Lay at Salt Hill.

8th Dec A nosegay for Miss Wilkes, 1s. Salt Hill bill £1 : 13 : 10, servants 5s. 2d., horseler and boots 1s. 6d.
 Left Salt Hill at 9, came about 11½ to the King's Arms at Reading 18 miles, four horses from Salt Hill to Reading £1 : 7,—horseler 1s, driver 3s. ; from Reading to the Castle at Speenhill 17 miles, arrived there at 2. Horses £1 : 6,—horseler 1s, drivers 3s. Dinner bill 8s. 6d. To the Castle at Marlborough 19 miles, £1 : 10,—drivers 3s.

9th Dec Monday. Bill at Marlborough £1 : 8 : 7, servants 5s, horseler 1s. To the Bear at the Devizes 14 miles £1 : 2,—drivers 3s. Thomas Lawrence at the Bear,

bill there 11s. 6d. To Bath 19 miles, horses £1:10, —horseler 1s, drivers 3s. Came to Henry Phillot's at the Bear. Lay there. Miss Wilkes lay at Mr. Kirkham's, No. 3 North Parade. Dined at Mrs. Molineux No. 5 Gay Street.

From these entries we get a fair idea of the customs and expenses of the road. It will be noticed he spells the word horseler.

10th. Dined at Mrs. Molineux's in Gay St. Paid for carriage of two trunks £1:1:10. Lay in No. 3 North Parade.

11th. Dined at Mrs. Molineux's with Miss Wilkes and Mr. Franklin. Paid for carriage of one trunk 8s. 9d.

12th. Paid Berton's two bills of Atwood and Layton for tin and queen's ware, 18s. 7d. Dined at the lodgings with Mrs. Molineux and Miss Wilkes and in the evening paid subscription to the Upper Rooms 10/6.

Mrs. Molineux so often mentioned was a London neighbour, her house was in Berkley St.

13th. Fast day. Dined at York House with lord Abingdon, Mr. Fisher and Mr. Wise.

14th. Dined at the lodgings with Mrs. Molineux and Miss Wilkes. Wedgewood's bill 10s. 6d.

15th. Sunday. Dined at Mr. Charnock's in the Crescent with Mr. Plunket, Mr. and Mrs. Charnock and Miss Wilkes.

16th. Dined at Mr. Brereton's in Garrard Street with Mr. and Mrs. Brereton senr and junr, Miss Juliet Brereton, Major Molesworth, Miss Wilkes, Mr. Charnock, Mr. Plunket, &c.

17th. Dined at Dr. Delacour's in Prince's Buildings with Dr. and Mrs. Delacour, the lords Abingdon, and Mountnorris, Mr. Palmer, Mrs. Gideon, Mr. and Mrs. Standard, Miss Wilkes and Mr. Hamilton.

- 18th Porterage of a box 4s. 10d. Dined at Mr. Plunket's in the Circus with young Mr. Brereton, Mr. May, Mr. Charnock, &c.
- 19th, 20th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes.
- 21st. Dined at Mr. Plunket's in the Circus, with Mr. Foot, &c.
- 23rd, 24th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes.
- 25th. Dined at Mrs. Macaulay's with Mrs. Macaulay, Miss Macaulay, Miss Wilkes, Dr. Wilson, Mr. Le Hunte, Dr. Graham, Mr. Hamilton, &c.
- 26th. Went to Bristol, called on Mr. Wells at Stony Hill and from thence to Mr. Peach's at Tockington, 8 miles. Dined there with Mr. Cruger, Mr. Mullett, &c. Lay there.
- 27th. Returned to Bristol; drank chocolate with Mr. Wells of Stony Hill; proceeded to Bath. Dined at Mr. Plunket's in the Circus with Foot &c. Lay at the lodgings in the North Parade.
- 28th. Dined with Miss Wilkes at Mrs. Molineux's, 5 Gay St.
- 29th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes.
- 30th, 31st. Dined with Miss Wilkes at Mrs. Molineux.
1777. Jany 1. Dined at the Bear in Bath with Foot, Colman, Rice, lord Kelly, Hickey, &c.
- 2nd Jany. Dined at the lodgings No. 3 on the North Parade with Miss Wilkes.
- 3rd. Dined at Mrs. Molyneux No. 5 Gay Street.
- 4th. Dined at Mr. Plunket's in the Circus with Charnock &c.
- 5th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes and Mrs. Molineux.
- 6th. Dined at Mrs. Molineux's with Miss Wilkes and Mrs. Franklin.

- 7th. Dined at the Three Tuns, a dinner given by Rogers, with Col Whitmore, lord Kelly, Mr. Thos Rogers, &c. The Three Tuns was in Stall Street.
- 8th. Dined at Mr. Brereton's in Garrard St. with Mrs. Brereton, Miss Juliet, Miss Wilkes, lord Kelly, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Nixon, &c.
- 9th. Dined at the Three Tuns with lord Kelly, Mr. Thomson, Mr. Piggot, Mr. Ashley and Mr. Taylor.
- 10th. Dined at Dr. Delacour's with the Dr., Mrs. Delacour, Mr. Gideon, Mrs. Travers, Miss Davis, Mr. Fernandez and Mr. Metcalf.
- 11th. Dined at the lodgings with Mrs. Molineux and Miss Wilkes.
- 12th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes.
- 13th. Dined at Mr. Charles Hamilton's in Russell St. with Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, Miss Wilkes, Col Forbes, Mr. Roche, Mr. O'Hara Hamilton, &c.
- 14th. Dined at the Bear with Captain Rice, Col Cosmo Gordon, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Piggot, Mr. Ashley, &c.
- 15th. Dined at Mr. Sharpe's in the Circus with Mr. Sharpe, two Misses Sharpe, col and Mrs. Gould, Miss Wilkes and col. Ansley.
- 16th. Dined at Mrs. Molineux's with Miss Wilkes and Mr. Spencer.

After dinner the party went to the Rooms and Wilkes, being the eve of his departure, gave the waiter at each Room 10s 6d, and the porters 5s.

- 17th. Left Bath ; lay at the Castle Marlborough. Bill £2 : 5 : 1, servants 5s.
- 18th. Dined and lay at the Castle at Salt Hill. Bill £2 : 8 : 3, servants 5s. Left Salt Hill at 11, came to Prince's Court at 2.

19th. Dined and lay in Prince's Court, Westminster.

The bills paid for this trip were :—

At the Bear, Henry Phillott's	...	£4	8	4
Bookseller, Bull ...	...	—	11	9
Washerwoman's bill	...	—	9	9½
Butcher, Ann Russell	...	—	15	—
Poulterer, Chas. Heming	...	—	16	6
Baker, Brook ...	...	1	8	—
Coal Merchant, Jno. Cox	...	3	17	—
Cook, Rd. Heming	...	—	8	—
Another Washerwoman, Mary Cotes	...	2	10	10½
Miss Wilkes's milliner &c.	...	4	—	—
Grocer and for hire, Jennings	...	5	4	6
Lodging bill, Kirkham	...	15	—	—
Dressing, Kirkham	...	1	12	—
Apothecary, Wake	...	1	19	6
Berton and Henri's liquor	...	1	4	—
			49	5
Expences to Bath ...	...	14	14	—
Expences from Bath	...	15	10	—
			£79	9
				3

This cost seems to have attracted notice. In the last account the cook and confectioner total £6 : 2 : 10, but in this the cost is only 8s, and there is no confectioner. Then the vales to the servants are unfortunately omitted. He notes that the expence of chaises, horses, and postillions, was the same as usual from and to Bath, other expences higher. He seems here to have forgotten the all important fact that he was running double, that Miss Wilkes was with him. It was too a very long stay.

There was no spring visit this year 1777, but on

Dec 19. At ten he left Prince's Court, stopped at Cranford Bridge, and lay at Salt Hill, the Castle.

20th. Lay at the Castle at Marlborough.

21st. Lay at Miss Temple's No. 5 Galloway's Buildings.
Dined at Phillott's at the Bear.

Announcing his arrival he wrote to his daughter—just arrived in this city and to be seen at the Bear in Cheap Street an alderman of London, alive. There being no room in either Parade or in the Grove, his favourite spots, it was only after some trouble he got lodgings, "dull but warm and spacious" at Miss Temple's, who he describes as a perfect huncamunca, meaning presumably very fat and heavy. Col Whitmore and Mr. Diggs and three ladies occupied the rest of the house. Bath was very full, amongst those he notes as of interest to himself, were lord and lady Coventry and lord Dillon.

Next morning after unpacking and paying visits he "made an excursion" to the fish market and bought and sent off to his daughter—a very fine piper and a pair of soles—"which you know Bath boasts of." A piper was and is a gurnard. Of the several sorts, that from our west country coast was the most appreciated and considered the best.

Says the Bath Guide—

But what is the pleasantest part of the story
We've ordered for dinner a piper and dory
And as that is the case, though I have taken a griper
I'll venture to pick at the dory and piper.

The young lady replied—Thanks dear papa for the fish which proved fresh and good. The piper was extremely good. Then she adds—very late last night came a basket from Calais containing three hares, eight partridges and four capons. Retaining a hare, two partridges, and an unparfait, as she calls it, she had the others immediately repacked and sent off to papa, who in due course received them safely. It seems strange now this getting game from France, but before he left London Wilkes had made arrangements for a supply once a week, as by such an attention he was alone able to return some dinner obligations.

- 22nd Dec. Dined alone at Phillot's. A ball in the evening at which about 500 were present.
- 23rd. Dined alone at the lodgings.
- 24th. Dined at the Bear with Mr. Woodford, Rice, Mr. Morant, Mr. Thos. Scott, Mr. Bolton, &c.
- 25th. Dined at the Three Tuns with lord Kelly, Mr. Warre, Mr. Bolton, Mr. Scott, Mr. Taylor, &c.

This was a rather memorable day, on account of the scandalous story, told in the diary with exact conciseness, of Dr. Schomberg that "worthless dog worth £40,000" being detected on this christmas day putting eight guineas in his coat pocket, slyly conveyed out of the plate at the church door. It was said at the time that nevertheless some "soi disant" gentlemen dined with him the day after. This could not have been so as he never returned to his home again. Five days later his wife received a letter in which he told her she would never see him more.

- 26th. Dined alone at the lodgings.
- 27th. Dined at major Brereton's in Garrard Street with lord Kelly, Mr. Warre, major Molesworth, Mrs. Brereton, Miss Juliet Brereton, &c.
- 28th. Dined at the Three Tuns with lord Kelly, Mr. Warre, Sir Alexander Don, Mr. Davison, Mr. Houston, &c.
- 29th. Dined at Mr. Edward Drax's with Mr. and Mrs. Drax, lord and lady Kilmory, Miss Needham, Mr. Needham, Mr. Jennings and Mr. Hunt.

In the evening he "assisted" at the M.C.'s ball in the Upper Rooms, "a well dressed crowd of nearly "nine hundred persons. Some of the women as well "painted as Guido's."

- 30th. At Mr. Thomas Scott's with Mr. Bolton.
- 31st. At Mr. Brereton's with Mrs. Bagnall, Miss Rian, Mr. Brereton's family, &c.

1778. Jany. 1. Dined at the Tuns with Sir Thomas Mills, Mr. Woodford, Rice, lord Kelly, Mr. Warre, &c.

Throughout the papers from which these notes are gathered is evidenced the strong and close affection and familiarity between the father and daughter. On christmas day she wrote to her father,—Christmas and new year's day are dear when they allow the expression of wishes such as a parent like you inspires. None can be more tender and fervent dear papa for your long enjoyment of every happiness. You inspire in me all the best possible thoughts as the most valuable and dearest parent, the amiable friend, and most agreeable companion, combine to claim from me the tenderest solicitude.

On this new year's day papa replied,—The first and dearest wish of his heart was for the long uninterrupted happiness of his dearest daughter, the most serene unclouded days, and that true enjoyment of everything which a virtuous, sensible, and elegant mind only, can taste. He adds—I press my pillow regularly at 10 or 11 and rise at 7, Suffering from ague he took beaume de vie every morning and usually spent the morning at home.

There was to have been a rural breakfast and concert on the 2nd for a select party given by Governor Thicknesse at Bathwick, but Thicknesse was unwell and the plan was postponed. This was a favourite mode of entertainment,—

The company made a most brilliant appearance
And ate bread and butter with great perseverance
All the chocolate too that my lord set before them
The ladies dispatch'd with the utmost decorum.

Wilkes consequently breakfasted with the Breretons and :

Dined at Mr. Plunkett's with Mr James Plunkett and brother, Mr. Scott, &c.

3rd. Dined at Mr. Brereton's in Garrard Street with the family only.

4th. Dined at the Tuns with lord Kelly, Sir Alexander Don, Mr. Houston, Mr. Davison and Mr. Thomas Scott.

5th. Dined at Dr. Delacour's in Prince's buildings with Dr. and Mrs. Delacour, Miss Davis, lord Abingdon, lord Kelly, Mr. Diggs, Mr. Evans, and Sir George Paul.

- 6th. Dined alone at the lodgings.
- 7th. Dined at Major Molesworth's on St. James's Parade with Mr. Needham, Mr. Bolton, and Mr. Palmer.
- 8th. Dined at Mr. George Brereton's on the Queen's Parade with Mr. and Mrs. George Brereton, Captain Brereton, Mr. Douglas, &c.
- 9th. Dined at the Tuns with lord Kelly, Sir George Paul, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Ross, Mr. Douglas, &c.
- 10th. Dined at Mr. Hamilton's in Russell Street with Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Hamilton, Mrs. Stafford, Mr. O'Hara Hamilton, Mr. Roche.
- 11th. Dined at Mr. Sharpe's in the Circus with Mr., two Misses Sharpe, Colonel and Mrs. Ansley and Mr. Bainton.
- 12th. Dined at Mr. Palmer's, West Hall, with Mr. and Mrs. Palmer, Messrs. Molesworth, Hippenley, Sheridan, Bolton, Barrett, &c.
- 13th. Dined at the Tuns with lord Kelly, Messrs. Warre, Ross, Douglas, Sheridan, Stephenson, &c.
- 14th. Left Bath; dined at the Castle at Marlborough with lord Kelly and Mr. Ross. Lay there.
- 15th. Dined at the Castle at Salt Hill with lord Kelly and Mr. Ross. Lay there.
- 16th. Returned to Prince's Court. Dined with Miss Wilkes.

The list of bills paid is shorter than the others already given.

Richard Peirce	...	...	... £2	9	4
Anne Russell	...	...	... 2	4	10
Penny Hancock	...	...	... —	12	—
John Cox	...	...	... 1	9	2
J. Riley, baker	...	...	... —	10	2
Jennings, grocer	...	...	... 1	7	5½
Bookseller, Bull	...	...	... —	18	—
Lodgings and dressing	...	...	... 7	4	6
Servants ...	...	...	... 2	2	—

£18 15 5½

Mrs. Macaulay being unwell had gone away for a change, but was just now expected back, her health much improved. She returned on the 2nd Jany, but was still very ill and so painted up to the eyes "she looked quite ghastly and ghostly." Little else was talked of but "Kitty Macaulay," who grew worse daily. The Dr. (Macaulay) "looks stupid and sulky. My own and general opinion, Wilkes wrote, is that Mrs. M.'s head is affected and some indiscretions with Dr. G (raham) are the common topic of conversation."

In due time, in the spring, again came another start.

1778. April 11. Left Prince's Court at seven in the morning, arrived at the Castle at Marlborough at half an hour after six. Lay there. He was so exhausted and fatigued by this long days ride—eleven hours and a half—that he wrote,—I shall never undertake such a journey again in so short a time.

Arrived at Bath on the 12th he had his quarters once more at Miss Temple's in Galloway's Buildings. My landlady, he wrote, has just dropped me such a broad wheel courtsey that I trembled for the floor and the floor trembled likewise. He dined with Colonel Whitmore who still had apartments in the same house, and with Mr. Madan. At the dinner the Colonel was so racked with gout that in intervals only could he be at all himself. In the evening Wilkes went to the Lower Rooms, and writing merrily to his daughter told her the MC threatened that he should not be again admitted without a certain lady who did honour wherever she went.

13th, 14th, 15th. Dined alone at the lodgings.

16th. Dined at Major Brereton's in Garrard Street with Governor Thickness, the two Plunkett's, rev. Mr. Bate, Mr. Twigge, Mrs. and Miss Juliet Brereton.

17th On the 16th the daughter wrote as a slight rally,—tomorrow I shall fast and I hope you will keep the day with equal strictness, to be exemplary in the dissipated

place you are gone to convert. He replied that he feared any conversions would be impossible. He acted accordingly and—Dined at Phillot's, the Bear, with Mr. Twigge, Major Brereton, rev Mr. Bate, &c
 18th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Temple, Mr. Jekyll and Mr. Sheridan.

During the day he sent off to his daughter the finest pair of soles he ever saw. He also sent some Welsh mutton and a Bath cheese. All arrived safely, the soles good in flavour and fine in appearance, the mutton delicious, and the cheese liked extremely.

19th, 20th. Dined alone at the lodgings.

21st. Dined at Dr. Delacour's with the Dr., Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Traviss, Colonel, Mrs. and Miss Gould, Mrs. Delacour, Mrs. Gideon, Miss Davis, &c.

22nd. Dined at Mr. Palmer's at West Hall with Mr. and Mrs. Palmer, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Cruger, rev Mr. Chapman, &c.

23rd. Dined at Mr. Plunkett's with Sir Patrick Blake and son, Mr. Brereton, &c.

24th. Dined alone at the lodgings.

On the 25th he wrote to his daughter,—Polly dear sweet Polly. I have a new coat and it is all blue and it has a fine edging, and I have a fine silk waistcoat and it is all ribbed and is blue and has likewise a gold edging. And I have small clothes all blue, and fine mother of pearl buttons in every one of which you might see your pretty face. I am undoubtedly the greatest fop in Bath. Thus "mighty fine," provided with this great satisfaction he,—

Dined at Alfred House with Mrs. Macaulay, rev Dr. Wilson, Miss Young, Miss Macaulay, two old ladies, and Dr. Stephenson.

Of this party he wrote,—Poor Dr. M. : the mind is the same but its case is dreadfully shattered. Dr. W. too is half gone and it would scarcely be a sin to bury him as he is. Poor Kitty

Macaulay, the grave, dull, Catharine, looked as rotten as an old catharine pear. Lord Irnham was disgusted with her manner. Darley has just published a new caricature of her and the doctor, which she owns has vexed her to the heart.

This plate has not been met with. Darley also published a pack of cards showing comical skits on Bath.

- 26th. Went to Bristol, breakfasted with Mr. Mullett.
Dined alone at the lodgings in Bath.
- 27th. Dined at Mr. Sheridan's with Mr. Brereton, MC, Mr. Jekyll, &c.
- 28th. Dined at Weston with Mr. Cruger MP for Bristol, Mr. Mullett, old Mr. Cruger, &c. &c.
- 29th. Dined at York House with lord Irnham.
- 30th. Dined at the Pack Horse at Corsham 9 miles from Bath towards Chippenham with rev Mr. Bate, Mrs. Bate, Mrs. Hartley, and Mr. Edward Morgan. Saw Mr. Methuen's fine collection of pictures. Returned to Bath in the evening.
- May 1. Dined with Colonel Whitmore, Captain Mathews, and Mr. Edward Morgan at the colonel's lodgings Miss Temple's in Galloway's Buildings.
- 2nd. Left Bath, came through Midford, Hinton, Phillip's Norton, Beckington, Frome, Longleat, and Maiden Bradley, to Stourton 24 miles from Bath. Lay at Stourhead, near Mere, Wilts.
- 3rd. Went to church. Saw Mr. Hoare's garden's, the ridings, and house. Lay at Stourhead, Mrs. Hillier's.
- 4th. Left Stourhead; dined at the Antelope at Salisbury 26 miles. Proceeded to the Wheat Sheaf at Popham Lane. Lay there. Saw in the morning Fonthill (Mr. Beckford's) near Hindon, and Wilton (lord Pembroke's), near Salisbury.
- 5th. Dined at the George at Hounslow. Lay in Prince's Court.

The expenditure account, which includes tailor and hatter, is now full enough to cause reflection. The expences of travelling however are omitted.

Burchell, for a chair and table	...	£1	3	6
English, for shelves ...	...	1	11	6
Miss Temple, for lodging and dressing ...	...	6	13	—
Servants ...	...	2	2	—
Hallet, for a hat ...	...	—	12	6
Cox, coal man ...	...	1	6	3
Wm. Cottell, taylor ...	...	10	17	6
Jennings, greengrocer ...	...	1	7	—
Baker's bill ...	...	—	10	1
Washerwoman ...	...	—	—	—
Hancock, fishmonger ...	...	—	15	6
Bull, bookseller ...	...	—	5	5
Wake, apothecary ...	...	—	6	—
Poulterer ...	...	—	5	—
Phillott, the Bear ...	...	3	9	6
		<hr/>		
		£31	4	9

April 17. A note at a month to Mr. Richard Peirce (of Green St) for £21. Due May 20.

April 23. A note at a month to Mr. Richard Peirce for £21. Due May 26.

May 1. A note at a month to James Plunkett esq for £26 : 5 : —. Due June 4.

May 2. A note at a month to Mr. Henry Phillott for £21. Due June 5.

Whilst the expenditure account shows £31, to which may be added another £30 for travelling making say £61, the "bills payable" show a total of £89, borrowed from three people but payable very closely the same date.

In London some Bath friends were met with.

July 8. 1778. Mrs. Molineux, Mr. Richard Peirce of Bath, and others, dined with him in Prince's Court, and August 19 he dined at Sir John Elliot's at Kensington Gore with Mr. and Mrs. Oliver of Bath.

As the season came round again, in—

1778. Saturday, Dec. 19, he left Prince's Court at 9, and arrived at the Castle at Speen Hill at 6. Lay there.

20th. Left Speen Hill at 7 day break, arrived at Bath at 4. Dined and lay at Miss Temple's, No 5 Galloways Buildings, but not in the same rooms, the others being occupied.

The journey was thus done in two days only, travelling nine hours a day.

His first call was at Alfred House where there was trouble by reason of Mrs. Macaulay's marriage. The doctor was at the coffee house. Afterwards he sent a dinner invitation for Friday, but as Wilkes was engaged for that day it was altered to Saturday. This day 21st he,—

Dined at major Molesworth's with Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Molesworth, dean Brocas, Mr. O'Callaghan, &c.

This trouble on Mrs. Macaulay's marriage was very severe. She being gone ten thousand particulars were told of her, of her insolence, capriciousness, and even abandoness. The Doctor was much congratulated on his deliverance. Some letters, which were supposed destroyed, now came to light and the Doctor determined to publish them. Cruttwell, who had received instructions to that effect being in London, called on Wilkes and, in the course of chat, gave him this information. It would seem the letters were given to the maid to burn, but she preserved them. As Wilkes—even Wilkes—considered some passages which Cruttwell repeated to him too gross for the public eye he determined if possible to stop the publication and get the letters suppressed. Mr. W——nl——y S and Mrs. A. were shown in most odious colours, and the female historian

herself as a most abandoned prostitute and a swindler, all from her own letters. S too was expected to offer terms to prevent publication. These efforts succeeded and the matter dropped. The thing was actually advertised, however, as——

An authentic narrative of the conduct and behaviour of Mrs. M——y now M——y G——m during her residence at A——d house, B——h ; containing a succinct and faithful history of the extraordinary means made use of by that lady to obtain such a profusion of expensive gifts from her benevolent patron the Rev. Dr. W——n. Her acquaintance with Dr. James G——m the famous electrical empiric and her behaviour from the commencement of that connection, her intimacy and friendship for Mrs. A, sister to the empiric, her journey to Paris with occurrences there, her journey to Leicester and her marriage with Mr. G, brother to Dr. G and Mrs. A, with all the original letters, notes, and anecdotes. To which will be added a dissertation on swindling. By a friend of Dr. Wilson's. In whose possession all the letters and papers now are.*

22nd. Dined alone in Galloway's Buildings.

23rd. Dined at Mr. Plunkett's in the Circus with Messrs. Wiltshire, Blackwood, Brereton, Blake, &c.

24th. Dined at rev Dr. Lewes's, No. 5 Galloway's Buildings, with the doctor, Mrs. Lewes, Miss and Mr. Brice. Dr. Lewes was put down as a sensible man with an affected wife.

25th. Dined at the Three Tuns, Henry Phillips's, with lord Kelly, colonel Whitmore, captain O'Byrne, &c.

Reporting this meeting to his daughter the next day, he wrote—
We dined at six and parted at ten, yet the tea flowed in copious streams to my thirsty lips this morning.

26th. Dined at Alfred House with Dr. Wilson, who insisted on having him on his right hand, Messrs.

* "Bibliotheca Bathoniensis," by E. Green.

David Hartley (M.P. for Hull), Mullett, Digges, Cruttwell, &c.

27th. Dined at the Three Tuns with colonel Whitmore, Mr. Brereton, Mr. Adams, &c.

28th. Dined alone at the lodgings.

29th. Dined alone at the lodgings. In the evening a most superb ball at the Upper Rooms. The minuets are now danced three deep so that they are finished in an hour and a half.

30th. Dined at the Three Tuns with lord Kelly, colonel Whitmore, &c.

31st. Dined at the Bear with lord Kelly, Sir Onesiphorus George Paul, Messrs. Davidson, Stephenson, &c.

1779. **Jan** 1. Dined at Mr. Cruttwell's No. 1 Westgate Buildings, with Mr. and Mrs. Cruttwell, two boarders, Dr. Wilson, Mr. Digges, &c.

2nd. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Temple, Miss Cantelo, captain Hartnell and Mr. Richard Peirce.

3rd, 4th. Dined alone at the lodgings.

5th. Dined at Dr Delacour's with Dr. and Mrs Delacour, Miss Davis, lord Kelly, Sir George Paul, Mr. O'Callaghan, Mr. Macnamara, &c.

6th. Dined at the Three Tuns with lord Kelly, Sir George Paul, Messrs. Bolton, Fullerton, Burgh, &c &c, in all sixteen.

7th. Dined alone at the lodgings.

8th. Dined at the Bear with lord Kelly, Messrs. Henry Hoare, O'Birne, and Macnamara.

9th. Dined at Mr. Wm. Brereton's MC in Orchard St. with lord Kelly, Mrs. and Miss Juliet Brereton, Sir George Paul, major Molesworth, colonel Gore, &c.

Mr. Brereton had sold his furniture and moved from Garrard St. about this time.

10th. Dined at Mr. Palmer's in New King St. with Mr.

and Mrs. Palmer, Mr. Digges, Mr. Wm. Brereton, Governor Thicknesse, &c.

- 11th. Dined at Mr. George Brereton's on the Queen's Parade with Mr., Mrs., and Miss Juliet Brereton, lord Kelly, Mr. O'Byrne, colonel Gore, &c. A splendid ball at the Upper Rooms but no great blaze of beauty.
- 12th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Cantelo, Mr. Mullett and Mr. Digges.
- 13th. Walked this morning to Mr. Cruger's, three miles, and back. Dined alone at the lodgings.
- 14th. Dined at Mr. Brereton's MC with Mr., Mrs., and Miss Juliet Brereton and Mr. Palmer.
- 15th. Dined at Mr. Rogers's near Galloways Buildings with Mr. Rogers and the Sultana (i.e. lady Miller.)
- 16th. Left Bath. Lay at the Castle at Marlborough, arrived there at six.
- 17th. Dined and lay in Prince's Court.

Again a two days journey only. There was no spring visit, a whole year passed during which time Wilkes was elected Chamberlain of the City.

In 1779 Dec 23 he left Prince's Court at 5½ in the evening, came to Salt Hill at 9. Lay there. Mr. George Dalby accompanied him.

- 24th. Breakfasted at Salt Hill, went to Windsor, saw the ruined castle, from thence to Holt at Oakingham (Wokingham); visited Mr. and Mrs. Stafford; put up at the Bush. Went from Oakhampton (*sic*) to Reading seven miles, reached the Castle at Marlborough at ten. Lay there. Mr. Dalby returned from Windsor to London.
- 25th. Left Marlborough at 9, reached Bath at 2½, dined at the Bear, Phillott's, with lord Kelly, Mr. O'Byrne, and Mr. Harvey. Lay at Mrs. Hume's the corner of Lame Street, South Parade, delightful apartments,

drawing room very spacious and being the end house very light, three windows in front, two at the side.

The end house next the river was Harford's, this one Mrs. Hume's must have been one of the two corners of Duke St. Was Duke St. then first called Lame St.

26th. Dined alone at the lodgings.

He wrote this day—I mean to revisit the good old Dr. at Alfred House, and shall not fail, as he kindly desires, to pay him almost daily visits. By all accounts from the faculty he cannot long survive. He is regularly attended by physician, surgeon, and apothecary. The physician was Harington, the surgeon Cruttwell.

27th. Dined at the Bear with lord Kelly, Mr. O'Byrne, Mr. Nexbitt, &c.

28th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Cantelo and Mr. Richard Peirce. Mr. Brereton's ball at the Upper Rooms 750 present.

29th. Dined at the Bear with lord Kelly, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. O'Birne, Mr. Baker, Mr. Sneyd, &c.

30th. Dined alone at the lodgings.

31st Dined at Mr. Western's in Brock St. with Mr. and Mrs. Western, Dr. Staker, Mr. Plunket, &c. The grand ball, Dawson's, at the Lower Rooms, thirteen hundred expected. Luckily, he wrote to his daughter, old father Time has put me out of the power of the pretty Misses. Miss Wilkes had a habit of writing—you was,—this he corrects—not you was,—if you please, but you were. The phrase is not you is,—but you are, a charming girl!

1780. Jan'y 1. Dined at Mr. Cruttwell's in Queen Square with Mr. and Mrs. Cruttwell, Mr. Mullett, Mrs. Smith, Miss Murray and Mr. and Mrs. Hawes.

2nd. Dined at Lord Conyngham's in the Circus with Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Barton, Dr. Lee, &c.

- 3rd. Dined at Mr. Plunkett's with Mr. Taylor of the Circus, Mr. Wiltshire, &c.
- 4th. Sick and in bed.
- 5th. Dined at Mr. Drax's on the Queen's Parade with Mr. and Mrs. Drax, Judge and Mrs. Willes, Mr. O'Brien and lady Susan, Mr. James Grenville jun., Mr. Hunt, Judge Willes's son, Sir George Paul, &c.
- 6th. Dined at Mr. Brereton's in Orchard Street with Mr. Mrs. and Miss Brereton, Mr. and Mrs. George Brereton, lord Kelly, Mr. Taylor, &c.
- 7th. Dined at Dr. Delacour's with lord Kelly, Major Stanton, Sir George Paul, &c.
- 8th. Dined at Mr. Hamilton's in Alfred Buildings with Mr. and Mrs Hamilton and Miss, colonel Hamilton, &c.
- 9th. Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Stafford, Mr, Mrs. and Miss Molesworth in Russell Street. Supped there with the same company and Mr. Stepney.
- 10th. Left Bath a little after seven, reached the Castle at Salt Hill at eight. Lay there.
- 11th Jany. Left Salt Hill at seven, came to Prince's Court at ten.

Again a two days journey. Some portion of the diary is here missing, but from letters it is seen he made a hurried visit to Bath in the spring of 1780 when he wrote,

11th May, from Speen Hill,—Since I left I have had nothing but two dishes of coffee and three slices of bread and butter. I hope to dine to-morrow at Bath. Shall go directly to York House. On 13th May from York House he tells that he was last night (12th) at the ball in the Lower Rooms which was ill attended. Mr. Tyson officiated. I have not yet seen the deposed monarch.

15th May, from York House he wrote that he had dined with a lady to whom he "gave the bras" to a concert

at the Dean of Ossory's in the Crescent ; she sang and played with such frightful grimaces—it was really alarming—

With a head on one side and a languishing eye,
Would kill us by looking as if she would die.

1780. 17th May. Left Bath.

On the 20th April 1781 he again arrived between twelve and one at his favourite lodgings, having been almost suffocated by thick clouds of dust the whole way except over Marlborough downs. He dined at Alfred House and found the Dr. much the same as at christmas, but so full of vexation that he thought of selling every thing and settling in America for a time. The stay was now very short as next day he left Bath and records that at the Castle at Salt Hill he had a nice dinner—soup cressy, eels spitchcocked, a perch, a roast fowl and asparagus, and a pancake.

In the spring of 1782 there was again a short visit. On the 23rd March he wrote—here I am warmly housed at Mr. Harford's thanks to a lady who has decamped unexpectedly this day. I have the parlour, bed chamber, servants' hall, and a garret for Thomas. The journey down had been very rough. Four strong horses could scarcely draw the light post chaise with but little baggage. On the road were passed waggons and post chaises laid low—not in the dust—but in the snow, deserted by both men and cattle. He dined at Phillott's, but found Bath remarkably thin of company. Next day he dined with Dr. Wilson who arranged small parties of four and was displeased if he did not come.

On the 5th April he left Bath.

In the winter season of this year he was again free for his usual christmas trip, and was now accompanied by Miss Wilkes. Thus

1782. Dec 22 Dined at the Castle at Speen Hill and lay there.

23rd. Dined at Harford's the lodgings on the South Parade, with Miss Wilkes and Mr. Peirce.

- 24th. Dined with Miss Wilkes at Harford's.
- 25th. Dined at Harford's with Mrs. and Miss Molineux, Miss Hayley, Miss Wilkes, Mr. Tyson and Mr. Peirce.
- 26th. Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Way, Miss Wilkes and Mr. Jeffrys, at Harford's in their lodgings.
- 27th. Dined at the lodgings with lord Carmarthen, lord Nugent, and Miss Wilkes.
- 28th. Dined at Harford's with Miss Wilkes.
- 29th. Went to Captain Webb's at Cote House two miles beyond Bristol, dined there with Mr. and Mrs. Webb, Miss Wilkes, Dr. Small, Mr. Harford, Mr. Noble, Mr. Cobham, Mr. Richard Burke, &c. Lay there.
- 30th. Returned to Bath. Dined at Harford's with Miss Wilkes.
- 31st. Dined at Harford's with Mrs. and Miss Molineux, Miss Wilkes, and Mr. Peirce.
1783. Jan 1. Dined at my lodgings at Harford's with Mr. and Mrs. Way, Miss Wilkes and Mr. Jeffrys.
- 2nd. Dined at the Cock, Molland's, in Milsom Street with Mr. Potter, Mr. Ric Burke, Sir James La Roche, Mr. Tyson and Mr. Plunkett.
- 3rd. Dined on the South Parade No 7 with Mrs. and Miss Molineux, Miss Kemys and Miss Wilkes.
- 4th. Dined at the Crescent with Mr., Mrs. and Miss Jeffrys, Miss Wilkes, Mr. and Mrs. Collinson, Mr. Jeffrys junr. and Mr. Boissy.
- 5th. Dined at the lodgings with lord Ashburton, Dr. Harington, Mr. Peirce and Miss Wilkes.
- 6th. Dined at the center house on the North Parade with Messrs. Cobham, Law, the solicitor general Pepper, Arden, &c.
- 7th. Dined on the Queen's Parade with Mr. and Mrs. Drax, lord Carmarthen, Mr. Potter, col. Yorke, Sir Wm., Lady and Miss James and Miss Wilkes.

- 8th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes
 9th. Dined at Molland's (the Cock) in Milsom Street with Lord Mulgrave, Mr. Potter, Sir George Paul, Mr. Tyson, Sir James La Roche and Mr. Plunkett.
 10th. Dined at Mrs. Molineux on the South Parade No. 7 with Mrs. and Miss Molineux, Miss Gale, Miss Wilkes, and Mr. Peirce.
 11th. Left Bath. Dined with Miss Wilkes at the Castle at Speen Hill. Lay there.
 12th. Dined with Miss Wilkes and Mr. Hutton in Prince's Court. Lay there.

For a spring season he left home,--

1783. April 18, at seven in the morning, came to the Bush at Staines at nine, 17 miles. Proceeded to Holt near Wokingham and dined, and lay there.
 19th. Dined and lay at the Castle at Marlborough.
 20th. Dined at the rev. Dr. Wilson's with Mr. and Mrs. Cruttwell and Mrs. Cruttwell's niece (ten years old) in Alfred Street. Lay on the South Parade.
 21st. Dined at the lodgings with Mr. Pearce and captain Montgomerie.
 22nd. Dined at Mrs. Molineux's with captain Montgomerie, Miss Molineux, Mrs. and Miss Kemys.
 23rd. Dined at Dr. Lee's in Paragon Buildings with the doctor and Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Ellis, lord Rodney, &c.
 24th. Dined at the Queen's Parade with Mr. and Mrs. Drax, lord Nugent, colonel Campbell, captain Nugent, Mrs. and the three Misses Wroughton.
 25th. Gave a great dinner at the lodgings at Harford's on the South Parade, Mrs. and Miss Molineux, Mrs. and Miss Kemys, colonel Fanning, Mr. Estcourt, and captain Montgomerie
 26th. Dined at York House with Governor, Mrs, and two Misses Woodley, lord Rodney, Sir John Jervois

and admiral Edwards. Miss Woodley is indeed very handsome, a good prater, and a great simpleton, but easy and good humoured.

27th 28th. Dined at the lodgings on the South Parade.

29th. Dined at lord Rodney's in Gay street with lord Conyngham, two Misses Barton, Mrs. Ellis, Dr. and Mrs. Lee.

30th. Dined at the lodgings with Mrs. Arnold.

1 May. Left Bath ; dined and lay at Speen Hill—and so to Prince's Court.

The dining continued at home, until on the 16th May comes the entry—

Sick and fasting 17th was bled and had a shivering fit of the ague. 18th. Took an ounce of Rochelle salt in the morning—(a griper indeed)—and beaume de vie in the evening—(another griper). On the 19th he was bled and in the evening again took beaume de vie. The 20th, 21st, 22nd, he was still sick in Prince's Court and so continued very much the same until the 31st.

Beaume de vie so often mentioned, being only a synonym and not in the pharmacopœia, was difficult to find to-day. It was a patent advertised medicine of the time, simply an extract of aloes. Socotrine aloes, myrrh, saffron, carbonate of potassium, extract of liquorice, tincture of cardamoms, and distilled water.

There seems to have been no visit in 1784. In 1785 the spring visit was made in May.

On the 14th May he dined and lay at the Castle, Marlborough.

15th. Dined and lay at Harford's on the South Parade, Bath.

16th. Dined at Mr. Plunkett's in the Circus with Miss Plunkett, Mr. and Mrs. French, &c.

17th. Went to Holloway fair. Dined in Pierpoint Street with Mr. and Mrs. French, &c.

18th. Dined at No. 9 in Milsom Street with Mrs. and Miss Molineux.

Bath is not alive, he wrote, even to scandal.

19th. Dined alone at the lodgings. Lady Conyngham had a grand rout. These routs bid fair to ruin Bath as a public place.

He was fairly right in his opinion on this new departure, for it meant a private rather than a public party, one set selected and separated, contrary to Nash's policy.

Writing on this event to his daughter he records that the beautiful waistcoat which she brought from France was displayed and much admired.

We sometimes wonder at and sometimes consider picturesque, the costume of this time, but we can see here, as on a previously noticed occasion, how much it was valued, how much pride was associated with it. It is recorded in Rogers' Table Talk that Fox and lord Carlisle once travelled from Paris to Lyons for the express purpose of buying waistcoats, and during the whole of the journey they talked of nothing else. This looks rather small at first but there is a lesson perhaps for us, as such a costume, which filled the wearer with so much personal respect or self consciousness, had to be properly worn and lived up to, just as the too often careless one of to-day produces the contrary result, the wearer being mannerless, or worse.

20th. Dined at colonel Barré's in the Grove with colonel Barré, major Goodenough and two welsh ladies.

21st. Dined alone at the lodgings.

22nd. Dined at Bowood near Calne with the marquis and marchioness of Lansdowne, Colonel Barré, &c. Had a most flattering reception. Dined at five, returned to Bath at eight, sleeping half the way in the post chaise.

23rd, 24th, 25th. Dined alone at the lodgings on the South Parade.

26th. Dined at York House with Messrs. Plunkett, Brereton, and Comyns.

27th. Dined and lay at the Castle, Speen Hill. And so to Prince's Court.

The winter visit begins,—

1785. Dec 10. Set out with Miss Wilkes for Bath. Dined and lay at the Windmill at Salt Hill.

11th. Dined and lay at the Castle, Marlborough.

12th. Dined at Phillott's, the Bear, in Bath. Lay at Harford's on the South Parade.

13th, 14th. Dined with Miss Wilkes at the lodgings.

15th. Dined with Miss Wilkes in Axford Buildings with Mrs. and Miss Molineux.

16th. Dined at the lodgings with Mrs. and Miss Molineux and Miss Wilkes.

17th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes and Mr. Leake.

18th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes.

19th. Dined at the lodgings with Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, Mrs. Mott, Miss Wilkes, Sir John Elliott and Mr. Anderson.

20th. Dined with Miss Wilkes at the lodgings.

21st. Dined at Batheaston Villa with Sir John Miller, lord Rodney, Governor Pownall, Mr. Hastings, Dr. Halifax, &c.

22nd. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes.

23rd. Dined at the lodgings with Mrs. and Miss Molineux, Miss Wilkes, count Haslang, baron Wessenburgh, Mr. Luders, and Mr. Touchet.

24th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes.

25th. Dined in Axford Buildings with Mrs. and Miss Molineux and Miss Wilkes.

26th. Dined at Bowood, 17 miles from Bath, with lord and lady Lansdown, lord and lady Abingdon, lady

- Charlotte Bertie, two Misses Vernon, Sir John Hart, alderman and Miss Townsend, colonel Barré, &c. Lay there.
- 27th. Returned to Bath. Dined with alderman and Mrs. Crosby, Mr. Rix, Mr. Bowen, Miss Wilkes, and two other ladies.
- 28th. Dined in the Crescent with Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, Mrs. Mott, Miss Wilkes, major Scott, count Haslang, baron Wessenburgh, &c.
- 29th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes, captain O'Byrne, Mr. Caleb Whitford and Mr. Rix.
- 30th. Dined at the lodgings with Mrs. and Miss Molineux and Miss Wilkes.
- 31st. Dined at No. 2 in Northumberland Buildings with Mr. Colman, Mrs. Crockett, Dr. Harington, Caleb Whitford, &c.
1786. Jany 1. Dined in Axford Buildings with Mrs. and Miss Molineux and Miss Wilkes.
- 2nd. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes, count Kageneck, count Haslang, baron Wessenburgh, the marquis de Trotti and monsieur de Buchetti.
- 3rd. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes.
- 4th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes and count Kageneck.
- 5th. Dined at the lodgings with Miss Wilkes.
- 6th. Dined in Axford Buildings with Mrs. and Miss Molineux and Miss Wilkes.
- 7th. Dined with Miss Wilkes at the Castle, Marlborough. Lay there.
- 8th. Dined with Miss Wilkes at the Windmill at Salt Hill. Lay there.

It must be noted that during this visit the dinners were many more in the lodgings.

In 1787 there was no visit, and next, Wilkes took a house at Sandown in the Isle of Wight and to this latter his attention was now directed. In 1788 occurs the last recorded visit to Bath. On this occasion he went directly to the York House instead of his old lodgings, and it is further strange, Miss Wilkes being with him too, that in a stay of five days—five days only—there was not one dinner party. The diary thus finally tells us—

1788. May 9. Dined with Miss Wilkes at the Windmill, Salt Hill. Lay there.

10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th. Dined with Miss Wilkes at York House, Bath. Lay there.

16th. Dined at the Castle, Marlborough, with Miss Wilkes. Lay there.

17th. At the Windmill, Salt Hill. Lay there.

18th. At Kensington.

During this stay he sent from Bath to Southampton for the Isle of Wight. A hamper—No 1 containing,—

Port	... 13	bottles.
Madeira	... 12	—
Mountain	... 6	—
Champagne	... 7	—
Rum	... 4½	—
Tokay	... 4	pint bottles.

Hamper—No. 2—

Claret	... 22	bottles.
Calcavello	... 20	—

No. 3. A box of books.

No. 4. A trunk containing glasses, &c.

No. 5. A deal box containing decanters, &c.

In 1788, June 16, he sent another hamper from London containing 3 doz. of Bristol Water, shipped at Southwark. Cost in New Bond St. £1 6. 6.

He also sent from Pall Mall—

1 lb. gunpowder tea ...	—	13	—
2 lbs. green tea ...	—	1	—
2 lbs. Turkey coffee ...	—	10	—
2 lbs. plain chocolate ...	—	10	—

During this time recorded he was living and living well very much on his popularity. He knew how to make politics pay. As time passed there was some decline in his popularity, the position became tiresome, there was too much of him. Dr. Johnson said—Jack has a variety of talk—Jack is a scholar and Jack has the manners of a gentleman; if we did not hear so much said of Jack we should think more highly of his conversation. Yet he continued his expenditure, so that in 1778-9 his monetary position was “truly melancholy.” He himself wrote he was “steeped in poverty to the very lips.” It was then a fortunate day for him when he managed with his usual success to be elected Chamberlain of the city, a very lucrative post which saved him all future anxiety and perhaps helped to wean him somewhat from his visits to Bath. Going down at different times in the different years, a different company is seen as met with, but his politics and character must have kept him from some houses. The guests named at the various dinners would seem to have been those who impressed or pleased him at the time, there were often more, as in one case where sixteen were present and but few noted. Again it may be so judged from the often final &c. to the entry.

During one of these visits he made the acquaintance of a Mrs. Arnold, but the exact date is not clear. The only notice in the diary is on 30th April, 1783, when he “dined at the lodgings with Mrs. Arnold.” He took a house for her at Kensington Gore and she bore him a daughter and with these two he now spent much time. Wilkes was no gambler, but besides this game of intrigue, at which he was famous, and the story so briefly told in the diary, there was much time to be filled up and occupied. Of the joys of Bath there were the balls, “gayest

scenes of fresh delight," there were the promenades and concerts to be attended, the libraries not to be forgotten, and formal calls in the afternoon to be made ; nor could a visit to the Pump Room be omitted, —

To take every morning a sup at the water
Just to hear what is passing and see what they'r arter.

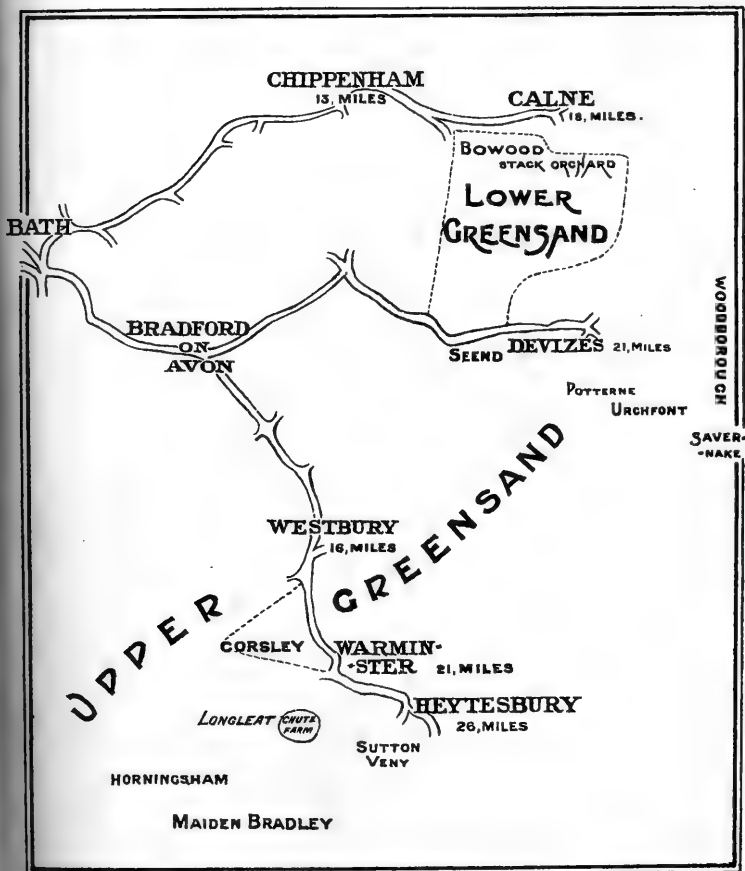
It must be ever a lasting regret that this diary was not properly filled in with a record of conversations and personalities, a duty which the writer was so thoroughly qualified to perform. It would then have given us information, not only of extreme interest to-day but of the utmost value for all time.

*The Leading Fossils of the Upper and Lower Greensands
of Wilts and Berks.* By E. C. DAVEY.

(Read January 11th, 1905.)

The title of my Paper does not quite correspond with what I intended or promised. Instead of the Upper and Lower Greensands of Wilts and Berks, I limit myself to the Upper Greensand of the one county (Wilts) and to the Lower Greensand of the other (Berks). The Lower Greensands of Wilts, exhibited at Seend and Bowood, do not contain any fossils that will in the least compare with the wonderful development that distinguishes the Faringdon beds, and, therefore, I am obliged to traverse the Wilts boundaries. But I need make no apologies for taking you into Berkshire—a matter of 45 miles—for I find that your excursions have carried you the whole length of the county, from its beginning at Shrivenham to its extremity at Windsor, and that at various periods you have visited portions of Oxon, Worcester, Hereford, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Hants, Devon and Dorset, and Cornwall.

Somehow I do not think that the people of Bath—including Members of the Bath Field Club—are familiar with the Upper Greensand, and still less with the Lower Greensand; and yet both formations are not only visible but conspicuous within 15 to 20 miles of Bath,—the upper series round Westbury, Warminster and Devizes; the lower series to the immediate south of Chippenham. The explanation of the comparative and actual neglect of the Greensands is that other formations in the neighbourhood have exercised a superior attraction to the zealous Geologists who have worked out so exhaustively the palæontology of Wilts, Somerset and Gloucester. Woodward, Sanders, Moore, McMurtrie and Winwood (Rev. H. H.) were so captivated by Lias and Oolite, Rhætic discoveries and Midford Sand problem, Bradford Clay and Fullers' Earth, to say nothing of Mammalian Gravels, that they could spare no time for Greensands; and so,





fortunately for me, but not so fortunately for science, they have left me in possession of a strip of fresh ground, almost virgin soil, which will afford me material for this Paper.

I begin with Upper Greensand, a formation which according to Mr. A. J. Jukes-Browne, our latest and best authority, occupies a larger area in Wilts than in any other county of England except Devon. ("Cretaceous Rocks," 227.) Its head quarters are Warminster and Devizes. I learn from the volumes of the Bath Field Club that its Members have been to Longleat, to Potterne, Savernake and other places of fossiliferous repute and yet there is no record of any geological papers read, no mention of any search for fossils,—churches and mansions having apparently monopolised the attention of the excursionists. It is still more remarkable that the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society has left the Upper Greensand unnoticed with the exception of one Paper written in 1864 entitled "The Geology of the Berks and Hants and Marlborough Railways," by Mr. Thos. Codrington, F.G.S.; an admirable Paper, but dealing only with railway cuttings about Savernake, Pewsey, Marlborough and Devizes, leaving the important districts of Westbury and Warminster untouched. (Wilts Arch., IX. 167.) In the last meeting that Charles Moore ever attended, namely at Bradford-on-Avon, Aug. 9-11, 1881, just four months before his lamented death in December, he stated plainly that "he had never worked in these beds." (XX. 53.) Six years previously, June 5-6, 1876, when the Geologists' Association selected Swindon and Faringdon for their Whitsun Excursion, Professor John Morris, Mr. Chas. Moore and myself were nominated Directors. Mr. Moore put in an appearance at Swindon and was very busy with the Purbeck beds, where he found remains of marsupials, reptiles and insects, but I could not persuade him to join us on the second day, because, he said, he had never interested himself in the Lower Greensand. This is no reproach to the memory of Chas. Moore for whom I have unbounded admiration; for he was intensely

devoted and inseparably wedded to Lias, Rhætic and Oolite, with the most happy result that the Bath Museum is in possession of a suite of priceless remains from those three formations which is without parallel in any collection in Europe or America. Mr. Moore's place, I may just add, was filled by my deceased friend, Mr. C. J. A. Meyer, who knew the Coxwell quarries and their contents by heart.

Before I describe the leading fossils of the U.G.S., I should like to say a few words on the position and importance of its beds. As a rule, the U.G.S. lies at the bottom slopes of the Chalk downs, spreading out for two or three miles; not, however, in a level tract, but undulating and marked by hills which attain elevations of 400 feet and upwards. Devizes, for example, is 400 feet above sea level; Horningsham 550; Maiden Bradley 700; Alfred's Tower 850. The U.G.S. is invariably the most picturesque part of the Cretaceous formation: it is also the most fertile and the best wooded. Where will you find such a wealth and luxuriance of trees and shrubs as at Longleat and Savernake? If I wished to take a farm or recommend a friend in the choice of taking one, I should certainly look out for one on the U.G.S., because of its productiveness and its suitability alike for grass, corn, timber and hops. The Rev. J. Clutterbuck, M.A., who some years ago wrote a Prize Essay on the "Agriculture of Berks," styles the Greensand "the glory of the county," and what is true of Berks holds still better for Wilts. Lord Avebury, in his "Scenery of England and Wales," remarks that there is scarcely any waste of land in a Greensand district (p. 442). Johnston in his Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry tells us that "where Chalk and Greensand meet, extremely fertile patches of country present themselves, the soil at their junction being celebrated for their crops of wheat" (p. 104). Besides being a sure corn-producing soil, it is always well watered. In the words of Horace Woodward, the author of the *Geology of England and Wales*, the U.G.S. is "essentially a water bearing stratum"

{p. 239). To the Wiltshire and in part to the Somerset U.G.S. are owing the beginnings or feeders of the rivers Frome, Stour, Wiley, Brue, Were, Nadder, Biss and Deverill. In Berkshire the Great Western Railway between Swindon and Didcot skirts one town (Wantage) and nearly twenty villages which are all provided with their own springs from the U.G.S., and no doubt these springs were the primary attraction to original settlers. Beyond Didcot there are another half dozen villages, the Hagbournes and Moretons, with Upton and Blewbury, equally favoured by nature.

I have remarked that the Bath Field Club, the Wilts Natural History Society, and Bath geologists generally have devoted little time or space to the two Greensands. There is, however, I am glad to testify, one notable exception going back 75 years, namely, William Lonsdale, the first Curator of our present Museum, who gave many years of unflinching zeal to collecting, arranging and cataloguing an immense quantity of fossils and minerals. The Institute—I mean the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution—possesses two closely and beautifully written manuscript volumes, each of 250 to 300 pages, which record with extreme minuteness everything of geological interest to be seen for 20 to 30 miles round Bath. Within those limits he has detailed all the quarries and sections which then existed in each formation and the exact locality where each separate fossil was obtained. Lonsdale, born in Bath, Sept. 9, 1794, is one of the many distinguished men of whom Bath geologists and Bath citizens may be specially proud, and it is gratifying to know that ample testimony has been borne to his merit by such eminent and competent authorities as Buckland, Mantell, Lyell, Murchison and Geikie. This last named tell us that Murchison first met Lonsdale in one of our neighbouring quarries, “a tall grave man with a huge hammer on his shoulder,” and found him so full of information that he stayed some days at Bath under his guidance. (Life of Sir R. Murchison, I. 128). This occurred in 1825. It is right here to mention that Murchison visited our city at intervals during the succeeding 40 years, and that both his parents lie buried at Batheaston. (234).

It was Lonsdale who pronounced definitely that the Stonesfield Slate is subjacent to the Great Oolite, our grand Bath Stone. (Proc. Geol. Soc., I. 414.) It was Lonsdale who satisfied Sedgwick and Murchison that the hard beds in Devon and Cornwall, above the Silurian and below the Carboniferous formations, were the equivalents of the Old Red Sandstone in Scotland and who, in 1837, was directly instrumental in establishing the adoption of the new term "Devonian." (Lyell's Elements, 531; Geikie's Murchison, I. 264.) When Dr. Buckland gave his assent to its use, his memorable words were: "Henceforth there will be two great names in English geology, William Smith and William Lonsdale." (Geikie, I. 267.) In the yet more important Silurian system, considered so exclusively Murchisonian, Lonsdale is entitled to very honourable mention, as we learn from the testimony of Professor Phillips. These are his words as given by Sir Archibald Geikie in his life of Sir Roderick Murchison:—"Perhaps no one better than Lonsdale comprehended the true meaning of the work which Murchison undertook. Certainly no one gave more effectual assistance in the often delicate task of clearing up in the calmness of the closet the difficulties which frequently misled the eager enthusiast in the field. Murchison was never slow in acknowledging his great obligation to his patient and right-judging friend." (I. 220).

The name of Lonsdale is attached for all time to a singular fossil, *Diceras Lonsdalei*, belonging to the *Arietidae* or Ram's horn division of the Ammonites, which is found only in Wiltshire, in those ferruginous sands which cap the high grounds above Bowood, near their intersection by the Wansdyke. (Lyell's El., 342.) Godwin-Austen in 1854 specified Stock Orchard near Calne as the particular locale of the *Diceras* (Q.J.G.S., VI., 469) and I went there in 1872 in search of specimens, meeting with poor success because the pit had been closed. We have one specimen in our Museum. Finer examples may be seen in the rich Museum at Devizes, presented by Mr. Cunnington in 1875. (Wilts Nat. His. Mag., XV. 137.)

One genus of corals bears the name of *Lonsdaleia* and very appropriately so; for no one in his day studied corals so systematically. (Geikie's *Murch.*, I. 232, 372.)

Were it not for the diligence of Lonsdale I should not be able to exhibit the splendid series of U.G.S. sponges before you. For they were all collected by him and nearly all have his handwriting upon them indicating name and origin. We have other specimens in our Museum, but they are irremovable. These before you are duplicates which were part of a collection arranged stratigraphically by Mr. Lonsdale, remaining undisturbed until 1890, when it was unfortunately removed to the vaults without due attention to the order of sequence.

The best known locality in the area belonging to the Wilts U.G.S. is undoubtedly Chute farm, near Warminster, familiar to geologists for close on 100 years by the writings of Wm. Smith, Miss Benett, Mr. Davidson, Dr. Wright, Dr. Hinde and Mr. Jukes-Browne, with whom I gladly and gratefully associate Mr. Scanes of Maiden Bradley, knowing as I do from personal experience that no one has so thoroughly ransacked the Greensand and Chloritic Marl pits at Baycliff, Ryehill, Horningsham and Maiden Bradley itself. I refer to the 57th volume of the Geological Society's *Journal*, issued Feb., 1901, where is given a list of 225 species of fossils found in those pits, including 17 varieties of Sponges. Wm. Smith, "our good old father in geology," as Murchison playfully called him (Geikie, I. 193), names Chute farm as the locality where he collected half of his Greensand fossils. Miss Ethelred Benett, whose life I am surprised not to find in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but who was not forgotten by Canon Jackson in his "Eminent Ladies of Wiltshire History" (*Wilts N. H. Mag.*, XX. 40), has given a list of 40 fossils—mostly Sponges—obtained from the same pit on Chute farm. In a letter addressed to Sir R. C. Hoare (dated Jan. 1, 1831) and printed in the 3rd vol. of his "Modern Wiltshire" (p. 118) is the following paragraph from the

pen of Miss Benett: "the town of Warminster stands on the Greensand and the remains of Alcyonia (the old name for Sponges) with which it abounds seem almost inexhaustible. At Chute farm, near Longleat, in a field called Brimsgrrove, it would seem, said the late Mr. Cunnington, as if a cabinet had been emptied of its contents, so numerous and so various were the organic remains found there." It is noteworthy that our Mr. Lonsdale was collecting or had collected his Warminster sponges at the identical period of Miss Benett's researches. Lonsdale's manuscript volumes are dated 1828 and 1829. Miss Benett must have been engaged in fossil collecting for some years previous to 1831. Probably some of you have never read and others have forgotten a curious incident in connection with Miss Benett related by Canon Jackson. She had sent a set of Wilts fossils to the Museum at St. Petersburg. The Emperor of Russia, wishing to acknowledge the gift by an Imperial compliment and supposing from the Anglo-Saxon name of Ethelred that the donor must be a gentleman, caused to be sent to her a very grand diploma conferring on Miss Ethelred the Honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law in the University of St. Petersburg.

The Benetts were and are a Wiltshire County family whose descent is traced by Sir R. C. Hoare from John Benett, Sheriff of Wilts in 1267. The name of Ethelred or Etheldred has been borne by many members of the family since the marriage of Thomas Benett, of Norton Bavant, to Etheldred, daughter of Wm. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1715. (Mod. Wilts, III. 78).

In continuation of the letter which Miss Benett addressed to Sir R. Hoare, she stated that "organic remains had become scarce." This scarcity has gone on increasing ever since. I am sorry to say that nothing of any consequence is now obtainable at Chute farm which formerly yielded choice specimens of Sponges, Echinoderms and Bivalves, so abundantly as to have enriched the best museums in England. In the last two visits paid to the farm

I came away without a specimen, and the prospect of better success in the future has dwindled to vanishing point by the fact that the particular field of former exploration has been laid down for pasture.* Mr. Jukes-Browne says that he "purchased a handful" in 1889 (Cret. Rocks, 239), and there ends the history of Chute farm as a fossil bearing locality. If, therefore, the members of the Bath Field Club, or other members of what Pengelly called the "stone-breaking fraternity," are desirous of gathering fossils from the Wiltshire Upper Greensands, I should certainly not direct their steps to Chute farm, but to Sutton Veny, near Heytesbury; to Corsley, near Westbury,† where Mr. Jukes-Browne reports "one of the best sections in a pit at Water farm" (p. 237); to Urchfont, Potterne and Devizes. Woodborough, when Mr. Codrington saw the newly made railway cuttings in 1864, was "remarkable for its sponges." So also was Savernake, as the Devizes museum bears splendid evidence; but I presume that the cuttings have long since been covered with vegetation and closed to trespassers. The U.G.S. is exhibited so typically at Devizes, especially by the station and at "Ewart's rocks," that it was at one time suggested to call the whole formation Devisian; but an eminent French geologist, Renevier, had anticipated our Government Surveyors with the term Divesien (from Dives in

* "Warminster, Wiltshire. From the Upper Greensand of this locality entire forms of sponges have been met with in one or two limited areas, but they are of comparatively rare occurrence and appear to be seldom found at the present day."—Dr. G. J. Hinde in *Philosoph. Trans. of the Roy. Soc.* for 1885, Part II., p. 419.

† "There is a farm house near the church, once an inn. Sir Walter Raleigh at the time of his disgrace lived here privately in a farm house which is still shown. It is said of him that coming to this inn and taking out his pipe and lighting it in his room by himself, the landlord was so frightened at what he saw and the smoke coming out of his mouth without his being discomposed by it that on leaving his house and asking what he had to pay, the landlord refused to take his money, concluding it must be Satan himself come to tempt him."—*Modern Wiltshire*, III., 63.

Normandy) for the Oxford Clay, and so they have fallen back on Selbornian, from that village which Gilbert White has immortalized and where the Firestone beds of the U.G.S. were first brought into printed notice. (Selb. Chap. I. ; Cret. Rocks, 2, 30). I conclude on the whole that Devizes would be the best head quarters whence to visit the various outcrops of the U.G.S., and Westbury or Warminster for a secondary base.

I have occupied so much of your time and my space with the Wilts division of my Paper that I can only skim lightly over the surface of the Berks beds. But though I shall not dwell on the attractions of its Lower Greensands as exhibited in the Sponge-Gravels of Little Coxwell, near Faringdon, I say without hesitation that there are none more interesting, none that will so well repay a day's excursion ; for they are unique, not only in British geology, but probably in the whole world. The uniqueness consists in this, that every part and portion of the entire mass is fossiliferous :—it is all sponge, or shell, or Bryozoa, or sea-urchin, with teeth of fishes and bones of saurians. Many sponges are as perfect as when they were growing. Quite a number of specimens collected last autumn could never have been rolled about, being absolutely free from sand and incrustations, and must have remained attached to their native rocky bed until broken off by the quarrymen. There are at least 43 specimens of Bryozoa, outside and inside most sponges ; on shells, pebbles, wood and bones. Whatever disappointments geologists, scientific or amateur, may have suffered in other quarries, they will meet with none at Coxwell. There they will be certain to get together, without exertion, as many fossils as they can carry away.

Both the Upper and Lower Greensands—otherwise Selbornian and Neocomian—contain a great variety of Terebratulæ, Rhynchonellæ, Pectens and other Bivalves ; but the leading fossils in both formations are emphatically Sponges and Echinites, and the selection before you consists entirely of these two classes. In the early days of Miss Benett and Mr. Lonsdale, the

Warminster Sponges were known as *Siphonia*, *Hallirhoa* and *Polypothechia*, as may be seen on several specimens before you in Mr. Lonsdale's clear handwriting ; while the Faringdon series appear as *Manon*, *Scyphia* and *Tragos* in the works of Mantell and his successors Lyell, Phillips, Page, Woodward and Owen. Fromentel, to whom I submitted specimens of typical Faringdon sponges on a visit to him at Gray in the Haute Saône, introduced the names of *Siphonocœlia*, *Discœlia*, *Oculospongia* and *Elasmoiera*, and they were accepted by the veteran Swiss geologist, de Loriol, whose personal acquaintance I am proud to have made at Geneva last May, and from whom I have since received many letters. But all the old familiar names have in late years been declared "obsolete" by Dr. Hinde, of the British Museum, and the new nomenclature includes such hard compounds as *Holodictyon*, *Nematinion*, *Pachytilodia*, *Pachypoterion*, *Sclerokalia* and *Trachysycon*, which I leave to a younger generation to digest and assimilate. (See Jukes-Browne, *Cretac. Rocks*, 247-8.)

If you ask me how it is that fossil sponges are found in such abundance in certain spots while totally absent in others, I reply that precisely the same phenomenon occurs with living species. They have a tendency to grow in dense patches or "sponge-fields," while intervening spaces show no trace of them. (*Cret. Rocks*, 418.)

It remains for me to say a few words about the Echinites of the two formations. Taking the U. G. S. first, I find from the reports of the Palæontographical Society distributed through 8 volumes between the years 1862 and 1882 that the Wiltshire beds have yielded 14 species, 10 of which are represented in our Museum. In the time of Dr. Wright, to whose Monographs we are indebted for descriptions of all the Cretaceous Urchins, there were six species found in abundance at the familiar Chute farm, *Discoidea*, *Cottaldia*, *Holaster*, *Echinocyphus* and two *Pseudodiademas*. You have on the table 30 specimens of the small

kinds. On *Cardiaster fossarius* Dr. Wright remarks that it has long been a leading fossil Urchin in the U. G. S. of Wilts and appears to be special to that English formation. (1870, p. 297.) On *Echinoconus castanea* that it is "very rare": on *Holaster obliquus* that the only known specimen came from Chute farm: on *Caratomus rostratus* that it is "found only in the U. G. S. of Warminster," all which observations tend to the importance of our local geology.

In the Lower Greensand of Faringdon we have two large Urchins (*Cidaris* Far. and *Trematopygus Davidsoni*) and half a dozen small species,—one *Peltastes*; one *Goniopygus* and 4 *Pseudodiademas*. They are all rare, except the *Peltastes* which occurs very abundantly as you may judge by the 100 specimens before you. The spines of the only Faringdon *Cidaris* are the commonest of all the fossil remains in the Coxwell pits, but a complete test has not yet been found. The *Trematopygus* is confined to a dark bed of sands younger than the orthodox "Sponge Gravel," and is exceedingly difficult to extract in fair condition on account of incrustations of oxide of iron. The specimens from which Dr. Wright drew up his description of the *Trematopygus* were furnished him by myself in 1874, and he has honoured me with an acknowledgment in the vol. of the *Palæontographical* for 1875, page 254.

NOTE ON DICERAS, PAGE 416.

According to Mr. Jukes-Browne this rare and curious fossil is not a Cephalopod, but a bivalve shell closely allied to the modern genus *Chama*.

*Bath City and Traders' Tokens issued during the 17th Century.**By S. SYDENHAM.**(Read February 8th, 1905.)*

After bringing to your notice in previous papers the Tokens issued by Bath Traders during the closing years of the 18th and the opening years of the 19th Century, it may be considered strange that I now revert to an earlier issue of such Tokens in what is known as the 17th Century period.

For this however, I have several reasons; till recently I gave most attention to the later issues, and my collection of local 17th Century Tokens is somewhat meagre compared with those of more recent date: but my chief reason is that the untiring research of the Rev. C. W. Shickle into the Municipal Records and the Registers of many Churches in the City, has recently placed at the service of students of Bath history a mass of most valuable information, previously not readily accessible, incidentally throwing light upon the issue of the City Tokens, and giving knowledge of great value respecting many of the local Traders who at that period (1648-72) participated in the issue, general then throughout the country, of these essentially democratic "monies of necessity" which as issued by the people, tell of the people only, and form imperishable records of their occupations, trade guilds and companies, and often of their local government.

Late in the 16th Century the necessity for currency of small value had been acutely felt. An issue of Regal copper coinage was contemplated during the reign of Elizabeth, but was not carried into effect, the Queen apparently being averse to such introduction, and numerous Traders then commenced the issue of Tokens, made of brass, lead and even of leather.

Soon after the accession of James I. quantities of silver pence were issued, and a pattern farthing was prepared, but not issued for currency. In 1613 a large issue of Regal Farthing Tokens

took place: these were of thin and readily broken metal, badly struck and light, weighing but six grains each.

A license to mint this dishonest coinage was granted to John, Lord Harington (the coins from this rapidly becoming known as Haringtons), and they were issued for currency at the rate of twenty-one shillings in farthings, for twenty shillings sterling. A proclamation issued May 19th, 1613, prohibited the circulation of the Traders' Tokens, or of any Tokens other than those made by his Majesty's authority. James I., on granting this license, stipulated that he should every three months receive half of the profit accruing from their issue, but this arrangement was soon altered, Harington being then allowed a fixed sum for mintage, the whole of the profit derived going to the King. A peculiar method was adopted in the attempt to force these Tokens into circulation; made up in parcels each of the worth of 5s. 3d. and these again made up in bags to the value of £20, they were forwarded to the Mayors and Bailiffs of various towns, who were requested to sell them to the public. To encourage a quick trade, for all sold and for which remittance was made within two months, Master Mayor was allowed two shillings per pound weight for his trouble, but if not settled for within two months, then only one shilling. The office controlling the issue of these Tokens was in Lothbury, London; the site being still known as Token-House yard.

It was noted at this time that "the said Farthing Tokens have not onely beene found very commodious and necessarie for pettie commutations, but also to be a great reliefe of the poore, and means to increase charitie, without which many of them had perished, everie man having means to give almes." The death of the second Lord Harington occurring early in 1614, private Traders again issued Tokens, presuming that the patent had lapsed, but a proclamation dated June 21st, 1614, declared it still valid and vested in the widow of the first patentee and her successors. Despite the ingenuity of the method by which these

Tokens were attempted to be forced into circulation, they soon became generally detested, from the difficulty experienced in getting them re-changed for sterling money; and being largely used in the payment of workmen, &c., they accumulated in the hands of many Traders throughout the country to a ruinous extent.

The Tokens appear to have been readily received at Bristol and Exeter, this probably conducing to their excessive prevalence in the west. Some towns however refused to accept them, but although the difficulty of enforcing their circulation rapidly increased, their issue was continuous. Charles I. by proclamation, dated May 25th, 1625, authorized their continuance and further strengthened the prohibitions against the issue or use of other Tokens. In our own County, Taunton seems to have acutely experienced the difficulty as to the exchange of these Farthings, and a letter is extant, dated May 19th, 1634, from the Mayor and others of that town to the Council of State, giving a vivid picture of the dire results to the poorer class of the community from their excessive use, and the reluctance of Traders to accept them. So numerous became the complaints that the Court of Star Chamber, in 1634, "Ordered, that thenceforth no man should pay above twopence in farthings at any one time."

In March, 1635-6, other proclamations were issued as to these Tokens, and these proclamations reaching Bath, the Chamberlain's (John Biggs) account for 1636 notes:—

"Itm to Mr. Hunt for a proclamacon about
 farthings o 2 6"
 "Itm to Mr. Hunt for three proclamacons ... o 6 o"
 "Itm for one proclamacon for puttinge
 downe of farthinges o 2 o"

(the last item probably referring to the numerous counterfeites of the Regal Tokens then in circulation.)

By 1644 the public clamour had become so marked, consequent on the refusal of those holding the license to re-change the Tokens,

that their issue was suppressed by the House of Commons, and the death of Charles, January 1649, effectually annulled all disputes which had arisen between the patentee's of the Farthing Tokens, acting under license from the Crown, and the public.

Immediately following this event, being freed from all restraint, Traders in all parts of the country commenced the issue of Tokens of copper or brass, the earliest date on any of these being 1648, and between this date and 1672 (generally known as the 17th Century period) enormous numbers of Tokens were put into circulation, mainly by private Traders, but many Corporations and various Churchwardens, Overseers and other officials also participated in this democratic currency.

The Commonwealth authorities contemplated the issue of a Copper coinage, and for this pattern pieces were struck, but no authorized issue took place. The numerous references to be found in the State Papers of that time show that the question of such issue was under frequent consideration by the State Council—as for instance—

“1649. May 30. Council of State. The business of Farthing Tokens is to be considered to-morrow.

1650. Aug 9. A decision arrived at—Farthings ought to be issued. They should be struck by the Mint and be of full value.”

In these papers references constantly recur as to the prevalent use throughout the Country of the Tokens issued by Traders and Corporations, complaints being frequent regarding them, and various proposals were made to prevent their circulation, but despite the many decisions of the Council as to the provision of a minor currency, nothing was done in this direction, until the reign of Charles II., when a Proclamation, dated August 16th, 1672, forbade the use or issue of private Tokens, and contained provisions for making current his Majesty's copper halfpence and farthings then issued.

The Tokens of the 17th Century period were struck chiefly in

copper or brass, occasionally, but very rarely in lead, and were of three denominations—penny, halfpenny and farthing, the latter by far the most numerous. The bulk of the Tokens are circular, but some are square, others octagonal, heart, or diamond shaped, and their execution, although frequently pleasing in character and style, is never exceptionally good. Under the Commonwealth some of the engravers who had been employed in the Mints fell into poverty, and from having designed the Regal coins and seals, were glad to find employment in producing the private Tokens, in some instances also designing them, such pieces being distinguished by the initial of the artist's name appearing. In many instances it seems that local artists were employed in their production, and that others travelled throughout the country manufacturing tokens for the various places they passed through, but many of the Tokens were produced in London, and on these the names both of issuer and place are frequently spelt incorrectly.

The Tokens usually bear on one side the name of the issuer, and on the other the place of issue; and on the fields some device having reference to the trade of the issuer on one side, and his initials, generally with that of his wife, on the other. The main idea and reason for their use was in many cases kept well in view, and some of the inscriptions are of interest, as—Remember the Poore—For the Poores Benefit—For Change and Charitie.—Many bear promises to exchange, as—Will be Changed—For Change—or as in one instance,—When you please I'll Change these—but expressed or not, such re-change was always implied, and their issuers were morally bound when requested to change them for sterling money. There can be little doubt that in the vicinity of their place of issue they were freely used and commonly accepted as currency.

Very noticeable is the frequent use of the Arms of the great Trading Companies of London upon them, this probably indicating the use of such Arms as trade signs by their issuers.

In the County of Somerset at this period Tokens are known to have been issued at 68 towns and villages, the earliest date appearing on a Somerset Token being 1651, and the latest 1671, the different issues known being 345. No pence and but few halfpence were then issued in the County, and the Bath issues were solely of farthing value.

In 1697 appeared a work by John Evelyn, F.R.S. (who in 1654 visited Bath), entitled "Numismata : A Discourse on Medals," and in this occurs "The Tokens which every Tavern and Tippling House (in the days of late Anarchy amongst us) presumed to stamp and utter for immediate Exchange, as they were passable through the Neighbourhood, which tho seldom reaching farther than the next Street, or two, may happily in after times, come to exercise and busie the learned Critic, what they should signifie, and fill whole Volumes, with their Conjectures." This somewhat sneering prophecy has been amply fulfilled by many enthusiastic writers and collectors, and while not professing to be a "learned Critic" I hope that the material I have gathered (although far from complete) as to the issue and the issuers of Bath Tokens in the 17th Century, may add to the knowledge of our local history, and aid towards the closing of a controversy which a few years ago was carried on with considerable acrimony, as to the correct armorial bearings of the City.

Bath in the 17th Century has been dealt with by many writers, but so great is the opulence of its story that anything approaching an authentic history of the City during that period remains still to be written.

The description of the 17th Century City, given possibly not without bias, by John Wood, in 1749, in his "Essay Towards a Description of Bath," as a small City of mean and foul streets and of still meaner buildings, all alike destitute of comfort and of decency, has by most writers since been accepted and used as accurate, regardless of the fact that such disparaging statements

were certainly not meant by Wood to apply to the City during the whole of that period.

Small as the City then was in extent, its faults were those common to all cities at that date, and it possessed some virtues almost peculiarly its own. The majority of its houses were built of stone, and as to sanitation it was in advance of the time, abundantly supplied with water, brought by lead and wooden pipes from the surrounding hills, the open channels common in the paved streets were copiously flushed by the flows from numerous public conduits, and many of its houses had water supplies carried inside them. With stone easily accessible from the quarries on its Common-lands it was for that date exceptionally well-paved. Its Records also shew that stringent regulations were made and enforced, for the cleansing of its footways and streets, by individual householders and the scavengers employed by the City authorities.

It has been observed, and possibly with truth, that Bath was then "a City of lodging-house keepers." In the early part of the Century its curative Hot Springs came rapidly into great repute, and as the policy then pursued by the authorities restricted the expansion of the City, there could have been no accommodation available for the numerous visitors attracted, had not all classes of the citizens anticipated the modern hotels.

Within its fortified walls the narrow streets held many fine residences and public buildings, and the free use of ornament and color then customary, possibly imparted a gay appearance to the streets far removed from the sombre tints now so prevalent. Without the walls, small as the suburbs were in extent, the streets were spacious, and "Broade Streete," which held the residences of the principal citizens, was not then a misnomer.

Bath for a long period was the centre of the West country cloth trade, and although this trade gradually declined, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Wood's statement (which has been challenged) that in 1660 "the Cloathing Trade flourished so

exceedingly that, in the Parish of St. Michael without the North Gate (comprising Broad and Walcot Streets) there were no less than 60 broad looms," and undoubtedly there were then other looms within the City and in its southern suburb.

On Gilmore's map of 1694 are depicted at the "Ambry," "Bathwick Meddow," &c., curious cross-barred structures, the largest series of these occupying what was later the "Town Acre," the present site of Edgar Buildings and the open space at the top of Milsom Street. These were "Cloth-Racks," very large wooden frames, on which the cloth made in Bath was exposed to the sun by the Clothiers after it had been dyed, the cloth being secured on these frames or racks by stitching, to prevent it from shrinking unequally as it dried. I am assured that such "Cloth-Racks" are very rarely met with on maps, and their presence in 1694 on so large a scale close to the City, is striking evidence of the continuance of the cloth manufacture locally, to a much later date than commonly accepted. In this connection it may be noted that the site of Milsom Street was originally known as "Rack Close."

To a collector tracing Tokens in an adjoining County, we are indebted for evidence that Bath was then noted for a manufacture still carried on here, viz.—Organ building. In the Church Wardens accounts at Wimborne Minster, Dorset, occurs "William Frampton and John Ansty, churchwardens, with the assistance of the parishioners did in the seaventeenth year (1665) of the reign of King Charles the Second, erect and set upp by Robert Hayward, of the City of Bath, co: Somersett, organ master, a payre of Organs in the church of Wimborne Minster, aforesayd, by indenture dated the tenth of September and the sixteenth year of the reign of King Charles the Second. A.D. 1664."

(Robert Hayward was on the Council in 1668, and soon afterwards elected an Alderman, and served as Mayor in 1682 and 1694. He lived in Westgate Street, the house being shewn on the border of Gilmore's map.)

We obtain a glimpse of Bath in 1634, from a contemporary diary preserved at the British Museum. Some officers coming from Wells in stormy weather, found the ways bad, especially the approach to the City down Holloway. "To this City wee came late and wet and entred stumbling into a third Cock-pitt City over a fayre archt Bridge crossing Avon: She may well be twin wth her Sister Wells both for her Scytuation and her Governm^t; and heere wee billeted o^r Selves at the 3 Tuns (see Token) close by the King's Bath—And now prepared wee wth the skillfull directions of our Ancient to take a Preparative to fit o^r jumbled weary Corps to enter and take refreshm^t in those admired, unparalelld medicinable sulphureous hot Bathes." Later they reach the Great Church "a fayre neat and lightsome Building, the roof stately lofty and curiouslie fretted, the windows large and fayre though plaine without painting" "She is adorned wth ^a reasonable rich Organ, fayre Seats, most curious & very neate though lately erected" and it further notes, "2 Bowling Greens near the Church one of them is curiously and neatly kept where onely Lords, Knights, Gallants and Gentlemen of the best ranke and qualitie doe dayly meet in seasonable times to recreate themselves both for pleasure & health"

Evelyn, who visited Bath in June, 1654, notes—"that he trifled and bathed and intervisited with the company who frequent the place for health" that "the towne is entirely built of stone but the streets narrow, uneven and unpleasant." By 1654, the City could barely have recovered from its unfortunate experiences during the Civil war. Bath was just then sternly, rigorously Puritan, and its sedate and sober-clad citizens, the evidence on all sides of the Commonwealth supremacy, the presence in the streets of the numerous "maymed soldiers" sent by the State to derive benefit from its hot springs, may have displeased Evelyn whose sympathies were with the exiled Stuarts.

More genial Pepys in June, 1668, with perhaps a more joyous environment, walked,—“up and downe the Towne and saw a

pretty good market place, and many good streets and very fair stone houses," and "soe to Church." The then market place (larger than the present) with the Guildhall in its centre, the stately North Gate, St. Mary's tower, the handsome conduits of St. Mary and of St. Peter and St. Paul, surrounded by houses, the whole gay with ornament and color; with the animation imparted by groups of Citizens and Visitors, as bravely attired they made their way "to the Greate Church," whose roofs and tower soaring high dominated the whole scene, the centre of the City then, certainly formed a "pretty good" picture.

Some fourteen years later, Dingley notes,—“this City is besides without doubt, the prettiest in the Kingdom in a double construction as it is little and handsome.”

Shades of Pepys, Dingley and of others; appreciative visitors of the vanished long ago, a citizen of the modern City fain would keep your memory green, for responsible for Bath as you found and praised it, were many of the 'Token issuers he is interested in.

The City was governed by a Mayor presiding over a varying number of Aldermen, and a Common Council of twenty members, the collective body being known as the Chamber, with power to make laws binding on all dwellers within the liberties of the City. The Chamber was self-elective and election was generally for life. The Mayor, two Aldermen annually chosen as Justices, the Recorder and the Common-Clerk conducted the Judicial business. The Executive was vested in the Bailiffs (the Sheriffs of the City) chosen annually by and from the Chamber, the Bailiffs controlled the Gaol and the Markets, and theirs was apparently a lucrative position, as they were expected to entertain the Chamber twice during their official year. Under their care were the Pillory, the Stocks, the Rack, the Cage, and that perhaps most useful apparatus for the control of too argumentative ladies, the Ducking-stool.

The Chamberlain, annually elected and always a member of the Chamber, had care of the City finances. His term of office

expired at Michaelmas and in the October following, he brought up his accounts entered on a parchment roll to be passed by his colleagues.

Two members of the Chamber were annually chosen as Constables, and minor officials (non-members) were the Sergeants-of-the-Mace, the Beadle & Bellman, the Supervisors of flesh and leather and the Ale-tasters.

The various elections were in September, on the Monday preceding Michaelmas day, and office apparently commenced the first Monday in October. Mention of the constitution of the Chamber has been necessary as many of the Token issuers were members and frequently officials of that body.

The Chamber met at the Guild-Hall (built 1626-8) then standing in the Market Place (High Street), a picturesque building externally gay with statues, coat-of-arms and other ornaments all bright with color; the Hall of a type still remaining in some west-country towns, with accommodation for market people under and a series of rooms above. The Hall was probably panelled throughout with oak, and hung with shields bearing the Arms of the Nation and the City, heavy wood beams enriched with carving possibly crossed from side to side supporting a flat ceiling with decorated panels; the room well lighted by a number of square-headed windows, their mullion spaces filled with plain glass quarries bearing devices of heraldic shields, blazoning the arms of important Citizens and influential neighbours. A benched seating with carved arms may have been on three sides of the room, a raised platform at one end carrying the seats of the Mayor and Justices, with seating for the rest of the Chamber in the body of the Hall.

In 1651 payments were made for painting "Mr. Mayors seate and the Cittie Armes" the Commonwealth Arms and a frame for the latter, and the seats throughout the Hall were then re-cushioned.

In 1658 occurs "Item paid Thomas Quilly for paintinge and

guildinge of the Cittye Armes in the Town Hall under the Deske before the Mayors Seate 00-05-00."

Although several Bath traders issued Tokens earlier than the City Authorities, for convenience I give precedence to the City pieces.

Picture a meeting of the Chamber in the Hall, on the morning of Monday the 26th of March 16⁵⁹/₆₀; the air is chill for it is early, being just nine-o'clock, and for warmth a coal fire from the City's own "cole-workes" at Paulton or Hallatrow is merrily blazing. Gowned in scarlet, John Biggs, the portly host of the "Unicorne" in Broad Street (present No. 8, Northgate St.) occupies his seat as Mayor, the Justices and the Aldermen also in scarlet gowns are seated near him. One of the Bailiffs, "Willim Russell," being absent, the Mayor has probably decided how the fine of 6s. 8d. incurred by the absentee shall be expended. The other Officials and the majority of the Councillors are present, robed (but questionably in scarlet), for the meeting is an important one, as only on or near the various quarter days can certain Civic business be transacted.

Matters relative to City property having been discussed and arranged, a matter has now to be dealt with that may arouse opposition as affecting the private interests of some members of the Chamber.

Tokens are being put forth by many Cities throughout the country, and why should the Chamber of Bath not do the same when profit may be secured? The Mayor has accordingly had some farthing tokens prepared and these he now submits, and if the Chamber will sanction his action the farthings can be issued at once. After consideration the question is voted on and by a large majority the Chamber authorizes the issue of the Bath farthing tokens bearing date 1659, and with this resolve the meeting closes.

The question of the Arms then authorized for use upon the Tokens being of importance, I give the roll of the Members

then present and the resolution carried, extracted from the Minute Book used at the meeting.

	" John Biggs	Maioir	
* John Pearce	} Justices		* Robert Penny
Matthew Clift			Antony Collabee
John Parker	} Aldermen		Henry Morford
John Atwood			Thomas Skrine
John Boyse			Robt Chapman
* John Masters			Edward Parker
Robt Child			* John Ffisher
Walter Gibbes	Chamberlayne		* John Bush
Willim Ireland	} Bayliffes		* Richard Bigges
Willm Child	} Constables		* George Reeve
Walter Bush			* Benjamin Baber."

(Private Token issuers starred)

Resolution. "Whether ye farthings now provided by Mr. John Biggs Maioir and bearing ye Citty Armes on one side & C · B on ye other Shall goe in ye name of ye Citty ffarthings and ye profit thereof remaine to ye Chamber of this Citty and ye Chamber to be lyable to change them and make them good or not."

Yes (18 votes)

Noo (4 votes)

"Agreed ye syd ffarthings shall goo as aforsyd."

The "Citty Armes" then sanctioned are identical with the Arms shewn on the colored view of Bath, given by William Smith, in his "Particular Description of England, 1588."

These copper farthings, "imperishable records," should go far to close the vexed question of what are the correct armorial bearings of the City. The extracts I have given show with what frequency the Arms at the time of the Token issue were used, and possessing then a far greater significance than at present, when the Chamber in 16³⁹₆₀ authorised this issue of farthings

“bearing ye Citty Armes” error as to the correct Arms was certainly impossible. Prominent on “the Deske before the Mayor’s Seate” in all the bravery of new “paintinge and guildinge” were the accepted Arms of Bath, as struck upon the Tokens “provided,” and assuredly if erroneous, these Arms would long prior to 1659, have been challenged by punctilious Citizens, who in the company of the Heralds at their visit in 1623, might have assisted in drinking much “white wine and canarie” at “The Harte Lodgings over the Kinges Bathe,” in the possession of Aldⁿ. John Masters in 1659.

The Chamberlain’s accounts contain no reference to the Tokens of 1659, and it may be assumed that the issue was limited, for they are now rare, only one type being known, poorly struck and light in weight, averaging some 30 grains or 233 to the pound (avoir.).

WILL^N BATH

5 . I . O : A ♦ BATHE * FARTHING ♦ * ♦
 =(within a circle of dots) C · B | 1659

R : THE ♦ ARMES ♦ OF ♦ BATHE ♦ *
 =(within a circle of dots). Arms of Bath : per fesse embattled, a wall with loopholes, in chief two lines wavy, over all a sword erect. (The Arms occupy the whole of the field.)

In the Account for the year 1662 occurs :

“Itm for a Proclamacon for Newmony to goe till the fift of May for Excise & other payments 00—02—06.”

“Itm paid for three Proclamacons one for a day of Humiliacon for the King’s Death (Charles 1st) one for the Contribution books one for new monie to goe but till the first of March 00—07—06.”

These entries are for Royal proclamations, and as to “new monie” may refer to the milled Silver coinage which was issued in 1662. Differing in appearance from the hammered silver

money which to that time had been the circulating medium, these proclamations were no doubt necessary to cause it to be accepted.

A second issue of City Tokens was authorised by the Chamber, on the 7th of March, 16⁶⁹.

As before the Chamber met at the Guild-Hall and the Minute Book records, that William Childe, Mayor; then presided over twenty-two members, amongst them being the Recorder (who it may be noted voted) and seven private token issuers,—John Masters—Henry Chapman—Edw^d White—John Reed—John Bush—Ric^d Pitcher—and Benjⁿ Baber.

The question was put “Whether a publique ffarthing to passe in this Citty shall be sett forth by this Corporasⁿ as formerly and all other fardings Cryed downe or not.”

22 voted for and one against this and the minute continues

“Agreede that a farding be sett forth by this Corporason and all other ffarthings Cryed downe as abovesayd.”

Six at least of the members present voted for the suppression of their own Tokens, and this issue of City pieces was probably an arbitrary act on the part of the Chamber. Several Traders not members of that august body had in 1669 issued Tokens, doubtless foreseeing profit by doing so.

Such competition with Members of the Chamber was possibly felt to be intolerable—the remedy?—let the Chamber again put forth tokens and prohibit all others, and the resolution passed by them becomes a law binding on all within the liberties of the City.

Soon after this on a Market-day a procession of Officials parade the streets of the City, the drummer and the bellman conspicuous, announcement is made of the “newe monie” set forth by the Chamber, and warning given that the use of any other tokens within the City is forbidden; and so with beat of drum, loud

clanging bell and voice stentorian, the Traders' tokens were authoritatively "Cryed downe."

It may be conceded deservedly so, for the City farthings of 1670 were of far better value than the private tokens they superseded; larger and heavier than the farthings of 1659 their average weight is 43 grains or 163 to the pound. (avoir.)

Struck from better dies than those of 1659 the design is similar on all, but variations met with shew that several different dies were used, and though all bear date 1670, their issue was continuous until 1672.

They are now fairly common, and many of those met with are in fine condition.

WILL^N BATH

6 . 2 . O : A ♦ BATHE ♦ FARTHINGE *
 =(within a circle of dots) C * B | 1670

R : THE ♦ ARMES ♦ OF ♦ BATHE *
 =(within a similar circle). Arms of Bath, as on the issue of 1659, but upon a shield and do not occupy the whole of the field.

(It may be noted that John Biggs, as Mayor responsible for the earlier City farthings, died in August, 1670.)

The City Records yield interesting information as to these farthings, of which a large number must have been "sett forth" directly after the resolve of the Chamber in March, 16⁶⁹/₇₀, for the Account of Chamberlain Henry Parker, presented in October, 1670, contains the entry:

"It the proffitts of ffarthings accrewing
 to the Chamber as per Accompt
 amount to (£) 30=03=08"

no further reference is made to them, till in the Account of Chamberlain John Bush, presented October, 1672, occurs:

"Itm Received by proffitt in vendinge
 of ye City ffarthinges 32=01=04
 It p(ai)d Mr. Garill for makeing &
 vendinge of ffarthins by Composicon 20=00=00"

The last item is of special interest as giving the name of the maker of the Tokens. Corresponding with Dr. Williamson, the highest authority on the 17th Century Tokens, he kindly wrote to me as follows:—"Garill was a die sinker in Birmingham, who, I believe, travelled about striking Tokens in many places. I have met with his name in Hull and in Exeter also, and in the latter place there are entries of orders given to him (Garill) for the supply of 'Tokens.'

Evidently Garill was an important person from the use of the prefix "Mr" and the word "Composicon" used, probably means that instead of his being paid so much per thousand or by weight, the amount was compounded for by a lump sum of £20.

This entry definitely marks the close of the issue of City Tokens. It is open to question whether the large amounts entered as "proffitt" were so in the modern use of the word, although a Regal Proclamation in 1672 refers to "the vast gain and profit" realised by the issuers of Tokens, and the "Composicon" I imagine was paid to Garill out of the "profitts."

But the gain to the Chamber was certainly considerable, and it may be inferred that the issue of these farthings far exceeded the requirements of the Citizens and probably they almost superseded coinage of higher value within the City.

Excessive production of Tokens had become general throughout the Country, the liberty to issue such "monies of necessity" gained at an earlier date from need, having by this time developed into license from greed.

At length the Government resolved on the suppression of the Tokens and a Proclamation dated August 16th, 1672, enacts: "that if any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate shall after the first day of September next, presume to make, vend, or utter any pence, halfpence or farthings, or other pieces of brass, copper, or base metal, other than the halfpence and farthings by this our Royal Proclamation authorized and allowed, or shall offer

to counterfeit any of our halfpence or farthings, we shall hold all such offenders utterly inexcusable and shall cause their contempt of our laws and government to be chastised with exemplary severity."

On reaching Bath the bearer of this Proclamation would be received by the Mayor, Alderman John Masters, and Chamberlain John Bush possibly disbursed two shillings and sixpence, the gratuity usually given to the bearer of a Proclamation, for what was certainly most unwelcome tidings for the Chamber of the City.

The next Market-day a Civic procession probably set out from the Guildhall to the conduit of St. Peter and St. Paul, which then served the purpose of a High Cross, and from its steps with all due ceremony, the Town Clerk doubtless read the Proclamation, the Town Crier and Bellman following with the announcement that all farthings set forth by the Chamber on being brought into the Hall would be met with "neue monie" in exchange; and so again, but this time finally, the Tokens were "Cryed downe."

And soon Chamberlain John Bush, to whom fell the onerous duty of redeeming the Tokens, must have been busily employed, for his Account I have before referred to, presented October 1672, contains:

"Item pd for Exchange ye City
ffarthings Cryed downe by procla-
macon and brought into ye Hall att
Passing of this Accompt (ℒ) 33=14=08."

And his "Accompt" would seem to have been a dry one, for a later entry records—

"Paid at the Sunne Taveren" (Aldermⁿ
Henry Chapmans house, closely
adjacent to the east side of the
Guildhall) "at passing Mr. Bushe's
accom^t

00^s - 05 - 00."

On the roll of Benjamin Baber, Chamberlain Oct. 1672-3, appears—

“Item of Mr. Axford for 208 l and
three quarters of Copper farthings
at 10d per l 08=13=11.”

In weight this item represents over 34,000 of the City farthings, and large as this number appears, it cannot be considered as approximate to the total issue, for later the same roll contains entries relative to other transactions, as—

“Itt pd James Burton for Exchang of
Cittie farthinges 07=01=07
Itt pd Mr. John Reede for exchange of
Cittie farthings 02=06=08
Itt pd Mrs Joane White for exchange of
Cittie farthings 00=18=06.”

Taking these sums as being paid in redemption of the Tokens at four to the penny, they represent some 10,000 farthings.

The Chamberlain's account for 1673-4 apparently is lost ; it probably contained other references to the Tokens, for in the roll of 1674-5 is noted,

“Item lost by the 4s 8d ” (not deci-
pherable) “receded of Mrs Joan
White 00-04-06,”

which may refer to a loss on some transaction as to tokens, Mistress White having previously presented a quantity for redemption.

That it contained such entries is the more probable, as despite the proclamation of August 1672, after an interval, Tokens, especially those which had been issued by Corporate bodies, to a limited extent again circulated, till on December 5th 1674, another proclamation being issued containing more stringent enactments against their use, caused them to finally disappear from circulation.

As to the number of the farthings issued dated 1670, certainty

is not possible, but as the possibly incomplete references account for some 45,000 redeemed by the Chamber and doubtless destroyed, and taking into consideration how frequently they are now met with after a lapse of over 230 years, at a moderate estimate the total issue must have exceeded 50,000.

Interest attaches to the fact that of the Traders mentioned as presenting Tokens for redemption, both Burton and Reed had issued Tokens, and Mrs Joane White was the then recent widow of Edward White (dec^d April, 1672) also a Token issuer.

Membership of the Corporation then conferred very substantial advantages. Some three-fourths of the houses and lands in the City and its precincts was civic property, under the direct control of the Chamber, and as to most of this property, a Member almost invariably obtained a lease for an absolute term of forty-two years, but individuals outside the Chamber were only granted leases for the shorter term of twenty-one years, for three lives, or for ninety-nine years determinable on three lives.

The account rolls of the various Chamberlains shew that of the large sums annually expended on behalf of the Council, comparatively little was spent with traders who were not members of that body, and consequently not entitled to the prefix "Mr." invariably used when mentioning members of the Council in the accounts. The same rolls incidentally prove by the often curious complexity of goods noted as supplied by individual traders, that the "universal provider" is not altogether a creation of modern times.

Election as a Member of the Council was a privilege only to be gained by Freemen of the City, the Freemen having also the exclusive right of opening shops or carrying on any trade or handicraft within the City. These privileges were jealously guarded by them. They also shared in the profits derived from the common-lands of the City, and in accordance with an old custom had periodical merry-makings paid for out of the Council funds. Freedom of the City was obtained either by

a seven years' apprenticeship to a Freeman or by purchase from the Council.

The "Mr. Axford" mentioned in the Chamberlain's roll of 1672-3 as purchasing tokens (certainly for smelting) became a Freeman by purchase.

In the Minute Book, December 1664, occurs--"John Axford of Rowde in ye County of Wilts Brasier bids 5 li to be made free of this Cittie." "Agreede that ye above named John Axford shall be sworne a ffreeman of this Citty he giving bond to this Corporaton not to use any other trade but ye trade of a Brasier or pewterer within ye saide Citty."

Axford had considerable influence as he was admitted to the Council in August 1669, and elected as one of the Bailiffs in 1672 and Mayor in 1697.

His shop was in the High Street, and the business continued in his family until 1796, Samuel Whitchurch (of Token fame) then taking it over.

Dealing with the Traders' Tokens in order A to W, I use the following abbreviations:—

M. B. : Minute book of the City Council.

Ch. Ac. : Chamberlain's rolls of accounts.

WILL^N BATH

7 . 3 . O : RICHARD . ABBOTT = The Mercers Arms.

R : IN . BATH . MERCER = R . A

Richard Abbott was a Churchwarden of the Abbey in March 1638, and this position he occupied for many years, and entries are frequent as to his family in the Registers of the Abbey.

1633—Dec. 4.	Richard Son of Richard Abbott	Christened
1635—Jan. 18.	John son of Richard Abbott & Sara	„
1637—Nov. 19.	Sara dau of Richard Abbott & Sara	„
1639—Jan. 26.	Thomas, son of Richard Abbott & Sara	„
1641—Nov. 21.	Dorcas, dau of Richard Abbott & Sara	„

- 1643—Oct. 10. Elizabeth dau of Richard Abbott & Sara Christened.
 1646—Apr. 12. Thomas, son of Richard Abbott & Sara „
 (The first Thomas presumably died in infancy.)
 1649—Sept. 2. Sara, wife of Richard Abbott Buried
 (This entry possibly explains the absence of the initial of the wife
 from his token.)

In the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission relating to Reading, occurs "12 June 1632 Certificate to be made to the Privy Council of the Apothecaries and Grocers as the fittest persons to sell tobacco," and Bath apparently made an earlier return of a similar "Certificate." The M. B. May 23, 1632, contains this entry "6 grossers and 4 Apothecaries that keep shop that the most of them doe sell tobaco and clayme it as parcell of their trades and that six other persons over and besides them we think fit to sell tobacco John Hull a Shoemaker and uses that Trade and uses noe trade but selling tobacco Tobt Jackson heretofore a Mercer nowe a Sergeant Thomas Jones heretofore a Grosser and would use the trade of selling tobacco James Samford heretofore a bookseller and nowe useth that trade Richard Abbott a button maker (undoubtedly the token issuer) John Parker a Sargeant of the Mace and useth noe trade."

Unfortunately the Minutes for some years, December 1638 to March 1643, have disappeared. Abbott's name appears on the Council when they re-commence, and in 1645 he was one of the Bailiffs of the City.

Entries relating to Abbott appear on Chamberlain John Pearce's account in 1647, a time of trouble for the whole country. The surrender of Charles 1st to the Parliament was celebrated in Bath with much rejoicing on the 23rd of March, 1647; the trained bands marched in from the surrounding villages to join those of the City, and a realistic review seems to have been held, the spectators of which presumably kept a discreet distance away, for great is the quantity of good liquor chronicled as consumed by the soldiers, and much powder was

then used, the following entries as to bullets shew in dangerous fashion.

“ Itm paid to Mr. Abbott for 28 pounds of bullets at 3d per pound	00 - 07 - 00
Itm paid to Mr. Abbott for one pound of Tobacc and 3 Dosen of pipes given then to Keinshams men	00 - 02 - 06
Itm paid Mr. Abbott for 14 li more of bullets	00 - 03 - 06”

Abbott seems to have taken advantage of his position as Churchwarden to build (on the N.W. side) possibly one of the first houses erected against the Abbey walls, the M. B. of June 28th, 1647, notes “this day Mr. Abbott was forbidd by ye Mayor & Corporason to goo on in building of his house agaynst ye Abby Church.”

Abbott overcame the opposition to his building scheme, for the M. B., June 26th, 1648, records, “Mr. Abbott bids 3s a yere rente for 21 yeres in his house built against ye Abby Church—Agreede a graunt be made to Mr. Richard Abbott of his house built against ye Abby Church ffor one & Twenty yeres at ye rent of fflower shillings yerely usuall covenants.”

On September 25th, 1648, Abbott was elected as Chamberlain receiving as salary for his year of office (£) “08 - 00 - 00,” and several entries on his roll have exceptional interest as shewing that “Generall” Cromwell visited Bath.

On October 2nd, 1648, the Chamber “Agreed that Willm Jones shall have the Little plot or corner of ground adjoining to his Shop so far as the Poyne (query gable) end of Mr. Abbotts new built house against the Church during the terme he hath remaining on the said shop he paying eightpence a year more than his former rent.”

As Chamberlain, Abbott was evidently not a success, and at the expiration of his term of office a dispute arose between him and

the incoming Chamberlain, John Boyse, Abbott declaring he held receipts for the sum of £15 paid by him to Boyse, but the latter denied having been paid this amount.

At a Council meeting on February 18th, 16⁵⁰, Abbott being absent, it was "Agreede by Generall consent that Mr. Richard Abbott accordinge to a former Order giving Mr. Henry Bushe and Mr. Henry Moore for his sureties with him for 48^{li} wch hee owes on bond mony shall hold it for 6 months longer Provided alsoe that hee bring in all the mony or the arrears of rent or a Note to make it good to satisfie the foote of ail his accompts left unsatisfied in the tyme of his being Chamberlayne on the Munday after our Lady Day next.' Abbott attended the next meeting and seems to have quickly satisfied his colleagues, for Chamberlain John Boyse 1649-50, records,

"It paid for Wyne suger Biskie Tobachoe and fyer to Mrs Reeve when Mr. Abbott past his accompt per bill 00 = 14 = 02"

In the Ch. Ac. for 1651, occurs

"Itm paid Mr. Abbott for Rossam Cloth and paper for the Plomer 00 - 01 - 06"

(curious items for a Plumber's requirements but possibly connected with the use of wooden water mains.)

The M. B. October 4th, 1652, records "What Mr. Abbott who biddeth 4^{li} shall give for ye Tenem^t ye dwells in being Towne lande for ye terme of 42 yeares and a coppie of licence to dispose thereof Agreed ye lease be made for 42 yeares and also a copy of licence for ye same 5[£] usuall rents and covn^{ts}"

The Ch. Ac. notes, in connection with this

"Itm of Mr. Richard Abbott for his ffine and Seale in full 05 = 06 = 08"

Abbott, who was then one of the Constables, after the 26th of December, 1652, disappears from the Council roll, and probably he soon afterwards left the City, as the M. B. records the

following items, March 28th, 1653, "Who shall bee Constable in Mr. Abbotts place for ye remainder of this yeare" "Agreede Mr. Willim Childe be constable in ye plase of Mr. Abbott as abovesayed." 20th of September, 1653, "Whether Mr. Richard Abbott having deserted ye Citty shall be displased and put out of ye office of a Comon Counsell man of this Citty. Agreede he shall be put out of ye office abovesayed." Twenty members were present at this meeting and nineteen voted for the expulsion of Abbott. "Who shall he chosen one of ye Comon Counsell of this Citty in ye place of Mr. Abbott. Agreede that Mr. Robte Chapman of this Citty Apothecary be chosen one of ye Comon Counsell of this Citty in ye place of Mr. Abbott"

Abbott also held property in "Walcott Streete" this being granted to ffrancis Raunce" (see token) in 1655.

WILL^N BATH

8 . 4 . O : BENIAMIN • BABER = The Drapers Arms

R : IN • BATH = B * E * B

8* . A variety is dated on reverse, 1669.

Benjamin Baber carried on business in Cheap Street, his residence being shewn on the border of Gilmore's Map, 1694, as "Alderman Babers Lodgings in Cheap Street."

The property occupied by Baber originally abutting on the graveyard of the Church of St Mary de Stalles, was gradually extended over this and was also built over the way which led from Cocke's Lane (now Union Passage) towards the King's Bath. The premises of Messrs. Titley and Price, Tailors, now occupy the site of Baber's shop, and the existing arch over the footway is a reminder of the time when influential persons built over a public way with impunity.

He was a Churchwarden of the Abbey, and on the title page of a Catalogue of the Library once kept in the Vestry of the Church, but now at the Reference Library, is written,

"Benjamin Baber of Bath—Churchwarden—1657."

A few entries respecting him occur in the Abbey Registers.

1663—Oct. 25.	Steeven son of Benjamin Baber and Elizabeth	Christened
1704—Feb. 26.	Elizabeth wife of Mr. Benjamin Baber	Burial
1705—May 24.	Benjamin Baber Alderman	„

The company of Merchant Taylors claimed to hold a position superior to any other company in the City. Baber was Master of this Company in 1666, and for many years was one of its “feoffees,” these were four in number and annually elected. The Rev. C. W. Shickle in his “Guild of the Merchant Taylors in Bath” gives an interesting account of Baber’s connection with the Taylors’ Company.

Baber was Mayor of Bath in 1677-8, 1687-8 and 1701-2.

Guidott in his “Discourse of Bath” gives the testimony of Baber to the virtues of the Hot spring in the King’s Bath, “Benjamin Baber, Alderman of the City of Bath, in a Sciatica using the same Bath and pumping to the number of 20,000 Strokes, at several times on the part affected in short time perfectly recovered in 1665. From his own relation 13th of February, 1679.”

In the M. B. under date December 9, 1651, John Pearce being then Mayor, is the concise and somewhat disparaging entry, “Whether Baber y^e Tailor shall bee Mr. Mayors ffreeman—Agreede he shall not”

In 1655, December 31st, John Boyse, Mayor ; appears

“Whether Benjamyn Baber of this Citty Taylor shall bee admitted to bee made ffree of this Citty as Mr. Mayors ffreeman or not—Agreede that Benjamyn Baber shall bee a ffreeman of this Citty as abovsyd,” and the Ch. Ac. for 1656 notes.

“Itm of Benjamin Baber being Mr.

Mayors ffreeman

00—02—00”

and directly after

“Itm given to Collonel Popham Two
Sugar loaves weigning 6 li 13 ounces

att 15d per pound alsoe Twoe Runletts
for wine sent att the same time half
an ounce of Tobacco to Mr. Baber
for Major Jenkins (apparently lodging
at Baber's house) as by Mr. John
Pearces note appears

01-03-02."

On September 12, 1659, the M. B. records "Who shall be one of ye Comon Counsell of this Cittie in ye plase of Mr. Thomas Calvert deceased—Agreede Mr. Benjamin Baber be one of ye Comon Counsell of this Cittie" and on the 26th Baber was duly "Sworne of ye Comon Counsell." In September, 1660, he was elected a Constable with George Reeve (see token) as his colleague.

In 1663 and in 1669 he was one of the Bailiffs and the Ch. Ac. 1663. notes:—

"Item of Mr. Samuel Wintle and Mr.
Benjamin Baber for the rent of the
Baylywick

15-06-08."

and in 1669

"Itm of Mr. Benjamin Baber and Mr.
Bush for the Shambles (flesh market
see Henry Chapman)

10-00-00.

Itm of Mr. Baber and Mr. Bush being
Bayliffes

33-06-08."

In the M. B. December, 1670, is the entry, "Alsoe Mr. Baber bids 4£ rent to drowne 7 yeares and to renew his Lease in a certain tenem^o contayning one kitchin and buttory & a backside or passage being Church land for — years absolute—Agreede a graunt be made to Mr. Baber as abovesayed at ye rent of 4£ as formerly." And "Mr. Benjamin Baber for his ffyne and Seales" pays "01-03-04."

In 1672 the Chamberlain notes:—

"Itm paid Mr. Baber Overseer of the
Comon per Bill

11-00-03."

In 1673 and 1675 Baber was Chamberlain, and in August, 1675 he was elected an Alderman of the City. In January 1677, he was granted a long lease "at 2s additional rent of his Brew-house and pent house turninge at ye east end of Staulls Church" and in the same year "Mr. Masters (was paid) for wine at ye Giveinge upp Mr. Babers accompt 00 — 10 — 00."

Evidently Baber loaned money to the Chamber, for the Chamberlain in 1677 notes,

"Itm paid to Mr. Baber for a yeares
intrest for one hundred pound due
the 24th of June 1677 06 — 00 — 00."

And this entry frequently recurs.

A very frequent failing then with members of the Council, was permitting the payments due for their various rents to fall into arrears. In 1679 are entries

"Item of Mr. Benjamin Baber for
arrears of rent due for ye Cross
Daggers (Cheap St.) 02 — 10 — 00

Item more of him for ye ffyne of
Peremans shop 00 — 06 — 08

Item paid Mr. Baber for Clothe for
the black almes and Belmans Coate
per Bill 13 — 09 — 09"

The M. B. on October 8th, 1684, notes "Whether Mr. Baber shall continue his feather of water and what he shall pay yearly arrears being paid first at 10s a yeare—Agreede he shall have the water at the rent of 10s yearly he paying his arrears"

The Ch. Ac. 1684, notes :

"Paid Mr. Baber his Bill for the Almes
Gownes 11 — 07 — 06"

"Paid him for the Cryers Coate and
Night Bellmans Gowne 01 — 16 — 08."

The M. B. of October 3, 1687, records "What increased rent shall Mr. Benja Baber pay to add the life of John Baber Sonne

of ffancis Baber of the City of Bristoll Wine Cooper in Reversion of his own life and Eliz his wife and to take a new Lease for 99 yeares if the said Benjamin Baber Eliz his wife and John Baber shall soe long live of and in one tenem^t one Brewhouse and kitchin & one little Shopp being Churchlands” “Rent paid 6s”—“Agreede for 1s increased rent,” and “of and in one Messuage or tenem^t lyinge in Cheap Street together wth y^e Cellar lately digged and made under ye Shop and Passage—Agreede for 20s.” The

“Item of Mr. Benjamin Baber for ye
cellaring under ye Passage 00 — 01 — 00”

continually recurs in the Ch. Acs.

On the 18th of August, 1687, James 2nd came to Bath from Portsmouth, and the same day the Queen, Mary of Modena, joined him, arriving from Windsor for the benefit of the Hot springs, during her visit using the Cross Bath. James stayed a few days only and then left for the north, returning on September 6th for a further short visit, the Queen however made a continuous stay to the 6th of October when she returned to Windsor. In the M. B. October 3rd, are the entries “Whether any of this Corporation shall attend the Queen at Winsor or Whitehall after her going from the Bath—Agreed that some of the Corporation shall goo to attend the Queen at Winsor or Whitehall at her departure from here.—Agreed that Mr. Pocock Mayor & Mr. Baber Mayor electe shall goe—Agreede that this Corporation shall defray the charges.” And doubtless Mr. Baber in company with the Mayor—both highly elated at the honor, duly attended her Majesty to Windsor, but we have no record of how they fared. Towards the end of May, 1688, Baber as Mayor, with the Corporation on foot and “in their formalities,” must have welcomed at the North Gate the Princess Anne (afterwards Queen) on her first visit to the city for the use of its waters and escorted her to her lodgings.

The Ch. Ac. admirably transcribed by the Rev. C. W. Shickle contains many items in connection with this visit—as—

“Pd the Ringers when Princess Annie	
came	00 — 10 — 00
Pd for herbs att the Princess coming	00 — 03 — 00
Pd for Sacke drunke with the Princess	
Officers	00 — 02 — 00”

Great were the rejoicings of the Citizens at the news of the birth of a son to James 2nd in June, 1688. Mayor Baber set the bells of all the Churches right merrily swinging “on ye Princes Thanksgiving day,” and much good liquor then flowed, to the neglect possibly of more solid refreshments, even one shilling’s worth of cheese being noted amongst the numerous items provided, and at nightfall bonfires flared high in all parts of the City, the Chamber defraying all the expenses of this celebration of the advent of the “Old Pretender.”

Their Hot springs receiving the credit for assisting, the Bath folk doubtless felt they had a peculiar interest in the happy event. Baber as Mayor forwarded to his “Dread Sovereign” “The hearty congratulation of the Mayor Aldermen and Comon Counsell of your Majesty’s City of Bath,” voted on the 25th of June, 1688 ; by “ever dutiful and loyal Subjects.”

The M. B., November 30th, 1689, contains “John Robins having lately abused Mr. Alderman Baber whether he shall be turned out of his place of being night bellman—Agreede he is displased.” From previous entries Baber evidently supplied this official with clothing, and it may be that John Robins not being satisfied with the style or material of the same, told Mr. Alderman Baber what he thought of him in good round terms. However the matter ended well, for on February 10th, 1690, is the entry “Whether John Robins the late night Bellman shall be restored to his place having asked forgiveness of Alderman Baber—Agreede that John Robins be restored to his place.”

Despite the position of Baber, in 1694 he was not above making use of charitable bequests, and the Ch. Ac., 1695, notes

“Recd of Alderman Baber Sr Thos

Whites Mony

2 — 0 — 0”

The M. B., November 28, 1696, contains—“Whether Mr. Benjamin Baber shall have a parcel of ground being formerly part of the Church of Stauls soe farr as the hedge divides the same—Agreed he shall have a Lease for 21 yeares or three lives as he shall direct.”

What rent shall he pay for the same?

Agreed for 20s yearely pay the rent to the minister.” (Presumably of the Abbey.)

WILL^N BATH

9 . 5 . O : GEORGE • BAKER • Y^E = The Clothmakers’
Arms.

R : IN • BATH • 1669 = G • E • B •

The issuer of this token lived in Broad Street and the Registers of St. Michael’s Church contain entries relating to the Baker family extending over a long period. The City Records make such frequent reference to Token issuers living in, or holding property in “Broade Streete,” that seemingly it should prove an easy matter to definitely locate them.

However this is far from being the case, the Broad Street of to-day has been known under that name from at least early in the 15th century, but till late in the 17th century the broad space or street then existing between the St. Michael’s Church of that date and the North-gate of the City was also commonly known as Broad Street, sometimes, but rarely as “without y^e Northgate,” or with still less frequency as Northgate Street, later this space was known as Old Street, the use of the present name Northgate Street being comparatively modern, 1805-10.

Broad Street (the present) was a most important thoroughfare, and to as late as 1750, was nearly twice the width of Walcot

Street. In and around the large open area I have mentioned, a great part of the trade of the City was carried on, some of the most important Inns stood on either side, substantial tradesmen carried on business there, and in it were held the weekly markets.

On each side of it and near by in the present Broad and Walcot Streets were situated the workshops of flourishing "Clothiers" and others connected with the cloth trade, in Broad Street were several malt-houses and "horse-malt-mills," and in Walcot Street were other malt-houses and several Tanneries.

The following are extracts from the Registers of St. Michael's.

1634.	May 6.	George Baker son of William	Christened.
1679.	Sep. 22.	Joseph Baker son of George and Elizabeth	„
1682.	Mar. 7.	Mary Baker dau of George and Elizabeth	„
1684.	Dec. 15.	Elizabeth Baker dau of George	„
1692.	Aug. 28.	Mary Baker dau of George	Burial.
1709.	July 25.	George Baker	„
1717.	Dec. 31.	Elizabeth Baker in y ^e churchyard	„

George Baker was a son of a William Baker, who resigned from his position as a member of the Chamber, to take up the office of Sergeant of the Mace.

The M. B. date December 15th, 1645, contains—"Agreede that Mr. Willm Baker shall be Sergeant of the Mace for this Cittie for y^e residue of this yeare and is sworne herein accordinglie having first resigned and yielded up his place or office of being one of y^e Comon Counsell." On June 26th, 1648, William Baker was granted a lease "for y^e house he nowe dwells in in Broade Streete for 99 yeares."

On October 1st, 1649, it was "Agreede Mr. Baker continue one of y^e Serg^t at y^e Mace for this Citty for y^e next yeare," and in this year a lease was renewed to "Willm Baker, in Broade Streete." In 1650 it was "Agreed that Mr. William Baker shall bee y^e first Sergeant of y^e Mace" On October 6th, 1651, it was "Agreede Mr. Willm Baker son shall bee Sergeant to y^e Mace as abovsyd."

In 1655 the Sergeants of the Mace are noted as Davis and Masters, but in January, 1656, "George Masters (was) displaced from being Sergeant of y^e Mace accordinge to desire of y^e Lord Desborrow," and Mr. Willm: Baker was restored to his former position, to be again removed on June 29th, 1660, to make way for Masters.

The M. B. November 7th, 1670, contains—"Whether George Baker shall have 8*£* of mony lately paid in.—Agreed he shall."

On July 27th, 1698, "Mr. William Baker bids 20*£* to exchange the life of George Baker his brother for the life of William Elkington" "in a messuage or tenem^t and garden lyinge in Broad Street," and the entry following this in the M. B. runs, "George Baker the younger bids 10*£* to exchange the lives of William Baker & George Baker his father for his own life and mary Baker his sister and to add the life of Elizabeth Baker his daughter and to take a new lease for 99 yeares if y^e sd George Baker Mary Baker and Elizabeth Baker or either of them shall so long live of and in a messuage or tenem^t & garden lying in Broad Street."

WILL. BATH

10 . 6 . O: RICHARD • BIGGES * = The Mercers Arms.
R: MERCER • IN • BATH * = R * H * B *

Richard Bigges apparently carried on business in Cheap Street.

The following items are taken from the Registers of the Abbey.

1654. Jan. 25. Elizabeth dau of Richard Bigges & Hester Christened
1657. Dec. 22. Hester dau of Mr. Richard Bigges & Hester "
1660. Feb. 3. Hester dau of Richard Bigges & Hester Burial
1666. Sep. 25. Richard Bigges—Dorothie Gooldsmith Married
(This item refers to a son of the issuer).

The Ch. Ac. 1648 for St. John's Hospital, notes

"Itm paid Mr. Biggs for 27 yarges and
a halfe of Cloth at 8s 8d ye yarde 11 — 18 — 04

Itm paid for 33 yarges of white cotton
at 2s per yarde 03 — 06 — 00

Itm paid for 3 ells of Canvas and 4d
 in Clapses (? clasps) 00 — 03 — 00
 Itm paid for making the eight gownes 01 — 00 — 00"

In 1653, "Item paid Mr. Biggs for two Coates
 for Thos Comings (the Town Crier)
 then made Anno 1651 thother Anno
 1652 01 — 12 — 06"

In 1654, Biggs supplied the "blewe clothe" for the use of the
 inmates of St. John's Hospital.

In 1650 the Chn. notes,

"Item of Richard Bigg for his ffredome 00 — 06 — 00"

At an election for the Chamber in September, 1655, Biggs was
 proposed but only received 3 votes, but on January 17th, 1658, it
 was "Agreede Mr. Richard Biggs be one of y^e Comon Counsell
 of this City."

On September 21, 1658, Richard Bigges was elected as one of
 the Constables for the ensuing year having as colleague John
 Bush (see token).

In 1661 "Mr. Richard Biggs for Sugar and
 Spanish Tobacho at the King's Birth
 Day (was paid) 01 — 00 — 08"

On the 23rd of September, 1661 (see Henry Chapman) Bigges
 was elected one of the Bailiffs for the ensuing year, and before
 the week had ended undoubtedly regretted it. At a special
 meeting of the Chamber on the 27th "Richard Bigges and
 William Bush being Bailiffs" were fined "Tenne pounds" for
 not having arrested Capt. Henry Chapman.

The unfortunate Bailiffs were presumably peaceful men with a
 pardonable aversion to naked steel, and on their part payment of
 this fine instead of persistence in attempting to arrest Chapman
 was discreet, for the impetuous Captain of the City trained bands
 is said to have faced his would be captors sword in hand, and
 from his escapade a few days previously they knew full well he
 would not have hesitated to use it.

The Ch. Ac. 1662, notes,

“Item of Mr. William Bush and Mr.
Richard Bigges for the Rent of the
Bailywicke 13 — 06 — 08”

The M. B., March 31st, 1668, contains “Mr. Richard Bigges
bids 10£ to change &c” “in the tenem^t wherein he lives—And
to take for 99 years” (situation of tenement not given).

The Chn. notes in 1668,

“Itm of Richard Bigges for his ffyne
Seale and Copy Lycence 06 — 06 — 08”

In 1671 is an entry,

“Itm of Richard Bigges for his ffredome 00 — 06 — 00”

This evidently refers to the son of the issuer.

The M. B., March 27th, 1693, notes—“Mr. Richard fford on
the behalfe of Mr. John Taylor bidds 40s to exchange the lives
of Mr. Richard Biggs & Hester his wife” “of and in one
Message or tenem^t lying in Cheap Street.”

WILL^N BATH

. . 7 . O : AMBROSE • BISHOP * = A cogged wheel.
R : IN • BATH • 1669 * = A * M * B *

This Token was recently found during some excavations in
Bristol, and as far as at present known is unique.

Ambrose Bishop the issuer, was an Innholder in Broad Street,
then the main road from Oxford and Gloucester, and from entries
in the Register of Burials at St. Michael's evidently the inn was
much frequented by the poorer class of travellers, and to as late
as 1708 entries as the following are frequent :—

“William Chambers a poor beggar at A Bishops
Isabella Clap a poor travlr at A Bishops
A stranger a beger from Ambrose Bishops.”

An isolated building standing in an orchard is shown at the
top of Broad Street on Gilmore's map, a footway passing by it
leading from Broad Street to Walcot Street, this footway was later

the "Dolphin Court," now closed, and it is possible that the Dolphin Inn (No. 20, Broad Street), removed some years ago, was the successor of the inn occupied by Ambrose Bishop. The main road passing along the top of Broad Street is the boundary of the Parish of St. Michael, and on the map the orchard is continued on the further side of this road in the Parish of Walcot, and early in the 18th century an Ambrose Bishop was rated for land clearly very near the site of the Dolphin but within the Parish of Walcot.

At the date of the token, 1669, there were two Ambrose Bishops in Bath, the one living in Broad Street, wife's name Mary; the other in Southgate Street, wife's name Dorothy; and entries relating to the two families in the Registers of the Abbey, St. Michael's and St. James are very numerous.

The following are a few of the entries relating to the family of the issuer:—

1640.	July 11.	Abbey; Elizabeth dau of Ambrose Bishop & Mary	Christened
1641.	July 25.	Abbey; Ambrose son of Ambrose Bishop & Mary	"
1644.	Oct. 22.	Abbey; Joane dau of Ambrose Bishop & Mary his wife	"
1647.	Apr. 21.	Abbey; Richard son of Ambrose Bishop & Marie	"
1649.	Nov. 26.	St. Michael's; Mary Bishop dau of Ambrose & Mary	"
1652.	Feb. 23.	St. Michael's; Hester Bishop dau of Ambrose & Mary	"
1658.	Jan. 27.	St. Michael's; Sarah Bishop dau of Ambrose & Mary	Baptised
1681.	May 17.	St. Michael's; Ambrose Bishop Junr. (issuer)	Buried
1687.	Oct. 17.	St. Michael's; Ambrose Bishop	"

In the M. B. October 1st, 1649, is the entry—"Ambrose Bishopp biddeth 40s for exchange of one life and adding two lifes

more for y^e tenem^t now in his possession in Broade Streete in y^e parish of S^t Michaels without y^e Northgate—Agreede fine of 4£ usuall rents and covent^s.”

The same book, under date November 7th, 1670, notes—“Whether Ambrose Bishopp (and another) shall be made ffree of this City” “their paying 5£ or not” “Agreed they shall be free as abovsyd.”—“What shall be restored to each of them out of their 5£”—Agreede fforty shillings shall be restored to each of them.” “Whether Ambrose Bishopp shall have 25£ of y^e mony before mentioned” (Sir Thomas White’s money for poor artificers) “he paying in 10£ already in his hands—Agreed he shall.” “Whether Mr. William Sherston” “shall have y^e 10£ to be paid in by Ambrose Bishopp—Agreede he shall.”

On the 27th of December, 1675, “Ambrose Bishopp bids 4£ for a chattell lease of 99 yeares of his tenem^t in Broad Streete and to Droune a Lease of 9 yeares—Agreed that Ambrose Bishopp shall pay 12£ for a lease of 99 yeares if y^e 3 lives live so long.”

On October 5th, 1685, “Mary Bishop widdow bids 10£ to add the lives of &c,” see death of Ambrose Bishop 1681.

On the 26th of December, 1687—“Mary Bishop bids 20s to add the life of Anne & Sara her daughters in reversion of her owne and to take a new lease for 99 yeares if the said Mary Bishop Annie Bishop & Sara Bishop shall so long live of and in one messuage & tenem^t lying in Broad Street—Agreed for 5£ and under the usuall rents & covenants.”

Ambrose Bishop, possibly a grandson of the issuer, was a Churchwarden of Walcot in 1723-25, and was rated for that parish till 1756. In 1743 he was Mayor of the City, and during the fierce controversy which raged in 1775 over the proposal to erect the present Guildhall, it was stated in the *Chronicle* that “the present lease of the White Lion (Market Place) was granted by the Corporation to Mr. Ambrose Bishop one of their own members for 42 yeares for a TREAT” presumably during his term of office as Mayor.

WILL^N BATH

II . 8 . O : IAMES * BVRTON *** = The Mercers Arms.
 R : IN * BATH ***** = I * B * . . . *

The following items are taken from the Abbey Registers :—

1667. Mar. 16. Ann wife of Mr James Burton buried in ye Church.
 (Burton evidently re-married).
 1671. June 1. Ann dau of James Burton & Anne Christened.
 1674. June 16. James son of James Burton & Ann ”
 1701. Sep. 18. Mr James Burton Buried.

In September, 1661, Burton appears for the first time on the Council roll, but soon after this he must have been removed as the M. B. October 27th, 1662, notes—“Whereas by the Commissioners for regulating Corporatons wthn this County of Somersett several persons were removed from their places in this Corporaton” the Council reappoint them, Mr. James Burton being one, and later he always appears on the roll as “Jacobus Burton.”

In 1663 and in 1666 Burton was one of the Constables of the City. In August, 1668, the M. B. records—“Whether Mr James Burton being decayed in his Estate & having absented himselfe from his habitaton and thereby disabled to pforme his duty of a Comon Counsellman of this Citty shall bee displased of his saide Office of a Comon Counsellman or not.” There were 19 members present at this meeting and they were unanimous in voting for his being “displased.”

Burton's earlier connection with Bath is a mysterious one, twice removed from the Council, he disappears from the City for a time and evidently his departure was not regretted by his former colleagues, but strangely enough soon after his return being seemingly in favor he was granted a lease of City property. It is possible that Burton was closely connected with various political troubles in the West of England, and that he was especially concerned in the Monmouth rebellion, in some reports of State trials a James Burton is frequently mentioned who was evidently

well acquainted with this district, and was fully aware that the stables of Sir T. Bridges, at Keynsham, were a most convenient place to detain prisoners.

The M. B. July 28th, 1686, notes—"Mr James Burton bids 10£ to drowne six yeares and to take a new lease for 99 yeares. If Anne Burton wife of James Burton and James Burton & Bethia Burton Sonne and daughter of the sd James Burton" "of and in one Garden adjoyning to Barton House." This proposal was agreed to. On the 29th of June, 1696, "Mr. James Burton bids 5£ to add the lives of Elizabeth Burton wife of the sd James Burton & Bertha Burton daughter of" &c. "in one close or garden contayning two acres two roods and halfe a luggge lyinge in the prsh of S^t Michaell." On the 29th of March, 1697, is the query, "What shall Mr. James Burton pay yearly for his encroachment in his new buildings in the house wherein he now dwelleth—Agreede for 10s yearly." The grounds leased to Burton in 1686 and his house are clearly shewn on Gilmore's Map of 1694, the garden extending from the Barton ditch on the east side of the present John Street to the rear of the houses in Broad Street. Some sixty years later this extensive garden was known as "Milsom's Garden," from its then tenant, and the present Milsom Street covers the site.

The house occupied by Burton the rent of which was increased on account of his "new buildings," apparently stood on the site of Mr. Eve's premises at the rear of the present Nos. 8 and 9 Broad Street, and possibly was one of the houses mentioned by Wood in 1749 as being then used "for the Reception of the Poor of the Parish of S^t Peter and Paul and that of S^t James."

Of the Citizens who figured in the history of 17th Century Bath few are now remembered, and certainly none are so prominently recalled at the present time as James Burton the issuer of the token, for the modern Burton Street is no corruption of Berton or Barton, but is a record that its site was the old narrow way which

branching off from the main Barton road (which then passed close under the City wall to Gascoyns tower, and by which traffic when prevented from passing through the City by the closing of the gates, made its way round outside the city walls) gave access to Burton's garden, and passing by his house opened at a point now occupied by No. 3, York Buildings, into a road leading from the top of Broad Street to the Barton farm.

The only reference I find in the Ch. Ac. to James Burton is that I have previously mentioned as to the "exchang of Cittie farthinges" in 1673.

WILL^N BATH

12 . 9 . O: JOHN ~ BUSH • MERCER = The Mercers
Arms

R: IN • BATH • 1656 = I • A • B •

There is said to be a variety of this token dated 1658.

On the border of Gilmore's map, 1694, is shewn "Alderman John Bushs Lodgings in Heigh Street" and a more ornate building as "Alderman John Bushs Lodgings at the Bear Corner." Probably he carried on business in the High Street (Market Place). The "Lodgings at the Bear Corner" can be identified on the map on the west side of "Staules" Street (the site is now covered by the Hotel) standing next to the Bear Inn which then occupied the corner of Stall and Westgate Streets. The Bear Inn on the site of the present Union Street was of much later date.

John Bush was Mayor of the City in 1675-6, 1684-5, 1697-8 and 1703-4.

The following are taken from the Abbey Registers:—

1655. Oct. 7. John Bush & Anne Chapman both of St Peter
& Paule

Witnesses John ffisher Mercer (see token)

Robert Child (Mayor 1663)

Married by Mr John Bigges J.P.

1656. Sep. 18. Anne dau of Mr. John Bush & Anne Christened

1678.	Dec. 15.	Abigall daughter of Alderman Bush & Ann	Christened
1681.	June 24.	Rachael daughter of John Bush & Anne	„
1697.	Feb. 13.	John Saunders & Abigail Bush	Married
1700.	Feb. 23.	John Palmer & Rachael Bush	„
1703.	July 23.	Ann wife of Alderman John Bush	Buried
1704.	Oct. 9.	Mr John Bush	„

The will of Mr. John Bush is dated October 9th, 1703, and was proved by his son William, as sole executor, on December 2nd, 1704.

Anthony-a-Wood, in his Monumental Inscriptions in the Churches of Bath, taken in July, 1676, notes as then in the "N. Isle" of the Abbey inscribed "On a flat free stone" "Ann daugh of John Bush & Ann his wife; Obit 13 Nov^r 1656" "Also John Charl^s Ann & Sarah their sons & daughters lye buried here." "Note y^t one Bush mercer or grocer is now Mayor of Bath July 1676."

The Ch. Ac. 1655, notes

"Itm of John Bush for his freedome 00 — 06 — 00"

The M. B. September 21st, 1658, notes—"Agreede Mr. John Bush bee one of y^e Comon Counsell of this Cittie as abovesayed" and a few days after this at the next meeting "Mr. John Bush (was) sworne one of y^e Comon Counsell of this Citty" and thereupon elected one of the Constables for the ensuing year having Richard Bigges as a colleague.

He was Chamberlain in 1670-71, and in September 1672 was elected "an Alderman in y^e place of Mr. Edward White (token issuer) deceased"

The Ch. Ac. 1660-61 notes

"Item paid Mr. John Bush for powder
att the Coronation Day (Charles 2nd
April 23rd, 1661)

02 — 14 — 00

1670. Itm paid Mr. Bush for 6 li of powder
used when y^e Mayor was Sworne

00 — 08 — 00

1677. Paid Mr. John Bush for one yeares
 intrest for fifty fower pound saventene
 shillines ending the 24 of June 1677 03 — 05 — 09 .
- 1678-9. to Mr. John Bush for a Shroude 00 — 04 — 06
1683. Paid Mr. John Bushes Bill for powder 01 — 18 — 00”

The M. B. February 8th, 1685, records—“ Whether this Corporation shall proclaime James Duke of Yorke King of England Scotland ffrance & Ireland in the place of King Charles the Second lately deceased this day or to morrow having not as yett any Proclamation—Agreede by generall consent that James Duke of York shall to morrow be proclaimed King of England Scotland ffrance & Ireland in the place of King Charles the Second his Royall Brother lately deceased.” John Bush as Mayor signs this with John Masters and Benja Baber, and they later appear on the list of those who took the Oath of Allegiance &c., on the accession of James 2nd.

The hesitation on the part of the Mayor and Council was probably due to their having a few days previously rejoiced over a reported recovery of Charles, the Ch. Ac. notes :—

“ Paid the Ringers by Mr. Mayors
 order on the Tydinges of his Late
 Maj . . ties Recovery 01 — 00 — 00

Paid for a load of fflagotts by Mr.
 Mayors Order then 00 — 15 — 00”

Later on in the same roll occurs

“ Paid the Ringars at the Proclamation
 of his new Maj . . tie per Mr. Mayors
 Order 01 — 00 — 00”

and more “ fflagotts ” were then bought “ by Mr. Mayors order ” probably on the 9th of February.

Having proclaimed James as King without full authority for doing so, Mayor John Bush on receiving the official

proclamation, evidently to be quite safe made a second announcement, as the Chamberlain notes,

“Paid the Ringars the second tyme his

Maj . . tie was proclaymed per Mr.

Mayors order

oo — 10 — oo”

Bush's year of office 1684-5 must have been peculiarly onerous for him, and for the City a most costly one. Mr. Mayor must have been fully occupied, between proclaiming the King twice, and later celebrating the Coronation with a most inordinate expenditure on “beare,” supervising the preparation of the City to resist the forces of Monmouth in June, 1685, and soon afterwards ordering rejoicings for the “Victory over ye Rebels.” The Chamber over which he presided, in addition to meeting the cost of all this, had exceptionally heavy charges to defray for the Militia then in the City, for the repair of the prison and the custody of the unfortunate “rebell” prisoners, and evidently hardly knew where to obtain the money required.

The salary of his predecessor in office had been £40, and one wonders what Mayor John Bush thought when the Chamber resolved, on September 28th, 1685, to reduce? his salary by £40 because the City's debt was so large.

On the 2nd of December, 1685, the M. B. records that Mr. John Bush, Mr. Edward Bushell, Mr. John Masters and Mr. Baber were by vote selected to carry up the Charter of the City to the King.

WILL^N BATH

13 . 10 . O : HENERY • CHAPMAN = The Sun in splendour.

R : QVONDAM • ESQVIRE = H • C

14 . 11 . A variety with the name spelt HENRY and ESQ^B

The issuer of these tokens resided on the east side of the Market Place, on the site of the present Guildhall, the Sun being the sign of his Tavern. “A tavern is a degree, or if you will a

paire of staires, above an ale-house, where men get drunk with more credit and apology." (Bishop Earle in his *Microsmography*.) His tokens are not dated, but possibly they were some of the earliest issued in Bath, and the "Quondam Esquire" was perhaps a somewhat satirical reference to Chapman's displacement from all office by the Commonwealth Parliament. A token of John Bush, 1656, in my possession, is clearly struck over a token of Henry Chapman's, some of the letters of Esquire shewing partially defaced.

The following items are taken from the Abbey Registers :

- | | | | |
|-------|----------|--|------------|
| 1604. | Mar. 11. | Henry Chapman—Elizabeth Harrison | Married |
| | | (Perhaps the parents of the issuer.) | |
| 1643. | Oct. 26. | Scarburrough son of Mr Henry Chapman
& Anne | Christened |
| 1646. | Feb. 26. | William son of Henry Chapman and
Anne | " |
| 1658. | Apr. 29. | Anne wife of Mr. Henry Chapman | Buried |
- Anthony-a-Wood, 1676, mentions as then in the "N Isle" of the Abbey "On a blew flat marble,

Ann wife of Henry Chapman of Bath, Gent :
ob 26 Apr 1658".

Henry Chapman, Mayor of the City in 1663-4 and 1672-3, mentions in his "*Thermae Redivivae*" (written with zealous civic patriotism to awaken interest in the healing waters of his native place) that for some twenty years he was much away from Bath.

The Ch. Ac. for 1643, contains the entry

"Itm of Mr. Henry Chapman his
freedome by Composicon 00—12.—08"

I have previously mentioned that the minutes for some years, 1638-43, have disappeared from the Hall-book, but in March 1643, Henry Chapman appears as a member of the Chamber. During the turmoil of the Civil War, Bath was occupied by the forces of both parties alternately and neither Royalist or Round-

head "cared much about the Citizens. If horses or cattle, wheat or hay were wanted, the Commander of the Garrison sent to the Mayor demanding the required supplies. Such demand might be seasoned with scriptural phrases or round oaths, but was in either case imperative. The Mayor grumbled" "to the Aldermen, Bailiffs & Justices who also grumbled as loudly as they dared against Military rapacity. Generally they furnished the supplies demanded, if they failed to do this at once, whatever was required was forthwith seized by the soldiers. If a party of hungry soldiers marched into the City they took the dinners of its Citizens and often followed up this by seizing their beds. Straw and hay littered the various Churches, wooden horse stalls filled the spaces between the columns supporting the roof of the Abbey" "and arms were stacked against its walls." It may be that the bulk of the Citizens hated both Cavalier and Roundhead, and it is difficult to surmise which side they hated and feared the least. But some of them throughout the strife were staunch supporters of the Royalist cause and none more so than Henry Chapman.

When Chapman first comes into prominence, he seems to have been about 30 years of age, holding a commission in Lord Carnarvon's troop of horse and Captain of the Bath "trayned bands." In 1643-4-5 he was Lieutenant to Sir Thomas Bridges, of Keynsham, the Royalist Governor of the City. In the Ch. Acs. for the years 1644-5 are numerous entries as

"payed to Captaine Chapman for wood
 Cole and Candells for the Guards
 (stationed at the various gates) 00 — 13 — 04"

An ardent Royalist in a responsible position Chapman must have gladly welcomed several Royal visitors, amongst them the Queen of Charles 1st, who in May 1644, stayed in the City on her way to Exeter. In the same month her son afterwards Charles 2nd, spent some time in Bath having been driven from

Bristol by the plague. In July 1644, Charles 1st stopped here on his way to Cornwall.

During the Royalist occupation the Citizens suffered acutely, for the expenses of maintaining the Garrison, &c., were very heavy, but little recked the Cavaliers of this and full oft the officers with visitors from neighbouring garrisons held high revel at various taverns at the cost of the City, and many significant entries appear in the Ch. Acs., as

“Item given to Captaynes in wynn at

the Newe Taverne

01 — 06 — 02”

(one of Chapman's houses in the present Northgate Street.)

In July 1645, Sir Thomas Fairfax, after capturing Bridgwater marched to the Mendip Hills and from there detached a small force to invest Bath. The story of its then fall is variously told, but it seems certain that a walled and garrisoned City was taken by a troop of horse. Sprigg, in his “*Anglia Rediviva*,” states “Col^l Rich in command of the Cavalry summoned the town but the surrender was refused.” By the evening the Parliamentary force had destroyed the defences of and seized the bridge over the Avon “upon which the Deputy-Governor sent for a parley, and upon treaty the town was yielded (July 29th, 1645) upon articles making the common soldiers who were about 140 prisoners” but leaving the officers free. “It was yielded in good time for Prince Rupert was advanced with a party of 1,500 horse and foot from Bristol within 4 miles to relieve the town, but coming too late retreated.”

The Deputy Governor mentioned was Captain Henry Chapman, but responsibility for the prompt surrender rests upon the Governor, Sir Thomas Bridges, who was in the City, and Chapman in asking for a “parley” was but an agent. A letter written from Bristol (July 1645) by Prince Rupert shews that he considered the Royalist garrison too small and also that he was aware they were sorely in need of provisions. By this date, July 1645, the majority of the Citizens, including most members of the Council, apparently were strongly

in sympathy with the Roundheads, being incensed against the Cavalier garrison by their exactions and especially resenting the extortion of the Governor (Bridges). Fairfax probably was well aware of the disaffection in the City, and also that its defences were in a bad condition, (evidenced by the action of the Roundheads directly they obtained possession).

Prynne, who availed himself in his "Brevia Parliamentaria" of every opportunity of maliciously traducing Chapman, states that he leapt over the City wall so great was his haste on "running away into Wales for shelter" after the surrender. This statement may be taken as sardonic exaggeration on the part of Prynne. Chapman's stay in Wales was short and directly upon his return he attended the Council meetings, the M. B. on Sept. 13th, 1647, recording: "Ordered that Mr Henry Chapman Mr John Hayward & two others bee Collectors for y^e benevolence of this Citty towards y^e reliefe of y^e Citty of Chester," and on Sept. 27th Chapman was chosen as one of the Bailiffs.

The Royalist cause completely lost, the Parliament in Sept., 1647, ordered the removal from any office of all known Royalist sympathisers, following this in October by a still more stringent ordinance against "malignants."

The M. B. Dec. 13th, 1647, contains: "Whether or noo Mr Robert ffisher Mr Gibbes Mr Henry Chapman Mr Philip Sherwoode Mr Samuel Wintle and Mr Robert Sheparde above written shall bee discharged from their place as Aldermen and Comon Counsell men of this Cittie accordinge to the ordinance of Parliament dated Septem 9th 1647 and October 4th 1647." At this meeting twenty-five members were present, of these twenty-two voted for expulsion, not one for retention.

Although removed from office Chapman retained considerable influence in the City. The Ch. Ac. for 1648 notes:

"Receaved of Mr Henry Chapman for
the house of Correction for halfe a
yeare due our Lady Day 1648 02 — 05 — 00"

This "house of Correction" or Bridewell built in 1634, was the property of the Corporation, (the present Blue Coat School occupies the site) the Gaol, into which the tower of St. Mary's church had been converted, although in the custody of the Corporation, being Crown property. An oft recurring entry in the yearly accounts is :

"Item to Mr Henry Chapman for keepinge ye Water
Course from y^e uper Conduit to Southgate
02 — 00 — 00"

In May, 1652, Mr. Henry Chapman was granted the Common at a rent of £110 until March 25th, 1653; and the M. B. May 2nd, 1653, records it was "Agreed by Generall Consent that Mr. Henry Chapman shall hold y^e grounds called Bathe Comon for one yeare begynning from y^e twenty fifth day of March 1653" at a rental of £120.

Under date March 28th, 1653, the M. B. contains a most interesting item: "A Graunt is made by Generall Consent to Mr Henry Chapman for y^e making of a dore out of his house called y^e Sunne into y^e Shambles for y^e yearely rent of ffive shillings & not to sett upp any Standing in any other part of y^e Shambles." The Ch. Ac. for 1653 records :

"Item recd of Mr Henry Chapman for
one quarters rent for his Newe Doore
made into y^e Shambles due 29 of
Septembr 1653
00 — 01 — 03"

And for many years the entry recurs :

"Itm &c. for a newe Doore made into
y^e Shambles
00 — 05 — 00"

The Shambles or meat market constructed in 1629 on the east side of the High Street, was a comparatively small open area immediately to the rear of the "Sunne," and access to the Shambles from the High Street was gained by a very narrow passage between the Tavern and the house adjoining.

The Ch. Acs. contain numerous entries relative to Chapman, as
 1655 "Item paid Mr. Henry Chapman for 2
 pottles of canarie sent for to Mr.
 Bigge's 16 Aprill 00 — 08 — 00"

Item paid him wch he laid out for
 cleansing the passage of water by
 Gaskin's (Gascoigne's) tower 00 — 04 — 00"

The M. B. records on October 1st, 1657 :—"Mr. Henry
 Chapman bids () for a Coppie of Lycense to sell
 y^e tenem^t Called y^e red Lyon now in his posson—Agreede a
 coppie of Lycense shall be granted to Mr Chapman as aforesayd
 for y^e Sum of tenne shillings." The Ch. Ac. for 1657 contains
 the entry :

"Itm of Mr Henry Chapman for his
 Coppie Licence 00 — 10 — 00"

The Red Lyon was situated near the Hot Bath (present old
 Royal Baths). In March, 1660 (John Bigges, Mayor) the
 Chamber "Agreede Willm Prynne Esq^r be one of y^e Cittizens for
 this Cittie to serve in y^e next Parliam^t" with "Collonell Alexander
 Popham Esq^r" as a colleague.

Prynne from his early education at the Grammar School, then
 held in the secularized Church of St. Mary, in the Market Place ;
 only a few houses separating the building from the Sun, and from
 his later connection with the City, was well acquainted with
 Henry Chapman. The enmity between them possibly commenced
 in 1647, on the removal of Chapman and his friends from the
 Council. Prynne who just then was especially active in prosecu-
 ting "malignants" seems to have been instrumental in this.
 He was chosen as Recorder at the same meeting (displaced in
 September 1652) and took a prominent part in electing their
 successors. Prynne's action in the Parliament or Convention to
 which he was returned in 1660, doubtless increased the animosity.

Chapman, as a conspicuous adherent of the Royalist cause, had
 been greatly impoverished by the action of the Commonwealth

authorities, and doubtless hoped at the Restoration in 1660, that he would be compensated for his loss of property. But the Convention to which Prynne was returned dispelled all such hopes, and Chapman as many others, who had similarly suffered for their adherence to Charles I., no doubt declared that the Act passed by the Convention dealing with confiscated property, was a "Bill of Indemnity for the King's enemies and of Oblivion for his friends."

Prynne accuses Chapman of active disloyalty in frustrating various attempts to reinstate Charles previous to the Restoration of 1660. Chapman seems to have prevented an attempt to surprise Bath by the Royalists in 1659 from being successful, and by his action probably did their cause service by saving useless bloodshed. An item in the Ch. Ac. for 1659 probably refers to this plot:—

"Item paid for 2 quarts of Canarie
Drunke by Mr Mayor (John Pearce)
Mr Clift and Mr Parker when the
Riseing was on Lansdowne per Bill 00 — 04 — 08"

The same good hater (Prynne) also states that Chapman (true Englishman) had declared, very probably at his own Tavern "the Sunne," that if Charles ever returned "with a foreign Force, I will be the first man will draw my Sword against him" "for my part I am for Cromwell." This last remark attributed to Chapman, raises an interesting point. On the succession of Richard Cromwell in September, 1658, "many who had rejected the authority of his father submitted peaceably to the new Protector." It is evident from the Ch. Ac. that in 1658 "The Lord Protector Richard Cromwell" spent some considerable time in Bath and was high in favor with its Citizens. It is not improbable that during this visit he lodged at one of Chapman's houses, perhaps at his tavern the "Sunne" and that as many another Royalist of the time, Chapman was attracted to and supported the authority of Richard Cromwell.

The return of two Puritan members in 1660 by the Council stirred the Royalists of the City to action, and the M. B. under date June 29th, 1660, records that it was "Agreede by Generall Consent that the writ of restitution brought by Mr Henry Chapman Mr Samuel Wintle ande Mr Robert Shepparde for restoringe them to their severall places of Comon Counsell men of this Cittie be and is allowed And the saide Mr Henry Chapman Mr Samuel Wintle and Mr Robert Sheppard be restored to their places accordingle." (Of the others in 1647 displaced with Chapman, Robert Fisher probably from age did not seek re-admission and Philip Sherwood was dead.) Three of the then members, George Reeve, — Skrine and Moore senior, were forthwith by vote dismissed from the Council to make way for Chapman, Wintle and Sheppard.

On the 17th of August in the same year Chapman was elected an Alderman. Re-entry to the Council gave Chapman facility for pressing forward his own aims and that of his friends. He desired to be Mayor and Sir Thomas Bridges and Sir Thomas Berkeley wished to be returned as members for the City.

The M. B. records September 26th, 1660, it was "Agreed Alderman John fford be Mayor of this Citty for y^e next yere." Ford then received 22 votes, for Chapman who was a candidate for the position only 8 votes are recorded. On the 25th of the following October Chapman was again defeated, for in opposition to him it was "Agreede that Mr. John Masters keep the Ordinary for the Lecturer for y^e next year." The votes cast for Ford and Masters evidently represent the Puritan majority on the Council, whose action in rejecting Chapman was perhaps inspired by Prynne. Early in 1661 writs were issued for a new Parliament, and Alderman Henry Chapman became aware that the majority of his then colleagues, controlled by Mayor Ford, had determined to re-elect Prynne and Popham. Evidently Ford was the chief obstacle to the realisation of the plans of Chapman and Bridges, and a scheme was put in action by them through which Mayor

Ford and another of Chapman's opponents (Henry Moore) were summoned to appear at Whitehall to answer various charges of disaffection to the King, the conspirators hoping that Ford would be detained in London long enough for an election by the Council to take place in his absence. On the 3rd of April, 1661, Ford and Moore attended "At the Court of Whitehall" "And the said Sir Thomas Bridges and ye said Mayor being called in and heard. Uppon examination and Consideration of the whole matter. It is ordered (his Ma . . .^{tie} present in Counsell) That the said Mayor of the Cittie of Bathe be forthwith dismissed and discharged."

Taking advantage of Ford's absence from the City, Chapman posing as Deputy-Mayor obtained the precept from the Sheriff, and at once set about arranging the election of the nominees of himself and a few others on the Council.

But thanks to Prynne's assistance in pressing forward the consideration of the charges by the Council of State, Ford was enabled to return before the election day and thereby deranged Chapman's plans, and on the 12th of April Mayor Ford presided over a Council meeting, when Chapman and six other members who had resolved to vote for Bridges and Berkeley, finding they were in a hopeless minority, retired, and Ford and his partisans promptly re-elected Prynne and Popham. The meeting was certainly a stormy one, for before leaving the Hall Chapman made the claim that all Freemen of the City, whether members of the Council or not had a right to vote at such elections, but this Mayor Ford emphatically denied. Chapman as Captain of the trained Bands thereupon directed "his Drummer to beat up his Drum in every Street of the City" to summon the Freemen. Many of them assembled "at the Captains Tavern" and under his direction elected Sir T. Bridges and Berkeley, and Chapman sent in a return declaring them duly elected contemporaneously with Mayor Ford's return naming Prynne and Popham.

The "Sunne" that day looked down on a riotous assembly

surging at its entrance and around the old Guildhall, and Prynne states that so deep were the potations on that historic occasion at the Tavern, that many of the Freemen were scarcely able to return to their homes, and that some of them died (?) from excessive indulgence then.

Strangely enough despite the antagonism then existing between Chapman and the majority in the Chamber, the Ch. Ac. for 1661 notes:—

“ Itm paid Captn Henry Chapman for
 wine Beare att the Coronation &
 Birthday & for the use of some
 Roomes for the Grand Jury att the
 Two last Assizes per bill 07 — 11 — 00”

The Coronation was celebrated in Bath on the 23rd of April, 1661, and the Grand Jury were undoubtedly accommodated at “the Sunne,” only a very narrow way lying between the Tavern and the Guildhall.

Roused by Chapman's action in opposing his return, Prynne with his partisans made a deliberate attempt to ruin his prospects of becoming Mayor in 1661. They resolved to institute proceedings against him for “grosse Misdemeanors” at the Quarter Sessions in September before the new Recorder (Prynne). Chapman becoming aware of their laudable (?) intention took decided and energetic steps to frustrate it. He obtained from Sir Thomas Bridges and another Deputy-Lieutenant an order of commitment; based upon this a warrant of arrest was sent to Sir William Bassett of Claverton, Captain of a troop of horse, and as a friend of Chapman possibly aware of what was going forward and quite willing as an old Cavalier to aid in spoiling the plans of the Puritans.

Early morning on Thursday, September 19th, saw Prynne in full dignity as Recorder walking to open the Sessions, attended by Mayor Ford, John Bigges, the late Mayor (then suffering from gout which must have made his subsequent misadventure a

martyrdom), the Justices and Bailiffs and other members of the Council, with the recently superseded "Minister of God's Word," Mr. George Long, all bitter opponents of Chapman and many of them probably intending to appear as witnesses against him. Suddenly on this impressive procession fell complete dismay as through the North Gate rapidly towards the Guildhall came Bassett's troop of horse, Chapman riding with them dismounted and under the warrant ordered the instant arrest of "Jo Parker (the nominee of Ford for the position of Mayor), John Bigges, Mathew Clift, John Boyse, Aldermen; and Anthony Colliby, Edward Parker, George Reeve and Henry Moore y^e younger Comon Counsell men" and also the late Minister. Recorder Prynne and Mayor Ford vigorously denounced the illegality of the arrest, but without effect, for the nine prisoners were promptly mounted on led horses and hurried away from the City before the consternation occasioned by the raid had subsided. Into the fortunes of the nine then seized and taken some two days' journey to Ilchester space forbids my entering, sufficient to say that on arriving there the Sheriff refused to receive them as prisoners and that they returned to Bath on the evening of the 23rd. A statement reciting their abduction on the 19th, drawn up signed and sealed by them directly upon their return, mentions that "On the Lords day following (22nd) Chapman and others of his confederates meeting in an ale-house (poor Sun) during the time of evening service and sermon, from which they absented themselves" counted up the votes which probably would be given next day at the election of Mayor, and found that a majority for Chapman was not certain. The next morning, again under a warrant, Chapman arrested two more of the Council, "Mr. John Reede and Mr. Willm Irelande," and despatched them to Keynsham where they were confined in the stables of Sir T. Bridges, being released the following day on paying all the expenses of their escort and taking the "Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance again."

On Monday, September 23rd, 1661, Mayor Ford presided

over a depleted Council ; including Recorder Prynne (who voted), there were 21 present, on the question being put, "Who shall be Mayor of this Citty for y^e yeare next ensuing," 8 votes were recorded for Alderman John Parker and 11 for Alderman Henry Chapman ; on a second vote being taken 10 members voted for Parker and 11 for Chapman, and (to the chagrin of Ford and Prynne) the latter was duly entered on the Minute Book as Mayor for the coming year. But by nightfall the eight members of the Council arrested on the 19th had returned, and meeting at the Hall under the guidance of Prynne they added 8 votes to those entered on the Hall book for Parker, thus making 18 (the different ink and style of these 8 votes is very clear), and crossing out the entry relative to Henry Chapman's return, wrote over it "Mr. John Parker is mayor elected for y next year."

On the 25th, Prynne held the Sessions which a few days earlier Chapman had so energetically adjourned. "He sat as judge but with all the animus of a bitter enemy." Chapman was summoned to appear before him, and coming to the entrance of the Court attended by some friends he scoffingly asked Prynne "What have you to do with sitting in judgment? you ought to have lost your head when you lost your ears" and then left. On being again summoned by the Mayor's officers Chapman rated them and sent answer back, "I will not appear before any such saucy and imperious fellows." "You have placed a lowsy tailor in my place I will not appear before him, but will appeal to his betters." The "lowsy tailor" alluded to was John Parker, who earlier in the M. B. is mentioned as a "wooll'n Drap^r" and in the Abbey Registers later as a "Clothier."

The Council meeting on the 27th, by vote displaced Chapman "from his office of Alderman" and from "y^e Comon Counsell of this Citty," but "Agreed that Mr. Chapman shall not be disfranchised of his ffreedome of this Citty." The whole matter was brought by Prynne before the Privy Council, who by an Order

issued October 25th, 1661, confirmed Parker in the position of Mayor, and removed Captain Henry Chapman from "the command of the trained bands of (the) City and hundred of Bathforum." Finding him displaced from the Council and deprived of all authority, the numerous creditors of Chapman came down upon him, and November, 1661, found him an unwilling tenant "for divers great debts" of the prison (Bridewell) for which he so long had paid a yearly rent to the Chamber.

Apparently Chapman was popular with the majority of his fellow Citizens outside the Council, and on Nov. 18th an attempt was made by some of them to release him, and on failing to do so repeated the attempt a few days afterwards. On both occasions Mayor John Parker, by mounting guard himself and doubling the watch, frustrated their efforts.

Chapman's incarceration was a short one, and in December, 1661, it seems that he and his Drummer commenced actions against the Mayor and others on the Council for false imprisonment. Of the result nothing is known.

In 1662 Chapman re-appears on the Council in favour with the majority, and on the 25th of September his old opponent, Alderman John Ford, evidently chagrined at Chapman's popularity, gave up his position as a member. On October 3rd Henry Chapman sat as one of the Justices and the same day the question being put "Who shall keepe y^e Ordinary for the Lecturer within the Citty for ye next year" it was "Agreed that Aldermⁿ Henry Chapman shall keepe y^e ordinary for y^e next year." "Agreed that 16[£] shall be contributed towards ye entertainment of y^e Minister."

In 1663 Chapman's protagonist, Prynne, was no longer Recorder of the City, and the Ch. Ac. for that year notes:—

"It to Mr Henry Chapman for 8 post

letters concerninge Mr Prynnes

Bonde

00—02—00"

In Sept., 1663, Chapman was chosen as Mayor for the ensuing

year, and energetic and enterprising, he occupied the position with conspicuous success. Inspired by the then recent visit of Charles II. and his Queen, Catherine of Braganza, for the use of the waters, Chapman set about improving the Baths, and during his term of office and probably on his initiative, the elaborate Cross shown on Johnson's drawing (1675) was erected in the centre of the King's Bath at a cost to the City of £150 4s. 8d., and in connection with this structure, Henry Chapman as Mayor, was certainly responsible for the earliest advertisement relating to the Hot Springs of our City.

On March 26th, 1664, appeared in "The Intelligencer, Published (in London) for Satisfaction and Information of the People," under the head of "Advertisement," "There is now Erecting in the City of *Bathe*, an *Enclosed-Bath*, in that famous *Bath* called the *Kings-Bath*, which will be finished by the end of this month, wherein 20 Persons may in 3 several Rooms sit private, and secure from Rain, or Wind; whence also diverse Springs are to be led away to several places of the *Great-Bath*, and upon occasion let loose into the *Private-Bath* (the now demolished Queen's bath) whereby this *Bath* may be made usefull at all Seasons of the Year." Chapman in 1664 also placed in the King's Bath a brass plate (long lost) bearing an inscription from which the following lines are taken:—

"JEHOVAHS Blessing let's admire,
Here's constant heat and yet no fire;"
"God and the King are here our free imparters;
God gives the Waters and ye King the Charters."

In 1664 the Ch. Ac. notes:—

"Item of Mr. Henry Chapman for half
a yeres rent for the prison till 29th
Sept 1664 and 6d for one quarter
then also due for a house nowe Benj
Waters

Item for horseheir & expenses by Mr Mayor (H.C.) & myselfe att Hallatroe & 5d to the Collier's	00 — 15 — 06
Itm to Mr. Henry Chapman Mayor towards his disbursements for ye Corporacon per Bill	25 — 00 — 00
do do	23 — 15 — 08”

Chapman was generally reluctant to pay his numerous rents to the various Chamberlains, a failing he possessed in common with several members of the Council.

In 1665, in the Ch. Ac. is noted amongst the unpaid rents :—

“Walcot Streete. Mr Henry Chapman for house his Tenem ^t	00 — 04 — 00
Mr Henry Chapman for Butthaies	00 — 04 — 00
(The last item refers to the grounds used by the trained bands, on the site of the present Milsom Street.)	
Northgate Streete Mr Henry Chapman	02 — 00 — 00
Westgate Streete Mr Henry Chapman for Westgate House	04 — 00 — 00

(Westgate House was then the finest mansion in the City and many Royal visitors lodged there.)

Mr Henry Chapman for a Dore into ye Shambles & ye prison house	01 — 03 — 04”
---	---------------

For many years Chapman was a Churchwarden of the Abbey. On June 23rd, 1666, Joseph Glanvill, clerk, M.A., was inducted as Rector, John Pearce Mayor, and Henry Chapman signing as witnesses. In September, 1669, “Mr. Henry Chapman one of the Aldermen of this Citty gave to the (Abbey) Library 2 bookes ; viz., Hakwills Apologies & Whatleys Prototyne,” both these volumes are now in the Reference Library.

In January, 1670, the M. B. records :—“Whether Henry Chapman gent out of a debt due to him by y^e Corporacon shall

have Tenne pounds of it allowed to him out of Mr. Robert Chapmans fine or not.—Agreed that Henry Chapman gent be allowed him 10£ as abovesaid." In the same year the Ch. Ac. notes :—

“It pd at ye sunn in wyne for ye
entertainment of Sr William Bassett 01 — 01 — 00
It Mr. Henry Chapinan for the sunn 01 — 00 — 00”

(The comparatively high rent for the Sun proves it to have been a large and somewhat important building).

In 1672-3 Chapman was Mayor for the second time, receiving a stipend of £40 os. od. He presided over a Council meeting in February, 1673, when it was :—“Agreede by Generall Consent that ffive & twenty shillings shall be quarterly paid for a Newes Letter to be sent to y^e Mayor of this Citty for y^e tyme being & to remayne at his house for y^e publique use of this Corporason ye first quarter commencing from y^e sixth day of this instant ffebruary.” Payments for the “Newes Letter” appear in the Ch. Ac., and much good liquor was no doubt imbibed by members of the Council whilst discussing its contents at the sign of “the Sunne.”

“Henry Chapman, Gent,” anxious to extend the fame of the Hot Springs, wrote and published November 16th, 1673, “Thermae Redivivae. The City of Bath Described with Some observations on those Sovereign Waters, both as to the Bathing in ; and Drinking of Them, Now so much in use,” dedicating his work “To the most August and Serene Prince Charles II,” from the “Sun in Bath.”

The M. B. October 2nd, 1682, records :—“Whether Mr. Henry Chapman shall have a Lease of the garden wth he lately enclosed in out of the Bowling Green for 42 years.—Agreed that no Lease be granted.” The Council, however, must have quickly relented, for on January 26th, 1686, occurs :—“Whether Mr. Wm. Chapman shall have a lease of the Stable & Garden in the bowling green wth Captaine Chapman lately built he having

Captaine Chapmans leave to buy it.—Agreed that he shall have a Lease of the stable and Garden in the bowling green provided he doo build it into a tenem^t.”

The strenuous career of Alderman Henry Chapman, Captain of the City trained bands, closed in 1690; for the M. B. under date September 15th, contains:—“Who shall be one of the Aldermen of this City in the place of Mr. Henry Chapman deceased.”

He was probably interred in the Abbey, but as to this I can gain no information.

No Citizen of Bath has been maligned by various writers to such an extent as Chapman, for this William Prynne “a lawyer distinguished for his constitutional knowledge but the most obstinate and narrow minded of men,” some time M.P. for and Recorder of the City is responsible.

“Of such

To be dispraised is the most perfect praise.”

If to Ralph Allen be conceded the title of “the Man of Bath” in the 18th, then assuredly the same title may be justly claimed for Henry Chapman, “man of thought and of action” during the 17th century.

WILL^N BATH.

15 . 12 . O : WALTER • CHAPMAN * = The Mercers Arms.

R : IN • BATHE • MERCER * = W • A • C •

The issuer of this Token carried on business in Stall Street, his shop being situated close to the Church of St. Mary de Stalles.

Walter Chapman was Mayor of the City in 1647-8 and 1654-5, dying during his term of office.

The following are extracts from the Abbey Registers:—

1639.	Apr. 16.	Walter son of Walter Chapman & Anne	Christened
1640.	Apr. 7.	Joane dau of Walter Chapman & Anne	”
1645.	Sep. 12.	Anne dau of Walter Chapman & Anne	”
		his wife	”

	Sep. 24.	Joane dau of Mr Walter Chapman & Anne	Buried
1655.	May 8.	Mr. Walter Chapman, Alderman	"
1670.	Mar. 21.	William Chapman son of Mr Walter	"
1682.	Jan. 26.	Mr Walter Chapman, Gent.	"

Anthony-a-wood in his work previously referred to, 1676, mentions as then in the "N. Isle" of the Abbey. "On a plaine Stone lying on the ground—Round the verg, Walter Chapman, Aldm. of Bath (rest woren out). In the middle of the stone, Elizabeth wife of John Masters, Aldm of Bath, died 11 Dec. 1668." (See Masters.)

The Ch. Ac. for 1638 notes:—

"Itm of Walter Chapman for his
ffreedome 00 — 06 — 00"

The year 1639 was a troubled one for Bath citizens, and many of them then purchased ammunition from the Chamberlain, who records that he

"Receavd of Mr. Walter Chapman for
three quarter of a hundred and
twenty two poundes of powder and
twelve poundes of mach 06 — 07 — 04

In 1642. Itm payd Mr Walter Chapman for
ye Stuffe for ye Lecture gound and
all things belonginge to it for Iron
shrouds and locks as by his Bill app 11 — 15 — 10
" payd for makeinge y^e saide gound 00 — 07 — 06"

The M. B. December 31st, 1643, records that "Walter Chapman John Pearce and Robert Penny Comon Counsell are (with others) to hold the Comon in trust for ye Corporaton." On the 18th of April, 1645, "It is ordered that a drawbridge shall bee made at West Gate," that "the saide Gate may be opened and left open for the genall use and ease of the saide Cittie and that the chardges of doing the same shall bee collected and gathered by a genall rate."

The Ch. Ac. notes in 1646 :—

“ Itm payd to Mr Walter Chapman for
Iron for ye Draft Bridges as by his
bill (s) appear 11 — 00 — 00 ”

During the strife of the Civil War, Chapman loaned money to the Chamber, the Chamberlain in 1647, notes :—

“ Itm paid Mr Walter Chapman for the
intrst of his 50£ in May 1647 07 — 18 — 00

Itm paid Mr Walter Chapman & Mr
William Chapman for the use of 150£ 03 — 15 — 00 ”

In 1649, Chapman was one of the Justices and also a Bailiff.

The Ch. Ac. notes :—

“ Item of Mr. Walter Chapman and Mr.
John Bayly Bayliffes for ye year 1649 13 — 08 — 06 ”

1650. “ Item paid Mr. Walter Chapman for
Glazing ye Church and for goody
Holders shroude per note 00 — 08 — 06 ”

In 1652 Chapman was elected as one of the Aldermen, and in the same year the Chamberlain notes :—

“ Item paid Mr. Walter Chapman for
500 one quarter and 15 b of lead as
by his Bill appeareth 03 — 16 — 09

Item paid for Mr. Walter Chapman
and Mr. John Boyeses expenses when
they rod to Sr Thomas Bridges 00 — 03 — 05 ”

(Evidently a trip to Keynsham on civic business.)

The M. B. of June, 26th, 1654, records :—“ Mr. Walter Chapman bids 20^l to renewe his Estate for two & fforty years in ye house wherein he now Lives and one plott of Garden Ground lyinge neare to y^e Monks Mill with one tenem^t now lately thereon built.—Agreede a graunt bee made to Mr. Walter Chapman for forty two yeare at ye ffine of Thirtie poundes old rent & usuall covnt^s,” and on the same date “ Mr. Walter Chapman bids

5 Li to renewe his Estate in his shopp & Tenem^t nowe in possession of Richard Hayward for 42 yeares."

The Chamberlain duly notes :—

" Receavd of Mr. Walter Chapman his ffynes	38 — 00 — 00
Receavd for his two Seales	00 — 13 — 04"

On the 25th of September, 1654, Chapman was elected Mayor for the ensuing year. From February, 1655, Chapman evidently was unable to preside at the Council meetings as Mayor, and on the 30th of April is the entry in the M. B. "Who shall be Mayor of this Citty for y^e residue of this yeare in place of Mr. Walter Chapman late Mayor of this Citty deceased.—Agreed Mr. John Bigg Alderman is elected to be Mayor of this Citty for y^e residue of this yeare in y^e place of Mr. Walter Chapman deceased and is sworne accordinglie." (John Biggs, to whom I have frequently referred, was several times Mayor, he was the host of the "Unicorne," an Inn on the east side of the present Northgate Street; retaining still the name of the Unicorn the inn was demolished in 1888. On the 31st of March, 1668, "Mr. John Bigges bids () for a Coppie of Lycense to demise his tenem^t called ye unicorne." On August 11th, 1670, Mr. John Biggs was interred in the Abbey, aged 74.)

The Ch. Ac. for 1664, notes :—

" Itm of Walter Chapman being the Mayors ffreeman	00 — 02 — 00"
--	---------------

This refers to the son of the issuer and possibly a near relative of the then Mayor, Henry Chapman.

In 1668, amongst the "Arrears due to ye Chamber y^e 24 June" are the items :—

" In Stauls Streete. Itm Mr. Walter Chapman	01 — 07 — 04
Do. do. for a shopp	00 — 01 — 00"

WILL^N . BATH16 . 13 . O : JOHN • CLARKE • MERCER = The Mercers
Arms.

R : IN • BATH • 1655 • = I • A • C •

From the Abbey Registers :—

1651. Sep. 29. Anne daughter of John Clarke Burial

1656. Sep. 4. John Clarke ”

The issuer was not a member of the Council and possibly was not one of the freemen of the City.

On the 26th of June, 1699, the M. B. records “Mr. John Clarke” (perhaps son of the issuer) and others “bids 20£ to exchange the life of Richard Chapman of Weston Zoaland in the County of Somstt” “in a messuage or tenem^t and Garden lying in Broade Street.”WILL^N . BATH.17 . 14. O : *Richard | Collins | C | R • E*R : *A | Clothier | in . Bathe | 1669.*

The issuer of this token possibly carried on business in Broad Street as a Cloth manufacturer.

In 1681 the Chamberlain notes :—

“Received of Richard Collins for his
fine and seal 04 — 06 — 08”On the 26th of March, 1683, “Hannah Collins bids 5£” “in a tenem^t in Broade Streete nowe in her possession and to have a new Lease for 99 yeares if y^e sd Richard Collins her sonne in lawe Eliz his wife and Richard Collins their Sonn shall soo long live.”

In 1694 the Chamberlain notes :—

“Recd of Richard Collins in Broad
street 2 yeares rent 00—10—00”

On the 26th of June, 1699, “Richard Collins bids 40£ to exchange the life of Dorothy Bishop widdow for the life of Henry Gibbs sonn of Mr Walter Gibbs the younger and to add the life

of Mary Collins his daughter and to take a new Lease for 99 years if the sd Richard Collins Henry Gibbs and the sd Mary Collins or either of them shall soo long live of and in the moiety of a messuage or tenem^t lying in Staules Street—Agreed for () and under the usual rents” &c.

On the 1st of January, 1700, appears “What shall Rich Collins give for a cobby of Licence to sell a moiety of a tenem^t lying in Staull Street.”

WILL^N . BATH

18 . 15 . O : IOHN * FISHER *** = Three fishes in pale.
R: IN * BATH **** = I * I * F *

The device on the field of the obverse, three fishes, is probably not an adaptation of arms, but a play upon the name of the issuer. The heralds seem occasionally to have interfered with such punning devices on tokens, Sir Wm. Dugdale entered in his diary, “Nov. 3rd 1668. John Salmon of Chester maketh brass pence with arnes upon them (three salmons) : to disclayme him.” I have previously mentioned that the Abbey Register records that on the 7th of October, 1655, “John ffisher Mercer” was a witness at the marriage of John Bush. The same Register contains his own marriage and some results.

1656. Augt. Married : John ffisher of this par & Jane Avery of ffrome Zellwood. Contract of marriage published 3 times, viz. ; 10, 17 & 24 August.

1657. Dec. 7. John son of Mr. John ffisher & Joane Christened

1661. June 16. Joane dau of Mr. John ffisher & Joane ”

The surname Fisher was a common one in Bath at the time of the token issues, many of the families being closely related, and the fact that but a limited number of Christian names were used by them, the Puritan John being especially frequent, renders any attempt to clearly trace them futile.

It is not improbable that John Fisher was a near relative of Robert Fisher (No. 16) and the son of the Robert Fisher who

displaced from the Council in 1647, under license from the Chamber carried on for many years the "Coleworkes" owned by the City. The item frequently recurs in the Ch. Acs.

"Item of Mr. Robert ffisher for the
Coleworke 00 — 06 — 08"

till 1662. when the entry runs,

"Item of Mr. Robert ffishers Wid for
a Coleworke 00 — 06 — 08"

In 1657 the Chamberlain notes :—

"Item of John ffisher for his ffreedome 00 — 06 — 00"

On the 28th of September, 1657, on the retirement of Robert Fisher (token issuer) from the Council the question was asked, "Who shall be elected one of y^e Comon Counsell of this Citty. Agreede Mr. John ffisher shall be sworne one of y^e Comon Counsell of the Citty."

In 1659 John Fisher was one of the City Bailiffs and the Chamberlain enters on his account then,

"Item of Mr. Thomas Skrine & Mr.
ffisher for the Rent of the Baylywicke 13 — 06 — 08"

In September, 1661, he was chosen as one of the Constables, in that year the Ch. Ac. contains the entries :—

"Item pd Mr. John ffisher for powder
at the Coronation & Birthday
(Charles 2nd) per Bill 02 — 00 — 00

Item paid Mris Jane ffisher for Cakes 02 — 06 — 08"

1662. "Item paid Mr. John ffisher for 24
sackes of Lime used att the Dry
Pump (built 1662 at the King's Bath)
per Bill 01 — 04 — 00

Do. for 27 belts and 16 sets of Bandiliers
per Bill 05 — 09 — 00"

After the 2nd of November, 1662, John Fisher disappears from the Council roll, and the M. B. August 20th, 1663, records :—
"Who shall be elected one other of this Corporaton in y^e place

of John Fisher who hath deserted this Citty.—Agreed Mr. Thomas Atwood.”

Entries in the Ch. Ac. shew that the issuer, in 1663, was in conflict with the authorities for some reason, possibly religious.

“Item to Henry Howell for arresting
 John ffisher William Godwin &
 Robert Allen per Order 00 — 12 — 00
 do for arresting Mr John Boyse 01 — 04 — 00
 Itm to Robert Cornick towards the
 hyer of his horses wch were to carry
 Witnesses against Boyce 00 — 05 — 09”

Whatever the reason for J. Fisher's absence from the City, he returned and resumed business, possibly in Cheap street, but as he was no longer a member of the Council, the Chamberlain in mentioning him in 1666, omits the prefix “Mr.”

“It paid John ffisher for monies disbursed about ye Armes per Order 01 — 01 — 03”

A contemporary John Fisher, wife's name Rebecca, kept an Inn known as the White Horse. The M. B. March 26th, 1649, records that a “Grant is made to John ffisher for 3 lives in Tenem^t called y^e White Horse near y^e Cross Bath—ffine 15 Li—and is to promise not to annoy his wife or grant will be void.” The last clause savors of comedy, but it was evidently complied with, for on December 31st a “Lease is granted to John ffisher of the White Horse for 3 lives—ffine 15li 10s” and in June, 1669, “Jo Fisher bids 40s to &c” “in y^e house called ye white horse nowe in his posson—granted.” The Register of St. James's Church records the burial of in “1672 July 9th John ffisher.”

WILLⁿ . BATH

19 . 16. O : ROBERT • FISHER = R • E • F •

R : MERCER • IN • BATH • = 1652 *

The issuer of this Token carried on business on the east side of the then Broad Street (present Northgate Street) opposite

St. Michael's Conduit. "The Register book of all y^e Weddings within ye Parish Church of St. Michaels in Bath without ye Gate" contains :—

1648. Sep. 10. Robert Fisher—Edith Parker Married

The Abbey Register notes :—

1652 Sept. 8. Edith wife of Robert ffisher Buried

Dec. 14. William son of Robert ffisher, Mercer „

The Ch. Ac. for 1646 contains :—

“Item of Robert ffisher for his ffredome 00—04—00”

On the 31st of March, 1651, “Robto ffisher” appears on the Council roll.

The M. B. Dec. 27th, 1652, notes a “Grant (is) made to Mr. John Parker (cloth manufacturer, Mayor 1653-4 & 1661-2, daughter married to R.F.) to put Mr. Robert ffisher's life and John ffisher son of the said Robert and one Life more to be named by next Quarter day of Tenem^t Mr ffisher lives in—ffine 6 li”

On March 26th, 1654, the M. B. notes : “Who shall bee one of y^e Overseers of y^e Comon for y^e next yere—Agreede Mr Robert ffisher mercer be one” Mr John Reed the other. On Sept. 25th of the same year Robert Fisher was elected as one of the Constables.

The M. B. Sept. 28th, 1657, records : “Whether Mr Robert ffisher now living out of this Citty and desiring to be excused of his office of one of y^e Comon Counsell off this Citty shall be excused of his said office or not—Agreede that Mr Robert ffisher shall be excused his saide office.” I have referred to the election of John Fisher as his successor on the Council. Robert Fisher, (whose son John must have been very young at the time of his retirement from the Council) seems to have afterwards resided at Bathampton. On a lease dated 1660, Robert Fisher of that place signed as a witness.

The M. B. Dec., 1678, records : “Mr. Robert ffisher bids five pounds to ad one life in his tenem^t now in the possession of the

widdow Salmon the life is Wm. ffisher his Sonne to—from and after the deceases of him the Sd Robert ffisher and John ffisher his Sonne—Agreed that Rob^t ffisher shall ad the Life of Wm. ffisher his sonne for 20[£] fine under the usual rents & covenants.”

On the 20th of March, 1679: “What shall Mr Robert ffisher give to add one life in reversion of his Life and the life of Wm. ffisher his son of and in one Messuage or Tenem^t lying in Northgate Street he bids three pounds.” This entry is crossed out as not entertained, but the proposal must shortly after have been agreed to as the Ch. Ac. for 1679 contains:—

“Item of Mr Robert ffisher for his fine

& Seal

03 — 06 — 08.”

In 1694 an entry appears:—“in reversion of William ffisher of Bathampton Yeoman of one messuage 'or tenem^t lying in Cheape Street.”

WILL^x . BATH

20 . 17. O : IOHN • FOORDE = The Cordwainers'
Arms.

R : IN • BATHE • = I • O • F •

1627.	June 25.	St Michael's Regr.	Phillip Fforde—Elinor Vernam	Married
	Sept. 7.	„	John fforde son of Phillip	Christened
1661.	Feb. 16.	St James.	Sarah fford dau of John and Olive	„
1664.	May 18.	Abbey.	John son of John fford and Olive	„
1666.	July 29.	„	Oliffe dau of John fforde	„
1701.	Nov. 16.	St Michael's.	John Foorde Senior	Buried
1705.	Dec. 28.	„	Olive Foord Widdow	„

The issuer of this Token resided in St. Michael's parish. He was probably a near relative of the John Ford, who entering the Council in September, 1647, was Mayor in 1660-61. I have referred to him as one of the chief opponents of Henry Chapman. John Ford (Mayor) resided in Stall Street, a drawing of the house (then occupied by his son) is given on Gilmore's Map,

1694, as "Mr. Fords Lodgings in Staulls Street." In December 1661, "Jane wife of Mr. John fford" was buried in the Abbey and in 1687, September 26th, is an entry of the burial of "Mr. John fford in ye Church."

In September, 1651, John Ford the issuer, was a candidate for a seat on the Council, but only received one vote. The Ch. Ac. for that year notes:—

"Itm of George Parker and John fford
for their freedomes 00 — 12 — 00"

Alderman Ford (ex-Mayor) left the Council in September, 1662, on finding Chapman's popularity assured. On the 3rd of October, 1664, Henry Chapman then Mayor may have endeavoured to appease Ford and his relatives, for the M. B. then records "Who shall be one of ye Comon Counsell of this Citty in y^e roome of Mr. Robert Chapman (made Alderman) Agreede Mr. John fford be one of ye Comon Counsell of this Citty." This entry can only refer to the issuer of the Token, for Alderman Ford's son John was then a minor; but whatever motive prompted the election, it was treated with contempt, for on September 4, 1665, is a further entry, "Whereas Mr. John fford was heretofore elected one of ye Comon Counsell of this Citty but hath refused to be sworne in ye said office—Who shall be elected one of ye Comon Counsell of this Citty in y^e place of ye said Mr. fford—Agreed Mr John Alambrigg."

In 1675 the issuer was elected "one of the Supervisors of the boundes." The M. B. April 1677, contains, "What shall Mr. John fford (ex-Mayor) give for a new Lease of 28 years in his tenem^t in Staulls Streete now in his possession Agreed that he shall pay forty pounds for a new lease for 28 years—Memo—this Lease is granted upon a speciall favour that Mr. John fford was formerly an Alderman of this Citty." The premises in question (present No. 35) were later occupied by Mary Lambe & Son, issuers of many tokens in the 18th Century.

a dinner was held, the whole body of Freemen did not partake of this, but only the then Jury.

1676. "To Mrs Hickes man for wines expended ye 5th of November 1676 00 — 10 — 00"

In March 1677, the M. B. records that "Wm. Burford" (who had long been the Town drummer) "bids twenty shillings for a tenem^t called the three swanns." At the same meeting Mr. Walter Hickes "bids ten shillings for a Lease in a Messuage or Inn called the Katherine Wheel and one little tenem^t on the north side." Possibly in 1677 the issuer and her son removed from Cheap Street to Northgate Street.

On the 20th of December 1678, Walter Hickes was elected an Alderman. In October 1679, John Masters then Mayor, the entry appears in the M. B., "Whether Mr Alderman Hickes shall be displased of his Aldermanship and likewise out of the Councill for speaking scandalous words ag^t his royall Highness the Duke of Yorke (afterwards James 2nd) Agreed by Generall consent that Mr. Hickes shall be displased from being an Alderman and likewise displased out the Councill." He was reinstated on the 28th of June, 1680, the M. B. then noting, "Mr. Walter Hickes being formerly displaced from being an Alderman whether he shall be restored to his place again Agreed he shall be an Alderman again if the Charter will bear it out." The next meeting of the Council he duly attended as an Alderman.

In 1694 Walter Hickes took a new "Lease of the Katherine Wheel in Northgate Street.

WILL^N BATH

22 . 19 . O : RICHARD • HORLER = The Tallowchandlers Arms

R : IN • BATH • 1664 = R • S • H •

The issuer of this Token carried on business in Southgate Street. He was not a member of the Council and left the City to live at Englishcombe,

The Chamberlain's accounts, note in
1663. "Item of Richard Horler for his
freedome 00—06—00

1670. Item Richard Horler a Tenem^t in
southgate street 00—07—00"

The M. B. Jan. 1st, 1677, contains : "What Thomas Gibbes
on the behalf of Richard Horler shall give to drowne one life etc"
"in a tenem^t now in the possession of Robert Jones and to have
a new Lease for 99 yeares if three lives soe long live Thomas
Walter & Richard sons of ye sd Richard Horler."

In 1680, Oct. 4th : "Whether Anne Smith shall chang the
lives of Thomas Horler Walter Horler and Richard Horler sonnes
of Richard Horler late of Englishcombe Chandler" "in one
tenem^t and garden in Southgate Street."

The following items relate to the family and descendants of the
issuer :—

1688.	St James Regr.	Jan. 8.	Mary Horler	Christened
1692.	"	Sep. 11.	Thomas Horler	"
1696.	"	Aug. 9.	George Horler	"
1718.	St Michaels.	Apr. 16.	William Horler son of Richard	Buried
1719.	"	Oct. 28.	Ann dau of Richard Horler	"
1722.	St James.	Nov. 8.	Sarah Horler Buried in ye Church	
1726.	Abbey.	Jan. 29.	Richard Horler	"
1739.	St James.	May 16	Thomas Horler	"

WILL^N . BATH

23 . 20. O : *William | Sandicke | L | W . A*
R: IN . BATH . 1669 . = Three tuns
(one and two).

Probably derived from the arms of the Brewers' Company.

The Three Tuns carried on by the issuer was a famous Tavern
in Stall Street, the extensive premises were not entirely removed
till early in the 19th century. The frontage to Stall Street

occupied the position of the present York Street, in the rear the premises ran further south, and extended eastwards along the south of the Queen's Bath. To the middle of the 18th century there was direct access from the building to the Queen's and King's Baths. In 1619 the then tenant Philip Sherwood (in 1647 removed from the Council as a malignant) obtained a license for its use as a Tavern, and placed a pole before its front in Stall Street on which flaunted "a new fair sign of Three Tunnes." Over this sign a long and fierce controversy raged and it was forcibly removed in 1622, by order of the then Mayor, but after an interval Sherwood "set up the sign again in an insolent manner."

The house is shewn on Gilmore's Map, 1694, as "The three Tunns Lodgings by the Kings Bath."

1664.	Abbey Reg ^r .	Aug. 4.	Elizabeth dau of William Landicke & Anne	Christened
1667.	"	July 20.	William son of William Landicke & Anne	"
1669.	St James "	Sep. 5.	Joane Landick dau of William	"
1685.	" "	Jan. 25.	William Landicke	Buried
1724.	Abbey "	Jan. 18.	Mris Landicke	"

The Chamberlain's accounts note,

1668.	" Itm to Mr. Landick for wyne spent on his Ma . . tis Birthday	00 — 17 — 06"
1676.	" To Mris Landick for wines expended in Mr. Reeds mayralltie	00 — 10 — 00"

In 1679 the Three Tuns was held by William Sherstone, and it is possible that by that date Landicke had removed to an Inn in Cheap Street. In 1681 and later the Chamberlain notes :—

	" Mris Landicke for a ffeather of water	00 — 10 — 00"
1701.	" Receaved of Mris Landicke for an encroachment in Cheap Street	00 — 01 — 00."

The Three Tuns later became famous from its connection with the Mail Coaches instituted by John Palmer in 1784, "the mail to and from London to Bristol in sixteen hours, starting from the

Swan with Two Necks, Lad Lane, London, at 8 o'clock each night, arriving at the Three Tuns, Bath, before 10 o'clock the next morning, and at the Rummer Tavern, Bristol, by 12 o'clock."

Strangely enough the front of the house was again brought prominently to public notice, this time however peaceably, in connection with the Mail Coaches. On June 9th, 1785, "Mr. Williams, the public spirited master of the Three Tuns Inn, and the chief contractor for conveying the mails, in the morning of this day, placed in the front of his house His Majesty's Arms, neatly carved and gilt. In the evening his house was illuminated in a very elegant manner with variegated lamps, the principal figure in which was the letters 'G.R.' immediately over the coat-of-arms. A band of music with horns played several tunes adapted to the day, and a recruiting party drawn up before the doors, with drums and fifes playing at intervals, had a very pleasing effect"

WILL^N BATH

24 . 21 . O : WILLIAM • MARDEN = The Weavers Arms.
R : OF • BATH • SILK • WEAVER = W • A • M •

The issuer of this Token carried on business in Walcot Street, but owing to strong and continued opposition was never admitted as a Freeman of the City.

1647.	St James Regr.	July 25.	Elizabeth Marden dau of William	Christened
1654.	St Michaels ,,	Aug. 7.	John Mardon son of William	Burial
1655.	„ „	Feb. 21.	Richard Marden son of William	„
1659.	„ „	Oct. 13.	Thomas Marden son of William	„
1682.	„ „	Dec. 23.	Alice Mardine Widdow	„

In the M. B. Dec. 26th, 1653, (John Atwood, Mayor) is the entry :—"Whether Willm Marden now of this Citty Button mould maker shall be Mr Mayors ffreeman or not—Agreede ye saide

Willm Marden shall not be Mr. Mayors ffreeman as abovesyd for that hee may bee prejudicial to generall Shopkeepers of this City." This entry is crossed out, the usual cancellation. Marden, in 1653, was probably living within the City in St. James' Parish, and the objection by the Council to his being made a freeman was undoubtedly with the intent of preventing him trading in the City; without the walls the Chamber had not so much power, and Marden moved to Walcot Street.

On the 25th of June, 1655, the M. B. records that it was "Agreede that Benedict Beacon shall have a Coppie of Licence to assign the tenem^t in Walcott Streete late in possession of Mr. Henry Chapman to Willm Marden for the fine of 10s." At the same meeting "Willm Marden bids 20s. to exchange three lives in a Tenem^t lying in Walcott Streete late in ye possession of Mr. Henry Chapman ye grant to be for 99 yeares if 3 lives—Agreede a graunt be made to Willm Marden as abovesayd for ye fine of 5 £ old rent and usuall covenants."

It is possible that Marden was connected in some way with Freshford, as in the Abbey Register, under date Feb. 6, 1656, is the entry:—

"Robert Moore and Mary Twinning both of ffreshford, married by Mr. John Bigges, J.P. Witnesses—Robt Moore of Freshford, William Marden of this City."

On the 6th of October, 1662, (John Parker, Clothier then Mayor) the question as to the admittance of Marden as a freeman recurs: "Whether Willm Marden of this City shall be Mr Mayors ffreeman or not—This proposition being not liked It is agreede by Generall consent that Mr Mayor shall choose any other pson to be his ffreeman in Twelve monthes now next following or upward."

The opposition to Marden was most marked, and there must have been some special reason for its permanence, it apparently later had the effect desired of causing him to leave the City.

The M. B. August 1st, 1666, contains: "What Willm Marden

shall pay for a License to lett or graunt his tenem^t in Walcott Streete—Agreede a Coppie of Lycence be granted to Willm Marden.” On the 31st of March, 1668, is an entry: “Mr John Reed bids 20s. to exchange &c” “in ye tenem^t now in his posson and late in y^e posson of Willim Marden.” This entry is crossed out, but in the following December “Mr. John Reede bids 4[£] to renewe his Estate of twoe lives for 99 years if 3 lives soe long live in his tenem^t in Walcott Streete late in y^e posson of Willim Marden—Agreede a graunt be made to Mr Jo: Reede as abovsyd for ye fine of Twelve pounds old rent and usuall covn^{ts}.”

The premises occupied by Marden in Walcot Street were close to St. Michael's Church, and the entry in its Register, December 1682, certainly refers to the widow of William Marden.

WILL^N . BATH

25 . 22. O: IOHN . MASTERS . AT . WHIT =
A Hart standing.
R: IN . THE . CITY . OF . BATH =
I . E . M .

This token was issued from the White Hart Inn, Stall Street. The issuer John Masters was Mayor of Bath in 1657-8, 1671-2, 1679-80, and 1690-91.

1607.	St. James Regr.	July 13.	John Masters—Ann Rogers	Married
1614.	”	”	Sep. 3. John Masters son of John	Christened
1638.	Abbey	”	Dec. 16. Chapman son of John Masters & Elizabeth	”
1656.	”	”	Aug. 5. Elizabeth dau of Mr. John Masters & Elizabeth	”
1668.	”	”	Dec. 15. Elizabeth wife of John Masters Alderman of this Cittie	Burial
1692.	”	”	Apr. 18. Mr. John Masters Alderman	”

Elizabeth, the wife of the issuer, was a daughter of Walter Chapman (see No. 12 Bath).

The M. B. December 30th, 1650, records:—"Whether Mr. John Masters bee fit to bee Mr. Maiors (John Pearce) ffreeman or noe—Agreede that Mr. John Masters shall bee Mr. Maiors ffreeman," the Chamberlain in 1651, notes:—

"Itm of Mr. John Masters for his
ffreedome 00 — 02 — 00"

On the 1st of September, 1651, Masters was elected a member of the Council, and in his case accession to office was exceptionally rapid, as he was chosen one of the Bailiffs in the following October. In the Ch. Ac. for 1652 is the entry,

"Itm of Mr. John Masters & Mr. Edward
White ffor their Bayliwicke ffor ye
yeare last past 13 — 06 — 08
Itm paid Mr. Masters & Mr. White
for business done for ye Corporaton 01 — 10 — 00"

In the M. B., under date March 29th, 1652, appears:—"Whether Mr. John Masters shall holde y^e Ground called Bathe Comons for this yeare beginning y^e 25th of March 1652 at y^e rent of 120^{li} per annum quarterly to be paid and y^e feeding of fflower Oxen there till St Luke's day next & finding good securitie for y^e rent by munday next at y^e Guildhall of y^e said Cittie to be approved of by y^e Maior & Justices or not—Agreede by Genall consent that Mr. John Masters shall have y^e Comons abovesayd under y^e Conditions abovesayd." On the minutes of the next meeting, May 5th, 1652, is a recital that Masters had failed to furnish approved securities for the rent, and on the same day he seemingly gave up possession of the land, and by "generall consent" Mr. Henry Chapman was granted the Common at the reduced rent of £110 until March 25th, 1653, he agreeing to "the pasturing of the fflower Oxen there," and to give "free liberty for the plough to carry out stones and bring in soyle," "givinge his bonds and paying y^e rent as before provided."

The word "plough" was then locally used to denote a waggon or cart, the waggon with its team of four oxen was kept for City purposes (use abandoned in 1708), its mention for carrying stone from the Common indicates that quarries were then worked there, and apparently the general refuse of the City was then hauled to and deposited on the Common land. The matter thus disposed of Masters attended the next Council; on April 16th 1654, he was elected one of the Aldermen.

The Ch. Acs. note :—

1653. "Paid to Mr. Masters for ffive quartes
of Canarie bestowed on Mr. Recorder 00 — 10 — 00"
1654. "Itm paid Mr. Masters for a pottle of
whitwine and a pottle of Canarie
bestowed upon Colonell Popham 00 — 06 — 04"
1655. "Itm paid Mr. Masters for wine
bestowed on Colonnell Popham 16
April 1655 01 — 00 — 02
Paid him for Bottles then broken
and lost 00 — 05 — 00"

{The last item shews clearly enough that the convivial meeting on the 16th of April was a somewhat riotous one.)

The M. B. March 31st, 1656, notes :—"Mr. John Masters bids(—)to drowne 30 yeares in his tenem^t called y^e harte Lodgings and to renew his Estate for 42 yeares absolute—Agreede a graunt bee made to Mr. John Masters for y^e Tenem^t abovesayd for 42 yeares absolute for y^e fine of Tenne pounds old rent usuall covnants" (the clause "42 yeares absolute" is proof the grant was made to Alderman J. Masters), the Chamberlain for 1656 notes :—

- "Itm of Mr. John Masters for his
fine & seale 10 — 06 — 08"
- and in 1657 "Itm of Mr. John Masters for his
Coppie Licence 00 — 10 — 00"

"Ye Harte Lodgings" mentioned as in the possession of Masters, were two houses on the east side of Stall Street, occupying the whole of the west side of the Queen's Bath, they are shewn on Johnson's drawing, 1675; the parapet of the largest house bore the inscription, ANNÆ • REGINÆ • SACRVM • 1618 •, commemorating the fact that Anne of Denmark, Queen of James 1st, used the Bath it overlooked, during her visit to the City.

The picturesque frontage to Stall Street is shewn on Gilmore's map, 1694, as "The Hart Lodgings in Staulls Street." The Inn known as the White Hart from early in the 16th century, was on the west side of the street, almost opposite the Lodgings, and Gilmore enumerating the "Inns of Bath" mentions "the White Hart in Staule Street." The Inn, then a comparatively small building (enlarged in after years and famous from its associations; removed in 1867), appears on his map next the "way to the Cross Bath" (later known as White Hart Lane), Alderman John Bush's lodgings being next to it, and the "Beare Inne" completing the corner into Westgate Street.

It may be that John Masters in 1657 obtained the "Coppie Licence" with the idea of disposing of the lease of the "Harte Lodgings," but the premises remained in his possession to a much later date. When Masters acquired the White Hart Inn from which he issued the token, I cannot ascertain, but the Inn was occupied by him prior to 1668, as the Chamberlain notes amongst the rents due on the 24th of June, 1668,

"Mr. John Masters for y^e White Hart 05 — 00 — 00"
and for other premises then rented by Masters in

"Staulls Streete 02 — 02 — 00."

During excavations adjacent to the Queen's Bath, some years ago, a metal lamp was found representing a Stag or Hart standing on a pedestal, with a place for the light between the antlers. From the finding of this on the site of the Lodgings, it is not

improbable that a Hart was the badge of the house, the Inn being more especially known as the *White Hart*.

On the 27th of September, 1657, John Masters was elected Mayor for the ensuing year, receiving as stipend for his then term £55. From the City Exchequer something was allowed the Mayor for charitable purposes, as the Chamberlain notes that in 1658 he

“Paid Mr. Maior his Allowance for
givinge to poore people being the
some of 01 — 00 — 00”

As Mayor, Masters welcomed a distinguished visitor to the City, apparently in September, 1658, the Chamberlain noting that a substantial sum was expended on Civic festivities “at the proclaymeinge of the Lord Richard Cromwell protector,” and items occur

“For a Hogsheade of White Wine presented unto His Highnesse the Lord Protector Richard Cromwell 09 — 00 — 00”
and for gifts to his “Trumpter and other servants.” (The “Hogsheade” possibly came from Mr. Mayor’s cellars.) In anticipation of this visit the Baths were set in order by Masters, the ways round them repaired, and the interior and exterior of the Hot and Cross Baths then received a highly decorative (?) coating of linewash.

The statue of Bladud then as now overlooking the King’s Bath, shone out in all the glory of scarlet and gold, for an entry runs

“Itm paid Thomas Quilly for paintinge
King Bladehoods picture att the
King’s Bathe by Mr. Mayors order 01 — 06 — 00.”

The monotony of official life in 1658 was varied by at least one country trip, as an entry occurs

“Itm paid at Paulton for Mans meate
& Horse meate when wee went to
see our Coale worke by Mr. Maiors
order 01 — 11 — 02”

The sum of £42 9s. 3d. was due to Mayor Masters at the end of his term, October 1658, from Chamberlain John Ford (Mayor 1660-61) and this sum was not paid until October 17th 1659.

On October 25th, 1660, it was "Agreede that Mr. John Masters keep y^e Ordinary for y^e Lecturer for y^e next year," and in 1662 the Ch. Ac. notes,

"Item (pd) Mr. John Masters for two
yeares Ordinary 30 — 00 — 00."

Soon after the capture of the City by Fairfax in 1645 "there seems to have been an attempt at a religious revival. A course of Wednesday sermons was established, and an "Ordinary" was to be provided, at which the preacher was to have a free dinner, and other citizens were to pay a shilling a head. The entertainment or the company was not appreciated, for it was found necessary to make an ordinance that the Mayor, one of the aldermen, and two of the common councilmen should be present "according as they shall be warned." If any one warned did not care to come, he could settle by sending a shilling, but if he failed to do this, he incurred a fine of three shillings and fourpence." Keeping the Ordinary survived the Puritan epoch and must have been profitable to the holder, instanced by the always keen competition for the post.

Masters was another of the Council generally behind when payment of Rent was concerned, and entries of the arrears due from him for various premises he held in Stall Street and other parts of the City are frequent from 1665.

Masters was Mayor in 1671-2, and during this term the Council in generous mood "Agreede that 20 li a yeare more shall be added to the Maiors Stipend for y^e time being and so to any Maior for y^e future."

Masters again filled the office of Mayor in 1679-80. On the 28th of February 1681, he was one of the Justices and the Council then "Agreed that Mr. John Masters shall have the towne comon for 113£ for y^e yeare ensuing."

The M. B. in February 1683, records: "Mr. John Masters bids 10s, and to drowne 31 yeares and to take a new lease for forty two years of and in one Messuage or Inn called the white hart—Agreed a new lease be granted fine 20s and under the usuall rents and covenants."

Well advanced in years, Masters was Mayor in 1690-91, as ex-Mayor retaining position as a Justice afterwards. The M. B. records on the 18th of April 1692, (the day of his interment in the Abbey) that Mr. Benjamin Baber was appointed one of the Justices "in the place of Mr. John Masters, deceased."

WILL^N BATH

26 . 23 . O : IOHN • PEARCE • MERCER * = The
Mercers Arms,
R : IN • BATHE • 1652 * = I * I • P •
27 . 24 A variety reading MERCE for MERCER.

The issuer of this Token probably carried on business in Cheap Street close to Cokes or Cocks Lane (now Union Passage). He was Mayor in 1650-1, 1659-60, and 1666-7.

The following are extracts from the Abbey Registers :—

1640.	Apr. 7.	John Pearce—Joane Childe	Married
1642.	Sep. 11.	William Son of John Pearce & Joane	Christened
1649.	Jan. 20.	Francis son of Mr. John Pearce & Joane	„
1672.	Jan. 27.	Mr. John Pearce one of the Aldermen of this Cittie	Burial

Anthony-a-Wood in 1676, mentions as then in the "N. Isle" of the Abbey, "On another flat free stone—William the son of John Pearce, Ald,m: Obt 27 Dec 1671, aet 29. On a blew marble stone—John Pearce one of the Ald.men & three times Mayor of this Citie. Ob. 17 Januar 1672, aet 58.

John Pearce was a member of the Council in 1641, and one of the Bailiffs in 1644, the Chamberlain then noting :—

"Item of Mr. Druce & Mr. Pearce for
the Rent of the Balywicke 10 — 00 — 00."

After the capture of Bath by Fairfax in July 1645, the Citizens rapidly had occasion to regret the change of masters. Early in 1646, the Army was at variance with the Parliament, and throughout the country the Soldiers lived at "free quarters." The M. B. records February 9th 1646, that "a peticon shall be pfferred to ye Houses of Parliam^t for releefe of Free quarter. Agreed that Mr. Burford and Mr. John Pearce shall goe to London with the Peticon abovesayd."

This Petition does not seem to have been presented, but letters written by the then Mayor give graphic pictures of the state of affairs. I quote from one of these, "our houses are emptied of all useful furniture, and much broken and disfigured, our poor suffer for want of victuals and rich we have none. Warrants are come to raise horse but we have none left." "We have now 400 (soldiers) in the town, and many more expected. God protect us from pillage."

Pearce was twice Chamberlain, and on September 25th 1648, was elected an Alderman.

In 1651, Pearce being then Mayor the Chamberlain notes:—

"Itm pd Mr. Mayor Mr. Biggs and
Mr. Parker expenses at Ivilchester 02 — 17 — 10"

(Biggs and Parker made the same journey ten years later under less pleasant conditions, see H. Cn.)

In 1652 "Item of Mr. John Pearce for a
Tenem^t and garden neare Monckes
Mill (evidently his residence) 00 — 01 — 00

Itm paid Christopher Brewer for
carreinge ye Charter to London by
Mr. Pearces order (when Mayor) 00 — 02 — 06

Do. do. for bringeinge ye Charter
from London by Mr. Pearces order 00 — 05 — 06"

The M. B. records on October 25th 1652, "Who shall be employed on ye behalf of ye Corporason of this Citty to sollicit

ye Committye of Trade for ye obtayning of an Acte for ye makeing of ye River of Avon navygable from Bathe to Bristoll—Agreede Mr. Matthew Clift and Mr. John Pearce.” The deputation went to London on this and other civic business, the Ch. Ac. for 1652 notes :—

“Item to William Wood for carrying a box and writeing toucheing ye Baylywicke to Mr. Pearce to London 00 — 01 — 00

Item paid more for carrying a lre (letter) to London to Mr. Clift and Mr. Pearce in December 1652 00 — 00 — 06.”

In 1653 “Item to Mr. Clift and Mr. Pearce the Remainder of their expenses to London 02 — 16 — 08.”

On May 1st 1654, it was agreed by the Council that “his highness ye Lord Protector and his Counsell shall bee petitioned by the Corporaton for his order for making ye River of Avon navygable from the Cittie of Bathe to bristoll.” Pearce was again a member of the deputation.

The M. B. March 31st 1656, records that the Tower of Stalls Church was then ordered to be removed as far as the roof of the Church, it having nearly fallen down from decay, and that the profit resulting from the sale of the materials should be given to the Abbey. Alderman Pearce was chosen to supervise this work. This order for the removal of the Tower only, may have covered the demolition of the whole edifice, as the following item almost certainly refers to the Church of St. Mary de Stalles. On October 6th 1656, “Mr. John Pearce bids 4 £ for to exchange 2 lives for 42 yeares absolute in one Messuage or Tenem^t & Garden being heretofore a ruinous church called Little S^t Maryes —Agreede a graunte be made to Mr. John Pearce of y^e Tenem & Garden abovesaid for 42 yeares for ye ffine of eight pounds old rent & usuall covnants.”

The Chamberlain in 1656, notes :—

- “ Itm of Mr. John Pearce for his ffine 08 -- 00 -- 00
 more of him for his Seale 00 -- 06 -- 08”
- In 1659 “ It pd Mr. Mayor (John Pearce) &
 Mr. Parker for timber wch was of
 Stauls Church used for postes att
 Ladymead gate in ye Highway 00 -- 03 -- 04.”
- In 1656 “ Itm paid Mr. John Pearce for 11 ells
 of Dowlis att 14d per ell ffor stories
 Children and Three quarters an ell
 of Canvass for Buttons Threed and
 Tape for them alsoe for Three ells
 and quarter of Narrowe Hollon and
 one penney in Threed for a shroud
 for Arthur Husday also Three ells
 halfe of Cloth for a Shroud ffor
 Goody Wills and one pennëy in Threed
 to goody Lockwood John Ball for
 Draweinge an order to send to Mr.
 Milner Concerninge ye arreares alsoe
 ye Messenger that Came with the
 Letter and carried ye order to Mr.
 Milner as by his bill appeares 01 -- 04 -- 00”
- In 1657 “ Mr. Parker and Mr. Pearce the Over-
 seers of The Comon for ye Carriage
 of Stones to mend ye wayes in ye
 street (were paid) 01 -- 06 -- 00”

The M. B. January 1659, records :—“ Who shall be employed together with the Recorder to wayte on His highness ye Lord Protector for ye obtayning of ye next assizes for ye County of Somersett to be holden at this City of Bathe and to begin their journey on Monday next. Agreed that Mr. Mayor & Mr. John Masters shall be ye two persons to wayte on ye Protector.” The Chamberlain in 1659 notes the heavy costs of this deputation.

“paid Mr. John Pearce Maior & Mr.
John Masters for their Expenses to
London for to procure ye Assizes and
to obteyne the Passage of o . r Acte
for o . r Navigacon to Bristoll 15 - 06 - 00.”

Many attempts had previously been unavailingly made to obtain the holding of the Assizes here, but this visit to London was successful and the County Assizes were held in Bath in 1660, and for some years later.

In 1660 occurs,

“Imprimis pd Mr. John Pearce for
sugar loafes presented to ye Judges
att the Assizes Ap 1660 and sugar
presented to ye Bishopp per bill 01 - 08 - 00”

On the 29th of June 1660, Pearce and Masters were again chosen to “goe to London to Sr Robert Hyde Mr Prynne and Collonell Popham in obtayning the Summer Assizes to be held in Bathe.”

When in London the deputation evidently dealt with the vexed question of the river, as

“Alderman Hen Chapman for postage
of a packett concerninge ye Navigacon
of ye River (was then paid) 00 - 01 - 07.”

On June 20th 1663, John Pearce and Walter Gibbes were elected to go to London regarding the Assizes, the Chamberlain then notes:—

“Itm to Mr Pearce for 3 Journies to
London to procure the Assizes and
other charges in entertayning the
Judges 19 - 10 - 04”

In 1665 “Mr Walter Gibbes ye Mayor and
Mr Pearce for their journeyes to
London (were paid) 10 - 00 - 00”

In that year, among the arrears of rent due to the Chamber appear :—

	“ In Cheap Street, Mr John Pearce for a Stable in Cock Lane	00—07—00
	Do., do., for another Tenem ^t	01—00—00”
In 1668	“ Mr John Pearce for his Journey & expenses att London (was paid)	05—00—00”
In 1670	“ Item paid Mr John Pearce for 2 ozs of ‘Tobacho for ye Justices per Bill	00—00—08
	Do., do., for 4 li and halfe of powder delivered to ye Trayned Souldiers	00—06—00”

From the absence of John Pearce’s name from the roll of members, it is probable that he was incapacitated from taking his place in the Chamber for some years previous to his death in 1672.

In 1675 the Chamberlain notes :—

“ Itt Mrs Joane Pearce for a Ten ^t by the River	00—01—00”
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WILL^N BATH

28 . 25 . O : ROBERT • PENNY * = The Mercers Arms.
R : MERCER • IN • BATH * = R • I • P •

The following items are taken from the Abbey Registers :—

1642.	June 12.	Robert son of Robert Penny & Julian	Christened
1643.	Nov. 17.	Mary dau of R Penney & Julian	”
1645.	Jan. 14.	Elizabeth dau of Robert Penny & Julian	”
1648.	Mar. 26.	John son of Robert Penny & Julian	”
1657.	July 18.	Julyan wife of Mr Robert Penny	Burial
1663.	Mar. 2.	Mr Robert Penny	”

Anthony-a-Wood, July 1676, mentions as then in the Abbey, “ In the body of the church are flat stones. “ Julian late wife of Rob Penny one of the Comm. n Councill of this city. Ob 17 July 1657 : also Robert Mary Eliz and John their children.”

The Chamberlain in 1640 notes :—

“Itm of Robert Penny for his
freedome 00 — 06 — 00”

Robert Penny was on the Council in 1641, and on the 27th of September 1647 was elected one of the Bailiffs, having Henry Chapman as a colleague. He was Chamberlain during 1653-4-5, occupancy of the office three consecutive years by the same person being almost unique. His account for 1655 was not closed until 1659, the Chamberlain then noting :—

“Rec^d of Mr. Robert Penny resting
due on the ffoote of his Accompt 01 — 00 — 05”

Penny was sometimes engaged on civic business, in 1652 occurs,

“Item paid Mr. Penneys horseheir
when hee went to Wells for ye Towne 00 — 04 — 00

Item paid Mr. Penny for his expenses
to Welles to remove Captaine Norcotts
Souldiers 00 — 04 — 00”

In 1656 “Itm paid to Mr. Penny for a shroud
for goody Storie another for goody
Hopkins another for Eleanor Dill
(perhaps late inmates of St. Catherines
Hospital) and for Sugar Tobacho
and pipes sent for to Mr. Bigges (a
little civic festivity at the Unicorn)
and allowed as by note appears 01 — 00 — 07”

In 1657 “Itm paid Mr. Penney for buttons
silke and other things for Comeinges
(Town-crier) Coate 00 — 02 — 01”

In 1661 “Itm paid Mr. Robert Penny for
powder and other things (Coronation
day, April 23 1661) 01 — 10 — 10”

The M. B. on August 20th 1663, records “Who shall be

Elected into this Corporaton in ye place of Mr. Robert Penny—
Agreed Mr. Henry Dyer in ye place of Mr. Robert Penny
deceased.”

WILL.^N BATH

29 . 26 . O: RICHARD • PITCHER * = A Hat with
feathers in it.

R: IN • BATH • 1667 * = R • A • P •

From the device on the obverse, the issuer possibly was a vendor of hats, or as then known a “haberdasher of hats.” The hat shewn is probably a “beaver,” which were very costly. Dugdale in his diary, April 1661, mentions “payed for a bever hatt 4l 10s.” Pepys, too, notes in his diary, June 27th 1661, “this day Mr. Holden sent me a bever which cost me 4l 5s” The ornament interlacing R. A. P. on the reverse renders this token the most elaborate of the Bath issues.

1627. St. Michaels Regr. June 8. Richard Pitcher son of Owen
Christened
1683. Abbey. Aug. 3. Richard Pitcher Alderman Burial

Warner in his History of Bath, page 264, mentions that in 1683 “Mr. Richard Pitcher Alderman of this City gave a field in the parish of Widcombe the profits to the use of the church (Abbey) for ever”

The Ch. Ac. for 1654 contains :—

“Itm Receaved upon Richard Pitchers
being made ffree 00 - 06 - 00”

On September 4th 1665, “Rico Pitcher” was a candidate for the Council but only received one vote. In August 1668 the M. B. records “Who shall be elected one of ye Comon counsell of this Citty in ye place of Mr. Burton—Agreede Richard Pitcher be one of ye Comon Counsell of this City.” In the September following he was chosen as one of the Constables for the ensuing year. In September 1676 Pitcher was elected a Bailiff, and in 1678 was one of the Overseers of the Common-lands.

In September 1679, Pitcher was chosen as one of the Aldermen. He occupied the office of Chamberlain in 1679 and in 1680, and in 1681 the then Chamberlain notes that he

“Recd of Mr. Richard Pitcher on the
foot of his Acc^t 30 — 13 — 04
Received of Alderman Pitcher for
Arrears of Rent 00 — 10 — 06.”

The Ch. Ac's. contain in

1665 “Itm of Richard Pitcher for a Tene-
ment & Garden 00 — 10 — 00

1673 Itt of Mr Richard Pitcher for a tenement
and Garden called ye Pound 00 — 10 — 00”

The M. B. Oct. 1st 1683, records “Whether the former graunt made to Mr. Pitcher for 42 yeares shall be confirmed on the Executors in trust according as his will doth direct—Agreed that it shall be confirmed on the Trustees.”

WILL^N BATH

30 . 27 . O : FRANCIS RANCE = A Mermaid.
R : OF • BATHE • 1659 • * = F • E • R •

The issuer of this token lived in Walcot Street, evidently not far from St. Michael's Church. The name, Rance, occurs at an early date in the Registers of the Church. A descendant bearing the same name was rated for a house in Walcot Street as late as 1730.

The following extracts are from St. Michael's Registers :—

1588.	Richard Raunce—Margery Howell	Married
1597.	Francis Raunce son of Richard	Christened
1633.	May 2. ffrancis Raunce—Elizbth Rendall	Married
1635.	Feb. 12. Elizabeth Raunce dau of Francis & Elizabeth	Christened
1659.	Mar. 16. Francis Raunce	Burial
1663.	Oct. 6. Francis Rance son of Francis & Elizbth	„
1680.	May 31. Elizabeth Rance. Widdow	„

The M. B. October 6th 1634 records that "ffrauncis Raunce offered for his ffreedome 10^s and agreede to pay 30^s but refused and went out ye Courte in scorne and contempt."

On the 26th of December 1636 it was "Agreede that ffrauncis Raunce shall pay 13s 4d for his ffreedome."

In 1655, December 31st, the M. B. contains "ffrauncis Raunce bids 40^s for 99 yeares if three lives live soo long in ye tenem^t now in his posson in Walcott Streete and late in ye posson of Mr. Richard Abbott—Agreede a graunt bee made to ffrauncis Raunce."

The Chamberlain for 1656 notes,

" Itm of ffrauncis Raunce for his ffine
& Seale 02 - 06 - 08"

WILL^N. BATH

31 . 28 . O : IOHN . REED = A Mermaid.

R : OF . BATH . 1656 = I . B . R .

The issuer of this Token carried on business as a Mercer, on the east side of Northgate Street.

The following items are taken from the Abbey Registers :—

1654.	Feb. 26.	Nicholas son of John Reed & Bridgett	Christened
1657.	July 26.	John son of Mr. John Reed & Bridgett	,,
1675?6.	Feb. 14.	Mr. John Reed Alderman	Burial
1694.	May 22.	Mr. John Reed (son of issuer)	,,

Anthony-a-Wood in 1676, mentions as then in the Abbey. "On a flat free stone. Samuel son of Joh Reed Aldman of this citie died 2 Dec. 1667. Also Nich eldest son of the said Jo: Reed died 6 Jan 1671, aet 16. On another, Marjerie daug of John Reed Chamb-laine of this Cittie, died 6 Nov 1667."

The Chamberlain in 1649 notes :—

" Itt of John Reed for his freedome 00 - 06 - 00"

The M. B. September 20th 1653, records it was "Agreede John Reed mercer shall be chosen one of ye Comon Counsell of

this City in ye plase of Mr. Cole deceased." In 1654 Reed was one of the Overseers of the Common-lands, in 1655-6 he was one of the Constables, and in September 1657 was elected a Bailiff of the City, the Chamberlain in 1658 noting:—

"It of Mr. John Reede for his part of

Bailyweeke

06 - 13 - 04."

The M. B. August 24th 1659, records "Whereas Mr. John Reede hath begun to make an Incroachment on ye Northgate Streete ye question is whether ye same Incroachment shall bee taken downe or not—Agreede ye sde Incroachment shall bee taken downe and that ye Mayor and Justices bee desired to see ye same done accordingly."

Reed was one of the Councillors arrested on Monday, September 23rd 1661, and sent to Keynsham by Henry Chapman.

Reed was Chamberlain in 1668 and 1669, in the latter year his account, modestly omitting the prefix Mr., notes:—

"It of John Reed for his fine and Seale 12 - 06 - 08."

His account for 1669 was not closed until 1673, the then Chamberlain noting,

"Item of Mr. John Reede due uppon

the ballance of his accompt

08 - 02 - 00."

In March 1670, Reed was elected an Alderman, and in 1672 was again an Overseer of the Commons.

In September 1674, the question was asked in the Council, "Who shall be Mayor of this City for ye yeare ensuing—Agreede Mr. John Reede be Mayor of this City for ye yeare ensuing." (October 1674-5.)

WILL^N BATH

32 . 29 . O : GEO . REVE . GOLDSMITH = The Goldsmiths Arms

R : IN . BATH . 1668 . = G . M^r . R .

The issuer of this Token carried on business in Stall Street, near the Church of S. Mary de Stalles.

The following extracts are from the Abbey Registers :—

1644.	Oct. 2.	Spenser son of George Reeve & Mary	Christened
1646.	Jan. 10.	Matthew son of George Reeve & Mary	„
1664.	July 4.	Mary wife of George Reeves	Burial
1676.	Sep. 27.	George Reeve one of ye Comon Counsell	„

Anthony-a-Wood in 1676, notes as then in the Abbey “On a pillar next below the pulpit the p-portion of a woman kneeling with a hat on her head, between two children & under them on a brass plate is written—Here lyeth Mary wife of George Reeve of Bath, goldsmith, (and also of Spencer his father and of Kath^e his mother) and of Spencer his first son, and of George his 2nd & of Henry his 3rd and Spencer his 4th. Shee the said Mary departed this life 3 July 1664.—On a flat stone und-neath (of marble) George Reeve, Goldsmith, one of ye Comon Counsell of ye citie, ob 23 Sepr 1677? aet 53. Armes are—Chev. betw 3 pair of wings.”

A later description of the monuments in the Abbey, states that the following lines were on the plate after 4th and preceding “Shee” :—

“So that you see gaynst deaths all conquering hand
Nor sex, nor age, agaynst his force can stand
But ther’s a tyme wherein our body’s must
Revive agayne, though now turned into dust.”

The Chamberlain notes in 1657.

“Item of George Reeves for his ffredome 00 — 06 — 00”

In September 1658, George Reeves was a candidate for the Council but was not then elected. The M. B. September 12th 1659, records, “Who shall be one of ye Comon Counsell of this Cittie in ye plase of Mr. Antony Elkington deceased—Agreed that Mr. George Reeve of this Cittie be one of the Comon Counsell of this City.” Reeve was very frequently absent from the Council meetings, and on the 29th of June 1660, he and two others were by vote removed from the Council, to make way for Henry Chapman, Samuel Wintle and Robert Shepparde, old

members then re-instated. On the 17th of August 1660, it was "Agreede by Generall Consent that Mr. George Reeve be re-admitted a member of ye Comon Counsell of this Cittie having been before displased," on the 26th of September he was elected one of the Constables for the ensuing year. Reeve was one of the members of the Council arrested on September 19th 1661, by order of Henry Chapman, and despatched to Ilchester, his signature and seal appears in the Hall-book, on the statement drawn up directly upon their return by those arrested.

The M. B. December 30th 1661 records that "Mr. George Reeve bids () yearely rent to renew his Estate in his Shopp & Backsyde being Church Lands for 21 yeares—Agreede a graunt be made to George Reeve of ye syde Shopp and Backside abovsайд for 21 yeares at ye Rent of 30^s usuall covent^s."

It is not improbable that George Reeve was for some reason compulsorily retired from the Council soon after the events of September 1661, for his name disappears from those given as present at the meetings.

In 1661 the Chamberlain notes :—

	"Itm Rec ^d of Mr. George Reeves ffor his ffreedome	00—06—00
	(this item refers to one of the issuer's sons, who died soon after)	
1663	Itm to Mr. Reeve for a Bason and Eure presented to the Queens Ma—tie (Catherine of Braganza, Queen of Charles 2nd, who in 1663 visited the City for the use of the waters) as per Acquittance	31—10—00
1666	It paid to Mr. George Reeve for altering the Macies	13—12—00
	It paid for the Cases of the Macies per Bill	00—04—06
1669	It of Mr. George Reeves for his Seale (Being Church Lands)	00—06—08"

In August 1671 Reeve was readmitted to the Council, as it was then "Agreede that Mr. George Reeve be one of ye Comon Counsell" "in ye place of Mr. ffrauncis Skryne deceased." In 1674-5 he was one of the Bailiffs of the Citty, the Chamberlain noting in :—

1675	" Itt Mr. George Reeve and Mr. Thomas Gibbs for ye Bayliweeke	13 — 06 — 08
	Itt Mr. George Reeve and Mr. Thomas Gibbs for ye Shambles	10 — 00 — 00
1676	Itt Mr. Mathew Reeve for his ffreedome (son of issuer)	00 — 06 — 00
	Itt paid Mr. Reeve for work to the Maces	00 — 02 — 06"

On the 23rd of September 1676, "in the place of Mr. George Reeves deceased." "Mr. Walter Jones" was elected to the Council.

In 1678 the M. B. notes that Mathew Reeve, son of George, had a shop in the Churchyard of S^t Staulls (Staulls crossed out and Peter and Paul written over it).

In 1679 is the entry "Whether Mr. Reeve shall have his lease renewed for 21 yeares of and in one Shopp in the Churchyard of S^t Peter & Paull."

This lease was evidently granted as the Chamberlain in 1679 notes :—

"Item of Mr. Reeves for his fyne & seale 05 — 13 — 04."

On March 5th 1683, the M. B. records that "Mr. Mathew Reeve one of the corporation of the City and bayliffe of this City being accused of treason whether he shall be turned out of this corporation & likewise from being bayliffe—Agreede he shall not be turned out of this Corporation."

On the 26th, the matter was re-opened and it was then "Agreed that Mr. Reeve bee turned out of ye Corporacon and from being Bayliff."

On the 3rd of September following, is noted, "Mr. Matthew

Reeve formerly a member of this Corporason being then accused of Treason whereof he was displased since w^{ch} tyme he hath been acquitted—Whether he shall be admitted as a Comon Counsell man in his former place,” this entry is crossed out and it was discussed “If any action shall be brought ag^t any officer or other member of this Corporason by Mr. Reeve concerning his being voted out of this Corporason & likewise from being Bayliffe whether he or they shall be defended at the cost of the Chamber.—Agreede by generall consent that the officer or member of this Corporason that shall be sued by Mr. Reeve on the ground of his being displased shall be defended at the charge of the Chamber.” On the 6th of November 1685, occurs “Whether Mr. Reeve his mandamus now produced in court shall be allowed—Agreed it shall be allowed.” Soon after this Matthew Reeve appears on the Council roll.

On January 27th 1692, “Mr. Mathew Reeve bids 5^s to drowne fflower yeares and for to take a Lease for fforty two yeares of & in one Shop & little roome lying in Staulls Streete—Agreed for four pounds and under the usuall rents and covenants provided that Mr. Mathew Reeve produces the probatt of the will of Mr. Walter Chapman (issuer No. 12) grandfather of Mr. Wm. Chapman and by the said will a good Estate is made of the S^d shop & roome without any encumbrance.” On the 30th of September 1695, occurs “What increased Rent shall Mr. Matthew Reeve” —“of and in a tenem Shop and backside lyinge in ye Churchyard of St. Peter & Paul.”

The M. B. March 28th 1698, records “Whether Mr. Matthew Reeve shall be displased from being one of the Comon Counsell of this City he having settled himselfe in Barbadoos—Agreed he shall and is displased.” It may be that consequent on some political or religious trouble of that time, relatives or friends of Reeve had been deported to the West Indies and that he left Bath to join them.

WILL^N BATH.

33. 30. O : THOMAS . SALMON : * = A clasped Book.
 R : IN . BATH : 1667 : * : * = A clasped
 Book between T S

The issuer of this Token carried on business as a Bookseller, &c.
 He was admitted a freeman by purchase in December 1663.

The following extracts are from the Abbey Registers :—

1663. Jan. 27. Elizabeth dau of Thomas Salmon & Anne Christened
 1667. May 9. Ruth dau of Thomas Salmon & Anne „
 1668. Feb. 14. Noah son of Thomas Salmon & Anne „
 1673. Oct. 15. Solomon son of Thomas Salmon & Anne „
 1677. July 23. Thomas Salmon Burial

The Ch. Ac. for 1662 notes :—

“ Itm paid Mr Thomas Salmon for new
 binding the Counsell book 00 — 01 — 06

Itm Mr Tho Salmon for the Act for
 Hearths and for paper pennis Inke
 and waxe used at Hall per bill 00 — 04 — 08”

(Without a particle of evidence, one of Henry Chapman's detractors accuses him of having destroyed the Minutes lost from the Hall-book, 1638-1643, but the loss is more probably due to a careless binder, the culprit may have been Mr. Thomas Salmon.)

The M. B. Dec. 28th, 1663, records : “ What Thomas Salmon shall pay for his being a ffreeman of this Citty—Agreede that Thomas Salmon shall pay 5£ for his ffreedome of this Citty.” Curiously enough although £5 is specified, the Chamberlain for 1663 notes :—

“ Item of Mr Thomas Salmon for his
 freedome by Composicon 03 — 02 — 00”

Presumably Salmon considered five pounds too much. From the prefix, Mr, used when mentioning him, evidently he was a somewhat important personage.

The Chamberlain notes in :—

1664. “ Itm to Mr Salmon for pennis Inke
 paper and wax 00 — 03 — 01

1665.	Itm of Mr Salmon due upon Bond	05 — 00 — 00
	Itm to Mr Salmon for parchment paper pennes and Inke	00 — 10 — 04
1666.	It paid Mr Thomas Salmon for binding 4 books in one for paper inke and pennes per Bill	00 — 15 — 09
1672.	It paid Mr Salmon for two Lawbooks per bill	01 — 00 — 00
1673.	It pd Thomas Salmon for a receipte booke	00 — 01 — 06
1676.	to Mr Salmon for Bindinge ye Charters	00 — 07 — 00
1677.	to Mrs Salmon per Bill	00 — 04 — 06
1678.	To Mrs Sallmon wid per order	00 — 04 — 01"

WILL^N BATH

34 . 31 . O : WILLIAM . SMITH = A pair of Croppers shears
R : IN . BATHE . 1666 = W . I . S .

The issuer of this token was a "Clothier" probably carrying on business in Frog Lane (site of present New Bond Street) which opened off Broad (Northgate) Street. In this lane stood a large building, this Mr. Murch in his "History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Church" states was a "shear shop" in which "the Presbyterian congregation assembled" in 1688. The croppers' shears then employed in the preparation of cloth, used as a device upon his token, may connect the issuer with this "shear shop."

1661.	St. Michaels Register.	Nov. 1.	Hanna Smith dau of William	Burial
1673	Abbey	„	Aug. 31. Hanna dau of William Smith & Jane	Christened
1681.	St. Michaels	„	Aug. 21. Christian Smith dau of Willm & Jane	„
1689.	„	„	Apr. 10. William Smith	Burial

The Chamberlain in 1655, notes

“Itm of William Smith for his freedome 00 — 06 — 00”

On the 21st of September 1658, “Willm Smith” was a candidate for the Council, receiving but one vote, he was effectually discouraged, for I cannot find that he tried again.

On the 16th of June 1660, “William Prynne Esq^r” “presented to the Kings most excellent Majesty in his Bedchamber at Whitehall” “The humble Address of the Maior, Aldermen and Citizens of” “the City of Bath” This address was signed amongst others by the following Token issuers:—Baber, Biggs, Bush, John Fisher, Masters, Pearce, Penny, Reed, Reeve, Smith and White.

The Ch. Ac. for 1662 contains:—

“Item paid William Smith Clothier for
a newe brasse Cocke for the Conduit
at Mr. Clifts door

00 — 12 — 00”

The M. B. January 25th 1688, records “William Smith bids 10^s to add the life of Joane Smith in reversion of Mary Smith and to take a new Lease for 99 yeares if the said Mary Smith and Joane Smith shall so long live of and in one tenem^t and Garden lying in Broad Street—Agreed for 10s and under the usuall rents and coven^{ts},” “ffor a cobby of Licence 10^s.”

WILL^N. BATH

35 . 32 . O : IOHN * SWALLOW * Y^E * = A Swallow.

R : IN * BATH * 1669 . * = I * S * S *

The following items may relate to the father and to the son of the issuer.

1613.	Abbey Registers.	Richard Swallowe—Christian	
		Fisher	Married
1694.	St. James' „	June 10. John Swallow	Christened
1730.	Abbey „	Sep. 15. John Swallow	Burial

In 1631 Richard Swallow was one of the City Ale-tasters.

The M. B. December 1634, notes a “Graunt made to Richard

Swallowe of Tenem^t and stable and one pcell of grounde sometime belonginge to sd Richard 9 foot square for 99 yeares if Willm John and Alice live, ffine 30^s old rent usuall coven^{ts} and to tyle it." At this date Richard Swallow was the Beadle and Town Crier.

The Chamberlain in 1648, notes :—

"Itm of John Swallow for his ffreedome 00 — 06 — 00"

On December 26th 1659, the M. B. records "Whether ye 30 li being Mr. Edward Hortons money paid in by Mr. Dallimores Executors shall bee lent out to John Swallowe of this City—Agreede that ye syd 30 li be lent to ye syd John Swallowe."

WILL^s BATH.

36 . 33 . O : EDWARD * WHITE * = The Mercers Arms
R : MERCER * IN * BATH * 1655 * = E·I·W·

The following extracts are from the Abbey Registers :—

1648. July 4. Elizabeth dau of Edward White & Joane Christened

1669. Oct. 17. William son of Mr Edward White

Alderman of this Cittie and Joane Burial

1672. Apr. 28. Edward White Alderman

"

The Chamberlain notes in 1646 :—

"Item of Edward White for his
ffreedome

00 — 04 — 00"

On the 21st of August, 1648, Edward White entered the Council.

The Chamberlain in 1650 notes :—

"Item of Mr Edward White for an
encroachment

00 — 01 — 00"

This entry recurs in the accounts for many years. The encroachment was probably the opening of a shop or the placing of a shop window, one shilling being a common annual rent for this, as

"Item of William Ball for an ineroach-
ment by settinge up of a Shopp upon
the Cittie wast

00 — 01 — 00"

“Item of Thomas Parker for settinge upp his Shopp Windowe graunted him from our Lady Day 1637 for the Terme of Seaven yeares as by the graunt appeareth the Some of one shilling per annum.”

In 1652, Edward White was one of the Bailiffs, the Chamberlain then noting,

	“Itm of Mr. John Masters and Mr. Edward White ffor their Bayliwicke ffor ye yeare last past	13 — 06 — 08
	Item paid Mr. Masters & Mr. White ffor business done for ye Corporaton	01 — 10 — 00
1664	It paid to Mr. Edward White for the Intrest of ffifty poundes	00 — 15 — 00”

In 1666 Edward White was Chamberlain, and in September 1668 was “elected one of ye Aldermen of this City.”

The Ch. Ac. for 1670 notes :—

“It pd Mr. Edward White for 1lb of refined sugar for ye Mayor & Judg of ye Sessions	00 — 01 — 06”
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In September 1670 it was “Agreede Mr. Edward White shall be Mayor of this City for ye yeare ensuing” (October 1670-71).

White was one of the Justices when he died in April 1672.

In presenting this paper with pleasure I acknowledge my indebtedness to the Rev. C. W. Shickle, who kindly permitted me full access to his copies of the rolls of account of the City Chamberlains, the numerous extracts I have used from them are by his courtesy. A typewritten copy of these interesting accounts he recently presented to the City, for this receiving the thanks of the Council. For the light these valuable transcripts throw upon the history of Bath, they should be printed so as to be still more accessible ; as to this I suggest to the Members of the Council that they might well repeat the action of their predecessors

towards the Rev. R. Warner in 1797, and make a grant for the purpose.

The extracts from the Hall or Minute Books of the City, were copied by permission of the late Town Clerk (B. H. Watts, Esq.), some of the writing in these Books is almost illegible, and a few of the pages have been misplaced in binding up, should errors be found in the dates I have given, this must be my apology.

For access to the Abbey Registers I have to acknowledge the kind permission of the Rev. Preb. S. Boyd.

As to the Registers of the Churches of St. Michael and of St. James, I am indebted to the type-written copies of these, recently made by the Rev. C. W. Shickle and by him most kindly presented to the City (Reference Library).

The numbers under WILL^N refer to the Somerset section of the work on "Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century" by Dr. G. C. Williamson.

Contractions used :—O for obverse ; R for reverse.

= signifies that what follows is in the central part.

| denotes that the inscription is in lines divided at that point.

Three initials generally appear on the tokens, thus $\begin{matrix} \cdot & P & \cdot \\ R & \cdot & I \end{matrix}$

but for the convenience of printing they are placed in line, thus, R · I · P ·

The Via Julia and Lansdown Tumuli.

By A. TRICE MARTIN, M.A., F.S.A.

A detailed account of the excavations for which the Field Club provided the necessary funds, will appear in a later volume of the Report. It may, however, meanwhile be of interest to state that the work on the grass lane south of Prospect stile tended to confirm the theory that a part of this lane at any rate was a Roman road, and there appears no doubt that this road descended the steep face of the hill towards Weston, and that it is still represented by the bank of part of the sunken path. Excavations further to the east on the supposed continuation of its line through the northern outskirts of Weston produced only negative results.

On Lansdown itself, excavations in the so-called Roman camp revealed no evidence of a Roman origin, but the road which passes through the British Camp overlooking North Stoke was cut in several places and has every appearance of being Roman. One of the tumuli in this Camp was opened, but nothing of interest was found. Two other tumuli were opened on the Down to the east of this Camp, and in one, notwithstanding that it had been previously opened, were found, besides fragments of pottery, bones, many small pieces of copper, or bronze, many of which still retained the original plating of gold. These on examination appear to be part of a sun disc and therefore of considerable interest. A photograph will be published with the detailed report.

List of Birds and Flowers of Bath and its neighbourhood, with the periods of their first appearance, as observed by A. CASTELLAIN, in the year 1904.

BIRDS, &c.

- 4th Jan. hedge-sparrow, thrushes and robin sang.
 9th " oxe-eye and hedge-sparrow sang.
 12th " saw geese 8.50 a.m. flying towards N.E.
 14th " heard missel and song thrush.
 21st " heard missel and song thrush.
 29th " heard missel and song thrush, and skylarks sang, Lansdown.
 1st Feb. hedge-sparrow and missel thrush sang, heard nuthatch.
 4th " chaffinches and greenfinch sang in Victoria Park.
 9th " saw geese flying S.W., near Gas Works.
 17th " rocks building, Circus.
 18th " heard green woodpecker, Bathampton.
 25th " chaffinch sang.
 1st Mar. saw bullfinches and stockdoves, Bradford and Charicombe.
 7th " skylark sang, Bathford.

FLOWERS.

- 9th Jan. Canterbury bells in flower.
 21st " snowdrops and winter aconite in flower, Botanical Gardens.
 9th Feb. crocuses and snowdrops in flower, Victoria Park.
 11th " strawberry leaved potentilla and white mezerium in bloom, Botanical Gardens.
 15th " dandelions and Venus comb cress in flower, Camerton.
 19th " coltsfoot and lesser celandine in bloom, Winsley.
 23rd " pink dead nettle and speedwell in flower, Combe Hay.
 25th " snowflake, squills and primula in flower, Botanical Gardens.

8th Mar. heard green woodpecker, skylarks and chaf-
finches (latter with pairing note), Saltford.
9th " yellowhammer sang, saw bee and white butter-
fly, Twinhoe.
17th " heard stockdove at St. Catherine's.
21st " saw fieldfares, linnets and woodpecker, Ditteridge
and Box.
4th Apr. heard chiffchaff, Bathampton.
6th " swallows, Hampton Downs.
10th " saw swallow, Pulteney Street.
12th " swallows, chiffchaffs, willow wren and blackcap,
Upper Weston.
13th " heard blackcap, Shockerwick.
16th " heard blackcap, nightingale, willow wrens, chiff-
chaff, &c.; saw tortoise-shell butterflies and
red-tailed bee, Bradford and Freshford,

8th Mar. bird's eye, speedwell, dead nettle, whitlow
grass and palm willow in flower, Freshford.
9th " periwinkle and primroses, at Combe Hay.
12th " chickweed in flower, Newton.
15th " ivyleaved speedwell and rueleaved saxifrage in
flower, Freshford.
17th " false strawberry in flower, St. Catherine's.
21st " yellow archangel and fool's parsley in flower,
Ditteridge.
24th " found white violets, white dead nettle and
stitchwort (holosteia) in flower, Bradford;
also leopard's bane and currant, Freshford,
and almond still in bloom.
28th " dog violets and anemones in flower, Combe Hay.
1st Apr. ground ivy in flower, Limpley Stoke.
2nd " white violets, moschatel and golden saxifrage
in flower, Langridge, and wood sorrel,
Botanical Gardens.
6th " ivyleaved toadflax and hedge parsley in flower,
Hinton Charterhouse.
8th " cowslip in bud, Northstoke.
9th " marsh marigolds in bloom, Englishbatch.
11th " shepherd's purse in flower, Bathampton.
12th " narrow-leaved plantain in bloom.
16th " cuckoo flower, sloe, anemones and field cabbage
in flower, Bradford,

18th Apr. heard whitethroat, saw peacock, brimstone,
white and tortoise-shell butterflies and young
thrush, Charmey Down.
20th " saw house martins, Limpley Stoke.
25th " heard treepit, whitethroats, sedgewarbler,
wryneck and nightingales, saw swifts and
sandmartins, Midford.
26th " saw missel and song thrush. robin and hedge-
sparrow's nests, Monkton Combe
30th " saw wheatear and cuckoo, Colerne.
5th May heard turtledoves, Freshford.
9th " saw redstart wheatears, and whitethroat, heard
nightingale, Hampton Downs.
10th " heard corncrake, Claverton.
16th " heard bunting, Peasedown.
19th " heard goldfinch, saw orange tips, Combe Hay.

18th Apr. germander, speedwell, garlic hedge mustard
shiny geranium and arum in flower, Charmey
Down.
20th " wild strawberry, herb Robert, dove's foot and
shiny crane's bill, tare, rockrose, yellow trefoil,
buttercups, wild hyacinth, periwinkles and
wood spurge, Winsley and Bathford.
25th " crosswort, white comfrey, guelder rose (v. lan-
tana) cowslips, cuckoo-flower and marsh,
marigolds in full flower, Limpley Stoke.
26th " woodruff, hairy cressand wood spurge in flower,
Monkton Combe.
28th " purple comfrey in flower, Corston.
30th " campion in bud, field scorpion grass in flower.
4th May bugle and mouse-ear chickweed in flower,
Canal.
5th " creeping cress and yellow hedge mustard in
flower, Freshford.
10th " lamb's lettuce and laburnum in flower, Claverton.
12th " garlic in flower, Freshford.
16th " hawthorn, Weston, cleavers and rowan in
flower, North Stoke, and pink clover and
crabtree, Wells road.
17th " celandine (chelidonium) in flower, Botanical
gardens.
18th " alkanet in flower, Batheaston.
19th " coronilla, avens, yellow vetch, saxifrage and
tares in flower, Midford,

25th May heard corncrake, wood-pigeons, stock and turtle doves, Kingsdown.

26th " heard goldfinch and turtle doves, Farleigh Hungerford.

13th June heard Nighthungals, chiffchaff, willow-wren, goldcrest, titlark, ring and turtle doves, Midford and Freshford.

25th May found coronilla, blue milkwort, rockrose, eye-bright, burnet, fieldrush, and small scorpion grass in flower, Kingsdown.

26th " figwort and sycamore in flower, Farley Hungerford.

31st " yellow iris in flower Victoria Park, and white campion, Combe Down, hemlock and yellow clover, Bathampton.

3rd June lucerne and willow herb in flower, Combe Down.

6th " poppies and roses, Bathampton, yellow rattle, pellitory, yellow vetch, blackberry and elder in flower, Freshford and Midford.

8th " yellow stonecrop, thistle and beans and acacia in flower, Saltford and Corston.

13th " catchfly, cow wheat, gromwell, sanicle, woundwort, yellow vetch, coronilla, twayblade, spotted orchis, butterfly orchis, milkwort, and white valerian in flower, Warminster Road to Midford.

15th " mallow, white bedstraw, cornel and gromwell, Winsley hill, and meadow crane's bill, Box.

16th " wild radish, ragged robin, pellitory, self-heal, and centaury in flower, Batheaston to Colerne.

17th " water plantain, watercress and sedge in flower, Canal.

23rd " St. John's wort and wood vetch in flower, Freshford to Midford.

25th " yellow toadflax, meadow sweet, thyme, viper's bugloss, rocket, scabious and yellow-wort, Winsley.

26th " drooping thistle in flower.

23rd " heard flycatcher, &c., Freshford to Midford.

25th " saw flycatcher and whitethroat, Limpley Stoke.

27th June meadow brown butterflies, Prospect stile.

27th June drooping thistle and other thistles, Prospect stile, brooklime speedwell, watercress, hawk-weeds (2), flax (l. catharticum), pink milkwort, and pennywort, Bathampton to Freshford.

28th " yarrow, spiked star of Bethlehem, agrimony, sedge, water plantain, St. John's wort, scabious, scarlet pimpernel, yellow waterlily, figwort and cow parsley in flower, Midford.

30th " saw young partridges, Ditteridge lane

30th " mullein in flower, Ditteridge.

1st July convolvulus, enchanter's nightshade and cinquefoil in flower, Warleigh.

4th " yellow bedstraw and broom rape in flower, Kingsdown.

5th " hybrid clover, Prospect Stile.

15th " large willowherb, purple loosestrife, yellow toadflax and white ivyleaved toadflax in flower, Midford.

17th July thrush sang, 59, Pulteney Street

19th " fleabane and hemp agrimony in flower, Bradford.

20th " white stonecrop, wild carrot and basil thyme in flower, Claverton Down.

27th " clustered bellflower, Solsbury Hill.

29th " thrush in garden sang all July.

31st " goldcrests in Prior Park.

1st Aug. clustered bellflower and drooping thistle in flower, Prospect Stile; and fleabane and hairy willowherb, Broadmoor.

3rd " purple vetch, melilot and marsh mallow in flower; also musk mallow, sawwort and hornwort, Farleigh Hungerford.

13th Aug. heard willow wren, Henrietta Park.
 14th " swift still here.
 18th " saw sandmartins, Newbridge.
 26th " saw swallows and martins, Weston.
 27th " heard willow wrens and chiffchaff, Midford.
 6th Sept. saw wheatear and heard willow wrens, Combe Hay.
 21st " saw kestrel chase green woodpecker ; heard willow wrens, Prospect Stile, Northstoke to Bitton ; swallows and martins in flocks.
 22nd " heard nuthatch, Lansdown, and willow wrens, Claverton Down.
 26th " heard redpoll, willow wren and linnnet, Kingsdown.
 2nd Oct oxe-eye sang.
 3rd " hedge-sparrow sang, Lansdown, saw ringouzel and long tailed tit, Combe Hay and Southstoke.

13th Aug. white campion, chicory, St. John's wort, bartsia, bistort, knotweed, mullein and nettle-leaved bellflower in bloom, Ditteridge.
 18th " yellow toadflax, tansy, musk mallow and chicory in flower.
 19th " found plowman's spikenard, yellow vetch, marjoram, bugloss, scabious, purple dead nettle, mignonette, hawkweed, &c., Winsley.
 27th " found skullcap, white toadflax and white mint, Midford.
 1st Sept. toadflax (*l. repens*) and calamint in flower, Lyncombe.
 6th " wild and false strawberry, nettle-leaved and clustered bellflower, harebell, white and pink campions, buttercups, coronilla, yellow vetch and sowthistle still in flower, Combe Hay.
 21st " white scabious in flower, Northstoke.
 22nd " honeysuckle still in flower, Freshford, and wild strawberry, Claverton Down.
 23rd " bush vetch, white campion, poppies and wall pepper in flower, Twerton Hill.
 25th " gentian (*amarella*), rock rose and tormentil in flower, Golf Links.
 3rd Oct. periwinkles in flower, Lansdown ; also yellow vetch, meadow sweet and white campion, Combe Hay.

- 5th Oct. guelder rose still in flower, Golf Links.
- 12th " scabious and white dead nettle still in flower, Golf Links.
- 14th " buttercups and St. John's wort still in flower, Wingfield.
- 18th " poppy still in flower, Combe Down.
- 21st " meadow sweet, herb Robert, mallow and poppies in flower, Freshford.
- 22nd " avens, scabious and sowthistles in flower, Kelston.
- 29th " false strawberries in flower, Botanical Gardens.
- 31st " laburnum in full flower, Forester Road.
- 1st Nov. euonymus in flower, Forester Road; cornflowers in bloom, Newbridge Hill.
- 3rd " auricula in flower, Bathwick.
- 7th Dec. shepherd's purse and periwinkle in flower, Corston.
- 8th " groundsel in flower.
- 20th " bird's eye, speedwell and purple dead nettle in flower, Sham Castle.
- 6th Oct. saw golden plover, Lansdown.
- 12th " heard redpoll, thrushes and hedge-sparrow singing, Golf Links.
- 13th " saw swallow, Prior Park.
- 18th " thrushes and hedge-sparrow sang, Shockerwick, saw pipits, Combe Down.
- 20th " oxeye sang, Batheaston.
- 25th " saw swallow, Twerton Hill; thrush sang.
- 1st Nov. hedge-sparrow sang.
- 14th " saw goldcrest.
- 15th " saw heron, Freshford.
- 7th Dec. thrush sang, Victoria Park.
- 8th " saw peewits, Combe Down, and heard chiffchaff and chaffinch.
- 15th " heard robin and hedge-sparrows, Lansdown.
- 18th " thrush sang, Bath and Combe Down.
- 19th " thrush sang, Bath and Combe Down.
- 20th " thrush sang, Bath and Combe Down.
- 22nd " thrush sang, Bath and Combe Down.

Summary of Proceedings and Excursions for the year 1904-1905.
By the Honorary Secretaries.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The Annual Meeting of the Field Club was held at the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution on February 18th, 1904. The accounts for the year were presented by the Treasurer, Colonel Nash, and showed a balance of £44 16s. 7d. in favour of the Club. In the election of officials the changes made were the substitution of Mr. Trice Martin for Mr. McMurtrie as Vice-President, and of Mr. Kemble for Mr. Trice Martin on the Committee. Mr. Appleby was asked to undertake the duties of Librarian, and consented. The Club has lost only one Member by death: Mr. Austin J. King, who had been a Member since 1885, and who had contributed on two occasions to the Transactions of the Club, died on August 28th. It would be superfluous here to enter upon an account of Mr. King's career: it is fully recorded in the local papers, and the special memorials of his work are to be found not in the annals of our Club but in the Educational developments of the late School Board, of which he was a prominent member. Still, it is fitting to mention here his contributions to antiquarian knowledge, the chief of which was his book on the Municipal Records of Bath, in the preparation of which he had the Town Clerk (Mr. B. H. Watts) as his coadjutor. He wrote also a History of Bath from the Norman Conquest to the 19th Century for the Handbook prepared for the visit of the British Association in 1888. In alluding to the loss the Club had sustained, the President laid special stress on the services Mr. King had rendered in elucidating our interesting Civic Records.

In August the British Archæological Association visited Bath, and as was fitting, such preparations as could be made by the Club to render their gathering successful were carried out. The

Club Committee were invited to join the General Committee which dealt with the reception by the Mayor, and on the evening of August 12th the President and Mrs. Shickle entertained the visitors and other friends at the Guildhall. Addresses were delivered by the President on the City Chamberlain's Accounts and by Mr. Sydenham on the Bath Waters and Radium. Through the kindness of the Town Clerk (Mr. B. H. Watts) the City Charters were exhibited in the Library, and described by Dr. W. De Gray Birch, the Hon. Treasurer of the Association. With almost uniformly fine weather for their excursions, and with provision made for enjoyable evenings, the members of the British Archæological Association could not fail to be gratified with their visit to Bath in 1904.

During the year the work of opening the tumuli on Lansdown was proceeded with, and £5 was voted in October for the continuance of Mr. Trice Martin's enquiries into the line followed by the Via Julia. To carry on the work on Lansdown the co-operation of landowners and tenants was obviously necessary, and the Club sent cordial letters of thanks to those who had given the required permission to dig on their property, and votes of thanks were also passed to Messrs. Bush and Grey, who had assisted Mr. Trice Martin in the exploration. A short account of the work, so far as it has proceeded, has been forwarded by Mr. Martin, and will be found on page 526. The Committee, while desirous to help in a work so intimately connected with the purposes for which the Club was formed, felt that they could not, from the funds at their disposal, give as much pecuniary assistance as they wished : it is, therefore, hoped that gentlemen who take an interest in such explorations will be induced to join the Club, and with an increased balance to the Club's credit no doubt some valuable finds might be expected.

The papers which are here given in full will be perused with interest. Mr. Green contributes a paper on John Wilkes, in which will be found the items of expenditure necessarily incurred

a hundred years ago by visitors to Bath on their way hither and during their stay ; Mr. Davey gives us a geological paper, and Mr. Sydenham the third paper in succession on Tokens, a subject in which he is so thoroughly well-informed ; and once more Mr. Castellain provides us with the valuable summary of his notes on birds and flowers.

EXCURSIONS.

Corsham and Lacock, April 19th, 1904.—A party of six made their first excursion of the season. Leaving Bath by the 11.32 train, Corsham was soon reached, and permission having been duly obtained, Corsham Court was visited. For the benefit of those wishing to see the interior of the Court, it may be mentioned that permission should be obtained from the Steward, Mr. W. J. Barton, Estate Office, Corsham. The Court may be viewed on Tuesdays or Fridays, and a fee of 1s. for each visitor must be paid. Not more than ten can be admitted in one party.

Corsham Court was built in 1583 by "Customer Smythe," one of the farmers of the Customs to Elizabeth, and is still in part Elizabethan. In 1602 it was bought by the Hungerfords of Farleigh. The Methuens purchased it in 1746. The chief interest of the house lies in its pictures. The obliging house-keeper, Mrs. Davis, has a privately printed catalogue of these, which visitors may inspect, and the pictures are numbered. Among these are Vandyck's "Betrayal of the Saviour," Fiesole's "Death of the Virgin," a fine Poussin, and numerous works of the old masters.

The church, which adjoins the Court, is interesting. Originally Norman, as the nave testifies, the tower is Early English, there are some decorated windows and some fine tombs. The parvise has a south window. A curious inscription over the door in the porch was noted. There was formerly a gravestone to the memory of Sarah Jarvis, who died at the age of 107, having cut a new set of teeth in her old age. But the sexton was not

present, and the whereabouts of the grave could not be ascertained. The old churchyard is on the north side of the church, which is unusual.

A pretty walk across the park leads to the almshouses, a picturesque block of buildings, founded in 1672 by Margaret, widow of Sir Edward Hungerford, and a few steps further on is the "Methuen Arms," where a welcome luncheon was provided for the party.

A start was next made for Lacock Abbey, entrance fee 6d. each, where an intelligent guide conducted the party round the buildings and pointed out the features of interest. Lacock has been so often described that it is unnecessary to say much about it, but so many discoveries have been made of late by the owner, Mr. Talbot, that something new is to be noticed whenever it is visited. It is curious to observe how the designs of the new and old work have clashed. But the general effect is good, and the place is charmingly situated. The external appearance of part of the house has been spoilt in picturesqueness by the removal of the ivy, but it was found to be destroying the walls, and so had to go. The old caldron of the Abbey is still to be seen near the pond.

The church was unfortunately closed, and there was no time to hunt for the key. For the benefit of more fortunate visitors it may be noted that the tomb of Sherington is in the Lady Chapel. He purchased Lacock at the Dissolution, pulled down the Abbey Church, and built most of the residential portion of the house. There is a brass of Robert Baynard, 1501.

It being late, the party returned to Corsham, where, after tea, the 6.6 train was taken for Bath. The weather was perfect, and the excursion altogether was most enjoyable.

Bridgwater, July 12th, 1904.—An excursion was made to Bridgwater by the train leaving Bath at 9.53. The parish church was first visited, its notable features being pointed out by the genial vicar, Dr. Powell, who, fortunately for the members, was

present. The church, which is dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene, was restored in 1848-57, but the fine old carved oak screens remain, dating, according to some authorities, from the end of the XIV. Century. This work has been very successfully imitated in the new screen, just erected. The curious priest's room, inside the church, the corporation pew, Jacobean, and some puzzling stone work on the outside of the church, were duly noted. The Altar piece, a painting of the "Descent from the Cross," said to have been taken from a privateer, was presented to the town by the Hon. Anne Poulett, M.P., so named after his godmother, Queen Anne. It is of the Italian school, and has been attributed to Guido, or one of the Caracci. The Vicar is of opinion that the picture is a genuine Murillo, for, among others, the following reasons :—The style is Spanish rather than Italian ; the metal pot in one corner is Spanish in design ; Mary Magdalene wears a blue fillet in her hair, and her costume is not Italian ; and the feet of the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, and another are ostentatiously concealed, the composition being somewhat deranged to allow of this being done, while the foot of S. John, who supports our Lord's head, is very prominent. This is due, the Vicar thinks, to the fact that at the time Murillo was painting, a Papal ordinance was in force prohibiting the exhibition in such pictures of the feet of the Holy Women. The tomb said to be that of John Oldmixon, the historian, in the churchyard, was visited, but beyond the name of Oldmixon little could be made of the inscription, which, as the antiquary died in 1742, is perhaps not to be wondered at, nor, seeing the untrustworthiness of much that he wrote, to be deplored.

There is an entry in the church records that when Whitfield came to Bridgwater to preach "one of the fire-engines was got out, and he was pumped upon, the Vicar assisting."

Leland only notes that he saw "one large Paroch Church." "The Towne of Bridgwater," he remarks, "is not wallid, nor hath not beene by any lykelyhod that I saw. Yet there be 4

Gates in the Towne namid as be sette by Est, West, North and South. The Waulles of the Stone Houses of the Toune be yn steede of the Towne Waulles. I rode from the South Gate yn a praty Streate a while, and then I turnid by Est and came to the Market Place." "The Castelle," says Leland, "sumty me a right fair and strong Peace of Worke, but now al goyng to mere Ruine, standith harde bynethe the Bridge of the West side of the Haven." At the suggestion of the Vicar, Mr. Major was called upon, at his office on the Quay, and he very kindly pointed out portions of the old castle upon his premises ; strong-rooms had been "dug out" of the walls, which were 11 feet in thickness, and the entrance to a passage said to lead under the river Parrett, was pointed out. The castle was built by Walter Briwere in the reign of King John.

The two crosses formerly at Bridgwater have disappeared. At the Market Cross the Mayor proclaimed the Duke of Monmouth King of England. On one of the pillars of this cross was engraved "Mind your own Business." The other was called the Pig Cross, probably a corruption of Pignes, an ancient manor of Bridgwater, on the boundaries of which it is known that a cross stood.

After luncheon at the Royal Clarence Hotel, near which is the statue of Admiral Blake, whose birth-place still stands in Blake Street, the party left in a well-horsed break for Chedzoy, the intelligent driver pointing out objects of interest by the way, the Bussex "rhine" or ditch, which proved so fatal to Monmouth, the place where many of the victims of the "last great battle on English soil" were buried, &c. Chedzoy Church has a handsome tower, and its porch is covered with roses. There are some good bench-ends, and a brass of a mailed figure, name unknown. In a carved chest is a fine old Bible of 1617, but all in pieces. Could not the rector have it decently repaired and cared for? Over the porch are the letters H.P. and a bird, the initials, and probably the rebus of a former rector, and Abbot Beere's

monogram. The date, 1579, probably refers to a restoration of the church.

Weston Zoyland Church, which was next visited, has some good bench-ends, and the canopied tomb of an ecclesiastic. It was said that a fine view of the battlefield of Sedgmoor might be had from the tower, but the vicar was unfortunately absent, and the key was not to be had. The church was used as a prison by Feversham. Middlezoy Church, which is on rising ground, was a conspicuous object long before it was reached. The rector, observing the party, kind'y guided them over the church, which is mostly Early English, and possesses several features of interest. The pulpit is Jacobean, and there is a good font with an oaken cover. The bench-ends are good, some remarkably so, and on one is a standing figure of the type of those met with on the old Irish crosses. On the stones forming the floor of the chancel are some curious inscriptions, and under the matting in the nave is a brass plate recording the death of "Louis Chevalier de Misières," slain fighting "against ye King's enemies commanded by ye Rebel Duke of Monmouth." On the outer sill of the North door are a rudely incised cross and a key. The dedication of the church is the "Invention of the Cross." Probably these symbols may refer to this dedication, and imply that "The cross is the key to Heaven." An old Altar tomb in the churchyard, dated 1504, bears an inscription, almost illegible, but which might, with patience and a good light, be deciphered. But it would probably not repay the trouble. Not far off is the tower of Othery Church, and on an adjacent hill that of Borough Bridge. This latter seems not to have been used as a parish church; it is even doubtful if it has ever been used for service. It had two bells, both of which have been stolen, Middlezoy being credited with the theft of one.

The Rector of Middlezoy and his wife most kindly entertained the party at tea, and gave them all the information available. It being late, a start was made for Bridgwater, where the 6.3 train

was caught, and Bath was reached at 7.41. There had been a thunderstorm at Bridgwater in the morning, which had cooled the air and laid the dust. The drive, though not so picturesque as in some other parts of the county, was pretty and interesting, the Polden and Ham Hills being in sight all the way, while the Quantocks were visible in the distance.

The excursions to Stourton, Ludlow, and Gloucester and Deerhurst were not carried out, as very few names were sent in.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library during the year have been chiefly the works contributed by the Smithsonian Institution of the United States and similar publications from that country. There are also the various issues of Local Field Clubs and similar Societies with which we exchange publications.

BATH NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN FIELD CLUB.

INSTITUTED FEBRUARY 18th, 1855.

LIST OF MEMBERS FOR THE YEAR 1905.

PRESIDENT.

1903 *A. TRICE MARTIN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Bath College.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1889 *Rev. C. W. SHICKLE, M.A., F.S.A., 9, Cavendish Crescent.

1895 *Rev. T. W. WHALE, M.A., Mountnessing, Weston, Bath.

SECRETARIES.

1902 *J. LANGFIELD WARD, Esq., M.A., Weston Lawn, Weston, Bath.

1893 *M. H. SCOTT, Esq., 5, Lansdown Place, W.

LIBRARIAN.

1902 *E. J. APPLEBY, Esq., 8, Argyle Street.

TREASURER.

1897 *Lieut.-Col. G. S. NASH, 7, Laura Place.

1865 GREEN Emanuel, Esq., F.S.A., Devonshire Club, St. James, London.

1867 *INMAN T. F., Esq., Kilkenny House, Sion Hill.

1870 HARPER C., Esq., L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., Manor House, Batheaston.

1872 SHUM Fred., Esq., F.S.A., 17, Norfolk Crescent.

„ *MARTIN Rev. W. W., M.A., 49, Pulteney Street.

1874 TAGART W. H., Esq., F.R.G.S., Parkfield, Park Gardens.

1875 EVANS Major J. Ll., J.P., 12, Cavendish Place.

1876 *HENDERSON W. H., Esq., 9, Royal Crescent.

1878 MACKILLOP C. W., Esq., J.P., 14, Royal Crescent.

„ SKRINE Col. H. Mills, J.P., Warleigh.

„ FOXCROFT E. T. D., Esq., J.P., D.L., Hinton Charterhouse.

1880 GAINES Charles, Esq., M.R.C.S., Weston Lea, Weston Park.

„ SHUM F. Ernest, Esq., 3, Union Street.

- 1882 *BARLOW W. H., Esq., Cleveland Villa, Bathwick.
 „ *NORMAN G., Esq., M.R.C.S., 12, Brock Street.
 „ MANTELL Surgeon-Major, A. A., M.D., The Elms, Bathampton.
 „ TUCKER J. Allon, Esq., J.P., 9, Green Park.
 „ POWELL G. F., Esq., 25, Green Park.
 1883 KITT Benjamin, Esq., C.E., Sydney Lodge, Bathwick.
 „ BLATHWAYT Lieut.-Col. L., F.L.S., F. Ent. S. Eagle House
 Batheaston.
 1885 BYROM Edmond, Esq., 3, Edgar Buildings.
 1886 GEORGE Rev. P. E., M.A., Winifred House, Sion Hill.
 „ LEWIS Egbert, Esq., 12, Bathwick Street.
 „ FULLER E. N., Esq., 6, Ainslie's Belvedere.
 1887 SCOTT R. J. H., Esq., F.R.C.S., 28, Circus.
 „ PALMER-HALLETT T. G., Esq., M.A., J.P., Claverton Lodge,
 Bathwick Hill.
 „ HOLST Johan, Esq., 35, Pulteney Street.
 1889 ALEXANDER P. Y., Esq., The Mount, Batheaston.
 „ THOMSON Col. H., The Elms, Weston Park.
 1890 *FANSHAWE Col. T. B., 24, Park Street.
 „ WEST Rev. W. H., M.A., 25, Pulteney Street.
 „ ROSE H. F., Esq., 18, Grosvenor.
 „ DAVIS Col. T. Arnoll, R.A., J.P., Weston Park House.
 1891 RICKETTS Col. Montague, Shelbourne Villa, Lansdowne.
 1892 BRAIKENRIDGE W. J., Esq., J.P., 16, Royal Crescent.
 „ BUSH Robert C., Esq., 1, Winifred's Dale.
 „ *BUSH Thomas S., Esq., 20, Camden Crescent.
 „ PRYCE Ernest, Esq., 10, Cavendish Crescent.
 1893 CASTELLAIN Alfred, Esq., 59, Pulteney Street.
 1894 *KEMBLE W., Esq., J.P., Beechfield, Bathampton.
 1896 SMITH Lieut.-Gen. Clement J., 22, Marlborough Buildings.
 „ DAVIS C. Price, Esq., J.P., Manor House, Bathampton.
 „ SCARTH Leveson E., Esq., M.A., Keverstone, Cleveland Walk.
 1897 SCOTT Surgeon-Major R. R., 54, Pulteney Street.
 „ RAWLINS Major Edw. B., St. Albans, Weston, Bath.
 „ SPENCER Sydney, Esq., Mount Beacon House.
 1898 MARTYN Gilbert King, Esq., B.A., M.D., 12, Gay Street.
 „ NEAL Alfred E., Esq., Lyde House, Sion Hill.
 1899 ADCOCK Surgeon-Major J., 1, Queen's Parade.
 „ COTTERELL T. Sturge, Esq., J.P., Abbey Lodge, Lyncombe Hill.
 „ RICHARDSON Rev. A., The Vicarage, Combe Down.
 1900 ROGERS Rev. Canon Percy, R.N., M.A., 17, Pulteney Street.
 1901 JENNINGS, W. E., Esq., M.A., F.R.G.S., 13, Camden Crescent.
 1902 SISSMORE Rev. T. L., M.A., 31, Green Park.

- 1903 BENSON J. R., Esq., F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 1, Oxford Row.
 ,, CONINGHAM Major-Gen. H. E., 98, Sydney Place.
 1904 BAYLISS R. A., Esq., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 5, Gay Street.
 1905 FALCONER J. P. E., Esq., 151, Adelaide Road, Hampstead, London.
 ,, GREY G., Esq., Collina, Bathwick Hill.
 ,, BULLEID G. L., Esq., A.R.W.S., 57, Combe Park.
 ,, BARNWELL Rev. C. E. B., 1, Lansdown Place, W.
 ,, SOWELS F., Esq., M.A., Bath College.
 ,, WARDLE F. D., Esq., 15, Bathwick Hill.
 ,, TODD S., Esq., Beaumont, Lansdown.

** Members of Committee of Management.*

HON. MEMBERS.

- 1864 DAWKINS Professor W. Boyd, F.R.S., F.G.S. &c., Owens College,
 Manchester.
 1868 TAYLOR Col. R. L., C.B., 22, Gay Street.
 1873 HERIOT Major-Gen. Mackay.
-

The Honorary Treasurer in Account with the Bath Field Club to February 18th, 1905.

Dr.	£ s. d.	Cr.	£ s. d.
Balance from last year's Pass Book...	4 2 10	Excursion Secretary for 1903	... .. 0 18 3
Deposit with the National Provincial Bank of England	... .. 40 13 9	Rent of Room for 1904	... .. 6 0 0
67 Subscriptions at 10s. each	... .. 33 10 0	Somerset Record Society, Subscription	... .. 1 1 0
I " " for 1903	... .. 0 10 0	Hon. Secretaries', Librarian's and Treasurer's Accounts, less Sales of Transactions	... .. 3 10 9
I Entrance Fee at 5s.	... .. 0 5 0	Messrs. Lewis & Son's Accounts	... .. 33 7 10
Interest	... .. 1 0 9	Excavations on Lansdown, &c.	... .. 10 0 0
		Shelves	... .. 0 10 6
		Cheque Book...	... .. 0 2 0
		Deposit and Interest thereon at the National Provincial Bank	... .. 21 14 6
		Balance	... .. 2 17 6
	<u>£80 2 4</u>		<u>£80 2 4</u>

I find the Accounts correct,

M. H. SCOTT.

February 8th, 1905.

G. S. NASH,

Hon. Treasurer.

LIST OF EXCURSIONS AND WALKS.

(Continued from Vol. VII., p. 96, and Vol. IX., p. 326.)

1901.

Chew Magna and Stanton Drew	...	...	...	April 23
Cadbury and Queen Camel	...	...	...	May 21
Symond's Yat and Goodrich	...	...	...	July 16

1902.

Berkeley Castle	...	...	...	April 30
Iron Acton, Yate and Horton	...	...	...	May 27
Yeovil, Montacute and Stoke-sub-Hamdon	...	...	...	July 15
Bristol	...	...	...	Sept. 23
Box Roman Villa	...	...	...	Oct. 14

1903.

Forest of Dèan	...	...	...	May 26
Wardour Castle	...	...	...	June 16
Caerwent	...	...	...	July 14

1904.

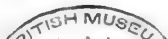
Corsham and Lacock	...	...	...	April 19
Bridgwater and Sedgemoor	...	...	...	July 12

*SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS TO WHICH THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLUB ARE
ANNUALLY FORWARDED.*

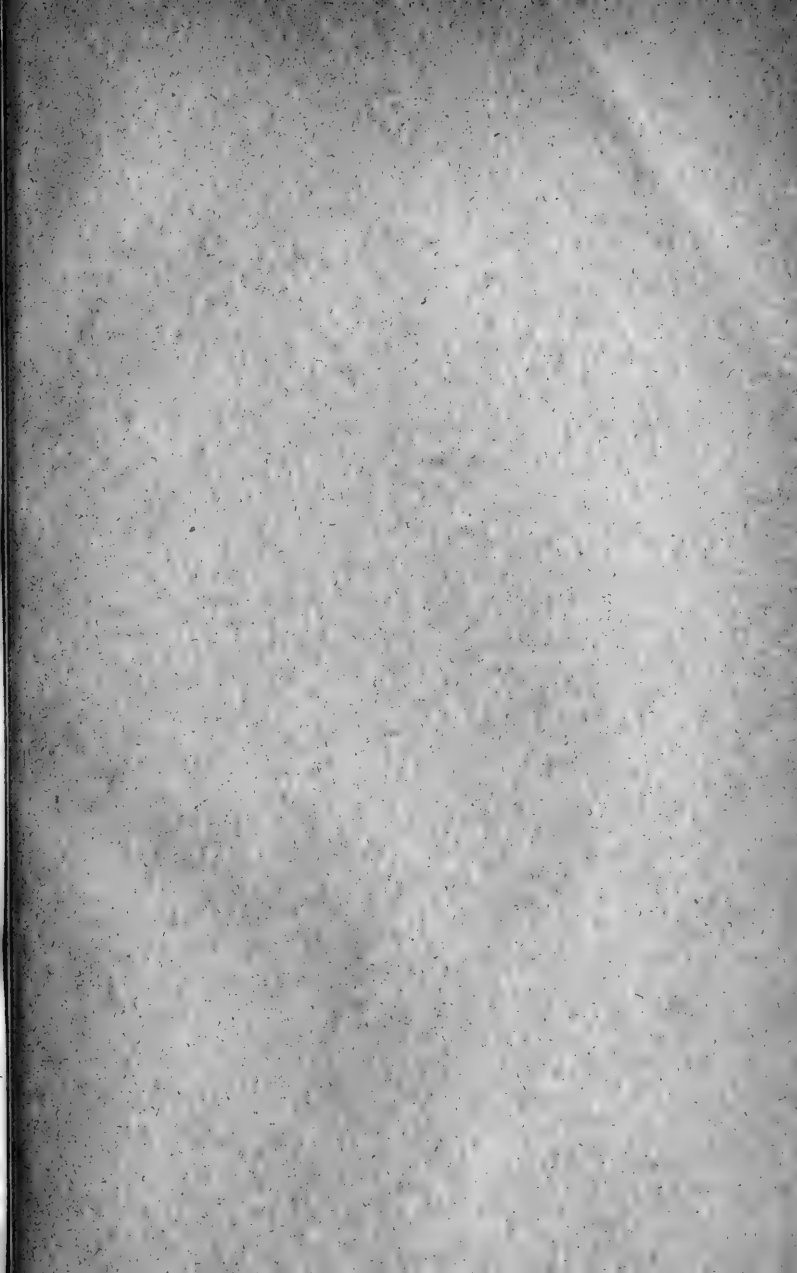
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CONTENTS OF VOL X., PART 4.

	PAGE
1.—JOHN WILKES AND HIS VISITS TO BATH, BY EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.	375
2.—THE LEADING FOSSILS OF THE UPPER AND LOWER GREENSANDS OF WILTS AND BERKS, BY E. C. DAVEY... ..	412
3.—BATH CITY AND TRADERS' TOKENS ISSUED DURING THE 17TH CENTURY, BY S. SYDENHAM	423
4.—THE VIA JULIA AND LANSDOWN TUMULI, BY A. TRICE MARTIN	526
5.—THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF BATH AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE YEAR 1904, BY A. CASTELLAIN	527
6.—SUMMARY OF EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE BATH FIELD CLUB FOR THE YEAR 1904-1905, BY J. LANGFIELD WARD AND M. H. SCOTT, HON. SECS.	534
7.—LIST OF MEMBERS, BALANCE SHEET, AND SOCIETIES IN EXCHANGE OF PROCEEDINGS WITH THE FIELD CLUB	542

