



Cheltenham Local History Society

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Articles and other contributions appropriate to the Society's interests are welcome for possible publication in the Journal and should be submitted to the Hon Editor:

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The cover illustration is by AYLWIN SAMPSON, after a detail from the 1804 drawing of the High Street by Jean-Claude Nattes (Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum). The viewpoint is the modern Boots' Corner, looking towards the church, and shows some of the premises listed in Carolyn Greet's article.

Cheltenham High Street 1800-1820

CAROLYN S GREET

INTRODUCTION

THIS STUDY had its origins in a casual noting of apparent discrepancies in the numbering of a couple of properties in Cheltenham High Street during the early part of the nineteenth century. An examination of the numbering schemes seemed of possible interest and value for others wishing to study this period of expansion in the town, and the work threw up so much fascinating detail about some of the individual businesses and their history that it was expanded to include, as far as possible, a list of occupants of each property, although space does not permit most of those details to be included here.

The exact date of Cheltenham's first house numbering scheme (here termed scheme **A**) is not known but it was in place by 1800 in which year Shenton's *Cheltenham Directory* was published, with a subsequent revised edition in 1802, containing a 'list of principal Inhabitants, Tradesmen and Lodging Houses in the Town'.

Although histories of Cheltenham usually state that the next revision of numbers took place in 1820 there was clearly an additional re-numbering scheme before then. A study of advertisements for businesses appearing in the early numbers of the *Cheltenham Chronicle* and *Bath & Cheltenham Gazette* reveals that many names listed in Shenton appear under completely different numbers during the period 1809-20. A few of these changes can be ascribed to businesses having moved from one part of the town to another, but the majority of names are obviously in the same position and order as they were in 1800.

There is no specific record of when this second (**B**) scheme began. However, the **A** scheme operated until at least 1806 and the **B** scheme was in place by 1808, as is shown by the sales records of Moore's, the auctioneers. Minutes of the Paving Commissioners record that in March 1807 a tender was accepted from a Mr Francis Carruthers, painter, and the order made that 'he do immediately commence the Numbering of the Main Street, under the direction of the Surveyor, beginning with Sir William Hicks' house', a task for which he was to be paid 2¾d. per house. It is very tempting to assume that this was the inception of the **B** scheme; if so, the considerable increase in the number of houses numbered (at least 388 as opposed to 198 in the **A** scheme) must have made it a profitable enterprise for Mr. Carruthers. It appears that plots were numbered, at least notionally, along the entire length of the High Street, although not all were built on by this stage. This is indicated by the fact that in the stretch towards the western end where there remained gaps for a long time, information for occasional properties does include numbers, suggesting that the plots had been marked out at least in theory; this may even have been done at the time of the pre-1800 numbering. The Cheltenham Inclosure Award of 1806, which fuelled property development generally, may have been a factor in the need for fresh numbers so soon after the **A** scheme.

By 1820 the Town Commissioners felt that a third scheme was necessary, at least in part because of the considerable development in both the High Street and the streets leading off it. This - the **C** scheme - was put in place and a handsome map (the Post Office map) produced which marked the new numbers, though not with complete accuracy. The numbering began at 55, as Bettison's *History of Cheltenham & Visitor's Guide* of 1825

explained: 'the preceding space of ground is now called Oxford Buildings, Keynsham Bank etc. which will, in all probability, soon come under the denomination of "High Street", and commence No. 1'.

In theory it should be possible to correlate these three sets of numbers to produce a clear plan of exactly who owned or occupied which properties all along the High Street during the period between 1800 and 1820. In practice it is far from straightforward though there are a few properties where the same name appears under all three schemes - e.g. Benjamin Mason the surgeon at 105 (A), 134 (B) and 185 (C) - and these provide valuable fixed points.

Correlation of the B and C schemes is reasonably easy as the list in Gell and Bradshaw's *Gloucestershire Directory* of 1820 provides the majority of names for that year and many of these appear in earlier advertisements, thus establishing the sequence. Some gaps and anomalies can be resolved by checking with Bettison.

Working out the relation of the A scheme to the later numbers presents problems. Shenton prefaced his *Directory* with an admirably clear description of his method: '[the printer] has begun at the top of the Street on the North-side, and when he came to any turning of that street he has taken in the Houses which such turning led to, and then turned to the street again, pursuing the same mode coming up the South-side the street'. He does indeed follow this pattern down the North side with few variations until he reaches no. 116 (approximately King Street). Between that point and the bottom of the town he includes 13 names, four of which have numbers (133, 144 and 151 plus 128 in the 1800 edition). He then crosses the street to the South, starting reasonably enough with 152 and 153. These are followed by 118, 113 and 110, then a more-or-less complete sequence up to 148 (at this point he has reached Colonnade Buildings). Beyond the Colonnade nos. 154 to 198 take him back up to the top of the town, and this part poses fewer difficulties.

Even in the more straightforward sections by no means every number is listed, and many names are given without any number at all. Sometimes the number can be deduced:

e.g.	44	Mr. Bradshaw
		GEORGE INN & HOTEL
	46	Miss Pearkes

Here it can be presumed that the George Hotel was number 45, though (as with many hotels nowadays) the number would rarely be used, most people simply referring to the hotel by name.

Many names are marked (L) to indicate that they let lodgings. Of these many would of course have been catering for the requirements of seasonal visitors; others however seem to have been longer-term lets, often to small tradesmen particularly those whose work required comparatively little space such as milliner or dressmaker. These sometimes appear after the number of the lodgings:

e.g.	119	Mrs. Roberts (L)
		Miss Flack / School mistress
	120	Mr. Larner

There are however whole runs of names with no numbers, and here a certain amount of guesswork is inevitable. Some can be deduced with a degree of certainty when the same name is found later under the **B** (and occasionally even also under the **C**) scheme e.g. Newman 62 (**B**) can be equated with 39 (**A**). In a few instances names appear without numbers in 1800 but with them in 1802.

To make matters more complicated, some numbers appear twice. There are two 28s close together at the east end of the town, and numbers 113, 110, 128 and 133 all also appear twice, once on each side of the street. The double appearance of 110 is understandable as the properties, both owned by Edward Smith, were directly opposite each other. The others are harder to explain logically, as the properties are nowhere near each other: 113 (North) is given for Mr. Gaze, carpenter, joiner & shopkeeper; 113 (South) for Mr. David Richardson, lodgings. 133 (North) is Mr. Hobbins, baker; 133 (South) Mr. Clutterbuck, butcher. 128 (North) is Mr. Smith, plumber, painter & glazier; 128 (South) Mr. Lambert.

Many names appear twice or even more in Shenton. Sometimes further information, such as that provided by the Manor Court Books, makes it clear that one property was a private dwelling whereas the other was run usually as a lodging-house with perhaps a shop beneath. For example, Thomas Jordan, butcher, had premises at 165 and Mrs. Jordan ran lodgings next door but one; Richard White, saddler, had premises on the corner of Coffee House Yard (Pittville Street) where he lived, but he also owned a lodging house opposite at 164. The Manor Court Books also show that particularly in the early part of this period much land was held by comparatively few people who then disposed of it for building, for example Robert Lambert who apparently held the whole stretch between St. George's Square and St. George's Place.

It is easy to appreciate why the Town Commissioners felt by c1807 that an entirely new numbering of the High Street was necessary. The vast increase in visitors over recent years had also swelled the permanent population of the town to meet the demand for services; laundering, catering and dressmaking among others. In 1821 the *Bath & Cheltenham Gazette* printed a comparison of Cheltenham's population in 1801 and 1811. According to this, in 1801 there were 710 inhabited houses in the town and a population of 3076; by 1811 these had increased to 1566 and 8325 respectively. As for lodging houses, a *Guide to all the Watering and Sea-bathing Places* published in 1815 declared that 'forty years ago the whole number of lodging houses [in Cheltenham] did not much exceed thirty, but at present they are considerably more than three hundred'.

A quick survey of the shops and businesses shows the expanding variety of services on offer. The *Universal British Directory 1793-8* lists Cheltenham's tradesmen: the usual small-town range of ironmonger, cobbler, baker, butcher, joiner, tailor, draper, with a few more sophisticated additions reflecting the town's recent emergence into the fashionable limelight - two wine-merchants, a jeweller and silversmith, peruke-maker, printer and bookseller, and hatter (this last combined with 'auctioneer'). Only two years later among the businesses listed by Shenton are three 'Mantua and Fancy Dress Makers' as well as four peruke-makers, several hairdressers, a harpsichord tuner, stay- and corset-makers, a 'Pastry Cook, Confectioner and Ice-shop' and no fewer than four circulating libraries. Although there is no directory for the town between 1802 and 1820, advertisements in the local papers from 1809 show a positive explosion in the numbers of milliners, dress-makers, hairdressers, glovers, tailors, drapers, hosiers, suppliers of lace, sellers of china, teachers of painting,

dancing and music, auctioneers, upholsterers and cabinet makers, all busily chasing custom and several going bankrupt in the process.

Several individual buildings housed more than one business (as still found occasionally along the High Street today), particularly when the top floors were used as a lodging-house, the ground floor being a shop. Access to the lodging-house was presumably by a side door.

Many shops, many premises housing more than one business, and many potential customers (or their servants) needing to find them - it is not surprising that in addition to the number some advertisements included simple directions e.g. 'two doors from Ruff's Library', 'next to Arched Buildings', 'corner of Colonnade'. These can also provide useful information for establishing the exact position of businesses, though unfortunately too often the advertisement says simply 'near ...'.

One potential complication was that many of these businesses opened for only part of the year, particularly those that depended on fashion and its changes. The Cheltenham Season ran from May until October, whereas that at Bath was a winter one; this usefully enabled sellers of fashionable frippery to pay a visit to London in April or early May to collect the latest ideas in styles, trimmings and accessories, spend the summer months profitably in Cheltenham, then hold a (literal) end-of-Season sale before returning to Bath for the winter via another visit to London. It is obvious from their advertisements that some followed this pattern for many years (e.g. Mrs. Pearce, staysmaker; Miss Bird, milliner; A. Lovelock, milliner). The same applied to visiting professionals such as Dr. Mosley, Surgeon-Dentist; Dr. Durlacher and Mrs. Durlacher, corn-cutter. However, they did not by any means always occupy the same lodgings each year; indeed occasionally one would be at several addresses during the Season, announcing for instance that he would be at a certain address for two weeks before moving elsewhere. Even some who seem to have been permanently based in the town are found at several different addresses; for example Freeman, the surgeon, is at **109, 132, 151, 180, and 359 (C scheme)** at various times during this period, the fact that he was advertising indicating that he would actually be at those premises. (This seasonal shift in population also explains the otherwise surprising number of 'auctioneers & upholsterers'; most lodgings provided basic furnishings but many visitors would purchase chairs, hangings etc. to suit their own taste then recoup at least part of the cost by selling them back to the upholsterer at the end of their six-month visit.) Clearly in a bustling town with a constantly changing population such people needed to advertise their whereabouts precisely and reliably.

Not all the Seasonal businesses were operated by visiting tradespeople; Elizabeth Watts opened from May to October every year to sell millinery and 'Ready-made Dresses' above her husband's ironmongery shop at **128**. Her business was unusual in that the dresses she sold were already made-up; virtually all clothing, particularly women's, was sold in the form of lengths of material, to be made up at home or by a private dress-maker. Hence the prevalence of drapers; shopkeepers draped their wares elegantly in the windows to show them to advantage and demonstrate how the fabrics would look on the form. Where an advertisement referred to 'Dresses' this meant dress materials; some items such as cloaks might be sold already made up, but this work would have been done on the premises by employees, almost always girls. When Elizabeth Watts eventually gave up her business because of ill-health, it continued under the direction of her two 'fore-women'. 'Fancy dress makers' made the more elaborate and fashionable wear. Both proprietors of individual

businesses and representatives from the larger concerns would, if possible, visit London before the start of the Season to select merchandise, the prestige of London fashions being worth the effort, and this too would be advertised.

Purveyors of 'Dresses' frequently also supplied 'Millinery', a term nowadays used solely for ladies' hats but which in the early years of the nineteenth century still largely indicated a variety of fancy wares of the type for which Milan was famous - bonnets, gloves, straw hats, trimmings of all types, ribbons etc. Most, though not all, milliners were women, as were stay-makers (or 'staysmakers' - both spellings are used) and makers of artificial flowers. 'Hatters' made men's hats only.

After 1815 trade with France re-opened and Parisian merchandise, especially lace, began to be imported again. The only three specifically French names to appear in *Chronicle* advertisements (there is a possible fourth but is 'Madame Boom' entirely convincing?) all came to the town between 1816 and 1819.

The number of shoemakers in the town seems excessive until one realises that this too was a 'handicraft' trade; although some ready-made fashionable shoes were available for ladies the majority - and all men's shoes - were made to measure. Gloves were made on the premises though outworkers were also used, particularly women and children whose small hands were more adapted to the work.

Bakers were not simply producers of bread but still provided a service for those unable or unwilling to bake their own food. (Sales descriptions of properties show that a surprising number still had detached kitchens.) Dishes would be taken to be cooked in the residual heat of the baker's oven once the bread itself had been removed. More elaborate dishes, and a catering service for parties and private functions, were offered by confectioners. There were several butchers in Cheltenham, though the majority had stalls in the market: when the new Market House opened in 1809 fourteen stalls were let to butchers and four to fishmongers. The old Market House was then used for fruit and vegetables until it collapsed less than two years later, the market being the usual outlet for such produce; though there was a 'fruiterer' nearby and a couple of greengrocers were listed in 1820.

An area of potential confusion is the distinction between various types of shop. A 'manufactory' sold goods actually produced on the premises, for example artificial flowers or straw hats, both of which are found in the High Street. 'Warehouse' described any retail or wholesale establishment (the demarcation between these came about only after 1815) selling wares that had not necessarily been produced on the premises. The modern implications of the term, that goods are stored there rather than sold directly from it, did not exist; any shopkeeper who considered his business warranted a more impressive term than 'shop' labelled it a 'warehouse'. 'Shop' then as now covered everything from a big establishment run by a company to a very small one set up in someone's front room, while the bottom rung of the retailing ladder was a simple market stall.

One interesting development in Cheltenham's shops came in 1810 when the old Upper Rooms were converted into a series of shops in the manner of London's Exeter 'Change. This, as described by Robert Southey in 1807, was '... a Bazaar, a sort of street under cover, or large long room, with a row of shops on either hand, and a thoroughfare between them' (in modern terms, a shopping mall). Cheltenham's building never aspired to the size and variety of London's - which for many years included a menagerie - but an early

advertisement did refer to it as 'Exeter 'Change' though the name does not seem to have lasted. A report in the *Bath & Cheltenham Gazette* in 1822 suggests that something similar was later planned for the 1811 Market-house which by then had been closed: '...The space beneath is to be completely thrown open, as a gravel entrance to the churchyard, and on either side a range of bazaars will be very handsomely fitted up'.

In the High Street the most desirable sites were as close as possible to where the fashionable visitors were to be found; the central section between Winchcombe Street and North Street, near the Plough and George hotels, the Theatre and the Assembly Rooms, though not the Old Well which was as yet comparatively separate from the town centre. Businesses in this area generally thrived (though there were occasional bankruptcies even here, an early one being Humphrey Ruff) and once well-established tended to remain under a series of owners e.g. Mayers, jeweller, was succeeded by Lee; Rich, watchmaker, was succeeded by Riviere; Bastin, tailor, by Colt; the various libraries too were generally taken over complete. Many of these shops catered for visitors - 'fitted out chiefly to catch the loose money of the visitants' as a visiting American described them as early as 1797. Not least of these were the libraries; besides providing reading-rooms, newspapers and of course the facility for borrowing books, libraries sold medicines, brooches, trinkets, 'all the useless things in the world that could not be done without' (Jane Austen, *Sanditon*). In 1816 the Regent Library was robbed, and the list of items stolen gives a good idea of the range stocked there:

'One mahogany shaving case, containing several divisions all cut out of the solid wood, filled with instruments complete, a looking glass and comb in the lid; one square mahogany shaving case, with two razors etc. and a glass in the lid, in a morocco frame; two morocco cases, with two razors in each, lined with red velvet; one morocco shaving wallet, with razors etc; one set of fishing tackle, in black leather wallet; one small morocco cotton box; a plated patent hat stick; a pasteboard box containing six pots of rouge; a quantity of ladies annual pocket books, in morocco cases; Goldsmith's almanacks in morocco; Moore's and Ryder's almanacks; tortoiseshell ladies' braid combs; stained and plain horn dressing and pocket combs; about two dozen ivory small-tooth combs; about one dozen black and red large size pocket books and note cases; sundry pin cushions; an old very large ship pistol without a lock, and various other effects.'

Further down the High Street came shops less obviously designed to attract the well-to-do, tailing away at the lower end into little 'local' shops which might be simply an adapted room in a small house. Then as now these small shops would have little need (or spare money) to advertise; locals needing such a shop know where it is and visitors are unlikely to stray so far from the main part of town. There must have been many more of these than we have evidence for; occasional references when a property changed hands or someone became bankrupt are virtually all that survive.

Indeed the record for all premises in the High Street is necessarily incomplete; though the luxury trades advertised frequently and often elaborately, others did so only when opening, moving, offering a new line or changing hands. A business advertises it is to close, and mentions in passing that it has been there for twenty years; a son takes over from his father and asks for support from customers who have patronised him for twelve years; a tailor starting a new venture mentions that he has been foreman to someone else since 1810: from such scraps of information some details can be filled in. Bankruptcy notices give names and former businesses, though these seldom indicate how long a business had lasted. Certain trades tended to be followed at some premises simply because they were suitable; a

baker, for example, would obviously find it easier to move into premises already furnished with ovens, or a book-binder to set up in premises already used by a leather-cutter.

As well as formal advertisements some details can be gleaned from other newspaper items - reports of robberies, houses for sale ('late the property of...' or 'until recently used as...') or requests for apprentices. Though these have their uses, they also present problems. It is not always clear whether a person named is the owner or occupier of a shop or both. One name may be linked with several properties c.g. William Hands, who clearly built and owned several properties in the Milsom Street area, or Moses Moody whose name is found in connection with several properties at the eastern end of the High Street, and though many of the smaller tradesmen lived on the premises some had both a private house and a shop. Here again bankruptcy notices provide most information. Some names appear many times e.g. Thomas Weaver, who appears to have held numerous properties and dabbled in several activities. Among the purely commercial properties were several 'gentlemen's residences', for the wave of villa-building away from the commercial heart of the town was not yet under way, and the lower end of the High Street had once been more favoured than the upper for relatively secluded property surrounded by gardens. The Inclosure map of 1806 sheds some light on the ownership of property but does not solve all the difficulties (it does not, for example, show all the properties owned by Corpus Christi College, Oxford).

The following detail of the High Street properties follows the pattern of the early guides. Set out in ten sections, it starts at the eastern entrance to the town on the North side with the former Bellevue Hotel, working down to the western end where the present Gloucester Road marks the position of the old Toll Bar; then across to the South side and back up as far as Barratts Mill Lane. Side streets are indicated, to give reference points to the modern High Street; most modern numbers have also been included, unless redevelopment has obliterated any relationship to previous property lines.

For each property I have attempted to provide the three possible numbers; for some the **A** number (c1800-07) is impossible to give with any certainty, and the reliance for the **B** scheme (c1807-20) on incidental information means that here too there are many gaps. Details for the lower end of the town in particular are extremely scrappy. The 1820 **C** scheme number is always given in **bold**, and this is the number generally used in references; a number in (round brackets) indicates that though specific information is not available this number is almost certainly correct; a number in [square brackets] is conjectural.

Information for 1800 and 1802 is taken from Shenton, supplemented by the Manor Court Books ('MCB'); all 1820 details are from Gell & Bradshaw. Between these dates information comes from the *Cheltenham Chronicle* or the *Bath & Cheltenham Gazette*. Two works by James Hodsdon to which I am particularly indebted are *An Historical Gazetteer of Cheltenham* (1997) and his article on the Corpus Christi College Survey ('CCC') map of 1787 - in *Journal 15*. I have indicated the positions of properties marked on that map. Other sources used are listed at the end. Where an early illustration of a property exists, this is noted. Dates expressed e.g. 1810-18 indicates that occupancy lasted the entire period; many of the 1820 occupancies of course lasted for many subsequent years.

The tabulation is necessarily incomplete, and in part conjectural; it may however provide a basis for others to look more closely at this small part of the town's history and fill in some of the many gaps. A fuller version containing information from the 1806 map and more details of the occupancy of properties will be deposited in the Reference Library.

SECTION 1: TOP OF THE TOWN to GROSVENOR STREET

Houses at the eastern (London) entrance to the town were well-placed to catch visitors' trade, and by 1809 lodgings were offered in at least six premises in this short section. Simon Moreau, Cheltenham's first Master of Ceremonies, lodged at 11 (A) in 1800, while among the less socially elite was Mr. Horwood, an engineer and plumber from Oxford, who was responsible for the waterworks at the new Assembly Rooms in 1811 while lodging at 69; his advertisements confidently stated 'Wells undertaken, if ever so deep, and Pumps warranted to act easy ... No Cure, No Pay'.

Clearly this area was predominantly residential, for only one shop is mentioned in Shenton (next to the Old Swan), and there are very few references to retail trades of any kind before 1820: two cabinet makers, an upholsterer and a bookseller are all I have located. There was also a school for a brief period from c1811, run by the Miss Crumps at 56. By 1820 most premises included shops, and there was also Joseph Robinson, the printer of the 'Post Office' map, at 71. Two of the town's carriers operated from here: Bishop to Cirencester, Tewkesbury and Gloucester, and Dawe to London. There were also many laundresses, as the waters of the Chelt were easily accessible and somewhat cleaner than lower down its course. In this area too were the Old Swan Inn and the first of the 'Spa' attractions - Freeman's Original Warm & Medicated Baths, both properties owned by Corpus Christi College. The Old Swan is one of only two surviving pre-1800 inns on the High Street, though it has been renamed in recent years. Betty Humphris ran the inn until 1813, when it was taken over by John Bishop, a tailor. He died unexpectedly in 1819 and his younger brother William, also a tailor (see 108), took his place.

The first building at the entrance to the town, marked on the Mitchell map of 1810, was 'Sir William Hicks Bow Window'; it seems certain that this was either rebuilt or substantially remodelled between 1817 (the year the Hicks left Cheltenham) and 1845 (Rowe's illustration of the present building). This has proved to be one of the most difficult sections of the High Street as far as allocating early numbers is concerned. Not only are there comparatively few details for the 1807-20 period, but the names and numbers in Shenton are confusing. The 1802 edition gives five names before the Old Swan, but no numbers, then there are names for nos. 3-7 and 9-13, though it is hard to see how they fit in. In addition in 1800 (though not in 1802) three names are given between 11 and 12: Yatman, Lay and Chapman. Yatman gave his name to Yatman Yard (on the Mitchell map) which probably later became Gyde's Terrace, then Grosvenor Street; he owned the land adjoining Freeman's Baths to the west, according to the CCC map. An Arthur Lay was a baker lower down the street, near the York Hotel, in 1813-14. The 1806 map shows that the area covered by 70, 71 and Grosvenor Street was then owned by William Fisher; his daughter Mary married William Gyde that year.

A	B	C	2000	
	[2]	56		Probably Cook, lodgings, 56 and 57 1802
	[3]	57		
	[4] &	58	31	Peter Snell 1802; apparently 2 lodging houses 1814
	[5]			
	[6]	59	33	Mrs Dunscomb 1800; Mrs Haines 1802
	7	60	35-37	CCC plot A. Old Swan Inn
3	8	61	39	CCC plot B. Freeman's Baths, est. 1797 (illus. Rowe p71)
	(9)	62		62-64 now cleared away
(4)	10	63		Fry 1800
5	(11)	64		Bishop, carrier, 1800-c10. Moody, cabinetmaker 1814-20

ST. JAMES'S STREET here

6	[12]	65	47	Thomas Dawe, London Carrier 1800-20
(7)	[13]	66	49	Wheeler, whitesmith & bell-hanger at 66 in 1820
(8)	[14]	67	51	Wheeler's Passage later between 66 and 67
(9)	(15)	68	53	Wills, 1800-02
(10)	16	69	55	Ellis, 1800-02; Rawlings 1815-20. All these properties now a pub
	(17)	70	&	(but not 15 th century as advertised!)
(11)	18	71	57	Simon Moreau 1800. Mrs Fisher 1802

*YATMAN STREET / GYDE TERRACE / GROSVENOR STREET here***SECTION 2: GROSVENOR STREET to WINCHCOMBE STREET**

This section saw much re-development during the period; the Almshouses were demolished in 1811, and the old Theatre Royal abandoned in 1805 when the new one was built across the street in Cambray. Proximity to the Theatre and Assembly Rooms meant that hotels and lodging-houses proliferated and expanded, and there were more short seasonal lets to those offering such fashionable services as music lessons or embroidery. Gauci, a portrait painter who 'arranged in a most perspicacious manner & prepared for the Lithographic Press' the Post Office map of 1820, lodged at 73 for several years.

The York Hotel was known by various names: in 1808 it was the Dublin & Bath ('lately called the York'), though it was also sometimes known as 'Weaver's' as Mrs. Weaver ran it between 1803 and 1809. Thomas Sheldon took it over in 1810 and from then it was referred to as either 'Sheldon's' or the York, or both as can be seen in the Griffiths illustration of 1826. In 1811 the Theatre (which lay slightly behind the High Street) and its adjoining premises were rebuilt as 'a capital Mansion House' to be added to the York Hotel (presumably the present building, shown in Griffiths). Other premises adjoining the York were also lodging houses; from time to time some of these were run as part of the hotel, whose fortunes fluctuated during the nineteenth century.

The Wellington Hotel was opened by Thomas Hughes in 1814; hence Wellington Passage to the east of the modern Beechwood Arcade. The Royal Hotel was the former town house of the de la Bere family (MCB 1808). In 1817 there was a sale of a considerable quantity of furniture from 'the late Club House' at this number, and an 1815 *Guide to all the Watering & Sea-Bathing Places* referred to it having been recently fitted up as a Subscription Card Club 'upon a plan somewhat similar to the one at York Hotel, Bath'; it continued as a hotel as well.

The Vittoria Hotel was opened by Mossop Haile, initially only for the Season. Haile had a chequered career; he was tried for assault and fined in 1813, and declared bankrupt in 1820. 'The Vittoria Hotel can boast all the beauties of a rural Villa; being a little removed from the centre of the High Street, with a spacious lawn in front...' (Griffiths 1816). The Bell Inn was 'a house of great resort for commercial gentlemen' (c1810).

Modern rebuilding makes it very difficult to identify precisely the location of many of the early properties. Mr. Capstack lived at Grosvenor House, hence the many 'Grosvenor' names in the area; his 'Gateway' became Grosvenor Place South. The two Miss Surmans (Margaret and Mary) had '2 new-built dwelling-houses' in 1801, one of which was next to that of James Wood. John Orr (see 93) acquired the 'dwelling-house, offices, brewhouse and walled garden' from Joseph Lavender in 1805 (MCB). The numbering is also hard to

disentangle, particularly as Shenton 1802 includes two no. 28s, apparently separated by several properties.

A	B	C	2000	
12	(19)	72	59	Lodgings: Eldridge, 1800; Cox 1802; Probert 1814-17
[13]	(20)	73	61	Eldridge, lodgings, at 13 in 1800; Smith 1802. Davis, painter, at 73 1812-20
	(21)	74	63	
[14]	22	75	65-67	Pocock, shoemaker, 1800-02
	(23)	76	69	
15	(24)	77	73-	Mrs Owen, schoolmistress, 1802
16	(25)	78	75	Lay, baker, 1813-14; still a baker's 1820
	(26)	79	77	Mrs Cox, lodgings, 1800-02
17	27	80	79	Thornton, pastrycook, 1800-?14
		81		
18	[28]	82		Higgs, lodgings, 1800-06; later part of York Hotel
21	32	83	85	York Hotel (illus. Griffiths 1826). The Theatre lay behind here.

(GROSVENOR TERRACE here)

22	[33]		91	James Potter, shopkeeper, 1800-04; later part of York Hotel
23	[34]	84	97	William Banbury, currier & leather-cutter, 1800-18
	[35]	85		
24	[36]	86	99	Mrs Banbury, lodgings, 1800-06. Marked on Mitchell map.
25	[37]	87	101	Fletcher, lodgings, 1800-?11
26	[38]	88		Miller, lodgings, 1800-06; lodging house 1812-16
27	39	89		General Ramsey 1800-19
[28]	[40]	90		Higgs, lodgings, 1800-20. Numbering unclear. 92 is the 'primitive' old building (illus. Rowe p68 'Attwoods')
	[41]	91		

Mr Capstack's Gateway/later GROSVENOR PLACE SOUTH here

	[42]	92		Probably Saunders, shoemaker, 1802-13
	[43]	93		Joseph Lavender, 1802. John Orr 1805-20
[28]	[44&45]	94		2 Miss Surmans, lodgings (later one); Wood 1814-18
	46	95		Harris, joiner, 1800-02. Wellington Hotel from 1814
	47	96		Newman, collar-maker, 1800-20
	48	97		Newell, surgeon, 1800-02. Royal Hotel (illus. Griffiths 1818)
	49	98		(illus. Griffiths 1818; to right of Haile's Hotel) Cooper 1818-20
		99		CCC Plot C: Pate's Almshouses until 1811. Haile's Vittoria Hotel at 99 1811-20 (illus. Griffiths 1818)
		100		
30	51	101	137	Mrs Cole, lodgings, 1800; Miss Tinsons 1802
31	[52]	102	139	Hawes, dealer in grocery, etc., 1800-02
32	[53]	103	145	Sarah Thornton, dress-maker and lodgings, 1800-20
	(54)	104		
33	[55]	105		Bastin, lodgings, 1800-02 (left by 1816)
34	[56]	106	147	Hooper, lodgings, 1800-02. John Bishop, tailor, 1812-17
35	57	107	153	Bell Inn (on CCC map) 1800-20 (illus. Cruikshank 1825)
36	58	108		Carter, hatter, 1800-02. William Bishop, tailor, 1811-19

WINCHCOMBE STREET here

SECTION 3: WINCHCOMBE STREET to NORTH STREET

By 1800 this was the most important commercial section of the High Street. As well as several long-established inns - the George, the Lamb and the Crown, with the Plough opposite - many of the best-known shops were here. Businesses were frequently advertised by their proximity to the Plough or the Assembly Rooms, and premises were seldom empty for long, despite the much higher rents in this 'high profile' area (the annual rent for the shop

at **109** in 1820 was £120, against £20-30 for a shop and house at the lower end of the High Street). Virtually all offered lodgings as well; **131** was the lodging of Gen. Lefebvre when he was on parole in 1811, subsequently absconding to the indignation of Cheltenham society.

One example of the sophisticated accommodation available was **109**; in 1820 this was described as follows: ‘... on the basement storey, large & commodious wine & other cellars; on the ground floor an excellent shop now used as a chemist’s shop; with the entrance-hall, dining-room and kitchen; on the second floor an excellent drawing-room 29’ x 20’, opening with folding doors, and 2 best bedrooms; on the third floor, 5 good bedrooms ... the Dwelling House usually lets for 10 guineas per week’. This is the right-hand part of the (existing) building illustrated in Rowe, though unfortunately it has lost the impressive central doorway. The other side was the shop of the town’s leading confectioner and pastrycook; originally Hooper’s, it was taken over after his death by his son-in-law John Gunton, who had been cook at the Plough. Griffiths 1818 has a splendidly detailed illustration of the shop. (The name ‘Swan House’ given in 1813 for **109** refers to this having been the site of the Swan Inn c1792.)

In 1800 Cheltenham’s first post-office was set up at **127**, at Thomas Smith’s grocer’s shop. After his death it was transferred to Mary Smith (no relation) at **128**; she was described in Shenton as ‘grocer, ironmonger & stamp distributor’. In 1807 the premises were taken by Oliver Watts, ironmonger, who had taken over a business from elsewhere in the High Street and moved it here. He was Minister of the town’s first Wesleyan congregation and instrumental in establishing the Ebenezer Chapel in 1813. When Watts retired in 1821 the business was taken over by Richard Ecde Marshall. The property had formerly been the New Inn; there was still a malthouse up the passage in 1815, at that date run by W H Barrett’s brother Nathaniel.

The Circulating Library at **133** was one of the earliest established in the town; after Mrs, Jones’s death her daughters ran it, then one sold out her share to her sister and brother-in-law who eventually moved to new premises opposite.

Pittville Street began as Coffee House Yard and in 1808 was renamed Portland Passage, when a board was affixed across it between the houses of Mrs. Wills and Mr. White. The name Pittville Street dates from a later renaming when the passage was widened. Meekings Passage, which was slightly to the west of Coffee House Yard, disappeared at the same time. Elizabeth Meekings, linen-draper, widow of Thomas, is listed in Shenton 1800; her property appears to have been given two numbers under the **B** scheme, as does the later **115**.

Later rebuilding, particularly of the section between Pittville Street and North Street, makes it impossible to give equivalent modern numbers for most properties.

A	B	C	2000	
	59	109	159	‘Swan House’ 1813. Hingston, chemist 1816-20 (illus. Rowe p2)
37	60	110	161	Hooper, pastrycook 1800-11; then Gunton (illus. Griffiths 1818)
[38]	61	111		Corbett, dealer in grocery etc., 1800-02
[39]	62	112	163	Newman, lodgings, 1800-11
[40]	63	113	169	Crown Inn. The passage beside it still exists
[41]	64	114	171	Cother, surgeon, 1800-02. Chemist from 1809-20
[42]	(65&66)	115		Russell, shopkeeper, & J. Bishop, tailor, 1800-02
[43]	67	116		Lamb Hotel (illus. Rowe p4)

(44)	68	117		Bradshaw, brewer, 1800-02. French, grocer, by 1815-20.
(45)	69	118		George Hotel (illus. Rowe p5)
46	70	119	187	Miss P[e]arkes, lodgings, 1800-04; drapers 1816-20
47	71	120	189	Newbury, ironmonger 1800-13; Chemist 1818 (illus. Rowe p5)
48	72	121		Wills, peruke-maker 1800-20 (Mrs. by 1808) (illus. Rowe p5)

COFFEE HOUSE YARD / PORTLAND PASSAGE / later PITTVILLE STREET here

49	73	122		Richard White, saddler 1800-20. On Mitchell map.
(50)	74	123		Mary Andrews, draper, 1800-02; grocers 1809-20
51	75	124		Wm. Selden, dealer in hats, 1800-12; Shipton 1813-20
(52)	(76)	125		Eliz. Meekings, draper, 1800. Roberts, chemist, 1809-15
	(77)	126		J. Nicholson, linen-draper, 1813-20
53	78	127		Thos. Smith, grocer etc. 1800-20 (presumably his son)

POST OFFICE YARD / AMERICA PASSAGE / later ALBION WALK here

54	79	128		M. Smith 1800-06 (illus. Griffiths 1826; tradecard of R E Marshall)
55	80	129		Matthews, tea-dealer 1800-02 (illus. Rowe p10); house & shop
(56)	81	130		John Cook 1800; Ann Cook 1801-15
(57)	82	131		John Cook 1800; lodgings 1800-19
58	83	132		Fletcher, shoemaker, 1800; Freeman, lodgings, 1802-13
59	84	133		Jane Jones, Circulating Library, 1800-1817

*NORTH STREET here***SECTION 4: NORTH STREET to HENRIETTA STREET**

Below North Street the area contained fewer predominantly fashionable shops; the majority of houses offered lodgings. In this area were found some of the older establishments of Cheltenham: the Grammar School, Gardner's Brewery and the Fleece Inn (less fashionable than the George or the Plough). Here too was one of the earliest Boarding Houses, Russell's (later Stiles, then Yearsley's; it was bought by the Grammar School as additional accommodation in the 1850s). Ruff's *History of Cheltenham* (1803) assured the visitor that he would find 'cleanliness, comfort, good living and good manners' there.

The property to the east of Counsellor's Alley (152) had earlier been the Talbot Inn (MCB), though there was also another pub of this name at 411 for many years. An advertisement for 152 in 1818 described it as being '29' 4" in front, with a private entrance to the house; and Shopfront the whole width of the front and 19' deep; a large Wareroom adjoining behind the shop 18' wide and 13' 6" deep; on the first floor 2 drawing-rooms in front, with a large bedroom 18' by 13' 6" adjoining, and water-closet; second floor, 4 good bedrooms over; also a kitchen and small room adjoining, with work-shops over the same; good cellar, and a detached brew-house and other convenient offices'; some of the rooms were let as lodgings.

Another property described in detail (1818) was 136, which extended '40' in front, & contains a good Dining-room, Study, Shop, Kitchen, Brewhouse, Laundry, Beer Cellar, Wine Cellar, & other conveniences; a Drawing-room & 4 Bed-rooms on the first floor. & 6 Atticks above'. This was then divided into two; in 1818 part became John Churches, the latter, the Rowe illustration of the shop showing a much smaller property than the one described above.

Several properties in this section were occupied by the same owner throughout most or all of the period; one of these was William Gyde (the developer of Gyde's Terrace) who in 1808 was ordered to 'immediately remove from the Building occupied by him in North Street [i.e. 134 on the corner] the Gunpowder therein' (Minutes).

The Centre House marked the point from which distances were measured and fares calculated. MCB of 1808 refers to it as Oxford House, hence Oxford Passage. By 1810 it included 'two large shops in front', one of which became Williams Circulating Library in 1815, before he moved to 393. On the 1855 Town Plan the Centre Stone is marked at the corner of the arcade of shops leading up to the Market; the modern 'Centre Stone' is on 148.

Shenton included the Rose & Crown at number 69, though the inn lay behind the High Street; it does not seem to have been numbered in 1820. Virtually the entire section has been rebuilt leaving little or no trace of the earlier plan. Counsellor's Alley later became Oxford Passage and no longer runs through to the High Street. Fleece Lane became Henrietta Street; I have found no use of the latter name before 1818.

A	B	C	2000	
60	85	134		Mrs. Fowler, lodgings, 1800-02. Wm. Gyde, 1808-20
61	[86]	135		Bastin, breeches-maker, 1800-02
		136		Minster, surgeon 1800-18. Became 2 shops 1818
62	[87]	137		Churches, hatter, 1818-20 (illus. Rowe p84)
63	(88)	138		Cull, shoemaker, 1800-20 (Mrs. Cull by 1818)
64	89	139		Keyte, plasterer, 1800. Page, watchmaker, 1802-20
65	90	140		Fuger, shopkeeper, 1800-10. Parker 1810-20
66	[91]	141		tailor & shoemaker, 1800-02; wine-merchant 1812-17

ROSE & CROWN PASSAGE here

67	[92]	142	217	Harding, dealer in 'old cloaths' 1802
68	[93]	143		Tombs, stay & corset-maker, 1800-12
70	[95]	144		Bastin, lodgings, 1800-c15.
71	[96]	145		Arkell, lodgings, 1800-02; Hulbert, shoemaker, 1814-20
	97	146	GPO	Pruen, attorney, 1800-09
72	[98]	147	229	Cooke, cabinet-maker, 1809-15
73	[99]	148	231	Arkell, baker, 1800-02; still baker 1820
	[100]	149		Mrs. Higgins 1800; Maggs 1802
74	[101]	150		
75	[102]	151		Thomas Nettleship 1800; Freeman, surgeon, 1802
76	[103]	152		Prickett, mercer, 1800-02; Mecey, auctioneer, 1809-20

COUNSELLOR'S ALLEY / later OXFORD PASSAGE here

		153		
77	104	154		Centre House (Oxford House 1808); Russell, lodgings 1800-02; still lodgings 1820. There were 2 shops in front.
78	105	155		Weaver, 1800-06; Dr. Jameson, lodging house, 1814-20
80	(106)	156		Cook, lodgings, 1800-02; later part of 157 (illus. Griffiths 1826)
81	107	157		Boarding House, Russell/Stiles (illus. Griffiths 1826; by then Yearsley's)
	108	158		CCC plot D. Grammar School (illus. Rowe p86)
	[109]	159		Miss E Gardner 1800-20
83	[110]	160		Gardner's Brewery 1800-20 (illus. Griffiths 1826)
84	[111]	161		lodgings 1800-20, later part of Brewery (illus. Griffiths 1826)
	112	162		Fleece Inn (illus. Griffiths 1826)

FLEECE LANE / later HENRIETTA STREET here

SECTION 5: HENRIETTA STREET to MILSOM STREET

This section became increasingly commercial, although there were still properties owned by members of what an 1816 advertisement refers to as 'genteel families'. One of these was Robert Cox, who lived at what was later Segrave House (/ Hospital / Idmiston House, currently Normandy House) until his death in 1818, when his house, brewhouse, malt-house, court, garden, pasture-land, barn and stable were sold. Another large property was that owned by Mary Wells (later Mrs. Williams; Goding's *History of Cheltenham* gives an account of her life and marriage). This consisted of two houses (172 and 173), with about 50 separate rooms and a 450' long garden, and was suitable for 'the residence of 2 genteel families or a Boarding House or a commodious Inn'; the buildings are still conspicuously large.

Many properties belong to Corpus Christi College, and the terrier of 1787 shows individual properties were later developed: for example Plot P on the map held a single house and garden, whereas by 1811 it held three properties. During the early 1800s properties were increasingly developed as shops, or as houses whose front rooms could be used as such. When the premises of Benjamin Mason, surgeon, at 185 were sold in 1821 they had 'two parlours, one of which is at present used as a shop; a good drawing-room and seven bedrooms & dressing-room, closets etc.; a kitchen, scullery, three pantries, good cellaring & other conveniences, & the whole is fit for the residence of a genteel family.' The (surviving) four properties on the western corner of Henrietta Street, erected by Corpus Christi in about 1817, included purpose-built shops.

The number of trades connected with building (builders, bricklayer, carpenters, painters, plasterer) reflects the development at this time; this was to an extent an artisan area, particularly towards the western end. Further east more sophisticated occupations appear, such as a seller of 'Looking Glasses & Lustres' who undertook gilding work. Indeed 196 even briefly housed a 'Seminary for Young Ladies'. Other interesting details include Turner's hat manufactory at 189; this later moved to 315 and was eventually taken over by Plant & Son. Tinkler's basket-shop, for so long at 168, actually started at 202. The property which between 1820 and 1825 became Beckinsale's (187) was lived in until 1814 by Daniel Haselton, builder, who left a 'large family' on his death.

Most of the Shenton numbers can be located with reasonable accuracy. I have omitted 116, which in 1802 is given as 'Mrs. Callcott, Corn Chandler', with Mr. Buckingham, musician, 'up the passage at No. 116'. It seems likely that these premises, together with part of Reeves' smithy, were on the site of King Street. Edward Smith, who opened Cheltenham's first boarding-house (see 298-300), lived at 110(A), the same number being used for the boarding-house opposite. Other properties became part of the establishment, which was run after Smith's death by his daughter (Mrs. Cooper); these on the south side continued to be run by her after those opposite had been sold.

A	B	C	2000	
	113	163	271	CCC plot E. Site was the Ram Inn before 1800; the present shops were built by 1818. In 1817 Wm. Hooper of 167 disputed the right of the lessee of 164 to occupy the site. The rent of 163 in 1821 was £105 per annum.
	114	164	273	
	115	165	275	
	116	166	277	
90	117	167		Hooper, cooper & Gloucester Carrier 1800-1817
(91)	118	168		Arkell, baker. 1800
(92)	119	169	287	John Broad, builder, 1800-06

(93)	120	170	293	CCC plot F. Samuel Draper, draper, 1800-02; grocer 1814-20
(94)	121	171	295	lodgings: Sarah Ashmore 1800-06; Sarah Wells 1809-20
95	122	172	295a	the 2 Wells/Williams houses. Did Sarah Ashmore next door marry a relative of Mary Wells?
96	123	173	295a	

ST. GEORGE'S STREET here

97	124	174	301	Sir Robert Herries 1800-1815
	[125]	175		Robert Cox 1800-18; he also leased the CCC plot. His house may have been the current Normandy House (illus. Rowe p93). CCC plot G. Greening, carpenter, 1800-02; builder 1811-20
	[126]	176		
	[127]	177		
100	128	178		Elizabeth Cox, Robert's sister, (died 1816, aged 77)
102	(129)	179		
	(130)	180		
104	(131)	181	317	CCC plot H. Leighton, builder, 1787-1820.
	[132]	182	319	
	[133]	183	321	
105	134	184	323-	ST. PAUL'S STREET SOUTH from c1840
		185	325	Everis 1800. Benjamin Mason 1802-20
106	135	186	327-9	CCC plot I. Garn 1800-09; Edward Fuger, salesman 1809-1820
107	136	187	331	Daniel Haselton 1802-17; later Beckinsale's (illus. Rowe p.92)
108	(137)	188	333	Thomas Russell, carpenter, 1800-20
109	(138)	189	335-7	CCC plot K. Turner, hat-maker, 1800-c13 (see 315)
	(139)	190	339	CCC plot L. Edward Smith, lodgings (see 298-300)
110	(140)	191	341	
			343	CCC plot M. Jenks, pie-man, 1800-02; later became another of Smith's lodging-houses.
	[141]	192	345	
[113]	[142]	193	347	Wood, painter, 1800; Gaze, carpenter, 1802
	[143]	194	349	Thomas Snelus, 'fishmonger & distributor of the Gloucester Journal', 1800-20. Part of this block CCC plot N.
114	[144]	195	351	
	[145]	196	353	
[115]	[146]	197	355	possibly Wm. Hayward, patten-maker, 1800-02

KING STREET here

	[147]	198	357	Reeves, blacksmith, 1800-02. shop 26' x 24' 1811
	[148]	199	359	198 & 199 'newly erected' in 1811
	[149]	200	361	CCC plot O, when occupied by Mary Oakey. The 2 Oakey holdings first developed c1802-09 (lettings in 1810); it is not clear exactly how they were divided.
	[150]	201	363	
	[151]	202	365	202 was the original Tinkler's basket shop
	[152]	203	369	
	[153]	204	371	(CCC plot P., when occupied by George Oakey)
		204	373	There were 2 204s in 1820; later there was a single 204 but a 202 and a 202½! The numbers are still illogical.
	[154]	205	375	
	[155]	206	377	later the Lower George Inn (1843)

*MILSOM STREET here***SECTION 6: MILSOM STREET to TOLL BAR**

Below Milsom Street the town petered out until the surge of building after 1815 filled in the gaps. In the early years of the century this area contained inns and a few individual houses; there are very few advertisements for businesses or references to shops between 1800 and 1815, except for the occasional building described as 'unfinished' (e.g. 216). By 1820 this side of the High Street was built up as far as the Toll Bar at the junction of the Gloucester Road. Any shops mentioned are small 'local' ones: shoemaker, grocer, plumber and milk-seller, though the landlord of the Nag's Head Inn in 1802 doubled as a 'Paper & Bell Hanger'. William Hands, who held several properties to the east of Milsom

Street, also held **207** from 1812-17; this consisted of 'shop, bedrooms, good sitting-room & every convenient office', and was clearly much smaller than some of the shops further towards the town centre.

Early buildings cluster around the inns, of which there were several, serving the predominantly labouring/agricultural workers of the western end of the town and its environs. Most of these inns (unlike the larger central ones such as the George) had a baker close by; in this section a maltster was also conveniently placed between the Nag's Head and Sun. The Cock (later Fountain, then Phoenix), though not mentioned in Shenton, was described in 1819 as 'long-established', and the Manor Court records of 1793 refer to 'Mr. John Jones's house heretofore the Cock', though there is no certainty that this was the same establishment.

Shenton gives only four numbers in the whole of this section: of these 133 (Cross Keys) can be established accurately. Billings at 144 is on the 1806 map; In 1800-02 it was one of only two houses in this area to let lodgings and to have a non-trade occupant. This is one of the very few properties for which there are pre-1820 details; in 1817 it had eleven bedrooms, the garden was 'fit for building 7 or 8 cottages thereon', and it seems clear that this became **227**. The other early property, 151, almost certainly became **242**; in 1820 this was the only lodging house mentioned in this section, and it seems an unlikely place for anyone to open a completely new lodging house when there were so many competing for custom much nearer the centre of the town.

Modern development has swept away so many properties at the western end that it is now difficult to establish the exact position of many numbers. Indeed the western section of the north side has possibly altered more drastically since 1820 than any other part of the High Street.

A	B	C	2000	
128	156	207	379-381	CCC plot Q. Block included Milsom Street. Smith, plumber, 1800. Also in this section Robert, gardener, 1800; Samson, tailor, 1802
	(157)	208		
	(158)	209		
	(159)	210		prob. Morris, Parish clerk & harpsichord tuner, 1800.
	(160)	211	391	Pritchard, 1820; Pritchard's Passage between 211 & 212 Bonnewell, cooper, 1802; later Long, cooper
	(161)	212		
	(162)	213		
133	(163)	214	393	Cross Keys Inn by 1800. Bakery to east run by Hobbins with inn 1802; rebuilt as house & shop 1816
	(164)	215	395	
	(165)	216	397	
	(166)	217	399	
	(167)	218	403	Potter, weaver, given in Shenton somewhere between the Cross Keys and 227 . Information for only one property pre-1816, 225 .
	(168)	219		
	(169)	220		
	(170)	221		Cock Inn, later Fountain, then Phoenix
	(171)	222		
	(172)	223		
	(173)	224		later became the Golden Heart Inn (by 1843)
	(174)	225		possibly Potter, weaver 1800-2; wine-merchants by 1809
	(175)	226		
144	176	227		Billings, land surveyor, 1800; Chapman 1802
	(177)	228		
	(178)	229		
	[179]	230		Finch, gardener, 1800-11 (see article by Maggie Blake in CLHSJ)

	[180]	231	7, 1989)
	[181]	232	CCC plot R?
	182	233	Nag's Head Inn by 1800
	[183]	234	Liffully, maltster/baker, 1800-20
	[184]	235	
	[185]	236	Sun Inn. Dobbins, Tewkesbury carrier, 1800-02
	[186]	237	no information on 237-40 until 'sundry small houses' in 1825
	[187]	238	
	[188]	239	
	[189]	240	
151	[190]	241	
	[191]	242	Stone, lodgings, 1800; Thomas Pruen 1802
	[192]	243	

WHITE HART ROW / STREET / LANE here

	[193]	244	built c1812. Rent of 244 (shop & house) in 1821 £27 p.a.
	[194]	245	

TOLL BAR here

SECTION 7: TOLL BAR to ST. GEORGE'S SQUARE

Like the area covered in the previous section, this remained only sporadically developed for the early part of the period. It was in some ways the agricultural 'fringe' of Cheltenham, as indicated by the trades: gardener, hurdle-maker, basket-maker, and the seller of 'Wells Incomparable Sheep Drench'. Towards the centre of the town the range began to expand: a coal-merchant, shoemaker, two butchers, hairdresser, ironmonger and 'Cobbin's British Wine Vaults' are all mentioned between 1809 and 1818, as are several lodging houses. Among others, 309 was rebuilt c1816, when it was 'nearly new' and had 8 bedrooms. By 1820 there was a wide variety of trades, including the relatively sophisticated 'French Bread and Biscuit Maker', and an 'Eating House on the London Plan' opened in 1817 at 313. The inclusion of a builder, two carpenters and a plasterer reflects the continuing expansion of the town, as does the office and saleroom of a 'Land and Building Surveyor' in 1817.

There are four inns in this section. The White Hart at the extreme western end was presumably mainly for the convenience of travellers stopping at the Toll gate, and also local labourers. The Red Lion at 311 is described in an advertisement of 1812 as 'or Bath House'; an alternative for which I can suggest no explanation; certainly the Bath coach did not run from there. The Shakespeare at 274 is one of only two inns surviving from 1800 on the High Street, and is the only one to have kept its original name. The King's Head at 295 has a curious history, having apparently begun its existence as 'Richardson's College', mentioned on the CCC map of 1787. Shenton lists a 'Boarding and Day School' here in 1800 kept by Miss Guy, with Mr. Waite, schoolmaster, living 'up the passage'; his wife was a laundress. In Shenton 1802 this entry is replaced by 'David Richardson, lodgings'; by 1812 it was the King's Head Inn, still run by David Richardson. By 1819 the landlord was William Richardson, possibly his son. On the 1855 Town Plan the inn is to the east of the house. King Street opposite was apparently named after the inn.

The most interesting property is probably 298-300, for many years one of the best-known addresses in Cheltenham because it was here that Edward Smith opened his first boarding-house. Simon Moreau, Cheltenham's first Master of Ceremonies, had in his *Tour to Cheltenham Spa* (1786) deplored the lack of 'a good general Boarding-Table [which] seems to be much desired by the Company', and this was remedied a few years later by

Smith who established 'a very good and commodious establishment' at the then 110 to cater for visitors here for the Season. Ruff's *History of Cheltenham* (1803) describes the house as 'new and furnished in a style of modern elegance. There is a large double bow-windowed room at bottom, lofty and spacious, where the boarders breakfast, dine and sup, and a very neat drawing-room above....The charges are extremely reasonable'. Smith (who lived opposite) soon expanded his lodging-house empire to include other houses on the north side (see 190) and adjoining this one. This however remained the best known and continued to be known as 'No. 110' long after the **B** renumbering, though it must have had an 'official' new number. Smith died in 1813 at Alstone Villa. In 1817 all his premises were offered to let as two separate lots, these on the south side of the High Street being taken over by Richard Joseph who had been cook, later steward, at the Albion Club, St. James's Street, London. He advertised that he was opening a coffee-room 'in the London style' and changed the name to the London Hotel. The present handsome building on the site appears to date from this period, though interestingly it still features a large bow-window. The 1806 map appears to show the original building at right angles to the road. It is not clear when the westernmost section of this property was built (298, later the Royal Oak Inn) but the hotel was given all three numbers in 1820.

A	B	C	2000		
152	195	246		White Hart Inn; Hobbins, maltster, 1800; Dancer, 1802	
153	196	247		William Stone 1800-20	
	[197]	248		Built up quite late; no names in 1820 G&B. 248-251 were 'lodging houses' in 1825. Shenton gives Willis, gardener, and William Higgs, shopkeeper & hurdlemaker, between 247 & c262 (Willis owned c252-262 in 1806). 254 is mentioned in 1814 and 257 in 1818, otherwise no pre-1820 references found between 247 & 261 .	
	[198]	249			
	[199]	250			
	[200]	251			
	[201]	252	452		
	[202]	253	450		
	[203]	254	448		
	[204]	255	446		
	[205]	256	444		
	[206]	257	442		
					<i>entrance to former New Burial Ground</i>
	[208]	258	436		later became Spread Eagle Inn (1844)
	[209]	259	422		
	[210]	260	420		
	[211]	261	416/8		
	[212]	262	414		Shenton gives Mrs. Belcher, gardener, near here; later Belcher's Court between 262 & 263 , and a Belcher was at 264 in 1843.
	[213]	263	412	Elizabeth Belcher owned the block of land up to Burton Street 1806	
	[214]	264	410		
	[215]	265	408		

PARK STREET here

	[216]	266		no names in Shenton between Mrs. Belcher and 271 References found to 267 & 270 (both 1810), otherwise nothing found before 1820
	[217]	267	404	
	[218]	268	398	
	[219]	269	396	
	[220]	270	394	

BURTON STREET here

	[221]	271	392	Higgs 1800-1820; also Finch, wheelwright/blacksmith, from 1802;
	[222]	272	390	blacksmith at 271 in 1820
	[223]	273		almost certainly Weale, baker, in 1802
	[224]	274	388	Shakespeare Inn

GROVE STREET here

	[225]	275	384	between the Shakespeare & Snelus at 118, Shenton 1802 gives Mall, sieve-&-basket maker, & Oakey, chimney-sweeper. It is
	[226]	276	382	

	[227]	277	380	impossible to locate these exactly. There is little information about any properties this side of 298-300 before 1820, though 278 (shoemaker) is mentioned in 1817, and 286 (butcher) in 1815.
	[228]	278	378	
	[229]	279	376	
	[230]	280	374	
	[231]	281	372	
	[232]	282		
	[233]	283	368	
	[234]	284	366	
	[235]	285	364	
	[236]	286	362	

ELMSTONE STREET here

118	[237]	287	360	This block (CCC plot V) contained a house, garden and orchard in 1787. William Snelus, hurdlemaker, 1800-02. There are details of only one property before 1820; a wine-merchant leaving 290 in 1812.
	[238]	288	358	
	[239]	289	356	
	[240]	290	354	
	[241]	291	352	

DEVONSHIRE STREET here

	[242]	292		Richard Newman 1800-06; 'Newman's Place' between 293 and 294 in 1844 <i>Harper's Guide</i>
	[243]	293		
113	[244]	294	340	David Richardson. 'Richardson's College'. King's Head Inn by 1812. CCC plot W - east section of plot only
		295		
	(245)	296	338	CCC plot X, but no names given in 1800 between Richardson and Smith; Giles in 1787 & on 1806 map.
		297	336	
110	(246)	298	332	The original Smith's Boarding House; became the London Hotel in 1817.
		299	330	
		300	328	
	(247)	301		Major, shoemaker, 1800-1820 (Mrs. Sarah Major in 1820)
		302	326	
	(248)	303	(324)	Stock, hairdresser, 1802-16 here or at 304
	(249)	304	322	
	(250)	305	320	
	(251)	306	318	Heydon 1802-6
	(252)	307	316	
119	253	308	314	Mrs. Roberts, lodgings, 1802-06
120	254	309	312	Flack, lodgings, 1800; Larner, 1802
[121]	(255)	310	310	a tailor in 1809
122	256	311	308	Red Lion Inn (by 1812; it could 'make up 10 beds')
	257	312	306	CCC plot Y. Butt, grocer, 1800-16
	(258)	313	now rebuilt or part of St. Geo. Sq.	Edmund Hunt, dealer in coals, 1800-06. Goding claims Corpus Christi College also owned 313-316
	(259)	314		
	[260]	315		Dee, butcher, 1800-06. Turner, hatter, (moved from 189); Plant & Son, 'late Turner' Hat Manufacturer, 1825 (315)
	[261]	316		
126	[262]	317		Collett 1800-20

*ST. GEORGE'S SQUARE here***SECTION 8: ST. GEORGE'S SQUARE to COLONNADE**

St. George's Square was begun in 1802 and the area between it and St. George's Place was subsequently developed as shops, particularly the extensive area held by Robert Lambert whose coach-houses and stables lay just behind the High Street here. In 1803 Lambert disposed of a piece of land 6 yards wide, where the Dispensary was later situated; other plots had gone to Weale, Robinson and Reeves. Part of this area was 'newly staked and marked out' in 1804, suggesting that buildings were put up shortly afterwards. MCB 1808 refers to a tenement to the east of Lambert's property with 3 shops in front, the

tenement having been 'formerly kitchen passage & part of the brewhouse belonging to the Old farm Homestead'. In 1803 the Homestead was occupied by Lambert, and MCB mentions also a yard 103' in width fronting the street, and a barn used as a coach-house. Further evidence of development is at **337** & **338**; a single earlier property here was rebuilt as two separate houses, one having eight bedrooms, the other five. **345** had a cottage behind the main (surviving) building, as did **340**; both were later sold separately from the main properties.

Several of the early properties survive; particularly recognisable are **346-349**, near the churchyard. The central section was the stone-mason's; from the churchyard it is a handsome stone building. The Nattes drawing of 1804 shows several early properties which vanished when Clarence Street was built, including that of James Wildey whose premises were sold in 1811 when his brother Jonathan, a horse-dealer, went bankrupt. James moved just along the street and prospered. Isaac Cooke's china shop at **359**, mentioned in Ruff, moved in 1810 to a more central position at **373**.

The reconciling of early numbers is complicated by the development of the Market Houses. The first (shown in the Nattes drawing) was in use until its replacement was built in 1808. The bow-windowed eastern section was occupied by Evans, pastrycook, and when the Market House itself collapsed in 1811, Evans' part survived, though in a dilapidated state; on removal it was described as 'mean-looking'. The business apparently re-opened (**354**) when rebuilding had taken place. Hastings owned a 36' 6" wide plot on the west side of the Market House; Barrett's bakehouse may have been behind it. Construction of the new Market House in 1808 necessitated the demolition of Newman's property and the purchase of some land from Simon Turk for £25 (the Town Commissioners also provided him with a new pump). A 'newbuilt messuage' of Messrs. Fisher & Co., bankers, is recorded in 1810 to the immediate east of the Market. The A scheme numbering seems illogical but is apparently correct. Behind the Market was the Eight Bells, another very old inn which survives albeit now named the Two Pigs.

A	B	C	2000	
	[269]	318		Shenton gives only 3 names between St. George's Square and St. George's Place: Lambert's coach house & stables; Marshall, carpenter; Green, pastrycook, at 127. 318 later became the Dispensary (c1822); Lambert sold this plot in 1803. There is little specific information about properties in this section before 1820; I have found names for only 319 (1811); 320 (1810) and 326 (1810). It is not clear where 127A was, but it seems likely it was towards the centre of the town. Robert Lambert ran the stables until 1819.
	270	319		
	[271]	320	290	
	[272]	321	288	
	[273]	322		
Stables	[274]			
	[275]	Stables		
	[276]			
	[277]	323		
	[278]	324		
[127]	[279]	325		
	[280]	326	270	
	[281]	327	268	
	[282]	328	266	

ST. GEORGE'S PLACE here

	[283]	329	264	Rev. Hugh Hughes (Dissenting Minister) 1800-02
	[284]	330	260-58	
128	[285]	331	256	Lambert 1800; Cooper, lodgings, 1802-15
	[286]	332	254	James Agg, though possibly not until after 1820
[129]	287	333	252	John Parsons 1800-6; Miss Morgan's Boarding House
	[288&9]	334	250	c1801-18 with apparently 2 shops below (as now)

130	[290]	335	248	Green, wheelwright, 1800-06; Ann Green, harness-maker 1820, also seasonal lets.
	[291]	336		
131	292	337		Thos. Kear, blacksmith, 1800-20. Rebuilt as 2 separate properties c1806, one with 8 bedrooms, the other with 5
	293	338		
132	(294)	339		Howse, tailor, 1800-02. Rebuilt c1815
133	(295)	340	232	Clutterbuck, butcher, 1800-11; still butcher's 1820
134	[296]	341		Thos. Smith, lodgings, 1800-02
	(297)	342		Weaver & Watts, wine merchants, 1816-19
136	[298]	343		Belcher, breeches-maker, 1800-02
137	299	344	220-222	James Gore, plumber, 1800-09 (illus. Rowe p85; 'Andrews')
[138]	300	345	218	Bannister, lodgings, 1800. Later Thos. Plant (illus. Rowe p85)

ENTRANCE TO CHURCHYARD here

	[301]	346	216	Ingram 1800; Mrs. Allen 1802 (illus. Rowe p99; 'Hollis').
139	(302)	347	214	William Peac[h]ey, stone-mason, 1800-18; business said in 1814 to have been there 'more than 70 years'.
		348	212	
[140]	303	349	210	Silas Wells, draper, 1800-02; Crook, perfumer, 1811-20

PATH TO CHURCHYARD here

141	[304]	350 351	208	Simon Turk, saddler etc., 1800-20 (illus. Rowe p84; 'The London Warehouse')
142	Market			John Newman, wheelwright, 1800-07; Market House 1807
(144)		352		Hulbert, shoemaker, 1800-02; Bank 1810-20

CHURCH STREET here

143	[309]	353	204	Hastings, tailor, 1800-09
[145]	[310]			Barrett, baker, 1800-20 (bakehouse)
	Market until 1811	354	202	Evans, pastrycook, by 1811-20 (illus. Nattes drawing 1804)
	311	356		Hayward, milliner, 1800-02; straw-hat makers 1818-20
	312	357		James Wildey, poulterer, (moved here from 360) by 1818-20
	313	358		Wm. Alldis moved library here from 133 by 1820
147	314	359		Freeman 1800; Cooke, china, 1802-10 (illus. Nattes drawing 1804)
148	(315)	360		James Wildey, poulterer, 1800-11 (illus. Nattes drawing 1804)
	316	361		Colonnade corner. 361 Williams, jeweller, 1800-02; 362 Kidman, mercer etc. 1800-14 (illus. <i>C Chronicle</i> 1814); Hall 1814-19
	(317)	362		

*COLONNADE / later CLARENCE STREET & PROMENADE here***SECTION 9: COLONNADE to RODNEY ROAD**

This central area held several of the Circulating Libraries that formed such an important part of social life, the oldest being Harward's and Selden's, both mentioned in Ruff. Harward died in 1809; his building was rebuilt as 'a commodious and elegant shop' in 1817. Humphrey Ruff, who had opened a Library almost next door in 1805, apparently took over Harward's printing office (which was between the two, behind Cooke's china shop) and it was from here that he published the early editions of the *Cheltenham Chronicle*. Ruff also laid out the Regent Gardens and opened a ballroom and billiard room; however, he was bankrupt in 1814 and the Library was taken over by Thomas Jordan, a local butcher who owned (1806) the block **372-377**. He too quickly became bankrupt, as did his successor Stokes Heynes. The Library apparently closed finally in 1816. More successful was Thomas Henney's library which was opened in 1810 and moved in 1815 to **384**; this became Bettison's, later Lee's, one of the major libraries of the post-1820 period. The other was that of G. Williams who moved his library from one of the Centre House shops in 1817 to a prime position at the end of the new Assembly Rooms. Selden's Library apparently succeeded that of Buckle at **379**; according to the title page Shenton 1802 was sold by Selden at this number. In 1809 he moved to **370**, but three years later he retired and the

library was taken over by R. J. Hincks. In 1816 Hincks enlarged his premises by taking in 371, and in 1818 the business was taken over by Miss Roberts. The fashionable nature of shops here is clear even as early as 1800: jewellers, peruke-makers, sellers of lace and 'toys' i.e. small luxury items such as fans, tooth-picks etc.

The Lower Rooms, which by 1800 were the elegant buildings said to have been designed by Henry Holland, were sold by Robert Hughes to Henry Rooke in 1806 (for £4600). They were rebuilt in 1810 and again in 1816. The Arch (or Arched) Building contained a large shop and good accommodation including 7 bedrooms and extensive cellaring; a wine-dealer had the property for some years. Behind was a Garden House with 4 bedrooms. The remains of the passageway leading through the arch can still be seen leading off County Court Road. Another large property was 374-375; offered for sale in 1822 it was 'peculiarly calculated as a minor Boarding House ... front & back drawing-rooms, communicating by folding doors; front dining-room on the first floor; 8 good bedrooms & every convenience for servants.'

An important building was Powers Court House, whose dining-room had been the venue for the town's earliest assemblies. It was inherited in 1794 by Robert Hughes (son of Thomas Hughes, who had built the first Lower Rooms next to it in 1784). In 1809 Hughes agreed to have three shops made 'in front of the said dwelling house where the present kitchen, Hall & front parlour stand', the shop next to the Plough being created from the kitchen and brew-house. The main part of Powers Court House was let from time to time or used as a boarding-house; there were '10 good bedchambers'. By 1816 Robert Hughes was living in the stable, coach-house & dove-house 'which now form his present dwelling house' - an interesting example of an early conversion!

A	B	C	2000	
154	318	363		Townsend, 1800-11; Wilson 1812-20 (illus. Griffiths 1818)
155	(319)	364		Miss Baker, milliner, 1800-11 (illus. Rowe p9 'Taylor & Capleton')
156	320	365		Bishop, mercer, etc. 1800-08; his son 1809-13
	(321)	366		probably John Fuller, Esq. 1800-02
	322	367		Humphris 1800-02. Cox, lace merchant, 1809-20
Arch bldgs	323	368		CCC plot AA John Jones, 1800-06; jeweller 1812-20
	324	369		owned by Jones 1806; Davis, draper, 1812-20
	325	370		Library: Selden 1809-12; Hincks 1812-18; Roberts 1818-20
161	326	371		Hewer 1800-02; Bastin 1805-16, then part of 371 Library
[162]	(327)	372		Harward, library etc., 1800-02; Pinker, draper, 1813-20
(163)	328	373		Barnard 1800-02; by 1810-20 china shop: Cooke, Yates
	329	374		Jordan 1800; Library: Ruff 1805-14; later Jordan, Heynes
	(330)	375	170	(illus. Rowe p6 'Bastard & Speakman')
(164)	331	376	168	White, lodgings, 1800-11. Riviere, goldsmith, by 1815-20
165	[332]	377		Jordan, butcher (& librarian), 1800-18 (illus. Rowe p4 'Waterfall')

REGENT STREET here

166	[333]	378		Forster, brazier, 1800-20 (illus. Rowe p4 'Turnbull')
167	334	379		Library: Buckle 1800-02; Selden 1802-09
168	(335)	380		Rich, watchmaker, 1800-09
[169]	336	381		peruke-maker, 1800-02; Jones, shoemaker 1810-20
[170]	337	382		Fricker, 1800; Hodges, haberdasher, 1818-20
[171]	(338)	383	156	Styles, 'toy-man', 1800-02 (illus. Rowe p3)
[172]	339	384	152	Library: Henney 1814; Bettison 1816-20 (illus. Griffiths 1826)
	340			possibly Fricker, lodgings, 1800-02. Subdivided to form a shop
	341	385	150	(Hale's music warehouse 1814-20) & workshops
	(342)	386	Arcade	Plough Hotel (illus. Griffiths 1826)

Powers Court House	343	387	138	Henney's library 1810-14
		388	136	jeweller 1815-20
		389	134	Elizabeth Sarel, milliner, 1811-20
Lower Rooms	[345]	390	130	small shops attached to Assembly Rooms
	[346]	391		Assembly Rooms (illus. 1813, also Griffiths 1826)
	Asse- m- bly Rms	392		Williams' Library 1817-20 (illus. Griffiths 1826)
		393		

ENGINE HOUSE LANE / later RODNEY ROAD here

SECTION 10: RODNEY ROAD to BARRATT'S MILL LANE

Cambray was largely undeveloped until the start of the century, much of it having been a farm. By 1806 Ruff stated that 'hither ... one of the Banks is removed, & some shewy shops nearly finished give life & spirit to the whole'; these were presumably **394-399**. There were comparatively few shops towards the upper end of this section, and to judge by the lack of advertisements those that did exist were useful rather than fashionable. Many premises were lodging houses (and remained so for years after 1820), convenient for the Assembly Rooms, the Upper Rooms until they closed, the Theatre in Cambray and Barrett's Chalybeate Well. The Albion Boarding House opened in 1819, giving Richard Joseph a foothold at both ends of the High Street, and the Union Hotel in 1815, the latter rather unusually described as having a 'bar' in 1821. Byron lodged at **430** in 1812. **406** was described in 1810 as 'two new-built tenements now used as one ... as a Lodging-house'.

The inn at **411** was usually called the Talbot, but between 1815 and 1817 it is referred to as the Dog; later (1844) it became the White Lion. A passage led through the inn to the Theatre in Cambray (plan of The Dog Public House from Mrs. J. Lacock). The Upper Rooms had been established in 1784 and by 1800 were run by Mr. Rooke who owned them, whereas until 1806 he merely rented the Lower Rooms which he also ran. By 1809 they had fallen out of use and were being used as salerooms, one auctioneer being the unfortunately named Mr. Trash. In 1810 it was advertised that the Rooms were to be divided into six large shops with an avenue from the centre back to Cambray (see Introduction); however it seems that in fact one side of the central avenue was left as a large sale-room (the former ballroom) while the other was divided into 5 smaller shops, converted from the card-room, supper-room etc. In 1816 a new shop was created from the back part of the large room, with access from the ballroom of the hotel next door; this became Campbell's Library. There is still a passage at the side of the block that used to house the Rooms, though they were rebuilt shortly after this period.

Although it is not always clear exactly where the early premises listed by Shenton were, it seems reasonable that Mr. Webley, one of the earliest recorded peruke-makers and hair-dressers in the town, should have been close to the Upper Rooms. Mossop Haile of **422** and the unwise proprietor of the Vittoria Hotel (**99**), variously described as carpenter, shopkeeper, builder, ironmonger and grocer, clearly had enterprise but apparently little education: an entry by him in MCB 1816 reads as follows - 'wee the under sined veiwed thcs premses and sett up mearstons to the bes of our knowlig'!

A	B	C	2000	
	346	394		Gloucester & Cheltenham Bank by 1806-20
	347	395	128	Sir Arthur Brooke Faulkner 1818-20
	(348)	396	124	private house
	349	397	122	Albion Boarding House, opened by R. Joseph 1819 (see 298-300); run as single unit
	350	398		

	[351]	399	118	Lodgings
<i>CAMBRAY STREET / later CAMBRAY PLACE here</i>				
[177]	[352]	400	114-6	Shenton lists Byrch at the farm here, then John Cook, horses to let, at 177 & Webley, peruke-maker & hair-dresser at 178; presumably Cook was near the farm.
	[353]	401	110	
	(354)	402	106-8	
[178]	(355)	403		possibly Webley, hair-dresser, 1800-02
Upper Rooms	(356)	404	recently rebuilt	Upper Rooms until c1809. Converted into shops & auction rooms, rebuilt 1822 as Literary Saloon
	357	405		
	358	406		Snell, 1800. Corbett 1802-7. Union Hotel 1815-20
	(359)	407	94	Sly, corn-dealer 1802-20; Miss Burrows 1800-02
		408	92	Howell, shoemaker, 1800-07. Rebuilt as 2 by 1820
179	360	409	90	
180	(361)	410	86-88	Miss Travell 1800-20
(181)	362	411	82-4	Talbot (or Dog) Inn. Passage through to Theatre
(182)	363	412	78	Thos. Cooper, 1803-4; J.B. Watson 1804-6
(183)	(364)	413	76	Miss Pearce, lodgings, 1800-05; still lodgings 1820
	(365)	414	74	Banfield, tailor, 1800-20
184	(366)	415	72	house built 1805, also by Banfield
185	(367)	416	70	Dee, gardener, 1800-06. Isaac Witts 1817-20
	(368)	417		Gregory, fellmonger, 1800-06. Garrett, coachbuilder, 1817-20. 417 later demolished for BATH ROAD
186	369	418	68	
	[370]	419	66	CCC plot AB. Thos. Hooper, cooper, 1800-6. Walter Macey auctioneer, 1818-19 (his private house).
		420		
187	[371]	421	62	Clark, gardener, 1800-06
189	372	422	60	Mossop Haile, various trades, 1800-20 (see 99)
(190)	373	423	58	Trueman, lodgings, 1800-06
(191)	374	424	56	Newman, collar-maker, lodgings, 1800-06
192 and 193	375	425	54	Betty Humphris, lodgings, 1800-20. She ran the Old Swan opposite & retired in 1813. By 1820 there was a shop at 426.
	(376)	426	50	
	(377)	427		
194	378	428	46	Timms, butcher, 1802-6; George Brisac, 1812-13
195	[379]	429	44	Moody, cabinet-maker, 1802-11. W.H. Barrett 1815-20
[196]	[380]	430	42	apparently run as single unit until at least 1844; lodging house run by Jones family 1800-20
197	[381]	431	40	
(198)	[382]	432	38	Wilkes 1800-02

BARRATT'S MILL LANE here (correct spelling should be BARRETT)

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William Jay, Regency Architect - A Career in Reverse

SUSAN HAMILTON

"Hailed as a genius in Savannah – unknown to the rest of the world."

COLUMBIA PLACE in Winchcombe Street – if it is known at all – is perhaps the best-known Cheltenham work of the architect William Jay. Though scarcely recognised in Britain, Jay is hailed in America as a genius, and indisputably "the principal architect of Savannah".

Knowing nothing of Jay's reputation and success in America, it might perhaps be imagined that he started out in obscurity here in England, then went abroad to seek – and find – his fortune. But the truth is that Jay lived his career back to front. His huge success came with his very first American commission, in his mid-twenties, which was followed by a string of further achievements. It was only after leaving America that he found obscurity, declining into bankruptcy in Cheltenham, and an early death in far-off Mauritius.

William Jay was born in Bath, probably in 1792. He was the son of the Reverend William Jay (1769-1853), a celebrated Non-Conformist preacher, who, as a young man had assisted *his* stonemason father (also called William) with work on Beckford's Fonthill Abbey. Apprenticed to the London architect David Riddall Roper, William Jay exhibited architectural designs at the Royal Academy Exhibitions of 1809, 1812, 1815 and 1817. Fellow exhibitors in these years included Elmes, Etty, Turner, Wilkie, and the Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy, Sir John Soane, whose style seems greatly to have influenced Jay.

The Jays had a number of American connections: William's sister Ann married Robert Bolton, a Liverpool merchant who was a native of Savannah, Georgia. Bolton's sister Frances married Richard Richardson, a Savannah banker and merchant. And in 1817 Richardson commissioned Jay - his brother-in-law's brother-in-law, and then aged about 25 - to design a large town house for him.

From 1796 to 1821 Savannah enjoyed its greatest era of prosperity, its fortunes built on Sea Island cotton, which was of very fine quality. This was the "golden era of merchant princes", and leading families were vying with each other in the building of ostentatious mansions. Still a small town, with a population of 7,523, of whom about 4,000 were white, Savannah was rapidly expanding on the town plan set out by its founder James Oglethorpe in 1733. On his arrival "Jay was welcomed with conditions about which architects dream but rarely experience: complete freedom of design and no restriction as to scope and cost, so long as each successive commission outshone the others." (McDonough).

In Savannah today, the visitor can see examples of wooden houses from the mid-eighteenth century, as well as the brick Federal-style town houses which followed them. But



Columbia Place, Cheltenham (Aylwin Sampson)

Jay brought something new – the very latest in English Regency style, fused with Greek revival: classical porticoes, pediments and pilasters, spacious entrance halls and sweeping staircases. Suddenly the local town-house styles seemed pedestrian and provincial.

Even today, Jay is still the architect of Savannah. Tourists, whether interested in architecture or not, cannot escape being told about him, in a way which does not happen here in Britain, even in the case of John Wood in Bath. The setting for Jay's surviving buildings in Savannah is its "Historic District", an area of about two square miles which includes twenty-two of the original twenty-four squares planned by Oglethorpe, and streets of restored terraces and houses. The squares provide the city with a green and peaceful heart which make Savannah one of the few American cities where strolling is a pleasure. With so much of architectural interest to see, it is a rewarding place to visit.

Three Jay mansions remain, of which the original commission for Richardson, now called the **Owens-Thomas House**, is the most complete. It is a large double-fronted house which compares in size to the 1820s villas on the east side of Lypiatt Road in Cheltenham (the former Suffolk Lawn) – though Owens-Thomas is far more flamboyant and idiosyncratic. Behind the house is a small garden, at the end of which is a two-storey building. At first sight it might be a mews or stables: but this being the Old South, these were the slave quarters.

The interior of the main house has been sumptuously and extravagantly restored (or recreated? – the guides can be frustratingly fuzzy about the distinction). To the English eye, the influence of Soane is clear: in the use of colour, of coloured glass, of top-lighting and of curves and curved alcoves. Current restoration work is being concentrated in the basement area and in the investigation of Jay's innovative (for Georgia) system of internal plumbing. Jay also brought in the first cast-iron balcony in Savannah for this house, and he had great influence on the use of structural ironwork throughout the town.

The other two surviving Jay mansions have been greatly altered. The exterior of the **Scarborough** (sic) **House** has been well restored, as has its magnificent airy atrium. Its rooms are used for a maritime museum. **Telfair House** contains exquisitely restored/recreated Jay interiors. But the scale of the original building has been lost following the construction of an art gallery as an extension to the rear. In addition to these three, one other survives, which Jay may possibly have built: the Wayne-Gordon House. But most of his buildings have gone: the Bulloch and Habersham Houses; the Savannah Theatre, the Branch Bank of the United States, the Savannah Free School and the Customs House. Some part of the City Hotel remains. Jay also built a sumptuous temporary pavilion for the visit of President Monroe in 1819.

Meanwhile, in parallel to his work in Savannah, Jay was also busy in Charleston, South Carolina, 100 miles up the coast. He was the first architect appointed to the Board of Public Works in South Carolina, for whom he designed at least three courthouses and a jail. These buildings all have an unfortunate history, with contractors who made unworkable alterations and used poor materials. None survives.

Jay also built a number of mansions in Charleston, of which at least one still stands. But there has until recently been little interest in Jay's work in Charleston itself, and the visitor there does not hear his name mentioned. It may be part of the local rivalry with Savannah which existed in Jay's time, and is still felt today. Or it may simply be that Charleston was an older and much larger town in the early nineteenth century, with many of its own distinguished "home-grown" architects. New research in Charleston is now revealing more work by Jay. It has even been suggested that unjust misattributions have occurred in the past – most notably the Fireproof Building which now houses the South Carolina Historical Society. It is now suggested this may be by Jay, having been previously attributed to the (locally) more highly-regarded Robert Mills.

Jay's glory years were short-lived. In the early 1820s there was economic collapse in Savannah. The price of Sea Island cotton fell from a high of 75 cents per pound in 1818 to less than 30 cents in 1819. The town was also ravaged by fire and by an epidemic of yellow fever. By 1822, Jay's principal patrons, Richardson and Bolton, were both bankrupt. Jay

returned to England, and at the age of about thirty, sought his fortune in the building boom of Cheltenham. This too was to end in financial disaster for many, including William Jay.

Over the last two decades research has steadily increased the number of building projects in Gloucestershire associated with Jay. In the 1970s David Verey (in the Pevsner "Buildings of England" series) names just four: Columbia Place and some houses in Priory Street, plus, in Cirencester, Watermoor House and "possibly" a collaboration with William Bridges at Chesterton Terrace. Recent work by James Hodsdon on the Cheltenham Building Certificates and research by Steven Blake into the Manor Court Books and contemporary local newspapers has now lengthened the list.

It is possible that Jay received his first Cheltenham commission as soon as he returned to England, if we are to accept the suggestion that he was responsible for the rebuilding (or remodelling) of Duffield and Weller's Public Library in 1822. This building was demolished in 1954. Still existing, however are the following, which can be attributed with some confidence to William Jay:

- **Paragon Buildings**, now 114-124 Bath Road, built between 1823 and 1826 and recently the subject of a detailed article by Oliver Bradbury in *The Georgian Group Journal*.
- **Columbia Place** (1824-6), described by William Cobbett as "a new row of most gaudy and fantastical dwelling places".
- The first two houses of **Pittville Parade**, now nos. 2 and 4 Evesham Road (1827); it seems that Jay designed the whole terrace, although only these two houses (which were ones he owned himself) were actually built to his design.
- Building certificates connect Jay with properties in Priory Street in 1825, and the small terrace which is **13-17 Priory Street** appears on stylistic grounds to be the most likely.

In Cirencester, **Watermoor House** (1827) built for J. R. Mullings, who was Joseph Pitt's solicitor. Chesterton Terrace is rather doubtful.

The surviving buildings usually have stylistic signatures which can be recognised as "Jayean": externally these include rectangular panels of flattened fluting under the windows, parapets with raised centres decorated with recessed panels, and anthemions in profusion, on capitals and ornamental ironwork.

Jay's name is found on building certificates for two properties in the Colonnade, and Bradbury tentatively attributes a long-demolished Colonnade shopfront called Haywood on the present site of Dobell's on the Promenade.

He also seems to have been responsible for a public weighing machine near the High Street; for a house (now demolished) at what was 240 High Street; and he may also have worked on Glenmore Lodge and the two houses adjacent to it on the north side of Wellington Square.

Clearly Jay was very active in Cheltenham from 1822/3 onwards, but he was not getting large or prestigious commissions, and it appears he fled from the economic depression of Savannah only to suffer the effects of the financial crash in Cheltenham in 1825. In August 1828 Jay was declared bankrupt. It must have been a humiliating experience: one of the Trustees who administered his affairs was an in-law, Richard Luke Coulson, who had witnessed Jay's wedding in Henley-on-Thames only eighteen months before. Jay's debt to his father of over £1,500 was revealed, presumably in public.

Jay did not work in Cheltenham again after his bankruptcy. We have almost no information about his life during the next eight years. We do now believe that in 1829 he was responsible for re-modelling the Independent Chapel in Henley, where his brother-in-law Robert Bolton was now a minister. He may also have remodelled the neighbouring manse. Apart from this, no further work in England has yet been identified. In 1835 Jay is recorded living in Bromley, Kent. His three children were born in the years before 1836.

On 12 May 1836 William Jay arrived, with his family, in the remote Indian Ocean island of Mauritius, where he had been appointed as "civil architect and inspector of works". It was neither a glamorous nor a lucrative post. A letter to the Treasury from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 6 October 1835, written when the post became vacant, states: "It is scarcely to be expected that any person who has attained such a degree of professional ability should be induced by so small a remuneration to accept a labour office in a distant and expensive colony."

Was it a measure of Jay's desperation that he went? He certainly didn't manage on the money, and his time in Mauritius was blighted by financial problems and by the death of his son. Jay himself died there on 17 April 1837.

We know so little about William Jay that it is hard to draw conclusions about his character. There is, for example, no authenticated portrait of him. But certain threads can be teased out.

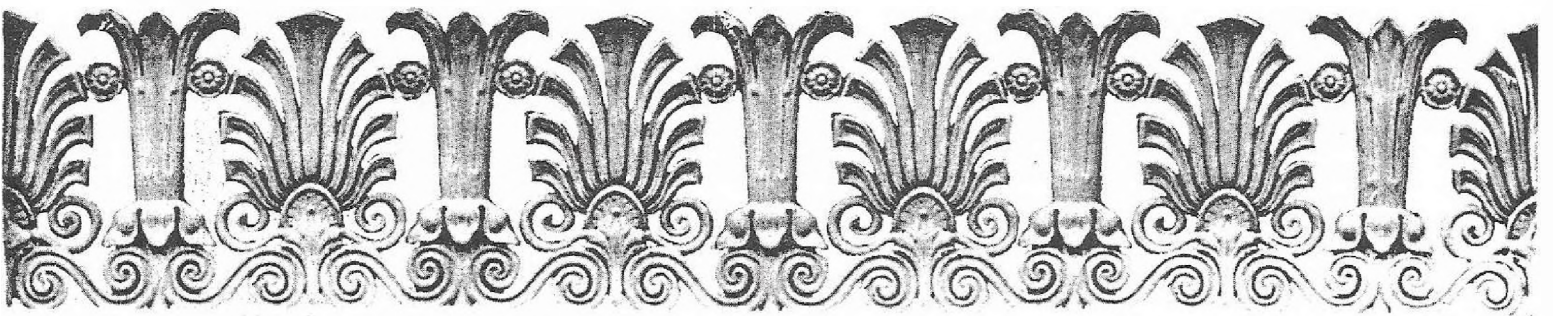
He had a very famous father, who outlived him by 16 years, and who was always better known and more celebrated in England than his son. His early success in Savannah must have made Jay feel he was recognised in his own right. We can possibly detect a certain bumptiousness in the style of some of his actions (particularly in Cheltenham where he got into a public slanging match in the press with a rival architect, one H. Edwards, over the never-built speculative development of Cambray Parade.) We know that he was a poor financial manager. He seems to have had difficulties in his dealings with contractors – in Savannah he was fined for leaving building materials on the street; in Charleston works were not carried out according to his designs; and in Cheltenham he charged some of his workers with stealing his timber.

It is hard to think of him as a happy man, particularly after his return to England. Yet his friends speak of him as being excellent company. And, although perhaps telling us more about the formidable father than the architect son, here is the judgement of Jay's father, written in 1854:

"My son, besides professional talent and cleverness, had a large share of wit and humour, qualities always dangerous and commonly injurious to the possessor. So it was, alas, here."

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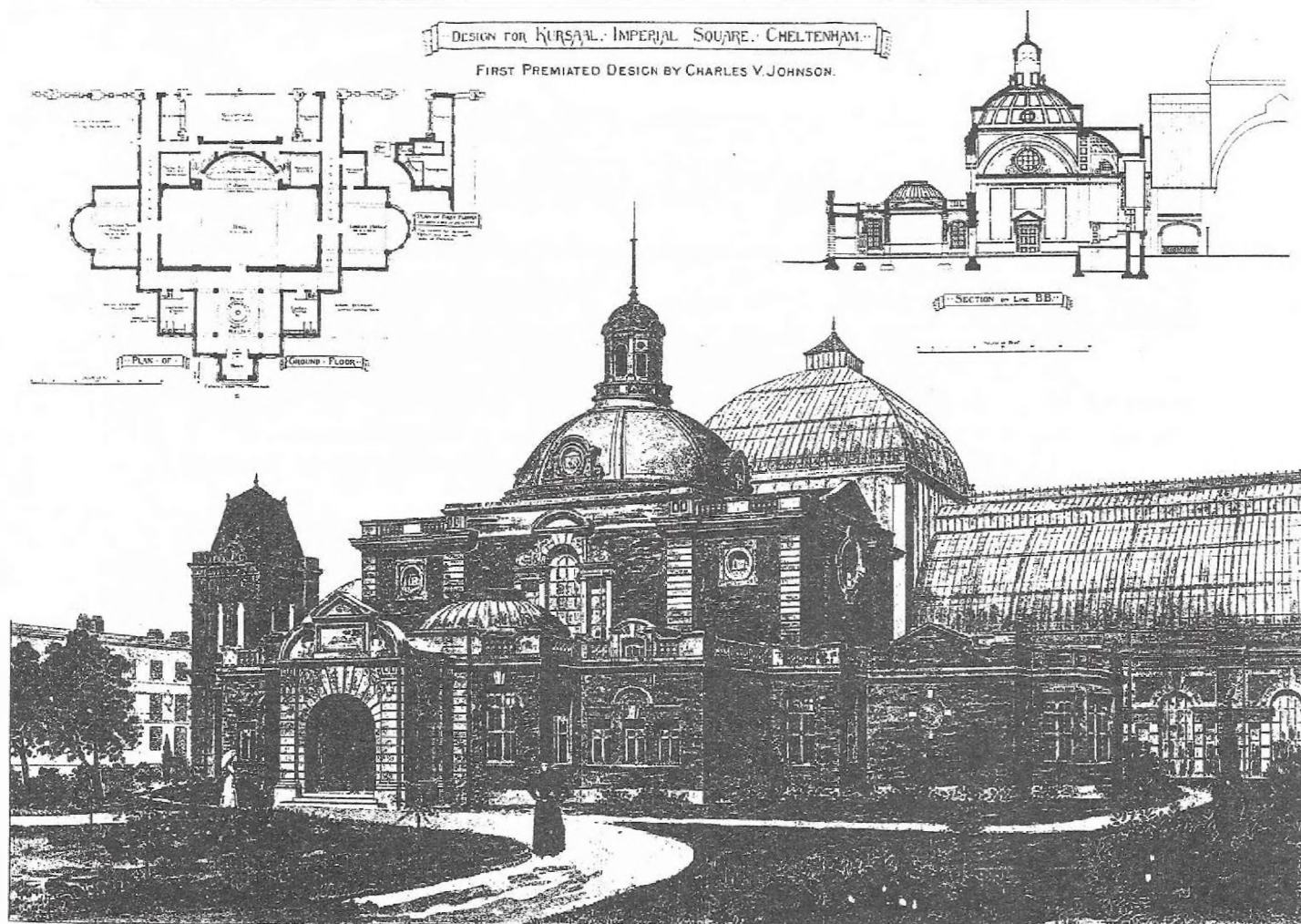
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*William Jay:
Design for balustrading, Columbia Place, Cheltenham*

Cheltenham as it might have been: The Kursaal

ERIC MILLER



THE ILLUSTRATION shown above is to be found in the National Buildings Record Centre at Swindon and is extracted from *The Building News* of 25 September 1896. Although the drawing is described as being the prizewinning design, it hardly needs saying that no Kursaal or any such building has ever graced Imperial Square.

The established histories of Cheltenham shed no obvious light on this design or the competition for which it was entered. A few more details are given in a copy of *The Building News* which is held in the British Library's newspaper and periodical collection, while reports of Borough Council meetings, for example in *The Cheltenham Looker-on*, offer a more complete solution to the mystery.

The instructions to competitors were to plan a building suitable for the distribution of mineral waters and to be an attractive place for a social centre. The Winter Gardens (which the Council had purchased the previous year) could be pulled down or dealt with in any way. The architect had chosen to preserve the existing Winter Garden as an annexe, to serve as a promenade. The entrance led through a pump room to a central hall, some 70 feet long by 36

feet wide, at one end of which was a ladies' parlour and at the other a gentlemen's smoking room. An organ was positioned on a platform along one side of the hall, where it might be heard in both buildings.

Even before this design was published, however, the *Looker-on* of 8 August 1896 had already reported that the Town Improvement Committee's proposals concerning the development had failed to satisfy the Council. The matter was raised repeatedly during the ensuing months until at a meeting in the following January the situation was neatly recapitulated by Councillor Ward-Humphreys.¹ Dr Ward-Humphreys envisaged the creation of a Kursaal as 'the crowning stone to be placed upon [the] town development by providing for the entertainment of visitors ... especially for those who come to us as invalids'. In this respect, Cheltenham was not to be outdone by Bath and Harrogate². A large number of plans had been sent in and exhibited at the Assembly Rooms³ but all had been open to one objection or another. The Town Improvement Committee had therefore produced a new scheme, under the supervision of E R Robson, architect of the Princess Hall at the Ladies' College. This scheme had a circular hall at its centre, retained the Winter Garden ('one of the finest in England') and additionally incorporated municipal offices and baths for various kinds of medical treatment. The rooms in the Kursaal could be used for classical chamber concerts and mayoral receptions.

These 'new, improved proposals' were approved by the Council, despite resolute opposition from the members of the New Club and on the ominous understanding that the final outcome would depend on the Local Government Board's sanctioning of a loan. Tenders were invited and the contract was awarded to Mr Estcourt of Gloucester (thereby provoking criticism from the Cheltenham lobbyists) at an overall cost of £46,000. The Government Inspector took little time over deciding against the scheme, mainly on the grounds that there was considerable opposition to it and that the cost was excessive. The Council greatly regretted this ruling after it had spent 'six years of preparatory work and mature deliberation'.

That might reasonably have been regarded as an end to the matter, but in 1911, when the Town Council had decided to build some Municipal Offices on the Winter Garden site, the *Looker-on* reproduced a drawing of what it referred to as the 'Ward-Humphreys' scheme for the Winter Garden, adding that 'most people will think nowadays that it was a pity that it was not carried out'.

A century later, we are more likely to agree with Roger Beacham's suggestion⁴ that the Winter Garden had always been something of a 'white elephant'. Had the grandiose Kursaal been built, it too would surely have become an expensive liability for the town. In the end Cheltenham probably achieved the best compromise. It gained a larger auditorium when the Town Hall was opened in 1903 (Waller's design is as wide as Johnson's Kursaal was long), and in 1915 suitable premises were acquired in The Promenade to serve as Municipal Offices.

Notes

1. The text of his speech was reproduced in a pamphlet, a copy of which is held in Cheltenham Local Studies Library, ref 63G352.
2. Harrogate had already gained its own 'Kursaal', though that lost its Germanic name in 1914.
3. It would be interesting to know what became of them.
4. Article on the Winter Garden Theatre in *Journal* 12, p 22.

'The munificent friend of Israel' – Jane Cook of Cheltenham (1775-1851)

ALAN MUNDEN

IN HER day Jane Cook was a wealthy and well-known eccentric resident of Cheltenham. She was an Evangelical Anglican who supported a wide range of Christian causes at home and overseas and died 150 years ago. Yet today she is a forgotten figure, a name on a few memorials, but nothing more. However at long last her significance has been noticed and her name has been given to one of the new halls of residence of the Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education and opened in October 1999.

Jane Cook was born in Cheltenham on 22 March 1775¹, and baptised at the parish church on 28 April. 'Jenny' as she was known was one of the daughters of John and Ann Cook of Cheltenham. Very little is known about the family. John Cook was a builder and owned houses and land in Cheltenham and much of his wealth was invested. On his death he left his considerable fortune to his two daughters. Jane was a very wealthy spinster. It is estimated that her annual income was £30,000 (something like £1,500,000 in today's terms). Yet she lived on £300 a year in Mrs Powell's lodging house in the High Street. One obituary referred to 'her eccentric and penurious life'.² In 1801 her sister Elizabeth married the Rev Edward Tatham who, between 1792 and his death in 1834, was the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford and Rector of Twyford, Bucks; they lived at his rectory at Combe. Towards the end of his life he was only seen in Oxford when he came to sell his pigs. He had a strong Yorkshire accent and spoke his mind. In his day he was a theological controversialist. In college he was called 'The Devil' and is known for having invented the property tax. He was also renowned for having preached a sermon that lasted for two and a half hours! On his death he was buried in All Saints', Oxford. Elizabeth erected an effigy monument in the church and his portrait was hung in the dining hall of Lincoln College. Elizabeth gave £500 to erect a school at Combe.

Elizabeth was a shrewd, capable woman who was described as 'a very ambitious and absolute lady – in fact a complete Xanthippe'. On her marriage to Edward, he asked her father, 'What dowry will you give with your daughter?' He told him a figure in pounds. 'Make it guineas and I'm your man' Edward replied. In marrying Elizabeth Tatham met his match. In 1823 one of his Combe parishioners reported that 'Madam [Elizabeth] have beat the old man [Edward] and one of her maids and black'd her eye'.³ As a widow, Elizabeth lived with a companion at Iffley and spent time with her sister in Cheltenham. On her death in 1847 Elizabeth left her fortune to Jane. At Lincoln College she founded the Tatham scholarship, awarded to a candidate who had been born or educated in Berkshire. The endowment fund of £1,677 is now used with other similar endowments as a fund for general scholarships. As a memorial to Elizabeth, Jane erected a school at Twyford. It was opened in 1849 under the direction of the Rector of Twyford and the Fellows of Lincoln College.

Jane Cook was a friend of both the Rev Francis Close and the Rev Charles Simeon of Cambridge. The latter was the vicar of Holy Trinity church and patron of Cheltenham parish church. When he paid his last visit to Cheltenham in July 1836 he was deeply impressed with what he saw. His experience of so much Christian activity caused him to describe his

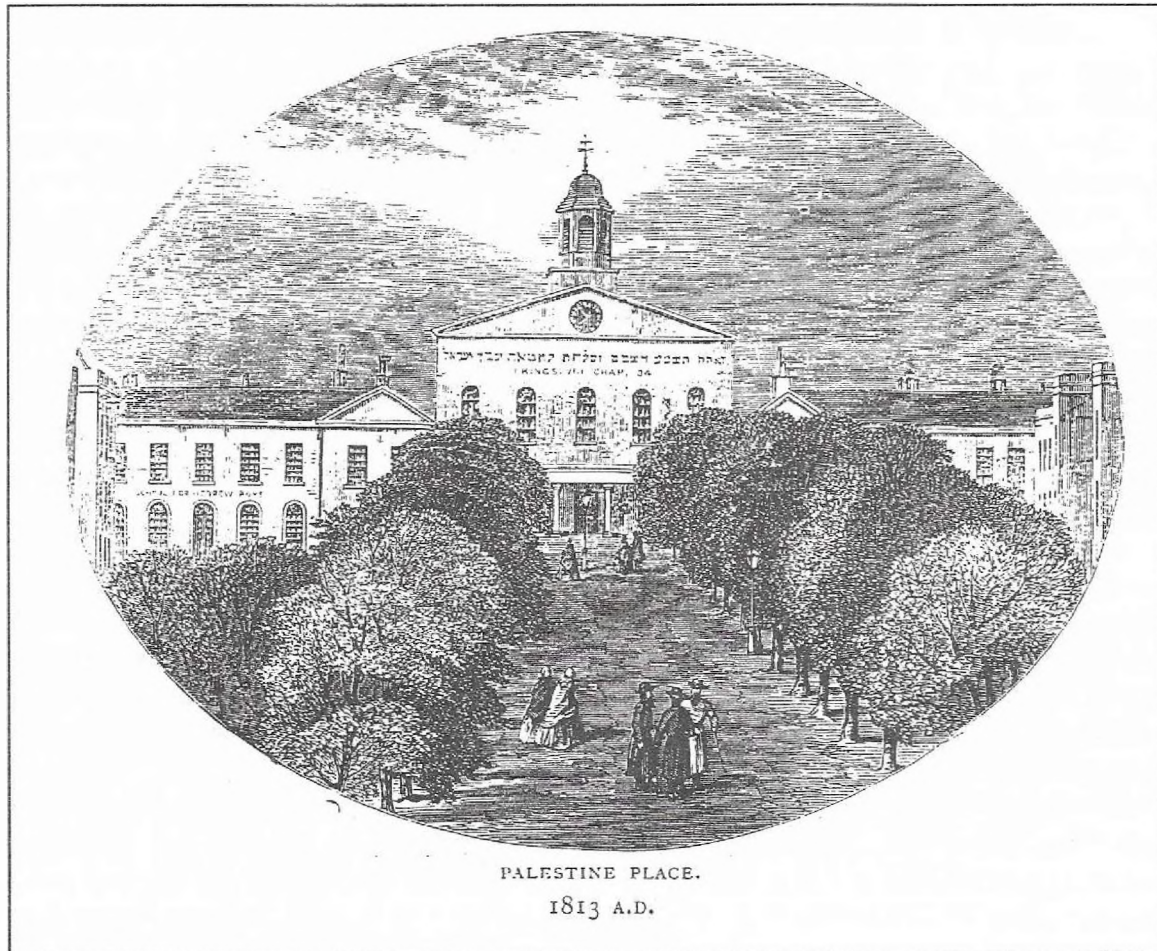
visit as being 'almost a heaven upon earth'.⁴ During his visit he gave Jane Cook a set of *Horae Homileticae*, his twenty-one volumes of sermon outlines. Later she donated them to the bishops' library in Jerusalem. Jane Cook was generous in giving away much of her fortune to Christian causes, many of which reflected her own Evangelical faith. She supported overseas mission, the conversion of the Jews, the distribution of the Bible, the advancement of education and in the support of the poorer Anglican churches in Cheltenham.

She died on 11 February 1851 in her lodgings at 1 Belle View Buildings, High Street, Cheltenham. The bulk of her estate was given to a variety of Christian causes. During her lifetime she gave much of her fortune away and £120,000 at her death. She left £5,000 to the Church Missionary Society.⁵ This gift went towards the erection of the Missionaries' Children's Home, in Highbury Grove, Islington.⁶ The home, which opened in 1853, was for the children of serving missionaries. It was thought at the time to be undesirable for their children to grow up in tropical climates so they remained in England. Only the children of missionaries to New Zealand accompanied their parents. Five bodies responsible for the distribution of the Bible were the recipients of Jane Cook's bounty. She left £5,000 to the British and Foreign Bible Society;⁷ and £1,000 each to the Edinburgh Bible Society for the distribution of Gaelic Bibles and Testaments and to the Irish Society of London for the distribution of Bibles, Testaments and Common Prayer Books in the Irish language. She also left £2,000 to the Trinitarian Bible Society,⁸ and in her lifetime gave towards the provision of Hebrew Bibles for the Jews.

Like most Evangelicals of her day Jane Cook was deeply committed to the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. Her friend Charles Simeon was so dedicated to the cause that he was described as being 'Jew mad'.⁹ It was his desire that the 'Jews should be pressed with vital Christianity at once',¹⁰ and that 'the conversion of the Jews to the faith of Christ is an event which everyone who believes the scriptures looks forward to as certain'.¹¹ Given that conviction and her involvement with Evangelicalism it is no small wonder that Jane Cook was described as 'the munificent friend of Israel'.¹² In all she gave about £60,000 (something like three million pounds in today's currency) to the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. She was a life member of the Society and by 1845 had given £1,377 but by 1850 this had increased to £21,049 19s 2d. In addition to this she also gave for the work of the Society in China, Poland, Palestine and London. In 1849 she provided an undisclosed sum of money to established a mission to the Jews living in China. In May 1849 George Smith had been consecrated as the first Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong and soon after his arrival in March 1850 the mission to the Jews was established. But it made slow progress. There were vast distances to travel and relatively few Jews to convert. However there was much more success among the large population of Jews living in Poland. In 1850 Jane Cook gave £550 to the London Society to purchase land for a settlement for Jewish work in Krakow. But the main focus of Jane Cook's generosity was for the work of the London Society in Palestine.

The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews¹³ was founded as an interdenominational body in 1809. However in 1815 it came under the sole direction of members of the Church of England. The centre of operations was a five-acre site called Palestine Place in Bethnal Green, London. The complex of buildings included the Episcopal Jews' Chapel, on either side of which was a school for boys and girls. Other buildings included the missionary college, private residences and the Operative Jewish Converts' Institution. By 1851 it was estimated that there were 2,000 Jews living in London and by

then there had been 600 baptisms in the Episcopal Chapel. In her will Jane Cook bequeathed £2,000 to the chapel and £1,000 to the Operative Jewish Converts' Institution.¹⁴ This was a necessary aspect of the work. For those Jews who became Christian believers many lost their livelihood and were employed at the Institution as bookbinders and printers. But supportive as Jane Cook was to the London Society in Bethnal Green she was even more generous of the mission in Palestine.



In the early nineteenth century many Evangelical Christians believed that the return of Christ was imminent and that the Jews would soon return to Israel. For these reasons it became a priority to convert the Jews to Christianity. The establishment of the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem was seen as an important step in providing a Protestant presence in the Middle East. It was believed that the propagation of Evangelicalism would restore the apostolic faith in to an area dominated by the idolatry of the Roman and Eastern churches. Michael Solomon Alexander, a converted Jew and Professor of Hebrew at King's College, London was consecrated as the Bishop in Jerusalem on 7 November 1841. It was such a moving occasion that 'the Bishop of London (C J Blomfield) was in tears'.¹⁵ Evangelicals and those of the broad church party welcomed the appointment but it was criticised of by the supporters of the Oxford Movement. They objected to the alliance of Anglicans and German Lutherans in their joint promotion of the bishopric, and in the implied challenge to the dominant Orthodox Church.¹⁶ In 1835 an appeal was launched for building a Protestant church in Jerusalem. Three years later a site was purchased near to the Jaffa gate, and the foundation of Christ Church was laid in February 1842. But the erection of the building was



far from easy. The solid rock for the foundations was forty feet below the surface, and after the stonework of the superstructure was erected the Turkish authorities denied that they had given their permission and the work ceased. In England a petition supporting its continuance was signed by 1,400 clergy and 15,000 laity and presented to the Prime Minister. After

further pressure on the Turkish authorities the work recommenced. In 1845 Jane Cook gave £2,600 towards the completion of the building and two years later a further £1,000. The timber roof and internal wooden fittings were fabricated in London and were then despatched to Jaffa in a specially chartered vessel. From Jaffa to salem the items were transported from the port to the city on camels! In 1848 Jane Cook gave another £13,000 to the London Society to be invested, the income from which was clearly specified. £8,500 was for the minister's stipend; £1,000 for repairs to the fabric; £1,500 as a contribution towards the bishopric endowment fund; and £2,000 for Hebrew Bibles, New Testaments and Book of Common Prayer for the Jews of Jerusalem and Palestine. Samuel Gobat, the second Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, consecrated Christ Church on 21 January 1849. Surprisingly the church contains no memorial to Jane Cook. However the occasion was commemorated in the chancel of St Peter's church, Cheltenham. The memorial tablet includes a medallion of Christ Church, and is headed – 'Christ Church, Jerusalem, 21 January AD 1849' – and continues:

In memory of Miss Jane Cook, who died 11 February 1851, aged 75 years. Being anxious to promote the glory of God, she devoted her property to the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures both at home and abroad, and to support of missions among the heathen, as well as to the Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. She contributed towards the erection of a church on Mount Zion in Jerusalem for divine worship according to the ritual of the United Church of England and Ireland, where salvation through 'Jesus of Nazareth' might be proclaimed to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel': She was a liberal benefactress to this church and parish: and ever adopted the language of the Psalmist, 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give the praise for thy loving mercy, and for thy truth's sake'.

Already in Jerusalem Jane Cook had given £10,700 to purchase and maintain a House of Industry which became a home and workshop for Jewish converts. They were taught woodwork, and carved items in olive wood, and also became bookbinders and printers. She gave £200 to be invested to provide a fund to establish them in work. Jane

Cook also provided £4,000 towards a Jewish converts' relief fund, for enquiring Jews, and for elderly, infirm converts. She also supported Judah Lyons, a converted rabbi, as a Scripture Reader to distribute scripture portions and tracts among the Jews. In September 1850 she gave £2,000 to be invested to provide a yearly salary of £60 for a converted Israelite to be a house surgeon or apocathary in Jerusalem. In December 1850, she gave £1,000 for the publication in Hebrew of 6,000 copies of the New Testament and Book of Common Prayer. With the support of Francis Close, the Anglican churches of Cheltenham supported the London Society. By March 1849, £8,143 11s 6d had been given. This was the ninth largest amount given in the whole of England.

Jane Cook was concerned about the provision of Evangelical education. In her will she left £1,000 to the Malta Protestant College. After the withdrawal of the Church Missionary Society from the island it was intended that the college would become 'a centre and rallying point for Evangelical work of all kinds in the Mediterranean'.¹⁷ The constitution of this 'Church of England Institution' was based on scriptural and Evangelical principles, 'a seminary of sound Protestant instruction'.¹⁸ The aim was 'to spread the light of revealed religion, with the blessings of moral and intellectual cultivation' among the 100 million inhabitants of the Middle East.¹⁹ The college occupied an impressive twenty-acre site at St Julian's Bay two miles from Valletta. It was planned to have 220 adults at the college in two departments – one for the professions and the other to train missionaries, Scripture Readers and schoolmasters. There was also to be a school for 120 pupils.

The college opened in February 1846 and had the support of leading Evangelical clergy like Edward Bickerseth, Francis Close, Henry Law and Edward Marsh. In September the following year a large meeting was held in the Cheltenham Literary and Philosophical Institution. It was addressed by the Rev Sparks Byers and the Rev Dr G Achilli, an ex-Dominican who had become a militant and crusading Protestant. He was a controversial figure. Though he had been dismissed from his Order for alleged immorality he became a theological teacher at the college. In England he addressed numerous anti-Roman Catholic meetings.²⁰ At Cheltenham the report in the *Cheltenham Journal* ended with the comment that 'The Rev Dr concluded by delivering a somewhat lengthy peroration in the Italian language'. Close also spoke for some length at the meeting. He said that he 'was glad to see that the cause of Protestantism ... had awakened in their bosoms enough interest at least to induce them to come'.²¹ Thereafter and until 1853 annual meetings were held in Cheltenham. Then money alone was subscribed, but no meetings were held until June 1857. It was chaired by Archibald Boyd, Vicar of Christ Church and the speaker was the Rev Charles Dent Bell, then the Minister of St John's Chapel, Downshire Hill, Hampstead and between 1872-95 the Rector of Cheltenham. He said that since the College had opened 198 students had been admitted but that at present there were fourteen students. Although the College opened with great promise in 1846, its numbers only ever reached eighty. When the institution was forced to close in 1865, the chairman of the committee, Lord Shafestbury believed that, 'The Malta College must, on the whole, be regarded as a complete failure ... and we must close it in debt'.²² There had been fewer students than had been expected, the London based committee had found it difficult to direct the college affairs, and the institution had a number of enemies including some English residents on the island.

In Cheltenham the opening in 1847 of another 'Scriptural, Evangelical and Protestant' college was more successful. Early in 1848 Jane Cook gave six acres of land valued at £2,600 in Swindon Road and known as 'Plough Garden' for the erection of the Church of England Training Schools. She gave a further £500 after building work had

commenced.²³ The purpose-built male department, which cost £11,761, was opened in April 1850. Her generosity to the institution is recorded on a memorial tablet in the entrance porch of what is now known as the Francis Close Hall.

The site on which this college is built, and the extensive grounds around it, consisting of nearly six acres of land, together with the sum of £500, were the magnificent donations of Miss Jane Cook, a native of, and a constant resident in Cheltenham. A testimony of her value of the principles on which this college was founded, and a record of her desire that they may be faithfully observed unto the end of time. AD1849.

Also in 1848 in Cheltenham, Jane Cook provided a site in St Margaret's Road between Monson Villa²⁴ and St Margaret's Villa for the erection of the Boys' Orphan Asylum. The Rector of Cheltenham, Edward Walker, laid the foundation stone in May 1865 and the completed building was opened in September 1866. It had cost £1,630 and a further £32 for fitting it out. It continued to be used as an orphanage until 1956 when it became a retirement home called Dowty House. In 1850 Jane Cook gave £250 towards an organ gallery in the parish church and which was being constructed at the time of her death.

In her will Jane Cook remembered her friends. She left £2,200 to be invested, the income from which was to provide for Mrs Jane Walker of Sherborne Villa, Gloucester. On her decease the income was to be divided between her two children, Charles and Jane. Jane Cook left £200 each to three men involved in ministry to the Jews – Samuel Gobat, who was the first principal of the Malta Protestant College for only six weeks before becoming the Bishop in Jerusalem; the Rev John Nicolayson, the first minister of Christ Church, Jerusalem and the Rev Charles Reichardt, since 1831 the superintendent of the Operative Jewish Converts' Institution in Bethnal Green. Jane Cook left £300 each to her executors – the Rev John Hall, the minister of St Werburgh's, Bristol; the Rev John Browne, the minister of [Holy] Trinity church, Cheltenham and to Edward Frampton, one of the managers of the County of Gloucester Bank.

It was Jane Cook's intention that after her death her remains should be interred with those of her parents in the churchyard of Cheltenham parish church. Since their tombstone was rather dilapidated she wanted to renew it and surrounded it with iron railings. She also wanted to erect a monument to herself inside St Mary's. The monument was placed in the nave and inscribed:

In memory of Jane, daughter of John and Ann Cook of this town, and only sister of Elizabeth, the wife of the Reverend Edward Tathan DD, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, who departed this life, in the hope of a blessed immortality through Jesus Christ our Saviour, 11 February 1851, aged 75 years.

However she was not buried in the already over-crowded churchyard of the parish church. She was instead interred at the east end of the churchyard of St Peter's church. Her gravestone has a simple inscription:

Beneath this tomb are deposited the mortal remains of Jane, daughter of John and Ann Cook, of this town, born 22 March 1775, died 11 February 1851.

Later in 1851 another memorial to Jane Cook was placed in the Episcopal Jews' Chapel in Bethnal Green. In 1895 The Bethnal Green Board of Guardians made an offer of £17,500 for Palestine Place site. Since the lease was to expire in 1910 it was believed that this was a reasonable offer since the London Society were not in a position to purchase the freehold. With some regret the offer was accepted and the Bethnal Green Infirmary was erected on the site. The ten monuments from the walls of the Chapel were transferred to the porch of Christ Church, Spitalfields²⁵ and a commemoration service was held in March 1898. Her monument is inscribed:

To the memory of Miss Jane Cook who died at Cheltenham 11 February 1851, aged 75 years. Blessed by Divine Providence with a large and increasing estate, contented with the retirement of private life, and unambitious of worldly splendour, she devoted much of her property from year to year in her life. And bequeathed the residue at her death to the promotion of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ as the power of God unto salvation, unto the Jew first, and also unto the Gentile. Earnestly seeking the welfare of the church at home and desirous of spreading the knowledge of salvation throughout the world. She preferred Jerusalem above her chief joy having in her life time contributed mainly to the building of a house for the Lord on Mount Zion, and the permanent support of Christian establishments in the holy city of Jerusalem, she finally left a large fund to be applied to the general purposes of the London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. 'Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favour her, yea the set time, has come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof. Psalm ch 13, 14'.

For the four years after Jane Cook's death her next of kin were involved in a lengthy legal process to gain some of her fortune. This was understandable. Already in her lifetime much of her wealth had been given away and now what remained was being given to Christian causes and not to members of her family. The lengthy proceedings - 'Edwards v Hall' - took place in the Court of Chancery before the Lord Chancellor. But in December 1855 the case was dismissed.²⁶ The four-year delay meant that all of the recipients of her bequests had to wait for the judgment to be given before they could receive what was due to them. The particular matter raised by the next of kin was over Jane Cook's intention to give an undisclosed sum of money to the endowment of churches or chapels in populous parishes so that the poor might have the good news preached to them. She specified that these were to be the churches under the patronage of Charles Simeon or a similar Evangelical trust. Since the Simeon's Trustees were the patrons of Cheltenham parish church, and the incumbent (Francis Close) was responsible for the patronage of the other churches in the town, the three poorest churches in Cheltenham became the recipients of her bequest. They were St Paul's (opened in 1831), St Peter's (opened in 1849) and the newly built St Luke's (opened in 1854). The executors gave £2,000 to each of the churches, and the investment provided a modest endowment towards the stipend of the incumbents. Of the three churches, Jane Cook particularly supported St Peter's. In 1848 she gave half an acre of land for a boys' National School in what became called Waterloo Street and in the following year £600 towards the erection of the church.²⁷

Like Dorcas in the New Testament, Jane Cook was known for 'doing good and helping the poor' (Acts 9:36). Though today her name may be forgotten the fruit of her generosity is evident in buildings in Jerusalem and Cheltenham.

References

- ¹ *Cheltenham Journal*, 24 February 1851. For other background information on Jane Cook see: *Gloucestershire Notes & Queries* vol. 1 (1881), pp.4-5; vol. 7 (1900), pp.12, 17; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1851, pp.443-444; her will, 5 June 1850.
- ² *Gentleman's Magazine*, op.cit., p.443.
- ³ V Green, *Oxford common room* (1957) p.46.
- ⁴ W Carus, *Memoirs of the life of the Rev Charles Simeon MA* (1847) pp.784, 785.
- ⁵ The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East (now Church Mission Society) was founded in 1799
- ⁶ E Stock, *The history of the Church Missionary Society* (1899) Vol. 2, p.49. There is an engraving of the Children's Home on p52. In 1887 the school was transferred to Limpsfield, Surrey and between 1915 and 1996 was known as St Michael's School.
- ⁷ The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804. It is known today as the Bible Society.
- ⁸ In 1831 the more theologically conservative supporters of the British and Foreign Bible Society who were critical of Unitarian involvement formed the Trinitarian Bible Society.
- ⁹ Quoted by H E Hopkins, *Charles Simeon of Cambridge* (1977) p.189.
- ¹⁰ A W Brown, *Recollections of the conversation parties of the Rev Charles Simeon MA* (1863) p.313.
- ¹¹ C Simeon, *Horae Homileticae* (1833) Vol. 10, p.542.
- ¹² 41st annual report of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 1849, p.58.
- ¹³ After various changes of name it is known today as the Church's Ministry among Jewish People (CMJ). For the first hundred years see, W T Gidney, *The history of the London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (1908).
- ¹⁴ The Operative Jewish Converts' Institution was founded by the Revs Charles Simeon, Charles Hawtrey, William Marsh and Sir George Rose in 1829 and reconstituted in 1831. Through lack of funds it nearly closed in 1839 but was reprieved by financial support from Cheltenham. Apart from 1844 and 1847 collections were taken at Cheltenham parish church until 1849. After Palestine Place was sold the Institution was transferred to Bodney Road, Hackney and called Palestine House.
- ¹⁵ Stock, op. cit., Vol. 1, p.421.
- ¹⁶ P J Welch, 'Anglican churchmen and the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 8, 1957, pp.193-204; O Chadwick, *The Victorian church* (1966) Part I, pp.189-193.
- ¹⁷ Stock, op. cit., Vol. 2, p.141.
- ¹⁸ S Mallia, 'The Malta Protestant College', *Melita Historica*, (1990) Vol. 10, No. 3, p.260.
The threefold cluster of 'Scripture, Evangelical and Protestant' was dear to the heart of Francis Close and to the mid-century Evangelicals. The wording is associated with the foundation principles of the Church of England Training Schools in Cheltenham; the Church of England Metropolitan Training Institution and the London College of Divinity (now St John's College, Nottingham) whose first Principal was the Rev T P Boulton, Close's curate 1849-53 and theological tutor at Cheltenham College 1853-63.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.258.
- ²⁰ J H Newman exposed Achilli's background and in June 1852 a libel case took place, Newman being fined £100 and bearing £12,000 in costs. Chadwick, op.cit., pp.306-308. Mallia, op. cit., pp.272-273.
- ²¹ *Cheltenham Journal*, 6 September 1847.
- ²² E Hodder, *The life and work of the seventh earl of Shaftesbury KG* (1887) Vol. 3, p.180.
- ²³ C More, *The training of teachers, 1847-1947. A history of the church colleges in Cheltenham* (1992) p.12, note 34. See also A Munden, *A Cheltenham Gamaliel. Dean Close of Cheltenham* (1997) p.44. By 1900 the building was known as St Paul's College, and from 1990 as the Francis Close Hall.
- ²⁴ Monson Villa was erected by Katherine Monson. Between 1828-39 Francis Close rented the property, and from 1839-56 he lived at The Grange, Malvern Road, a house given to him by his parishioners. Between 1848-49 the female department of the Church of England Training Schools was located in Monson Villa. The site is now occupied by a tower block.
- ²⁵ The large oval font from the Episcopal Jews' Chapel was also placed in Christ Church, Spitalfields. The bell turret from the chapel was erected above the nurses' quarters of the Bethnal Green Infirmary (erected on the site and opened in 1900). In 1982 the bell turret was removed and the bell sold.
- ²⁶ For the official report see, *Edwards v Hall* (1855) 6 De GM & G74, LC, pp.74-94. The details of the case were reported locally in the *Cheltenham Journal*, 8 December 1855.
- ²⁷ In the entrance porch of St Peter's there are ten commemorative metal plates, two of which refer to Jane Cook.

Aspects of Medieval Cheltenham

MICHAEL GREET

Original documents concerning Cheltenham's medieval history are few. Some of those that remain are undated, but the people and places in them allow links to be made with other, dated, medieval documents. While dating some deeds for property in Charlton and Naunton in this way I discovered the value of the Cirencester Abbey Cartulary¹ [CAC] as a source for Cheltenham; an article on the parish church appeared in Journal 13, page 34. This summary draws out the significance of other Cheltenham references in the Cartulary, and some related topics.

A. AN ABBEY SERVICE TENEMENT IN NAUNTON?

One group of deeds from the Cartulary concerns the descent of a property identified by Barbara Rawes as Naunton Meese [Journal 1, 1983]. This holding seems to have been let successively to servants of the Abbey. On 5 March 1288 [CAC III/473] Cirencester Abbey granted to John de Bradenestok' the messuage and virgate (probably 24 acres for Cheltenham hundred) of land in Naunton (formerly held by John de Ewyas) in return for his fealty and service, payment of 12 marks, a token rent of a rose at the feast of St. John Baptist (29 August), and suit of court twice a year (attending the Abbot's court in Cheltenham). After his death John's heirs would have the holding for 5s. a year and suit of court twice a year. Notable witnesses of the deed included Simon Moryn (lord of the manor of Swindon) and Walter of Cheltenham, (a cleric who held various local livings c.1269 - 1306, and was clerk to the Abbot in 1286. [See CAC III/219, and 195, footnote, for his career].

The same tenement seems to feature in a grant and quitclaim [CAC III/479] to the Abbey by John, son of Robert Budchuc of Colesbourne, some time between 1266 and 1307. Another deed [CAC III/475], dated after 1290 ("et capitali domino feodi"), records the grant by William le Taylour, son of Adam of Naunton, to Robert of Crudwell, clerk of Cirencester, of a messuage and adjacent land in Naunton for a rose in August and the usual service. It is not clear why William gave up the holding, but Robert of Crudwell was given a quitclaim [CAC III/476], late 13th century, by Matilda, sister of John de Ewyas and a widow, of all right to a moiety of this messuage and virgate in Naunton, for which she had sued William of Naunton, called le Taylour, in the Abbot's court in Cheltenham.

On 11 March 1305 [CAC III/291] Robert of Crudwell returned all his tenements, houses, curtilages, meadows, pastures, goods and chattels, and renders in Cirencester and Chesterton to the Abbey. In return the Abbey agreed to receive him in their fraternity giving him a share in all spiritual benefits from the Abbey in perpetuity, together with fair maintenance for himself, one servant and one horse in or out of the Abbey for his lifetime. He was to have an adequate room with a privy, strawings? and heating as needed, winter or summer. Each day he was to have a standard loaf, a gallon of beer, and an allowance of provisions. Whenever the Abbot chose to sojourn with the canons in common, Robert was to have a place but food would not be served in his room. Each year he would receive a robe and footwear as if one of the Abbey esquires ("precipuis valettis"), and his servant at the time would receive food and drink as if one of the Abbey stablehands. His rouncey (riding horse) was to have an adequate stable, and two cartloads of hay with the forage and maintenance usual for an Abbey esquire.

B EARLY PLACENAMES

The Cartulary provides early evidence of some familiar names, and sometimes the sole evidence of names now lost. A good example is the donation to Cirencester Abbey, probably in the late 13th century, by Simon, son of Ralph le Gilur of Cheltenham, a clerk, of three gifts of arable land. The first gift [CAC III/471] was of one acre in *Le Tounfurlong* between Abbey land and that of Robert Gode(1), lying on the king's road opposite the house of John de la *Touneshende*. The site of this 'town furlong' in the early field system is unknown, and the name is not recorded later; but its juxtaposition with the name 'Townsend' invites a conclusion that it might have been at the western end of Cheltenham. The second gift [CAC III/469] was of one acre in the East field of Cheltenham between land of Robert Gode and of John de Molendin' (of the Mill), extending from the road from *Cherletun* (ie Charlton Kings) to *Stupforlong* (apparently unrecorded elsewhere). Simon of the Mill witnessed this deed.

In the third gift [CAC III/470] a further 7 acres are identified:

- an acre in the *East field* between land of Walter Sturemy and the road to *Cakebrugg* (ie Cakebridge - where Prestbury Road crosses Wyman's Brook).

- an acre in the *West field* at *Meryssesgate* ('Marshgate') between lands the Abbey held already. This reference places this spot (also known from a 1399 reference, quoted in A H Smith, *Place-names of Gloucestershire* II p 103) in a specific field; see Journal 6, p6 for the locations of the East and West Fields.

- two acres with a portion of meadow land in *Presthembrok* (not previously seen - perhaps another form of Prestbury Brook, ie Wyman's Brook) between Abbey land and that of Bonamy in *the Lone* (which lane this refers to is uncertain).

- an acre at *Thickethorn* between land of Simon Dunt and that of Christine la Newe (a villein?). On this evidence, Thickthorn is an old name, but seemingly not formally recorded before the 1835 enclosure award.

- an acre at *Kalvestones Slade* between land of Walter Sturemy and Walter Edemo'. This appears to be further version of a name recorded in many different forms (Kalkam Slad, Colcomb, etc) and in use from at least 1291 to the 18th century (Smith, *PNG* II p 108). The spot is today part of the Wyman's Brook estate.

- an acre in *Swyneshememere*, by land of Walter Sturemy. No other known reference; location unknown. Does 'mere' here mean lake, or marker (as in merestone)?

Tatherlake lane: probably in 1288 [CAC III/474] Simon, son of the late Walter Katelyn, in return for a payment of 40s., gave up all right in a messuage and virgate of land in Naunton formerly held by William Crispe (possibly because he had been sued by Juliana, the widow of Crispe, through a royal writ to the Abbot's court in the town). Separately he agreed that the Abbey could enclose '*Tatherlakelone*' between the Abbot's court and his own property (so we can deduce that this lane - a name not otherwise known - was somewhere on an axis between the present Cambray and Naunton). It seems very likely this event is also reflected in an agreement [CAC III/468] of about the same date, when Walter Sturmy allowed the Abbot to enclose a lane between the Abbot's court and his mill. He also permitted the Abbey use of a lane between the land of Walter Baude, and the croft of William le Nive (a villcin?) for 4d. a year. I assume the Abbey wished to develop this area, near the present Cambray (see B Rawes, *Journal* 1). The mill was that later called Barrett's Mill, at this date the property of the Abbey, but usually sub-let - see below. Sturmy appears as a witness to the Gloucester Hundred Roll, and to CAC III/472 of 1288 (see below).

Simon Katelyn continues to be mentioned in later land transactions in Cheltenham, c1301-4 [CAC II/435/467/477].

C. THE MILL

Besides the above, the Cartulary also provides early references to the mill owned by the Abbey in Cheltenham. On 14 July 1288 [CAC III/472] John, son of Simon le Weke of Cheltenham, called Hard', gave up to the Abbey all right in a mill, messuage and half a virgate (probably 12 acres) in Cheltenham which his father had held from the Abbey for life. This pair may have been the John and Simon of the Mill referred to in the preceding deed. In 1304 Thomas, called of the Mill, in Cheltenham surrendered [CAC III/482, 483] all claim to the Mill, messuage, closes and 10½ acres let to him for life in villeinage. In return the Abbey granted him [CAC III/481], on 8 July 1304, food and drink and a suitable stipend for efficient, honest service to the Abbey so long as he was able, willing, and satisfied the Abbey. If he was not able or willing or displeased the Abbey, he should receive yearly, for life, 3 quarters and 3 bushels of wheat, and 3 quarters and 2 bushels of rye from the Abbey granary in Cheltenham; he should also receive one robe value 8s. (or 8s. in lieu); lodging to the value of 4s. a year (or 4s. to find it); and a cartload of fodder a year from the same grange.

D. THE APPOINTMENT BY CIRENCESTER ABBEY OF PRIESTS TO SERVE CHELTENHAM CHURCHES

Introduction: In medieval times the purpose of a church living was to provide a livelihood for the priest who served the spiritual and pastoral needs of his parishioners. In general, parishes were served by secular clergy (i.e. ordinary priests, not monks or canons regular) and some clergy had more than one living. However, as livings were often seen as a form of property, the pluralist rector of one parish who lived elsewhere might retain the larger part of the income of such a living for himself, while appointing a substitute priest (vicar) to perform the duties for perhaps one third of the revenues of the living. Similarly, a religious house which acquired (appropriated) a parish might take the majority of parish revenues for itself to increase its income, appointing a secular vicar or chaplain to carry out the priestly duties².

The right to appropriate Cheltenham's Churches: Cirencester Abbey was given the parish church of Cheltenham by Henry I in 1133. In 1195 the Augustinian canons of Cirencester were given permission by Pope Celestine III to appropriate the church at Cheltenham and its subordinate chapels (including specifically Charlton Kings). This enabled them, after providing for the spiritual needs of the parish, to increase their income to provide hospitality to Abbey visitors and to support sick brethren. The right to do this was confirmed by Pope Innocent III in 1199 and again in 1216-7 by the Bishop of Worcester³. Professor Ross noted an earlier papal indult⁴ to Cirencester Abbey from Pope Alexander III of 5th May 1178 allowed it to "to place in their vacant churches 4 or 3 of its brethren of whom one shall be presented to the bishop to have the cure of souls". In his Introduction to CAC, Professor Ross observed that the question of "how far Augustinian canons in general served their churches in person had been the subject of much discussion", and he noted two instances where canons from Cirencester served as incumbents (Geoffrey Brito at Milborne Port; Nicholas of Ampney at Holwell, Dorset⁵. Here I examine the evidence for this practice in Cheltenham.

The Living up to 1195: There is little information about the staffing of, and services held at, Cheltenham parish church and its chapels before 1195. It has been suggested that mediaeval priests were permitted to celebrate only one mass per day. If so, more than one priest would have been needed in Cheltenham hundred. According to the Domesday book, in 1086 Cheltenham's church had been staffed by "priests" and the size of its endowment (1½ hides) confirms this. Between 1162 and 1164 there was a "chapter" in Cheltenham⁶, which would have been headed by a senior priest, or prior, presumably then a vicar (canons regular usually had to be accompanied by a colleague (socius)). There had also been a priory in Cheltenham in 1086⁷. There is no information about services held at the parish church; but in 1143 there were to be services on three days per week at Arle Chapel. At Charlton there were to be services on four days weekly, and at festivals⁸.

Vicars, Canons, or Chaplains? Between 1133 and 1195 Cheltenham was probably served by a vicar. Two priests, Randulf and Reginald, were in dispute over the vicarage between 1174 and 1180, it was also the subject of debate between many ecclesiastical authorities ("four popes, two archbishops, and several bishops, abbots, and priors") over the next 40 years or so (see Ross, CAC, Introduction, pp xxx-xxxi). Part of the problem was that diocesan bishops tried to ensure that vicarages were created in appropriated churches "to change the precarious tenure of a poorly paid priest, who could be dismissed at will, into a life tenure supported by an adequate if moderate income"⁹. These disputes caused a lot of trouble, and Maurice of Arundel, Archdeacon of Gloucester (between 1210 and 1245), for example, lost money by the appropriation. His office had been granted the right to the income from vacant churches in the Archdeaconry, but, as the churches held by the Abbey were never vacant he complained (unsuccessfully) to Pope Gregory IX¹⁰. The wish to avoid costly disputes may have influenced the later staffing of the Cheltenham churches.

The staffing of Cheltenham churches. It was unusual for members of a religious house except regular (Augustinian) canons to be allowed themselves to serve appropriated churches, though the document of 1216-7 provided that two chaplains should be allocated to serve the church. Thus Cirencester did not always have to use its own brethren to serve its churches, presumably if it lacked sufficient personnel or money. A recent article by Dr Evans¹¹ shows that in the 14th century, for example, the Abbey suffered difficulties from the effects of plague, loss of rents, the heavy cost of hospitality, and it could not afford to repair its buildings or afford the heavy costs consequent on each change of Abbot (1352, 1358, 1361, 1363). It is, therefore, hard to judge which policy was followed by the Abbey in serving its churches. When canons were abundant at its foundation it may have staffed its churches with canons. If they were scarce, as when vocations declined in the 15th and 16th centuries, or when money was short, chaplains, presumably being cheaper, were probably used more often¹². Indeed, chaplains may have been the norm after 1217. Another factor was that the abbey's administrative effectiveness varied; the canons were not always well-behaved. The first known instance of a canon serving Cheltenham's parish (below) shows this.

Canons as Custos. Research has identified only three instances in which a canon was Custos (and apparently acting as incumbent) of Cheltenham. However, Gwen Hart also notes that tombs in the north wall of the parish church were assumed to be those of canons who had served in Cheltenham¹³. In 1378 a visitation of Cirencester Abbey by the diocesan bishop led to Nicholas Faireford, the Keeper of Cheltenham Parish church losing his office for bad behaviour. In 1498, the office of Custos of the parish church was again held by a

canon: "John Dursley, chamberlain, kitchener, and warden of Cheltenham (Cheltynhem) Ch[urch]"¹⁴. In 1511 John Blake, Cellarer and Almoner at Cirencester was "custos ecclesie parochialis de Cheltenham"¹⁵; presumably he was the man who later became the last abbot (1522-1539). The Cellarer was a senior canon. From 1539, after the Dissolution, the last Cellarer received the third largest pension (£8), after the abbot (£200), and the prior (£13 6s. 8d.)¹⁶.

Chaplains serving the Church: the remaining evidence found for the staffing of the church suggests that chaplains were used in all other instances. Two deeds of the late 13th century refer to the chaplains in Cheltenham. They show that Simon, son of Ralph le Gilur of Cheltenham, clerk, gave land in Cheltenham to the Abbey. The deeds were witnessed by W(illiam) de Amen' (Ampney?) "tunc temporis capellano parochiali" and W(illiam) de Cliva, chaplain¹⁷ who presumably served the parish church. Two other chaplains, Thomas Frenssh and Henry Somere, were to be executors of the will, made in 1475, of a Cheltenham man, Walter Frensshe. This left rents to be applied to the maintenance of two chaplains to celebrate the service of St. Mary at chantries in Cheltenham and Charlton¹⁸. In 1522 the Rectory of Cheltenham was worth £70. The Chaplain, Richard Drake, had a stipend of £6 13s. 4d. (For comparison the chantry of St Mary produced £4 13s. 4d., and that of St. Katherine £4). The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* shows that only £9 16s. 0d was available to pay clergy in Cheltenham and for church expenses¹⁹. In 1532 Edward Grove was Curate of Charlton Kings and, in 1540, of Cheltenham²⁰. Presumably he succeeded Reynold Lane, also Curate of Cheltenham in 1540 (and possibly to be identified with Richard Lane, the former canon of Cirencester – see box). Roger Mutlowe or Mottelowe was Curate of Charlton Kings between 1537 and 1545²¹.

Other Chaplains in Cheltenham: the names of some other clergy who served in Cheltenham are also known, but the extent of their service is difficult to identify. Walter atte Grene, chaplain (perhaps at the chantry in Charlton), held land near the present Church Street, Charlton Kings, in 1403 and 1416. Richard de la Hulle, chaplain, held land at Naunton in 1321, and John Lenyer, chaplain, had land in Wetefurlong in 1370. A man with a similar name held land in Charlton in 1430. Another man, Reginald Warkesdon, witnessed a deed, as clerk, in 1364. Hugh Chaplain (Capellano) was listed as a taxpayer at Westal in 1327²².

E. TWO EARLY CARETAKERS OF CHELTENHAM PARISH CHURCH

In the early years of the 14th century Henry of Hampnett, Abbot of Cirencester 1281-1307, charitably appointed Simon Dunt and his wife Alice, caretakers of Cheltenham Parish Church ("pro agendis suis de custode ecclesie nostre de Chilteh' "). We can be fairly certain of the date since John of Alre (Arle), a witness both to the Abbot's grant and Simon's quitclaim [CAC III/478, 480], also witnessed another deed [III/477], dated c.1301-04.

Dunt, a tenant in villeinage in Cheltenham of the Abbey, and his wife, daughter of Thomas de Muchegros, had lived together a long time; he gave up his holding of a messuage, two closes, and a half virgate through inability to pay the rent and service he owed for it. In return for this surrender the Abbot granted them four quarters of wheat, and four quarters of rye payable in two equal instalments at Michaelmas and Lady Day; and a silver mark payable in two halves at Christmas and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (29 August). After the death of either of them the survivor would receive half of the payments. (The surname Dunt may derive from the river Dunt in the Cotswolds.)

A charter conveying a gift of eight acres of land to Cirencester Abbey by Simon, son of Ralph le Giler/Gyler of Cheltenham in the late 13th century, enables us to say that Simon Dunt held some of his land in Thickethorn (furlong), next to one of the eight acres that the Abbey received [CAC III/470]. Dunt may well have worked later with William de Amen' (Ampney), the Chaplain of Cheltenham Parish, who witnessed the charter. The quantity of corn (64 bushels plus some money) allowed to the Dunt family in the maintenance agreement seems generous, compared with the 9 to 16 bushels most commonly allowed to an individual in some medieval maintenance agreements analysed by Professor Dyer. The mean, 12 bushels, provided about 1½-1¾ lbs of bread for one person per day. To sustain life 1lb of cereals is enough in modern famine relief.²⁸

Maintenance agreements reflected individual circumstances; the kind of holding given up, the social position of the former tenant, family needs etc. Consideration of Dunt's previous service to the Abbey, and the prospect of more to come may also have helped their case. The Dunts were "deserving poor", no doubt. The grant of corn may have included some provision for dependents. Dunt signed away the rights of his family to his former holding on leaving it, but we do not actually know if he had any dependents. (The corn allowance, if not a generous provision for two, could nevertheless have supported a greater number).

A possible relative of Simon and Alice, John Dunt of Cheltenham, a religious, was made Deacon, on 6 June 1327, to work at the "House of Lechlade", a hospital served by Augustinian priests, and lay brothers and sisters. John was probably 23 or older. Another possible relative of Alice, Thomas Mussegros, paid tax in the Charlton Kings, Ham, Northfield area in 1327.²⁹ Accommodation for the new caretakers was not provided for in the agreement. Presumably they lived near the Parish church or near the Abbey's Courthouse (on a site near the present Cambray).

Ex-religious serving in Cheltenham after the Dissolution

William Hall Curate of Charlton 1548-1553. Ex-chantry priest at Charlton, pension 10s. Aged 40 in 1548.²³

Stephen Pole Curate of Cheltenham 1551. Ex-chantry priest of St. John's Chantry, St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester. £4 pension. Aged 50 in 1548.²⁴

Reynold Lane Curate of Cheltenham 1540; and of Charlton 1556-1559. (Perhaps the ex-monk of Hailes, Reginald Lane, who was probably also incumbent of Stone chantry (£6 pension), and aged 53 in 1548. He claimed he had no other income but received a pension of £5 from Hailes. Curate of Dursley 1551-1553).²⁵ (One **Richard Lane** alias Cheltenham received £5 6s. 8d. as an ex-canon of Cirencester. As a canon of Cirencester had normally been Custos of Cheltenham's Parish Church, this seems a more likely identification for the priest in Cheltenham).²⁶

Thomas Ball alias **Bristowe**, of Warwick. Aged 54 in 1548. Received as former monk at Tewkesbury £6 13s. 4d.; in 1552 as former Lady service priest at Cheltenham £3 6s. 8d.; may also have been paid, in error, £4 as Bristowe. In 1548 was a fraternity priest in St. John Baptist, Bristol. Rector of Great Witcombe 1550-1562.²⁷

SOURCES AND NOTES

1. Cirencester Abbey Cartulary: vols I & II. ed. C D Ross, 1964; vol III, ed. M Devine, 1977.
2. D Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 1961. Vol II, pp 288-294.
3. G Hart, *A History of Cheltenham*, 1965, pp 11, 14, 15. CAC II/409, 441; I/158, 190; I/165, 97.
4. CAC p xxxii and I/150, 182. The text is "Liceat eciam uobis in ecclesiis uestris vacantibus iiii^{or} uel tres de uestris fratribus ponere quorum unus diocesano representetur episcopo ut ab curam recipiat animarum". The cure of souls included both the parishioners (laity) and also the members of the religious community in Cheltenham.
5. CAC Introduction, pp xxxii-xxxiii; CAC I-II, docs 332, 336, 592; 573,574.
6. "et capitulo de Chiltenham" - CAC II/412, 443.
7. Knowles, *op cit* p 291; M Greet, *The Church and its Chapels in Medieval Cheltenham* in *Journal* 13, 1997, based on J H Middleton, *Notes on the Manor and Parish Church of Cheltenham*, in *TBGAS* 4 , 1879.
8. CAC II/419, 425, 413.
9. Knowles, *op cit* p 290. G W S Barrow, *Feudal Britain*, 1956, p 318: "The Oxford council of 1222 considered five marks a year (£3 6s. 8d.) a sufficient income for a vicar ... many livings fell on average below this modest figure".
10. CAC II/418, 449; N Sawyer, *Cheltenham Parish Church: Its Architecture and History*, 1903 pp 41-42.
11. See A K B Evans, *Cirencester Abbey from Heyday to Dissolution* in *TBGAS* 111, 1993, pp 115-142, especially p 130; CAC I/140, 789.
12. In 1307 40 canons; 1498 24 canons; 1534 abbot and 20 canons; after 1539 the abbot and 15 canons received pensions. The abbey income in 1379 (when the abbot was mitred) was £666 13s. 4d.; in 1535 £1035 16s. 8d. Cirencester was the richest Augustinian house. Evans, *op cit*; and D Knowles and R N Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses. England and Wales*, 1971, p 154.
13. Hart, *op cit*, p 47.
14. Hart, *op cit*, p 47; also Item 843 of *The Calendar of the Register of Henry Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester (1375-1395)* ed. W.P. Marett, Worcestershire Historical Society, 1972. "Fratrem Nicholaum Faireford concanonicum uestrum custodem ecclesie parochialis de Chiltenham propter infamiam persone sue in gravem scandalum in parochia de Chiltenham et aliis locis" - Sawyer, *op cit* p 42. C Harper-Bill (ed), *The Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1486-1500*, vol II, p 131. The Canterbury and York Society, 1991.
15. A list of the Canons (and the offices they held) at Cirencester is given in a document written before a visitation of the Abbey (by the Prior of Llanthony) in 1511. 18 professed canons and seven presumed novices ("frater") were cited to appear. Two of the professed canons listed as "vacat in apostasia" may have broken the Rule; a third ("vacat") possibly had similar status. The abbot and prior were not named, but all other canons were listed, probably under their names in religion. (Nearly all names were given as a christian name and placename/surname e.g. Johannes Brystowe, Ricardus Syssetur). Holders of one office only were the Abbot, Prior, Hosteler, Custos (Keeper/Warden) of the Refectory, Precentor, and Sub-sacrist. Holders of more than one office were the Chamberlain/Pittancer/Kitchener; Chaplain and Custos of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary "capelle Beate Marie" (perhaps the post created in 1346 to serve the Lady Chapel of the Abbey); Cellarer/Almoner/

- Custos of Cheltenham Parish Church; and Custos of the Parish Church of St. John Baptist, Cirencester/Sacrist/Custos of the Infirmary. The other canons were not listed as office holders. Folio 44, Register of Prior Forest PRO C115/85; (ex C115/A14 or C115/6691). GRO microfilm 1103. I am grateful to Mr John Rhodes for providing me with a copy of his transcript of this document.
16. G Baskerville, *The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire*, TBGAS 49, 1927, pp 63-122.
 17. CAC III/469, 470.
 18. Will dated 1 December 1475 gisted under 1476 in the volume of the Hockaday Extracts for Cheltenham Parish Church (to 1649) kept at Gloucester Library, Local History Collection.
 19. Hart, *op cit*, p 51. R W Hoyle (ed), *The Military Survey of Gloucestershire, 1522*. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1993, p 44.
 20. Edward Grove, aged 60 in 1548, had served as priest of St. Katherine's Chantry in Cheltenham, and received £5 of its income of £5 18s.11d. He also taught the children of the town (where there were 600 communicants), "a market town and much youth within the same": N Orme, *Education in the West of England 1066-1548*, 1976, pp 123-4.
 21. M J Greet and M Paget, *Ministers and Incumbents at St. Mary's*, in Charlton Kings Local History Society Research Bulletin (CKLHSRB) 16, 1986, p 46.
 22. M J Greet, *Some Mediaeval Deeds of the 14th and 15th Century* in CKLHSRB 13, 1985, pp 4-7; *Some Mediaeval Deeds from Naunton c. 1250-1431*, in CKLHSRB 23, 1990, p 26. P Franklin, *The Taxpayers of Medieval Gloucestershire*, 1993, p 37.
 23. J Maclean, *Chantry Certificates*, in TBGAS 8, 1883-4, pp 282-3; Greet and Paget, *op cit*; Baskerville, *op cit*, p 107.
 24. Baskerville, *op cit*, p 105; Maclean, *op cit*, pp 254-5.
 25. Greet and Paget, *op cit*; Baskerville, *op cit*, pp 65, 75, 89; Maclean, *op cit*, p 267.
 26. Hart, *op cit*, p 51; Baskerville, *op cit*, p 94.
 27. Baskerville, *op cit*, pp 85, 116; Maclean, *op cit*, p 283.
 28. C Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, 1989, p 152-3.
 29. E H Pearce, *The Register of Thomas de Cobham, Bishop of Worcester. 1317-1327*, Worcestershire Historical Society, 1930, p 218; Knowles and Hadcock, *op cit*, p 369; Franklin, *The Taxpayers of Medieval Gloucestershire*, 1993, p 37.

Correction to *The Church and its Chapels in Medieval Cheltenham: a Summary* (Journal 13 1997). At p 35, in the paragraph on Leckhampton, line 5, after 'priest' insert 'perhaps the man later after May 1199 (Cirencester Abbey Cartulary II/416, 447)'. At p 36, line 21 (Hatherley), after 'Cheltenham' add 'A later document (II/408, 440 of 1279) shows Llantony also owed tithes for sheep raised at Down Hatherley in the parish of Cheltenham.'

Cheltenham in 1823: a letter by Captain Thomas Medwin

OLIVER G BRADBURY

The letter reproduced here was first published some while ago, in Ernest J Lovell's Captain Medwin, Friend of Byron and Shelley (Macdonald, 1963). Because it is little known, we take this opportunity to put it before a new readership, with a preamble drawn from Lovell's work.

Thomas Medwin, cousin and biographer of Shelley, and chronicler of the conversations of Byron, was born 20 March 1788 and died 2 August 1869, aged 81.¹ In 1823 he was 35 years old, had had many adventures, and had known two of the greatest literary figures of his day, but he was sick and homeless. In his less cheerful moments he saw himself as a man whose fine features had become marked and hard in their outline, his cheek shrunk and lined, and his figure, once distinguished for a rare beauty, and six upright feet of honest measure without his shoes, was bowed about the shoulders with no classic bend.

The Captain attributed his poor health² - 'attacks of liver' - to service in Bengal. Some seven years earlier the monthly muster rolls had already listed him as 'sick present' during 11 months between June 1814 and April 1818, and he was in ill health also at the time of his tour to Ellora in India. His character Julian in *The Angler*³ complains repeatedly of 'attacks of liver.' It was therefore not surprising that Medwin should make for Cheltenham, famous for the effects of its waters upon complaints of the liver, to convalesce - or, as he put it, to 'pay his devotions to Hygeia, in that paradise of chemists ... where a decoction of Epsom salts and soda passes current for the genuine elixir vitae, an unadulterated spa'. In a letter dated only 'Sunday', but established by Lovell to have been written in the summer of 1823, Medwin writes from Stiles' Hotel⁴ to Jane Williams, widow of Edward Williams who was drowned with Shelley near Lerici, Italy, in 1822. Here is his letter *verbatim*:

My dear Jane,

I was sorry to leave town without seeing you. I thought it uncertain, your being at home at the hour we fixed -- and there was a certain person that detained me beyond the time. I am one of those who think not there is a pleasing painfulness in parting with those we are fond of--tho' on the latter occasion the substantive predominated. I believe Presentiments are very fallacious and may be often placed to the state of the Stomach & too much or too little Bile. This makes me recollect that I am at its greatest enemy, Cheltenham,⁵ & you will expect that I shall give you some account of it.

Cheltenham differs little from other watering places. It has white houses with green sashes and sometimes Verandahs, and I have seen, tho' the pain that has been almost ever-present since my arrival quite precluded my going out, some spectral yellow faced people strolling about that might well give rise to Beppo's wife's exclamation & question

*'Well if ever
I saw any thing so yellow! How's your Liver?'*

We travelled with such rapidity--near 10 miles an hour, that I had little time for reflection. In the road, I was so enveloped in my cloak to shelter from the rain (& that at last became a wet blanket about me) that I saw little of the country. This is however rich, & romantic. There is a hill in sight that is not unlike the [? Jalaun] & the Malvern range is visible when the atmosphere is clear--once or twice a year. To say the truth--with a pleasant companion one might pass a few weeks here not unagreeably. The verdure is most luxuriant. The Public walks when the acacias are in full bloom well gravelled and extensive. The country houses in the environs stand single, not in rows--& have an Indian, a [? Chouringee] look--and the air & water contribute to give an appetite--what a sensual conclusion to the sentence. Whether it be that all the world here talks of nothing but Bile, Biliary ducts, & Liver, & have looks a comment to the words, that by sympathy with others, the reflexes of their own, I have been suffering much, a kind which is equally bad from my head & side, to say nothing about my heart, since I came here.

I am living at a Pension--the oldest & largest in the place, which as far as the House, Table & accommodations go is excellent--& modest at 2 Guineas & a half a week. But Tables D'Hotes in England are exotic things, and do not suit John Bullishness & [?]. Abroad you meet foreigners of all nations & well informed and travelled people. Here - let me look round: 3 or 4 old maids on a forlorn hope--mere old [?Madams] that ought not to have been transplanted--an apothecary who bores me to death--& Sirs and Madames coming in every instant, with an Oh coming in every minute like a Bass note--& several nondescripts male & female, in the whole 14. One Aesculapius told me for my comfort that my liver was seriously affected & wanted to put me on a preparatory course of a month before I began swallowing the Water--but I began immediately--& this morning swallowed to his astonishment half a dozen [Rolls or Bowls: paper torn by seal] for breakfast.

Miss Knight's address is 57 Berness Street, & beg her to make, when you call, a Copy of our dear for me, with your suggested alterations. Also of Byron, if you can not get me one of [? Wield or Wivel]. I enclose you the quadrilles & Waltz which I carried out of Town; they were employed till the last moment in copying them. I forgot to ask you, when I last saw you, to lend me this Summer, poor Edward's gun. I am too poor at present to buy one. You can send it me by the Cheltenham Coach, which goes every morning from the Bolt in Ten Fleet Street.

Pray write to me in a day or two. Tell me all about the dear little ones & kiss them for me. I think I shall kill a fortnight here but at least 10 Days more. You shall know my destination--but I hope to see you & them in the course of the autumn. Tell me when you hear from Mary--& believe me, my dear Jane

*Most affectionately yours
T. Medwin*

Notes

¹ His tombstone inscription reads: 'Sacred to the memory of Thomas Medwin, Late Captain in the 24th Light Dragoons, Third son of the Late T. C. Medwin, of Horsham, Solicitor, died 2nd August 1869, aged 81. He was a friend and companion of Byron, Shelley, and Trelawny.' See also entry in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Lovell notes: *Jane Williams wrote to Mary Shelley, 15 June 1823, 'Medwin has never been well since he left my Mother's house (in London); he has had a slow fever for 3 months and is only now out of the Doctor's hands. This has of course reduced him very much.'*

⁴ *The Angler in Wales, or Days and Nights of Sportsmen* (London, 1834).

³ Stiles Hotel, as depicted in Griffith, 1818, appears to have been renamed Yearsley's by the time of Griffith, 1826. By 1845 (Rowe) it had become the Brunswick Hotel. In the 1850s the neighbouring Grammar School took it over appropriately enough as a boarding house. It survived until 1887 when it was demolished to make way for the school's late Victorian incarnation. Stiles in its 1818 guise appears to be a late 18th-century building - this is perhaps confirmed by Medwin writing 'I am living at a Pension - the oldest & largest in the place'.

⁵ Lovell wrote: 'He had escaped from London, a city he had never liked, with a great sigh. Ironically he went not to Ireland but to Cheltenham, where his fishing trip described in *The Angler* begins and ends. After staying there for nearly two months, he wrote to Charles Ollier at Bentley's on 31 August. He had run out of money again; he was leaving in a few days and had to pay his bills.'

Recent books and articles on the history of Cheltenham

List compiled by STEVEN BLAKE

Ashton, Owen R., 'W. E. Adams, chartist and republican in Victorian England', in D. W. Howell and K. O. Morgan, *Crime, protest and police in modern British society* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1999, pp.120-148). An account of the career of the Cheltenham-born chartist, William Edwin Adams (1832-1906), including information on his formative years in Cheltenham.

Bainbridge, John, *Francis Frith's Cheltenham. Photographic memories*, Frith Book Co., Teffont, Salisbury. 86pp. £12.99. Photographs of Cheltenham and surrounding villages from the mid-19th century to the 1960s, from the Francis Frith archive.

Bennett, Elizabeth, *Thousand Mile Trial*, published by the author, 2000, pp.133-154 has an account of this early motor car rally's visit to Cheltenham on 25 April 1900, including several photographs of the Winter Garden.

Bradbury, Oliver, 'William Jay's English works after 1822: recent discoveries', *Architectural History* 43 (2000), pp.187-194. An outline biography of Jay, plus the identifying of several previously unattributed buildings.

Bradbury, Oliver, 'Paragon Buildings, Cheltenham', *Georgian Group Journal* 10 (2000), pp.141-9. An account of the building of this terrace (now 114-124 Bath Road), including an architectural attribution to William Jay.

Bradbury, Oliver, 'Cheltenham destroyed - an introduction to the lost buildings', *Gloucestershire History* 14 (2000), pp.2-9. A selective checklist of vanished buildings, in the context of the town's conservation movement since the Second World War.

Duckworth, Jeannie Shorey, 'The Cheltenham Female Orphan Asylum', *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 117 (1999), pp.141-9. A full account of this important institution, which was located in Winchcombe Street.

Ely, Sheila, 'Whitbread Flowers Brewery and Malthouse (formerly Gardner's Brewery and later the Cheltenham Original Brewery), Henrietta Street, Cheltenham', *Gloucestershire Society for Industrial Archaeology Journal* (1999), pp. 51-60. A shortened version of a survey of the buildings undertaken by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England's Emergency Recording Section prior to the redevelopment of the site.

Franks, Eric, *Images of Cheltenham*, Sutton Publishing, Stroud, 2000. 128pp. £12.99. A collection of evocative black and white photographs of the town, taken between 1937 and 1953, with captions by their photographer, Eric Franks.

Gill, Alan and Miller, Eric, *Leckhampton (Britain in old photographs)*, Sutton Publishing, Stroud, 2000. 128pp. £9.99. A brief introduction to the history of Leckhampton and over

200 fully captioned prints, photographs, plans and documents covering many aspects of the parish, and including the old village, the newer areas of the parish that developed adjacent to Cheltenham from the 19th century, Leckhampton Court and church and Leckhampton Hill.

Green, Chris (ed.) and members of Hesters Way History Group, *The history of Hesters Way. Volume 2*, published by Hesters Way Neighbourhood Project (Cheltenham Borough Council), 1999. 44pp. £1.50. A collection of articles, including the history of Arle Court Estate, local place names and personal recollections by local residents.

Greensted, Mary, 'The Arts & Crafts Movement collections at Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum', *The Decorative Arts Society Journal* 24 (2000), pp. 48-57. An account of the Art Gallery and Museum's nationally important collection of material relating to one of the foremost design movements of the late 19th and 20th centuries, much of which was made in Gloucestershire.

Harding, John A., *The diocese of Clifton 1850 - 2000. A celebratory history of events and personalities*, Clifton Catholic Diocesan Trustees, 1999. Includes entries on Cheltenham's three Catholic churches (St Gregory, St Thomas More and Sacred Hearts) on pp.102-6 of a gazetteer of the diocese's parishes and defunct missions.

Harman, Bob, *The ultimate dream. 75 years of the Tote Cheltenham Gold Cup*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh, 2000. 223pp. £15.99. A year by year account of the big race since 1924.

Kippin, Mick, 'The Gloucestershire Royal Engineers (Volunteers) 1860-1918', *Soldiers of the Queen. The Journal of the Victorian Military Society* 100, pp. 21-4. Includes many Cheltenham references.

Kippin, Mick, 'The Cheltenham Rifles 1859-1908, part 1', *Armourer. The militaria magazine* 39 (May/June 2000), pp.28-9; 'part 2', 40 (July/August 2000), pp.63-4. Local military history.

Memories of Cheltenham, True North Books, Elland (Yorks), 2000. 104pp. £9.99. Aspects of Cheltenham's 20th-century history, illustrated with a range of photographs and including accounts of several local businesses.

Moore-Scott, Terry, 'Leckhampton's Fields', *Glevensis* 33 (2000), pp. 35-42. An article based on the author's more detailed account of the subject in the 1999 *Leckhampton Local History Society Bulletin*.

O'Connor, David A., *The Dixon-Hartland family 1832 - 1956*, published by the author for the Charlton Kings Local History Society, 2000. 71pp. £6.00. An account of a family closely associated with Charlton Kings, and in particular Frederick Dixon-Hartland of Ashley Manor.

Osmond, Stephen E., *A chronology of Cheltenham 200BC - 2000AD (the town's history at a glance)*, published by the compiler, 2000. 150pp. £7.95. A chronological list of local events, based on a wide range of sources, with an index.

government superseded vestry. Now Anthea Jones has taken us into territory beyond Tate: she shows us its geographical variation, urban and rural differences, organisational structures, social change expressed through literary description, and, to crown it all, the challenge of identity in a new millennium.

It is a delightful book to study, and not less browse, with its many local case-studies accompanied by fine photographs, and presented to the high standard of production we have come to expect from the publisher.

Gloucestershire Record Office: Cheltenham area accessions, 2000

JULIE COURTENAY, Senior Cataloguer, GRO

Please note that some of the following records may not be readily available to researchers, either because they have not been catalogued or are in need of repair. Records less than 30 years old also may be closed to researchers.

Cheltenham Borough: notices served on householders concerning non-payment of improvement works, late 19th- early 20th cents. (CBR accession 8452)

Finch family of Charlton Kings: family papers including journal of **T Holliday**, scripture reader 1860-1864, 19th cent. (D8453)

Deeds to **various properties** including Hewletts, Puckham's Farm in Sevenhampton and Prestbury rectory 1852 (D8457); Middle Reddings Farm in Badgeworth and Cheltenham 19th-20th cents. (D4778 acc. 8473); Queen's Parade (Perrigo family) 1840-early 20th cent (D8616); 40 Moorend Road, Leckhampton (1886)-1994, 4 Jenner Walk 1900-1994 and 8 Montpellier Villas (1880)-1984 (D5907 acc. 8680)

Cheltenham & County Cycling Club: handbooks, programmes, photograph etc, 1925-1973 (D3742 acc. 8461)

Watson and Bettington families: marriage settlement between Captain Rundle B Watson RN CB and Miss Helen Bettington, 1845 (D8474)

Cheltenham Coroner: **treasure trove** files, 1974-1995 and inquest files, 1997-1998 (CO7 acc. 8475, 8619 & 8663)

The late **Bernard Rawes** of Cheltenham, archaeologist: survey notes and papers, 1950s-1990s (D5018 acc. 8509)

Index to **autograph collection** of William A Warwick, Wydrington House, Pittville, mid 19th cent., including letters concerning the Cheltenham Blind Institution signed by the Bishop of Gloucester and Baron de Ferriers 1908 (D8515)

Cheltenham Deanery **Church of England Men's Society** (in federation with Gloucester Diocesan Union): minutes etc ,1907-1985 (D8523)

Bendall of Leckhampton: papers relating to the **Leckhampton Hill riots** early 20th cent. (D8532)

Cheltenham Recorded Music Society (formerly Cheltenham Gramophone Society): notes, programmes etc kept by its founder Stanley W Jenkins of Naunton Lane, Leckhampton, and his wife Rene 1938-1970s (D8540)

Prestbury United Charities: plans etc to **York Row** cottages, High Street 1958-1988 (D8541)

Ellis and Gibbs families: letters written by Luvona Ellis of Alston Lane, Cheltenham, to Harry Gibbs prior to their marriage in 1946 (D5814 acc. 8542)

St Mary's with St Matthew's parish, Cheltenham: records including registers, 18th-20th cents. (P78/1 & P78/9 acc. 8551) (*Note: this large accession – over 40 boxes – has been catalogued and is readily available to searchers*)

Black & White Motorways Ltd of Cheltenham: accounts and rolling stock book, 1930-1971 (D8552)

Miss Evelyn Norman of Cheltenham: pupil teacher's exercise books while at St Mary's Hall, 1920s (D5560 acc. 8614)

H H Martyn of Cheltenham, sculptors, woodcarvers and architectural decorators: additional records including photographs of work undertaken, collected by J H M Whitaker, 20th cent. (D5922 acc. 8617)

Scheme for the administration of **Pate's Grammar School and Hospital Charity**, 1881; photo of pupils at **Glyngarth School**, c.1910 (D8693)

St Peter's, Leckhampton: vestry and PCC minutes and accounts, 1869-1962 (P198 acc. 8698)

Lakeside Primary School, Cheltenham: governors' minutes and head's reports, 1996-1999 (S78/23 acc. 8702)

Guild of Gloucestershire Craftsman: files including papers relating to Cheltenham, 1920s-1990s (D8709)

St John's School, Albion Street: log book, 1863-1874 (S78/20 acc. 8724)

Cheltenham Reform Association: correspondence and other papers, 1807-1832 (D5130 acc. 8725) *Note: transferred from Cheltenham Library Local Studies section*