

[This draft text includes all sections of Chippenham history submitted up to July 2022, with a note of the headings (in red) of those sections still to be written. It will be seen that in places this is a rough draft, with omissions and queries. The entire text will be edited after July 2022 and a revised draft posted as soon as this is done. Research and writing have been undertaken by John Chandler, Rosalind Johnson, Matthew Kendall, Louise Ryland-Epton, Richard Hoyle and Mark Forrest, with shorter contributions by others. John Chandler will be responsible for editing this draft.]

# CHIPPENHAM

CHIPPENHAM, in 2011 the third most populous town in Wiltshire,<sup>1</sup> stands 8 km. west of Calne and 18 km. north-east of Bath (Som.) The early settlement, described in 853 as a royal residence (*villa regia*),<sup>2</sup> lay in a meander of the (Bristol) Avon, encircled by the river on all but its southern side. The medieval town occupied this area, with a church, adjacent market place, and a principal street leading north-west to the river,<sup>3</sup> which had been bridged before 1227,<sup>4</sup> and beyond which a suburb had developed.<sup>5</sup> Outside the town its large ancient parish (5,098 a. in 1847) extended some 12 km north-west and south-east, and included part of the former Chippenham or Pewsham forest. The town prospered by virtue of its position on a major thoroughfare between London and Bristol, as an administrative and marketing centre, and later from cloth manufacture and railway engineering. Chippenham grew modestly during the 19th century, encouraged by its early railway connection with London, Bath and Bristol, achieved in 1841; but much more rapidly after the M4 motorway was opened nearby in 1971.

## LANDSCAPE, SETTLEMENT AND BUILDINGS

### *Boundaries and Parish Origins*

The parish of Chippenham, as it existed until boundaries were redrawn in 1884 and later, bordered 11 other ancient parishes.<sup>6</sup> For two of these, Kington St Michael and Hardenhuish, charters of purportedly Anglo-Saxon date survive describing their boundaries, which appear to correspond (so far as they march with Chippenham) to those still prevailing into the 19th century.<sup>7</sup> A portion of the eastern parish boundary, between Derry Hill and Horselepride Gate (by Sandy Lane), was defined c. 1618 when the park and liberty of Bowood (in Calne) was established.<sup>8</sup> From Horselepride Gate to Nash Hill Farm the southern parish boundary follows the division between Chippenham and Melksham forests as perambulated in 1300.<sup>9</sup> North-east of Chippenham town a stretch of the river Avon defines the parish boundary with Langley

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<sup>1</sup> After Swindon and Salisbury: Census 2011. In 2017 it could claim to be the largest settlement (by population) in the Wiltshire unitary authority area: below, this section: population. This account was written in 2017.

<sup>2</sup> D. Whitelock (ed.), *Eng. Hist. Doc.* I, 2nd ed., 189.

<sup>3</sup> Useful, though hypothetical, plans of the early settlement are in J. Haslam, *Anglo-Saxon Towns of Southern England* (1984), 134-5.

<sup>4</sup> below, this section: communications.

<sup>5</sup> K.H. Rogers (ed.), *Lacock Abbey Charters* (WRS, 34), 89, which imply that buildings existed in the area as far as Foghamshire (*Fokena*).

<sup>6</sup> These were (clockwise from north) Kington St Michael, Hardenhuish, Langley Burrell, Bremhill, Calne, Bromham (its tithing of Chittoe), Lacock, Corsham, Biddestone St Nicholas, Biddestone St Peter, and Yatton Keynell: derived from Youngs, *Admin Units*, I, and MS 'Index maps for enclosure and tithe maps', in WSHC.

<sup>7</sup> A.R. Wilson and J.H. Tucker, 'The Langley charter and its boundaries', *WAM* 77 (1983), 67-70; G.B. Grundy, 'Saxon land charters of Wiltshire, I', *Archaeol. Jnl.* 76 (1919), 170-1. A charter of Bremhill appears not to describe the boundary with Chippenham: Grundy, 'Saxon land charters, I', 238-40.

<sup>8</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 17, 116, 117.

<sup>9</sup> *WAM* 4 (1858), 206; *VCH Wilts*, 4, 408, 446.

Burrell, and further south the same river divides Chippenham and Lacock. A length of the boundary with Corsham follows a minor tributary of the Avon, the Pudding brook, which flows into the river south of Rowden. Elsewhere the parish is defined by field boundaries, and in places is very irregular. The definition of Chippenham and its neighbouring parishes is complicated by two further factors: much of the area which became urbanized during the 19th century remained in Hardenhuish or Langley Burrell until boundaries were periodically redrawn from the 1880s onwards; and Langley Burrell and Kington St Michael possessed numerous small detached portions of land surrounded by Chippenham.<sup>1</sup>

#### CHIPPENHAM AND HARDENHUISH PARISHES BEFORE 1884



As mapped for tithe commutation in the 19th century the ancient parish (excluding the borough) was subdivided into five tithings.<sup>2</sup> Chippenham itself was by far the largest tithing, and included numerous outlying farmsteads and hamlets, of which Monkton, Rowden, Sheldon and Lowden were the foci of manors. To the west Allington tithing included Lanhill and Fowlswick, which was a distinct manor; and the tithings of Tytherton Lucas, Stanley and Nethermore comprised much of the parish east of the river Avon. The boundaries of these eastern tithings were related to those of the medieval forest of Chippenham or Pewsham. As declared in 1228 the forest was defined on the north by the river Marden, which was also the boundary between the tithings of Tytherton Lucas (outside the forest) and Stanley (within the forest).<sup>3</sup> Nethermore and Pewsham, whose eastern, southern and south-western boundaries corresponded to those of Chippenham forest in 1300, also lay within the forest.<sup>4</sup> Nethermore, which answered at eyres as

<sup>1</sup> MS 'Index maps for enclosure and tithe maps'.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, tithe awards.

<sup>3</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 4, 407, 446.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

a vill within the forest before 1270, incorporated a purpresture of Stanley abbey (in Bremhill), and was regarded as a tithing;<sup>1</sup> whereas Pewsham, presumably because it was largely uninhabited woodland or wood-pasture, was extra-parochial.<sup>2</sup> Pewsham lay between Nethermore and Chippenham, thus detaching Nethermore from the rest of the parish. Except where otherwise described, in this volume the parish of Chippenham is to be understood to refer to the ancient parish comprising these five tithings; Pewsham is given separate treatment.

Close to the centre of its parish, the municipal and Parliamentary borough of Chippenham, as mapped in 1784, 1820 and 1831, comprised no more than the historic urban core, constrained by the Avon on north and west, and extending to Wood Lane on the south and the beginning of the Causeway on the east.<sup>3</sup> The Parliamentary borough was extended in 1832 to include the whole of the ancient parishes of Chippenham, Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell, and the extra-parochial Pewsham.<sup>4</sup> The jurisdiction of the improvement commissioners set up under an act of 1834 was rather larger than that of the old municipal borough, since it incorporated the Causeway to the east, Foghamshire and New Road as far as the railway viaduct to the west, and part of Westmead.<sup>5</sup> That of the local board established in 1867 encompassed a much larger area, including most of Chippenham tithing east of the town, the New Road area beyond the bridge and the St Paul's district of Langley Burrell.<sup>6</sup>

Although Allington may have had a chapel of ease until the 17th century,<sup>7</sup> and Tytherton Lucas retains a medieval chapel,<sup>8</sup> the parish was an ungainly territory for religious provision, especially once informal settlements such as Derry Hill, Studley and Sandy Lane became established at its margins in the 17th century, and suburban housing encroached on Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell in the 19th. The religious boundaries were the first, therefore, to be realigned. An ecclesiastical district (from 1861 parish) of Derry Hill was created in 1841, taking in Pewsham and part of Chippenham.<sup>9</sup> Then in 1855 St Paul's district church was established to serve the burgeoning railway and industrial suburb, which took into its parish portions of Chippenham, Hardenhuish, Langley Burrell and Kington St Michael.<sup>10</sup> In 1965 an ecclesiastical parish of Chippenham St Paul with Langley Burrell was created, and in 1969 another new parish, Chippenham St Peter, took in parts of Hardenhuish and the two Chippenham parishes.<sup>11</sup>

The civil boundaries of the parishes into which Victorian Chippenham had spread were overhauled in 1884 and 1889. At the former date Nethermore tithing was subsumed within Pewsham,<sup>12</sup> which, in common with other extra-parochial places, had become a civil parish in 1858.<sup>13</sup> Also in 1884, under legislation of 1882,<sup>14</sup> detached parcels of Langley Burrell and Chippenham lying geographically in each other's parishes were exchanged; some of these were inhabited, and in total 50 houses were transferred from Chippenham to Langley Burrell and 31 from Langley Burrell to Chippenham.<sup>15</sup> A more radical change occurred in 1889 after local government was reorganized. The municipal borough was enlarged to become coterminous with

<sup>1</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 3, 270, 271; *VCH Wilts*, 4, 408; *Collectanea* (WRS 12), 93; below, manors and estates . . .

<sup>2</sup> Youngs, *Admin Units*, I, 546.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, X6/14; G19/1/49PC; G19/133/1.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/133/1; Youngs, *Admin Units*, I, 770.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, 1769/66; 137/126/3.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, 137/126/3; G19/700/1.

<sup>7</sup> Aubrey, *Topog. Colln.* ed. Jackson, 72-3.

<sup>8</sup> Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 541; below, religious hist.

<sup>9</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 17, 107.

<sup>10</sup> Youngs, *Admin Units*, I, 534.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*; below, religious hist.

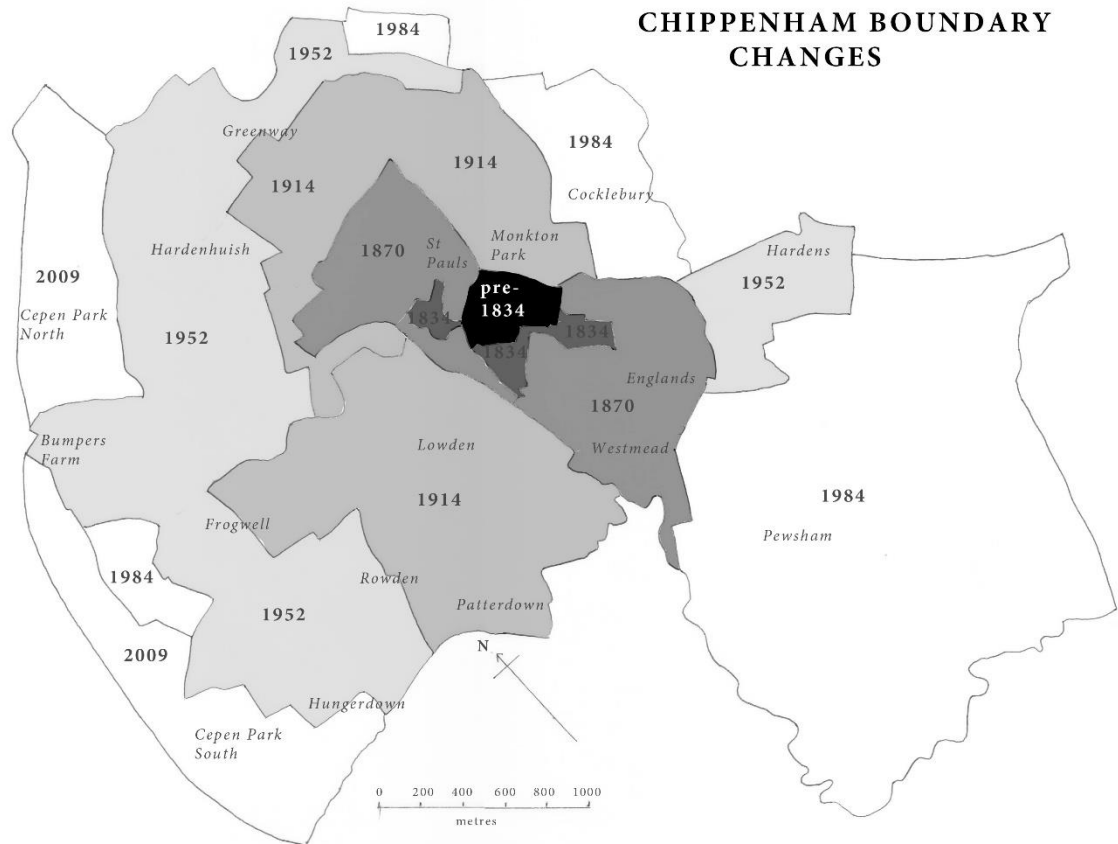
<sup>12</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 4, 344.

<sup>13</sup> Extra-Parochial Places Act, 20 Vict, c. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Divided Parishes Act, 45 & 46 Vict, c. 58.

<sup>15</sup> *Census Report 1891*, II (C. 6948), 497.

the urban sanitary district, which it replaced; and two new civil parishes were created: Langley Burrell Within and Chippenham (representing those parts of the old parishes now falling within the municipal borough).<sup>1</sup> In 1894 equivalent Langley Burrell Without and Chippenham Without civil parishes were formed from the rural portions of the parishes outside the borough.<sup>2</sup>



Because Chippenham continued to expand its suburbs it became expedient to enlarge the area of the municipal borough, so that in 1914 the populous parts of Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell Without to the north and north-east were taken into the borough and transferred to Langley Burrell Within parish.<sup>3</sup> At the same time the Frogwell, Lowden and Rowden areas of Chippenham Without west of the town were taken into the borough and into Chippenham Within parish. Three more changes occurred in 1934. Pewsham was enlarged to take in an adjacent area of Chippenham Without, the two 'Within' parishes were combined to create Chippenham civil parish, its boundaries coterminous with the borough, and what remained of Hardenhuish parish was absorbed into Langley Burrell Without. A further expansion took place in 1952 to bring within the borough most of the former Hardenhuish parish, the ongoing housing development along Hungerdown Lane to the west, and ribbon development along London Road to the east.<sup>4</sup> Then in 1984 Pewsham parish was abolished, its newly-suburbanised area to the south and south-east of Chippenham transferring to Chippenham parish, and the rural remainder entering Calne Without. The Chippenham boundary was also extended to the

<sup>1</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 4, 344, 351.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (this para.)

<sup>4</sup> Youngs, *Admin Units*, I, 534.

north and west in order to acknowledge further housing and major road development.<sup>1</sup> Housing development at Cepen Park as far as the Chippenham western by-pass during the 1990s and later resulted in a controversial decision to transfer the newly-populated area from Chippenham Without to Chippenham.<sup>2</sup> In 2009 the by-pass road became the boundary between the two parishes, so that Chippenham Without parish was restricted to the Allington and Sheldon areas of the ancient parish.<sup>3</sup>

### *Landscape*

The river Avon (Bristol Avon), which flows in a meandering course from north to south, bisects the ancient parish at its narrowest part into two roughly equal halves.<sup>4</sup> West of the river valley Cornbrash outcrops, a rubbly limestone mixed with clay, but in places around Allington, Lanhill and towards Hardenhuish, it is overlain by outliers of Kellaways Clay. From the built-up area of Chippenham, at around 60-70 m, the land rises undramatically westward to around 115-30 m in places, such as Lanhill, along the western parish boundary. Along the river valley are outcrops of sandstone, the Kellaways Sand Member, but this is overlain in places by superficial alluvial and gravel deposits. East of the river the predominant Oxford Clay gives the parish a flat terrain, effectively the Avon's wide floodplain, which lies rarely above 60 m and falls to 40 m where the Avon leaves the parish below Naish Hill. Along the eastern fringe, however, the Coral Rag and associated calcareous limestones have formed a notable and somewhat irregular high ridge, rising to 175 m in Nethermore Wood above Naish hill.

The western portion of the parish is drained by three streams flowing eastward to the Avon.<sup>5</sup> From north to south these are the Hardenhuish brook, which rises near Lanhill; the Ladyfield brook, which rises west of Vincients Wood and flows past Rowden; and the Pudding brook, which flows from Biddestone and defines the southern parish boundary. An earlier name for the Hardenhuish brook was *Fokene*, which is enshrined in the surviving street-name Foghamshire, close to where it enters the river.<sup>6</sup> Three Avon tributaries drain the eastern portion of Chippenham also. The Cat brook (or Cade Burna) flows from Bremhill Wick to the Avon near Tytherton Lucas; the river Marden enters the parish from Calne at Stanley and falls into the Avon east of Cocklebury Farm; the Cocklemore brook drains much of Pewsham and Nethermore tithings.

The Cornbrash gives rise to a lime-rich soil suitable for arable cultivation, whereas the heavier and more poorly drained clayland soils of the eastern parts of the parish have been better for pasture and wood pasture, with mixed woodland clothing the slopes of the Corallian ridge.<sup>7</sup> The clayland was heavily wooded in the late Saxon and early medieval periods.<sup>8</sup>

### *Communications*

*Bridges:* The topography of the Saxon and medieval town implies an ancient river crossing in the vicinity of the later bridge. A bridge over the Avon at Chippenham existed in

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<sup>1</sup> Statutory Instruments, 1984, no. 387, N. Wilts. (Parishes) Order.

<sup>2</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 22 Sept. 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Statutory Instruments, 2009, no. 531, County of Wilts. (Electoral Changes) Order.

<sup>4</sup> This para: Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid and drift, sheets 265 (1965); 266 (1964); <http://mapapps.bgs.ac.uk/geologyofbritain/home.html> (accessed 10 Dec. 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Maps used in this para: OS 6", sheet Wilts. XX, 1886 edn.; OS 1:25,000, Explorer sheet 156, 1999 edn.

<sup>6</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 90.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/> (accessed 10 Dec. 2017); OS 1:25,000, Explorer sheet 156, 1999 edn.

<sup>8</sup> *VCH Wilts.* 4, 407.

1227,<sup>1</sup> and was broken and ruinous in 1375-6, when a pontage grant permitted customs money to be diverted to pay for its repair.<sup>2</sup> This or a subsequent rebuilding formed the structure of ribbed arches, typical of the 15th century, which carried a roadway c.12 ft wide,<sup>3</sup> and which was described in 1578 as a great stone bridge of 15 arches.<sup>4</sup> Already by 1554 the town maintained its bridge at great cost,<sup>5</sup> and from that year to 1578 repairs to half of it were funded by revenue from the town lands.<sup>6</sup> It was then so weak that it was not safe for packhorses, and vehicles forded the river near Cocklebury.<sup>7</sup> Major repairs costing £79 were carried out in 1615 following the collapse of two arches and piers; and again in 1684, when over £60 was spent, probably after damage by ice.<sup>8</sup> The corporation agreed in 1758 to widen the further part of the bridge, and in 1788 to reverse an earlier alteration; but following a meeting in 1796 the whole bridge was widened and a balustrade added.<sup>9</sup> The Chippenham turnpike trust was permitted to erect tollgates on the bridge in 1805, and after 1834 the bridge was lit by gas.<sup>10</sup> Further widening took place in 1879-80,<sup>11</sup> so that when inspected c. 1930 the carriageway was 41 ft. wide and of 22 arches.<sup>12</sup> A pedestrian bridge was built alongside in 1959.<sup>13</sup> This and the road bridge were both demolished to make way for a new concrete bridge of three spans, as part of an improvement scheme which included flood prevention measures; it was opened in May 1966 and served as the only road bridge across the Avon in Chippenham until 1988.<sup>14</sup> A portion of the balustrade was retained.

A second bridge, decayed and repaired in 1653, may have been the wooden bridge referred to in highway surveyors' accounts in 1669.<sup>15</sup> It is perhaps to be identified with Back Avon bridge, which crossed the river from the end of River street.<sup>16</sup> The cause of many drownings, the vestry in 1788 determined to widen and strengthen it.<sup>17</sup> After floods swept away part of the bridge in 1881 and its iron replacement in 1882 it was rebuilt again in 1889, washed away in 1927 and, despite prolonged discussion and campaigning, was not replaced.<sup>18</sup>

*Roads:* The 1554 borough charter refers to the corporation's responsibility to maintain not only a bridge, but also a causeway.<sup>19</sup> Repairs to this, the south-eastern approach to the town, were also funded from the proceeds of the town lands, and stone was brought to pitch it in 1598, 1603 and later.<sup>20</sup> Its earlier maintenance may have been assisted by travellers' doles to a

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Chart.* I, 39; Roger de Ponte occupied land in Chippenham in the early 13th century: *Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS 49), 84 (no. 325).

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Close, 1374-1377*, 184-5.

<sup>3</sup> E. Jervoise, *Ancient Bridges of the South of England* (1930), 116.

<sup>4</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 296.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 264, 269.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 296-7.

<sup>7</sup> G.A.H. White, *Chippenham in Bygone Days* (1924), 25.

<sup>8</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 40-4, 70.

<sup>9</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 86, 102, 105-8.

<sup>10</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 120, 159-60, 179.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 255.

<sup>12</sup> Jervoise, *Ancient Bridges*, 116.

<sup>13</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 45.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 45-6; WSA F1/25/6/1, report 1967, 4-5. For 1988 bridge, below, this section.

<sup>15</sup> I. Slocombe (ed.), *Wilts. Quarter Sessions Order Book 1642-54* (WRS 67), 306 (no. 917); J. Freeman (ed.), *Baynton Commonplace Book* (WRS 43), 26

<sup>16</sup> OS 25", *Wilts. XX* (14), 1886 edn.

<sup>17</sup> R.F. Hunnisett (ed.), *Wilts. Coroners' Bills* (WRS 36), 99 (no. 1569).

<sup>18</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 17 Feb. 1881, p. 5; *Wilts. Times*, 16 Mar. 1889, p. 5; *Devizes & Wilts. Gazette*, 5 Sep. 1889, p. 8; *Wilts. Times*, 24 Sept 1927, p. 7; *Ibid*, 18 Mar. 1939, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 269-70.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 296-7, 192; Jackson, 'Chippenham', in *WAM*, 12 (1870), 285.

hermitage which stood opposite the Packhorse inn until the 17th century.<sup>1</sup> Between 1639 and 1645 the causeway was repaired, safeguarded (from vehicular use) with great stones, and extended by 438 yds.;<sup>2</sup> and in 1685, when it was again out of repair, it was said to be 10 ft. broad and extended for two miles towards Calne.<sup>3</sup> The corporation levied a rate to repair it in 1698, and from 1744 paid a contractor 15 gns annually to maintain it from Chippenham to the top of Derry Hill.<sup>4</sup> It was still the corporation's responsibility in 1835 to maintain it as a pitched footpath of about 2½ miles,<sup>5</sup> and it did not pass until 1895 to the county council.<sup>6</sup>

By c. 1370, and probably long before, the principal overland route between Bristol and London passed through Chippenham.<sup>7</sup> To protect travellers from ambush, presumably on this road, a trench had been ordered to be made in a part of Chippenham forest in 1231.<sup>8</sup> In 1392 William Bekeswell, a Bristol burgess, left money for repairing *Chippenham lane* and a way near Calne, and in 1476 a Bristol goldsmith, Robert Hynde, gave 6s. 8d. for repairing the king's highway between Chippenham and Calne, towards London.<sup>9</sup> East of the town the road followed the causeway to the top of Derry Hill where, in 1653, it skirted Bowood park towards Studley.<sup>10</sup> New Road, the present A4 road which takes an easier course through Derry Woods, was made between 1801 and 1808.<sup>11</sup> West of Chippenham bridge the road's ancient course is marked by Foghamshire, described as a street before 1283,<sup>12</sup> and then by Marshfield road, described in 1651 as a hollow way called Bristol way, to Landsend and beyond.<sup>13</sup> This route, via Marshfield, was the highway to Bristol in a list of 1588,<sup>14</sup> rather than the alternative via Bath preferred by later wheeled traffic.

Other ways leading from Chippenham to nearby towns and villages are referred to in medieval sources: to Sutton Benger in 1257;<sup>15</sup> to Lacock in 1293;<sup>16</sup> to Cocklebury c. 1320 and in 1347;<sup>17</sup> and to Devizes through Pewsham forest in 1381.<sup>18</sup> A *Batheweys* near Fowlswick existed in the 13th century, but may not have served Chippenham town.<sup>19</sup> Roads referred to as leading out of the parish towards Pickwick (in Corsham) in 1623 and Corsham in 1605, 1624 and 1639, presumably served travellers heading for Bath; in 1624 the highway from Chippenham to Bath ran by Salters Cross (Hungerdown) and Corsham.<sup>20</sup> In 1675 an unenclosed road from

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, 'Chippenham', 285; Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 208-9, 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 318-19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 79, 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Royal Comm. of Inquiry into Municipal Corporations*, 1st rept., pt. II (H.C. Papers 1835, 116), p. 1248.

<sup>6</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 50.

<sup>7</sup> [www.goughmap.org](http://www.goughmap.org) (accessed 15 Oct. 2017).

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. Close, 1227-31*, 537; on the function of trenches, O. Rackham, *Hist. of the Countryside* (1986), 268-70.

<sup>9</sup> T.P. Wadley, *Notes or Abstracts of the Wills . . . [in] the Great Orphan Book . . . Bristol* (1886), 34, 158.

<sup>10</sup> *WAM*, 41 (1921), 419.

<sup>11</sup> *Printed Maps of Wilts.* (WRS 52), 23, 33; OS Drawings 61 (surv. 1808).

<sup>12</sup> J L Kirby (ed.), *Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS 49), 89 (no. 351), date inferred from K H Rogers (ed.) *Lacock Abbey Charters* (WRS 34), 89 (nos. 359, 360).

<sup>13</sup> WSA 118/53; I. Slocombe (ed.) *Wilts Quarter Sessions Order Book, 1642-54* (WRS 67), 286; *Recs. of Chippenham*, 64; J. Ogilby, *Britannia*, vol. 1, pl. 11.

<sup>14</sup> W Smith, *Particular Description of England, 1588* (1879 edn.), 70.

<sup>15</sup> *Reg. Malm.* (Rolls Series), II, 202.

<sup>16</sup> *Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS 49), 84 (no. 327).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 82 (no. 318); *Tropenell Cartulary*, I, 304.

<sup>18</sup> *Cal. Pat., 1381-5*, 47.

<sup>19</sup> *Reg. Malm.* (Rolls Series), II, 288.

<sup>20</sup> WSA A1/110, 1623E, 1624E, 1639E; *Recs. of Chippenham*, 2.

Chippenham to Bath via Pickwick was mapped as part of a main route between London and Wells (Som.).<sup>1</sup>

Two features of Chippenham's pre-turnpike road pattern, although falling largely outside the parish, demand notice. Maud Heath's causeway, established in 1474 by a private benefactor and administered by a trust, maintained an all-weather route across the Avon flood-plain from Bremhill to Chippenham Clift, with a river crossing and long raised causeway at Kellaways.<sup>2</sup> As such it offered travellers one of three alternatives to the main road between Chippenham bridge and Calne. A second was a route via Stanley and Studley, described in 1675 as the 'plow road' to Chippenham.<sup>3</sup> A third, employed apparently when the bridge was out of repair, involved diverting through Monkton and Cocklebury to a ford near Harden's farm, and rejoining the main road near Gate farm.<sup>4</sup> The second feature was an agreement made in 1651 between Chippenham, Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell parishes to partition responsibility for repairing and maintaining stretches of the principal roads leading north and west out of the town, towards Bristol, Malmesbury and Wootton Bassett.<sup>5</sup> The impetus for this unusual arrangement is unclear, but may have been intended to resolve disputes arising from small detached parcels of land falling within each other's parishes.

Chippenham in the 18th century was an important junction, the hub of seven roads radiating from the town which came under the control of turnpike trusts.<sup>6</sup> The earliest, the Chippenham trust of 1727, provoked hostility when it began charging travellers along the roads which it administered,<sup>7</sup> the London road as far as Studley bridge via Derry Hill, and the Bristol road to Tog Hill (in Doynton, Glos.). The trust abandoned the Bristol road at its turnpike act renewal in 1743, and turnpiked the Bath road as far as Pickwick instead. Responsibility for the Bristol road was assumed by the Sodbury trust in 1751/2, which also turnpiked the road branching from it at the Long Stone near Lanhill towards Castle Combe and Chipping Sodbury (Glos.). The importance and use of this road increased after 1825 because it afforded a direct route to south Wales by steamboat from Aust (Glos.) to Beachley in Tidenham (Glos.).<sup>8</sup> Although east-west traffic between London, Bath and Bristol was undoubtedly the most important, especially after c. 1750,<sup>9</sup> three north-south roads were also turnpiked between 1755 and 1768. The Malmesbury trust turnpiked the route through Stanton St Quinton to Chippenham in 1756, the Holt trust the road to Lacock, Melksham and Bradford on Avon in 1762, and the Chippenham trust the road to a junction of roads at Draycot Cerne in 1768. In 1773 there were tollgates at the St Mary Street–Causeway junction and at Chippenham Clift; a gate at Allington Bar was then no longer in use.<sup>10</sup> In 1805 the Chippenham trust was permitted to erect gates and a tollhouse at the northern and western approaches to Chippenham bridge,<sup>11</sup> and these were in use until c. 1834, when new gates and tollhouses were built at the junction of the Bath and Lacock roads, at Lowden, Hungerdown Lane and on the London road at the Stanley turning.<sup>12</sup> The Chippenham trust's roads were disturnpiked in 1870 and all the others serving the parish had been disturnpiked by 1877.

<sup>1</sup> J. Ogilby, *Britannia*, vol. 1, pl. 35.

<sup>2</sup> K.S. Taylor, *Dry Shod to Chippenham* (2012); see above, Bremhill, introduction; and below, Langley Burrell, introduction. Chippenham Clift refers to the high ground by the Little George road junction.

<sup>3</sup> J. Ogilby, *Britannia*, vol. 1, pl. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 36.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 118/53; I. Slocombe (ed.) *Wilts Quarter Sessions Order Book, 1642-54* (WRS 67), 285-7; *Recs. of Chippenham*, 63-5.

<sup>6</sup> This para: *VCH Wilts*, 4, 256-71; WSA 1316/1-2.

<sup>7</sup> D. Gerhold, *Bristol's Stage Coaches* (2012), 42-3.

<sup>8</sup> *VCH Glos*, 10, 55.

<sup>9</sup> Gerhold, *Bristol's Stage Coaches*, 43-6.

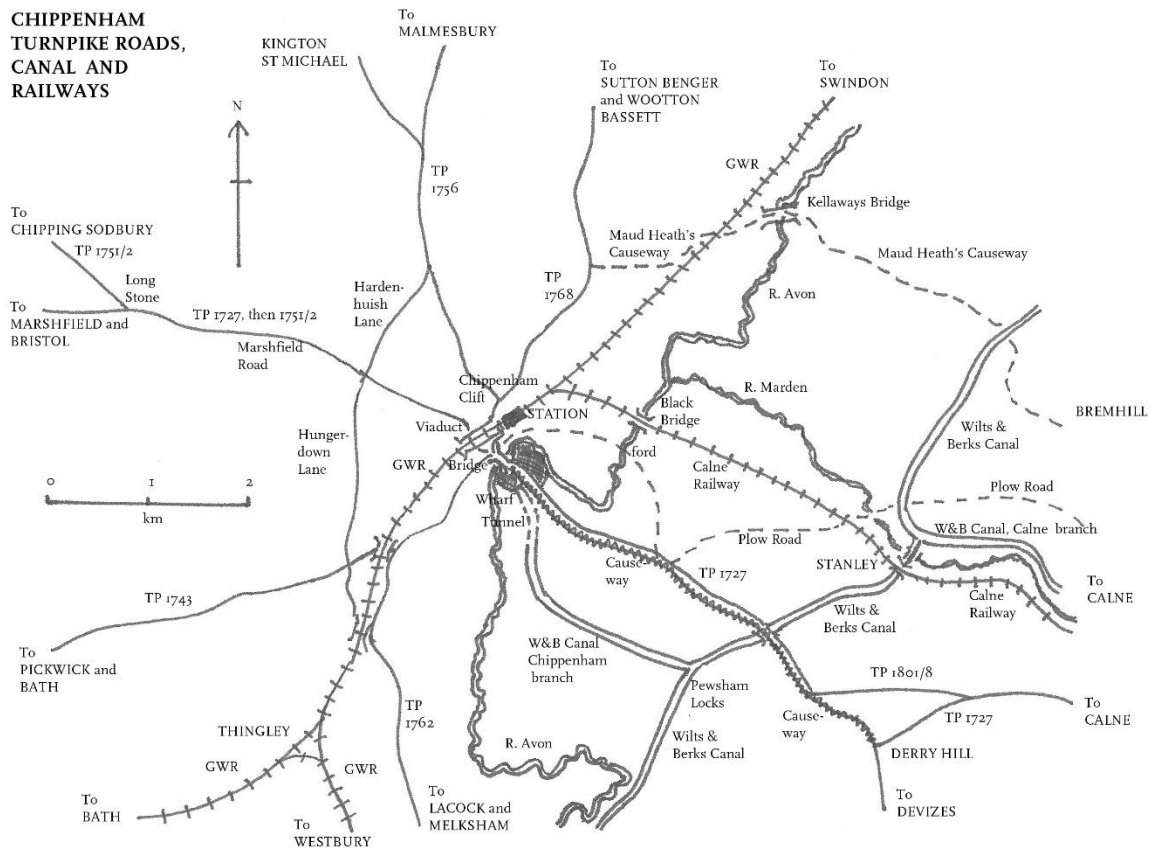
<sup>10</sup> Andrews and Dury's *Map of Wilts.* (1773), pl. 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 120; WSA 1780/34, 325-41; WSA 1316/2, meetings 18 June and 6 Aug. 1805.

<sup>12</sup> R. Haynes and I. Slocombe, *Wilts. Toll Houses* (2004), 21-7.



# CHIPPENHAM TURNPIKE ROADS, CANAL AND RAILWAYS



Chippenham's major road network changed little before c. 1960, although the growing importance of the London to Bristol road through Chippenham and Bath (designated A4) was recognized when it was trunked in 1936.<sup>1</sup> Increasing traffic during the 1960s led to the adoption of an inner relief road scheme in the Ivy Lane and viaduct area in 1965-6, and this was opened in April 1967.<sup>2</sup> Traffic through the town reduced with the completion of the Wiltshire section of the M4 motorway in 1971, but north-south traffic approaching and leaving the motorway increased along Hungerdown Lane and Hardenhuish Lane which had been widened in phases, 1962-6, and upgraded to A-road status.<sup>3</sup> A town centre relief scheme (Avenue la Flèche), opened in September 1988, included the longest single-span bridge (35m) in Wiltshire.<sup>4</sup> One effect of this was to enable the partial pedestrianization of the High Street area from c. 1995.<sup>5</sup> A western bypass, West Cepen Way, was constructed 1997-9,<sup>6</sup> replacing Hungerdown Lane as the A350, and enlarged to a dual carriageway road 2014-18.<sup>7</sup>

*Canal:* Proposals in 1734-5 and 1765 to make the Avon navigable between Bath and Chippenham were not implemented.<sup>8</sup> Prominent Chippenham residents were among the promoters in 1793 of a narrow canal to link Bristol and Abingdon (Berks.), and this became the

<sup>1</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 4, 265.

<sup>2</sup> WSA F1/250/6/1, reports 1966, p. 5; 1968, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> WSA F1/250/6/1, reports 1962-6, 1973, p. 4; OS, 1:50,000 map, sheet 173, 1981 edn.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* reports 1988, p. 5; 1989, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* report 1995.

<sup>6</sup> *WAM*, 92 (1999), 136; *Western Daily Press*, 4 Aug. 1999 [better refs needed].

<sup>7</sup> personal observation.

<sup>8</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 4, 272; WSA 109/892.

Wilts. & Berks. canal constructed between 1795 and 1810.<sup>1</sup> The canal ran from the Kennet & Avon at Semington to the Thames at Abingdon, and included a branch to Chippenham which was completed as far as Englands in 1798 and became operational in 1800. The main canal crossed the parish south-east of the town, through Pewsham and Stanley, with three locks at Pewsham, and a road bridge carrying the London road over the canal at Forest Gate. A brickworks was opened nearby. The Chippenham branch left the canal near Pewsham locks and, after a dispute with the borough council,<sup>2</sup> it was extended, 1800-3, from Englands by a tunnel to a wharf built close to the market place. Trade principally in Somerset coal, but also in stone, timber and agricultural produce, was brisk at Chippenham and Pewsham wharves until the 1850s, but by 1875 had declined to such an extent that there were calls to abandon it. Despite leakages and damage resulting from neglect, some traffic on the Chippenham branch continued until 1904; but by 1916, following complaints of nuisances, it had been filled in and part was used as a tip. In 1970-1 the tunnel was closed up and the cutting leading to it filled in, and during the development of the Pewsham housing estate, c.1985-95, its former course defined the edge of the estate along which its perimeter road, Pewsham Way, was constructed. In 2017 restoration work was under way at Pewsham locks and elsewhere as part of a campaign to reopen the main canal.<sup>3</sup>

*Railways:* The precursor of the Great Western Railway determined in 1833 that its railway between London and Bristol would pass through Chippenham, and this was authorized in 1835.<sup>4</sup> The broad gauge line (converted to mixed gauge in 1874 and standard gauge in 1892) was built in 1841 across the narrowest portion of Chippenham parish, entering from Langley Burrell and passing north of the town and by Lowden, to leave near Patterdown. A station and associated buildings were constructed in stone to an Italianate-style design by I.K. Brunel c.300m north of Chippenham bridge, and the line was carried south-westward, first by a high stone and brick viaduct of nine arches,<sup>5</sup> c.90m long, spanning the valley of the Hardenhuish brook and the Foghamshire area, and then on an embankment for some 3km to Thingley (in Corsham). After 1856-7, when a second line was constructed, from a junction at Thingley towards Westbury, Salisbury and Weymouth (Dorset), Chippenham station was enlarged with additional platforms and a train shed. Further sheds, depots, offices and ancillary buildings were added, and industries were attracted to the vicinity, so that a plan of 1929 shows the station as the centrepiece of a linear industrial complex extending almost 1km along both sides of the railway. Many sidings were removed and buildings demolished during the 1960s, to be replaced by car parks, and the track was realigned for high-speed train working in 1976. The principal Brunel station buildings were retained. In 1990, when Chippenham was Wiltshire's third-busiest station, c.1,000 passengers commuted to London daily. A frequent rail service between London and Bristol via Bath, and a less frequent service between Swindon and Westbury via Melksham, called at Chippenham station in 2017, when the forecourt was also the terminus for buses to various north Wiltshire destinations.<sup>6</sup>

The Calne Railway company opened a broad gauge branch line between Chippenham and Calne in 1863. The line was operated by the Great Western Railway, which converted it to standard gauge in 1874 and purchased the branch in 1892.<sup>7</sup> It diverged from the main line at a

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<sup>1</sup> This para: *VCH Wilts*, 4, 272-9; L.J. Dalby, *Wilts & Berks Canal* (3rd edn., 2000); R. Alder, *Chippenham and the Wilts & Berks Canal* (2011).

<sup>2</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 111-12.

<sup>3</sup> [www.wbct.org.uk/the-trust/our-news](http://www.wbct.org.uk/the-trust/our-news) (accessed 19 Dec 2017).

<sup>4</sup> This para: *VCH Wilts*, 4, 280-4; C.G. Maggs, *The GWR Swindon to Bath Line* (2003), 53-62; R.H. Clark, *Hist. Survey of Selected Great Western Stations*, 3 (1981), 55-8.

<sup>5</sup> HER 1267956.

<sup>6</sup> personal observation.

<sup>7</sup> This para: C.G. Maggs, *The Calne Branch* (1990), 11-16, 45-9, 105-12.

junction c.500m east of Chippenham station and crossed the Avon by Black Bridge, a timber structure replaced by steel girders in 1920. From the bridge it ran on a straight alignment ESE across Stanley tithing to Stanley Bridge, where a halt was opened in 1905. Its course then took it over the canal west of Stanley abbey and along the Marden valley to Calne. Passenger (including service personnel) and goods traffic (including cattle, pigs and milk) was considerable until the early 1950s, when 300,000 passengers were carried annually, but declined after 1955 and the line closed in 1965. Track was lifted in 1967 and Black Bridge removed in 1971.

*Post, Carriers, Buses and Telecommunications:* From 1784 mail coaches between London and Bristol called at Chippenham, and by 1833 the mail was one of five stage coaches that traversed this route daily.<sup>1</sup> In 1792 there was a post office in the White Hart inn,<sup>2</sup> but by 1830, and perhaps 1822, it occupied premises in High Street.<sup>3</sup> Ann Elliott, postmistress in 1822, was replaced by Mary Elliott between 1855 and 1859.<sup>4</sup> Money orders were handled by 1867 and telegraphs by 1875, and by 1880 pillar boxes had been erected at Causeway and Rowden Hill.<sup>5</sup> The post office, previously at 12 High Street, had relocated before 1886 to 50 Market Place, where it remained until 1959, when a new head post office was built on the corner of St Mary Street.<sup>6</sup> A sub post office in New Road opened in 1881,<sup>7</sup> and by 1889 there were seven pillar boxes at locations in the town, including the railway station, and four postal deliveries daily.<sup>8</sup> There was a telephone call office at the main post office in 1903, and a second sub office, in Sheldon Road;<sup>9</sup> a further sub office was open in London Road in 1939.<sup>10</sup> The head post office of 1959 closed in 2012 and business was transferred to a convenience store at 28/29 Market Place, where it remained in 2017.<sup>11</sup>

Mr Wiltshire's waggon travelled weekly between Chippenham and London in 1690, and a carrier took three days to make the journey in 1748.<sup>12</sup> Three waggons plied between London and Bristol in 1792, stopping at Chippenham inns.<sup>13</sup> Carriers, sometimes styled caravans, were operating between Chippenham and local towns by 1822, including Bath, Calne and Devizes.<sup>14</sup> By 1842 there were in addition daily carriers to south Wales and to Southampton, and a weekly carrier to Malmesbury.<sup>15</sup> The number of local carriers increased after 1850 so that in 1895 and 1903 there were 13 carriers journeying weekly or more often (generally including Friday) to Chippenham from nearby towns and villages, mostly from places north and west of the town not accessible by rail.<sup>16</sup> Several used the Great Western Hotel as their inn. By 1911 their numbers had reduced, so that by 1920 there were five, and by 1927, only one.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D. Gerhold, *Bristol's Stage Coaches* (2012), 86-93, 123-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Univ. British Dir.* 2, 592.

<sup>3</sup> *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1822, 1830 edns.).

<sup>4</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1855, 1859 edns.).

<sup>5</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1867, 1875, 1880 edns.).

<sup>6</sup> *Chippenham Walkabout* (1977), 8-10, 27; OS 1:500 (1886 edn.).

<sup>7</sup> *Bath Chronicle* 30 June 1881, 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1889 edn.).

<sup>9</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1903 edn.).

<sup>10</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1939 edn.).

<sup>11</sup> *Wilts. Gazette & Herald*, 22 Nov. 2012; personal observation.

<sup>12</sup> D. Gerhold, *London Carriers and Coaches 1637-1690* (2016), 43; D. Gerhold, *Carriers and Coachmasters* (2005), 192.

<sup>13</sup> *Univ. British Dir.* 2, 592.

<sup>14</sup> *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1822 edn.).

<sup>15</sup> *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1830, 1842 edns.).

<sup>16</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1895, 1903 edns.).

<sup>17</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911, 1920, 1939 edns.).

A motor bus service in summer between Bath and Chippenham had been inaugurated before 1911,<sup>1</sup> but it was not until the late 1920s that bus operation proliferated. In 1929 the railway-owned National company ran buses to Trowbridge via Melksham, to Calne, and to Stroud (Glos.) via Malmesbury, while Bristol and Bath tramways companies ran buses to Swindon, Chipping Sodbury (Glos.), Bristol and Bath.<sup>2</sup> Chippenham remained an outpost of the Western National bus company, formed from National in 1929, and the company built a bus station and offices at Timber Street which opened in 1956.<sup>3</sup> Services were transferred to Bristol Omnibus company in 1970, Badgerline in 1985, and First Bus in 1995, although in 2017 most local services were operated by Faresaver, a company based at Bumpers Farm, Chippenham.<sup>4</sup> The bus station was improved in 1962 and 1968, and rearranged in 2006, when excavations uncovered the canal wharf beneath.<sup>5</sup>

### *Population*

Domesday Book records on the royal manor of Chippenham 31 slaves working the demesne, 52 households headed by a villein and 92 by the lesser categories of peasant, with a further 2 peasant (bordar) households on a minor estate.<sup>6</sup> A separate Domesday entry for Stanley adds 3 villein and 3 bordar households.<sup>7</sup> The total of households recorded in 1086 exclusive of the demesne was therefore 152. In 1332 59 Chippenham burgesses contributed £16 18s. 10¼d. to a tax, the second largest payment (after Salisbury) of any Wiltshire borough.<sup>8</sup> Chippenham's tithings were separately assessed, 14 Allington inhabitants paying £2 2s. 8d., 14 Stanley inhabitants £2 8s. 3½d., and 19 Tytherton Lucas inhabitants £3 2s. 2½d.<sup>9</sup> Totals for a similar tax two years later were in each case slightly higher, and Rowden was explicitly included in the Chippenham total.<sup>10</sup> To the 1377 poll tax 257 Chippenham inhabitants contributed, as well as 48 from Allington, 66 from Stanley, 45 from Tytherton Lucas, and 112 from an unidentified location, 'Ende', which has been surmised to be a part of Chippenham.<sup>11</sup> Chippenham's total of 257 payers places the town 18th by population of Wiltshire's fiscal units, but if the outlying parts of the parish are included the total, 528, would place it fifth.<sup>12</sup>

Lists of householders within the borough drawn up c.1604 and 1685 recorded 103 and 100 respectively.<sup>13</sup> A religious census taken in 1676 reported 858 adults in Chippenham parish,<sup>14</sup> but a century later a demographer claimed that in 1773 the total population was 2,407 in 483 houses.<sup>15</sup> The 1801 census total for the parish was 3,366 and this had risen to 3,506 in 600 dwellings in 1821, of whom 110 lived in Allington and 195 in the other tithings.<sup>16</sup> These figures were disputed by the borough council, who claimed that there had then been 755 houses, and extrapolated a total population of 4,411.<sup>17</sup> This was close to the official figure in 1831, 4,333,

<sup>1</sup> Kelly's *Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.).

<sup>2</sup> *Roadways*, 3 (Sept. 1929); R.J. Crawley and F.D. Simpson, *The Years Between*, 3 (1990), 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> Crawley and Simpson, *Years Between*, 78.

<sup>4</sup> *Companion to Road Passenger Transport Hist.* (2013), 56, 98; [www.faresaver.co.uk/](http://www.faresaver.co.uk/) (accessed 19 Dec. 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Crawley and Simpson, *Years Between*, 253; Alder, *Chippenham and the Wilts & Berks Canal*, 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Domesday*, 162, 191.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>8</sup> D. A. Crowley (ed.) *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (WRS 45), 4-5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 98-9, 101.

<sup>10</sup> *VCH Wilts* 4, 296, 298-9.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 307-8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 312.

<sup>13</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 26-8, 73 [check chantry certs at TNA].

<sup>14</sup> A. Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census of 1676*, 129 [check]

<sup>15</sup> R. Price, *Essay on the Population of England* (2nd ed., 1780), 7.

<sup>16</sup> *VCH Wilts* 4, 344.

<sup>17</sup> *Recs. of Chippenham*, 154-5.

which rose substantially to 5,438 in 1841, swollen by the presence of 315 itinerant railway labourers.<sup>1</sup> Between 1851 and 1891 the population levelled at c.5,000-5,400, of whom 1,352 were living within the borough in 1881.<sup>2</sup> Boundary changes during the 1880s and subsequently make direct comparisons impossible, but the combined population in 1901 of Chippenham Within (3,655) and Without (1,948) stood at 5,603, and rose only modestly to 6,075 in 1931. After the urban portion of Langley Burrell was taken into the civil parish in 1934, a total for the whole parish of 11,851 was reported in 1951.<sup>3</sup> Pewsham, as an extra-parochial place and then a civil parish, was separately enumerated, its population rising from 139 in 1801 to 303 a decade later, and 480 in 1841; it declined thereafter, to 367 in 1881 and remained static until after 1931, but had risen to 561 in 1951.<sup>4</sup>

Each decennial census since 1951 saw a rise in Chippenham's population, and this was especially marked during the 1950s (48 per cent increase 1951-61), 1980s (33 per cent increase 1981-91), and after 2001 (28 per cent increase 2001-11). These increases largely reflected boundary changes, as urban Chippenham expanded into Hardenhuish and Pewsham.<sup>5</sup> In 1961 the total was 17,543, rising modestly to 19,128 in 1981, but then to 25,376 in 1991, and from 28,065 in 2001 to 35,830 in 2011.<sup>6</sup> The Chippenham community area, larger than the parish, had a population of 45,337 in 2011, the largest in the Wiltshire unitary authority.<sup>7</sup>

## ORIGINS, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

### THE SAXON AND MEDIEVAL TOWN, TO 1554

#### *Before 1066*

The earliest reference to Chippenham, in 853, is as a royal residence (*villa regia*) in which Burgred, the Mercian king, married the daughter of Aethelwulf, king of the West Saxons.<sup>8</sup> In 878 an invading Danish force captured the royal residence, described as on the eastern bank of the Avon, and overwintered there, but was defeated by Alfred at Edington the following year; his army pursued the invaders back to the citadel (*arx*) at Chippenham, seized the horses and cattle and slaughtered the men outside, and laid siege before the castle gates.<sup>9</sup> An Anglo-Danish or Scandinavian iron spearhead of this period was uncovered close to the river during the construction of the Emery Gate shopping centre in the 1980s.<sup>10</sup> Saxon pottery, a loom weight and stylus were also discovered.<sup>11</sup> Chippenham was one of many estates bequeathed in 888 in Alfred's will,<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *VCH Wilts* 4, 319, 344.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 344.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 355.

<sup>5</sup> above, boundaries.

<sup>6</sup> *Census*, 1961-2011.

<sup>7</sup> *Wiltshire Census 2011 Selected Statistics Profile Tool: Chippenham Community Area*

<sup>8</sup> *Eng. Hist. Docs.* (ed. Whitelock), i, 189; Asser, *Life of King Alfred* (ed. Stevenson), 8.

<sup>9</sup> Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, 40, 45-6.

<sup>10</sup> *WAM* vol. 83 (1990), 229.

<sup>11</sup> inf. ex Mr M Stone.

<sup>12</sup> *Eng. Hist. Docs.* (ed. Whitelock), i, 492-5.

and was occupied by 10th-century kings on at least four occasions, before 924, in 930, 933 and 940.<sup>1</sup> After 940 Chippenham is not recorded again until Domesday.<sup>2</sup>

### *Medieval streets and Topographical Features*

Chippenham High Street runs south-eastwards from the town bridge up to St Andrew's parish church, broadening into an open, and subsequently infilled, funnel-shaped market place. In the 14th century it was also known as King Street (*in vico regali*).<sup>3</sup> Bradenstoke priory (Lyneham) had acquired before 1260 two adjacent tenements in Chippenham, one of which was described no later than c. 1307 as situated in the High Street opposite the market place.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that they became the Hart (later White Hart) inn (45-50 Market Place), which belonged to Bradenstoke until its dissolution and had its frontage along the northern side of the market place.<sup>5</sup> A second inn, the Bell (38-39 Market Place), occupied part of the eastern side, north of the church, and is first recorded as an inn in 1446.<sup>6</sup> Part of the premises it occupied had been described in 1326 as a tenement in High Street occupied by the widow of a smith.<sup>7</sup> Thomas Tropenell of Great Chalfield acquired the Bell inn and adjacent premises in 1451.<sup>8</sup> Nearby, and also fronting High Street, was a tenement belonging to the chantry of St Mary in the parish church.<sup>9</sup> Domestic pottery and glassware fragments dated to the 13th century were discovered in 1951 on the site of the former post office, which lies north of the former Bell inn.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Eng. Hist. Docs*, i, 545; <http://www.esawyer.org.uk>, nos.S422, S423, S473, S504 (accessed 2 June 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Coins issued at 'CEPEN' 978 x 1016, are now considered to have been minted at Ipswich: J Haslam, *Wilts. Towns: the Archaeological Potential* (1976), 15; cf. *WAM* vol. 46 (1932), 100.

<sup>3</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 298-9 (the 1369 and 1378 deeds refer to the same property).

<sup>4</sup> London (ed.) *Bradenstoke Cart.* 58-60 (nos. 123, 124, 126, 127)

<sup>5</sup> *L&P Hen. VIII*, 19 (2), 417 (no. 690 (65)).

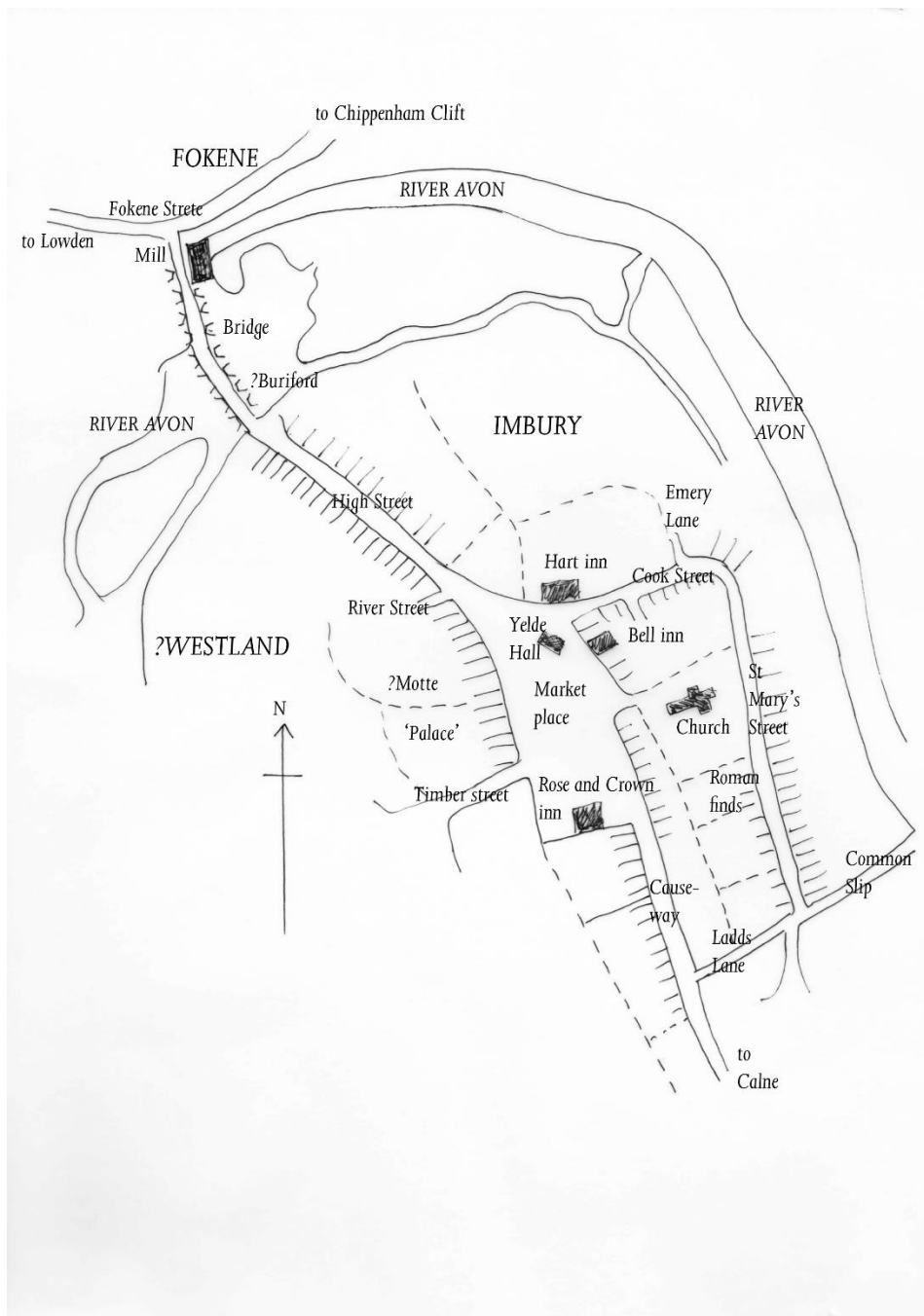
<sup>6</sup> J.S. Davies (ed.) *Tropenell Cartulary*, i, 87-8

<sup>7</sup> *Tropenell Cart.*, i, 81.

<sup>8</sup> *Tropenell Cart.*, i, 88-90.

<sup>9</sup> *Tropenell Cart.*, i, 85, 115; Goldney, *Records*, 298-9.

<sup>10</sup> *WAM*, vol. 55 (1954), 373.



Another group of High Street premises recorded in deeds appears to have stood at its north-western end. In 1227 a Frenchman, Durand, and his brother Ralph gave a messuage by the bridge to Stanley abbey (Bremhill).<sup>1</sup> An adjacent burgage, acquired by Thomas Tropenell in 1459, took its name Iremongers from Henry Iremonger (d. before 1432) or perhaps from John Iremonger, a resident close by in 1348.<sup>2</sup> Another

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Chart.* I, 39; *WAM*, vol. 15 (1875), 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Tropenell Cart.*, i, 104-14; J.L. Kirby (ed.), *Hungerford Cart.* (WRS 49), 86 (no.334). John Iremonger was a neighbour of John Childe, whose property adjoined the burgage later occupied by Henry Iremonger.

neighbouring property was Rasshesplace, so-called by 1432. John de la Barre and his descendants appear to have lived nearby,<sup>1</sup> their name suggesting that a barrier had existed at the bridgehead. Two other families, Tabler and Childe, may also be connected with this immediate area;<sup>2</sup> their premises lay beside a street opposite or leading to 'Buriford', perhaps an old name for the river crossing, or that of a ford for vehicles alongside the medieval bridge.<sup>3</sup> An excavation close to the bridge (1-2 High Street) revealed medieval wall foundations.<sup>4</sup>

Other medieval deeds relate to property which cannot be precisely located. Stanley abbey was given a free burgage in the 13th century which extended as far as the Imbury ditch, and so probably had its frontage on the east side of High Street.<sup>5</sup> A possible burgage boundary was revealed in this area by excavation in 2001 behind 21-23 High Street, although the Imbury ditch was not encountered.<sup>6</sup> Evidence that High Street premises were being redeveloped in the 14th century is provided by a deed of 1370, whereby Walter Haywode, a significant landowner,<sup>7</sup> let a plot and curtilage there, stipulating that the lessees build and maintain a new house on it.<sup>8</sup> St Andrew's church also acquired at least four properties in High Street, in 1422, 1455 and 1471, identified by previous owners, Code, Wase and Endford;<sup>9</sup> Codes place had become God's place by 1748.<sup>10</sup> Away from the market place, no extant medieval architectural features have been identified in the High Street.

The market place, regarded in the middle ages as part of the High Street, retains two significant secular medieval buildings. The Rose and Crown inn, at the south-west corner, although subsequently altered at many periods, retains features of a 14th- or 15th-century timber-framed hall house with cruck roof and through-passage screening a service end with solar above, and a wing to the rear.<sup>11</sup> The Yelde Hall is a 15th-century large-panelled timber-framed building on a limestone wall base, occupying the footprint of an earlier, probably 14th-century cruck-built structure.<sup>12</sup> Tree-ring analysis of timberwork suggests a construction date of 1446-58.<sup>13</sup> It is a four-bay open hall with collar-truss tie-beam roof, and a fifth bay to the north of two storeys, the upper formerly used as a courthouse, the lower as a lock-up. It was described c. 1560 as a 'yelde hall'

<sup>1</sup> Alice atte Barre lived between John Childe and John Iremonger in 1348: *Hungerford Cart*, 86 (no.334).

<sup>2</sup> Roger le Tabler was John de la Barre's tenant before 1228: *Bradenstoke Cart.*, 58 (no. 121). Reginald le Tabler occupied Iremongers before 1347: *Tropenell Cart.*, i, 104-5. John Childe's premises next to Iremongers was perhaps that acquired by Roger Childe in the 13th century: *Hungerford Cart*, 86 (no.334); WSA 9/1/73.

<sup>3</sup> *Bradenstoke Cart.*, 58 (no. 121); WSA 9/1/73. Durand's holding was also near Buriford: *Bradenstoke Cart.*, 58 (no. 119).

<sup>4</sup> McMahon, *Chippenham*, 9.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 1213/3, transcribed in WSA 473/40, p. 25 (no. 23); *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, iv, A9382. For Imbury, see below.

<sup>6</sup> WAM, vol. 96 (2003), 231-2.

<sup>7</sup> TNA C 143/402/39.

<sup>8</sup> *Hungerford Cart*, 87 (no.343).

<sup>9</sup> WSA, 811/212, terrier of church lands.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/1/5/1.

<sup>11</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1268032; inf. from Wilts. Buildings Record..

<sup>12</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1267996; K.A. Rodwell, *Archaeological investigations at the Yelde Hall, Chippenham, 2001-2* (2003), 21-2 (unpublished report, copy in Wilts. Buildings Record).

<sup>13</sup> Rodwell, *Yelde Hall*, 22.



(guildhall)<sup>1</sup> or church house standing alone in the middle of the street, maintained by the townspeople and used for church ales, plays, council meetings and hundred courts.<sup>2</sup> Excavations beneath Chippenham museum suggested that the western market frontage lay open in the medieval period.<sup>3</sup>

Remains of a medieval building, including a supposed Norman doorway, were discovered c. 1820 behind 11 Market Place close to a substantial mound; they were thought to indicate the site of the royal premises and the area was renamed 'The Palace' or 'Palace Square' in consequence.<sup>4</sup> Excavations in the area in the 1990s encountered a complex of features and artefacts of 13th- to 15th-century date, including evidence of two buildings.<sup>5</sup> Nothing was found to support the identification with the king's hall, although such a building existed as late as 1200.<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested, however, that the mound and doorway may have belonged to an anarchy period motte.<sup>7</sup>

Eight traders in 1281/2 and nine in 1352/3 paid rent for a stall (*celda*) each in the market place.<sup>8</sup> In 1428 rent was paid for no fewer than 23 'shamells', four standings for selling victuals in the market place and seven shops.<sup>9</sup> Several 'shamells' were repaired in 1487 and two in 1500, and at the latter date two more were newly made.<sup>10</sup> Shambles and shops with lockable doors and windows had been erected before 1566.<sup>11</sup>

Running away north-eastwards from the market place Cook Street (later regarded as part of St Mary's Street)<sup>12</sup> is recorded in 1370 as the location of a messuage and two cottages, and in 1374 of a house adjacent to a tenement belonging to the chantry.<sup>13</sup> A lease of a burgage in Cook Street is recorded from 1452, and a cottage there was given in 1470 to a chaplain in the parish church.<sup>14</sup> A messuage, named Peperwhytes after its tenant from 1401, stood on the south side of the street next to a passageway connecting with the smith's premises, and became part of Thomas Tropenell's Bell inn property in 1451.<sup>15</sup> The north side of Cook Street was probably undeveloped furthest from the market place, as an excavation in 2006 near the Emery Lane turning (61 St Mary's Street) found no evidence of medieval occupation.<sup>16</sup>

At its northern end Cook Street turns a right-angle into St Mary's Street, so-called by 1413, presumably because the chantry of St Mary in the parish church held land

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<sup>1</sup> The spellings *Guyldhall* and *Guyldehall* were used in 1569: Goldney, *Records*, 302.

<sup>2</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 295.

<sup>3</sup> inf. ex Mr M Stone.

<sup>4</sup> J. Britton, *Beauties of Wiltshire*, i (1801), 236-7; J.J. Daniell, *Hist. of Chippenham* (1894), 5-6; OS 25" sheet, Wilts. XXVI.2, 1886 edn.; cf. Haslam, *Wilts. Towns*, 16.

<sup>5</sup> McMahon, *Chippenham*, 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Bradenstoke Cart.*, 58 (no. 120);

<sup>7</sup> *WAM*, vol. 93 (2000), 108.

<sup>8</sup> TNA, SC 12/16/52; *ibid.* SC 12/16/54.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, SC 6/1049/18.

<sup>10</sup> TNA, SC 6/HenVII/939-940.

<sup>11</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 292-3.

<sup>12</sup> Although the 1554 borough charter defines its boundary as the southern limit of Cook Street, suggesting that the names were interchangeable: Goldney, *Records*, 262.

<sup>13</sup> H.M.C, Hastings MSS, i, 240; Goldney, *Records*, 298.

<sup>14</sup> TNA, SC 6/HenVII/939; WSA 9/1/74.

<sup>15</sup> *Tropenell Cart.*, i, 88-95.

<sup>16</sup> *WAM*, vol. 101 (2008), 276.

there.<sup>1</sup> An alternative name was New Street, since this defined the northern extent of the Bell inn premises in 1406.<sup>2</sup> In 1320 two cottages in 'Nyweststrete' stood next to 'Natwelane' (Narrow lane?) leading to the Avon, which may be an early name for the lane later known as Common Slip.<sup>3</sup> Stanley abbey in 1485 let a newly built messuage adjacent to St Mary's chantry land with a barn and garden in 'Narwelane' by the Avon.<sup>4</sup> Several houses fronting St Mary's Street retain late-medieval fabric, including a cruck-framed building (56 St Mary's Street) at the turn into Cook Street.<sup>5</sup> St Mary House (15 St Mary's Street) and the Woodhouse (52 St Mary's Street) retain features of 15th-century hall houses, the former stonebuilt, the latter timber-framed and of L-shaped plan with parlour wing to rear.<sup>6</sup> The stone floor and posts of a late-medieval timber building were discovered during excavations in 2015 behind The Architect's House (16 St Mary's Street).<sup>7</sup>

The positions of other streets or locations named in medieval deeds are uncertain. East Street, where at least five cottages as well as tenements, plots of lands, a messuage and a croft called Westcroft were located c. 1320,<sup>8</sup> was perhaps an alternative name for the Causeway (first recorded in 1493).<sup>9</sup> Horscroft, which gave its name to the king's new street in 1252,<sup>10</sup> was described in 1532 as abutting the road which led to Calne.<sup>11</sup> Another croft described in the 1532 lease lay next to Wood street abutting 'Boltesclose'.<sup>12</sup> If this refers to the tenement in 'Boltestrete' that was held by Richard Bolte before c. 1328, then Bolt Street and Wood Street were adjacent or synonymous.<sup>13</sup>

Suburban development on the right bank of the Avon had occurred before c. 1250, and property there was described as within the town of Chippenham.<sup>14</sup> The area took its name, *Fokene*, from the stream which flows into the river there (now Hardenhuish brook), and the road now Foghamshire was *Fokenestrete*, which by c. 1327 was lined with cottages and tenements, including property belonging to St Mary's chantry.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Sequence of Urban Development*

<sup>1</sup> WSA 473/10, transcribed in WSA 473/40, pp. 93-4. Tropenell's Bell inn premises abutted chantry land: *Tropenell Cart.* i, 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Tropenell Cart.*, i, 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Hungerford Cart.* 81-2 (no. 317).

<sup>4</sup> *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, iv, A9356.

<sup>5</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1267912.

<sup>6</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1267937; 1267949; no. 18 (Nat. Heritage List, 1267942) also retains late-medieval details.

<sup>7</sup> *WAM*, vol. 109 (2016), 249; vol. 110 (2017), 257; vol. 111 (2018), 350.

<sup>8</sup> *Hungerford Cart.* 81 (no. 317), 84 (no. 326).

<sup>9</sup> TNA, PROB 11/9/260, bequest in will of John Hollwey.

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. Chart.* I, 376-7.

<sup>11</sup> WSA 3448/3/1.

<sup>12</sup> WSA 3448/3/1; 'Wotestrete' occurs in the early 13th century: *Hungerford Cart.* 83-4 (no. 325).

<sup>13</sup> *Hungerford Cart.* 81 (no. 315); two curtilages in 'Bolstrede' were sold in 1362/3: TNA, E 326/932; cf *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, i, B932. P-N Wilts, 90 refers also to a lost *Langstret* (Long Street), but the reference there given is incorrect.

<sup>14</sup> K.H. Rogers (ed.), *Lacock Abbey Charters* (WRS, 34), 88-9 (nos. 357-61).

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*; *Hungerford Cart.* 80 (no. 312).

The topography of pre-conquest Chippenham, despite much speculation,<sup>1</sup> cannot be determined with any certainty. A church, mills and defences existed by 1066, and the presence of royal premises may be inferred,<sup>2</sup> but their location and inter-relationship is unknown. The 'king's old hall' survived as late as c. 1200,<sup>3</sup> but the suggested site of a royal 'palace' behind 11 Market Place has not been confirmed by excavation.<sup>4</sup> The following interpretation is based on topographical analysis, derived especially from a detailed map of 1784,<sup>5</sup> and by analogy with comparable towns in Wiltshire and elsewhere.

The discovery in 2017 of early Romano-British occupation debris, adjacent to the medieval parish church, including potsherds and cremated bone associated with a Roman building,<sup>6</sup> suggests that the Anglo-Saxon antecedent of the church overlies, or was sited in association with, a Roman building; such a juxtaposition is not uncommon, and occurs nearby at Box and Cherhill. In other Wiltshire towns of Saxon origin, notably Calne, Wilton and Marlborough, the *villa regia* or 'kingsbury' and church were adjacent, and so it is likely that the royal premises at Chippenham lay north of the church, its extent defined by the line of Cook Street and St Mary's Street.<sup>7</sup> North of this complex lay an area described as 'Imbury' (and variants, now Emery Lane and Emery Gate), which has been interpreted to mean 'around the burh';<sup>8</sup> by the 13th century it included a ditch, presumably for defensive purposes.<sup>9</sup> On topographical grounds St Mary's Street has the appearance of the central spine road of a rectilinear Saxon town, with properties extending back to the river on the east and a common rear boundary on the west, ending with a straight southern boundary denoted by Common Slip and Ladds Lane.

The replacement of a ford (perhaps remembered in the name Buriford) by a bridge, and the establishment of a market in the 13th century or earlier, may have refocused the town along a High Street, which broadened into a large open market place adjacent to the church and former royal premises.<sup>10</sup> Elements of medieval town planning are apparent in straight rear boundaries east of the lower High Street and west of the Causeway, the latter in line with the western edge of the market place.<sup>11</sup> Curving boundaries west of the market place and north of Timber Street may result from a 12th-century fortified motte.

By the 14th or 15th century the open market place contained not only a freestanding public building, the Yelde Hall, but also permanent or semi-permanent shambles and shops, and at least three substantial inns, on its northern, eastern and southern frontages (Hart, Bell and Rose and Crown respectively).

Medieval settlement in the River Street and Blind Lane (Gladstone Road) area cannot be established from medieval documentary evidence; an extent of 1281/2 lists

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. J. Haslam, *Anglo-Saxon Towns of Southern England* (1984), 132-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Domesday*, 162; for defences, see discussion of 'Embury' below.

<sup>3</sup> V.C.M. London (ed.) *Bradenstoke Cart.* (WRS 35), 58 (no. 120).

<sup>4</sup> above: Medieval streets and Topographical Features.

<sup>5</sup> WSA G19/1/53L: Map of Chippenham by John Powell, 1784.

<sup>6</sup> WAM vol. 111 (2018), 350; inf. ex Mr M Stone.

<sup>7</sup> Haslam, *Anglo-Saxon Towns*, 134-6. P. McMahon, *Chippenham* (Extensive Urban Survey), (2004), 18-19.

<sup>8</sup> W.J. Ford, *Survey of the Archaeology of the Chippenham Area* (1967), 16.

<sup>9</sup> WSA 1213/3; *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, iv, A9382.

<sup>10</sup> this and subsequent paras, above: Medieval streets and Topographical Features.

<sup>11</sup> Evident on the 1784 map: WSA G19/1/53L.

five tenants farming virgates and half-virgates land at 'Westland',<sup>1</sup> perhaps in this area. Across the river, however, a suburb had developed by the 13th century running east and west from the bridgehead and mill, towards Chippenham Clift and Lowden respectively.

## FROM THE CHARTER TO THE RAILWAY, 1554-1841

### *The Early Modern Town, to c.1790*

The 1554 charter defined the town at that date as extending from the central part of the bridge to the southern end of Cook Street, which was clarified in 1604 to mean and include St Mary's Street.<sup>2</sup> The western ('Brymland') and eastern limits (the gate posts of Huntingdon's lands) cannot be located but, significantly, the bounds appear not to have extended to the river on either side.<sup>3</sup> Since occupancy of a dwellinghouse within the borough bestowed rights within the town lands (principally Englands and West mead, between Wood Lane and the river, south-west of the town)<sup>4</sup> and electoral franchise, their numbers were controlled; the earliest list, of c.1604, recorded 103 householders,<sup>5</sup> which total had increased to 117 in 1613 as a result of new building and subdivision,<sup>6</sup> but then rose only slightly, to 122 in 1671, 126 in 1754, and 129 in 1831.<sup>7</sup> By this last date a further 45 dwellings existed within the borough which were not burgage houses.<sup>8</sup>

The 1613 list of burgesses, updated to 1651, is topographically arranged, and may be used to describe the extent of the early modern town.<sup>9</sup> Beginning at the south-western corner of the market place Wood Lane led away to the forest, implying that Timber Street on its present course did not then exist. Two houses fronted the market place south of the Angel inn (then called the Bull),<sup>10</sup> and a further six to its north as far as the entrance to Back Lane (later River Street). In Back Lane were ten houses, one untenanted, and thence the run of properties down both sides of High Street to the bridge was more or less continuous. There were fifteen houses on the west side between the Back Lane turn and the George inn (in 2019 W.H. Smith), and at least seven in the vicinity of the bridge itself,<sup>11</sup> with three more running up the east side to a house called the Porch.<sup>12</sup> Thereafter, apart from the entrance to what was later Chapel Lane, the east side of High Street was built up continuously to the (White) Hart inn (in 2019 Iceland). Properties on both sides of Cook Street were intermittent, and included a cottage recently built (in 1609) behind their gardens, in Imbury.<sup>13</sup> St Mary's Street (probably

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<sup>1</sup> TNA, SC 12/16/52.

<sup>2</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 262, 275.

<sup>3</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 262.

<sup>4</sup> J. Perkins, *Hist. of the Corporate Property . . . of Chippenham* (1905), 6-19 and plan.

<sup>5</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 26-8.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/6, ff.76r-77v; Goldney, *Records*, 36-7.

<sup>7</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 328, 84, 150.

<sup>8</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 150.

<sup>9</sup> This para: WSA, G19/1/6, ff.76r-77v, referring also to WSA G19/1/49PC, 1820 borough plan.

<sup>10</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 128.

<sup>11</sup> The tenement of Robert Barton, described in 1625 as near the bridge (WSA 3448/1/4, f. 16), was seven properties after the George in the 1613 list.

<sup>12</sup> Referred to in TNA C 142/681/60 IPM of William Bayliffe, 1612. It stood on or close to the site of the modern entrance to the Emery Gate shopping centre; see B.G. Bayliffe, *Family of Bayliffe in Glos. and Wilts.* (1993), 17; B.G. Bayliffe, *Bayliffe 2004* (2004), 117.

<sup>13</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 37.

including Cook Street) was as late as 1662 regarded as an enclave separate from the rest of the town, when 28 houses there were assessed for tax;<sup>1</sup> they stood on both sides of the road south of the church and churchyard. Two inns, the Bell and the Lyon, occupied the east side of the market place, with four houses between (including one described as in the churchyard). The 1613 list names the occupants of a further 26 burgage houses after the Lyon, which must include those built along the Causeway, then known as Rotten row,<sup>2</sup> mostly at its northern (market place) end, as well as the block later occupied by the Bear inn and its neighbours.



Missing from the 1613/1651 list were the shops and standings infilling the market place. After 1569 the burgesses controlled the market, and between 1570 and 1593 granted leases for four new shops adjacent to the shambles, and in 1580 for seventeen existing shops, mostly to traders in cloth.<sup>3</sup> In 1603 it was noted that some of the shops used for standings in the shambles and market place had been converted for habitations, but this did not entitle their occupiers to the privileges enjoyed by burgesses.<sup>4</sup> Also excluded were the inhabitants of Foghamshire, across the bridge, since this lay outside the borough boundary. In 1662 there were at least 12 householders there liable to tax on a total of 31 hearths, an average of 2.6 per household.<sup>5</sup> This compares unfavourably with an average 3.5 hearths in the 104 taxed households in Chippenham borough, including the St Mary's Street enclave. St Mary's Street, with seven of its 27 houses taxed on five or more hearths, appears slightly more affluent than elsewhere,

<sup>1</sup> TNA, E 179/259/29/2, m. 46v (27 houses); TNA, E 179/199/424 (1 house abated).

<sup>2</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 37: Robert Alwaye and William Harmer, cited there in Rotten row, appear on the 1613 list separated from the Lyon by ten properties.

<sup>3</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 313-15.

<sup>4</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 37.

<sup>5</sup> TNA, E 179/259/29/2, mm. 46v, 47r.

although the largest properties, 11 and 14 hearths, were in the town, and 16 other town properties had five or more hearths.<sup>1</sup>

In High Street only one property, a modest two-storey house fronting the corner of Chapel Lane, has been identified as retaining 17th-century fabric,<sup>2</sup> but in the Causeway several examples survive of burgage houses of this period. They are typically of limestone rubble construction, and of two storeys, some with attics, under stone slate roofs, and three at the market place end (nos. 1, 4 and 53, Tudor House) are timber-framed.<sup>3</sup> Around the market place itself (apart from the medieval Yelde Hall and Rose and Crown inn) only one property (now two shops, 17 and 17a) retains its early-modern appearance, a steeply-pitched timber-framed house of through-passage plan with two storeys and attic.<sup>4</sup> Several others, including the Angel and former White Hart inns, and most houses adjoining the churchyard have disguised their 17th-century or earlier origins behind later frontages.<sup>5</sup> The same is true of most of the large town houses lining St Mary Street, although more modest early burgage houses of rendered limestone rubble survive on both sides of the market place end of the street (former Cook Street).<sup>6</sup> A house in Foghamshire and a run of three cottages on Monkton Hill date from c. 1700; they and a pair of cottages of similar date at the beginning of Wood Street cannot have been burgage properties.<sup>7</sup>

Rising population and increased prosperity, which began during the decades before 1700 and accelerated through the 18th century, gave rise to much new and replacement building, both within the borough boundaries and on its periphery. Land south and south-west of the town belonged to Monkton manor,<sup>8</sup> whose owners in 1679 let on a 200-year lease a block of waste land in the Timber Street area, where 12 cottages existed by 1680.<sup>9</sup> Six more and a stable were subsequently erected along the north side of Timber Street, near the back gate of the Angel inn.<sup>10</sup> Most of these cottages were demolished in the 20th century to build the cinema, library and bus station, but three surviving properties retain fabric which may be dated to this building campaign.<sup>11</sup>

Before 1733 Monkton manor had also let c.20 cottages and the Packhorse inn to tenants along the Causeway and its continuation, London Road, as well as three in Common Slip and one in the Butts.<sup>12</sup> A further 20 leases were issued between 1733 and 1792, mostly of waste land for building in the Butts, Causeway, London Road and

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<sup>1</sup> TNA, E 179/259/29/2, mm. 46r, 46v.

<sup>2</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1268108 (20 High Street); K.A. Rodwell, '20 High Street, Chippenham: report on the structural history of the building' (2002), copy in Wilts. Buildings Record.

<sup>3</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1267847 (53 Causeway), 1267867 (20 Causeway), 1267885 (37 Causeway), 1267896 (1 Causeway), 1267898 (3 Causeway), 1267899 (4 Causeway).

<sup>4</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1268069

<sup>5</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1268038 (cottage behind 32 Market place), 1268042-3 (36, 38-9 Market place), 1268047-8 (46-8, former White Hart), 1268061 (Angel). It should be noted, too, that the church tower and spire were rebuilt during this period (1633): Orbach and Pevsner. *Wilts.* (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1267917 (64-5 St Mary Street), 1267931-3 (4-10 St Mary Street).

<sup>7</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1268135 (33 Foghamshire), 1267973 (6-7 Monkton Hill), 1268094 (now 35 Gladstone road).

<sup>8</sup> A Platts, *Hist. of Chippenham* (1946), 67.

<sup>9</sup> WSA 137/10/5-7; WSA 212B/1738.

<sup>10</sup> WSA G19/992/16.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 19 and 21 Timber Street (The Old Bakehouse) and 35 Gladstone Road: files in Wilts. Buildings Record; photograph in C. Smith, *Chippenham Walkabout* (1977), 18.

<sup>12</sup> WSA G19/992/16.

Baydon Lane, but including also two shops behind Cook Street and a piece of waste in Timber Street near the Bear inn.<sup>1</sup> Cottages in the Butts were demolished c.1969,<sup>2</sup> but others survive in Common Slip and, notably, along the Causeway, where at least 18 houses retain fabric and character of the 18th century or earlier.<sup>3</sup> John Britton's description, published in 1801, of a 'long train of cottages which, for half a mile, or more, skirt this approach in humble, but interesting succession,' remains apt.<sup>4</sup>

One other area of 18th-century expansion outside the borough, entirely demolished and reordered during the 1970s, lay at the lower end of River Street. Around the convergence here of Blind Lane (later Gladstone Road) and Back Lane (later Factory Street and subsequently Westmead Lane), and along River Street itself down to Back Avon bridge, a colony of workers' cottages and small terraced houses developed from the 1720s or earlier;<sup>5</sup> many had become derelict, and some had been demolished, a century later, but were then refurbished or replaced.<sup>6</sup>

The gentrification of Chippenham's architecture during the Georgian period, either by refronting existing houses in ashlar Bath limestone or building anew, was the result not only of wealth amassed by those who controlled the burgeoning cloth industry, but also, as Britton remarked, by the town's 'favourable situation as a principal thoroughfare to the western cities'.<sup>7</sup> The aspiration to become 'Little Bath' is seen in the marketing of a chalybeate well as 'Chippenham Spa' behind The Grove (55 St Mary's Street) before c.1750.<sup>8</sup> It is seen also in the remodelling and enlargement of market place inns, beginning with the former Bell (nos. 38-9) in 1680, and then the former White Hart (nos. 44-8), the former King's Head (no. 35) and the Angel, all in the early-18th century.<sup>9</sup> Tradesmen and professionals also smartened up their premises in response to Chippenham's thoroughfare status, giving a Georgian veneer to the market place, Cook Street and High Street, although much of the latter has been replaced by later buildings.<sup>10</sup> A notable loss, in 1935, was the seven-bay facade by John Wood the Elder of 24-25 High Street, taken down and re-erected in Bath.<sup>11</sup>

But it was in St Mary's Street that the wealth of the clothiers, especially after their pact with Sir Samuel Fludyer in 1754,<sup>12</sup> was translated into expensive building and rebuilding campaigns. Before the textile industry became largely factory-based, after

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Wilts. Buildings Record, WI Countryside Survey, Chippenham, 1969.

<sup>3</sup> Nat. Heritage Listings; Wilts. Buildings Record files.

<sup>4</sup> J. Britton, *Beauties of Wilts*, 2 (1801), 261.

<sup>5</sup> The 1784 map (WSA G19/1/53L) shows this area thickly built over; see also photographs, e.g. in Smith, *Chippenham Walkabout*, 20.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/150/11 (7-9, 12-14 Factory St); G19/150/20 (18 River St); G19/150/22 (10-14 Gladstone Road).

<sup>7</sup> J. Britton, *Beauties of Wilts*, 2 (1801), 236.

<sup>8</sup> WAM, 55, 15-16. The date 1694, given by J.J. Daniell (*Hist. of Chippenham*, 34) and often repeated, is suspect. The creator of the spa, (Judge) Rogers Holland, was born c.1701, and not created a judge until 1737: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/holland-rogers-1701-61>. The spa was first taken notice of in 1750.

<sup>9</sup> Nat. Heritage List, 1268043, 1268047, 1268041, 1268061

<sup>10</sup> Nat. Heritage Listings; Wilts. Buildings Record files; Orbach and Pevsner. *Wilts.* (forthcoming). Examples include 11, 16, 25a, 25b, 33, 34 Market Place; 61-63 St Mary's Street (formerly Cook Street; 6, 10-11 High Street.

<sup>11</sup> A. Foyle and N. Pevsner, *Somerset: North and Bristol* (2011), 167.

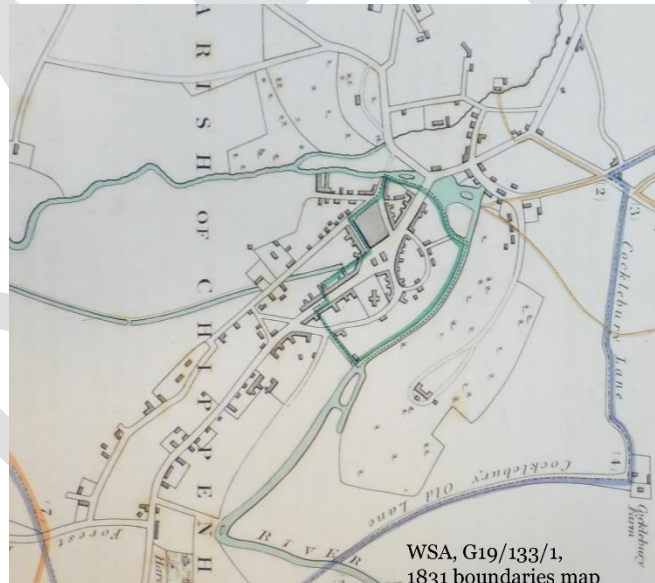
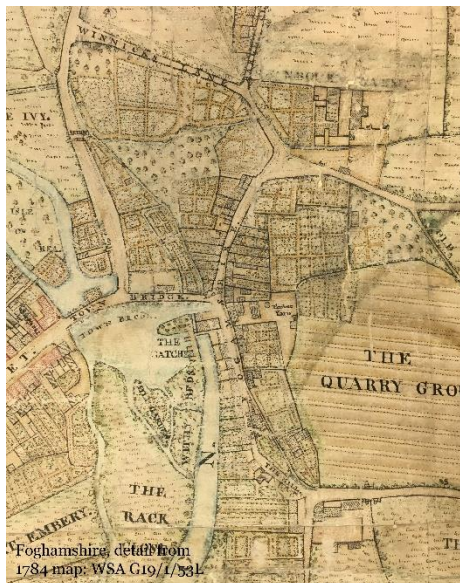
<sup>12</sup> below: econ. hist, textiles; Britton, *Beauties of Wilts* (1801), 2, 249-50; *VCH Wilts*, 4, 159.



c.1790, clothiers ran their businesses from, and sometimes erected workshops behind, their townhouses. No. 45, of the 1760s, is one of several examples, and others are known from sales in 1771 and 1785.<sup>1</sup> John Britton, brought up in a nearby village, credibly maintained that the clothiers ‘gradually detached themselves from the society of the other inhabitants, and formed a circle of their own’,<sup>2</sup> and he presumably had St Mary’s Street in mind – the other Wiltshire clothing towns had similar enclaves.<sup>3</sup> At least 16 premises in the street were built, extended or refronted during the 18th century.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Traffic and Mechanisation, c.1790-1841*

Increasing coach and other wheeled traffic during the 1780s prompted improvements to the town bridge in 1796 and, more importantly for the later development of Chippenham, the creation by the Marshfield turnpike trust in 1792 of New Road, which offered a straighter and easier ascent for travellers towards Bristol or Malmesbury than the narrow and steep course of Foghamshire, including Monkton Hill.<sup>5</sup> The area had



become quite heavily built up by 1766,<sup>6</sup> and examples of cottages of this era remain in Foghamshire.<sup>7</sup> New Road was driven through a timber yard and quarry, apparently with minimal loss of existing houses, and did not become lined with buildings until the 1830s and later.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> K.H. Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills* (1976), 77-8 and additional refs. supplied by Mr Rogers. The 1784 map (WSA G19/1/53L) depicts many buildings running down to the river behind St Mary’s Street properties.

<sup>2</sup> Britton, *Beauties of Wilts*, 2, 251.

<sup>3</sup> K.H. Rogers, *Warp and Weft* (1986), 40.

<sup>4</sup> Nat. Heritage Listings.

<sup>5</sup> above: communications; D. Gerhold, *Bristol’s Stage Coaches* (2012), 51-3; Goldney, *Records*, 105-8.

<sup>6</sup> WSA 97/1H, 1766 sketch map; cf WSA G19/1/53L, 1784 map.

<sup>7</sup> 28-30 Foghamshire, restored in 1983: Wilts. Buildings Record file WILBR: B1873.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/133/1, 1831 map.



A second innovation affected the other side of town. The Chippenham arm of the Wilts & Berks canal was completed in 1803, terminating in a wharf and associated coal yards behind Timber Street and the Rose and Crown inn.<sup>1</sup> The site had been gardens in 1784, so that little demolition need have been involved, and existing cottages in Timber Street were retained.<sup>2</sup> The wharf was heavily used until the 1850s, but then rapidly declined, although the coal yard operated until 1914; the bus station now (2019) occupies the area.<sup>3</sup>

The introduction of water and, later, steam power to enable mechanised cloth manufacturing from the 1790s led to the erection of factories in west Wiltshire towns, including Chippenham. Bridge factory, below the town bridge between the river and Bath Road, was begun after 1796 and extended to include a five-storey building employing steam power c.1813.<sup>4</sup> Its counterpart, upstream of the bridge, was the town mill, rebuilt after a fire in 1816 and similar in appearance to the Bridge factory; although functioning as a grist mill, its design suggests that it may have been intended to convert it to cloth production.<sup>5</sup> A small factory built off Westmead Lane before 1808 was combined in 1815 with a much larger building, of five storeys, said then to be newly erected, and the two were operated together as Waterford mill.<sup>6</sup> The lane was renamed Factory Lane in consequence. Other factories, smaller in scale, were built in the Butts (c.1805),<sup>7</sup> and perhaps also in Chapel Lane, where an industrial building, later used as a school, was restored c.1983.<sup>8</sup> Apart from this last example, none of these buildings survived into the later-20th century, the cumulative effect they and the canal wharf had on the character and townscape of 19th-century Chippenham must have been considerable.

Writing in 1801, John Britton praised Chippenham's inhabitants for their 'judicious alterations and improvements' but hoped that they would not leave their plans half-completed.<sup>9</sup> He objected to the 'disfiguring cluster of old houses, the shabby town hall, and the butchers shambles' as being discordant objects. His lifetime was indeed to see further rebuilding and refronting, especially along High Street and around the market place,<sup>10</sup> culminating in the work of improvement commissioners in 1834, which included street paving, cleaning, gas-lighting, and general tidying and removing obstructions.<sup>11</sup> Also in 1834 the new town hall in Italianate style, raised on a stone vault to accommodate marketing beneath, was built in the High Street; it was extended in 1850. The former George inn (W.H. Smith) was rebuilt nearby in 1835, mimicking the hall's design.<sup>12</sup> These campaigns notwithstanding, several substantial 'disfiguring'

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<sup>1</sup> above: communications; R. Alder, *Chippenham and the Wilts & Berks Canal* (2011), 19.

<sup>2</sup> Alder, 52-5, map and aerial photograph.

<sup>3</sup> Alder, 26-31, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 78-9. Additional information for this para. communicated by Mr Rogers.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, 78.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, 79-80.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, 77.

<sup>8</sup> Letter in file of Mr Rogers; Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts.* (forthcoming).

<sup>9</sup> Britton, *Beauties of Wilts.*, 2, 239.

<sup>10</sup> Nat. Heritage Listings; Wilts. Buildings Record files; Orbach and Pevsner. *Wilts.* (forthcoming). Examples are 4-5, 7, 10-12 High Street, 18, 20, 26, 35, 36, 50 Market Place.

<sup>11</sup> below: local govt; see also contemporary poem about 'improvements' in J. Chamberlain, *Chippenham* (1976), 133-5.

<sup>12</sup> Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts.*

timber-framed buildings survived into the 20th century, notably at the upper end of High Street.<sup>1</sup>

In 1821, preparatory to a boundary enlargement, the burgesses reported that there were 174 houses within the borough, of which 129 were burghage houses.<sup>2</sup> The 45 which did not enjoy burghage privileges stood mostly in Timber Street, River Street, Cook Street and the Causeway, and perhaps adjacent to the Shambles.<sup>3</sup> But by then, the burgesses claimed, the total number of dwellings in Chippenham parish, as opposed to within the confines of the borough boundary as defined in 1554, was 756, with a further 30 built up to 1831.<sup>4</sup> While a fair proportion of these stood in the outlying settlements, it is clear from the 1831 map that much of this total was accounted for by ribbon development along London Road, the Butts, the Causeway beyond Ladds Lane, and in Wood Lane, as well as cottages and workers' housing in the Factory Lane, Blind Lane and the lower River Street area, and across the bridge in Foghamshire and Monkton Hill.<sup>5</sup> In consequence the borough boundary was extended in 1834 to include them.<sup>6</sup>

## RAILWAY, MOTORWAY, AND BEYOND, FROM 1841

### *Station Hill and the St Paul's District, 1841-1914*

Chippenham's expansion during the later 19th century was centred on the railway station and its approach, and land to the north of the line. In this respect its career during the 1840s was similar to that of Swindon, a far less populous place in 1831, but its equal 20 years later.<sup>7</sup> Much of the area upon which development took place lay within Langley Burrell parish, and had as its focus an important junction of no fewer than seven roads beside the Little George inn, which was well established before 1784.<sup>8</sup> The junction itself, described as Crossways in 1657 and Chippenham Clift in 1698,<sup>9</sup> was the terminus of Maud Heath's causeway (Langley Road), and its continuation down to Chippenham as Monkton Hill. Here it was crossed by a lane from Lowden to Cocklebury (later Park Lane and Foundry Lane), and both the Malmesbury Road and Greenway Lane converged on this crossing, as did the new turnpike road from 1792.

In 1831 there were seven houses in Langley Burrell parish adjacent to Chippenham, with a total population of 35.<sup>10</sup> A tollhouse, erected by the Marshfield turnpike trust, stood at the junction, close to the inn, and in 1834 there were also at least four houses in the path of, or very close to, the proposed railway viaduct at the junction of New Road and Marshfield Road; five houses stood in Langley Road in 1840.<sup>11</sup> Apart from various outbuildings much of the area was occupied by closes of pasture, whose

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<sup>1</sup> see photographs in Smith, *Chippenham Walkabout*, 25-7.

<sup>2</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 150, 322.

<sup>3</sup> Deduced from the maps of 1820 (WSA, G19/1/49PC) and 1831 (WSA, G 19/133/1).

<sup>4</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 154. The figure may be inflated, as the 1821 census recorded only 600 houses.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G 19/133/1.

<sup>6</sup> above: boundaries.

<sup>7</sup> *VCH Wilts.* vol. IV, 344, 358. Chippenham's population in 1831 4,333, in 1851 4,999; Swindon in 1831 1,742, in 1851 4,879.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, T/A Langley Burrell; WSA, G19/1/53L; J. Britton, *Autobiography*, pt. 1 (1850), 58.

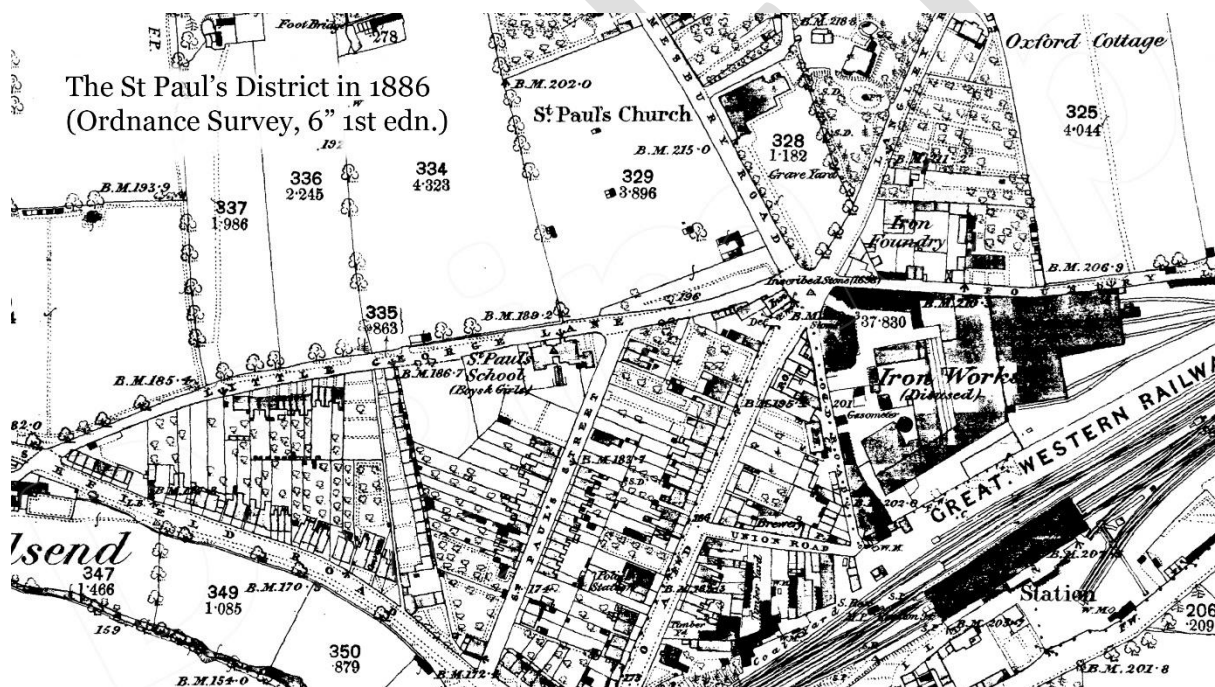
<sup>9</sup> WSA, 118/53; inscription illustrated in K.S. Taylor, *Dry Shod to Chippenham* (2012), 100.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/133/1, report on boundaries.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, A1/371/4MS; WSA, T/A Langley Burrell.

boundaries were largely respected by later development, but there was also a large timber yard on the site of Station Hill, and the station itself was built on part of a pasture recorded as the Wall Ground in 1784. The later St Paul's church was built on glebe pasture land.<sup>1</sup>

The railway severed the road down Monkton Hill and the lane to Cocklebury, and in consequence the occluded sections north of the line had been renamed by 1861 Old Road and Foundry Lane respectively.<sup>2</sup> To maintain access to Cocklebury the G.W.R. company in 1842 purchased land alongside the line to connect Monkton Hill, then the principal access to the station, with Cocklebury Lane.<sup>3</sup> Station Hill was not made until 1857, as a private venture by the landowner, who sold it to the G.W.R. company in an exchange in 1858.<sup>4</sup> A terrace of cottages in St Mary's Place, parallel to Station Hill, and a small cluster of railway cottages at the station approach, had been erected by 1861.<sup>5</sup>



North of the line substantial stonebuilt terraces of workers' housing appeared at Landsend (Landsend Place, by 1854),<sup>6</sup> St Paul's Street (by 1858),<sup>7</sup> and Springfield Buildings (by 1861),<sup>8</sup> as well as shorter terraces of three or more houses along Park Lane (Springfield Place, Prospect Place) and Marshfield Road.<sup>9</sup> More affluent stone villas, detached or in pairs, were built on New Road (or Oxford Road, as the stretch from the

<sup>1</sup> WSA, A1/371/4MS; WSA, T/A Langley Burrell; WSA, G19/1/53L.

<sup>2</sup> TNA, RG 9/1284, ff. 111-12.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/141/3.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/141/3. The road may have been under construction in 1855: WSA, G19/1/39, 17 July 1855.

<sup>5</sup> TNA, RG 9/1284, ff. 36-7, 111-12.

<sup>6</sup> date on building.

<sup>7</sup> WSA G19/120/1, G19/120/3: the development was first called Brookfield, but St Paul's Street by 1860.

<sup>8</sup> TNA, RG 9/1284, ff. 89-91, but begun 1853: inscription on building noted by C. Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names* (2018), 85.

<sup>9</sup> WSA G19/120/1; TNA, RG 9/1284, ff. 88-98.

viaduct to the Little George was generally known as late as 1868),<sup>1</sup> principally during the 1860s and later.<sup>2</sup> In consequence the number of freeholders entitled to vote in the district rose from 33 in 1856 to 66 in 1859, and from 84 in 1865 to 168 in 1868.<sup>3</sup>

Streetlighting along Marshfield Road to Landsend, and New Road to the Little George, was provided in 1853/4,<sup>4</sup> but a sewer, though contemplated in 1854, was not laid until 1863/4.<sup>5</sup> St Paul's church was built close to the Little George junction in 1854 and dedicated in 1855, when a new ecclesiastical parish was created for it to serve.<sup>6</sup> St Paul's school, with teachers' housing, was built in the angle of Park Lane and St Paul's Street in 1857/8.<sup>7</sup> Chippenham police station was built in New Road before 1859, by which date also most of the town's carriers used either the Little George or the Great Western inn, which stood beside the viaduct.<sup>8</sup> Old Road began to be established as a commercial area by 1855, with two beerhouses, a shopkeeper, tailor, and other businesses, but by 1867 more tradesmen operated from New Road and Landsend (Marshfield Road).<sup>9</sup> Also by 1867 Union Road, so-called because it linked Old Road and New Road, had been created, presumably to make a more direct alternative access to the railway station from the west.<sup>10</sup>

Residential and commercial development, and its infrastructure, were in part driven by the railway itself, but more significantly by the success and rapid expansion of the railway engineering firm of Rowland Brotherhood, who was himself responsible for building Landsend Place and St Mary's Place.<sup>11</sup> His first foundry and smith's workshop, from 1842, stood in the angle of Foundry Lane and Langley Road, opposite the Little George, but by 1848 he had acquired a much larger site (part of the former Wall Ground pasture) south of Foundry Lane and adjacent to the railway station. He extended his works c.1850 and again in 1858 and 1866, but ceased trading from his Chippenham facility in 1869, with the loss of 200 jobs. This effectively signalled the end of the first period of expansion in the St Paul's district, and little new building took place between 1870 and 1885.<sup>12</sup>

Although Brotherhood's premises were taken over by other industrial concerns, it was the establishment on part of the site in 1891 of the Wiltshire Bacon Curing Company, and in 1894 of a railway signalling plant in Foundry Lane (later to become Westinghouse) that stimulated further residential expansion.<sup>13</sup> Between 1885 and 1899 terraced housing, typically of undressed stone with ashlar dressings and bay windows

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<sup>1</sup> WSA G19/1/39, 3 Nov. 1854; WSA G19/120/3, 1868 list.

<sup>2</sup> WSA G19/120/2-3; TNA, RG 10/1899, ff. 73-4.

<sup>3</sup> WSA G19/120/1-3.

<sup>4</sup> WSA G19/1/39, 30 Apr 1853, 25 Apr 1854.

<sup>5</sup> WSA G19/1/39, 17 Oct 1854; WSA G19/129/2, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> below: Religious hist., church buildings.

<sup>7</sup> below: Education, to 1900.

<sup>8</sup> *Kelly's Dir. of Wilts.* (1859 edn.), 403-4.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* (1855 edn.), 30-1; *ibid.* (1867 edn.), 240-4.

<sup>10</sup> It is shown (though not named) on WSA G19/700/1; for the name, Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 48.

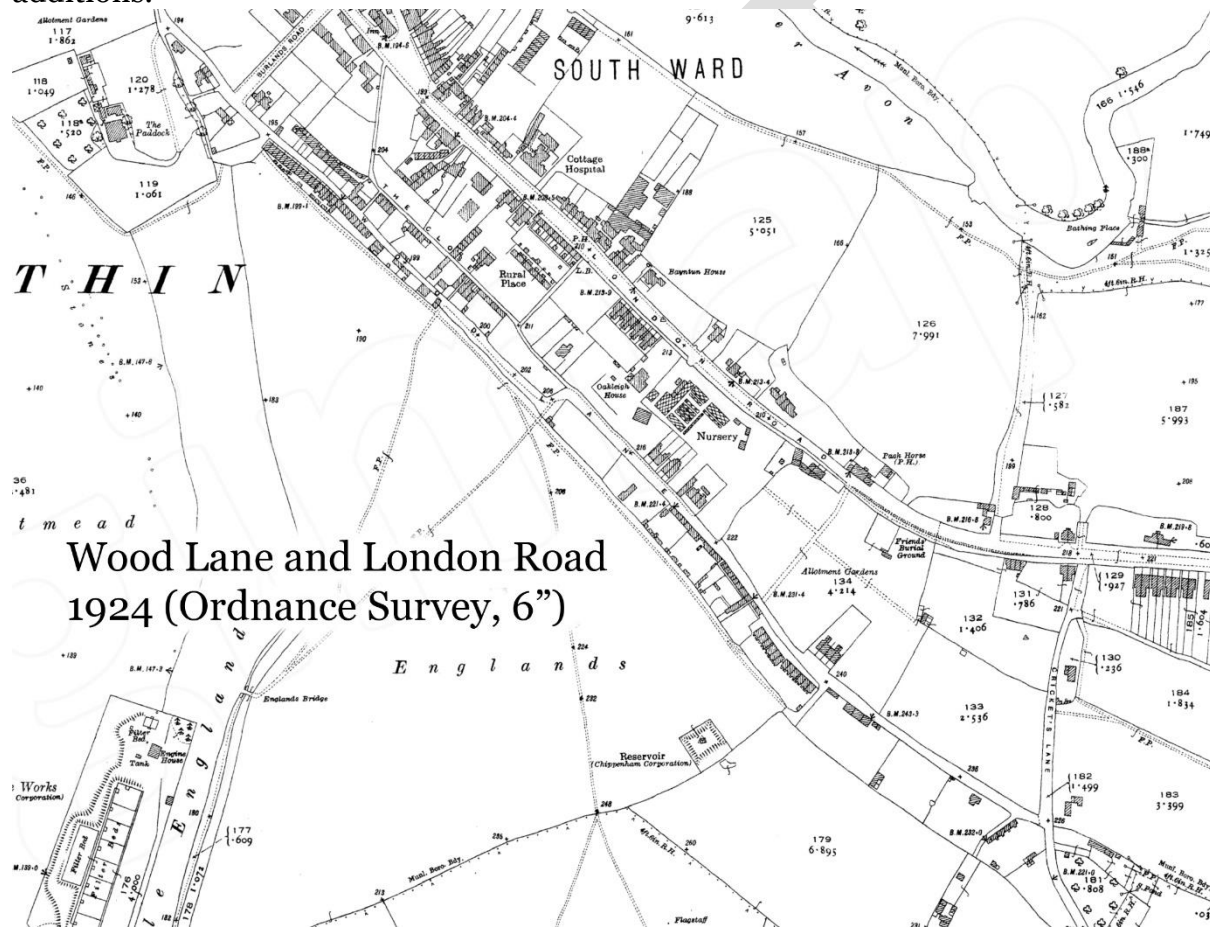
<sup>11</sup> this para: S. Leleux, *Brotherhoods, Engineers* (1965), 20-9; O.S. Nock, *Hundred Years of Speed with Safety* (2nd edn., 2014), 179-82; Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 49, 85;

below: econ. hist. [not yet written].

<sup>12</sup> O.S. 25" map, sheet Wilts XX.14 (1886 edn.). An exception was Ashes Hamlet, eight pairs of rustic cottages between Greenway Lane and Langley road, which existed by 1885.

<sup>13</sup> *VCH Wilts.* vol. IV, 222; Nock, *Hundred Years*, 10, 181.

(unlike the more squat, Bath stone terraces of the 1850s) was built along Malmesbury Road near St Paul's church, and on both sides of Park Lane (so-called from 1893);<sup>1</sup> also in pairs opposite Landsend Place and elsewhere along Marshfield Road.<sup>2</sup> Downing Street, humbler terraced housing on a site, then quite isolated, south of Bristol Road, also dates from this period.<sup>3</sup> Speculative housebuilding continued apace after 1900, undertaken largely by a local builder, Frank Field, who developed Tugela Road on former allotments in 1902, Ashfield Road in 1904, and Hawthorn Road in 1907.<sup>4</sup> Parkfields (1905) and a terrace opposite St Paul's churchyard were other pre-war additions.<sup>5</sup>



### London Road and Wood Lane, 1841-1939

The scattering of weavers' cottages along London Road, noted by Britton in 1801, was paralleled by others along Wood Lane.<sup>6</sup> Although later 19th-century development on this side of Chippenham was on a far smaller scale than around the railway and St Paul's, there was ample scope for infilling along and between the two roads. By 1841, in addition to Lansdown Place and New Town at the southern end of the Butts, a terrace of ten three-storey weavers' cottages, Victoria Buildings, had been built on London Road,

<sup>1</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 82.

<sup>2</sup> O.S. 25" map, sheet Wilts XX.14 (1886, 1900 edns.).

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 71, 75.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, 83.

<sup>6</sup> Britton, *Beauties of Wilts.* II, 261; WSA G19/133/1.

and a group known as Nelson's Place set back towards Wood Lane.<sup>1</sup> Further terraces of workers' housing sprang up during the 1850s, along Wood Lane (Prospect Place and Austen's Buildings), near Lansdown Place (Sambrook Place, begun in the 1840s, and Queens Square), and between London Road and Wood Lane (Albert Cottages and the Close).<sup>2</sup> Thereafter the pace of development slowed and, individual houses aside, only one more group of eight brick and slate cottages, Moseley Terrace, was built (c. 1880-5) during the century.<sup>3</sup>

On the recommendation of the Local Government Board, Chippenham council built two terraces of six 'workmen's cottages' at the south-eastern end of Wood Lane in 1914, to rehouse tenants of buildings the council proposed to demolish for road widening,<sup>4</sup> and all were occupied by early 1915.<sup>5</sup> Of two-storey brick and slate construction, rendered to the upper storey, and with roundels bearing the council's insignia and date, in appearance they are similar to those built in Chippenham and elsewhere after 1919; they were designed in-house by A.E. Adams, the borough surveyor, and built by Syms of Calne.<sup>6</sup> This seems to have been a pioneering move by the council, as they are possibly the only municipal council houses built in Wiltshire before the First World War.<sup>7</sup>

When council building on a large scale recommenced after 1919, attention was first directed north of the railway line, but by 1923 a site at Cricketts Lane, close to the 1914 houses, was contemplated, and the first houses there were built in 1925 and occupied in 1926.<sup>8</sup> Further council housing along and at the further end of Wood Lane, and in London Road, was constructed during the 1930s, including on the site of allotments and a plant nursery.<sup>9</sup> Westmead Terrace, 22 houses in Wood Lane, were built in 1933-4 and occupied by 1935.<sup>10</sup> Private housing, by contrast, was concentrated along London Road, where typical ribbon development and infilling occurred on a small scale during the 1930s.<sup>11</sup>

### *Northern and Western Chippenham, 1919-45*

In 1917, in response to a government request, Chippenham borough council estimated that 26 houses were needed immediately and a further 75 after the war.<sup>12</sup> The council's first post-war building campaign was the Ladyfield estate, south of Sheldon Road, where land was purchased in 1919 and an estate of 42 houses completed in 1922.<sup>13</sup> The land

<sup>1</sup> TNA, HO 107/1171/17, ff.54-71.

<sup>2</sup> TNA, RG 9/1283, ff. 96-119; RG 9/1284, ff. 7-16.

<sup>3</sup> O.S. 25" map, sheet Wilts XXVI.2 (1886, 1900 edns.).

<sup>4</sup> WSA G19/103/3, pp. 211, 214, 255-6; *Wilts Gazette*, 9 April 1914. The cottages survive as 157-179 Wood Lane.

<sup>5</sup> WSA G19/100/5, p. 218; G 19/100/6, pp. 6, 18, 28, 56, 77.

<sup>6</sup> WSA G19/103/3, pp. 225, 292.

<sup>7</sup> <https://municipaldreams.wordpress.com/2019/10/22/mapping-pre-first-world-war-council-housing/#comments> (accessed 22 Nov. 2019).

<sup>8</sup> WSA G19/100/7, pp. 478, 489, 497; G19/100/8, pp. 64, 170.

<sup>9</sup> WSA G19/100/8, p. 536; G19/100/9, p. 298, 442; O.S. 25" map, sheet Wilts XXVI.2 (1926, 1938 edns.); *Dir. Chippenham and Dist.* (1925-39 edns.).

<sup>10</sup> WSA 19/100/9, p. 298; *Dir. Chippenham and Dist.* (1933, 1935 edns.).

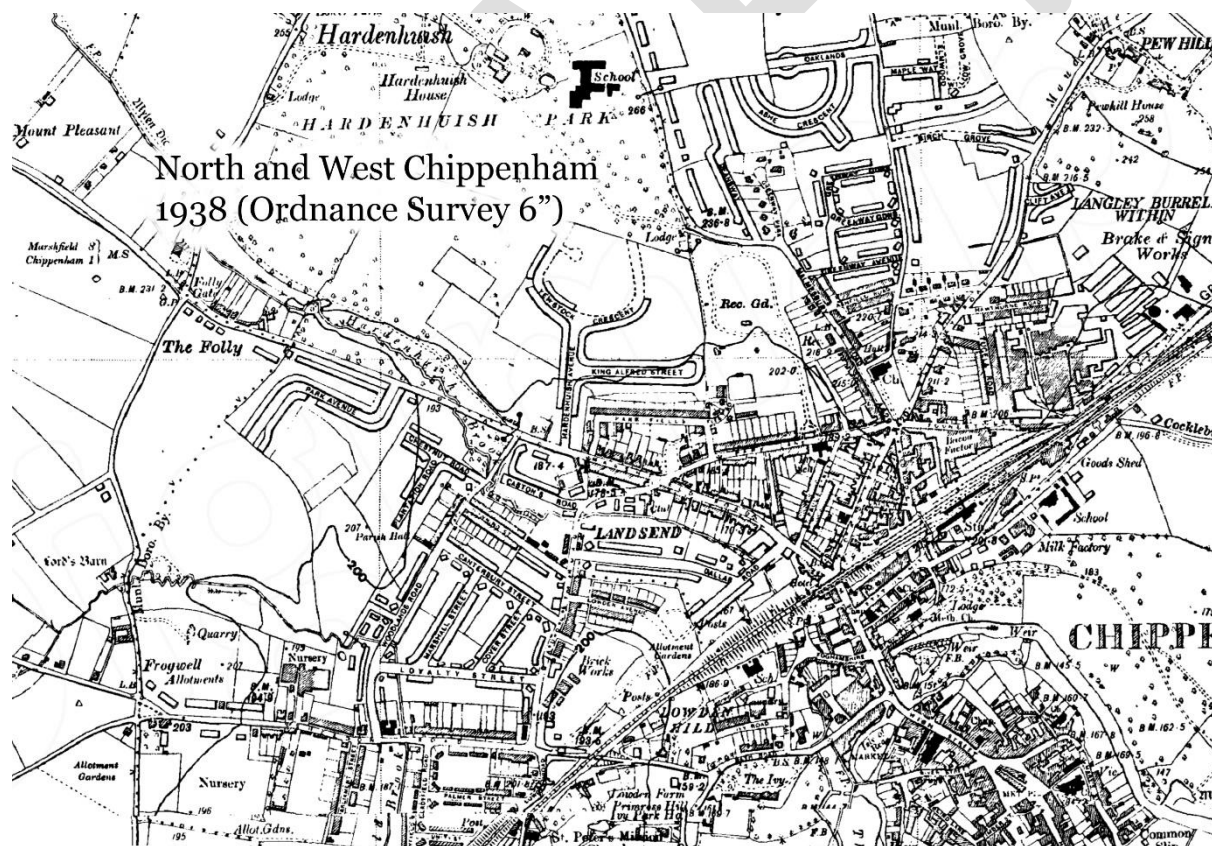
<sup>11</sup> O.S. 25" map, sheet Wilts XXVI.2 (1926, 1938 edns.); London road was used to illustrate a national trend in J. Haddon, *Discovering towns* (1970), 65-9.

<sup>12</sup> WSA G19/100/5, p. 309.

<sup>13</sup> WSA G19/100/5, pp. 415-16; G19/100/6, pp.89, 310.

had in fact been laid out for private housing and some houses built before the war.<sup>1</sup> In 1923, uncertain of the future expansion of Westinghouse, the council deferred further building in the area until 1926, and meanwhile encouraged private housebuilders.<sup>2</sup> In fact private terraced housing had already been constructed along and adjoining Sheldon and Audley Roads before 1912,<sup>3</sup> so that the pattern of council and private development west of the railway line between the wars was to an extent opportunistic infilling.

The council's second large-scale foray into housebuilding in the area was the Woodlands estate of 68 houses, completed in 1928 on a site compulsorily purchased the previous year.<sup>4</sup> This extended the 1890s Downing Street private development and, as a result of successive campaigns between 1931 and 1936, at least another 160 council houses were built over a large block of land bounded by Hardenhuish brook on the north, and Audley, Sheldon and Woodlands Roads on east, south and west respectively.<sup>5</sup> Private housing meanwhile was concentrated further north, towards Marshfield Road and its continuation, Bristol Road. Here were laid out Dallas Road (c.1929-34), Plantation and Chestnut Roads, and Park Avenue (all by 1938).<sup>6</sup>



<sup>1</sup> WSA G19/150/3; OS 25" map, sheet Wilts XX.14 (1912 edn.).

<sup>2</sup> WSA G19/100/7, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> O.S. 25" map, sheet Wilts XX.14 (1912 edn.).

<sup>4</sup> WSA G19/100/8, pp.308, 322, 404.

<sup>5</sup> WSA G19/100/9, pp. 164, 442; O.S. 6" map, sheet Wilts XX.SW (1947 provisional edn.).

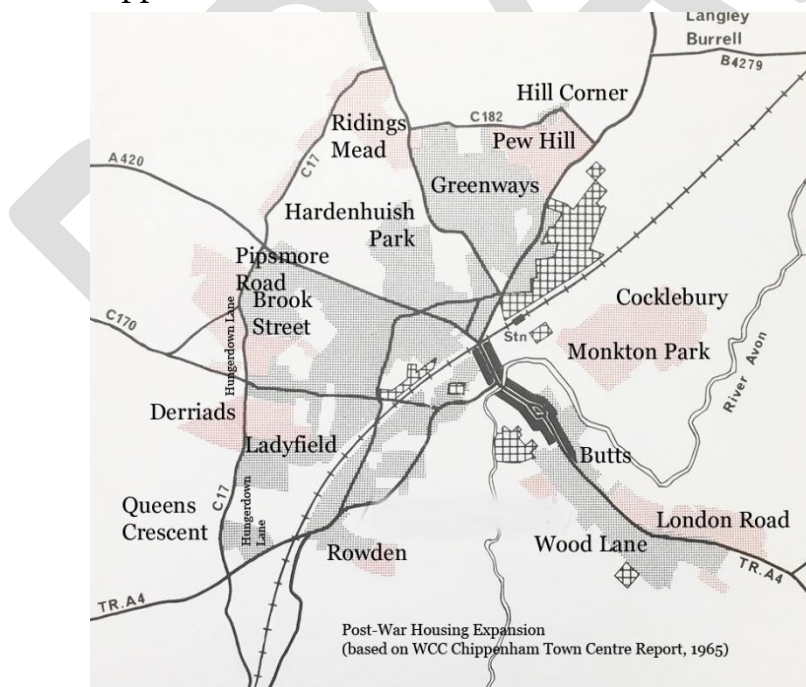
<sup>6</sup> *Dir. Chippenham and Dist.* (1929, 1933, 1935, 1939 edns.); O.S. 6" map, sheet Wilts XX.SW (1947 provisional edn.).



Meanwhile, in 1937, the council tendered for an estate of 150 houses to be built on either side of Greenway Lane, north of existing private housing (principally Greenway Gardens) which had spread along the lane from the late 1920s. This estate, whose roads embody the names of trees, was under construction during 1938 and many houses were occupied by 1939.<sup>1</sup> Another scheme, prompted by the Air Ministry's requirement for civilian housing in connection with RAF Hullavington, was begun in 1938 with the purchase of land at the southern end of Hungerdown Lane; by May 1940 78 of the target of 100 houses had been completed.<sup>2</sup> Then, from 1943, two estates of 'prefab' bungalows were built nearby, between Ladyfield Road and the railway, and in the Brook Street area further north, to rehouse survivors of Bristol bombing; some roads were named after locations in the city.<sup>3</sup> In 1950-1 the borough council acquired all 440 from the Ministry of Supply to house council tenants from 1952, and all were still occupied in 1960; the last survivors were not cleared until 1970.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Accommodating Population Growth, 1945-1974*

Between the end of the Second World War in 1945 and the demise of Chippenham borough council in 1974 the town's population grew by about 60 per cent, and most of the increase, 5,692, occurred between 1951 and 1961.<sup>5</sup> By 1961 growth had slowed dramatically, the population increasing further by only 1,585 up to 1981. The physical growth of Chippenham reflected these statistics.



<sup>1</sup> WSA G19/100/10, pp. 130, 177, 238, 247 (from which it appears that only 128 houses were built); *Dir. Chippenham and Dist.* (1929-39 edns.).

<sup>2</sup> WSA G19/100/10, pp. 247, 399.

<sup>3</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 111-12; *Dir. of Chippenham* (1950, 1964 edns.); O.S. 1:1250 scale, sheet ST9072NE (1969 edn.)

<sup>4</sup> WSA G19/100/13, pp. 882, 922; G19/100/14, p. 197; G19/127/1, pp. 97, 268.

<sup>5</sup> Census 1951-81 totals were 11,851 (1951), 17,543 (1961), 18,696 (1971), 19,128 (1981). The 1939 total, derived from TNA, RG 101/WRCA-WRCN, was c.11,700 (±50, as the totals for 2 of the 13 enumeration districts are missing, and have been estimated from their page extent).



The council had proposed in 1944 the purchase for housing of an 18 a. site in the angle of Hungerdown Lane and Derriads Lane, and in 1946-7 built 110 houses there.<sup>1</sup> Also in 1947 land was acquired to extend the Greenway Lane estate, and tenders were invited to build 30 houses there the following year.<sup>2</sup> Augmented by a further 28 houses this estate was completed in 1951 and included the 1,000th council house to be built in Chippenham.<sup>3</sup> These houses stood west of Greenway Lane, but in 1950 adjacent land to the east, bordered by Hill Corner and Pew Hill, was laid out for 74 traditional and non-traditional (Reema) houses, which were built 1952-4.<sup>4</sup> One further council housing estate was begun during the early 1950s, between London Road and the Avon. Work was in progress by 1953, and continued with traditional and non-traditional houses, and from 1958 old people's bungalows.<sup>5</sup> By the end of 1956 there were 1,849 rented council properties in Chippenham, including the 440 'prefabs'.<sup>6</sup> By contrast with the pre-war estates, principally semi-detached houses built along straight residential streets, those planned and built after 1945 followed national trends by including open spaces, lock-up garages and the provision of shops and other services. The Derriads estate was innovative, since within a level triangular site it was laid out around a rectangular open space and the houses set well back from the access roads. Later schemes, at Greenway, Hill Corner and especially north of London Road, made good use of their sloping sites to provide variety and landscaping.

Private housing during the 1950s was concentrated on former parkland north and east of the town, and on Cocklebury farm. The development of the Hardenhuish estate had begun before the war, in 1937 in fact, so that by 1939 Hardenhuish Avenue, King Alfred Street and some houses in Yewstock Crescent were built and occupied.<sup>7</sup> Work resumed after 1945 and Yewstock Crescent was complete by 1950, and linked to Malmesbury Road by Wedmore Avenue.<sup>8</sup> Hungerford Road followed, and in 1955 permission was granted for a further 120 private houses north of Hardenhuish school; Ridings Mead and Brookwell Close were occupied by 1957.<sup>9</sup> In 1954 the borough council purchased the Monkton Park estate, and in 1957 a private developer, E.H. Bradley, acquired Cocklebury farm, with a view to building c.800 houses.<sup>10</sup> The first estate roads, including Sadlers Mead and Esmead, were laid out and named in 1958, and by 1961 Esmead was built, with Eastern Avenue, Sadlers Mead and nearby roads completed by 1964.<sup>11</sup> Work proceeded eastward towards the Avon, so that by 1971 there were 529 houses on the estate, and by 1976 618 with permission for a further 85.<sup>12</sup>

Although population growth may have been less acute by the late 1950s, the borough council still had the problem of replacing the 'prefab' bungalows and rehousing

<sup>1</sup> WSA G19/100/11, pp. 188, 256; G19/100/12, pp. 322, 421, 442; G19/700/30PC.

<sup>2</sup> WSA G19/100/12, pp. 339, 346, 618; G19/700/20PC.

<sup>3</sup> WSA G19/100/13, p. 773; G19/100/14, pp. 77, 102.

<sup>4</sup> WSA G19/100/13, pp. 985; G19/100/14, pp. 152, 371; G19/100/15, p. 146; G19/700/24PC; G19/723/9-10.

<sup>5</sup> WSA G19/100/14, pp. 371, 406; G19/100/15, p. 146; G19/152/1, 4; G19/723/8.

<sup>6</sup> WSA G19/127/1, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> *Dir. Chippenham and Dist.* (1939 edn.); Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 87-9.

<sup>8</sup> *Dir. of Chippenham* (1950 edn.); Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 88-90.

<sup>9</sup> *Dir. of Chippenham* (1953, 1957 edns.); WSA G19/127/1, p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> WSA G19/127/1, pp. 2, 48.

<sup>11</sup> WSA G19/127/1, p. 65; *Dir. of Chippenham* (1961, 1964 edns.).

<sup>12</sup> North Wilts D.C., *Chippenham Dist. Plan, interim report of survey* (1977), pp. 18-22.

their tenants. In 1958 plans were announced for 240 houses off the northern end of Hungerdown Lane, and a contract for the first 140 was drawn up in 1959.<sup>1</sup> By 1961 much of the estate, centred on Pipsmore Road, Allington Way and Lords Mead, was built and occupied.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, in December 1960 an ambitious plan was announced to build 616 council houses on the two ‘prefab’ sites over five years; this was not in fact achieved until 1970.<sup>3</sup> The Brook Street estate was redeveloped first, and was completed in 1966.<sup>4</sup> Much of the existing street plan was retained, including Brook Street and Redland, whereas the Ladyfield (or Westcroft) estate, redeveloped between 1966 and 1970, adopted a new layout.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere, the council in 1961 proposed a mixed development of council and private housing between Hungerdown Lane and Derriads Lane beyond the existing council estate.<sup>6</sup> This, the Queens Crescent estate, was begun in 1963 and included plans for 130 council houses alongside extensive private development which continued until 1984.<sup>7</sup>

Before its responsibilities were taken over by North Wiltshire District Council in 1974, the borough council engaged in two further housing initiatives. One was a co-operative venture with a housing association, begun in 1973, to build houses and flats off Hungerdown Lane.<sup>8</sup> The other was a scheme to regenerate the Butts at the southern end of St Mary’s Street, then regarded as a ‘twilight area’.<sup>9</sup> Many of the 128 properties affected were listed buildings, and the council in 1971 adopted a consultants’ report to retain and modernise most, while building new flats and integrating the development with a link road across the river to connect with the Monkton Park estate – which in the event was not built. This conservation approach stood in contrast to the wholesale clearance of more modest housing in the River Street area slightly later (1973-4), which was replaced by the Borough shopping precinct and car park.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Further Expansion for Working and Living, 1974-2019*

In 1974 virtually all Chippenham’s industries were located close to the town centre or the railway station.<sup>11</sup> The largest site by far was the wedge defined by Langley Road and the railway line, which had been occupied by Westinghouse, its predecessors and other industrial concerns, since the 1840s, and which offered scope for expansion northwards across farmland beyond Pew Hill. Next in importance were the former textile mill sites along Westmead Lane and close to the . Other sites were relatively small, along Cocklebury Lane near the station, a commercial laundry at Ivy Lane and – away from the centre – a haulage depot in Wood Lane, and two mixed industrial estates developed

<sup>1</sup> WSA G19/127/1, p. 69; G19/152/7.

<sup>2</sup> *Dir. of Chippenham* (1961, 1964 edns.); Allington Way was only partially occupied in 1961.

<sup>3</sup> WSA G19/127/1, pp. 97, 268.

<sup>4</sup> WSA G19/723/12, 14; G19/127/1, p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> OS 6” sheet ST97SW (1960, 1985 edns.)

<sup>6</sup> WSA G19/127/1, p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> WSA G19/723/15; Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 116.

<sup>8</sup> WSA G19/127/2, 18 Jan. 1973, 31 Aug. 1973.

<sup>9</sup> Chippenham B.C. *The Butts area, Chippenham . . . : report prepared by the Eric Cole design group* (1971); press reports in WSA G19/127/1, pp. 282-3.

<sup>10</sup> WSA G19/127/2, 1 Aug. 1973, 27 Jan. 1974. The scheme had been under consideration since 1965: WSA G19/127/1, p. 169.

<sup>11</sup> This section, where not otherwise specified: North Wilts D.C., *Chippenham Dist. Plan, interim report of survey* (1977), pp. 37-8, and plan 6; OS 1:25,000 sheet ST87/97 (1986 edn.); 1:25,000 sheet Explorer 196 (1998 edn.); Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, *passim*; personal observation; below, econ. hist.

since the 1950s, off Audley Road and Bath Road, both adjacent to the railway embankment. Commercial life, also, was concentrated in the town centre, where a second shopping precinct, Emery Gate, was constructed after 1984, and the railway district, and the only significant institutions and employers on the periphery were the secondary schools at Hardenhuish and the hospitals at Rowden (the former workhouse), Greenways (maternity) and Frogwell (isolation).<sup>1</sup>

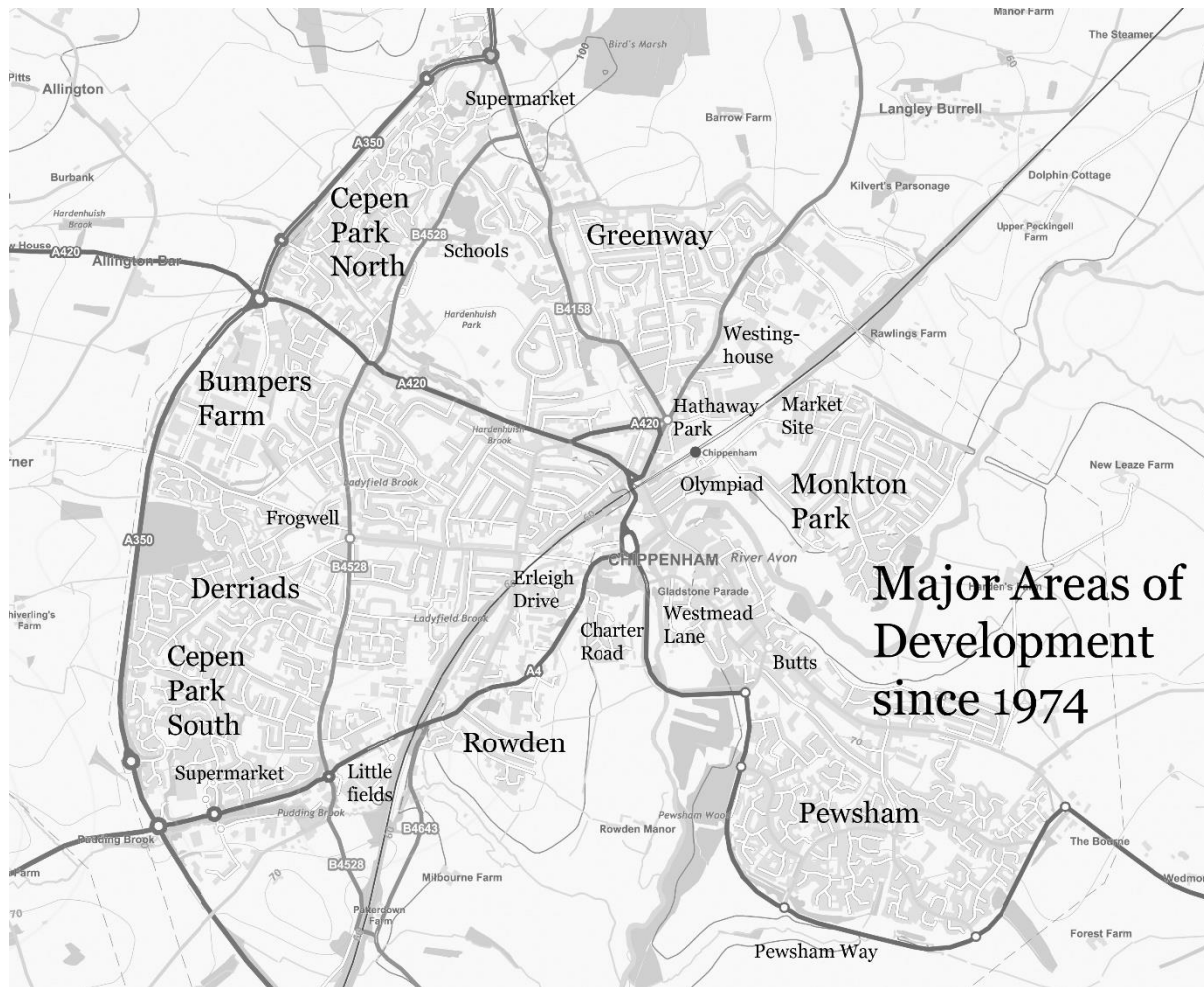
Littlefields, an area south of Bath Road beyond the railway viaduct which extended along Saltersford Lane to the borough boundary, had been earmarked for industry in 1965, but no development had taken place up to 1977. Bumpers Farm, beyond the western limit of 1970s suburban development, belonged to the borough council by virtue of it being historically part of the portfolio of town lands; the council had applied for and received permission for a warehousing and distribution centre there in 1973, but it too was undeveloped in 1977. By the mid-1980s both estates included large manufacturing and warehousing plants, and expansion took place before 1998 southwards at Bumpers Farm as far as Derriads Lane, and westwards from Littlefields and the Pheasant roundabout along Bath Road. The western limit of industrial and residential expansion was defined by West Cepen Way, Chippenham's western bypass, constructed 1997-9.<sup>2</sup>

The virtual doubling of Chippenham's population between 1971 (18,696) and 2011 (35,830) was achieved by a mix of housing strategies aligned to national trends and policies, including the creation of an 'urban village', Pewsham, on a greenfield site, residential development up to the line defined by the western by-pass (Cepen Park South and North), infilling small sites within the existing suburban area, and redeveloping brownfield sites near the town centre. It reflected also the switch from local authority provision to home ownership and was driven in part by wider commuting horizons offered by the M4 motorway, opened in 1971.

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<sup>1</sup> below: social hist, education; welfare provision.

<sup>2</sup> above: intro., roads.



The focus during the 1980s and early 1990s was on two areas, Lowden and Pewsham. At Lowden the Ivy Field or Charter Road estate between Bath road and the Avon south of the Ivy, for which outline approval for 280 dwellings existed in 1976,<sup>1</sup> comprised small detached houses and a large proportion of two and three-storey flats in linked blocks. Slightly later, the Erleigh Drive estate of larger houses was built nearby on Primrose Hill, between Bath Road and the railway line.

The much larger Pewsham development, for which 1,101 dwellings had been approved in 1976, was built in phases, from east to west, largely between 1985 and 1995, although with later infilling at the western edge. Roughly oval in shape, and much larger in area than the historic centre of Chippenham, its layout reflected pre-existing features, notably the line of the Chippenham arm of the Wilts & Berks canal as its southern perimeter, some field boundaries, and Forest Lane, a wide driftway which ran south from Wood Lane past Rooks Nest Farm to Jay's Bridge across the canal. Pewsham Way was built just beyond the canal line to embrace the estate on three sides and provide access routes into it; as an example of 'planning gain' it functioned also as a by-pass for London Road into Chippenham and a link with Avenue La Fleche, the town centre relief road. The houses were arranged in short culs-de-sac (many named after First World

<sup>1</sup> North Wilts D.C., *Chippenham Dist. Plan, interim report of survey* (1977), pp. 20-2.

War casualties included on Chippenham war memorial),<sup>1</sup> and these were served by three estate roads which met at a roundabout in the centre of the estate, adjacent to a school, shops and other community facilities.

Two large estates, similar to Pewsham in layout, were built west of Chippenham during the 1990s, over farmland which lay between existing suburban housing and the line of the western by-pass. Cepen Park South, set out behind a supermarket which opened in 1990 beside Bath Road, was built up from 1991, and its racecourse nomenclature reflected the former landowner's career as a horse trainer and owner. Slightly later, Cepen Park North, completed in 2003, occupied land between Malmesbury Road and the new by-pass, and also included a supermarket. Smaller campaigns of this period included an extension to the Monkton Park estate (with golf course road names), and the development of a former rugby ground next to Birch Grove at Greenways.

Most additional housing since 2000 was achieved by building over former industrial or commercial sites close to the town centre. After the cattle market closed in 2005 its site off Cocklebury Road was developed for eco-housing and the Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre. Redevelopment principally for flats began at around the same time along Westmead Lane and Flowers Yard, west of the town centre, on former factory and scrapyards premises. The progressive closure and relocation of industrial activity from the Westinghouse plant from 2009 released brownfield land off Langley Road for housing, retail and other uses, including a hotel; this was at the planning stage in 2014 and under way in 2019.<sup>2</sup> In 2017 land was allocated for a further 2,625 dwellings to meet a planned target of 4,510 new homes in Chippenham by 2026. Much of this lay north of the town, between Malmesbury Road, Langley Road and Monkton Park; and south of Bath Road, at Rowden and Saltersford.<sup>3</sup>

Concomitant with housing expansion was the provision of new churches, schools, leisure facilities, retail outlets and other amenities.<sup>4</sup> Notable was the development of Monkton Park as an open space close to the town centre, and the adjacent Olympiad leisure centre and swimming pool, which opened in 1989.<sup>5</sup> Shopping provision included not only the two large out-of-town 1990s supermarkets adjacent to the western by-pass, but also refurbishments of the 1980s town centre precincts on either side of the High Street (Borough Parade and Emery Gate), and by the Hathaway (begun 1990) and adjacent Old Foundry (from 2015) retail parks north of the railway station on former industrial sites. The former maternity hospital at Greenways was demolished and the site developed as a business park. Further education provision was expanded in 2016 by the completion of the Cocklebury Road campus of Wiltshire College and University Centre, alongside Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre, which opened in 2007.<sup>6</sup>

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

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<sup>1</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 145-56, which offers biographical details of more than 40 names.

<sup>2</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years of Speed with Safety* (2nd edn., 2014), 207-7; personal observation.

<sup>3</sup> Wilts. Council, *Chippenham Site Allocations Plan*, adopted May 2017, pp. 21, 24-6.

<sup>4</sup> Individual churches and schools are described below, soc. hist.; religious hist.

<sup>5</sup> below: soc. hist., sport.

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.wiltshire.ac.uk/aboutus/campuses/chippenham>; <http://www.wshc.eu/history.html>.

## CHIPPENHAM MANOR [in progress Mark Forrest]

## MANORIAL GOVERNMENT [in progress Mark Forrest]

### THE BOROUGH

#### *Borough government before the charter*

A document of c.1200 indicates that Chippenham had burgage houses by that point.<sup>1</sup> Two grants of burgage houses survive made by William Beauvilain, lord of the manor of Sheldon from 1208 to c.1225.<sup>2</sup> The precise nature of borough government is elusive for several centuries. The entanglement of administration in town, parish, manor and hundred makes distinguishing specifically borough government difficult. In 1281 Robert Stoket was both bailiff of town and hundred as nominee of Geoffrey Gascelyn, lord of Sheldon, who claimed and exercised lordship of the hundred, and nominated two sets of electors of juries at the eyre that year, one for the hundred and one for the borough.<sup>3</sup> Stoket had a house in the town where he had imprisoned at least one suspected wrongdoer in 1268.<sup>4</sup> The bailiffs mentioned in relation to two hearings in March and April 1297, in the case of William le Puleter, who 'sought to replevy the land of Thomas le Bakere and Maud, his wife, in Chippeham, which was taken into the king's hands for their default in the court of Edmund Gocelyn at Chippeham against Henry Payn and Isabel, his wife' were those of Edmund Gocelyn (Gascelyn), the lord of the manor.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile in 1287 the inquisition post mortem for Joan Gascelyn described her manor of Sheldon as including Chippenham, which was described as a borough.<sup>6</sup> This anticipated by eight years the first summons of burgesses from Chippenham to parliament. However, in 1307 when her son Edmund Gascelyn died, Chippenham was described as a vill within the manor, albeit one with thirteen free tenants who included two former members of parliament, John de Bourle and Adam Hardyng.<sup>7</sup> Hardyng was also among the free tenants of the manor of Chippenham or Rowden, which lay outside but adjacent to the town and whose lords enjoyed a third share of the proceeds of the markets and fairs. In 1361 the crown knew or assumed that there were burgesses in Chippenham to whom writs could be addressed requiring that they pay the expenses of members of parliament.<sup>8</sup> A letter of 9 January 1376 states that in 1375 Edward III had issued letters patent to the townsmen of Chippenham authorising them to collect levies and customs on goods and merchandise brought into the town for sale, the proceeds to be devoted to the repair of Chippenham bridge, but the letter revokes the letters patent as infringing the rights, including the fair and market, of Elizabeth Gascelyn as lady of the town.<sup>9</sup> While from 1424 Sheldon manor was held by Sir Walter Hungerford and his successors, joined by Rowden from 1434, there are few indications as to how urban government functioned distinct from manorial government in the Hungerford period. Dendrochronology indicates that the Yelde Hall was constructed between 1446 and 1458, but it replaced an earlier building possibly

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 2664/1/2A/75

<sup>2</sup> *Hungerford Cartulary*, WRS 49, pp 83-4, 88

<sup>3</sup> *Collectanea*, WRS 12, p 53

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p 125

<sup>5</sup> *CCR*, 1296-1302, pp 98-99

<sup>6</sup> *Wilts. Inq. pm.*, 1242-1326, pp 170-71

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p 171

<sup>8</sup> *CCR*, 1360-1364, p. 253

<sup>9</sup> *CCR*, 1374-1377, pp 184-85

constructed in the early to mid 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> It functioned as the meeting place for court sittings within the hundred and manor and for church entertainments within the parish, combining two roles distinct in other settlements such as Bradford-on-Avon which had both a town hall and a church house. It was not at this stage considered the property of the borough.<sup>2</sup>

Following the attainder of Walter, Lord Hungerford, in 1540, Henry VIII made administrative arrangements for the town of Chippenham distinct from those for the manor as a whole. By letters patent of 29 September Laurence Searle and Robert Wamesley ‘one of the yeomen of our chambre’ were appointed joint baylyies (bailiffs) during their lives, with the power to appoint a deputy or deputies and enjoyment of the profits of the fairs, markets and tolls of the town, with rent and revenues from the town being paid annually to the king’s treasurer of the chamber.<sup>3</sup> The tone and content of the letters patent with its mention of customs under ‘the sayd Lord Hungerford’ suggest that this was an adaptation or continuation of arrangements under the Hungerfords. In 1545 the writ for the election of members of parliament was addressed to the two bailiffs, constables and townsmen, but the election indenture of 1553 mentioned only one bailiff.<sup>4</sup>

### *The Chartered Borough*

Chippenham was chartered by Mary I on 2 May 1554. The charter provided for government by a single bailiff and twelve burgesses. The borders of the borough were defined as being from Brymland Lands at the west end of the borough to the ‘yate post’ of Huntingdons Lands at the east end of the borough, and from the middle of Chippenham bridge at the north end of the borough to the south end of Cook Street at the southern end. These ill-defined borders caused difficulty later. Henry Farnewell, alias Goldney, was named as the first bailiff, to hold office until the next Michaelmas. Twelve burgesses were also named in the charter. Succeeding mayors to be elected from the burgesses, with the burgesses offering two names to ‘the other Burgesses men & inhabitants of that Borough then & there present [in the Yelde Hall each Michaelmas] or the greater part of them’ who would then choose one of the two as the bailiff. Burgesses were to be elected for life or until they moved from the borough or ‘otherwise if it shall so seem meet & expedient to the Bailiff & other Burgesses of the said Borough of Chippenham’. The borough was intended to govern ‘the artificer & inhabitants’ of the borough and its ‘victualling’. The maintenance of two members of parliament, the bridge over the River Avon, and the Causeway were mentioned and the borough lands named and assigned. The charter was regranted with no substantive changes by Elizabeth I on 29 January 1560.

The ordinances of the borough were set down by order of bailiff William Gale and the burgesses on 10 October 39 Eliz. (1596). They regulated corporate administration, including prohibiting inhabitants from seeking redress against the officers of the borough in royal or manorial courts, the good conduct of burgesses and the details of commercial life, including those which might affect corporate integrity, such as the admission of apprentices or granting of tenancies and sub-tenancies, and general well-being, such as cartels to control the price of provisions.<sup>5</sup> There was also a town clerk, funded from fines extracted from transgressors against the borough.<sup>6</sup> Inhabitants of the borough were liable to imprisonment for demeaning the bailiff

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<sup>1</sup> WILBR: B1233, K.A. Rodwell, ‘Archaeological investigations at the Yelde Hall, Chippenham, 2001-2’, for North Wiltshire District Council, October 2003, 21-22

<sup>2</sup> WILBR: B1233, K.A. Rodwell, ‘Archaeological investigations at the Yelde Hall, Chippenham, 2001-2’, for North Wiltshire District Council, October 2003, 25-27

<sup>3</sup> Goldney, 297-8

<sup>4</sup> reference needed. **Probably election documents, National Archives C...**

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/1/6, f. 5v, 5

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/6, f. 14



and burgesses in word and deed.<sup>1</sup> This was an extension of the provision applied to burgesses in their oath, used to remove Gabriel Farnwell alias Goldney from the corporation in 1600.<sup>2</sup>

A pressing issue afflicting the chartered borough in its first few decades was that of management of the borough lands, previously the property of the Hungerfords, forfeited to the crown in 1540. Objections by some of Chippenham's inhabitants to the perpetuation of lifetime leases on the borough lands and challenges to the borough by the restored Hungerfords and their servants led eventually to the decree of 1604 in which James I confirmed the lands and regulated their use.<sup>3</sup> The pattern of land management resulting, in which access to several areas of borough lands was divided in small parcels on rotation between the inhabitants, shaped the calendar of corporation business beyond the establishment of the municipal borough, and required the borough to maintain successive lists of inhabitants and leaseholders dwelling within its borders and thus eligible to partake in produce or (if leased out) profits. From 1604 the borough maintained an orderly record of its income and expenditure, which was substantially reliant on income from the borough lands and from the fees paid by freemen.<sup>4</sup> An order of 1617 established that the borough's inhabitants were not to cut and use or sell green wood from the royal forest on pain of being excluded from the profits of the borough.<sup>5</sup> In the First Civil War, the borough was obliged to contribute towards the funding of both parliamentary and royal forces, but after the occupation of the borough and negotiations for the removal of troops in 1646, conformed to the parliamentary settlement.<sup>6</sup> The proclamation of Charles II was marked with wine, beer and bellringing on 12 May 1660, with more elaborate celebrations for the coronation in 1661.<sup>7</sup>

Chippenham's charter was surrendered to Charles II in 1684. A new charter was granted by James II which prescribed the appointment of new burgesses including Sherington Talbot, heir of the Sherington lords of Chippenham Hundred, and two other 'gentlemen'. The Crown reserved the power to remove 'the Bayliffe or any one or more of the Burgesses of the Burrough aforesaid now and for the time being at the will and pleasure of us our Heirs and Successors'.<sup>8</sup> The new corporation was able to demonstrate its loyalty to James II when the king passed through Chippenham on his way to Bath in 1687, but there were signs of unhappiness: on 22 April 1687 the corporation ordered 3s 4d additional to their usual rent to be paid by freemen or inhabitant with lots in England or any other part of the borough lands in order that the borough could afford to contest two cases in Chancery.<sup>9</sup> On 17 October that year John Flower's mayoralty was extended, but only until 4 January 1688 instead of for the full annual term.<sup>10</sup>

On that day James II dismissed the bailiff and four burgesses and replaced them.<sup>11</sup> However on 12 October James's appointee, William Bedford, yielded up his accounts as usually took place several weeks or months after a bailiff's term had ended; and on 26 October the surviving old corporation met, under John Flower as bailiff, in pursuance of the king's mandate cancelling the new charter, and chose new burgesses; the election of a new bailiff, Gabriel Norreys, followed on 1 November.<sup>12</sup> Richard Kent, whom the discontinued corporation of James II had owed £36 6s 8d for the fees relating to the new charter, agreed to waive them on 20

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/1/6, f. 14v

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/1/6, f. 21v

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/1/6, fos. 28-40r

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/1/18

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/1/6, f. 89v

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/18, fo 115v, 116v, 119v-120, 122v-123v, 125v-127

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/1/18, fo 177v, 181

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, fo 2v-3

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, fo 24v

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, fo 28

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, fo 28v

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, fos 30v-31v



February 1689.<sup>1</sup> From 1689 each bailiff was sworn into office and received the sacrament at the quarter sessions.<sup>2</sup>

The eighteenth-century borough corporation's membership included names associated with estates outside the borough and with its parliamentary representation. Rogers Holland (MP, 1727-37) was elected burgess in 1729, and Edward Bayntun Rolt (MP, 1737-80) made a freeman in 1740.<sup>3</sup> Several bailiffs chose to publicly mark diplomatic and military successes during the eighteenth century, with 'Musick, and... Powder and other Expences' provided for the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.<sup>4</sup> There were unspecified celebrations of the capture of Cartagena in 1741.<sup>5</sup> It seems only to have been with the accession of George III that the corporation began to use national commemorations to establish communication with the court, sending under the common seal a message of condolence to the new king on the death of George II in 1760.<sup>6</sup> From the election of Henry Dawkins in 1769 the corporation minutes began to note the elections of MPs.<sup>7</sup>

The bailiff's accounts suggest periods of lax administration. No accounts were entered for the bailiffships of William Stephens (1725-26), that of 1754-55, or John Trevanion (1760-61), and only summary accounts were entered for John Merewether (1730-31).<sup>8</sup> Against this, under William Gale (1755-56) an annual allowance for the bailiff was first entered in the accounts, later sometimes referred to as a salary.<sup>9</sup> In the same year the bailiff and burgesses obtained formal recognition of the seats called the bailiff and burgesses' seats in the parish church from the vicar-general of the diocese of Salisbury, which they had lately improved.<sup>10</sup> The bailiff and burgesses undertook to maintain the seat in good order thereafter, and a cleaner for the seat subsequently appears in the accounts.<sup>11</sup>

It was complained by Matthew Humphrys at the meeting of 22 December 1780 that four burgesses were resident outside the borough and should therefore be replaced, and his motion passed; but the meeting of 29 December 1780 called to elect new burgesses included an open dispute when three burgesses including Humphrys refused to attend, preventing the election of new burgesses until one of the forcibly retired burgesses, Joseph Colborne, was prevailed upon to attend to make the meeting quorate.<sup>12</sup> Humphrys and his allies were also absent for the election of Colborne's successor on 4 January 1781.<sup>13</sup> Humphrys himself resigned from the corporation in 1783.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, during the 1780s the corporation took steps to enforce other neglected aspects of its charter obligations, asserting on 2 September 1783 its power to regulate victualling in conjunction with the statute 31 Geo. 2 c. 29 for setting the assize of bread.<sup>15</sup> The corporation discovered an interest in the moral police of the borough, investigating the claim that Jacob Tanner kept a disorderly house, entertaining 'Vagrants and other Lewd persons' (21 October 1783).<sup>16</sup> It requested that its members of parliament support those of the City of London

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, fo 34

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/1/19, Walter Scott (1689-90)

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, fos. 159, 189

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/1/19, Richard Singer (1712-13)

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/1/19, William Johnson (1740-41)

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, fo. 271v

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, fo 285

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/1/19

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/1/19, William Gale (1755-56); John Heath (1786-87)

<sup>10</sup> Goldney, 320-21

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/1/19, William Pinningier (1777-78)

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 95-7

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 99

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 127

<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 133

<sup>16</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 134

in their motion for the repeal of stamp duty on receipts.<sup>1</sup> A motion of 3 February 1784 for sending a humble address to the king thanking him for dismissing the Fox-North coalition was passed unanimously.<sup>2</sup> Another followed on 14 September 1786 expressing thanks on the king's evading assassination, and a loyal address was made on 27 March 1789 on the king's recovery from insanity.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, on 19 February 1788 a freeman, James Woodman, was debarred from receiving profits from the borough lands after uttering the phrase "Damn the burgesses."<sup>4</sup> Even without the fear of revolution spreading from France, the borough's humble address to the king of 14 June 1792, thanking him for issuing the proclamation for suppressing the publication of seditious pamphlets, might have reflected the sentiment of bailiff and burgesses.<sup>5</sup>

The early nineteenth century was clouded by anxiety over the borough's political independence. During 1802 the bailiff and burgesses had to negotiate a dispute between the agent of the Dawkins family interest and that of the Fludyer interest over whether or not the Dawkinses had broken an agreement of 1791 with the borough regarding the leases the two proprietors would make of burghage houses. The bailiff and burgesses resolved that the two parties should 'grant free and equitable leases of all such Houses' but were particularly critical of the Fludyers and their agent Ralph Hale Gaby. The limits of such a declaration were shown in that Gaby (like his opposite number John Heath) was himself a burgess and in due course bailiff.<sup>6</sup> Thereafter the borough minute book acted also as a poll book at contested elections, beginning with that of 5 July 1802.<sup>7</sup>

Interventions in national politics included an address on 12 May 1809 to Gwilym Lloyd Wardle, MP for Okehampton, thanking him for his inquiry into the duke of York's conduct as commander-in-chief of the army.<sup>8</sup> Provision was made for celebrating the fiftieth year of the reign of George III on 18 October 1809.<sup>9</sup> On 29 January 1813 the corporation agreed to place subscription books at Heath's and Gundry's banks for those wishing to subscribe to the fund for the relief of Russians suffering as a consequence of the French invasion.<sup>10</sup> The borough expressed its dissatisfaction that the African slave trade was not to be abolished as part of the peace treaties and petitioned (through the marquess of Lansdowne rather than its MPs) that the trade be abolished, 9 July 1814. Nevertheless, the peace with France was proclaimed by the corporation in the market place on 13 July.<sup>11</sup> The borough established itself as an opponent of the relief of Roman Catholic disabilities with a petition on 22 March 1821, but continued to oppose the slave trade, petitioning again on 25 January 1826.<sup>12</sup>

The borough petitioned on 13 July 1831 against being included in schedule B of the Reform Bill as the 'borough and parish', arguing that the combined population of these areas exceeded the population of 4000 recorded in the 1821 census and so the parliamentary borough should not lose a seat. This succeeded. It is tempting to see the borough's subscription to the series of historical collections compiled by the Keeper of the Public Records as a statement of their ancient privileges.<sup>13</sup> However, this could not stand in the way of the whig government's reform agenda. The last minute entered in the name of the chartered corporation was on 12

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 146

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 151

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, pp 205, 243

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 225

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, pp 283-4

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, pp 452-7-

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, pp 462-7

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/1/8,

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 580

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, p 614

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, pp 639-642

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/1/9, 22 March 1821, 25 January 1826

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/1/9, 18 November 1834

August 1835, the traditional breaking of Westmead as prescribed by the decree of 1604.<sup>1</sup> When the bailiff and burgesses met again, on 26 December, it was to arrange the election of councillors as required by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.<sup>2</sup>

#### *The Municipal Borough 1836 to 1889*

The Municipal Corporations Act provided for a borough corporation consisting of twelve councillors elected by all enfranchised inhabitants of the borough. Consequently the self-perpetuating corporation was at an end. Nevertheless, the new corporation did not mark an especial break with the past. The last bailiff, William Pope, was elected the first mayor. Questions of continuity with the unreformed borough included whether or not those burgage holders who had not taken up their freedom before municipal reform could still be admitted as freemen; the opinion of the attorney-general was sought (resolved, 7 April 1836) and received in the affirmative (12 May 1836).<sup>3</sup> A new town clerk was appointed by the reformed borough, displacing Harry Goldney, who was awarded £30 compensation.<sup>4</sup> A change in practice was the payment of interest on money from the borough charities placed in the borough fund, and restoration of their independent accounts.<sup>5</sup>

On 9 November 1841 the council resolved to move meetings from the council chamber in the Yelde Hall to the New Town Hall.<sup>6</sup> It gave £25 towards new pews in the parish church in 1847.<sup>7</sup> That year it was also proposed that the corporation pew be removed 'until a proper place be provided in the Church for the use of the said Corporation.'<sup>8</sup> A site for a new pew was chosen at a visit to the church on 26 August 1847.<sup>9</sup>

The corporation, with 'burgesses and other inhabitants' of the borough, petitioned the House of Commons against the increase in property and income tax in 1848.<sup>10</sup> It addressed Joseph Neeld MP for 'his munificent liberality in Erecting a New Market House and Sheds for Cheese' on 12 September 1850.<sup>11</sup> It subsequently (20 May 1851) requested permission from Neeld to place his arms on the front of the hall.<sup>12</sup> On 25 November 1850 the mayor, William Colborne, signed a humble address to Queen Victoria on behalf of 'the Inhabitants of Chippenham and its Neighbourhood' expressing their 'Indignation [at] the Insolent and Insidious conduct of a Foreign Potentate', otherwise the papal edict re-establishing the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, and calling for their 'immediate and absolute repression'.<sup>13</sup>

A committee was appointed to consider the widening of the town bridge on 9 November 1858; it was established on 20 May 1860 that the borough's consols would not be adequate to the purpose and the plan was abandoned in favour of ongoing repairs.<sup>14</sup> These were often subcontracted to the improvement commissioners.<sup>15</sup>

In 1866 the corporation established a committee to survey income and expenditure with a view to prioritizing purposes specified in the charter.<sup>16</sup> The borough borrowed £100 from the

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/1/9

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, fos 3-4

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, pp 13-14

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p 17

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p 33, 16 May 1837

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/1 [check page]

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, 11 May 1847, p 214

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, 10 August 1847, p 220

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, 25 August 1847, p 221

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, 26 February 1848, p 226

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p 271-3

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p 284

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, pp [check]

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 9 Nov 1858, 20 May 1860

<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 10 May 1864

<sup>16</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 13 Feb 1866, 9 Nov 1866

Wilts and Dorset Bank in November 1867, repaid in May 1872.<sup>1</sup> The council decided in March 1868 to pursue the adoption of the Local Government Act 1858 within the district, including the municipal borough.<sup>2</sup> In May 1869 the practice of paying church rate was abandoned in favour of paying 30s per annum to the churchwardens.<sup>3</sup> Damage to the fishing stock by 'gentlemen' at Lacock prompted an investigation of the borough's fishing rights in the River Avon, but no evidence was found that it had any.<sup>4</sup> The borough's antiquity was nevertheless exhibited through a display of its charters and records at the New Hall to coincide with a meeting of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society in September 1869.<sup>5</sup>

The council agreed that the improvement commissioners would implement the Local Government Act of 1858 within their district with their support (24 November 1869).<sup>6</sup> A further change was the amalgamation of the borough and parish as an educational district to comply with the 1870 Education Act.<sup>7</sup> In 1871, the borough petitioned parliament in favour of its MP Gabriel Goldney's Municipal Corporations Act Amendment Bill; this would have relieved the restrictions upon the uses to which the corporation could apply the borough funds.<sup>8</sup>

The council's sense of the borough was that it was ancient but vulnerable. At the 1870 mayor's banquet, improvements in sanitation and education were balanced by the lack of support the (military) volunteers felt they had received from the nobility and gentry. The mayor (Alfred John Keary) toasted the absent Sir John Neeld, Bt, and thanked him and the Neeld family 'for the benefits they had conferred upon the inhabitants'.<sup>9</sup> The local board suggested they take over the sweeping and scavenging of the town bridge and approach roads in November 1874.<sup>10</sup> Eighteen months later, the council requested that the borough's subscription to the Association of Municipal Borough Corporation was reduced from £3 3s 0d to the small boroughs rate of £1 1s 0d.<sup>11</sup> While the borough funds were in surplus in the middle of the decade, allowing for reconsideration of the possibility of widening the town bridge, savings made by the borough could be reversed by central government, as seen in 1878 when the privy council ordered firstly that the borough paid its justice clerk a salary instead of fees, and then the appointment of an inspector under the Contagious Diseases Act some months after the borough had stood down the previous officeholder as there were no reports.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the overlap of members and officers, the interests of the borough council and the local board were sometimes at odds. In 1879 the clerk to the local board, who was also the town clerk, found the board's request that a site outside the Yelde Hall be allocated to a public urinal was rejected as the borough considered the location inappropriate.<sup>13</sup> A different defence of corporate dignity was found in the co-operation with neighbouring small boroughs in 1882 and 1883 to reduce the charges of the revising barristers who compiled the lists of burgesses.<sup>14</sup>

The council saw the Local Government Bill of 1886 as an opportunity; they intended to propose a clause which would allow small boroughs to extend their borders by provisional order without the expense of an act of parliament.<sup>15</sup> The Local Government Board was discouraging,

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 9 Nov 1867, 14 May 1872

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 13 Mar 1868

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 11 May 1869

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 11 May 1869, 15 May 1869

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 10 Aug 1869

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 24 Nov 1869

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 26 Nov 1870

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 29 June 1871

<sup>9</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gaz.*, 10 Nov 1870, p 4

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 9 Nov 1874

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 9 May 1876

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 9 Nov 1876, 12 Feb 1878, 3 Aug 1878, 23 Oct 1878

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 12 Aug 1879

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 9 Nov 1882, 13 Feb 1883

<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 11 May 1886

forcing the borough to again consider a local act, but with support from Walter Long, MP for East Wiltshire and parliamentary secretary to the Local Government Board, who said the government would reconsider the matter in the next session.<sup>1</sup> Long was one of the architects of new local government legislation and while the creation of district councils was removed from the Local Government Act 1888, the eventual approval of the provisional order as a mechanism for amalgamating the local board with the borough, with the new borough having the local board's boundaries, anticipated the urban districts set up by the 1892 act. The successful initiative was taken by the local board initially without reference to the borough.<sup>2</sup> Following the borough's approval of the scheme, the responsibilities and rights of freemen were protected as was the income from the borough lands.<sup>3</sup> A special meeting on 29 October 1889 marked the end of the 'old borough' and thanked Frederick Hastings Goldney, who had been working on a history of Chippenham using the borough records since 1881, for his service as the old borough's last mayor.<sup>4</sup>

#### *The Municipal Borough 1889 to 1914*

The extended borough's first mayor was Daniel Collen, who had been mayor several years before. The first election had been fought openly on party political lines, which the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* blamed on the Baptist minister and Liberal Rev. H.B. Bardwell, who had served on the local board, but did not win his seat.<sup>5</sup> Following Collen's elevation the council chose William Baily, a cloth dyer, as his replacement, 'the working man's representative on the council.'<sup>6</sup> The practice began of meeting either as the municipal borough or as the urban sanitary authority (urban district council from 1 January 1895), with the urban sanitary authority's minutes continuing those of the local board of health. The new committee structure reflected its new responsibilities: those on the borough lands and the bridge, the council's historic primary responsibilities, were merged, while new committees included a united sanitary, water and fire brigade committee chaired by Alfred John Keary, who had chaired the local board of health throughout its existence.<sup>7</sup>

An indication of the new borough's altered priorities was the end of traditional payments to the churchwardens.<sup>8</sup> The rejection of the borough's case for an independent judicial bench not only made it liable to payments to the county council regarding police, but also confirmed Chippenham's status as a small borough which despite its historic autonomy, could not claim the status of the county boroughs established by the 1888 Act.<sup>9</sup> Decisions made by the borough in its urban sanitary capacity included the introduction of house numbering, decided in 1891.<sup>10</sup>

The council applied to retain all its previous liabilities and responsibilities under the Local Government Act 1894, section 33, which enabled municipal boroughs and urban districts to apply for the powers of a parish council as defined by the act.<sup>11</sup> This was rejected by the local government board, who argued that the borough already had relevant powers under the Allotments Act 1887 and 1890, and under the Public Health Act 1875 (for washhouses and baths).<sup>12</sup> The case was renewed in 1886 through the MP for the Chippenham division of

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 11 Oct 1886

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 96, 1 Nov 1887; WSA, G19/100/3, 9 Nov 1887, 8 Dec 1887

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 19 Sept 1888, p 12, 5 Oct 1888, pp 13, 16-18

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 10 May 1881; G19/100/4, p 46

<sup>5</sup> *Devizes & Wilts. Gaz.*, 31 Oct 1889, p 8

<sup>6</sup> *Devizes & Wilts. Gaz.*, 14 Nov 1889, p 8

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, pp 51-53

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 13 May 1890, p 69

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 8 Aug 1893, pp 144-148

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 314, 6 Oct 1891; pp 315-6, 3 Nov 1891

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 29 Nov 1894, Local Government Act 1894, 56&57 Vic. ch. 73, sections 5-19, 33

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, pp 143-4, 3 Dec 1895

Wiltshire, Sir John Dickson Poynder, bt., and granted with the exceptions of assessing poor rates and appointing assistant overseers of the poor.<sup>1</sup> These followed in January 1897 but excluded the power to revoke the existing appointments. The borough appointed the overseers of the poor in Chippenham Within and Langley Burrell Within for the first time in March 1897.<sup>2</sup> Later in the year, this was followed by an application for the transfer of the powers to appoint 'assistant overseers, vestry clerks and other similar officers' as well as appoint the collector of poor rates for the parish of Chippenham Within, hitherto made by the board of guardians.<sup>3</sup>

On 12 October 1898 the mayor, Lionel Marshall, wrote to Sir Algernon Neeld, bt., on behalf of the council, offering him the position of mayor for the ensuing mayoral year, unsobly noting both the imminent construction of a technical and grade school by the borough for its benefit and that of the surrounding area, and the generosity of Neeld's forebears. Neeld politely declined, and on 9 November 1898 the council committed a sum equivalent to 1d in the pound on the rateable value of the borough to support technical education under the terms of the Technical Instruction Act.<sup>4</sup> The death of Alfred John Keary, four times mayor and chairman of the local board of health, was marked by lavish tributes and a commissioned portrait for the Town Hall.<sup>5</sup>

The borough used the (incognito) visit of the prince and princess of Wales to on 3 March 1902 to stress its loyalty and consciousness that in the Middle Ages it had once belonged to the crown.<sup>6</sup> Yet the customary language of obeisance to the monarchy was changing: Alderman Neale reported to the council on 13 June 1902 that Edward VII would prefer a donation to the King's Hospital Fund from local authorities instead of a loyal address.<sup>7</sup>

Council meetings moved from the Town Hall to the Town Clerk's office in October 1907.<sup>8</sup> A further extension of the borough was agreed by the Local Government Board in 1914; the Local Government Board advised against contested elections during the crisis; the mayor, James Beaven, proposed that the new council should include two senior councillors as aldermen, six from the new west ward to be nominated at a public meeting, and three new councillors for north and south wards to come one each from the Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties.<sup>9</sup>

In 1924, the council moved into six offices and a committee room at 5 High Street. Council meetings took place at the Town Hall.<sup>10</sup> At the time the council comprised of 18 councillors, six from each of the three wards and six aldermen. The council's paid officials consisted of the town clerk, borough treasurer, medical officer, borough collector, mace bearer and messenger, surveyor's clerk, and the surveyor, A.E. Adams. Adams also doubled as a water engineer, sanitary inspector and Shops Act inspector. Meetings of the full council took place on the first Tuesday of each month.

By the early 1930s the council's office provision was proving inadequate. In 1934-6 discussions took place on extending the current site, converting another building or building a new one. All the options proved problematic, but the use of the town hall for committee meetings from 1935 provided some relief.<sup>11</sup> In 1942, the council purchased new office

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, p 204, 7 July 1896, p 226, 6 Oct 1896

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, p 254, 2 Mar 1897.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 9 Nov 1897, pp 248-249.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, pp 276-277.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 9 Nov 1900, pp 318-9; 21 June 1901, pp 360-361

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, note to minute of 21 Feb 1902, p 381-2

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, p 389

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 165, 1 Oct 1907

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, p 308, 15 Sept 1914

<sup>10</sup> This had been two years in the planning. WSA, G19/100/7, p 323, 4 April 1922, p 336, 6 June 1922, p 488, 5 Feb 1924; G19/100/8, p 42, 5 Oct 1924.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/9, p 347, 6 Feb 1934, pp 362-3, 6 Mar 1934, p 379, 1 May 1934, pp 386-7, 5 June 1934, pp 430-1, 9 Nov 1934, p 492, 3 Sept 1935, p 538, 21 Jan 1936.

accommodation at 9 and 10 Market Place that was large enough to incorporate offices and a council chamber and mayor's parlour. It was noted the council offices were adapted from 'very old buildings'.<sup>1</sup>

By the early 1960s, and perpetuated by the expansion of the town, these premises were proving insufficient. Furthermore, staff were working 'in extremely archaic conditions.'<sup>2</sup> A new council office built in the 'modern style' was planned on council-owned land in Monkton Park. The council declared that 'this Centre will add to the dignity of the town and to the efficiency with which the Council's functions are carried out.' The proposal the site should also be used for the County Council and the Calne and Chippenham Rural District Council was quickly rejected.<sup>3</sup> However, the subsequent necessity to build separate offices for the Rural District Council in Chippenham raised objections to the building even after its completion.<sup>4</sup> With uncertainty over the future of local government, as a Royal Commission was looking at the future of local government, in 1966 mayor H W Page defended the necessity of a new building. Page argued it was a necessity as the old office accommodation had been inadequate and especially as the turnover the authority was in excess of £1 million per annum.<sup>5</sup>

The still 'controversial' new eight-story concrete civic office building was opened in November 1967.<sup>6</sup> Comment in the local paper was positive praising the agreement the council had made to sell its old offices to the county council for £60, 000 significantly reducing building cost.<sup>7</sup>

In 1955 the governance of the council was arranged into four committees. The Public Health Committee was responsible for sewage and its disposal, refuse collection and disposal, water supply, public lighting, public conveniences, county and district roads, cleaning of highways and disease prevention. Its largest expenditure was water supply at the cost of £32,000, but the water account was projected to be in credit. The General Purposes Committee was accountable for parks and open spaces, the cattle market, office buildings and halls, borough property and burial grounds. The Housing and Planning Committee had the largest expenditure at £81, 560, but its housing stock generated an income of £77, 145. The disbursements of the Finance Committee were largely made up of salaries and associated costs.<sup>8</sup>

There was tension between the Wiltshire County Council and town council particularly about planning approval both within the town and the surrounding area.<sup>9</sup> The County Council was branded 'against Chippenham' and 'a band of little hitlers' over its attitude to the development of a shopping centre in the town.<sup>10</sup>

The Awdry family remained a significant force within the council. In 1961, Colonel E.P. Awdry resigned from the council after 39 years, his father had been a member for 55 years.<sup>11</sup> The family legacy continued with son Daniel, had been mayor in 1955, the seventh member of his family to be so. Daniel Awdry stepped down from the council in 1964 after over 20 years' service to concentrate on his parliamentary career.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/126/1; *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 17 October 1942.

<sup>2</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 10 November 1967; WSA, G19/126/1.

<sup>3</sup> *Wiltshire Times*, 4 May 1962; *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 10 May, 6 Sept 1963; WSA, G19/126/1.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 9 July 1965; *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 10 November 1967.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 27 May 1966.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 10 Nov 1967.

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 10 Nov 1967.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times*, 5 Mar 1955.

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings e.g. *Wiltshire Times*, 4 Nov 1960, 9 Feb 1962, 4 May 1962.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Gazette and Herald*, 25 Feb 1971.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times*, 15 Dec 1961.

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 6 Mar 1964. An obituary was published in the *Times*, 5 Nov 2008.

In 1965 the system of aldermen was discussed by the council but despite some objections to being it undemocratic and an anachronism, a vote decided to retain the system.<sup>1</sup> However, the need for reform of local government nationally was increasingly acknowledged. In 1969, the Redcliffe-Maud Report was published by the Royal Commission into local government. It proposed the county of Wiltshire should be split into two unitary authorities and the local Rural District Councils be abolished. Chippenham would join Trowbridge, Bradford on Avon, Melksham, and surrounding villages and form one authority based on Bristol and Bath and including Weston-Super-Mare, Frome and part of Gloucestershire.<sup>2</sup> The plan had met with significant local opposition, but most of the report's recommendations were anyway abandoned.<sup>3</sup>

### *Borough seal*

The Gascelyn family were lords of the manor of Sheldon from 1250 to 1424. Their coat of arms was a field with ten billets and a label. [where are the arms first illustrated in colour? – nineteenth century?] The Hussee family acquired the manor of Rowden towards the end of the thirteenth century and held it until 1392, and apparently used a coat with three boots.<sup>4</sup> Gode and John Enforde, *custodes* (wardens) for the church of St Mary, Chippenham, sealed a lease of a house on Kings Street on 7 July 1369 using a seal showing these arms suspended from a palm tree.<sup>5</sup> This represented civic authority as manorial and particularly pertaining to the manors of Sheldon and Rowden. This seal was adopted as the common seal of the borough in 155x, though whether it represented continuing use or a revival of symbolism associated with a period before Hungerford control of the manor of Chippenham remains a matter for speculation. By 1623 the two arms were encircled with the words 'Sigillum communis burgi Chippenham'.<sup>6</sup> A new matrix for the seal was commissioned by bailiff William Gale (1675-6) at the cost of £1 4s.<sup>7</sup>

The motto 'Unity and Loyalty' was added during the nineteenth century. The arms passed to the Charter Trustees in 1974 and to Chippenham Town Council in 1984, and in 2019 was used as part of the council's logotype on its vehicles and website.

### *Borough arms*

A list of the borough arms viewed by the bailiff and burgesses on 18 November 1636 included four corslets and four gorgetts, four pikes, five muskets, five rests, five bandoleers, seven swords and an eighth sword bought by the constables, Henry Bull and Richard Harding, and nine 'Headpeeeces'.<sup>8</sup> 'Pikes, musketts and other armes' were loaned to the borough by Samuel Elliott in 1660-1, who was subsequently responsible for the cleaning and restocking of the borough's arsenal.<sup>9</sup> Robert Elliott was responsible for maintaining the arms at the start of the eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup> They were maintained throughout the War of the Spanish Succession, being referred to as 'the Militias Armes' in 1704, but are not mentioned in connection with later wars.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 8 Jan 1965.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 18? June 1969.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 8 Aug 1969, 10 Oct 1969.

<sup>4</sup> Correspondence with the College of Arms, J.A. Chamberlain, *Chippenham* (1976), 22-3

<sup>5</sup> Goldney, 298-99

<sup>6</sup> Chamberlain, 22

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/1/18, fo 234

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/1/5, fo 1

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/1/18, fo 181

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/1/19, Richard Aland Power (1700-01)

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/1/19, William Stephens (1703-04)



### *Borough plate*

In 1889 the borough plate was described as silver mace given by Joseph Neeld in 1844; a gold chain, and gold badge bearing the borough arms in coloured enamel, subscribed for by the corporation in 1874; a loving cup given by Sir Gabriel Goldney, bt, in 1885, and another loving cup given by Herbert Smith in 1887. A mid-twentieth century list stated that Goldney gave two cups, one in 1882 and another in 1883.<sup>1</sup> In 2019 the borough plate was held at Chippenham Museum. The mace was inscribed with the name of Harry Goldney, mayor in 1844, and with the information that it was the gift of Joseph Neeld. The mayoral badge was described as of silver gilt and enamel, with the inscription 'Unity and Loyalty 1873'. A silver gilt loving cup depicting the borough arms was inscribed as given by Sir Gabriel Goldney MP to the corporation during the mayoralty of Alfred H Keary in 1882. Another loving cup with a cover was given in 1885 in the mayoralty of Edgar Neale, also by Goldney, described as 'the last Member for the Borough... a direct lineal descendant of Henry Goldney Esquire MP, the first Member upon the Incorporation of the Borough under the Charter of queen Mary in 1553.' The 'loving cup' from Herbert Smith of F.H. Goldney's list is a coronation cup, with no handles, but gilt lined.<sup>2</sup>

### *Bailiffs and Burgesses* (see also section on the Chartered Borough)

Under the terms of the borough charter dated 2 May 1554, the corporation of Chippenham comprised of one bailiff and 12 burgesses; the bailiff was elected annually on Michaelmas, by freemen and burgesses of Chippenham from two nominated burgesses. The first bailiff was Henry Farnewell alias Goldney. Thereafter, successive generations of the Goldney family served as bailiff and, following the abolition of the role in the nineteenth century, as mayor.<sup>3</sup>

By 1835, freemen indicated their selection of bailiff 'by sticking a pin in the name of the one chosen.' The Royal Commission into Municipal Corporations noted, 'The candidates are generally chosen according to ancientry, or from the burgesses who have not yet served the office of bailiff.' Freemen also tended to return the first name of the two nominated burgesses.<sup>4</sup> Burgesses were elected for life from among freemen.

Following the Municipal Corporation Act 1835 (5 & 6 Wm. 4. c.76), the corporation burgesses were replaced by twelve councillors, elected on a male ratepayer franchise of householders who had been resident for three years. Councillors served for three years and were selected on a triennial basis. In addition, four aldermen were elected by councillors, who served for six years. A mayor replaced the post of the bailiff.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the legislative change, the new corporation still resembled a closed oligarchy. The last town bailiff, William Pope, became the first mayor. Half of the aldermen selected had not been priorly elected as councillors (and thus not chosen by franchised ratepayers but appointed by elected councillors).<sup>6</sup>

### *Mayors (from 1835)*

Following the Municipal Corporation Act (5 & 6 Wm. 4 c.76) a mayor was annually selected each November by aldermen and councillors. There is evidence to suggest the selection of a mayor

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<sup>1</sup> A. Platts, *Chippenham: A History* (1947), 91

<sup>2</sup> Correspondence from Melissa Barnett, Head of Heritage and Museum Services, Chippenham Town Council, 8-9 July 2019

<sup>3</sup> Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 347-8.

<sup>4</sup> *First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales* (London: House of Commons Papers, 1835), 1245.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, 3-7. – **Source needs to be checked as Matthew's notes are incomplete on this matter and Goldney's Records (p.161) seems to suggest councillors were elected by 'burgesses' (freemen?) rather than under the new franchise.**

<sup>6</sup> For a list of those elected see:- Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 161.

was agreed years in advance, possibly this mirrored the former system whereby the bailiff was chosen based on age or from among those who had not previously served.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the appointment of the first mayor, William Pope, in January 1836, he was awarded a salary of £5.<sup>2</sup> In 1848, this was increased to £20, at which level it remained for over forty years.<sup>3</sup>

The boundaries of the borough of Chippenham were extended in 1889 following new legislation (51 & 52 Vict. c.41). Elections were held to replace all twelve councillors, after which new aldermen and a mayor, Daniel Collen, were selected from their number. Collen had previously supported the borough's enlargement.<sup>4</sup> In 1914, the boundaries were again extended, and the number of councillors increased to eighteen. The councillors selected Alderman Coles, as the new mayor, who had served as mayor twice previously. It was hoped before the end of his year's tenure he would be able to read a declaration of peace.<sup>5</sup>

Mayors continued to be selected at a meeting of the full council each November. On appointment, a mayor nominated his deputy.<sup>6</sup> In 1930, the mayoral selection process was adapted. Henceforth, a private meeting was held in October where voting papers were issued containing the names of those willing to accept the office, and a ballot took place.<sup>7</sup> The councillors and aldermen continued to form a small, often self-perpetuating clique. In November 1930, the three retiring aldermen were 'unanimously' re-elected as aldermen for a further six years. This included EM Awdry whose son EP Awdry was elected mayor. The new mayor chose to appoint the previous mayor as his deputy.<sup>8</sup>

By the 1950s mayoral elections took place in March each year; it remained an important part of the town calendar. In 1956, the first woman mayor was selected, Muriel Culverwell, whose husband had also had the honour.<sup>9</sup>

The office of mayor of Chippenham was retained by Charter Trustees following local government changes in 1974, by which time the position was honorary.<sup>10</sup> In June 2020, the town council selected Teresa Hutton as mayor, the first such appointment to be made at an online council meeting (following restrictions due to the Covid-19 pandemic).<sup>11</sup>

## Courts

The Chippenham town charter did not refer to a borough court. The absence of a defined jurisdiction for the bailiff and burgesses in this respect meant borough affairs could have been open to interference by lords of the manor, something which the borough sought to curtail. It is likely the reason why the ordinances recorded in the first minute book of the bailiffs and burgesses contained a set of by-laws and further prohibited inhabitants of the borough from seeking 'reformation or justice in anye matters touchinge good order wtin the Borroughe at anye

<sup>1</sup> For example, in 1882 owing to the incapacity of Alderman Dowdling to accept the post, counsellor Keary 'consented to take the again this year instead of next.' *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 11 November 1882, 5.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, 7 Jan 1836, 7, 8 Jan 1836, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 168, 258.

<sup>4</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, 14 November 1889, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 14 November 1914, 6.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/8, 10 Nov 1924, 56.

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/8, 7 January 1930, 511. The following year the system was adapted slightly, whereby, candidates needed to be proposed and seconded and their details sent to the town clerk by 1 Oct before the private meeting to select the mayor. WSA, G19/100/9, 7 July 1931, 135.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/9, 10 Nov 1930.

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from *Wiltshire Times*, 5 March 1955 and *Wiltshire Times* 10 March 1956.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/127/2. Press cutting from *Times and News*, 18 January 1974.

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.gazetteandherald.co.uk/news/18524286.chippenham-elects-new-mayor-first-meeting-since-lockdown/> [accessed 31 January 2021].

Justice, Stewarde, Courte, or officers hande, other than at the Bayliffe or Burgesses wtout licence.<sup>1</sup> Thus, many cases were brought before the bailiff and burgesses at the Town Hall.<sup>2</sup> When borough justice required strengthening the bailiff and burgesses could, instead, order the offender to be indicted at the quarter sessions. The process was, no doubt, made easier between 1575-1587 when the quarter sessions met sporadically at the Chippenham Town Hall.<sup>3</sup> Daniell described the floor of the Hall at such times 'strewn with herbs and green rushes' and perfumed with frankincense and decorated "with certain stuffe" borrowed from Sir Gilbert Prynne "to hang about the Hall when the Justices sat".<sup>4</sup>

The use of this extra-legal jurisdiction by the borough dwindled in importance over time. By 1835, Municipal Corporation Commissioners did not find the town in possession of a borough court. They noted that 'all authority' provided under borough ordinances 'is now entirely gone.'<sup>5</sup> Instead, a judicial structure was provided by a court of requests, that had been established in the town in 1765 for the recovery of debts under 40s. The bailiff and burgess served ex-officio at these proceedings.<sup>6</sup> It was noted to be 'much used' in the 1830s.<sup>7</sup>

Chippenham was also a petty sessional division formed under 9 Geo 4. c.43. Sessions were held once a month, although it was noted in 1835 'there is usually one magistrate in the town every Monday.'<sup>8</sup> These were usually in the Town Hall and later New Hall, although sometimes at the Angel Inn during the 1830s.<sup>9</sup>

Under the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act 1835 (5 & 6 Wm. 4 c.76), Chippenham was not listed among boroughs which were to have a Commission of the Peace. However, borough magistrates appear to have been appointed.<sup>10</sup> Later the Chippenham mayor and ex-mayor were listed in editions of Kelly's Wiltshire Directory as 'borough magistrates.' Proceedings by borough justices were arranged when required, and are likely to have been rare.<sup>11</sup> The most significant intervention of 'borough magistrates' was after a riot at the parliamentary election for the borough in July 1865 when 33 prisoners were brought before the borough magistrates.<sup>12</sup> Later, there was some ambivalence on behalf of the town council to the jurisdiction of borough magistrates.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> See minute books:- WSA, G19/1/6-13.

<sup>3</sup> *VCH Wilts*, vol. v, 80-110.

<sup>4</sup> J. J. Daniell, *The History of Chippenham* (1894), 66.

<sup>5</sup> *First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales* (London: House of Commons Papers, 1835), 1247.

<sup>6</sup> See 5 Geo. 3 c.9.

<sup>7</sup> Note in 1847, under 9 and 10 Vic. c.95, all courts of request were abolished. *First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales* (London: House of Commons Papers, 1835), 1247-48. See also *VCH Wilts*, vol. v, 170-194.

<sup>8</sup> *First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales* (London: House of Commons Papers, 1835), 1248. Justices' minute books are available from 1836-61 (WSA, B11/151/1-2, 4-10), court registers 1896-1993 (WSA, B11/110/1-56, B11/110/52/1-3).

Separate registers were made for juvenile and family court hearings;

<sup>9</sup> *Return of Description of Building in which Justices of Petty Sessions Districts in England and Wales hold Usual Sittings* (London: House of Commons Papers, 1845), 37; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1889 edn.), 880. The Angel Inn is sometimes mentioned in press reports as the location of the sessions, e.g. *Wiltshire Independent*, 4 November 1839.

<sup>10</sup> There are various references in the press to proceedings by 'borough magistrates.' E.g. *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard*, 19 May 1838, 3; *Wiltshire Independent*, 7 June 1838, 3; *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, 5 April 1888, 10, 13 Feb 1890, 8; *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 12 Nov 1932, 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1889 edn.), 880; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1915 edn.), 66.

<sup>12</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 22 July 1865, 3.

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 11 April 1901, 343 +, 2 July 1901, 362- **sources needs to be investigated as notes non-specific and full page numbers not given.** Other enquiries were made in 1864 over the jurisdiction of borough magistrates over the borough police. *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 2 July 1864, 9.

The town remained a petty sessional division into the twentieth century and sessions continued to occur at the Town (New Hall) or Neeld Hall. However, sittings are likely to have been disrupted while the Halls were used as a military hospital during WWI. In 1945, magistrates at the petty sessions complained of the bad acoustics, traffic noise and heating that 'left much to be desired' at the Town Hall. The Justices gave their support to move the sessions to the county courtroom.<sup>1</sup> The Joint Standing Committee later actioned this and proceedings moved to the county court.<sup>2</sup>

The court was closed in 1996.<sup>3</sup>

### *Town Halls*

The timber-framed town hall was built in the fifteenth century on the footprint of an earlier, probably 14th-century structure.<sup>4</sup> It was a four-bay open hall with collar-truss tie-beam roof, and a fifth bay to the north of two storeys, the upper section was used as a court room, the lower as a lock-up. It was described c. 1560 as a 'yelde hall' (guildhall), the name by which it is now more commonly known.<sup>5</sup>

The building was used as the council chamber until 1841, when it was moved into the 'New Hall'.<sup>6</sup> Thereafter, the Old Town Hall was used as an armory by the Chippenham Rifle Corps.<sup>7</sup> In 1882, the corps were ordered to pay an annual rent of 5s and insure the property for £200.<sup>8</sup> Ten years later the corps also took over the 'old lock-up' as an ammunition store.<sup>9</sup>

From c. 1870, part of the main hall was also used as a fire engine house.<sup>10</sup> In 1902, the council considered moving the fire station to a new building in the Market Yard, but the move was rejected in favour of alterations being made to the old Town Hall site.<sup>11</sup> The fire brigade was given full use of the Hall in 1911 when the armoury was moved.<sup>12</sup> After that, its structure was subject to significant alterations to better accommodate the fire engines.<sup>13</sup> However, in 1945, the service relinquished their use of the building when they moved to new accommodation on Dallas Road.<sup>14</sup>

There was a police lock-up at the Old Town Hall until at least 1884.<sup>15</sup> The same year, the council considered its options to lease or sell the building, but after review unanimously decided

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<sup>1</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 23 June 1945, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 22 September 1945, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Hansard*, 7 March 2000, col.559W-660W.

<sup>4</sup> Historic England HER, The Yelde Hall and Council Chamber, 1267996 [OS: ST ST 92183 73234]; K.A. Rodwell, *Archaeological investigations at the Yelde Hall, Chippenham, 2001-2* (2003), 21-2 (unpublished report, copy in Wilts. Buildings Record).

<sup>5</sup> The spellings Guyldhall and Guyldhall were used in 1569. Goldney, *Records*, 302.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, 9 Nov 1841, 138.

<sup>7</sup> Move mentioned in 'History of the Yelde Hall' from 1846

[<https://web.archive.org/web/20150923202915/http://www.chippenham.gov.uk/history-of-the-yelde-hall.9519.aspx>], however, not cited in notes of minutes until 1860 when a chest was made available for their use. WSA, G19/100/2, 8 May 1860.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 9 Oct 1882. In 1881, the roof had been repaired. WSA, G19/100/3, 9 Nov 1881.

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 9 Feb 1892, 113.

<sup>10</sup> This use of the building as a fire engine house from c.1870 is mentioned in 'History of the Yelde Hall' [<https://web.archive.org/web/20150923202915/http://www.chippenham.gov.uk/history-of-the-yelde-hall.9519.aspx>], however, not cited in notes of minutes until 1895. WSA, G19/100/4, 14 May 1895, 190.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, 2 Dec 1902, 223, 22 Dec 1902, 228.

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, 10 Jan 1911, 8.

<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 19 Feb 1884, 18 June 1884.



to retain it. They also agreed the need to keep the structure water-tight, and repairs were completed the following year.<sup>1</sup>

The use of the Old Town Hall as a museum was discussed in 1909.<sup>2</sup> The Hall was finally opened as a museum in November 1963, following the demolition of adjoining property (which had formed part of the fire station) and renovations costing £3, 500.<sup>3</sup> By February 1964 it had received 900 visitors.<sup>4</sup> Visitor numbers climbed, and in 1970 it was receiving over 4000 a year.<sup>5</sup>

By 1999, the museum accommodation was no longer adequate, and the museum was moved to 9-10 Market Place, which had previously served as council offices. Following its renovation in the early 2000s, the Old Town Hall was used as a tourist information centre. In 2012, the 'Yelde Hall' reopened as part of the Chippenham Museum and Heritage Service.<sup>6</sup>

'New Hall' was erected by Joseph Neeld, part of market developments which were started by Neeld in the 1830s and completed in 1850.<sup>7</sup> The hall was designed by James Thomson (1833 & 1848/50), whose long association with Neeld (c.1827-1853) included the transformation of Grittleton House.<sup>8</sup> The New Hall quickly established itself as a venue for leisure activities such as balls, rehearsals, concerts and exhibition space.<sup>9</sup> The council chambers were moved from the Yelde Hall to New Hall in 1841.<sup>10</sup> Neeld was honoured 12 September 1850 at the completion of alterations. The *Morning Post* reported the celebrations 'presented an appearance such as is very seldom- and, then generally, in honour of royalty- exhibited by an town in the kingdom.'<sup>11</sup> Neeld's coat of arms was added to the front of the building the following year.<sup>12</sup>

In 1911, the council accepted the offer of Sir Audley Neeld to lease the hall at a nominal rent. They also agreed to his suggestion that its name be changed from 'New Hall' to 'Town Hall'.<sup>13</sup>

In 1907, the possibility of another new public hall was discussed by the council, but the idea shelved.<sup>14</sup> Later, Sir Audley Neeld built a new hall, designed by Thomas H Fogg (of Holloway & Fogg, Market Place, Chippenham) to the rear of the Town Hall on the site of the old market yard.<sup>15</sup> The building was leased to the council.<sup>16</sup> At Neeld's suggestion the new public hall

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 19 Feb 1884, 13 May 1884, 18 June 1884, 10 Feb 1885.

<sup>2</sup> G19/100/5, 9 Nov 1909, 114, 7 Dec 1909, ?.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/126/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times*, 8 Jan 1955, 5 May 1956, 7 July 1956, 5 May 1961, *Wiltshire Times and News*, 7 June 1963, 8 Nov 1963.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/126/1. Press cutting from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 8 Nov 1964, 7 Feb 1964.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cuttings from the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 20 Mar 1970.

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.gazetteandherald.co.uk/news/9617637.historic-chippenham-hall-to-re-open/> [accessed 31 January 2021].

<sup>7</sup> Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 171; Historic England HER, New Town Hall and Neeld Hall, 1268113 [OS: ST 92026 73295]; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1867 edn.), 240; *Wiltshire Times*, 13 May 1911, 7.

<sup>8</sup> *New DNB*, no. 27311 (Accessed 28 January 2021); Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 171

<sup>9</sup> E.g. *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, 22 Dec 1836, 1, 11 Oct 1838, 3; *Wiltshire Independent*, 20 Sept 1838, 3, 29 Aug 1839, 3, 19 Dec 1939, 3 etc.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, 9 Nov 1841, 138.

<sup>11</sup> *Morning Post*, 14 September 1850, 6-7.

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p 284, 20 May 1851. See also, Historic England HER, New Town Hall and Neeld Hall, 1268113 [OS: ST 92026 73295].

<sup>13</sup> *Wiltshire Times*, 13 May 1911, 7; G19/103/3, p 36, 19 April 1911, p 43 2 May 1911.

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 130, 18 Feb 1907.

<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 424, 1 Nov 1910; *Wiltshire Times*, 13 May 1911; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1915 edn), 69-70.

<sup>16</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 424, 1 Nov 1910, p 426, 20 Nov 1910.

was not called 'Borough Hall' but the 'Neeld Public Hall.'<sup>1</sup> It was formerly opened by Lady Neeld in May 1911.<sup>2</sup>

During WWI the Neeld and Town Halls was used by the Red Cross as a military hospital.<sup>3</sup> The continued need to provide medical provision ensured the Neeld Hall was used by the Red Cross into 1919.<sup>4</sup> The Red Cross were later charged £200 for 'making good the damage' they had done to both halls.<sup>5</sup>

Traders were allowed to rent space under the Town Hall arches as shop space without objection from Neeld Trustees.<sup>6</sup> The shop rents and the letting of both halls for concerts and leisure activities provided a small income for the council.<sup>7</sup> Political meetings were prohibited.<sup>8</sup> From 1924 council meetings moved back to the Town Hall, after an absence of almost two decades. The accommodation was also used by local Justices of the Peace.<sup>9</sup> In 1925, it was agreed to use a room in the Neeld Hall for a library.<sup>10</sup>

After a purchase of the Town and Neeld Halls was discussed by the council and Neeld Trustees in 1935; in 1947 the council finally purchased the halls for £15, 000.<sup>11</sup> The Halls, thereafter, underwent a renovation.<sup>12</sup> In 1949, in an era of austerity there was some opposition to their further modernization.<sup>13</sup> By 1965, however, they had been further improved, and a council publication declared they had 'become a source of pride both to the Council and, it is believed, to the ratepayers in general.' They were, however, running at a loss of £5, 800.<sup>14</sup> By the following year plans were drawn up that anticipated the demolition of Neeld Hall as part of a shopping development.<sup>15</sup> The Minister of Public Buildings and Works refused a license for the work in October 1967.<sup>16</sup> In the early 1970s plans for a new shopping centre again involved the Neeld Hall. A 'Save the Neeld Hall Society' was started.<sup>17</sup>

In 2015, the Neeld and Town Halls underwent a £626, 000 programme of renovation and improvements, £500, 000 of the funding was provided by a loan from the public works loan board.<sup>18</sup> In 2021, the Neeld Community and Arts Centre provided an important local arts and events venue and remained managed by the Chippenham Town Council.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> G19/103/3, p 36, 19 April 1911

<sup>2</sup> *Wiltshire Times*, 13 May 1911.

<sup>3</sup> WSA 1769/56. See also, WSA, G19/100/6, p 119, 9 Nov 1915, p 200, 1 Aug 1916, p 215, 6 Oct 1916.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/6, p 244, 4 Feb 1919, G19/100/7, p 20 3 June 1919.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/7, p 64, 18 Nov 1919.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/7, see especially p 383, 7 March 1922.

<sup>7</sup> For example, in year to April 1928 shop rents provided £65 and hall lettings £388. WSA, G19/100/8, p 358, 3 April 1928.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/8 p 442, 2 April 1929.

<sup>9</sup> This had been two years in the planning G19/100/7, p 323, 4 April 1922, p.336, 6 June 1922, p. 488, 5 Feb 1924, G19/100/8, p 42, 5 Oct 1924. There are sporadic references in the borough minutes to the Town Hall being rented for local Justices. E.g. WSA, G19/100/8, p 519, 4 Feb 1930.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/8, p 141, 6 Oct 1925.

<sup>11</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 6 September 1947, 7; *Western Daily Press*, 4 September 1947, 3.

<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 23 July 1949,2.

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/126/1.

<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 10 Oct 1966, 26 May 1967.

<sup>16</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 6 Oct 1967.

<sup>17</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 4 September, 4 December 1970.

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.gazetteandherald.co.uk/news/13500047.chippenhams-neeld-hall-undergoes-626k-revamp/> [Accessed 11 January 2021].

<sup>19</sup> See <http://neeld.co.uk/> [Accessed 11 January 2021].

### *Borough lands*

*to 1604*

The charter of 1554 granted the borough of Chippenham land from the confiscated estate of Walter, Lord Hungerford, in order to support the maintenance of the bridge and other duties of the corporation. The lands granted were 17 acres called Englands and 30 acres called Westmead, then in the tenure or occupation of John Pye or his heirs and assigns; together with 'Poks' with appurtenances in Rowden Down containing 120 acres; the close of Burleys, of four acres; 21 acres of arable land in the common fields of Chippenham late in the tenure of Richard Blake or his assigns; Rowdon Down Coppice, comprising 21 acres of woodland; and the pasture of Bolts Crofts 'now or late' held by Adam Gower or his assigns. The borough was assigned the reversion and reversions of all such lands as well as the rents and yearly profits or grants. The annual income of the lands was stated as £9 12s 8d.<sup>1</sup>

The borough's intentions for their new lands were challenged by the tenants and by the restored Sir Walter Hungerford. In 1574, a chancery case was brought by Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir John Danvers, Sir Henry Sherington and John Eyre against the borough, alleging abuse of the borough lands by members of the corporation. The decree of James I in 1604 confirmed the borough lands and promulgated ordinances intended to prevent abuse of the profits by the most powerful inhabitants of the borough. The borough was unable to alienate land in ordinary circumstances with the exception of that at Rowden Down in the possession of John Hulbert, and 13 acres of Westmead. The hay of Westmead (34 acres) was to be divided annually amongst the bailiff and burgesses and the inhabitants, the bailiff to have one acre, the burgesses one acre each, and the remainder to be equally divided between the inhabitant householders, each to pay 4s per acre or 12d for one farthingdale (the customary subdivision of land in Chippenham). John Hulbert's messuage was to be let every seven years at an 'Annuall ymproved Rente'. Westmead was to be broken every St Luke's day and stocked with two beasts per inhabitant householder until the St Andrew's day following, each inhabitant paying 4d per animal. The winter lease of Westmead was then to be sold for the best available price. Other regulations surrounded Bolts Croft and Burleaze where those wishing to keep cattle there had to pay an annual sum of 5s 4d per animal or 6d per sheep, to stated maximums of cattle or sheep in total and per individual. Similar arrangements were made for other named lands. The effect was to manage the use of the lands in the common interest of householders, but the ordinances left the borough income with limited potential for growth.

### *1604-1889*

The borough also paid the crown rent for those parts of its lands which were claimed as assart, including Englands, Westmead and Bolts Croft; the Crown's interest in them was purchased from 1608, some of the money being raised by raising the charge payable to inhabitants for the crops of Westmead to 10s an acre for two years.<sup>2</sup> However, rent for

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/1/7.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, 26 February 1607/8 [Goldney pp 32-34]

assart lands was still being paid to the crown as late as 1644.<sup>1</sup> Enjoyment of the borough lands was used by the corporation as an incentive to aid good order in the borough, for example in an ordinance of 1608 which forbade any householder from taking in tenants or undertenants from outside the borough without the permission of the bailiff and burgesses, on pain of being barred from a share in the borough lands.<sup>2</sup>

Administration of the borough lands was a substantial part of the business of the corporation as they were its principal source of income but liable to taxation by the crown. In 1667 they were assessed as owing £2 13s for the royal aid and supply.<sup>3</sup> Distribution of the lands was withheld at times of crisis: for example, in 1710 when summer feeding could not be allotted to householders on the grounds that revenue needed to be raised from them to pay the debts incurred on behalf of the borough by a previous bailiff, Anthony Guy.<sup>4</sup> Fears of abuse remained prominent. In 1723 the bailiff and burgesses emphasised that only persons who ‘constantly reside and inhabit’ in the ancient tenements of the borough were able to benefit from the borough lands, presumably deterring inhabitants of new dwellings constructed within the borough but not within anciently recognised burgages.<sup>5</sup> Identification of animals belonging to the freemen had to be periodically enforced by prohibition and marking orders.<sup>6</sup>

Economic development wrought changes to the borough lands from the late eighteenth century onwards. The borough agreed that the Kennett and Avon Canal could be taken through England in 1794, taking shares.<sup>7</sup> The canal paid for damage done to England beyond that initially envisaged in 1799, to a tenant of the borough in 1804, and to the borough lands in 1805.<sup>8</sup>

Land on Westmead was leased to the Chippenham Gas Company in 1834 as a site for a gasometer.<sup>9</sup> In 1835, the Great Western Railway was given permission to cross the borough’s Little Field, to the north of the town, the first of several such disposals.<sup>10</sup> The reformed borough appointed a land bailiff to oversee the borough lands in 1836.<sup>11</sup> On 28 June 1836, the borough considered disposing of a portion of the borough lands in order to erect a new poor house on the site, requesting that John Beak disclose the terms upon which he would resign the lease of Hulberts Hold field.<sup>12</sup> Customary horse racing on what was known as Old Race Mead was ended in 1839, the mayor, Charles Bayliffe, citing ‘gross immoralities’ and ‘the multitude of thieves and other bad characters’.<sup>13</sup> Enjoyment of the borough lands by those who had surrendered their burgages happened; three divisions of Westmead were forfeited for being in non-resident hands in 1841.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/1/1, p 23; G19/1/8, p 119

<sup>2</sup> [Goldney p 34] – need to relocate originals

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/1/18, f 206v

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, p 92

<sup>5</sup> Goldney p 80, 21 Feb 1723

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, 25 May 1784, p 159

<sup>7</sup> Goldney, pp 104-105, 8 Feb 1794

<sup>8</sup> Goldney, p 110, 6 April 1799; WSA, G19/1/20, 1803-1804 (William Stephens, p 5); WSA, G19/1/8, p 514

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/1/9, 15 July 1834

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/1/9, 19 Jan 1835, WSA, G19/100/1, pp 67, 73, 117-8

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p 11

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p 17

<sup>13</sup> *Sherborne & Yeovil Mercury*, 23 Sept 1839, p 2

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p [check, 11 May 1841]



The Chippenham Gas Company was allowed to acquire part of Westmead in 1834, and subsequently made several adjustments and exchanges of varying sizes.<sup>1</sup> The Great Western Railway continued to purchase land from the borough for railway improvements.<sup>2</sup> In 1852 the borough was unable to find buyers for the grass of Westmead, and it was instead offered to the inhabitants and householders.<sup>3</sup> The next year the burgesses of the historic borough and the borough treasurer were asked to suspend their privileges in the borough lands so the revenues could be used towards the widening of the town bridge.<sup>4</sup> Plans to widen the bridge from the borough fund or investments were abandoned in 1860.<sup>5</sup> The existing structure was weakened by soil erosion, leading to temporary restrictions on its use and a series of limited repairs and reconstructions from 1869.<sup>6</sup> Acquisitions included five pieces of land on Westmead in 1879, for £650.<sup>7</sup>

In 1859 the Chippenham Rifle Corps requested permission to use part of the borough lands as a rifle range and parade ground. They were allocated land in Little Englands.<sup>8</sup> The Chippenham Volunteer Corps were permitted to use Westmead for inspections in 1877.<sup>9</sup> Subsequent expansion of military use of the borough lands included use of Westmead for shooting practice by the rifle corps and the construction of a new rifle range on Little Englands.<sup>10</sup>

The lands faced recurrent issues with erosion and drainage. In 1854 the drains on Englands and Westmead were opened and the question of drainage was revisited in 1860.<sup>11</sup> During the Foot and Mouth disease epidemic of 1871, infected cattle were isolated on Little Englands.<sup>12</sup> Mandatory veterinary inspections of the freemen's cattle on the borough lands was introduced in 1872.<sup>13</sup>

In 1871 and 1872 the corporation worked to deflect the demand of the local board that a cottage hospital be built on the borough lands, establishing a committee to find an alternative site.<sup>14</sup> The local board were more successful in gaining the borough's support for the sinking of a bore hole for prospective waterworks on Westmead.<sup>15</sup> In 1876 the local board agreed to pay the borough £12 per year rent for the roadway to the well, a right of road to the reservoir and wayleave for the pipes.<sup>16</sup>

By the late nineteenth century trespass on Westmead and Englands had become a problem, with prohibition of trespass being cried and declared on notices in 1881.<sup>17</sup> The next year the borough lands committee reported the fields were prone to the

<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 10 Feb 1852, 24 Feb 1852, 15 May 1868

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, [10 August 1841]

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 25 June 1852

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 8 Feb 1853

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 20 May 1860

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 21 Jan 1869, 10 Feb 1869, 9 May 1871

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 10 Nov 1879

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 15 Dec 1859

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 14 Aug 1877

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 13 May 1879, 11 May 1880

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 14 Feb 1854, 14 Aug 1860, 12 Feb 1861

<sup>12</sup> WSA G19/100/2, 9 May 1871

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 13 Feb 1872

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 18 Aug 1871, 1 Sept 1871, 27 Mar 1872

<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 25 Aug 1873; WSA, G19/100/3, 19 June 1875

<sup>16</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 8 Aug 1876

<sup>17</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 10 May 1881

dumping of garden waste, with overgrown and fallen trees, filled and failed ditches and collapsed hedges and fences.<sup>1</sup> Efforts to overcome the decay included a gift of oak trees from F.H. Goldney, and (in 1884) rewards for information on injuries to the boundaries of the borough lands.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the golden jubilee of Queen Victoria saw the corporation acknowledge the use of the lands for recreation by the placing of seats at the 'top' of Englands – 'from whence there is a fine view' – and planting of commemorative oaks.<sup>3</sup>

#### *1889 to 1974*

Under the new borough the lands and bridge committees were merged, a reflection perhaps less of the wider responsibilities of the new authority than of the need to respect the rights of the freemen under the old charter. Income from the borough lands was dedicated first for the maintenance of the town bridge, the causeway, the lands themselves and other borough property. Only after those needs were met could they be used for general expenditure.<sup>4</sup>

The new borough faced the challenge of an expanded population with aspirations for the lands and a body of freemen whose corporate identity was now distinct from the corporation. In February 1893 it was agreed by the council that cricket and football could be played on Westmead for several months.<sup>5</sup> The following year the freemen objected to the renewal of this permission on the grounds that it had caused 'very serious damage' to the grass in Westmead and Englands, and that it was a dangerous extension of a concession previously granted by the mayor to those playing cricket only. A compromise was rejected and the council conceded the privileges of the freemen.<sup>6</sup> The freemen also asserted control over the 'beast leazes' or grazing rights hitherto auctioned by the corporation to the public, with deleterious consequences for the borough fund.<sup>7</sup> One consequence was the introduction of an auctioneer's estimate for the value of the leases with the intention that the borough's income be protected.<sup>8</sup> Another was a Freeman's Rights Committee which reported in 1895 and found among other points that the area of the borough lands had diminished from the 213 of 1554 to 133, largely for 'untraceable reasons'.<sup>9</sup> The freemen also asserted their right to charge rent to the volunteer corps for their use of parts of the borough lands.<sup>10</sup> Although football clubs played in Westmead in the 1900/01 season, the freemen again decided their rights had again been infringed and the lands damaged and the council agreed to purchase a recreation ground.<sup>11</sup>

Oaks were planted to mark the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria and (following damage) the coronation of Edward VII in 1902.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 21 Jan 1882

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 14 Feb 1882, 13 May 1884

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 9 Aug 1887, 9 Nov 1887

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 5 Oct 1888, pp16-18; 9 Nov 1889, p 51

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 14 Feb 1893, p 134; 8 Jan 1894, p 155

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 8 Jan 1894, pp 155-157

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 9 Nov 1894, p 181; 14 May 1895, pp 191, 193

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 9 Nov 1894, p 181

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, p 193

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 7 March 1900, p 307

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 8 Oct 1901, p 369; 11 Oct 1901, p 370

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, 8 May 1900, p 311; 11 Feb 1902, p 379

In 1904, of 45 freemen, 17 stocked either horses or cattle on Englands and Westmead.<sup>1</sup> The next year, of 46 freemen, the number rose to 20.<sup>2</sup> In 1915 the proportion of freemen stocking Englands and Westmead remained roughly stable, with 17 of 48, but in 1916 it was 14 of 49.<sup>3</sup> Participation declined through the 1930s, with 11 of 44 freemen stocking the borough lands in 1930, but only 3 of 39 in 1935, and 2 of 28 in 1940.<sup>4</sup> The strongest source of revenue became fees paid by members of the public, with eight farmers contributing £73 in 1940 compared to the freemen's £14 7s.<sup>5</sup> Active involvement in the stocking of the borough lands by the freemen rallied in the early 1940s, perhaps as a consequence of the Second World War, with seven of 26 freemen stocking the lands in 1943, but this fell to just one the succeeding year, and two in 1945.<sup>6</sup> The Ministry of Agriculture farm survey identified 'Land owned by Chippenham Corporation' in 1941 as including 54½a. permanent grass for mowing that season, and 33a. for grazing; in 1943 73½a. were described as let for grazing.<sup>7</sup> In 1955 four of 16 freemen stocked the lands, rising £35, while seven farmers also paid to graze cattle there, raising another £30.<sup>8</sup>

The straightening of the River Avon led to the exchange of Hulberts Hold for a portion of land adjacent to Englands in 1947.<sup>9</sup> From 1964, the Charities Commission argued that the grant of the borough lands under the charter of 1554 and the confirmation by James I constituted a charitable trust and was subject to appropriate regulation under the Charities Act 1960. This was rejected by the borough, who argued that the lands were theirs to dispose of without reference to another authority. Matters came to a head when the borough of Chippenham was incorporated in North Wiltshire District in 1974, inheriting plans to develop housing in Cricketts Lane and industrial units at Bumpers Farm and Littlefields.<sup>10</sup> The district council and its officers were advised that the Charities Commission's interpretation of the law would be difficult to oppose in court.<sup>11</sup> This delayed the signing off of the final accounts for Chippenham Borough Council (for 1973/4).<sup>12</sup> They therefore registered the borough lands as a charity, initially with the members of the district council as trustees, though with the intention of revising its objects and beneficial area in due course, following determination on how much money was owed to the charity in compensation for misappropriated land.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/158/4, pp15-16

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/158/4, pp17-18

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/158/4, pp107-110

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/158/4, 10 May 1930, 11 May 1935, 18 May 1940

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/158/4, 18 May 1940

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/158/4, 15 May 1943, 1 May 1944, 19 May 1945

<sup>7</sup> TNA, MAF 32/33/24, Farm Survey: Wilts.: Chippenham Within, 7 Sept 2019

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/158/4, 14 May 1955

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/9, 'Land forming the permanent endowment of the Borough Lands Charity of Chippenham', c.1978

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/9, H. Miles, chief administrative officer, to the secretary, Department of the Environment, 9 April 1975

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/9, 'Confidential. Charter Lands', 23 Nov 1974; N. Browne-Wilkinson, 'Re: North Wiltshire District Council: Opinion', 29 May 1975; Chief Finance Officer, North Wiltshire District Council, to J.E. Farmer, District Auditor, 2 July 1975

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/9, Chief Finance Office, North Wiltshire District Council, to Chief Executive, 27 Jan 1976

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/9, H. Miles to the Trustees of the Charter Lands, 18 Jan 1977; M.P. Jones to Chief Finance Officer, 9 Jan 1980

In the 1970s the remaining borough lands were identified as Bumpers Farm, Littleworth, Littlefields, Little Blackwellhams and Westmead, Englands and Little Englands, a total of 132 acres. Westmead was leased to the county council. Bumpers Farm was being developed as an industrial estate and Littlefields was to be sold for £60000. The Wood Lane local authority housing site developed in 1972 straddled both charity and local authority land, for which it was estimated the council owed the charity £31,000. Wessex Water Authority owed the charity compensation for the sewage treatment works. There were several other past and potential future exchanges and transactions to accommodate.<sup>1</sup> The idea of using the income of the borough lands to the benefit of causes within all North Wiltshire District was considered but rejected, the Charity Commission inclining towards Chippenham as the beneficiary; it was also considered whether or not the right of the freemen to graze cattle on Englands and Westmead was itself a charitable object.<sup>2</sup>

The charity's finances were separated from the district council during 1980.<sup>3</sup> The same year, the district council arranged compensation for an oil pipeline recently laid across Westmead and Englands.<sup>4</sup> After the income of the lands was initially restricted to the borough of Chippenham as it had existed in 1685, it was rededicated to the parish.

Public awareness of the new arrangements, some hostile, grew in the 1980s as the building of Pewsham Way and housing on Englands drew attention to the existence of the charity and issues with its governance, as it was then dominated by trustees from outside the former borough.<sup>5</sup> The failure of the county council to provide a cattle grid across a double gate leading from Pewsham Way into the borough lands prevented them from being stocked during 1987.<sup>6</sup>

A new governing document for the charity was adopted on 18 April 1990 and, incorporating several amendments, remained in force in 2019. Of the borough lands themselves, only Westmead retained much of its ancient character, though used as an 'open space' for leisure purposes rather than for grazing, and undergoing some reforestation.<sup>7</sup>

### *Post-1974 Local Government (including Charter Trustees)*

In 1972, the Local Government Act created a two-tier system of county and district councils in Wiltshire. The borough council had some input into the process of reorganization and decided that it should be replaced by Charter Trustees.<sup>8</sup> During the transition period from June 1973, a 'shadow' North Wiltshire District Council was accommodated in the former Jubilee and

<sup>1</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/9, 'Land forming the permanent endowment of the Borough Lands Charity of Chippenham', c.1978

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/9, 'Scheme for the Administration of Borough Lands', 16 Dec 1977, f. 2; 'Notes on meeting held at the offices of the Charity Commission... on 27 Jan 1977', 2 Feb 1977

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/9, A.D. Thombs, chief finance officer, to H. Potterton, 16 Apr 1980, *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/9, D.F. Lewis, solicitor to the council, to R.F. Moody, 29 Apr 1980

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/10, S.W.C. Howard, president, Chippenham Chamber of Commerce, to the Charity Commission, 16 April 1987; P. Rogan, Charity Commission, to H. Miles, chief executive, North Wilts. District Council, 14 May 1987

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/3/10, Chief Finance Officer to Chief Executive, 1 Dec 1987

<sup>7</sup> [cblc.org.uk/portfolio/westmead-open-space](http://cblc.org.uk/portfolio/westmead-open-space), accessed 19 Dec 2019

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/127/2, cutting from *Wiltshire Gazette and Herald*, 15 March 1973.

Scientific Institute (Jubilee Building) in Market Place.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter it took residence of the town council's municipal offices in Monkton Park.<sup>2</sup>

Local reports in the *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News* advised local people that the Charter Trustees 'must in no way be construed as a successor parish council but rather a consultative body who, from time to time and as required, will be able to advise the North Wiltshire District Council on certain aspects of the affairs of Chippenham.' The town clerk Peter Morris told their reporter "Make no mistake the people of Chippenham will have to look to the North Wiltshire District Council to run their affairs."<sup>3</sup> The Trustees could employ no staff, own no land or building (and only that property which could be construed as historical and ceremonial like plate and robes), although they could elect a mayor if they so choose. On 1 April the buildings of the Borough Council the Yelde Hall, Town Halls and Municipal Offices would become the property of the new North Wiltshire District Council.<sup>4</sup>

The new Charter Trustees were made up of the ten district councillors elected to represent the Chippenham wards.<sup>5</sup> During the transition period, the new body decided to retain the office of Mayor of Chippenham.<sup>6</sup> The Trustees were based in the Jubilee Building.<sup>7</sup>

By 1978, the Charter Trustees were seeking parish council powers.<sup>8</sup> In early 1980, the North Wiltshire District Council conducted a review of parish and 'unparished' areas to make proposals to the Local Government Boundary Commission. In particular, it considered the boundaries of Chippenham and whether it should be granted parish status.<sup>9</sup> By September 1982, the review had been completed, and there was local agreement that a new Chippenham town council should be created. However, the Charter Trustees were seeking broader responsibilities for the new body than the District Council were prepared to concede.<sup>10</sup>

In December 1983, the Secretary of State approved the move to create a new parish of Chippenham, from an 'unparished' area, the abolition of the parish of Pewsham and a number of changes affecting the boundaries of 27 other parishes.<sup>11</sup>

In 2020, the town council was made of 24 councillors representing eight...

### *Parochial Government (for ancient and civil parish)*

## PUBLIC SERVICES AND UTILITIES

### *Chippenham police (to 1900)*

From at least the early seventeenth century, borough constables to carry out a variety of regulatory duties were nominated by the bailiff and burgesses and appointed by the quarter sessions. The borough also had a watch committee and watchmen whose duties

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/127/2, cutting from *Times and News*, 15 June 1973.

<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/127/2, Press cutting from *Times and News*, 7 December 1973.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/127/2, Press cutting from *Times and News*, 7 December 1973.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/14/1.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/127/2, Press cutting from *Times and News*, 18 January 1974.

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/14/1.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/14/1.

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/14/1.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G28/2/7/14/1.

<sup>11</sup>

could include (in 1636) gathering intelligence on suspected plague-carriers.<sup>1</sup> Following the Restoration the borough arms were described variously as for the use of the borough's trained bands or the borough's watch.<sup>2</sup>

By the start of the nineteenth century the borough was retaining a cleaner for the blindhouse, the borough cell in the Old Town (Yelde) Hall.<sup>3</sup> The reformed corporation resolved that a policeman and constable should be appointed on 28 January 1836, two days later delegating the task to the watch committee.<sup>4</sup> On 22 February 1841, the borough agreed to pay £50 to the county police following the agreement that the borough police should be consolidated with the county force established in 1839.<sup>5</sup> The arrangement was in force in 1842, but in 1846 was reported as being conditional upon the appointment of a chief constable, made in 1846.<sup>6</sup> Relations between the borough and the county force were occasionally fractious, particularly concerning funding, leading to the borough threatening to cancel its payment to the county force in November 1846.<sup>7</sup> The position was resolved the following February when a police rate was imposed on the parish of Chippenham within and without the borough by resolution of the borough council (16 February 1847), notice being given to the parish overseers.<sup>8</sup>

In 1856 the chief constable, Samuel Meredith, criticised the condition of the cells at Chippenham and Salisbury: at Chippenham the cells were 'a disgrace to the town' and that the borough had not fulfilled its engagement to provide suitable lock-ups. Meredith told the quarter sessions that if a lock-up was not provided, he would recommend an increase in the charge the county made to Chippenham for the police force.<sup>9</sup> Construction of a new police station and lock-ups at Chippenham was ordered by quarter sessions in January 1857.<sup>10</sup> By October 1857 construction of a police station was underway at Chippenham.<sup>11</sup> In 1862 James Wright, a superintendent of police, was appointed by the borough as its officer in attendance at markets and fairs in order that the borough might exercise the powers allowed it under the act of 11&12 Vic.<sup>12</sup> Questions were raised in May 1864 over the efficiency of the borough police following the robbery of the premises of John Bullock the silversmith in March, where the thief was not apprehended, and by Hampshire police, until May. It was decided that there was no evidence to impugn the police and the matter had been discussed thoroughly in the press.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, in August the chief constable of the county police wrote to the mayor about the consolidation of the borough police with that of the town, and a deputation of councillors was sent to discuss the matter with the county magistrates.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/1/18, f 93v

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/1/18, f 183v, f 199v,

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/1/20, Revd Richard Weaver (p 4); Harry Russ (p 2)

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, pp 10-11

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p [return to original and check]; VCH Wllts. v. [231-264]

<sup>6</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gazette*, 7 April 1842, p 3; 9 April 1846, p 3

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p 207

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/1, p 210

<sup>9</sup> *Wilts Independent*, 31 July 1856, p 3

<sup>10</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gazette*, 8 Jan 1857, p 2

<sup>11</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gazette*, 22 Oct 1857, p 3

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 19 Sept 1862

<sup>13</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gazette*, 10 March 1864, p 3; *Wilts Independent*, 14 April 1864, p 3; *Swindon Advertiser*, 2 May 1864, p 2; WSA, G19/100/2, 10 May 1864, 18 May 1864

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 9 Aug 1864



Funding the police remained an issue. The investigation of the borough revenue in February 1866 considered whether it was improper to pay for policing from the borough fund given that it was not explicitly mentioned in the charter.<sup>1</sup> In 1874, following a ruling by quarter sessions which increased police remuneration, the borough agreed to pay for two police constables instead of one and to take advantage of the treasury allowance of half the cost of police pay and clothing.<sup>2</sup> The total cost of the new settlement to the borough was £118 of which £50 came from the treasury, against which the borough requested the resumption of a payment of £10 made every year from the county towards the police, which had been discontinued in 1864.<sup>3</sup>

A police rate was revived in 1884.<sup>4</sup> The corporation considered selling the Old Town Hall, which would have deprived the town of the 'police lock-up' (previously referred to as the blind house), and wrote to the county police to ask whether the loss of a cell in Chippenham would incur an extra police charge.<sup>5</sup> A response from the chief constable emphasising the utility of the lock-up contributed towards the decision not to sell the Old Town Hall.<sup>6</sup> In 1892 the lock-up was reallocated for the use of the Chippenham Yeomanry as a magazine for ammunition.<sup>7</sup>

The Local Government Act 1888 treated Chippenham for police force purposes as part of Wiltshire and not as a distinct borough. A restoration of the borough's separate commission of the peace was requested in 1893, but was rejected.<sup>8</sup> A related property dispute found in the county's favour, the extended borough having to pay the county £72 17s 8d.<sup>9</sup> The borough subsequently appointed a police superintendent as a town official so he could prosecute offences against the town police clauses.<sup>10</sup> In 1900 the corporation informed the chief constable that provision for Chippenham was 'totally inadequate' with particular reference to the failure to appoint a new constable in Langley Burrell.<sup>11</sup>

In 1908, the council discussed the possible appointment of an assistant inspector. The chief inspector of Wiltshire agreed to the suggested appointment but warned that the officer would only perform those duties arising from sections 21, 22, 28, 28, 30 and 31 of the Town Police Clauses Act 1847; sections 52, 56, 65 of the Chippenham Town Local Act, and selected clauses of the Towns Improvement Clauses Act 1847 and Borough Byelaws. The borough council unanimously decided to defer the decision.<sup>12</sup>

Four years later, in 1912, the issue was raised again in connection to the Town Police Clauses Act, and the clerk was ordered to make enquiries of other towns.<sup>13</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 13 February 1866

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 12 May 1874; G19/100/3, 11 August 1874

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 9 November 1874, 11 May 1875, 10 August 1875

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 12 Feb 1884

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 19 Feb 1884

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/3, 18 June 1884

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, p 113, 9 Feb 1892

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, p 139, 9 May 1893; p 144, 8 August 1893

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, pp 144-148, 8 August 1893

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, p 176, 14 August 1894

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/4, p 312, 8 May 1900

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/100/5, p 88, 8 August 1908.

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/100/5, p 171, 2 Jan 1912.

clerk later advised the borough had no power to make police appointment, and it was the police's duty to enforce act without reference to the council.<sup>1</sup> However, "superintendent Moore" was appointed several months later.<sup>2</sup> Moore was promoted to the Swindon Division in 1914 and application was made by the new superintendent, Wells. Later, Alderman Neale met with Wells after which they had concluded the council had no power to make the appointment, but if they did, they would 'probably get extra supervision from the police.'<sup>3</sup> Wells subsequently turned the post down, and the matter was deferred.<sup>4</sup> A decision was delayed again until after the war had ended.<sup>5</sup> However, the issue was not again addressed. Thereafter, the borough council had little influence over local policing other than to draw county police's attention to specific problems, such as in 1930 with traffic noise caused by lorries in Malmesbury Road.<sup>6</sup>

### *Fire*

Chippenham fire brigade was established in 1849, under the superintendency of Henry Gale, based at the Market Place.

The subscription for the new fire engine was supported by the agents of nine insurance offices in the district; it was organised by Jacob Phillips who represented the Imperial, who were one of four insurers subscribing £10 each, the others being the West of England, the Royal Exchange and Norwich Union. The other insurers subscribed either £15 (the Sun and the Phoenix, the same as the largest individual donor, Joseph Neeld MP), £5 (the County and the Globe) or £2 2s. (the Royal Farmers).<sup>7</sup> The subscription raised £154 4s. 6d., of which £96 was spent on a fire engine by Merryweather of London, £24 on four lengths of copper hose, £23 12s. on four dozen fire buckets, and the remainder on other equipment, lettering, printing, and transport excluding the journey from London which was donated (waiving £1 1s.) by the Great Western Railway. The surplus of £6 was used to buy another length of hose.

The local board assessed and reformed the fire brigade in 1873, leading to the dismissal of several firemen. The fire engine and escape were brought under a new fire committee of the board, and firemen were all issued with badges.<sup>8</sup> David Baigent was appointed superintendent in 1876.<sup>9</sup> The fire committee took responsibility for setting charges for the extinction of fires, and for waiving them if they judged a case deserving.<sup>10</sup>

The engine bought for the new fire brigade in 1849 was inherited by the extended borough in 1889. In 1891, its general purposes committee recommended the fire engine be fitted with a new brake and a portable water cistern.<sup>11</sup> In 1895, Merryweather & Co. advised that 'if the bottom of the cistern is quite gone the sides are not likely to be very serviceable' and ideally that the engine be sent back to Merryweathers' works in London

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/100/5, p 173, 6 Feb 1912.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/100/5, p 184, 2 July 1912. -Was this the locally serving superintendent of the Wilts Co Constabulary?

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/100/5, pp 219, 223-4, 225. 10 Feb 1914, 12 May 1914, 2 June 1914.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/5, pp 227, 11 August 1914.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/6, p. 144, 1 Feb 1916

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/9, p.26, 1 July 1930.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 1769/70, 'Mr Jacob Phillips's Account of the Subscription...' [typescript]

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, pp 124-126, 18 Aug 1873

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 327, 4 Sept 1876

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, p 239, 4 Apr 1882

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 284, 7 Apr 1891



for assessment.<sup>1</sup> Following the departure of Baigent, governance was revised, the borough surveyor being appointed chief officer with a fire captain under him, the council also declaring for an upper age limit for firemen, and uniforms.<sup>2</sup> A lieutenant was added in 1901.<sup>3</sup> A steam fire engine was bought from Merryweathers in May 1902, soon after the alteration of the firemen's uniform to include brass helmets.<sup>4</sup> Moving the fire station to a new building in the Market Yard was considered that December, but rejected in favour of the Old Town Hall, subject to alterations to the existing building and the lease of the section belonging to Sir Audley Neeld, bt.<sup>5</sup> The fire brigade captain requested lectures on first aid and ambulance work in 1904.<sup>6</sup> In 1908 the brigade consisted of the superintendent, captain, lieutenant and thirteen firemen, with one post vacant in March 1909.<sup>7</sup>

In [1922] the borough council appointed 'a committee of gentlemen acquainted with and interested in' the re-equipping of the fire brigade to advise; they launched a subscription to raise £900 towards the £1400 needed in order to purchase a 'Leyland Petrol Motor Fire Engine'. The borough's responsibility to fires outside the borough was emphasised; the Leyland engine could reach Bowood House, seat of the marquess of Lansdowne, in thirteen minutes.<sup>8</sup> Funds were successfully raised and the engine purchased.

A fire station was opened on Dallas Road [date]. During the Second World War it was transferred to the National Fire Service. In 1946 and 1947 it was proposed to use the fire station recreation room to house a branch of the new Ministry of National Insurance, but this plan seems to have been foiled in 1948 by the requirements of the restored County Fire Brigade, which was temporarily headquartered at Chippenham.<sup>9</sup> Acknowledging the poor state of the existing building, it was proposed in 1969 to extend the fire station or replace it.<sup>10</sup> Following the decision to proceed, the cost was estimated at £111, 200 by 26 May 1972.<sup>11</sup> A temporary fire station operated from the former Unigate garages, Cocklebury Road, from early 1973.<sup>12</sup> A new fire station on the existing site on Dallas Road was opened in September 1974, but the drill tower was found to be unstable and the strengthening of the columns recommended.<sup>13</sup>

In 2019 the Dallas Road station was operated as a day-crewed station by Dorset and Wiltshire fire service, with two watches working three days on and three days off, responding from the station by day and from home at night.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, 1769/70, Merryweather & Co to L. H. Marshall, 17 June 1895

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, p 297-299, 7 Sept 1897; p 314, 2 Nov 1897

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 133, 6 Aug 1901

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 190, 22 May 1902; p 186, 6 May 1902

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 223, 2 Dec 1902; p 228, 22 Dec 1902

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 323, 2 Feb 1904

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 280, 2 Mar 1909

<sup>8</sup> WSA, 1769/70

<sup>9</sup> WSA, F18/351/6, Correspondence, 17 December 1946 to 8 March 1948

<sup>10</sup> WSA, F18/351/6, Chippenham Fire Station possible extension, 9 May 1969

<sup>11</sup> WSA, F18/351/6, Public Protection Committee, Chippenham New Fire Station, Financial Report, 26 May 1972

<sup>12</sup> WSA, F18/351/6, Temporary Fire Station, Cocklebury Road, Chippenham, 17 April 1973

<sup>13</sup> WSA, F18/351/6, Clarke Nicholls and Marcel, report, June 1975

<sup>14</sup> Dorset and Wiltshire Fire and Rescue, Chippenham, <https://www.dwfire.org.uk/fire-station/chippenham/>, accessed 11 Dec 2019

## Water

The borough's main source of fresh water was the town well in Market Place. This was repaired with stone in 1647-8. It was also repaired in 1653-4 and in 1664-5.<sup>1</sup> The well was capped with the Town Pump no later than 1679, the year which appeared on it with the arms of Sir Edward Hungerford.<sup>2</sup> The pump first appears in the bailiff's accounts in 1681-82, when it was repaired by Samuel Elliott who also maintained the borough arms.<sup>3</sup>

On 13 June 1766 the bailiff and burgesses agreed to reopen the town well, which was by then closed up, resume paying for its upkeep, and build a new pump. The main purpose of a good water supply was then presented as the extinguishing of fires. The well was then owned by William Norris of Nonsuch, leased to Thomas Eacott, plumber and glazier.<sup>4</sup> The borough thereafter paid the cost of Eacott's lease, renewing it in 1768 for £16 10s and again in 1779.<sup>5</sup> The pump was kept in repair thereafter partly by keeping a plumber on 'salary', presumably by way of retainer.<sup>6</sup> In 1819 three bore holes were drilled at the base of the well.<sup>7</sup>

In 1844 it was proposed by 'J.P.' (Jacob Phillips) to launch a joint stock company under an Act of Parliament, on the model of the gas company, to improve the town's water supply. Water was to be run from Loxwell spring, three miles south-east of Chippenham, through iron pipes to a new fountain on the site of the town pump, and thence down High Street and across the bridge to a reservoir at the Great Western Railway station. Associated improvements would include the demolition of the shambles in the Market Place and the 'casing' of the Yelde Hall in stone 'so as to give it an appropriate and antique appearance'.<sup>8</sup> J. Hammond, assistant to Isambard Kingdom Brunel, devised the more detailed scheme.<sup>9</sup> The plan was approved by a public meeting chaired by the mayor on 31 October, and a provisional committee set up, but reportedly few of those who promised to take up shares actually paid their deposits and the scheme lapsed, though an attempt to revive it was made in 1849.

It was requested that the well be sunk further in 1863, but the borough treasurer replied that there were no funds available for the task and that it should instead be left to the town commissioners to impose a rate.<sup>10</sup>

A well on Mr Esmeade's land near the mill was identified as an alternative source of water, and Sir John Neeld offered 100 guineas to support its conveyance into the town. A plan to do so by four-inch iron pipe was offered by the railway engineer Rowland Brotherhood and completed by May 1865.<sup>11</sup> The town pump was ordered removed in 1867.<sup>12</sup>

A letter in the *Wiltshire Independent* (12 Sept 1867) described the river Avon in Chippenham as full of 'decomposed vegetable matter, dead dogs, cats, &c., &c.' Some parts of town had no drains and the poor living in the 'upper part of town' were reliant on two small buckets of water sold at 1d., little of which was used for washing. The mayor and corporation were accused of failing to exercise authority the author believed they had to repair the borough's sanitary provision.<sup>13</sup> A response identified the spring channelled by Sir John Neeld and Mr Collen as a source, suggesting that a waterworks company should be set up to distribute spring

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/1/18, f 136, f 159, f 196v

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlain, 116

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/1/18, f 253v

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/1/8, f 281v

<sup>5</sup> Goldney, 304-5

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/20 [Stephen King, 1790-91, p 6; John Noyes, 1791-92, p 4; Thomas Brown, 1792-93, p 4]

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/1/20 [J.M. Coombs and Harry Goldney, 1819-1820 – [recheck, see Goldney p 251](#)]

<sup>8</sup> WSA, 137/90, 'A Prospectus', 17 Oct 1844

<sup>9</sup> WSA, 137/90, 'Chippenham Water Company... Report and Estimate', 11 Jan 1845

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 1 Sept 1863

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 9 Aug 1864, 12 Nov 1864, 9 May 1865

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 12 Feb 1867

<sup>13</sup> *Wilt. Independent*, 12 Sept 1867, p 3

water through the town.<sup>1</sup> The borough council established a committee to consider the town commissioners' plan for the improvement of the town drainage on 25 September 1867.<sup>2</sup>

Another response was the public meeting calling for the establishment of a water company, held on 27 September 1867. The proposal was endorsed by the mayor, T.W. Fellowes, who recalled his own abandoned scheme of 1845; this scheme was put forward by the principal author of the former, Jacob Phillips. It revived the proposal to use a spring at Loxwell Farm, Pewsham, on the marquess of Lansdowne's estate. The company was promoted as a way of minimizing rates, with the cost of drainage under the commissioners' plan estimated at £12000 and the company's water supply at £6000.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, the local authorities became more active in urging remedies for the presence of sewage in the water supply. In 1868 the town commissioners requested a report from William Crookes in London into the offensive smell noticed from the water piped from Monkton, but Crookes found that while a deposit was building up in the pipes this was not of foul matter and in any case it left the water in a superior condition.<sup>4</sup> Dr W.H. Colborne, a borough councillor and Francis Spencer, a surgeon, gave evidence to the council regarding sewage on 20 August 1869.<sup>5</sup>

In August 1870 the local board of health arranged a temporary water supply for the town from a well on the site of Brotherhood's foundry.<sup>6</sup> Sites considered for permanent water supplies included Loxwell, previously associated with the water company proposal, the Marden stream on the property of Gabriel Goldney MP at Stanley, and a spring at Stillington on Sir John Neeld's estate.<sup>7</sup> Although the Loxwell scheme was preferred and terms agreed with the landowner, the marquess of Lansdowne, it failed as the owner of an intervening estate, Lysley, would not allow water pipes to cross his land, and was subsequently thought inadequate by the consulting engineer to the local board, Mr Easton. Instead, a site on Westmead, near the gasworks and accessed from Foundry Lane, was chosen for a well.<sup>8</sup> Permission for a borehole and waterworks on Westmead was sought from the borough council in August 1873.<sup>9</sup> Half an acre was granted for a waterworks, reservoir and access.<sup>10</sup> Following approval of the site by H.W. Bristow, director of the Geological Survey of England and Wales (as required by the local government board inspector, Major Tulloch) Easton began the well on 22 November 1873.<sup>11</sup> It was reported to the local board in April 1874 that a spring had been struck at the well and the services of a specialist well borer would be required.<sup>12</sup> Construction of the well ended in June as the supply from the well was already more than adequate, and in July contract for a 100 feet narrow bore from the foot of the well on Westmead was granted to Mr J. Bennett of Bristol.<sup>13</sup> The early success of the well led to the adoption of a temporary scheme to force water up to a temporary reservoir at Bull's Head above the town and then distribute it to the hydrants fed from the well at Brotherhood's foundry, a model which a party on the local board would be a preferable permanent solution (as substantially cheaper) to the £8000 scheme proposed by Easton. In the meantime the water from Westmead was distributed about Chippenham by horse in tubs until

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<sup>1</sup> *Wilts. Independent*, 19 Sept 1867, p 3

<sup>2</sup> *Wilts. Independent*, 12 Sept 1867, p 3; WSA, G19/100/2, 25 Sept 1867

<sup>3</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gaz.*, 3 Oct 1867, p 2

<sup>4</sup> WSA, 137/90, Report of Analysis of the Monkton Spring Water, Sept 1868

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 8 June 1868, 20 Aug 1869

<sup>6</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gaz.*, 1 Sept 1870, p 3

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 3, 4 Dec 1871; *Bath Chronicle*, 5 Dec 1872, p 5

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 108, 7 Apr 1873; p 127, 18 Aug 1873

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 25 Aug 1873

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/2, 27 Oct 1873

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 127, 18 Aug 1873; pp 132-3, 1 Sept 1873; p 142, 27 Oct 1873; *Western Daily Press*, 26 Nov 1873, p 3

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 161, 9 Apr 1874

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 170, 9 June 1874

the supply to the hydrants began in September.<sup>1</sup> Boring stopped in August with between 138,000 and 200,000 gallons a day rising from the well.<sup>2</sup> Gabriel Goldney MP announced he would build a public baths at his own expense fed by the new well, should supplies remain 'abundant'.<sup>3</sup> A loan of £8000 to the local board for building a reservoir and extending the pipe network through the town was approved on 1 March 1875.<sup>4</sup> The contract for completing the permanent water supply was won by Smith and Light.<sup>5</sup> The local board resolved to provide service pipes to each property boundary.<sup>6</sup> The waterworks were completed in May 1876.<sup>7</sup>

The local board could compel houses to be connected to the new water supply.<sup>8</sup> Following an outbreak of typhoid at the George hotel it and the neighbouring houses were ordered to stop using their shared well and connect to the town supply instead.<sup>9</sup> In January 1878 the representations of householders in St Paul's street to the board that their own wells were adequate and that they did not need the board's supply was rejected after their water was tested by the medical officer of health, Dr Briscoe.<sup>10</sup> Several of the St Paul's street residents were still refusing to comply in October 1881, when the surveyor was ordered to connect remaining houses to the mains under the terms of the Public Health Act 1875.<sup>11</sup>

Town water was supplied outside the urban sanitary area from at least 1876, when the rural sanitary committee agreed to lay pipes to the union workhouse at their own cost, and West Awdry arranged for the supply of town water to Hardenhuish House.<sup>12</sup> Water was also provided to Lowden in the rural sanitary area.<sup>13</sup>

Problems with the water supply included discolouration of water, blamed on unanticipated rust in galvanised iron service pipes linking the mains to houses.<sup>14</sup> In 1895 the surveyor warned that demand for water had increased so much that it might be jeopardised if there was a fire.<sup>15</sup> The borough council resolved in January 1896 that a new reservoir capable of holding 450,000 gallons was needed.<sup>16</sup> An ensuing report in March by Edward Pritchard, civil engineer, found that the yield of the existing well was between 99,360 gallons and 338,688 gallons per day, an 'ample' supply in which Chippenham was 'fortunate'. Pritchard recommended an additional storage reservoir to hold 300,000 gallons, alongside the existing 150,000-gallon reservoir, and extensive additions to the pumping machinery.<sup>17</sup> Although the council agreed to the work and sought approval for a loan, the work was not taken forward and formally abandoned in 1898.<sup>18</sup>

A water scheme was revived in 1904 in association with the new sewers. The problem of supplying higher ground in the district was met by agreement to construct a new reservoir on Hardenhuish Hill, into which 100,000 gallons per day would be pumped from the well on

<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, pp 181-183, 25 July 1874; *Bath Chronicle*, 30 July 1874, p 3; 25 Sept 1874, p 8

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 106, 7 Aug 1874; *Wilts. Independent*, 13 Aug 1874, p 3

<sup>3</sup> *Wilts. Independent*, 13 Aug 1874, p 3

<sup>4</sup> *Bristol Mercury*, 6 March 1875, p 6

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, pp 235-6, 9 June 1875

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 250, 1 Sept 1875

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 302, 25 May 1876; *Western Daily Press*, 26 May 1876, p 3

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 298, 1 May 1876

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p xxx, 20 Feb 1877

<sup>10</sup> *Swindon Advertiser*, 26 Jan 1878, p 5

<sup>11</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gaz.*, 3 Nov 1881, p 2; WSA G19/101/3, p 216, 4 Oct 1881

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 278, 6 March 1876; p 295, 24 April 1876; pp 320-21, 9 Aug 1876

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, p 363, 7 Oct 1884

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 134, 18 Sept 1888

<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, pp 119-120, 3 Sept 1895

<sup>16</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, p 155, 7 Jan 1896

<sup>17</sup> E. Pritchard, 'Chippenham Waterworks. Report', 31 March 1896 [printed], attached to WSA, G19/112/2, p 178

<sup>18</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, p 214, 13 Aug 1896; p 217, 1 Sept 1896; p 325, 7 Dec 1897; p 349, 3 May 1898

Westmead.<sup>1</sup> The reservoir was operational by June 1906.<sup>2</sup> A new pumping plant was also built, the existing one acting as a reserve until it was replaced in 1912.<sup>3</sup> The filtration and aeration of the water supply with filters, at first hired and then purchased from the Candy Filter Company, was introduced in 1914, successfully preventing discolouration.<sup>4</sup> One of the first acts of the council following the outbreak of war that year was the organization of a body of men to guard the reservoirs.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, the borough water supply was further extended into the rural district, agreement to serve Kingston Langley being negotiated between 1910 and 1912.<sup>6</sup>

In December 1914 the sanitary committee advised significant work was required on the pumps and pump shafts at the waterworks.<sup>7</sup> One set of pumps was overhauled in 1916 and repairs were made the following year. Water pressure was found improved.<sup>8</sup> Tests were carried out on the pumps in 1918 when they were deemed to be working efficiently. However, the water supply to Rowden Hill later failed for several days and by the following year urgent repairs were again planned.<sup>9</sup>

A new water main was laid to supply Lowden, Rowden and the Sheldon Road area from the reservoir at Hardenhuish.<sup>10</sup> In 1929, an additional reservoir adjoining the old was planned at Hardenhuish to hold 275,000 gallons.<sup>11</sup> Improvements were also made to the supply from the reservoir at Englands with the erection of a water tower and new 4 inch mains in parts of Wood Lane and Crickets Lane.<sup>12</sup> New pumping machinery was provided at the waterworks.<sup>13</sup> A new borehole was sunk in 1935.<sup>14</sup> Many of the developments during the 1920s and early 1930s used the labour of the local unemployed and may not have otherwise been sanctioned.<sup>15</sup> In 1933, the unemployed were also used to spread sludge from sewage tanks onto Westmead.<sup>16</sup>

In 1939, as part of the war effort, plans were made for the Chippenham Council to supply the RAF Hullavington.<sup>17</sup> Postwar a new reservoir and pumping plant were approved at Hardenhuish in 1958.<sup>18</sup>

Water consumption rose sharply with the expansion of the town during the 1950s and 60s. By October 1959 daily consumption had reached 3,338,000 gallons. A prolonged dry spell that year meant water levels in the boreholes were 15 feet lower than normal and the public and local business were asked to conserve water.<sup>19</sup> However, by 1960 daily consumption topped 3,473,000 gallons and low levels continued to be a problem.<sup>20</sup> [Supply was primarily made from

<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 318, 5 Jan 1904; *Wilts. Times*, 26 Nov 1904, p 4

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 81, 5 June 1906

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 85, 7 Nov 1911; p 112, 2 Apr 1912

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 16 May 1914, p 4, 8 Aug 1914, p 4, 14 Nov 1914, p 6; WSA, G19/103/2, p 301, 1 Sept 1914

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 305, 1 Sept 1914

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 431, 6 Dec 1910; G19/103/2, p 144, 6 Aug 1912

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/6, p 18, 1 Dec 1914.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/6, pp 179, 300. 23 May 1916. 4 Sept 1917.

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/100/6, pp 337, 363. 5 Feb 1918. 4 June 1918; WSA, G19/100/7, p.66, 2 Dec 1919.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/100/8, p117, attached p118, 7 July 1925; p180, 2 Feb 1926; p.201, 4 May 1926.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/8, p 470, 1 Aug 1929; p 497, 9 Nov 1929,

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/100/9, p27, 1 July 1930.

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/100/9, pp78 and 80, 6 Jan 1931.

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/100/9, p509, 1 Oct 1935.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. WSA, G19/100/8, p117, attached p118, 7 July 1925; WSA, G19/100/9, p27, 1 July 1930; p 45-6, 7 Oct 1930.

<sup>16</sup> WSA, G19/100/9, p325, 9 Nov 1933.

<sup>17</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 26 August 1939.

<sup>18</sup> *WT* Fri 7 May 1958, Fri 6 Feb 1959.

<sup>19</sup> *WT* Friday 9 October 1959, Fri 6 Nov 1959, 4 Dec 1959.

<sup>20</sup> *WT* Friday 8 July 1960, Friday 10 November 1961.

boreholes at Westmead (4 boreholes) and Ivy Lane]. In December 1961, it reached crisis point and the army and Wiltshire fire brigade were called in to assist by pumping water from the River Avon adjoining the waterworks at Westmead and a hose pipe ban was enforced.<sup>1</sup> The pumping apparatus was not taken down until the following year.<sup>2</sup>

The organisation of the water supply fell to the Public Health Committee of the town council. During the 1950s, the receipts from the provision of water were in credit and the item was the only item in the Committee expenses not to be a charge on the rates.<sup>3</sup> In 1957, the government proposal for a re-organisation of Wiltshire water provision into four groups, of which Chippenham was to form part of the North West Waterboard, was met with resistance. The largest local supplier of water was the Chippenham Waterworks which supplied five other authorities.<sup>4</sup> The North West Wiltshire Waterboard was eventually formed in 1961? Its office was on Marshfield Road. Each of the authorities had representation on the board.

The possibility of fluoride being added to local supplies caused some concern and a memorandum was received by the council's Public Health and Roads Committee in November 1972 that pointed out the dangers. The medical officer, Dr John Wray, reassured the public that there was no danger and stated, "People who are against fluoridisation are to be likened to those who can always seem to produce a UFO."<sup>5</sup>

Following legislation in 1973 water supply was removed from local authority control.

### *Refuse and sewage*

The management of human waste was an early concern of borough government. In 1607 the bailiff and burgesses prohibited the throwing of dung or the building of a dunghill in the street.<sup>6</sup> There is no indication as to how this rule was enforced. There was no record of a payment to a scavenger until 1767-68, when an unnamed person was paid £1 10s.<sup>7</sup> The scavenger was paid for 53 weeks work, 'one being in arrear', in 1769-70, the charge being £2 13s.<sup>8</sup> Reference to a payment to the bailiff's accounts for cleaning the streets was made in November 1785.<sup>9</sup>

From August 1834, the improvement commissioners required and enforced the fitting of spouts or troughs and drainpipes to houses for the controlled carrying off of water.<sup>10</sup> In 1836, the improvement commissioners refused to take notice of a 'nuisance' in the cellar of the Sun inn; details are not given, but this may well have been an issue with sewage or drainage.<sup>11</sup> Innkeepers were ordered to prevent 'watering on the pavement' outside their establishments in 1845.<sup>12</sup> An extension to the main sewer was made in 1845 and in 1849 a premium was offered for a new drainage scheme for the town, which was won by Rowland Brotherhood, proprietor of the railway works, but this scheme did not progress.<sup>13</sup> A plan by the commissioners' surveyor, Mr Blandford, for an extension of the town sewer north of the town bridge along Marshfield Road

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<sup>1</sup> WT Friday 1 December 1961, 8 December 1961.

<sup>2</sup> WT Fri 9 Feb 1962.

<sup>3</sup> Wiltshire Times, 5 March 1955.

<sup>4</sup> Wiltshire Times, Friday 8 November 1957.

<sup>5</sup> Times and News, 24 November 1972.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/7, p 55

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/1/19 [John Merewether, 1767-68, p 5]

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/1/19 [Matthew Humphrys, 1768-69, p 3]

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/1/19 [William Pope, 1784-85, p 2]

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 2 August 1834

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 9 April 1836

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 20 Jan 1845

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 28 July 1849, 6 Oct 1849, 8 Nov 1849



provoked uncertainty of the wisdom of further polluting the river, and the eventual construction of a drain from the viaduct over New Road to the bridge caused effluvia from both sides of the river to meet in the middle rather than be carried away from the town by deep-flowing water as had been hoped.<sup>1</sup>

Buchanan's report to the privy council in 1870 stated in the poorer parts of town that the ratio of privies was one to four or five houses, and that a few houses didn't have the use of any privy but paid morning visits to a neighbour "or, it is suppose, dispose somehow of the contents of chamber vessels."<sup>2</sup> Water closets discharged either into cesspools or "(especially in the case of the better class houses)" into the town drains, with only the best having water cisterns to flush the privies and not buckets. The drains themselves were probably only intended for rainwater, and with the cesspools accounted for the 'almost universal pollution of the wells.'<sup>3</sup> There was no public provision for the emptying of cesspools. Refuse and ashes were collected by a contractor on Wednesdays and Saturdays, but otherwise accumulated in courtyards and 'back places'.<sup>4</sup> The local board appointed a medical officer of health on 3 January that year and shortly afterwards an inspector of nuisances.

The local board resolved in December 1871 that dry earth privies were to be established throughout Chippenham.<sup>5</sup> Scavenging was taken out of the hands of a contractor and the board itself acquired the horses, carts and plant necessary for the task and took responsibility for the disposal of refuse.<sup>6</sup> The scale of the issue was shown by the exclusion of shavings, broken glass, shop and trade refuse from the local board's scavenging plan; only ashes and 'ordinary house refuse' were to be collected, the rest being left to householders to dispose of privately.<sup>7</sup> A complaint in November 1872 made by a resident to the local board about failure to scavenge dirt 'left in heaps' for days was met by an explanation that the available workforce was fully engaged on repairing the town's main drainage.<sup>8</sup>

The loan of £600 taken out in 1873 allowed the extension of sewerage along previously undrained streets including Blind Lane, further along roads where new houses were being built such as the Causeway, or where houses were discharging sewage into running water as at Landsend Place.<sup>9</sup> The owners of several cottages in Wood Lane were compelled to replace inadequate sanitation with dry earth closets.<sup>10</sup> Dr Blaxall reported to the local government board in 1875 that the improved water supply had checked typhoid fever while sewerage, drainage and excrement removal was of a higher standard than five years before. However, the High Street was still rutted and drainage there was minimal.<sup>11</sup> The board commissioned a report and plan of sewerage from Mr Shopland of Swindon in January 1877.<sup>12</sup>

In June 1878 residents were ordered to place ashes and other house refuse in boxes in order for them to be collected by the scavenger.<sup>13</sup> In August 1879, the local board advised the surveyor to excuse scavengers from the collection of garden waste and threatened residents with the consequences of contravention of the bye-laws if they continued to leave it on the roads.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 7 Oct 1854, 3 Nov 1854, 5 Apr 1855, 17 Aug 1855, 39 Jan 1857, 12 Sept 1857

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/129/2, Dr Buchanan's Report on the Sanitary State of Chippenham, 1870, p 5

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, p 6

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*, p 7

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/102/2, p 3, 4 Dec 1871

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/102/2, p 46, 6 May 1872

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 66, 12 Aug 1872

<sup>8</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gazette*, 7 Nov 1872, p 2

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 136, 20 Sept 1873; p 278, 6 March 1876; p 323, 9 Aug 1876

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 310, 20 June 1876

<sup>11</sup> Chamberlain, 120 – likely to be after 6 May 1875. See *Western Daily Press*, 6 May 1875, p 3

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 354, 16 Jan 1877

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, p 12, 3 June 1878

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, p 106, 6 August 1879

By November 1881 main drainage was being extended along the London Road to include cottages and new houses there.<sup>1</sup> Refuse storage moved from the local board yard to Cricketts Lane, Pewsham, in December 1884, and in April 1887 moved to a site between Bromhill Road and Greenaway Lane, rented from Mr Hart Porter.<sup>2</sup> The possibility of using the spring at Monkton as a source for street-cleaning water was discussed by the local board in July 1887, during a drought, but it was decided that the reservoir supply was adequate.<sup>3</sup>

Discussions during a drought in July 1887 show that street cleaning was reliant on a 'flushing cart' driven by a contractor and that the 'trappings' in several streets were dry, at which the medical officer, Dr Briscoe, expressed concern; the board surveyor explained that the streets were being flushed fortnightly and that his staff's duties had increased greatly but their numbers had not.<sup>4</sup> Sewage was discovered in the cellars of two buildings in Market Place that August, leading to emergency work to replace an old stone drain from the Causeway. The episode exposed the lack of information concerning the town's stone drains, but they could only be discovered as work on expanding the new drainage pipes progressed.<sup>5</sup> Remedies to the persistent pollution of watercourses included the removal of sewage from the river near the waterworks and from Back brook between Foghamshire and Bath Road in 1893, with pipes proposed to divert sewage from that stream thereafter.<sup>6</sup>

In 1900 the mill belonging to the Cullen family was identified as the main cause of the poor state of the river, damming it so far as to expose the bed; the surveyor was ordered to clear the river of weeds as far as possible.<sup>7</sup> The prominence of effluvia in the water was a reminder that sewage was still being drained into the river. A agreement on sums to be paid by the rural district council when rural sewers were connected to the urban network, and on the common drainage area where rural sewers would always drain into the borough network, was proposed after a meeting between representatives of the two authorities in November 1900.<sup>8</sup> This anticipated a major reconsideration of Chippenham's sewerage provision, which was referred to Wiltshire county council in December 1901, and formally adopted by the borough in June 1902.<sup>9</sup> The new scheme would outfall into an irrigation area of about 9.5 acres at Blackwell Hams in the parish of Pewsham, by the river, south of and downstream from the centre of Chippenham, acquired from W.L. Lisley in April 1903.<sup>10</sup> The local government board recommended that the borough and rural district form a joint district for sewerage purposes.<sup>11</sup> Following the award of a loan from the Local Government Board of £15125, the tenders for the construction of the new sewers and associated water supply improvements were awarded in December 1904 and January 1905 to Ernest Ireland.

The rural district identified the heaps of spoil from earth closets dumped by the borough in its territory as a nuisance in February 1904; the council ordered the use of more disinfectant in more isolated tipping places.<sup>12</sup> The rural district returned to the issue in February 1910 when its inspector of nuisances demanded an end to the tipping of refuse at the Cuttings, Bath Road.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gaz.*, 3 Nov 1881, p 2

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, p 367, 2 Dec 1884; WSA, G19/101/4, p 61, 5 April 1887 *Devizes & Wilts Gazette*, 7 April 1887, p 3

<sup>3</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gaz.*, 7 July 1887, p 2

<sup>4</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gaz.*, 7 July 1887, p 2

<sup>5</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gaz.*, 4 Aug 1887, p 2

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 445, 3 Oct 1893

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, pp 477-8, 4 Sept 1900; p 83 [date]

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, attached p 96, F.H. Phillips, Town Clerk, to Chippenham RDC Sanitary Committee [typescript copy], 30 Nov 1900

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 152, 3 Dec 1901; p 176, 4 Mar 1902; p 184, 8 Apr 1902; p 194, 13 June 1902

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 223, 2 Dec 1902; p 225, 11 Dec 1902; p 251, 7 Apr 1903

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 233, 3 Jan 1903

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 322, 2 Feb 1904

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 361-2, 1 Feb 1910



By September 1911, tipping of refuse had relocated to an area on Englands, identified as a nuisance to residents there by Alderman Edgar Neale; a more remote location was found thereafter.<sup>1</sup> Refuse subsequently played a part in the infilling of the town branch of the abandoned Wilts and Berks canal in 1912.<sup>2</sup>

*Sewage/water dates to investigate from Chamberlain*

1894 – new reservoir suggested

1901 - borough and rural district agree new sewerage scheme (plans adopted 1902)

1904 – new reservoir land acquired

1906 – new sewage disposal works at Westmead

1910 – lie-by plant

1914 = Candy filters fitted

1936 – new borehole, Ivy Fields

1941-44 – extension to waterworks to meet government requirements

1963 – North Wiltshire Water Board formed

1971-73 – construction of new sewage treatment works at Blackwell Hams<sup>3</sup>

1975 – Wessex Water Authority (privatized 1980s) [facilities in Chippenham?]

A new sewage disposal works was completed in at Patterdown in 1906.<sup>4</sup> The works were put ‘in order’ in 1914.<sup>5</sup> However, by the following year an inspection by the Sanitary Committee deemed further alteration of the works to be required. The works at Westmead were, however, working efficiently.<sup>6</sup> Plans were still being prepared to remodel the Patterdown works in 1916. Application for the loan required to fund the works was put back to a more convenient time, despite the works being deemed to be ‘more or less in an insanitary condition.’<sup>7</sup> It took a further four years for the requisite loan application to be made, and until April 1921 for the Ministry of works to approve the plans.<sup>8</sup> Press coverage from the public enquiry suggested that the works had never worked adequately.<sup>9</sup> The improvements were completed in 1922.<sup>10</sup>

A report from the County Medical Officer in 1927 deemed the operation of the Westmead and Patterdown Sewage works efficiently managed.<sup>11</sup> Ten years later, 1937, the borough surveyor recommended improvements were required at Westmead.<sup>12</sup> New works were planned at Westmead before the outbreak of World War II, but were delayed during wartime. The new works costing £89, 000 and covering 42 a. were opened in 1949. They dealt with a half a million gallons of waste daily, and catered for 60% of the town population, the remaining 40% was processed at Patterdown. There was an acknowledgement that the works would need to be expanded if the town continued to grow at the same rate.<sup>13</sup>

By 1956, the new sewage works had, indeed, become overloaded serving a population in excess to that it had originally been designed. This was allegedly the result of poor decisions

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, p 71, 5 Sept 1911; p 75, 8 Oct 1911; p 81, 7 Nov 1911

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, p 142, 6 Aug 1912; p 150, 3 Sept 1912

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/168/8 [opening of new sewage works, 1973]

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/100/6, p 168 [attached].

<sup>5</sup> *North Wiltshire Herald*, 31 July 1914.

<sup>6</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 9 January 1915, 10 April 1915.

<sup>7</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 11 March 1916.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/100/7, Pp. 17-18 (3 June 1920); pp.36-7 (2 Sept 1919); p.144 (7 Sept 1920); p.181 (4 January 1921); p.209 (5 Apr 1921). See also *Western Daily Press*, 9 September 1920;

<sup>9</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 8 January 1921.

<sup>10</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 6 May 1922, 10 June 1922.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/8, p.336 (3 January 1928).

<sup>12</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 5 June 1937.

<sup>13</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 25 June 1949.

made at the time of its planning by the government minister.<sup>1</sup> A report was carried out by the consulting engineering firm, Harvey, McGill and Hayes, into the town's sewage provision in 1959. It found the facilities at Westmead and Patterdown were inadequate. At Patterdown the works were serving a population more than double it had been planned to serve. Their recommendations were followed.<sup>2</sup> In the late 1950s and 1960s, significant investment was made by the town into the waterworks were made, a new reservoir and pumping plant created, and improvement and renewal of sewage treatment.<sup>3</sup> In 1965, the council advised the public that the improvements in sewage disposal 'is the largest single scheme of any kind so far undertaken in Chippenham.'<sup>4</sup>

By February 1973, the first phase of a £1.2 million investment into a new sewage disposal system had been completed with the creation of new foul and surface water sewers in Greenway Lane and Langley Road and surface water sewers to the north-east area of the town. The new disposal works at Blackwell Hams was also nearing completion. The new provision reduced the water entering the system and alleviated flooding in the Greenway Lane-Langley Road and John Coles Park areas.<sup>5</sup> Despite the closure of Patterdown sewage disposal works, capacity increased and upgrades allowed for the continued expansion of the town and enhancement of treated effluent discharged into the River Avon.<sup>6</sup>

Shortly before the opening of the Blackwell Hams sewage treatment works, 5 tons of caustic soda was accidentally discharged into the sewers of Westinghouse causing the death of a substantial proportion of aerobic bacteria, worms and insect larvae at the Westmead disposal works. In a separate incident, styrenetoxic material was leaked several times into Chippenham's primary sewage system and caused the evacuation of properties on Wood Lane. It led the borough public health committee to urge letters to be sent to businesses advising them to check their outlets and machinery carefully.<sup>7</sup>

The Blackwell Hams sewage works took two years to construct by Johnston Construction Ltd. It was officially opened by the mayor, Douglas Cleverley, on 4 October 1973.<sup>8</sup> The new facility was designed to serve 24 000 people and a 'considerable amount' of trade effluent.<sup>9</sup> The success of the enterprise led to plans by the Bristol River Authority to use it for processing effluent from other towns and villages along the River Avon. It was approved by the town council on the proviso it would not restrict the development of the town, and the Blackwell Hams works could be extended as the need arose.<sup>10</sup>

By 1965 the borough council were providing weekly refuse collections from about 6, 200 premises across the town at the cost of £9, 400.<sup>11</sup> Two years later, space within the district for tipping rubbish had become scarce, and requirements had daily reached 19 tons. The council entered into an agreement with other authorities to build an incinerator at Thingley, Corsham. Capital costs were estimated at £306, 150 and annual running cost of £53, 060 which were to be

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times*, Saturday 7 April 1956. See also WSA, G19/126/1; G19/127/2, *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 16 February 1973.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/127/2. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 16 February 1973.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times*, Friday 6 February 1959.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/126/1.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/127/2. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 16 February 1973.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/127/2. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 9 March 1973, 12 October 1973. See also *Wiltshire Gazette and Herald*, 8 March 1973. See also WSA, G19/168/8.

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/127/2. Press cutting from *Times and News*, 23 February 1973, 13 April 1973; *Wiltshire Gazette and Herald*, 3 April 1973.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/126/1.

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/168/8.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/127/2. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Gazette and Herald*, 6 September 1973.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/126/1.

shared.<sup>1</sup> However, several councils soon pulled out leaving Chippenham Town Council to bear more of the associated cost. The project was abandoned. Instead, plans were drawn up to create a new tip at a quarry at Leigh Delamere.<sup>2</sup>

The increase in industry heightened the awareness of possible air pollution. The public health inspector, E.A. Eames sought to reassure council members on the Public Health and Highways Committee in 1972 by stating he was undertaking monitoring of selenium, cadmium and lead which were not problematic.<sup>3</sup>

### *Paving*

Until 1835, when the improvement commission began paving the footways, the maintenance of roads seems to have been the responsibility of the parish. An exception lay in the turnpike roads. In October 1834 the trustees of the Chippenham turnpike offered to remit tolls in Chippenham. In April 1835, George Bradbury, surveyor of Chippenham parish, informed the commissioners that the parish would maintain Cook Street, St Mary Street and the Butts in addition to the roads already repaired by him, if the commission would maintain the former turnpike roads within their boundaries, but the commissioners refused to do so.<sup>4</sup> The commission authorized the borrowing of £1000 to pave the streets on 4 July, the contract to do so being awarded to John Allpass of Bath.<sup>5</sup>

The main road through Chippenham remained an area of dispute: in May 1836 the magistrates ordered a meeting of commissioners and ratepayers to discuss paving it, and this was authorised in July.<sup>6</sup> On 31 August the improvement commission agreed with the parish to maintain the main road in return for the parish paving the streets which it had offered to maintain in April.<sup>7</sup> Paving was certified as complete by the justices on 1 April 1837, enabling the clerk to begin collecting the paving rate.<sup>8</sup> In September the surveyor was authorized to begin quarrying for road stone at Lord's Barn in the parish.<sup>9</sup>

The road surfaces included stone paved crossings for pedestrians, such as those at the Town Bridge and opposite Back Lane ordered in February 1845.<sup>10</sup> By the time major road repairs were undertaken in the 1870s, road stone was supplied from Bristol, Westbury and Cranmore. By this time some gravel footpaths were being asphalted, and the surveyor committed to a greater amount of asphaltting in the hope of reducing the need for road repairs in 1879.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/127/1. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 10 March 1967, 5 Jan 1968.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/127/2. Press cutting from *Wiltshire Times and Chippenham News*, 9 Jan 1970, 23 October 1970.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/127/2. Press cutting from *Times and News*, 24 November 1972.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 4 April 1835, 2 May 1835

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 4 July 1835

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 11 May 1836, 4 July 1836

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 31 Aug 1836

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 1 April 1837

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 7 Sept 1837

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 25 Feb 1845

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, pp 268-9, 3 Jan 1876; WSA, G19/101/3, p 102, 22 July 1879

The county council assumed responsibility for main roads in 1889, but Chippenham local board secured continuation of the repair of the main roads within its boundaries.<sup>1</sup> The expanded borough further asserted its retention of the repair and maintenance of main roads from the county in accordance with the Local Government Act 1888.<sup>2</sup> The 'main roads agreement' was reviewed in 1892 (to the borough's favour, financially) and frequently thereafter.<sup>3</sup> A council scheme for the maintenance of Maud Heath's Causeway was agreed with the trustees of the Maud Heath charity (chaired by the former chairman of the local board, Alderman Alfred Keary) in 1893.<sup>4</sup> In 1897 it was reported to the council that River Street was being coated in 'tarred macadam'.<sup>5</sup> The next year 80 tons of macadam had been 'consolidated' on the main roads.<sup>6</sup>

The borough applied for a loan of £950 in July 1901 in order to undertake street improvements, the first of which was the widening of Park Lane at its junction with Marshfield Road.<sup>7</sup> The tarring of High Street was underway by July 1907.<sup>8</sup> Gassons Lane was improved jointly with the rural district and the section in the borough renamed Audley Road.<sup>9</sup> Probably in response to the rise in motor traffic, it was decided in May 1912 to purchase as much 'tarura' and 'hard gravel' as was necessary to properly coat roads in the borough.<sup>10</sup>

A long-term problem lay in certain roads leading to and surrounding the station which it was assumed the Great Western Railway bore responsibility. The council regularly pressured the railway to make repairs.<sup>11</sup> The railway offered the council £250 to take over Station Hill in 1906, but the council declined.<sup>12</sup> In 1910 the railway stated that when Station Hill was built in 1858 they gave no undertakings to maintain the road except where the old road from Monkton Hill crossed the railway, and they subsequently gave notice of their intention to abandon its repair.<sup>13</sup> Following a payment from the railway of £350 and further contributions from front, the repaving of Station Hill was undertaken in 1911 and it was adopted as a highway.<sup>14</sup>

### *Lighting*

According to the report on Chippenham compiled for the municipal reform commissioners, in 1834 Chippenham was lighted by private subscription.<sup>15</sup> One of the first decisions of the improvement commission on 11 July that year was that it would not seek to light the town with gas or oil itself, but instead appoint contractors.<sup>16</sup> A public

<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 173, 14 May 1889; p 175, 24 May 1889; pp 186-6, 3 Aug 1889

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 214, 4 Feb 1890; pp 217, 220, 4 March 1890

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 348, 7 June 1892; p 366, 6 Sept 1892

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 385, 18 Nov 1892; p 400-401, 7 Feb 1893

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, p 284, 15 June 1897

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, pp 379-80, 4 Oct 1898

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, pp 109-110, 2 Apr 1901; pp 129-130, 18 July 1901; p 156, 7 Jan 1902

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 152, 2 July 1907

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 174, 5 Nov 1907

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, p 126, 21 May 1912

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 38, 2 Jan 1900; p 46, 6 Feb 1900

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 92 3 July 1906

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 409, 6 Sept 1910; p 416, 4 Oct 1910

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, p 14, 14 Feb 1911; pp 37-38, 27 Apr 1911; p 51, 9 May 1911; p 64, 1 Aug 1911; p 79, 8 Oct 1911

<sup>15</sup> WSA, 1769/66, Report on the Borough of Chippenham [printed], p 1248

<sup>16</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 11 July 1834

meeting to establish the Chippenham Gas Company was held on 12 July, proposing to raise £2000 by issuing 100 shares of £20 each.<sup>1</sup> Initial progress was rapid; the bailiff and burgesses agreed to lease an area on Westmead to the gas company on 15 July.<sup>2</sup> The tender for the construction of a gasometer was advertised at the end of the month.<sup>3</sup> In early October it was reported that the company's buildings were well advanced and that Chippenham would be lit by gas in early winter.<sup>4</sup> The improvement commission made a back payment of £62 9s to the gas company on 22 August 1835, for the lighting of public lamps up to the previous 1 July.<sup>5</sup> The first regular winter lighting period began on 1 September that year, the commission and gas company eventually agreeing on a price of £3 5s per lamp.<sup>6</sup>

The treasurership was assumed by Gundry and Co., Chippenham, William Gundry already being the chairman of the improvement commission; Gundry resigned the treasurership in 1837 following the Wilts and Dorset Bank's acquisition of his business, the Wilts and Dorset's manager Broome Pinner being elected by one vote against the North Wilts's W. R. Tayler.<sup>7</sup>

The original lighting plan was modified in late 1838 with lamps being removed from Bath Road.<sup>8</sup> A meeting to consider removing lamps from the extremities of the town in early 1839 was followed by the ending of lamp lighting on Marshfield Road, with the turnpike trustees being notified.<sup>9</sup> Lighting of roads where management was shared remained an issue. In 1851 the turnpike commissioners agreed to maintain New Road from the town bridge to the railway viaduct as long as (among other conditions) it was lit by the improvement commission; a new gas main along the road was laid accordingly by the gas company.<sup>10</sup>

From 1873 the gas company sold its unwanted cinders to the board of health for use in dry earth privies.<sup>11</sup> The board revised its arrangement with the gas company in June 1879: whereas it had previously employed its own lamplighters, it resolved to subcontract this to the gas company, whose foreman, Mr Hampden, was to keep debt and credit books for inspection. The board also appointed a permanent lighting committee.<sup>12</sup>

Friction occasionally erupted between the board of health and the gas company. In January 1883 the company requested that the board pay about £22 per year more than it did, as measurements had shown that more gas was consumed by the town lamps than thought; they suggested the board become a metered customer like other large users, rather than pay the customary pre-arranged fee.<sup>13</sup> Tests arranged by the

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<sup>1</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 17 July 1834, p 3

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/1/9, 15 July 1834

<sup>3</sup> *Devizes and Wilts Gazette*, 24 July 1834, p 3

<sup>4</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 2 Oct 1834, p 3

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 22 Aug 1835

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 5 Sept 1835, 19 Sept 1835

<sup>7</sup> *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 16 April 1836, p 2; *Devizes and Wilts Gazette*, 5 Jan 1837, p 2

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 17 Nov 1838

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 26 Feb 1839, 23 Mar 1839, 20 Apr 1839

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 30 Oct 1851

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/101/2, p 94, 3 Feb 1873

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, pp 91-93, 17 June 1879

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, p 272, 2 Jan 1883

board's surveyor challenged the company's estimate, and a joint testing was agreed.<sup>1</sup> The results of this convinced the board to agree to pay a metered rate.<sup>2</sup> In 1885 the board fitted new burners to its lamps which reduced the amount of gas consumed and thus the board's payments to the gas company.<sup>3</sup>

Electricity was emerging as an alternative to gas lighting, and in 1891 the extended borough appointed a committee to monitor the progress of electric lighting, especially in small towns.<sup>4</sup> A private application in December 1893 for the extension of electric lighting wire across Old Road, from the bacon factory on one side to Councillor Pound's on the other, inspired renewed discussion, the borough in this case thinking of 'other large towns' rather than small ones.<sup>5</sup> No immediate action resulted.

In early 1898 the borough resolved to acquire the gas company. The directors initially recommended the offer to shareholders, but subsequent terms made by the company were not acceptable to the council and the offer was withdrawn.<sup>6</sup> Relations then soured, with the gas company abandoning trenches following work on gas pipes which it expected the council to repair. The council refused and raised the poor state of other roads and paths disturbed by the gas company, eventually extracting an apology from the gas company.<sup>7</sup> In 1900 company and council failed to agree terms for the acquisition of land on Westmead for the extension of the company's premises.<sup>8</sup>

An electric lighting scheme involving the contracting out of works and supply was discussed with Alderman Pearson of Bristol in 1903.<sup>9</sup> J.S. Enright, electrical engineer, was appointed to report on the proposal in June.<sup>10</sup> In July, the gas company announced their intention to apply for statutory powers by act of parliament, including the sale of the freehold of their present works, also requesting further land from the council.<sup>11</sup> In June, the Southern District Electricity Company of 60 Victoria Street, Westminster, informed the council of their wish to apply to the board of trade for a provisional order to supply electricity within the borough; the council instead applied to light the borough and the rural district under the terms of the Electric Lighting Act, and gave notice to the rural district accordingly before 30 June.<sup>12</sup> Following the receipt of Enright's report, the council sought a provisional order to light the borough, Chippenham Without, Langley Burrell Without and Hardenhuish, either themselves or by transferring or leasing them to a contractor.<sup>13</sup> The proposal was approved by the rural district, but local opposition to public electric lighting was led by the Chippenham and District Ratepayers' Association.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, p 278, 6 Mar 1883; p 280, 3 Apr 1883

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, p 301, 3 July 1883

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/101/3, p 384, 7 Apr 1885

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/101/4, p 309, 1 Sep 1891

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, p 9, 18 Dec 1893

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, p 338, 1 Feb 1898; p 355, 7 June 1898

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 12, 4 July 1899; pp 23, 25, 3 Oct 1899

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, pp 63-4, 5 June 1900; p 68, 3 July 1900; p 71, 7 Aug 1900; p 95, 4 Dec 1900

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 266, 5 May 1903

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 273, 19 June 1903

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 276, 7 July 1903

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 281, 7 July 1903

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 290, 1 Sept 1903; p 292-293, 21 Sept 1903; p 301, 3 Nov 1903

<sup>14</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 309, 1 Dec 1903, p 308-9; 5 Jan 1904, p 317

The council formally petitioned the Commons against the Chippenham Gas Bill in February 1904, on the grounds that it would strip the council of powers which it had inherited from the improvement commission; instead, they sought to purchase the company which they stated ignored gas consumers.<sup>1</sup> Later that year the gas company was permitted to raise funds to buy a new gasworks site from Miss Carrick Moore of Monkton Park.<sup>2</sup> Following the discovery of pollution from the gasometer in a well at the nearby waterworks on Westmead in June 1905, the council and gas company agreed terms for the company's rapid removal, although negotiations in the event endured for over two years.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile Chippenham continued to be lit by gas. In June 1908 the council entered into discussions with contractors Edwards and Armstrong who proposed undertaking the work on a 75-year lease, with underground supply cables.<sup>4</sup> The council consented to Edwards and Armstrong beginning work in December even though they were at first unable to form a statutory company as the council's existing order under the Electric Lighting Act did not allow for a transfer. A councillor was to be appointed director of the new subsidiary, the Chippenham Electric Supply Company.<sup>5</sup> Edward and Armstrong agreed as long as this councillor was not also a director of the gas company.<sup>6</sup> The electricity company moved into part of the former gas company site near the waterworks on Westmead.<sup>7</sup>

In practice, some of the electricity supply cables were overhead rather than underground, such as between Greenway Lane and Malmesbury Road, agreed in February 1911.<sup>8</sup> The lighting of the church clock, paid for by the borough, was ordered to be moved from gas to electricity in March 1914.<sup>9</sup> The Chippenham Electric Supply Company quoted terms for the lighting of lamps in a letter reported to the council on 7 May.<sup>10</sup> A final decision was deferred until the extension of the borough took effect, but in August it was agreed that a trial of electric lamps against new gas lamps of equal candle power would take place.<sup>11</sup>

### *Post, Telegraph, and Telephone Gas and Electricity*

The Chippenham Gas Company was formed as a private company in 1834 to provide street lighting to the improvement commission.<sup>12</sup> **The tender for the construction of a gasometer was advertised at the end of the month.**<sup>13</sup> In early October it was reported

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 326 [attached], 9 Feb 1904

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 350, 2 Aug 1904

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 15, 29 June 1905; pp 25-26, 14 July 1905; p 39, 5 Oct 1905; p 43, 7 Nov 1905; pp 45-6, 16 Nov 1905; p 129, 18 Feb 1907; p 157, 29 July 1907

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 225, 2 June 1908; p 226, 23 June 1908

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 260, 1 Dec 1908

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 315, 6 July 1909

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 342, 25 Oct 1909

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, p 12, 7 Feb 1911

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, p 264, 19 Mar 1914

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, p 277, 5 May 1914

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/103/3, p 293, 7 July 1914; p 300, 4 Aug 1914

<sup>12</sup> WSA, G19/1/39, 11 July 1834; *Bath Chronicle*, 17 July 1834, p 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Devizes and Wilts Gazette*, 24 July 1834, p 3



that the company's buildings were well advanced and that Chippenham would be lit by gas in early winter.<sup>1</sup> -This section is repeated from the lighting section above.

In early 1898 the borough resolved to acquire the gas company. The directors initially recommended the offer to shareholders, but subsequent terms made by the company were not acceptable to the council and the offer was withdrawn.<sup>2</sup> Relations then soured, with the gas company abandoning trenches following work on gas pipes which it expected the council to repair. The council refused and raised the poor state of other roads and paths disturbed by the gas company, eventually extracting an apology from the gas company.<sup>3</sup> In 1900 the company and council failed to agree on terms for the acquisition of land on Westmead for the extension of the company's premises.<sup>4</sup> – This section is replicated from the town lighting section.

The council formally petitioned the Commons against the Chippenham Gas Bill in February 1904 (to create a new Chippenham Gas Company) on the grounds that it would strip the council of powers which it had inherited from the improvement commission; instead, they sought to purchase the company which they stated ignored gas consumers.<sup>5</sup> The council were unsuccessful, and a new company was formed. Later that year the gas company was permitted to raise funds to buy a new gasworks site from Miss Carrick Moore of Monkton Park.<sup>6</sup> However, the Gas Company turned down an offer from the council to purchase the old gasworks, although they indicated their receptiveness to further discussion.<sup>7</sup> The following year the council complained the new company were not following due process for laying pipework.<sup>8</sup>

The new Chippenham Gas Company submitted plans for the new gasworks on Langley Road late in 1905, work was completed the following year.<sup>9</sup>

Following the discovery of pollution from the old gasometer in a well at the nearby waterworks on Westmead in June 1905, the council and gas company agreed on terms for the company's rapid removal, although negotiations in the event endured for over two years.<sup>10</sup> – This section is replicated from the town lighting section. In 1907, the council finally took over the site of the old gas works.<sup>11</sup>

A proposal that the council should take over gas supply from the Chippenham Gas Company was made in 1915 but gained little interest from councillors.<sup>12</sup> After the motion had been first proposed in 1928, and despite objections by the borough council, the Chippenham Gas Company merged with the Bath Gas Company in 1933 and thereby

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<sup>1</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 2 Oct 1834, p 3

<sup>2</sup> WSA, G19/112/2, p 338, 1 Feb 1898; p 355, 7 June 1898

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 12, 4 July 1899; pp 23, 25, 3 Oct 1899

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, pp 63-4, 5 June 1900; p 68, 3 July 1900; p 71, 7 Aug 1900; p 95, 4 Dec 1900

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 326 [attached], 9 Feb 1904

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/103/1, p 350, 2 Aug 1904

<sup>7</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 5 Nov 1904.

<sup>8</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 11 Feb 1905.

<sup>9</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 30 Dec 1905.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 15, 29 June 1905; pp 25-26, 14 July 1905; p 39, 5 Oct 1905; p 43, 7 Nov 1905; pp 45-6, 16 Nov 1905; p 129, 18 Feb 1907; p 157, 29 July 1907

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/100/6, p 168 [attached].

<sup>12</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 8 May 1915; WSA, G19/100/6 p 68. 14 May 1915.



the production of gas locally ceased.<sup>1</sup> In 1948 the gas making and supply was brought under state control.<sup>2</sup>

In June 1908 the council entered into discussions with electrical lighting contractors Edwards and Armstrong who proposed undertaking the work on a 75-year lease, with underground supply cables.<sup>3</sup> The council consented to Edwards and Armstrong beginning work in December even though they were at first unable to form a statutory company as the council's existing order under the Electric Lighting Act did not allow for a transfer. A councillor was to be appointed director of the new subsidiary, the Chippenham Electric Supply Company.<sup>4</sup> Edward and Armstrong agreed as long as this councillor was not also a director of the gas company.<sup>5</sup> – Repeated from section above Later, the council directed that their representative was to receive no fees from the Supply Company.<sup>6</sup> In 1910, the Supply Company leased part of the old gas works from the town council and three years later a cottage at the sewage works.<sup>7</sup>

In 1914, the Chippenham Poor Law Union board of guardians turned down the offer of the Supply Company to provide electric lighting at the workhouse.<sup>8</sup> Complaints were made to the council concerning breakdowns in supply.<sup>9</sup>

In 1923, a conference of local authorities took place to consider the application of the Western Electric Distributing Corporation to supply electricity to Chippenham, Devizes, Calne, Melksham, Trowbridge, Bradford-on-Avon and Westbury.<sup>10</sup> In 1926, the Electricity (Supply) Act (16 & 17 Geo. 5. c. 51) was enacted which reorganized the generation and supply of electricity across the country. Thereafter, Chippenham's electricity was supplied by the West Wiltshire Electric Light and Power Company (part of Western Electric Supply Company Ltd). Electricity was largely generated in Bath. The company also supplied power to Devizes, Trowbridge, Corsham, Westbury, Melksham and Bradford-on-Avon.<sup>11</sup> The company also provided public lighting.<sup>12</sup> Later these local authorities expressed concern that due to the monopoly, consumers charges were excessive.<sup>13</sup> However, the 1930 offer of the company to wire both new and existing local authority housing for free (subject to tenants entering into a contract with the

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<sup>1</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 22 July 1933. Shareholders of the Chippenham Gas Company voted to transfer their stock to the Bath Gas Company in November 1929. See *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser* 9 Nov 1929, also 31 Dec 1932, 21 Jan 1933. Objections were raised by the council e.g. WSA, G19/100/8, pp.539-40, 1 April 1930; WSA, G19/100/9, p.4, 6 May 1930, pp.77 and 81, 6 Jan 1931.

<sup>2</sup> See 11 & 12 Geo. 6 c.67.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 225, 2 June 1908; p 226, 23 June 1908

<sup>4</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 260, 1 Dec 1908

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, p 315, 6 July 1909

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/100/6, p 45. 2 March 1815.

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/100/5 pp 138, 209. 9 Aug 1910, 23 Sep 1913.

<sup>8</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 27 June 1914.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. WSA, G19/100/7, p. 220. 3 May 1921.

<sup>10</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 21 April 1923. Notice of this plan had been given to councillors by the Corporation the preceding December. WSA, G19/100/7, p. 383. 5 Dec 1922.

<sup>11</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 11 February 1928.

<sup>12</sup> There were sometimes complaints and the unsatisfactory nature of this provision. E.g. WSA, G19/100/8, p.340. 4 Feb 1928.

<sup>13</sup> *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 27 May 1933. See also WSA, G19/100/9, p293, 6 June 1933.

supplier) probably allowed for housing to receive supply earlier than they would otherwise have done.<sup>1</sup>

From 1 April 1948, the electricity supply was nationalized under the Electricity Act 1947 (10 & 11 Geo. 6. c. 54.).

## PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

### 1295-1603

Chippenham first elected members to parliament in 1295. The reasons for its enfranchisement were probably its position on the River Avon, including its bridge, and its location in a royal forest, and presumably the borough's prosperity. It elected two members, the first being John de Burle and Robert Osegod. Little is known about most of the early members. John de Burle is an exception: a borough juror in 1281, and bailiff of 'both hundreds', one of which was presumably Chippenham, in 1289.<sup>2</sup> What indications there are suggest the other early members were of a similar standing to Burle.<sup>3</sup>

No member was returned by Chippenham in 1302.<sup>4</sup> There is 'no evidence... that the borough returned Members to any Parliament held from 1314 to 1361, or, indeed, whether it was ever required to do so.'<sup>5</sup> Representation – or records of it – resumed in 1361, and until 1389 records suggest it was dominated by prominent townsmen, including John Good (1361, 1364 and 1373)<sup>6</sup> and Thomas Ironmonger (1373, 1383, 1384, 1385), a mercer and one of the most substantial contributors towards the poll tax of 1379.<sup>78910</sup>

The 1394 parliament is only one of two parliaments where Chippenham's representation is known between November 1390 and 1422, but the members chosen that year were indicative of the trend in the fifteenth century to choose substantial property owners, lawyers and crown officers.<sup>11</sup>

Walter Hungerford acquired the manor of Chippenham in 1424 and a large influence over its parliamentary representation. Walter Sergeant (May 1432, July 1433, October 1435) and William Stirrup began a series of Hungerford clients, often lawyers, several of whom also held crown office.<sup>12</sup> Hungerford servants didn't completely dominate fifteenth-century representation; office-holders with no known ties to the Hungerfords but their own property

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, G19/100/9, p57, 10 Nov 1930.

<sup>2</sup> N.J. Williams (ed.) *Collectanea* (WRS, 12), 110-11 (no. 58); WSA, 1213/13, 1213/8, 473/19, 473/20, 473/28

<sup>3</sup> WSA, 1213/9, 473/20, 473/24, 473/26, 473/27

<sup>4</sup> May McKisack, *Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs* (Oxford, 1932), 19

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1386-1421*, i. 691

<sup>6</sup> WSA, 1720/148

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1386-1421*, i. 691

<sup>8</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1386-1421*, iii.169-170; J.S. Davies, ed., *Tropenell Cartulary*, (1908) i. 96-7

<sup>9</sup> *Hist. parl. Commons 1386-1421*, iii. 628; W. Prynne, *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*, iv. 946; WAM. xxxiii. 406.

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1386-1421*, i. 691-692

<sup>11</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1386-1421*, iii. 295-296, 661-662; Driver, 152, 241; *Hist. Parl. Commons 1421-61*, 'Chippenham' [draft]

<sup>12</sup> Driver, 302-3, 327-8, 218-9; *Hist. Parl. Commons 1421-61*, 'Chippenham' [draft]; J.S. Davies (ed.) *Tropenell Cartulary*, vol. 1, p. 131, 375-6, vol. 2, 262-3; Wedgwood, *History of Parliament 1439-*, 531-2

and relationship with the crown also appeared. The one known Chippenham resident, John Wyng (1449), a yeoman of Rowden, was probably a Hungerford nominee.<sup>1</sup>

The identities of Chippenham's MPs for the first two decades of the sixteenth century are unknown, but thereafter seem to have followed the pattern established in the fifteenth century until the attainder of Walter Hungerford, Lord Hungerford of Heytesbury, in 1540. One example was William Button (1529 and possibly also 1536, 1539 and 1542), whose representation of Chippenham began a long career in the service of noble, ecclesiastical and crown service leading to his accumulation of property in Wiltshire.<sup>2</sup>

By the 1545 parliament the manors of Chippenham were in the hands of Queen Catherine Parr and both members returned that year, Robert Warner and John Bonham, were likely servants of the queen.<sup>3</sup> Only Bonham was probably a Wiltshireman, and the MPs returned in 1547 were both courtiers with no local ties.<sup>4</sup>

The reign of Mary I saw changes in the borough's representation with some correlations to its newly-incorporated status. The members elected in October 1553, Robert Wrastley and Henry Goldney, were in Wrastley's case possibly and Goldney's case certainly named in the borough charter of 2 May 1554, Goldney as the borough's bailiff.<sup>5</sup> Chippenham was one of a small number of established parliamentary boroughs which took advantage of charters issued in the mid-sixteenth century to protect their right to representation.<sup>6</sup> The new charter resembled others granted in the period in that it sought to resolve local disputes following the removal of major influences in a borough – in this case, the rebalancing of influence following the fall of the Hungerfords, where manorial authority was fractured rather than concentrated in one family.<sup>7</sup> It also confirmed the responsibility of the borough to pay its representatives. The members elected to the November 1554 parliament were the first under the new charter, which restricted the electorate to the twelve burgesses of the corporation and the bailiff. They were both outsiders sympathetic to Mary's religious policy.<sup>8</sup>

Crown influence over the borough's MPs was partly moderated through William Herbert, 1<sup>st</sup> earl of Pembroke, lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire from 1550. Pembroke had established his loyalty to Mary by early 1555 and his associates dominated representation for the rest of the decade and the 1560s.<sup>9</sup> Pembroke's nominations, predominantly local gentry, enabled the bailiff and burgesses to demonstrate alignment with county or court opinion.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, the two parliaments of the 1570s saw the return of three of the corporation's own members, predominantly businessmen rather than property-owners.<sup>11</sup> However, the remainder of Elizabeth's reign returned to the pattern which characterised the next two hundred years, where the borough elected local country gentlemen or office-holders or their wealthy connexions.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Driver, 237-8, 151-2, 95; *Hist. Parl. Commons 1421-61*, 'Chippenham' [draft]; Wedgwood, *History of Parliament 1439-*, 52, 290, 42, 771, 939, 193

<sup>2</sup> *LP Hen VIII* iv.2692, v.264, 538, 631, vi.162, vii.278, 417, 621, viii.159, ix.190, xi.59, 147, 232, 364; xii.311 xiii.103, 113, 285, 430, xvi.91, 379; *VCH Wilts.* x. pp.8-13, 119-125, 214-224; *Hist. Parl. Commons 1509-58*, i. 559-560

<sup>3</sup> *LP Hen VIII* xix/2.109, xx/1.408, 548; xxi/1.281; Addenda i/2.581,

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1509-58*, iii. 551-52, i. 461-2; ii. 225-226; i. 345-346

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1509-58*, iii. 660-661, ii. 224-225; R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, (1953) i. 651

<sup>6</sup> Hawkyard, 32

<sup>7</sup> Hawkyard, 37-38, (2016) 63

<sup>8</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1509-58*, ii. 642-644, iii. 159-160, 96-98

<sup>9</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1509-58*, iii. 344-345, 119-121, 408-409, 11-12; R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* (1953), i.. 432; A. Hawkyard, *Parliamentary History Texts and Studies* 12 (2017), 15

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1558-1603*, i. 407-408, iii. 411-412, 125-127

<sup>11</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1558-1603*, i. 407, iii. 354, 559

<sup>12</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1558-1603*, i. 408, 411; ii. 365; ii. 362-364; iii. 467-469

Influence depended in part in how strongly it was asserted: the diplomat Sir Anthony Mildmay (c. 1549-1617), son-in-law of the last Sharington lord of Chippenham Hundred, was responsible for the majority of nominations in the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign, often of East Anglian provenance.<sup>1</sup> Exceptions were rare, though in 1604 the corporation rejected the re-election of a Mildmay candidate and returned John Roberts, borough constable 1603-4, with the support of the 'generality' of the freemen.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1603-1689

Since the charter of 1554 the election of members had been vested in the corporation and not in the freemen, but a belief in the superior ancient enfranchisement of the freemen endured. The dispute emerged again in 1624, when on 21 January the corporation returned John Maynard as the senior member, but John Pym and Sir Francis Popham tied for the second seat. A second meeting on 23 January saw Pym returned by seven votes to Popham's five. When the election was declared, Popham's ally the bailiff asked the gathering of freemen in the lower yeld hall whether they approved of Pym's return. Pym had been the Exchequer's receiver-general in Wiltshire since 1606 and had been responsible for the disafforestation of Blackmore and Pewsham from 1618, which was liable to make him unpopular with the freemen, whereas six members of the corporation and the father of a seventh had leased disafforested land from Pym.<sup>3</sup> The freemen declared unanimously for Popham. The bailiff made out an indenture returning Maynard and Popham while the corporation sent a counter-return of Maynard and Pym.<sup>4</sup>

John Maynard then withdrew, understanding that he was to receive the more prestigious nomination for St Albans from the prince of Wales's council. Maynard's name was erased from both returns and that of his brother Charles substituted, only for John Maynard to learn that the prince's council had learned of his election for Chippenham and not nominated him for St Albans.<sup>5</sup> Parliament met with the issue of who the members for Chippenham should be unresolved. The committee of privileges heard Sir Edward Bayntun, MP for Devizes, explain the fraudulent return of Charles Maynard on 2 March and agreed that John Maynard should be seated instead and details suppressed, which the Commons assented to on 12 March.<sup>6</sup> On 9 March the committee began hearings on the case of Pym and Popham, also reviewing the borough franchise. Pym chose to sit for Tavistock on 10 March, and on 11 March the committee recommended a by-election for the second seat as Popham could not prove the freemen had participated in an election rather than having offered an opinion.<sup>7</sup> On 1 April the committee decided to seat Popham after all, the Commons concurring on 9 April and at the same time restoring the franchise to the freemen.<sup>8</sup>

The Short Parliament of April-May 1640 and the Long Parliament which met in November 1640 both saw Chippenham represented by its principal patrons, Sir Edward

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1558-1603*, i. 433, ii. 75-77, 266, iii. 474-474, 635-636; 666-667

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1604-29*, ii. 433, vi. 67; citing 'Earle 1624' (in BL), f. 109v; citing Chippenham Recs. ed. F.H. Goldney, 327-8. **which of course isn't good enough – what did Goldney use? – G19/1/30 doesn't help so quotation must be from Earle.**

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1604-1629*, ii. 434, *CSP Dom.* 1611-18, pp. 205, 243, 578;

<sup>4</sup> Glanville, *Reports of Certain Cases Determined and Adjudged by the Commons in Parliament* (1777=5), 51-3. Glanville incorrectly states the number of freemen as being 32; cf. Wilts. RO, G19/1/30/264 – **but this list is from 1625.**

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1604-1629*, ii. 434, citing Duchy of Cornwall Officee, 'Prince Charles in Spain', f. 37; C219/38/306 – **National Archives, writs and returns, Chancery**, ; 'Hawarde 1624' – **Wiltshire and Swindon HC** - , p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> citing *CJ*, i. 717b; 'Hawarde 1624', p. 169

<sup>7</sup> citing 'Earle 1624', ff. 64-5; *CJ*, i. 681b; 'Hawarde 1624', p. 191.

<sup>8</sup> citing *CJ*, i. 684b, 686a-b, 759a; 'Earle 1624', ff. 109v-110.



Hungerford (d. 1648) and Sir Edward Bayntun.<sup>1</sup> Both were supporters of the parliamentary cause, although the feud between the two saw Hungerford succeed in ousting Bayntun as commander of the parliamentary forces in Wiltshire in January 1643.<sup>23</sup>

Chippenham was not represented in any of Oliver Cromwell's parliaments (**check**) but Edward Hungerford's royalist nephew, Edward Hungerford, was elected to Richard Cromwell's parliament of 1659.<sup>4</sup> He was re-elected as one of two royalists to the Convention Parliament in 1660.<sup>5</sup>

The 1 April 1661 election to the Cavalier Parliament saw a double return which reopened the question of the borough franchise. The bailiff returned Hungerford and Henry Bayntun – Sir Edward's younger son – and they were seated, but the corporation returned Sir Hugh Speke, bt., of Hazelbury, a former Roman Catholic with puritan family connections, who had been made a gentleman of the privy chamber and a baronet by Charles II in 1660. Hungerford and Bayntun were seated, but the Commons election committee ruled the election void on the 'wilful miscarriage of the bailiff' on 20 June. The second vote (10 July) returned Bayntun and Speke, but Speke died soon after and Hungerford took his place in a by-election on 21 August. The effect seems to have been to confirm the franchise decided on in 1627, but highlighted the power the bailiff had over elections, having not given due notice of the election with the intention that a limited electorate should choose a desired candidate. A further scandal occurred in 1673, when two by-elections following the death of Henry Bayntun returned Francis Gwyn, a relative of the Popham family, against a newcomer, Vere Bertie, who argued (unsuccessfully, eventually) that the existence of the Popham charity for the support of six poor freemen annually distorted the result in favour of a Popham candidate.<sup>6</sup>

Following the grant of a new charter in 1684, the reconstituted corporation returned two supporters of the court to the 1685 parliament. The old corporation was restored in 1688, an act of conservatism illustrated by the return in 1689 of members of conservative inclination who had nevertheless come to oppose James II.<sup>7</sup>

#### 1689 to 1832

When local gentry interests were weakened through minority or restructuring of estates incomers appeared; the 1690 by-election was fought between Sir Basil Firebrace and Sir Humphry Edwin, London merchants who represented national political interests. This election being declared void, local landowning interest regrouped and defeated Firebrace in 1691, but only after petition. Firebrace unsuccessfully appealed against his by-election defeat in 1694.<sup>8</sup>

The so-called rage of party arrived in 1705 when the Tory Sir James Long was returned on his family interest. A subsequent attempt at by-election failed to replace Walter White, agent of the Whig peer Lord Wharton, with high Tory Henry Chivers. A possible candidate, James Brydges (later duke of Chandos) was advised in 1708 that Chippenham was a 'not so venal' borough in comparison to others, but allegations of bribery affected eighteenth-century

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1604-29*, iii. 166; citing Wilts. Arch. Mag. Lib. Devizes, *A Letter from Devizes to a Friend in Salisbury*, Wilts. Tracts lxvi.164, CJ ii.928a, LJ v.587b; *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum* i. 60-1, 74-6; *Hist. Parl. Commons 1604-29*, iv.832, VCH Wilts. v. 138. CJ, ii. 222; citing CJ, ii. 65a, 68a, 81a.

<sup>2</sup> citing Longleat, Thynne Pprs. (IHR microfilm XR71/4), viii. ff. 127, 133; CJ, ii. 222;.

<sup>3</sup> a somewhat inadequate co-subject in ODNB – anything in VCH? – no...

<sup>4</sup> Keeler, *Long Parl.* 225; *CSP Dom.* 1659-60, p. 361.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist Parl Commons 1660-1690*, ii. 613-4. citig *Merc. Pub.* 12 Apr. 1660; Add. 32324, f. 102 – **Seymour of Trowbridge papers**

<sup>6</sup> *Hist Parl Commons 1660-1690*, i. 440, citing 'Chippenham Town Clerk's Office, CBW/266', *Dering*, 129-31, CJ ix. 260, 261.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1660-1690*, ii. 439-41, citing Goldney 72, 261-71;

<sup>8</sup> *Hist. Parl. Commons 1690-1715*, ii. 654-657, citing Goldney 71, 77, 343-4; iii. 1041-43, WSA, G19/1/30

elections in Chippenham and elsewhere, in 1713 being used to tar John Eyles as an outsider from London who had bought his seat, ignoring the Wiltshire connections of his family.<sup>1</sup>

The borough made statements of independence from government. When the Chippenham native barrister and member of the corporation Rogers Holland, elected as a government supporter in 1727, stood in 1737 for re-election on being appointed a judge in Anglesey, Caernarfon and Merioneth, he was defeated by Edward Bayntun Rolt, heir of the Bayntuns of Bromham.<sup>2</sup> Bayntun Rolt – who signed himself Bayntun from the mid-1750s – remained member for Chippenham until his retirement in 1780, on his own interest and that of all administrations after Walpole's, but he was effectively the last of his kind.<sup>3</sup> The decline of the cloth industry strengthened the dependence of the borough on the London merchants. Samuel Fludyer, a prominent London clothier with business interests in Chippenham, or his sons represented the borough between 1754 and 1802.<sup>4</sup> In 1791 the Corporation negotiated an agreement with the Fludyers and the other MP, James Dawkins, to prevent them buying up so many burgages as to control the borough's representation.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, the process continued. The Lancashire magnate Sir Robert Peel, who briefly installed his son Robert as MP for Chippenham, decided burgage interests were not worth acquiring permanently in 1812, citing the cost of poor rates and the resistance of Chippenham's cloth workers to mechanization.<sup>6</sup> Even John Maitland, who leased the Fludyer interest from 1802 and acquired the Dawkins interest in 1811, seems to have combined these interests in order to sell them, but could only dispose of them piecemeal over several years and mostly to his nephew Ebenezer Fuller Maitland, who found the expense of maintaining his interest against others burdensome.<sup>7</sup> An ambitious and wealthy interloper could still, with effort, take a seat from the prevailing interest, as seen with the marquess of Blandford (George Spencer Churchill; 1818-20) but by 1829 the bulk of the burgages had been consolidated in the person of Joseph Neeld, who spent his inheritance from the London jeweller Philip Rundell on property and political influence. Neeld was MP for Chippenham from 1830 to 1856.

### 1832 to 1885

Chippenham's two-member representation narrowly survived the 1832 Reform Act. A spirited campaign included a petition which argued that the population and wealth of the entire parish of Chippenham should be taken into account rather than only the borough.<sup>8</sup> The parliamentary borough was enlarged to include the rest of Chippenham parish, the parishes of Langley Burrell and Hardenhuish, and the extra-parochial Pewsham, which increased its size from 0.1 to 16.1 square miles and enfranchised £10 householders, resulting in a new electorate of 208 in 1832, as opposed to 103 in 1831. There was no revolutionary change; Neeld shared representation with a reformer, William Henry Fox Talbot of Lacock, until 1834, but afterwards the seat remained Conservative. Dominated by Neeld until his death, Chippenham was held to present 'a most miserable spectacle of political degradation.'<sup>9</sup> Neeld flattered the expanded electoral boundaries by funding the construction of the new market hall and National School, opened in 1834 and

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl. Commons 1690-1715, ii. 654-57, citing Goldney 78-79, 239, and Huntingdon Lib. Stowe mss 58(3) p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Goldney, 81 WSA, G19/1/30, 473/375

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Parl. Commons 1715-54, i. 447-48; Hist. Parl. Commons 1754-90, i. 408-9, ii. 69-70

<sup>4</sup> Hist. Parl. Commons 1754-90, ii. 442-444; Fludyer's expenditure for 1754 is at BL, Add 32995, f 114

<sup>5</sup> WSA, G19/1/8 – **apparently on 2 June 1791 but I can only find it mentioned on 20 May 1802 when allegedly breached**

<sup>6</sup> One of BL Add. 40222, f. 20 – **correspondence of 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Farnham ; 40605, f. 9 Peel papers.**

<sup>7</sup> Hist. Parl. Commons 1820-32, v. 249-51 citing WSA Bevir MSS 9

<sup>8</sup> WSA, G19/1/30

<sup>9</sup> Examiner, 28 Dec 1834

promoted as following the interests of the entire neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> He and his colleague and brother-in-law, Captain Henry George Boldero, were customarily returned without contest despite attempts to arrange opposition. Neeld's death in 1856 weakened the Conservative interest and in 1859 William Lynsley, a Liberal, was returned alongside the Conservative Richard Long. The last two-member election was in 1865 when Sir John Neeld, Joseph's brother, rallied the family interest and was returned as a Conservative with Gabriel Goldney. This last two-member election included a moment of controversy as the mayor called the election for Neeld and Lynsley on a show of hands, balancing the political interests; Goldney insisted on a poll and came a close second behind Neeld, shattering an attempt to engineer consensus.<sup>2</sup> The majoritarian era had arrived.

The Reform Act of 1867 reduced Chippenham's representation to one seat, but more than doubled its electorate, from 392 to 972. Despite the organization of a Working Men's Liberal Association, Goldney (boasting his family's long residence in the borough) won the 1868 election and was the sole representative of the parliamentary borough until its abolition in 1885, when, with a registered electorate of only 1031 in a population of [check], it fell well below the minimum size of 15000 a parliamentary borough. One of Goldney's last actions as an MP was to speak against attempts to remove the designation of 'Chippenham' from the new electoral division of the county.<sup>3</sup>

#### *1885 to present*

The new seat was won by Banister Fletcher, a Liberal, despite divisions in the party and Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's threat to run against him as a rival Liberal candidate. He renewed this threat at the 1886 election, described as a Unionist.<sup>4</sup> Although he did not stand the break probably helped hand the seat to the Conservative, Lord Henry Bruce. Thereafter the seat remained contestable between the Conservatives and Liberals, the largest majority being won in 1906 by John Dickson-Poynder, standing for the first time as a Liberal (having been a Conservative MP at the 1892, 1895 and 1900 elections).

Following the Representation of the People Act 1918 the Chippenham seat was redrawn to include more of rural north Wiltshire. A Labour candidate first stood in 1918 but came bottom of the poll. The constituency's last Liberal MP was Albert Bonwick, elected in 1922 and 1923 but who lost to the Unionist Victor Cazalet in 1924. Labour became established as the second party in the constituency from 1945, but lost this position to the Liberals from the 1962 by-election. Daniel Awdry, a former mayor from an established Chippenham family, was MP from 1962 to 1979.<sup>5</sup> The Chippenham seat disappeared in 1983, replaced by a North Wiltshire seat on similar boundaries.

The 2010 general election saw a new Chippenham seat emerge, covering a smaller geographical area than its predecessor, but including Chippenham, Bradford-on-Avon and Melksham as well as some smaller communities including Lacock. This semi-urban constituency returned Duncan Hames, a Liberal Democrat, in 2010, and Michelle Donelan, a Conservative, in 2015 and 2017.

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<sup>1</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, 17 April 1834

<sup>2</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 13 July 1865

<sup>3</sup> *Hansard*, 15 April 1885, col. 1817

<sup>4</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*,

<sup>5</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, 26 October 2008 [check]



# ECONOMIC HISTORY

## MILL<sup>1</sup>

There were 12 mills on the land of the king in Chippenham in 1066 and 1086; a further half mill is noted on the holding of Reginald (Rainald) Canut.<sup>2</sup> This is the largest total recorded in Domesday Book for any place in Wiltshire. The mills were obviously scattered throughout the extensive manor of Chippenham, and none was necessarily at or close to the later town of Chippenham.<sup>3</sup>

Although Chippenham mill served the town of Chippenham, it was actually the manorial mill of the manor of Rowden. It may have superseded earlier mills on the Avon, as the location of the mill which survived into the 20th century suggests that it was built as part of a larger scheme to erect a bridge at Chippenham, which had certainly been done by 1227. Agnes Seymour, lady of Rowden manor, was paying 52s. annually to the king for two watermills and two virgates of land when she died in 1258.<sup>4</sup> Upon his death c.1307 the lord of Rowden, Peter de la Huse, possessed two manorial watermills worth 66s. 8d. and two fulling mills worth 10s. An extent of Rowden in 1434 noted two watermills in the manor; from what follows it is possible that they were housed under one roof.<sup>5</sup>

In 1531 George, earl of Huntingdon, granted a 21-year lease of the watermill to Bartholomew Cleyford of Chippenham, miller, together with a parcel of ground called Paradise. In 1547 or 1548 five homagers of the manorial court were asked to view the mill and reported that it was in decay to the lord's loss of £40.<sup>6</sup> The mill was rebuilt at the expense of Henry Goldney alias Farnewell of Chippenham (who was said to have expended £700) while the manor of Rowden was in the hands of the crown. In May 1555 Goldney had an order of the court of Chancery against Andrew Baynton in which Baynton was ordered to make Goldney a lease for 60 years. The lease was dated 8 May 1555 and was of the mill house, the two grist mills and two tucking (fulling) mills, all of them built by Goldney, and of the land called Paradise. A rent of £4 3s. 4d. was due to Baynton and a further rent of 50s. to the queen: there was a modus due for tithes of 13s. 4d.<sup>7</sup>

Ownership of the mill descended through the Bayntun family, and Sir Edward Bayntun was receiving rent, from the millers William Salter or Gabriel Playsted, of sums between £80 and £120 annually between 1659 and 1679.<sup>8</sup>

The mill remained in the possession of the Bayntun family until sold with their other interests in Chippenham around 1800. It was acquired by Esmond Edridge of Monkton Park in 1810 and leased to the partnership of Samuel Dowling and Ralph Gaby in 1812 at an annual rent of £300.<sup>9</sup> The mill burnt down in a fire, held to have been begun deliberately, since arson threats had been received previously, on 1 December 1816. It was reported that the mill building was

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the mill, K. S. Taylor, *From Domesday to demolition: a history of the flour mill in Chippenham, Wiltshire, 1086-1957* (Chippenham Studies 3, 2015). The present account is based to a large extent on research by Richard Hoyle undertaken for VCH Wilts., 2017-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Domesday*, 162, 191. Other mills in the parish are described below, Outer Chippenham.

<sup>3</sup> VCH Wilts, II, 116, 158; R. Welldon Finn, 'Wiltshire', in H. C. Darby and R. Welldon Finn (eds.), *The Domesday geography of south-west England* (1967), 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1242-1326, 31-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1242-1326, 329-30; *Cal Inq. p.m.* XXIV, 1432-37, no. 337.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, 4/35, fos. 34r-v.

<sup>7</sup> TNA, C 33/11, p. 367; WSA, 1213/21.

<sup>8</sup> Descent in VCH Wilts, VII, 181; J. Freeman (ed.), *Commonplace book of Sir Edward Bayntun of Bromham* (WRS 43, 1988), 43, 54.

<sup>9</sup> Dowling is named as a dealer in horses, but Gaby was an attorney, and bailiff of Chippenham in 1798, 1812 and again in 1816-7. He died in 1829 at Bath (*Hampshire Chronicle* 28 Dec. 1829).

entirely burnt out and the cost of rebuilding and re-equipping the mill would be £10,000.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, the mill appears to have reopened for business in August 1817. The building erected in this year was of four stories with windows to the lower three, and a high pitched roof. The building was constructed of limestone with a brick lining. The floor and beams were of timber but with upright cast iron stanchions.<sup>2</sup>

When the lease was advertised in 1819 following Gaby's death, the machinery consisted of two iron overshot water wheels driving eight pairs of French stones, with bolting mills and other equipment, capable of grinding and dressing 80 loads weekly.<sup>3</sup> Dowling continued as sole tenant of the mills until he ran into financial problems in 1823 and entered into a composition for debts totalling £7,382.<sup>4</sup> James Vallance of Brixton (Surr.) and Charles Vallance of Shadwell (Middx.), both millers, took a seven-year lease from 1824.<sup>5</sup>

A new lease in 1836 to Daniel Collen (c.1803-1870) began a dynasty of millers, trading as Collen, Collen and Ross, and Collen Brothers until 1921, when the third Daniel Collen merged his interests with those of the Pound brothers of Quemerford Mills, Calne and John Tayler of Melksham to form a new company called Pound, Tayler and Collen Ltd. Daniel the elder, a Suffolk native, was employing ten men and four boys in 1851, and retired in 1860.<sup>6</sup> He transferred the business to his son, also Daniel (then 21), and an assistant, S.G. Ross, whose partnership ended in 1868, when Daniel's brother George Walter replaced Ross, and the business became known as Collen brothers.<sup>7</sup>

The partnership encompassed the mill and a malthouse at Chippenham, and mills in Bath. The Chippenham mill was given new machinery in 1893, and in 1905 was producing bread flour by blending local grain with Canadian and Australian wheats.<sup>8</sup> Both Collen brothers were prominent in Chippenham politics. Daniel (d. 1918) was thrice mayor and G. W. Collen once.<sup>9</sup> Chippenham mill was included in the Monkton Park estate sale of 1919, but the Collens remained as tenants. After 1921 Pound, Tayler and Collen Ltd continued milling at Chippenham, but under adverse trading conditions in 1937 sold out to a Bristol company, Hosegood Industries, grain importers, which was bought out by Spillers, c.1939.<sup>10</sup> Milling seems to have continued as late as 1947 or 1948, when the mill buildings were sold to H. R. and S. Sainsbury, agricultural merchants of Trowbridge, on condition that the building was to be used for storage only. In fact some milling continued until 1956 when the mill finally closed.<sup>11</sup> The third Daniel Collen died aged 83 in 1950, and his will was probated at £92,555. He continued the family tradition of civic service but in a non-partisan fashion, serving as borough treasurer and as a director of the Chippenham gas company.<sup>12</sup>

Closure of the mill was probably forced by plans for its demolition and the erection of a short shopping parade in its place. The mill was demolished in 1957, the mill stream was filled in and the shops were erected on a concrete raft to bring them up to the level of Chippenham

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *From Domesday to demolition*, pp 17-25; *Evening Mail* 4 Dec. 1816.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the building and its machinery, Taylor, *From Domesday to demolition*, esp. pp. 46-51.

<sup>3</sup> *Hampshire Chronicle* 11 Jan. 1819; *Salisbury and Winchester J.*, 12 July 1819.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, 473/318 (papers relating to Dowling's bankruptcy), 'Debts owing by Samuel Dowling'.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, *From Domesday to demolition*, p. 26; *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, 3 July 1823; WSA, 137/9A/4.

<sup>6</sup> Census 1851; *Wilts. Independent*, 4 June 1857. At his death in 1870 he was worth £60,000: *Western Daily Press*, 22 Mar., 8 July 1870.

<sup>7</sup> *Salisbury and Winchester J.*, 30 May 1868; WSA, 2705/28.

<sup>8</sup> *Milling*, 25 Feb. 1906 (a copy in WSA, G19/996/3).

<sup>9</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 2 Dec. 1918. His widow died in 1921 (*ibid.*, 17 Dec. 1921).

<sup>10</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 2 Dec. 1933, gives the history of the company; *Western Daily Post* 5 June, 30 Sept. 1937; *Wilts. Times* 9 Dec. 1939.

<sup>11</sup> Taylor, *From Domesday to demolition*, p. 39; For H. R. and S. Sainsbury, *Wilts. Times*, 21 Feb. 1953.

<sup>12</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 31 Mar. 1951.

bridge.<sup>1</sup> A model of the mill, by Mr M. Brotherwood, was displayed in Chippenham Museum in 2003.<sup>2</sup>

## MARKETS AND FAIRS<sup>3</sup>

### *Markets*

Chippenham's earliest market charter was granted by King John to Roger de Toroldvill in 1205, for a weekly Wednesday market and a two-day annual fair at the feast of St Luke, 17-18 October.<sup>4</sup> This charter may have regularised an existing market, since Chippenham had long functioned as a town by this date, but the grant perhaps reflects the creation of the present market place at around this time.<sup>5</sup> Toroldvill was presumably a royal tenant of the manor of Chippenham, Sheldon and Lowden, to which the grant was made, but his name does not appear elsewhere in connection with the town or manor.<sup>6</sup> A second weekly market, held on Saturday, was granted to Edmund Gascelyn in 1314 and confirmed in 1320;<sup>7</sup> the perquisites of the two markets were valued at £1 10s. when Gascelyn died in 1337.<sup>8</sup> In 1376 Elizabeth Gascelyn complained that a levy imposed on traders for repairing Chippenham bridge was damaging her market and fair.<sup>9</sup>

As lords, the later Hungerfords probably regarded the markets and fairs for administrative purposes as part of the hundred of Chippenham rather than the manor. This was certainly the case by the 1540s when they were leased with the hundred by the crown to Adam Gower.<sup>10</sup> The exact relationship between the hundred and the markets and fairs became a matter of contention after 1570. Sir William Sharington purchased the hundred shortly before he died in 1553;<sup>11</sup> it was later claimed that the markets and fairs were appurtenant to the hundred, but it was also objected that the hundred was rated in the 1553 grant at £3 10s. where Gower had paid a rent of £14 for the hundred and the profits of four fairs annually.<sup>12</sup>

In 1567 Sir Henry Sharington (d. 1581), Sir William's younger brother and heir, attempted to establish control over the markets and fairs, the market place and the shambles on the basis of the general words in the 1553 lease.<sup>13</sup> He was one of three potential claimants, since Hungerford had been restored to his Chippenham possessions in 1554, and around the same time the borough had been created and endowed with some Hungerford possessions within its boundaries. On 3 November Sharington sent three household servants to demolish shops in the shambles belonging to Sir Walter Hungerford; they were resisted and a standoff ensued.

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *From Domesday to demolition*, 41-5.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, *From Domesday to demolition*, 54-6.

<sup>3</sup> This account relies to a large extent on research undertaken by Richard Hoyle for VCH Wilts. during 2017-18. A typescript copy of his report, which contains many more details than are presented here, is deposited in WSHC Library.

<sup>4</sup> J.L. Kirby (ed.) *Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS. 49, 1994), 72 (no. 281). The charters are listed in S. Letters *et al.*, *Gazetteer of markets and fairs in England and Wales to 1516* (2 vols, List and Index Soc. Special Ser., 33), ii, 368.

<sup>5</sup> Above: intro. Saxon and Medieval Town. The name Chippenham is thought to derive from a personal name, and not from Old English *cēping*, 'a market': V. Watts (ed.) *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (2004), 135.

<sup>6</sup> Above: manors . . .

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Chart. R.* 1300-26, 239, 427; *Hungerford Cart.* 75-6 (no. 292).

<sup>8</sup> *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1327-77, 122; *Hungerford Cart.* 74 (no. 290).

<sup>9</sup> *Cal. Close*, 1374-77, 184-5.

<sup>10</sup> TNA, SC 6/HenVIII/3914.

<sup>11</sup> Above: Chippenham hundred. The grant was made to Thomas Lord Darcy on 22 May and assigned to Sharington on 7 June: Sharington died on 9 July.

<sup>12</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 296.

<sup>13</sup> This para: Goldney, *Records*, 292-6.

Sharington was also said to be harassing the bailiffs of the town with writs and to have seized possession of the Yelde Hall. A statement of the Hungerford title argued that the small rent paid by Sharington for the hundred obviously excluded the shambles, rents from which were paid to Chippenham manor. A compromise may have been reached, as Hungerford surveys show that the family continued to hold the shambles.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, in 1565 an agreement had been drawn up between Sir Henry Sharington and the Chippenham bailiff and burgesses touching fairs and markets, market stalls, fines, the gaol and Yelde Hall, but this appears not to have been implemented.<sup>2</sup> A lease was made, on different terms, in 1569.<sup>3</sup> Sharington leased for 40 years all fines and amercements arising in the borough, together with the tolls of markets and fairs and all other profits. He did not explicitly lease the standings in the market, nor the Yelde Hall, but the bailiffs and borough were to repair the latter as necessary and provide dinner for the steward on law days. The bailiff and burgesses were allowed the use of the prison. The standings were understood to be conveyed by the general words in the lease. In 1570 and subsequently the bailiff and burgesses made leases of shop property in the market, grounding their right to do so on the 1569 lease.<sup>4</sup> In 1580 Sharington licensed the borough and bailiff to erect new 'stalls, shambles, shops and necessary buildings' in and about the market place on waste ground and in void places at their will and pleasure, to hold for the remaining term of the 1569 lease, without paying any additional rent.<sup>5</sup>

During the term of the lease the town managed the markets and fairs, taking tolls, rents for stallage and appointing searchers of leather.<sup>6</sup> At the end of the lease in 1609, there seems to have been no desire to renew it, perhaps because the town had made a loss on it in five of the previous seven years and an accumulated shortfall of £5 3s. 2d. was raised by a levy on the inhabitants of the borough, justified by the fact that they had paid no amercements during the term of the lease.<sup>7</sup>

By this time the Sharington estates had been divided between Sir Henry's daughters, the hundred of Chippenham forming part of the share of Sir Anthony Mildmay and his wife.<sup>8</sup> Exactly what happened to the market rights after that time is not clear, and market affairs do not often appear in surviving borough records after 1610 until the later 18th century. By c.1730 Chippenham, with its Saturday market, was reported as being the only market town in its hundred.<sup>9</sup> The corporation in 1765 attempted to combat forestalling, regrating and engrossing, and ordered farmers and victuallers to sell only in the public market; in 1781 a trader was threatened with prosecution for forestalling and regrating in the market, and in 1800 a prosecution was brought.<sup>10</sup>

The Saturday market c.1795 was described as established and considerable for corn, etc. 'to which numbers of the adjacent country people constantly resort'.<sup>11</sup> In 1800 tolls of corn brought to market were discontinued and a clerk of the market was appointed to make returns of average corn prices.<sup>12</sup> In fact it seems likely that the market was operating at a low ebb at this time. It was remembered in 1872 how the total produce for sale on a Saturday afternoon might

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<sup>1</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 274; WSA, 442/2, pp. 283-6.

<sup>2</sup> G19/1/31 (31), not printed in Goldney, *Records*.

<sup>3</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 301-2.

<sup>4</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 313-5.

<sup>5</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 302; TNA, WARD 2/6/22C/59.

<sup>6</sup> Searchers, Goldney, *Records*, 22, 28, 30; tolls, 193, 337, 338; stallage, 195.

<sup>7</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 199. The accounts for 1603 show a deficit of £4 7s. 11d., partly because the fairs were suppressed on account of the plague: Goldney, *Records*, 189-90.

<sup>8</sup> Above: Chippenham hundred.

<sup>9</sup> T. Cox, *Magna Britannia*, vi (1731), 73-4.

<sup>10</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 88, 93, 113.

<sup>11</sup> *Universal British Directory*, ii, 591.

<sup>12</sup> Goldney, *Records*, 112, 113.

only be one cow and three pigs, 'where one pound was spent in the town in those days, £10 was spent now'. The market having established itself 'as a very important one' in 1836, one commentator remarked that 'no one scarcely thought that a market was wanted at Chippenham until Mr Neeld projected it'.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph Neeld of Grittleton, MP for Chippenham, revived the town's market by erecting a new market hall at his own expense in 1833-4.<sup>2</sup> He did not own the market rights, which by this time were probably understood to be prescriptive rather than chartered. His stated motivation was for the benefit of the town and the convenience of the surrounding countryside, including his own tenants. He wished to promote the sale and purchase of corn, to offer an outlet for locally made cheese and the cottagers' poultry, and he offered prizes for the most attendance and the greatest quantities sold. Neeld disavowed any financial interest and invited the bailiff of Chippenham to convene meetings to implement his objectives. The meetings decided to change the weekly market day from Saturday to Friday and that it should be a pitched market for corn (rather than a sample market). The upper room in the market house, which Neeld had envisaged for use by the national school, came instead to be used for public occasions.<sup>3</sup>

In July 1836 a wool market was launched. Neeld erected sheds at the rear of his new hall where wool could be pitched and sold, and again provided premiums to encourage its use. The market was to meet on the first Friday of six months of the year: July, August, September, November, February and April.<sup>4</sup> In fact the bi-monthly markets were transformed into an annual fair. In 1870 it was noted that the fair had seen little business and purchasers from the north, previously so prominent, had not come. Market reports show that the fair struggled on to the end of the 1880s, but by then farmers preferred to sell their wool by public auction.<sup>5</sup>

Cheese proved to be a more enduring product. In 1850 it was claimed that the 'Chippenham cheese market is now unquestionably the great cheese mart of the west of England, and is regularly attended by factors and dealers, not only from London, but from most of the north and midland counties'. The throughput of cheese was so large that in that year Neeld built a new cheese market with its own entrance from the high street. It comprised a cheese shed 156 ft. long, with a room for factors and dealers. A banquet to celebrate the new market was held on the day before it opened for business, in September 1850.<sup>6</sup>

Neeld reportedly spent £12,000 on the original building and £4,000-£5,000 on extensions, of which the cheese market was the last.<sup>7</sup> A committee representing the town managed the building but Neeld retained the freehold.<sup>8</sup> In 1888 fees were charged for pitching cheese and warehousing. No toll was taken on corn but 1½d. per sack was charged for warehousing. In the wool market 3d. per pack was charged for weighing and 6d. for warehousing. Subscribers were charged 5s. per annum for the use of the corn exchange facilities, and the upper room of the market hall was used for public entertainments. The anterooms were used for meetings by the local board, the borough, the magistrates and friendly societies. Out of this income the committee undertook the decoration of the building. A clerk of the market was also employed.

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<sup>1</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 5 Dec. 1872, p. 2; 15 Sept. 1836, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This para: *Bath Chronicle*, 1 Aug. 1833, 3 Apr., 27 Nov. 1834; *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 17 Apr., 18 May 1834. By 1888 it had reverted to being a sample market.

<sup>3</sup> *Royal Comm on Market Rights and Tolls*, iii, 360-1; *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 19 Sept. 1850.

<sup>4</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette* 5 May, 7 July 1836; *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 27 June 1836.

<sup>5</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 2 July 1870, *Salisbury Times* 7 July 1888, *Western Daily Press* 29 June 1889, *Salisbury Times*, 6 July 1889.

<sup>6</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 15 Aug., 19 Sept. 1850. There are pictures of the opening in the *Illustrated London News*, 21 Sept. 1850.

<sup>7</sup> *Morning Post*, 18 Sept. 1850.

<sup>8</sup> This para: *Royal Comm on Market Rights and Tolls*, iii, 361.

There remained in 1888 a small outdoor market. Although Neeld maintained that he owned no market rights (as opposed to fairs) in Chippenham, as lord of Chippenham hundred (since 1854), he owned an area in the centre of the market place near the cross. This he let for £3 annually to an individual who received small sums for the erection of stalls on market days.<sup>1</sup>

It was claimed in 1888 that, although it had taken much of the cheese trade from the town, the cheese market was already in decline, with more cheese being sold direct from the farm to the factor. Farmers also had the option of supplying the condensed milk factory with liquid milk.<sup>2</sup> By 1903, when a change of market day was discussed, cheese makers told the town clerk that 'the cheese market had so much declined the question of when it was held was a matter of indifference to them'. In a 1911 speech Sir Audley Neeld admitted that cheesemaking had almost entirely gone from the Chippenham district, and two years later it was said that private dealing had almost entirely superseded the cheese market.<sup>3</sup>

Neeld's schemes made no provision for livestock, which continued to be sold in the streets.<sup>4</sup> In 1888 farmers brought their cattle into the High Street and sold them there, paying no toll. Sheep were penned in front of some of the inns, which charged a fee for their use, and pigs were penned in Timber Street on a site asphalted by the local board. Opinion was divided over these arrangements since, despite the nuisances caused, it was feared that moving the market to a site on Station Hill, as had been proposed, would result in dealers and farmers coming by train and leaving without visiting the town or spending any money. Hence it was suggested that a central site like the wharf would be preferable because it would continue to draw people into the town. An enclosed, toll-funded, cattle market was considered desirable, but the borough could not take the initiative because it claimed no rights over the market, nor took any profit from it.

Opposition to the open cattle market was renewed from 1904, on grounds of animal cruelty, danger to pedestrians, obstruction to motor cars, and nuisance. Chippenham was felt to be anachronistic in tolerating a cattle market to be held in the main street.<sup>5</sup> The Board of Agriculture in 1905 advised the council to acquire the market rights and remove the cattle from the street, but a majority of councillors objected on cost grounds and a potential drop in business.<sup>6</sup> The council's inaction prompted the Board in 1907 to threaten closure of the market unless it was held on a paved surface,<sup>7</sup> but no decision could be taken on an alternative site and the council remained deadlocked.<sup>8</sup> Between 1908 and 1910 relocation to various sites was considered, including the wharf, the Constitutional Club at the Little Ivy, and an area between the Causeway and Wood Lane.<sup>9</sup> Chippenham RDC was approached to share costs but declined.<sup>10</sup>

By early 1910 Sir Audley Neeld had negotiated with the council to lease for 21 years a site with rear access from River Street behind the town hall, which comprised the existing market yard and part of the George inn yard, including the footprint of buildings to be demolished. Neeld was also encouraged to develop part of the site by building a public hall at the rear of the town hall. The lease was agreed at a rent which repaid him for the lost income of demolished buildings and paid him interest on his investment in the development.<sup>11</sup> The new market,

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<sup>1</sup> *Royal Comm on Market Rights and Tolls*, iii, 361 (qq. 13,839-41); xiii, (part 2), 543.

<sup>2</sup> *Royal Comm on Market Rights and Tolls*, iii, 355 (qq. 13680-1), 363 (q. 13,918).

<sup>3</sup> *Wilts. Times* 14 Feb. 1903, 30 Jan. 1909, 13 May 1911, 1 Mar. 1913, also 6 Feb. 1926.

<sup>4</sup> This para: *Royal Comm on Market Rights and Tolls*, iii, 360-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 8 Oct., 15 Oct. 1904.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, pp. 5-6, 11, 21, 28.

<sup>7</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, pp. 153, 175-6, 185.

<sup>8</sup> Discussion reported at length in *Wilts. Times* 18 Jan. 1908 (but not minuted).

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, 242, 262-3, 266, 282, 316.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, pp. 322, 324, 336-7, 344; *Wilts. Times*, 20 Nov. 1909.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, G19/103/2, pp. 350, 357-8, 368, 369, 383, 388.

together with the public hall, was opened in May 1911.<sup>1</sup> It was quickly found to be too small and enlarged in 1913.<sup>2</sup>

During the 1920s and early 1930s, when the market may have grown substantially, its location became increasingly inappropriate. It was too small and congested and its facilities needed to be improved.<sup>3</sup> Although the council was making an annual loss on the market, its lease from the Neeld estate ran until 1944, and there was therefore reluctance to make alterations to the existing market, or to erect a new one until the lease was close to expiry. The fortnightly market became weekly in 1936 in order to alleviate congestion, but this served to bring more trade into the town and was quickly found to have been self-defeating.<sup>4</sup> At the same time the poultry and general markets were moved from the high street by the cenotaph to the wharf.<sup>5</sup> In consultation with the Livestock Commission during 1937-8 two new sites for the market were proposed. Englands, north-west of the town, was considered too far from the cattle sidings at Chippenham railway station, and so the other option was adopted.

This was land on Cocklebury Lane which Westinghouse agreed to sell to the Council,<sup>6</sup> and the site was adopted in 1938.<sup>7</sup> Detailed planning was done during 1939, but the outbreak of war precluded the council from purchasing the site,<sup>8</sup> and this was not achieved until 1949 when permission was given to borrow £2,470.<sup>9</sup> The new market opened for tuberculin attested cattle only in 1951, and completely in 1954. The total cost of what was held at the time to be one of the finest cattle markets in the west of England was given as £45,000; it was leased to the auctioneers with the intention that their rent should cover the council's costs.<sup>10</sup> Closure of the old market yard allowed a reorganisation of the town centre. The general market moved back to the high street. The wharf was used for parking (and later the bus station), and the land at Englands was developed as old people's bungalows.<sup>11</sup>

In 2000 it was reported that the market's buildings and facilities, which had seen little investment since their erection, needed updating. But following closure for a year in 2001-2 as a result of the foot and mouth epidemic, North Wiltshire District Council decided to terminate the lease of the market to its operators in 2002,<sup>12</sup> and the last market was held in January 2005.<sup>13</sup> The western end of the site was sold to Wiltshire Council and used for the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (opened 2007) whilst the larger part was developed for housing.

### *Fairs*

The two-day St Luke's fair (17-18 October) granted in 1205 was augmented by grants of further fairs between 1267 and 1320.<sup>14</sup> These were a three-day fair at the feast of St Barnabas (10-12 June) granted to Geoffrey Gascelyn in 1267;<sup>15</sup> a three-day fair at the feast of St John before the

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<sup>1</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 13 May 1911.

<sup>2</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 3 Apr. 1954.

<sup>3</sup> There is a useful account in *Wilts. Times* 3 Apr. 1954.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 14 Nov. 1936, 9 Jan., 4 Feb. 1937; TNA, MAF 91/82 (4), (13), (21). On costs (38).

<sup>5</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 3 Apr. 1954.

<sup>6</sup> For comments on the scale of the trade by rail, see TNA, MAF 91/82 (21).

<sup>7</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 9 Sept. 1938.

<sup>8</sup> Correspondence in TNA, MAF 91/82: plans were sent to the Commission in April. Minute of meeting 8 Nov. 1939.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, MAF 91/82, letter 6 Dec. 1945 and reply; MAF 91/146, (107-9, 114-25).

<sup>10</sup> TNA, MAF 91/146, leaflet 'Borough of Chippenham livestock market, attested cattle shed and sale ring ... completed May 1951', plan of the new market 29 Mar. 1951 and associated papers, letter 6 Sept. 1952, loan consent form 11 May 1953.

<sup>11</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 3 Apr. 1954.

<sup>12</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 27 July 2000, 18 Oct. 2001, 1 Mar. 2002.

<sup>13</sup> *Gazette and Herald*, 19 Dec. 2002; 27 Jan., 10 Feb. 2005; *Farmers Weekly*, 14 Jan. 2005..

<sup>14</sup> For 1205 fair, above: markets.

<sup>15</sup> *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257-1300, 80; *Hungerford Cart.* 73 (no. 286).



Latin Gate (5-7 May) granted to Edmund Gascelyn in 1310, confirmed in 1313 and 1320;<sup>1</sup> and a three-day fair at the feast of St Andrew (29 November - 1 December) also granted to Edmund in 1320.<sup>2</sup> All four fairs, in May, June, October and November, were being held in 1337 at the time of his death, when the perquisites were worth £4 altogether.<sup>3</sup>

The right to hold and profit from the fairs was disputed during the 16th century in the same way as the market, and the borough paid Sir Henry Sharington and his successors half-yearly rents between 1571 and 1609 for the fairs as well as the market, under the terms of the 1569 lease.<sup>4</sup> Chippenham's spring fairs were probably overshadowed in the 17th century by the St George's day fair nearby at Castle Combe (23 April), which Aubrey described as the 'most celebrated fair in Wiltshire for sheep'.<sup>5</sup> Only the May fair is mentioned in a c.1730 description of Chippenham,<sup>6</sup> but all four, then held on 17 May, 22 June, 29 October, and 11 December, were still recorded in 1789, c.1795 and 1822.<sup>7</sup> The main commodities sold were horned cattle, sheep, hogs and horses. These four fairs, at the same dates, continued to be listed in directories until 1889, a painting of a 'Fair at Chippenham' by Louise Rayner was exhibited in 1865, and a local author in the 1940s believed that the fairs were held regularly until about 1867.<sup>8</sup>

In 1834 it was announced that the management committee of the Chippenham market intended to launch a quarterly 'hiring market'.<sup>9</sup> In fact this initiative quickly settled into autumn and spring fairs, and from 1851 they were held under the auspices of the Chippenham Association of the Hiring and Encouragement of Good Servants.<sup>10</sup> Because polite opinion was increasingly turning against hiring or 'mop' fairs, viewing them as opportunities for debauched and immoral behaviour, the fair was supervised by clergy and gentry, heavily stewarded,<sup>11</sup> and a register of hirings was kept.<sup>12</sup> It may have been intended to compete with the long-established and busy hiring fair held at Wootton Bassett.<sup>13</sup> Joseph Neeld, who was probably the fair's instigator, saw it as a means of offering continuity of employment in order to improve the quality of cheesemaking.<sup>14</sup> After his death in 1856, the discipline of the fair may have declined or a distaste for it in the town may have reasserted itself. Moves in 1859 to abolish it on the grounds of immorality, and to replace it with a registry system, proved successful. Prominent clergy, landowners and farmers of the neighbourhood pledged not to use hiring fairs in the future,<sup>15</sup> and in 1860 notices were published at the time of the fairs saying that they had been discontinued.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Chart. R.* 1300-26, 166, 213, 427; *Hungerford Cart.* 74 (no. 288).

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Chart. R.* 1300-26, 427.

<sup>3</sup> *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1327-77, 122; *Hungerford Cart.* 74 (no. 290).

<sup>4</sup> Above, markets; Goldney, *Records*, 323-4.

<sup>5</sup> J.H. Bettey (ed.) *Wilts. Farming in the Seventeenth Century* (Wilts Rec. Soc. 57, 2005), 230-1. Chippenham fairs are not mentioned.

<sup>6</sup> Cox, *Magna Britannia*, vi, 74.

<sup>7</sup> *Owen's New List of Fairs*, (1789 edn.); *Universal British Directory*, ii, 591.; *Pigot's Directory of Wiltshire*, (1822 edn.), 554.

<sup>8</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1889, 1895 edns.); A. Platts, *A History of Chippenham* (1947), 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 25 Sept. 1834.

<sup>10</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 11 Sept. 1851; for the committee, *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 11 Oct. 1851.

<sup>11</sup> For accounts of the fair, *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 30 Sept. 1852; *Wilts Independent* 8 Sept. 1853, *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 28 Sept. 1854.

<sup>12</sup> The last volume (numbered five) survives: WSA, G19/998/1.

<sup>13</sup> Reports of the Wootton fairs appear regularly in the Wiltshire and other papers. For the rivalry between the two towns, see the speeches at the Chippenham Agricultural Society, *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 19 Dec. 1839.

<sup>14</sup> *Wilts Independent*, 4 Dec. 1851; also *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 30 Sept., 16 Dec. 1852.

<sup>15</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 15 Sept., 17 Nov. 1859, and WSA, 873/388 for draft minutes and correspondence on the campaign to suppress the hiring fair.

<sup>16</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gazette*, 16 Feb., 1 Mar. 1860.

## MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

### *Textile Manufacture*

That a rural cloth manufacturing industry was well established in the Chippenham area during the 12th and 13th centuries is attested by incidental references to fulling. Stanley abbey's fulling mill at Peckingell (in Langley Burrell), one of the earliest known in England, existed by 1189.<sup>1</sup> The abbey had constructed a second fulling mill on the Marden in the 13th century,<sup>2</sup> and two fulling mills at Rowden belonged to Peter de la Huse when he died in 1307.<sup>3</sup> Cloth was stolen from a fulling mill at Stanley in 1305.<sup>4</sup> The given names of individuals include Peter le Tukere in Chippenham hundred in 1268,<sup>5</sup> William Webbe in Chippenham in 1332,<sup>6</sup> and William Touker at Stanley in 1431.<sup>7</sup>

Although domestic cloth production increased in the later 14th century, and no fewer than 13 weavers were taxed at Christian Malford in 1379, it was only c.1411 that a vigorous industry emerged in north-west Wiltshire, centred not on Chippenham but on Castle Combe.<sup>8</sup> Chippenham men may not have been involved in this – indeed later in the century they seem to have traded rather with Trowbridge clothiers – but the cloths manufactured in Castle Combe would have passed through the town on their way to the London market.<sup>9</sup> Geographically Chippenham fell within the broad area of the west Wiltshire cloth industry, extending from Malmesbury to Warminster and Devizes, as it emerged c.1500, but its trade appears to have been far less than that of nearby towns and villages. The London merchant Thomas Kytson traded in the period 1529-39 with only one Chippenham clothier, Nicholas Affernwelle, out of at least 70 from elsewhere in Wiltshire.<sup>10</sup>

Affernwelle, whose will was proved in 1538, was founder of a dynasty of clothiers which was to bring Chippenham to greater prominence as a clothing town during the Elizabethan period. At his death he bequeathed to his wife and two sons three looms, a warping bar and the lease of his fulling mill at Stanley.<sup>11</sup> His elder son Henry, who had adopted the alias Goldney by 1549, sued his mother, Agnes, and her second husband, Thomas Scott, in 1539 in a dispute over inherited land in Chippenham.<sup>12</sup> Thomas was a wealthy Chippenham clothier,<sup>13</sup> who employed weavers and spinners,<sup>14</sup> and the Scotts retained the fulling mill, which passed on the death of Agnes c.1558 to her stepson John Scott, and became known as Scott's Mill.<sup>15</sup> Henry Goldney distinguished himself in local politics, as bailiff, mayor and MP, but also invested in land, and was described as a clothier.<sup>16</sup> His daughter Agnes married another clothier, Edward Stafford,

<sup>1</sup> *VCH Wilts*, iii, 269; *VCH Wilts*, iv, 119; G. Brown, *Stanley Abbey and its Estates* (2012), 63. The abbey owned a moiety of this mill: Fry (ed.) *Feet of Fines, 1195-1272*, 25, no. 44; *WAM*, 15 (1875), 256.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Malm.* ii, 28-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Wilts. Inq. p.m. 1242-1326*, 246, 329-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts. Gaol Delivery and Trailbaston Trials 1275-1306* (ed. Pugh), 106, no. 544.

<sup>5</sup> *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre 1268* (ed. Farr), 127, no. 589.

<sup>6</sup> *Wilts. Tax List of 1332* (ed. Crowley), 5.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 2664, box 4, cited by Brown, *Stanley Abbey*, 63.

<sup>8</sup> *VCH Wilts*, iv, 122, 129-32.

<sup>9</sup> *VCH Wilts*, iv, 133, 138.

<sup>10</sup> *WAM* 97 (2004), 39-41, 47; *VCH Wilts*, iv, 140.

<sup>11</sup> TNA, PROB 11/27/240.

<sup>12</sup> TNA, C 1/984/9-10; *Hist. Parl. 1509-1558*.

<sup>13</sup> *Hist. Parl. 1509-1558*.

<sup>14</sup> *VCH Wilts*, iv, 145.

<sup>15</sup> TNA, PROB 11/42A/118; K.H. Rogers, *Wilts. And Somerset Woollen Mills* (1976), 89-90.

<sup>16</sup> G.D. Ramsay, *Wilts. Woollen Industry in the 16th and 17th centuries* (2nd edn., 1965), 12-13

and he was one of the beneficiaries of Henry's will in 1573, alongside Gabriel Goldney, Henry's son, which included bequests of mills, wool and yarn.<sup>1</sup> Members of these three interrelated families were amongst the wealthiest and most politically active in Chippenham during the period 1550-1600 and, although their interests extended beyond clothmaking, this appears to have been the source of their prestige.<sup>2</sup>

The dynasties of Scott and Goldney extended through the 17th century, passing their wealth to their descendants.<sup>3</sup> Richard Scott in his will proved in 1662 left £450 to his daughter, along with many smaller bequests, including provision to continue a school that he had erected.<sup>4</sup> John Scott in 1688 also left large family bequests, and passed his fulling mill and gig mill to his son George.<sup>5</sup> Others endured setbacks, but continued to be men of standing. Thus Edward Stafford had suffered losses in 1587, and was presented at Quarter Sessions in 1603 for deficient cloth; his will in 1618 left modest provision for his family, principally his grandchildren.<sup>6</sup> Thomas Hawkins in 1638 was clearly a very prosperous clothier, said to have been worth £10,000 when he died in 1638, leaving land and houses, bequests totalling more than £1,150, and the advowson of Hardenhuish church;<sup>7</sup> but his Royalist son Henry was fined £30 as a compounder in 1649, by when his personal estate in wool, yarn and cloth was already dissipated.<sup>8</sup> He and his son were nevertheless able to leave substantial bequests of land and money to family members.<sup>9</sup>

For the Chippenham weavers, less conspicuous in the records, trading downturns were bleak. A petition in 1620 from Chippenham, Calne and Bromham claimed that many hundreds of looms stood idle, and weavers and their families were brought to extremity and distress, facing starvation.<sup>10</sup> A second petition, claiming that even when the weavers were working they could barely make ends meet, was presented to Quarter Sessions in 1647.<sup>11</sup> John Harvard, broad weaver, who died in 1664 had possessions worth about £12, including his loom which was valued at £1, as well as the lease of his house, held on two aged lives, and £15 in bonds.<sup>12</sup> John Angell, another Chippenham broad weaver, had before 1666 built a one-bay extension to his dwelling which he let to a tucker.<sup>13</sup>

Although the importance of clothmaking to Chippenham's economy is hard to gauge at this period, it is clear that the town was becoming regarded as one of the centres of the industry. An enquiry in 1633 into the state of clothmaking in Wiltshire was transferred to Chippenham from Warminster for the convenience of attending clothiers, and in 1640 it was proposed that the town would become one of five centres in Wiltshire to oversee clothmaking.<sup>14</sup> After 1706, when Wiltshire clothmaking was in rapid decline, some white cloth was still being made in

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<sup>1</sup> TNA, PROB 11/55/309. For Stafford as clothier, Ramsay, *Wilts. Woollen Industry*, 67; Cunnington (ed.), *Wilts Quarter Sessions Recs*, 4..

<sup>2</sup> Discussed in R. Baines, *Hist. of Chippenham* (2009), 78.

<sup>3</sup> Ramsay, *Wilts. Woollen Industry*, 127-9; several clothiers are memorialised in St Andrew's church: *Monumental Inscriptions of Wilts.* (ed. P. Sherlock, WRS, vol. 53, 2000), 6.

<sup>4</sup> TNA, PROB 11/310/448.

<sup>5</sup> TNA, PROB 11/391/189; PROB 4/12351.

<sup>6</sup> Ramsay, *Wilts. Woollen Industry*, 67; B.H. Cunnington, *Records of the County of Wilts.* (1932), 4; TNA, PROB 11/183/81.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. SP Dom.* 1637-8, 446-7; TNA, PROB 11/177/283.

<sup>8</sup> WAM vol. 24, 81-2.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, PROB 11/248/739; PROB 11/355/333.

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. SP Dom.* 1619-23, 149 (no. 58), quoted in detail in *Wilts. Times*, 25 Aug. 1923, 5; see also WAM vol. 42, 401.

<sup>11</sup> *HMC Var. Coll.* i, 115.

<sup>12</sup> WSA P1/H/353.

<sup>13</sup> WSA P1/A/111.

<sup>14</sup> Ramsay, *Wilts. Woollen Industry*, 96; *VCH Wilts*, IV, 154.

Chippenham, and in 1727 it was the centre of one division for the inspection of medleys (mixed fabric generally including Spanish wool), which included also Bremhill, Lacock and Corsham.<sup>1</sup>

The resurgence of the Chippenham cloth industry, after decades of fluctuating misfortunes throughout the region, is attributed to Sir Samuel Fluyder (1704/5-68), a London cloth merchant and factor of Somerset origins, who became deputy-governor of the Bank of England.<sup>2</sup> Through buying up burgage houses he secured election as MP for Chippenham in 1754, and energetically promoted the trade of the town's clothiers. This support was continued after his death by the successors in his firm until 1812, several of whom also served as the borough's MPs.<sup>3</sup> The result, according to a reliable eye-witness, was that Chippenham, 'assumed a new appearance; the clothiers acquired fortunes, in which the other traders partook, and by which the poor also were liberal sharers'.<sup>4</sup> A consequence, noted by the same observer, was that the clothiers formed an elite and adopted a socially divisive air of superiority, which was only reduced when machinery was introduced and they became unpopular through causing unemployment.<sup>5</sup>

Eight Chippenham clothiers are listed in a 1783 directory, and nine a decade later.<sup>6</sup> At least three owned cloth mills or factories in nearby parishes, and others had workshops or small factories adjoining the houses where they lived, which in most cases was St Mary's Street, or nearby.<sup>7</sup> Premises in the Butts, erected c.1805, was later used as part of the workhouse, and offered for sale in 1860. Two much larger cloth factories were built in the town, and a third building, the Town mill of c.1820, was probably designed so that it could be converted for cloth manufacture, although it was never so used.<sup>8</sup>

Bridge Factory was built after 1796 by Thomas Goldney, one of the clothiers listed in 1783, on a site bounded by Bath road, the river and the town bridge.<sup>9</sup> The earlier, western block, was of four storeys, to which a five-storey extension was added, probably in 1813 when steam power was introduced; both parts were demolished in 1933. Goldney was succeeded by Anthony Guy, c.1818, and after his bankruptcy in 1830 the factory was leased to Joseph Spiers, who manufactured silk there, probably until 1846. Spiers then moved to Timber Street, and by 1877 to River Street, where silk production continued until 1894 or later.<sup>10</sup>

Waterford Mill in Factory lane (later Westmead lane) comprised the factory buildings of two concerns.<sup>11</sup> The earlier, built by John Heath after 1788 on the site of premises that had belonged to the Scott family, passed to William Heath, bankrupt in 1808; the later, described as newly erected in 1815, was sold by Thomas Bailey to a partnership later known as C.S. Taylor & Co, which acquired also the Heath factory in 1816. Taylor was bankrupt in 1830, and the new tenant was Daniel Rawlings of Frome (Som.), who probably was the purchaser when the combined factories were put up for sale in 1842. The main building was of five storeys with a powerful water wheel and two steam engines in 1830, and a third larger engine added in 1834. The 1842 sale catalogue claimed that the factory had cost £20,000 to build, and was capable of producing 2,000 yards of superfine cloth per week. Rawlings was in partnership with Thomas

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<sup>1</sup> *VCH Wilts*, IV, 155, 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Oxford DNB*; J. Britton, *Beauties of Wilts*, ii (1801), 249-50.

<sup>3</sup> *VCH Wilts*, IV, 159; R. Baines, *Hist. of Chippenham* (2009), 110-11.

<sup>4</sup> Britton, *Beauties of Wilts*, ii, 250.

<sup>5</sup> Britton, *Beauties of Wilts*, ii, 250-4. John Britton was born in 1771 at Kington St Michael, and would have known Chippenham well during the 1780s and 1790s.

<sup>6</sup> *Early Trade Dirs. of Wilts*, 1-2, 16-18.

<sup>7</sup> K.H. Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills* (1976), 77-8.

<sup>8</sup> Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 77-8; above, this section, mills. Mr Rogers has kindly made available his notes on Chippenham textile mills which supplement the published account.

<sup>9</sup> This para: Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 78-9 and notes *penes* Mr Rogers.

<sup>10</sup> *Spinke's Chippenham Dir.*, 1877-90 edns.; *VCH Wilts*, IV, 177.

<sup>11</sup> This para: Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 79-80, and notes *penes* Mr Rogers.

Pocock by 1855, when they were described as manufacturers of indigo dyed cloth, and from 1896 the company was named T.P. Pocock & Co., primarily manufacturing worsteds.<sup>1</sup> A disastrous fire destroyed most of the buildings in 1915, although Pocock's installed new machinery and continued in business until 1921, when Marling and Evans of Stroud (Glos.) took it over; in 1930 production was transferred to Stroud and the factory was closed.<sup>2</sup>

Chippenham, because it had diversified into railway engineering and other industries, was less dependent than other west Wiltshire towns on its cloth industry, although its decline mirrored theirs. Waterford Mill, said at one time to have had 200-300 employees, was by 1930 a very late survivor, outlived in Wiltshire only by factories in Trowbridge and Westbury.<sup>3</sup>

### *Engineering*

Rowland Brotherhood (1812-1883), a Great Western Railway contractor and protégé of I.K. Brunel, moved from Brinkworth to Chippenham in 1842, and established a forge for repairing his equipment.<sup>4</sup> In 1847 he purchased a close of pasture, c.2 a., north of the railway station, on which he had erected 'railway works' by 1848.<sup>5</sup> In 1859 he acquired the iron foundry of Arthur Silcock (Eyres and Silcock until 1845), which had been established before 1842.<sup>6</sup> In the early years the works manufactured rails and points apparatus, railway wagons to a patented 'tilt' design, and iron bridges. A wagon and lattice-work bridge (subsequently erected in Swindon) were exhibited in 1851 at the Great Exhibition, and the company went on to make further bridges (including for overseas customers) and more than 1,300 railway wagons between 1849 and 1866. Signalling equipment, wheels and various components for carriages and wagons were also manufactured in large quantities, and between 1857 and 1867 about 15 locomotives, including one adapted to move on roads.<sup>7</sup> Rapid expansion during the 1850s led to land purchases for new and enlarged buildings, including a foundry, forge, machine shop, offices and stores. Before closure in 1869 the works occupied most of the triangle of land bounded by Old Road, Foundry Lane and the railway station.<sup>8</sup> During the 1860s the workforce exceeded 200.<sup>9</sup> The undertaking was converted to a limited company in 1865 but experienced financial difficulties and was foreclosed by its creditors in 1869. Production ceased and the assets and premises were auctioned in 1869 and 1872.

Silcock's iron foundry on the corner of Langley Road and Cocklebury Road (later renamed Foundry lane, and then in Langley Burrell parish), was occupied c.1867 by John Jones, who was described in 1875 as an agricultural implement maker, iron and brass founder, and millwright.<sup>10</sup> Jones sold his business in 1889 to Percy Baylis,<sup>11</sup> who sold out in 1894 to Evans, O'Donnell, a company newly formed to manufacture railway signalling apparatus.<sup>12</sup> Evans

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<sup>1</sup> *Kelly's Dir. of Wilts.* (1855 edn.), 31; *Spinke's Chippenham Dir.*, 1877-1916 edns.

<sup>2</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 27 Sept. 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Newscutting of 1 Oct. 1921 among notes collected by Mr Rogers; *VCH Wilts*, IV, 175.

<sup>4</sup> This para: S.A. Leleux, *Brotherhoods, Engineers* (1965), 20-37;

[https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Rowland\\_Brotherhood](https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Rowland_Brotherhood) (accessed 8 April 2021); WSA 3392/2.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, 4277/1; *Early Trade Dirs. of Wilts*, 110; *Hunt's Dir.* 1848.

<sup>6</sup> *Bristol Mercury*, 10 September, 1859; Pigot, *Directory*, 1842; *Wilts Independent*, 6 March 1845.

Described as in New Road, it was presumably the foundry premises at the junction of Langley Road and Foundry lane.

<sup>7</sup> S.H.P. Higgins, 'A Centenary Note . . .', *Industrial Railway Record*, 24 (1969), 44-7; Leleux, 36, suggests between 12 and 18.

<sup>8</sup> Higgins, 'Centenary Note', plan; WSA, 3392/1.

<sup>9</sup> *VCH Wilts*, IV, 323; an obituary, *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, 8 Mar. 1883, p. 3, claimed that between 500 and 600 men were employed.

<sup>10</sup> *Kelly's Dir. of Wilts.* (1867, 1875 edns.) Jones appears to have been in partnership initially with Thomas Aland.

<sup>11</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gazette*, 20 June 1889, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> O.S. Nock, *A Hundred Years of Speed with Safety* (2nd edn, 2014), 196; WSA 3393/4.

O'Donnell began to erect factory buildings in 1897 on land further east adjoining Foundry lane; in 1900 the company went into voluntary liquidation, but was reformed under the same name, and the following year it amalgamated with a consortium of competitors; one of these, Dutton & Co. of Worcester, transferred its operations to the Chippenham site. Another, Saxby & Farmer, which had been trading since 1860, relocated its works from Kilburn to Chippenham in 1903, and the consortium was renamed the Consolidated Signal Co.<sup>1</sup> Saxby & Farmer continued to manufacture under its own name at Chippenham until 1920, producing railway signals, interlocking and safety appliances, level crossing gear, points and related machinery.<sup>2</sup> Munitions were produced at the factory by women employees during World War One.<sup>3</sup>

The signalling activities of Consolidated Signal Co. were acquired in 1920 by the Westinghouse Brake Co., which had originated in the United States in 1869, and most manufacturing not already undertaken in the Chippenham plant was transferred there from Worcester and London.<sup>4</sup> The new company traded as Westinghouse Brake and Saxby Signal Co. from 1920 to 1935, when Saxby was dropped from the name.<sup>5</sup> As production was concentrated in Chippenham, including from 1928 the manufacture of rectifiers (forerunners of semiconductors for converting alternating to direct electrical current), the premises were extended, in 1926, and new buildings erected in 1928, 1932 and 1938; in 1938 also the buildings formerly occupied by Hathaway's churn manufactory were acquired as a store.<sup>6</sup> Constrained by residential roads to the north-west and west, and by the railway to the south, expansion was confined to the east and north-east. By 1926 large multi-roofed machine shop, smiths' shop and foundry extended across the site, surrounded by stores and smaller ancillary buildings.<sup>7</sup> Before 1930 an office block of two, later three storeys, the 'White House', had been erected in front of the works, facing the railway tracks; and a linked series of rectangular factory blocks was built during the 1930s running north from the eastern edge of the site.<sup>8</sup> The workforce of 200 before 1914 had risen to 600 by 1920, 2,700 in 1938, 3,000 c.1949, and c.5,000 after 1965.<sup>9</sup>

Most departments of the company remaining in London before 1939 were moved to Chippenham during wartime.<sup>10</sup> In 1948 a new laboratory block was built, and by this date the company offered apprenticeships, medical and library facilities, a canteen, and various staff social and recreational activities.<sup>11</sup> In 1952, after the Pew Hill estate had been acquired, the Westinghouse premises extended to 46 a., of which buildings covered c.23 a.<sup>12</sup> Besides the company's core activities of railway brakes and signalling, it also manufactured electrical equipment, heating apparatus, ticket machines, handling gear for collieries and brakes for road vehicles.<sup>13</sup> Further new buildings were erected during the 1950s and subsequently, and between 1964 and 1966 the activities of subsidiary companies were transferred from London, Manchester and Bristol to the Chippenham site; in 1972 Westinghouse head office was also transferred from London.<sup>14</sup> An attempt by Thorn Electrical to take over the company in 1963-4 failed, but it was acquired in 1979 by Hawker Siddeley (whose portfolio had included other railway interests since 1957), and its United Kingdom activities were split into eight divisions, including railway brakes,

<sup>1</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years*, 11-14, 196-7; *VCH Wilts*, IV, 199.

<sup>2</sup> M. Glover, *Westinghouse Brake & Signal in Chippenham in Photographs, 1894 to 1981* (2010), 21

<sup>3</sup> Glover, *Westinghouse*, 22-4; *VCH Wilts*, IV, 200.

<sup>4</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years*, 1, 38-9.

<sup>5</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years*, 39, 198.

<sup>6</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years*, 182.

<sup>7</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years*, 88, 183.

<sup>8</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years*, 184-5.

<sup>9</sup> WSA, 3392/5; Nock, *Hundred Years*, 88.

<sup>10</sup> *VCH Wilts*, IV, 200.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, 3392/5.

<sup>12</sup> *VCH Wilts*, IV, 200.

<sup>13</sup> *VCH Wilts*, IV, 200.

<sup>14</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years*, 182.

signals and mining, rectifier equipment, semiconductors, and automation and controls.<sup>1</sup> Production continued at the Chippenham plant into the 21st century, although after a hostile takeover by British Tyre and Rubber in 1992 (antecedent of Invensys), parts were sold in 2000 and 2001, and the site itself was sold off and those buildings still occupied were renamed Langley Park industrial estate. The Westinghouse name disappeared in 2009 and Invensys became part of Siemens in 2013.<sup>2</sup> Most buildings were cleared from the site in 2017-18, and a supermarket, hotel and housing were constructed in their place.<sup>3</sup>

### *Food Processing*

Although at the heart of Wiltshire's domestic cheesemaking country, Chippenham until the 19th century appears not to have engaged in manufacturing or marketing cheese to any great extent.<sup>4</sup> A single cheese-factor in the town, William Tayler, is listed in a 1793 directory, and this he combined with many other activities.<sup>5</sup> It was only with the opening of the new market in 1834 that cheese and dairy products became central to Chippenham's economy.<sup>6</sup>

William Nicholls, a chemist and druggist in High Street, by 1838 specialised in supplying agricultural medications and annatto, an imported natural food colouring for cheese.<sup>7</sup> Before 1856 he had invented and begun to manufacture a fluid extract of annatto which gave a more even colouring than block or paste forms, and by 1858 this had been taken up by cheesemakers locally and nationally.<sup>8</sup> Before Nicholls died in 1870 he was manufacturing his product from premises on Rowden Hill, and this was continued, as Chippenham Annatto Works, until 1899 or later.<sup>9</sup> A second annatto manufacturer, E. Moore, was in business in Chapel row, 1881-8.<sup>10</sup>

The Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Company was established in Switzerland in 1866 by American brothers George and Charles Page to manufacture sweetened evaporated milk preserved in cans.<sup>11</sup> The business expanded to England in 1873 and opened premises in Chippenham and Aylesbury (Bucks.).<sup>12</sup> In 1905 it amalgamated with rival company Henri Nestlé, and in 1935 was renamed Nestlé Milk Products Ltd.<sup>13</sup> Anglo-Swiss acquired the former Bridge cloth factory in 1873, which after 1846 had been used for storing hides, and retained the main factory buildings until they were demolished in 1933.<sup>14</sup> From the outset production was almost exclusively condensed milk, although some liquid milk was dispatched after 1926, and the factory's workforce increased from 65 in 1874 to 163 in 1906 and 213 in 1937.<sup>15</sup> A strike for higher pay in 1913 brought to prominence a female employee, Florence Hancock (1893-1974), who subsequently became a full-time trades union organiser, rose to be chair of the TUC general council in 1947-8, and was made a dame in 1951.<sup>16</sup> After the demolition of the cloth factory,

<sup>1</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years*, 167-8.

<sup>2</sup> Nock, *Hundred Years*, 206.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.polunnio.co.uk/> (accessed 19 Aug. 2021).

<sup>4</sup> A.R. Wilson, *Forgotten Harvest* (1995), 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Early Trade Directories* (ed. Rogers), 18.

<sup>6</sup> above: markets; Wilson, *Forgotten Harvest*, 104-12.

<sup>7</sup> *Wilts. Independent*, 31 May 1838, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Wilts. Independent*, 18 Sept. 1856, 2; *Devizes & Wilts. Gazette*, 30 Sept. 1858, 3; Wilson, *Forgotten Harvest*, 142-40.

<sup>9</sup> *Leicester Jnl.* 13 Aug. 1869; *Wilts. Gazette*, 9 June 1870; *Spinke's Chippenham Dir.*, 1899 edn.

<sup>10</sup> *Spinke's Chippenham Dir.*, 1881-8 edns.

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.nestle.com/aboutus/history/nestle-company-history/page-brothers-anglo-swiss> (accessed 3 Nov. 2021); *Nestlé: this is your company* (1946), 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> *Nestlé: this is your company*, 61.

<sup>13</sup> *Nestlé: this is your company*, 6, 64.

<sup>14</sup> K.H. Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills* (1976), 78-9; *North Wilts. Herald*, 30 Dec. 1932, 2.

<sup>15</sup> *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 227-8.

<sup>16</sup> *Oxford DNB*.



which had been used for storage, in 1934-5 the internal structure of the remaining premises was modified and the equipment modernised.<sup>1</sup> In 1937 the factory handled 5.8 million gallons, almost all processed as condensed milk, the 1947 total was 4.3 million, and 6.56 million gallons in 1956, of which 20% was dispatched as liquid milk.<sup>2</sup> Nestlé ended milk processing at the Chippenham factory in 1962 and it closed in 1966.<sup>3</sup>

Two other dairying enterprises were established in Chippenham. The Wiltshire Bacon Curing Company (see below) acquired premises in 1894 between its works and the railway station, and issued shares in the Chippenham Cheese Factory, with which it would share utilities and facilities, and which it intended would manufacture several tons of cheese weekly.<sup>4</sup> The share issue was oversubscribed, and the factory performed moderately well for some years, paying a 4% dividend, though it suffered an operating loss of over £1,500 in 1898/9.<sup>5</sup> The business was wound up in 1920 when the bacon company was acquired by Harris of Calne.<sup>6</sup> Wiltshire Farmers had established a depot near the station in Cocklebury Road by 1911, and when the company went into voluntary liquidation in 1923 it was reformed as the Wiltshire Creameries.<sup>7</sup> The new company manufactured cheese at its Chippenham premises until 1938 when it was acquired by United Dairies,<sup>8</sup> which retained a presence there (latterly as Unigate) until 1972 or later.<sup>9</sup>

The commercial success from c.1860 of the two related bacon curing businesses in Calne, which amalgamated in 1888 as C. & T. Harris, and with it the growing reputation of Wiltshire bacon, encouraged rival companies to emerge in the region during the 1880s and 1890s, in part to break a virtual monopoly enjoyed by Harris over local pig-farmers.<sup>10</sup> The Wiltshire Bacon Curing Company was incorporated in 1890, and built its factory on the former Brotherhood's foundry site between Chippenham railway station and Foundry lane, in order to cure bacon, sausages and other pig-meat products under the 'Royal Wilts' brand.<sup>11</sup> The location, with railway sidings connected to the main line, enabled pigs for slaughter to be conveyed by rail, and gave the company's merchandise easy and rapid access to markets in London and elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> Although production was never on the scale of the Calne factory, output was steady and the company, partly through ambitious advertising, maintained a high reputation for its products, which included Bradenham ham.<sup>13</sup> In 1920 its shares were acquired by Harris, and thereafter it operated as a subsidiary of the Calne concern, increasing production in 1934 and again in 1949, and employing a workforce of 290 in 1957.<sup>14</sup> In 1967 it claimed to be processing an average of 2,000 pigs per week; it closed in 1987 after a fire, and the buildings were demolished.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *North Wilts. Herald*, 30 Dec. 1932, 2; *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 228.

<sup>2</sup> *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 228, table 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Wells Jnl.*, 22 Sept 1961; *Somerset Standard*, 31 Jan. 1964; J.A. Chamberlain, *Chippenham* (1976), 138

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 17 Nov. 1894, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 1 Dec. 1894, 8; *Warminster Jnl.*, 13 May 1899, 5; *Newbury Weekly News*, 9 May 1901, 2; *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 223.

<sup>6</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 9 Oct. 1920, 7; *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 228.

<sup>7</sup> *Spinke's Chippenham Dir.*, 1911, 1916 edns.; *Kelly's Wilts. Dir.*, 1915, 1920 edns.; *Shepton Mallet Jnl.*, 26 Jan. 1923, 3; *Somerset Guardian*, 1 Aug. 1930, 9. Before 1920 it had been renamed Wilts. & Somerset Farmers.

<sup>8</sup> *North Wilts. Herald*, 19 July 1935, 15; *Wilts. Times*, 5 Nov. 1938, 13.

<sup>9</sup> *Dir. Of Chippenham*, 1939, 1950, 1953, 1957 edns.; British telephone directories (via Ancestry), 1960-72.

<sup>10</sup> *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 220-2; *VCH Wilts.*, xvii, 85.

<sup>11</sup> *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 222-3; WSA 2140/62-3.

<sup>12</sup> *Wilts. & Glos Standard*, 18 July 1891, 3; WSA 1667/1.

<sup>13</sup> *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 222-3. Advertisements appeared widely in newspapers and directories. Bradenham ham was wet-cured in molasses, coriander and juniper berries, resulting in an almost black appearance.

<sup>14</sup> *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 223.

<sup>15</sup> *Somerset Standard*, 17 Feb 1967, 52; but only 150 in 1976 according to Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 141; C. Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names* (2018), 68.

A second bacon curing factory, in River Street, had been established by 1905. The Avon Vale Bacon Company was succeeded there by Wiltshire Farmers c.1914, and was bought by a Bristol firm, Spear Bros. & Clark, in 1916.<sup>1</sup> The company manufactured bacon, pies and 'Bath' sausages, and in 1956 processed 100-300 pigs weekly.<sup>2</sup> The works probably closed c.1960.<sup>3</sup> The Vestey Group purchased Waterford Mill in Factory lane in 1939 and converted it for the manufacture of Oxo cubes.<sup>4</sup> Production continued through wartime and later, employing 180, and expanded into the adjacent tannery in 1958, but closed without advance notice in May 1975, dismissing all 168 employees.<sup>5</sup> The premises were later used for meat processing by Hygrade Foods, employing 550 before closure in 2007; the buildings were demolished in 2013-14 and the site redeveloped for housing.<sup>6</sup>

### *Other Manufactures*

George Hathaway (1840-1922), a cooper of Slimbridge (Glos.), devised butter-churning equipment using barrels mounted on frames, and began manufacturing them in Chippenham in premises off London Road in 1869, but soon relocated to part of the disused Brotherhood site.<sup>7</sup> His double-oscillating churn was a prize-winning exhibit at the 1882 Royal Agricultural Show, and by 1899 he had won many other awards for his products, describing his factory as 'Royal Prize Churn Works'.<sup>8</sup> His business, which remained in premises at the junction of Old Road and Foundry Lane, was continued after his death by his son Nathaniel, who switched during the 1930s to manufacturing carpet sweepers until c.1937.<sup>9</sup> The factory was acquired by Westinghouse in 1938, who vacated it c.1984, and it was demolished after 1987 to create the Hathaway Retail Park in 1990.<sup>10</sup>

James B. Warrilow (1859-1941), who was related to Hathaway,<sup>11</sup> was established as a gun, rifle and cartridge maker in New Road by 1888, but he had moved to River Street by 1892 and remained there until the premises were demolished in 1910.<sup>12</sup> He also made cycles, and claimed to be the oldest established cycle agency in Wiltshire, having begun before 1890.<sup>13</sup> Between 1911 and 1915 his cycle works was in St Mary Street.<sup>14</sup> A second cycle manufacturer was working from c.1899, from premises in Landsend (Marshfield Road) until 1916, but later in New Road until 1939 or later. Trading at first as Chappell & Co., from 1903 its proprietor was A.R. Hinder, who made 'Reliance' cycles; during the 1920s and later the firm was primarily selling and servicing motor-cycles.<sup>15</sup>

## CRAFTS, TRADES AND RETAILING

Chippenham seems not to have developed any specific crafts or trades other than those to be expected in an urban context. Occupations and occupational surnames found before 1400

<sup>1</sup> *Spinke's Dir. Chippenham*, 1905-16 edns.; *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 223.

<sup>2</sup> *Dir. Of Chippenham*, 1939, 38; *VCH Wilts.*, iv, 223.

<sup>3</sup> British telephone directories (via Ancestry), 1959, 1960 edns.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 20 May 1939.

<sup>5</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 140-1.

<sup>6</sup> *Wilts. Gazette & Herald*, 2 Mar. 2006; 5 Dec. 2013.

<sup>7</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 24 Jan. 1931, 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Engineer*, 14 July 1882; <https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Hathaway> (accessed 11 Aug. 2021).

<sup>9</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 68-9; <https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Hathaway>.

<sup>10</sup> Press cuttings in WSA 3392/4.

<sup>11</sup> Hathaway was married to Fanny Warrilow, James's aunt: Robb family tree, via [www.ancestry.co.uk](http://www.ancestry.co.uk) (accessed 11 Aug. 2021)

<sup>12</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 17 May 1941, 8; *Spinke's Dir. Chippenham*, 1888 and later edns.

<sup>13</sup> *Spinke's Dir. Chippenham*, 1910 edn, 28 (advertisement).

<sup>14</sup> *Spinke's Dir. Chippenham*, 1911-15 edns.

<sup>15</sup> *Spinke's Dir. Chippenham*, 1899-1933 edns., *passim*; *Kelly's Dir. Wiltshire*, 1935, 1939 edns.

include crafts ancillary to the textile industry, such as dyer, bleacher and tailor;<sup>1</sup> and leatherworking, including tawyer, glover and tanner.<sup>2</sup> Chapmen, smiths, an ironmonger, scrivener and butcher are also recorded.<sup>3</sup>

The 1554 charter empowered the borough to regulate artificers and victuallers, and these regulations were set out in the 1597 borough customs.<sup>4</sup> Bakers and brewers were subject to assize of bread and ale, and 'foreyne' bakers were restricted. Butchers were required to bring to market not only meat, but also the hides of the beasts slaughtered and a proportionate quantity of tallow. Blacksmiths were restricted on market days from keeping more horses than they could accommodate or tether. Leather sold in the borough was subject to inspection by searchers to ensure that it was thoroughly tanned. Any attempt by butchers, bakers, brewers, poulterers, cooks, costermongers or fruiterers to rig the market by price-fixing was subject to a £10 fine, or 20 days' imprisonment with only bread and water.

Some indication of the number of individuals involved in specific trades around this period is provided by two restrictions. In 1565 all tailors by royal proclamation had to enter into a recognizance that they, their apprentices, journeymen or servants would not make hose 'of monstrous and outrageous greatnes'; seven Chippenham tailors obliged.<sup>5</sup> And in 1620, when fasting during Lent was enforced, ten Chippenham butchers entered into recognizances, and stood surety for each other, that they would not prepare or sell meat, or permit it to be eaten, during this period.<sup>6</sup>

Analysis of 49 Chippenham probate records proved between 1569 and 1799 in which occupations are given suggests that in this sample the largest group (16) of craftsmen was associated with the textile trades, as weavers, tailors and specialists including cardmakers, a scribbler and a feltmaker.<sup>7</sup> A further nine supplied food and drink, as bakers, maltsters, butchers, victuallers and innkeepers. Six produced shoes, hats and gloves, and another six worked with wood or stone, as carpenters, a wheelwright, mason and sawyer. There was also a carrier, an apothecary and a saddler.

In a somewhat larger sample (82), of Chippenham apprenticeships during the 50-year period 1710-60, the textile trades (15), woodworkers (11) and bakers (11) were the largest groups, followed by nine cordwainers (shoemakers) and eight mantua-makers (dressmakers).<sup>8</sup> Small numbers of workers with horses, leather or metal were also represented, and there were four barbers, three attorneys and a soapmaker.

Until the 19th century most traders sold goods of their own manufacture, although at least four mercers were living in Chippenham between 1607 and 1690.<sup>9</sup> The stock in trade of William Dyer the elder was itemised at his death in 1690, and included 123 lines of haberdashery of all kinds in the shop in his house, 33 lengths of various fabrics in a warehouse within the shop, and a further 30 fabrics in another shop and a cellar.<sup>10</sup> By the 1790s eight traders described themselves as shopkeeper, grocer or mercer, eight more added 'and

<sup>1</sup> TNA, C 241/115/338; C 241/110/241; D.A. Crowley (ed.), *Wiltshire Tax List of 1332* (W.R.S., 45), 5; TNA, WARD 2/27/94B/81.

<sup>2</sup> R.B. Pugh (ed.), *Wilts Gaol Delivery and Trailbaston Trials, 1275-1306* (W.R.S. 33), 43 (67); V.C.M. London (ed.), *Cart. of Bradenstoke Abbey* (W.R.S. 35), 58 (118); TNA, C 143/208/3.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of Chippenham*, 298-9; *Cart. of Bradenstoke Abbey*, 58 (118); WSA, 1720/148;

<sup>4</sup> This para, *Records of Chippenham*, 4-14, 269.

<sup>5</sup> *Records of Chippenham*, 316-17.

<sup>6</sup> N.J. Williams (ed.), *Tradesmen in Early Stuart Wiltshire* (W.R.S. 15), 31-2 (328-43).

<sup>7</sup> This para derives via Ancestry from wills in WSA. Husbandmen and yeomen are omitted. Most records are from the 18th century.

<sup>8</sup> This para: C. Dale (ed.), *Wiltshire Apprentices and their Masters 1710-1760* (W.R.S. 17) *passim*, via place index.

<sup>9</sup> WSA, P3/2Reg/18 (Milsham); TNA PROB 11/204/356 (Morris); TNA, PROB 4/10668 (Foot); TNA, PROB 32/31/251 (Dyer).

<sup>10</sup> TNA, PROB 32/31/251.

shopkeeper' to their occupation, and five were engaged in trading a variety of disparate goods.<sup>1</sup> In common with the national trend retailing, as opposed to craftsmen selling from their workshops, increased after 1800, and this is reflected in directories.<sup>2</sup> By 1830 in Chippenham there were 13 shopkeepers, grocers and dealers in sundries, increasing to 19 in 1842 and 21 in 1855. By this date there were also two Berlin and fancy repositories and two marine stores dealers,<sup>3</sup> and a host of more specialised shops. In all 270 professionals and traders were listed in the town in 1855. Very noticeable is the proliferation of insurance agents during this period (generally as an addition to some other occupation), from 11 in 1830, to 18 in 1842, and 47 in 1855.

In 1830 some 80 trading and professional businesses were located in the High Street or Market Place, including the Shambles.<sup>4</sup> A further 15 lined the Causeway, and there were nine in Timber Street. Only six had premises in New Road or on the Bridge, and there were very few elsewhere. By 1855, as Chippenham's residential area expanded, especially beyond the railway line and along London Road, businesses opened accordingly. New Road, from the Bridge to the Little George, began to take on the role of a shopping street, with 14 premises, and a further 12 traders nearby, in St Paul's Street, Langley Road and Landsend (Marshfield Road). More businesses were established along the London Road approach too, with no fewer than 34 addresses in the Causeway and Albion Place, and eight in St Mary's Street and the Butts.

The geography of Chippenham retailing changed little after the 1850s for more than a century, but the diversity of businesses and the products on offer expanded.<sup>5</sup> As Victorian tastes became more refined the two traditional breweries in 1848 (Dowding in Albion Place, and Slade in River Street) faced competition by 1877 from aerated water, ginger beer and cordial makers. Slade moved to Union Street c.1902 and ceased trading after 1925; Dowding was taken over c.1914 and had finished by 1920. Under four ownerships the aerated water works off the High Street in Gutter Lane (Chapel Lane) continued until c.1933. Victorian innovation is reflected also in the arrival by 1877 of dealers in pianos, cycles, oriental goods and sewing machines, and no fewer than three photographers. In the decades to 1939 the most significant change reflected motor travel. Already by 1911 seven traders catered for the various needs of the motorist, reflecting perhaps Chippenham's position at the junction of major roads, and by 1935 this had risen to 15, as well as haulage companies, taxi and car hire, and a coach proprietor. Wireless and electrical engineers were also in business by 1935, as well as an antique gallery, restaurants and four fried fish dealers. Joseph Rebbeck, a hairdresser, also provide an air travel agency.

The first 'chain' store to open in Chippenham was a branch of the International Tea Co. (later International Stores), which was trading in the High Street by 1888; it had moved to 41 Market Place by 1903 and to 21 High Street by 1915.<sup>6</sup> The Chippenham Co-operative Society was formed in 1890 and by January 1891 had sold bread and groceries to the value of over £1,000 to 136 members.<sup>7</sup> It traded from 28 High Street until 1909, when purpose-built premises were completed at 31 High Street (in 2022 Wilko's).<sup>8</sup> During the 1920s it opened a branch in Sheldon Road and later another in London Road.<sup>9</sup> W.H. Smith (at 57-8 New Road, in 2022 Prezzo) and the London Central Meat Co. (48 Market Place) both arrived before 1907, and two boot and shoe

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<sup>1</sup> *Early Wilts Directories*, 16-18.

<sup>2</sup> Data in this para are taken from *Early Wilts Directories*, 67-9, 108-11; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1855 edn.), 401-3.

<sup>3</sup> The former were the equivalent of modern gift and craft shops, the latter was a euphemism for second-hand or junk shops.

<sup>4</sup> This para: *Early Wilts Directories*, 67-9; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1855 edn.), 401-3.

<sup>5</sup> This para: *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (various edns.); *Spinke's Chippenham Dir.* (various edns.).

<sup>6</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 15 Nov 1888, 8; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1903, 1915 edns.).

<sup>7</sup> *Trowbridge Chronicle*, 5 Apr 1890, 6; *Bath Chronicle*, 29 Jan 1891, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Spinke's Chippenham Dir.* (1892 edn.); *Bath Chronicle*, 2 Sep 1909, 2; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1911 edn.).

<sup>9</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1927, 1935 edns.).

chains, Lennards and Olivers, were trading in Chippenham by 1911.<sup>1</sup> Other national brands were not established in Chippenham until the 1920s, including Freeman, Hardy & Willis, next door to Home & Colonial Stores (3 and 4 High Street); Boots Cash Chemist, at 16 High Street, was also new to Chippenham in 1927, surprisingly late for so prolific a chain.<sup>2</sup> Woolworth's Bazaar of 1933 (25 High Street) replaced an impressive 18th-century house, whose facade was rebuilt in Bath; the 1933 building was itself rebuilt in 1975 (in 2022 Poundland and Costa).<sup>3</sup> The distinctive Montague Burton store, 1-3 Market Place, opened in 1937.<sup>4</sup>

A new phase, of redeveloping the town centre for retail accommodation, began in 1955 when plans were discussed to replace the town mill beside the bridge and erect a row of shops in its place. Although controversial, the scheme proceeded and the shops were completed in 1957.<sup>5</sup> Demolition and replacement of older buildings followed, including the Bridge House hotel (1 High Street), 41-43 Market Place for a new head post office in 1959, and Buckle's fishmonger's (17-18 High Street), an elaborate half-timbered building demolished in 1964.<sup>6</sup> The former White Hart inn (44 Market Place) was demolished in 1973-4 for a supermarket, Savon, though its facade was retained (in 2022 Iceland).<sup>7</sup> A much larger supermarket, Sainsbury's, with car park, was opened in 1975 following the demolition of properties in River Street; the area was rebuilt as smaller retail units and renamed Borough Parade after 1990.<sup>8</sup> Emery Gate, a covered mall of more than twenty shops, including a Safeway supermarket and a car park on two levels, was opened in 1986; street access was created by demolishing 26-28 High Street and erecting an elaborate arched replacement.<sup>9</sup>

In line with national trends, Chippenham looked to develop out-of-town retail parks and large superstores. Sainsbury's moved from the town centre to Cepen Park South, beside the western ring road, in 1990; and in the same year Hathaway retail park, comprising seven units, was created north of the railway station on the former bacon factory site.<sup>10</sup> Safeway built its superstore at Cepen Park North c.1994, and rebranded as Morrison's in 2004. The Cepen Park stores attracted custom from Chippenham and its wider hinterland, but also served as shopping hubs for the new housing estates. This reflected the earlier provision on a smaller scale of local shopping centres at the Folly (Redland) and Hungerdown Lane during the 1960s, and at Lodge Road, Pewsham during the 1980s.<sup>11</sup> Competition between discount supermarkets resulted in two stores opening in 2019 and a further two in 2021.<sup>12</sup> The former maternity hospital, after closure in 1988, was demolished and the site, off Malmesbury Road, was developed as Greenways business park.<sup>13</sup> Chippenham retail park was created at the approach to the Bumpers Farm industrial estate, and subsequently Bath Road retail park formed part of the mixed use Methuen Park business park. These and other chain retailers, typically of electrical and do-it-yourself products, that had also established premises along Bath Road were trading in 2022.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kelly's *Dir. Wilts* (1907, 1911 edns.).

<sup>2</sup> Kelly's *Dir. Wilts* (1927 edn.).

<sup>3</sup> C. Smith (comp.), *Chippenham Walkabout* (1977), 26; date from C. Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names* (2018), 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts Times*, 18 Dec 1937, 13.

<sup>5</sup> K.S. Taylor, *From Domesday to Demolition* (Chippenham Studies 3, 2015), 41-5.

<sup>6</sup> Taylor, *From Domesday to Demolition*, 45; Smith, *Chippenham Walkabout*, 10, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, *Chippenham Walkabout*, 10; Goad plan of Chippenham (1974 edn.).

<sup>8</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 14, 15.

<sup>9</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 14.

<sup>10</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 119, 69.

<sup>11</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 109, 115, 144-5.

<sup>12</sup> *Wilts. Gazette & Herald*, 31 Jan 2019; 15 Feb 2019; 4 Oct 2021; *Wilts. Times*, 4 Oct 2021.

<sup>13</sup> Dallimore, *Chippenham Street Names*, 75.

<sup>14</sup> personal observation. For industrial estates, above: *Origins, Growth and Development, Further Expansion for Working and Living, 1974-2019*.

## HOSPITALITY

The town's position on an important medieval thoroughfare would have required accommodation for travellers, and a 'hospital' is recorded there in 1275 after it had suffered a burglary.<sup>1</sup> A tenement close to the church on the eastern side of the market place, recorded in a series of deeds 1326-1451, was described as the Bell inn from 1401.<sup>2</sup> It was one of several inns regularly used for corporation business during the 17th century,<sup>3</sup> and was still licensed in 1745, and perhaps 1762, although not by 1785.<sup>4</sup>

Bradenstoke priory when dissolved in 1539 owned an inn called the Hart, probably to be identified with a tenement in the High Street opposite the market place which was in their possession before c.1300.<sup>5</sup> In 1487 it was allowed to erect a post in the street on payment of an annual fee, and in 1514 it and the 'Swanne' were both described as inns.<sup>6</sup> The Hart was granted in 1544 to David Clayton, alias Clutton, of Westminster, and was used as a venue for local administration by 1560, and frequently (as the White Hart) during the 17th century.<sup>7</sup> Oliver Cromwell was entertained there in 1648.<sup>8</sup> It is said to have closed in 1850, as soon as the coaching trade on which it depended had been extinguished by the railway.<sup>9</sup>

The Rose and Crown, standing at the south-west corner of the market place, is a late medieval timber-framed structure rebuilt in stone during the 17th century and recorded as an inn by 1691.<sup>10</sup> It was extended in 1694,<sup>11</sup> and in 1700 included a well-appointed hall, six named apartments, several chambers, garrets and cellars, and various outbuildings, stables and maltings.<sup>12</sup> A sequence of deeds ending in 1877 (when it was auctioned) suggests that it had been in continuous use as an inn from before 1691; in 1877 it included a bar, tap room, parlours and dining room, with a large 'market room' and five bedrooms above.<sup>13</sup> Because of its proximity to the wharf it was popular with the canal fraternity during the 19th century and was briefly known as the Barge inn.<sup>14</sup> It continued as an inn and was still trading in 2022.

Besides the long-established inns (Bell, White Hart, Rose and Crown) three others are named in a list of householders compiled in 1613 and revised in 1651.<sup>15</sup> The Lyon in 1613 is recorded as the White Lion in a will of 1635,<sup>16</sup> although this may not be on the same site as the inn licensed before 1755 at 4 Market Place.<sup>17</sup> This was still trading in 1974 but not in 1978.<sup>18</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> *Wilts. Gaol Delivery and Trailbaston Trials*, 35-6 (17).

<sup>2</sup> J. S. Davies (ed.), *Tropenell Cartulary*, vol. 1 (Devizes, 1908), 81-92.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of Chippenham*, 204, 222, 223, 228, 229, etc.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, A1/325/6; 873/280; 270/11.

<sup>5</sup> *L&P Hen. VIII, XIX* (2), 417 (g.65); V.C.M. London (ed.), *Cartulary of Bradenstoke Abbey* (WRS vol. 35), 59-60 (no. 127).

<sup>6</sup> TNA, SC 6/HenVIII/3867, 3869; the term used was *hospicium*.

<sup>7</sup> *L&P Hen. VIII, XIX* (2), 417 (g.65); *Records of Chippenham*, 336, 338, 206, 208, 216, etc.

<sup>8</sup> *Records of Chippenham*, 218.

<sup>9</sup> J.A. Chamberlain, *Chippenham* (1976), 132; it is listed in *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1848 edn.).

<sup>10</sup> NHL 1268032; WSA, 1075/001/49.

<sup>11</sup> Reset datestone recorded in NHL 1268032, which corresponds to a newly erected chamber referred to in a will of 1700: WSA, P3/C/619.

<sup>12</sup> WSA, P3/C/619 includes a detailed probate inventory; the apartments are named the Lyon, Crown, Phenix, Bell, Unicorn and Swan.

<sup>13</sup> WSA, 1075/001/49; G19/700/3 (plan, 1868).

<sup>14</sup> R. Alder, *Chippenham and the Wilts & Berks Canal* (2011), 57.

<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/1/6, ff. 76-7.

<sup>16</sup> WSA, P3/B/361, will of Francis Barnes 1735.

<sup>17</sup> WSA, 1075/001/48. It appears to have been licensed between c.1748 and 1755, and had previously been three adjacent houses. See also WSA, 473/122.

<sup>18</sup> Goad plans of Chippenham, 1974, 1978 edns.

George may be the same as the establishment which was the subject of a chancery dispute in 1700;<sup>1</sup> it is recorded, presumably on its present site (2 High Street), in 1743 and subsequently,<sup>2</sup> was refronted in 1835 and continued to trade until the 1960s, after which it was saved from demolition and converted to retail use.<sup>3</sup> In 2022 it was occupied by W.H. Smith. The Bull in 1613 was known as the Bull House before 1747, by when it had become the Angel.<sup>4</sup> It retains a 17th-century roof, but was refronted and enlarged in the 18th century by incorporating a neighbouring house.<sup>5</sup> After the Bell closed it began to be favoured for corporation business,<sup>6</sup> and during the coaching heyday, c.1770-c.1840, it took second place only to the White Hart as Chippenham's principal inn.<sup>7</sup> It prospered also during pre-reform election hustings, when large sums were spent there (and at other inns) on food and drink for electors.<sup>8</sup> It survived the demise of coaching and was enlarged during the 20th century to include a motel before 1976;<sup>9</sup> it continued to trade in 2022 as part of the Best Western hotel chain.<sup>10</sup>

Ordinances governing innholders and tipplers were set out in 1597 which fixed the prices of ale, and governed gaming and disorder on Sundays, entertaining travellers, stabling horses and other matters.<sup>11</sup> In 1620 four Chippenham innkeepers and eleven alehousekeepers were named in Lenten recognisances,<sup>12</sup> and in 1686 no fewer than 164 guest beds and stabling for 208 horses were recorded for the town, more than anywhere else in Wiltshire except Salisbury.<sup>13</sup> Between 1620 and 1745-7 the number of licensed houses appears to have doubled, to 30, although this total had reduced to 21 by 1827.<sup>14</sup> Nearly all of those that are locatable stood in or around the market place, and six occupied an almost continuous frontage along its eastern side between St Mary Street and the church.<sup>15</sup>

The names of three alehouses occur in the bailiffs' accounts after 1660: the Bear in 1667, the Anchor in 1678 and 1714, and the Gun in 1686.<sup>16</sup> The Bear, which stood at the Timber Street corner (10-11 Market Place), was mortgaged in 1719 to pay a debt, and was described as the 'Old Bear' when decayed and ruinous in 1750, before the site was redeveloped as a private residence shortly before 1763.<sup>17</sup> The adjacent 'New Bear' (12 Market Place) had replaced it by 1784, and perhaps c.1750.<sup>18</sup> The Gun remained licensed premises in 1745 and 1747, and is depicted on the 1784 map as occupying part of a site in High Street redeveloped in the 19th century for the Neeld

<sup>1</sup> TNA, C 5/209/33.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, A1/325/5; A1/326/3, etc. However before 1703 this had been known as the New Inn: Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 130.

<sup>3</sup> Datestone on building; NHL 1268101; Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 130.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, 4275/1.

<sup>5</sup> NHL 1268061.

<sup>6</sup> *Records of Chippenham*, 244, 246.

<sup>7</sup> J. Chandler, *Stagecoach Operation through Wiltshire* (1980), p. [5], from Pigot's *Directory* (1830 edn.).

<sup>8</sup> WSA, 1171/31; cf WSA, 1171/33 for sums spent at other inns.

<sup>9</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 128.

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.bestwestern.co.uk/hotel> (accessed 1 Apr. 2022)

<sup>11</sup> *Records of Chippenham*, 6-12.

<sup>12</sup> N.J. Williams (ed.) *Tradesmen in Early Stuart Wilts.* (W.R.S. 15), 25-7. The total assumes that Thos Pallmer (entry 232) and Thos Pattiner (entry 235) are the same person, and that the latter is a misreading.

<sup>13</sup> *WAM* vol. 84 (1991), 85.

<sup>14</sup> WSA, A1/325/6-7; A1/326/3.

<sup>15</sup> From north to south the Boot, Seven Stars, Bell, Duke of Cumberland, Vaults and King's Head, with a seventh, the Lyon, on the southern corner of the churchyard approach: Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 128-33.

<sup>16</sup> *Records of Chippenham*, 228, 232, 235, 240.

<sup>17</sup> WSA, G19/150/106.

<sup>18</sup> WSA, G19/1/53L; Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 128.



Hall.<sup>1</sup> It is presumably the premises listed as the Cannon in High Street in 1822-30.<sup>2</sup> The Anchor may have been the premises shown in 1784 on the corner of Foghamshire, though no licensed alehouse of that name was included in the 1745-7 lists.<sup>3</sup>

No fewer than 12 alehouses licensed in 1745/7 were not trading under the same name by 1821,<sup>4</sup> and several others had disappeared by c.1840. Of the latter two High Street premises, the Antelope and the Gun (Cannon), were demolished to make way for the market hall during the 1830s; and the Black Horse at the foot of Monkton Hill was replaced by the Wesleyan chapel c.1840.<sup>5</sup> The Cock (7 Market Place) appears to have ceased trading during the 1820s.<sup>6</sup>

Away from the town centre two long-established inns stood beside the London Road causeway: the Three Crowns, newly erected in 1733; and the Pack Horse, recorded in 1747, although the building is older.<sup>7</sup> Both remained licensed premises through the 19th and 20th centuries, and were still trading in 2022. A beerhouse and at least three other alehouses existed in the Causeway during the later 19th century, including the Five Alls, the Waggon and Horses, and the Royal Oak.<sup>8</sup> Two alehouses, the Hat and Feather, and the Swan, stood in River Street in 1784, and both were still trading in 1827.<sup>9</sup> The former was renamed George and Dragon until closure in 1869; the latter was demolished in 1912.<sup>10</sup> Two other River Street establishments are recorded. The Seven Stars, so-called in 1747 and 1782, was described as a cottage in 1672, and had ceased trading by 1802, when it had been divided into two messuages.<sup>11</sup> The Lamb, licensed by 1872, had a date stone 1629; it was demolished in 1958.<sup>12</sup>

The coming of the railway refocused Chippenham's facilities for travellers from the 1840s and resulted in alehouses and inns opening around the station and St Paul's district. The Little George, at the turnpike road junction, pre-dated the development. It existed by 1784 and was rebuilt after a fire in 1903.<sup>13</sup> The Black Horse and New Inn in New Road, the Railway Inn in Union Road, the Old Road inn, and the Great Western Hotel in Landsend all began after 1840 and were still trading through the 19th and 20th centuries.<sup>14</sup> The Apollo in Foghamshire, renamed the White Hart by 1862, had been replaced by the Temperance Hall before 1877.<sup>15</sup> As Chippenham expanded during the 20th century new suburban pubs proliferated, including the Sir Audley's Arms and Five Alls, both interwar; the King Alfred and Kingfisher, 1960s; the Old Lane and Cepen Park, late 20th-21st century. Others were adapted from older buildings, such as the Pheasant, a former beer-house, and the Gladstone Arms.<sup>16</sup> New urban bars and pubs have also been established throughout the commercial centre.

## FINANCIAL SERVICES

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<sup>1</sup> WSA, A1/325/6; A1/325/8; G19/1/53L.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, A1/326/3; WSA, 415/8; Pigot's *Directory* (1822, 1830 edns.).

<sup>3</sup> WSA, G19/1/53L; A1/325/6; A1/325/8.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, A1/325/6; A1/325/8; A1/326/3; they were the Ax, Black Swan, Hand and Shears, Hoop, Horse and Jockey, Horse Shoe, Joiners Arms, Kittle, Mermaid, Plough, Star and Garter and Three Tuns.

<sup>5</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 128-9.

<sup>6</sup> listed in Pigot's *Directory* 1822 edn., but not in 1830 edn.

<sup>7</sup> WSA, 1075/001/46; WSA, A1/325/6; Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 131-2.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, B11/250/1-2; *Spinke's Dir. Chippenham* (1877, 1897 edns.).

<sup>9</sup> WSA, G19/1/53L; WSA, A1/326/3.

<sup>10</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 130, 132.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, A1/325/8; WSA, 473/115.

<sup>12</sup> WSA, B11/250/1-2; Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 130.

<sup>13</sup> WSA, G19/1/53L; Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 130.

<sup>14</sup> WSA, B11/250/1-2; *Spinke's Dir. Chippenham* (1877, 1897 edns.); *Kelly's Dir Wilts* (1915 and later edns.).

<sup>15</sup> WSA, 2622/6; *Spinke's Dir. Chippenham* (1877 edn.).

<sup>16</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 128-33; OS 25" (various edns.); personal observation.

Before the proliferation of provincial banks from c.1770 credit was offered by merchants, lawyers and businessmen. In Chippenham the Goldney family was closely related to Thomas Goldney III of Bristol, who in 1752 opened one of the first banks outside London,<sup>1</sup> but the family's involvement in lending money was by then of long standing. Adam Goldney of Chippenham died in 1676 worth £1,518, of which £1,170 comprised bonds and ready money.<sup>2</sup> Brothers Gabriel and Henry Goldney, also of Chippenham, whose wealth was assessed in 1684 after both had died, were also owed significant amounts. Gabriel had £500 in ready money and debts with some interest;<sup>3</sup> Henry, a clothier whose estate was worth £3,427, had bonds and debts sperate (i.e. possibly recoverable) and desperate totalling £807, compared with cloth, wool and yarn worth £1,268, so that financial dealing was a significant element of his business.<sup>4</sup> At the same period William Dyer the younger of Chippenham, who described himself as a mercer, but appears not to have held any stock in trade when he died in 1687, was owed £240 in debts good and bad on book, and £52 on bond, out of a total wealth of £380. His inventory lists 165 separate small debtors, mostly from Chippenham and north-west Wiltshire, so it appears that moneylending was his principal activity.<sup>5</sup>

John Heath, an attorney, may have been offering banking services by 1791 or earlier,<sup>6</sup> but the first Chippenham Bank was announced to open in May 1792,<sup>7</sup> a decade or more later than banks in some neighbouring towns, including Bath, Devizes, Salisbury and Warminster.<sup>8</sup> The Chippenham Bank was a co-partnership of four, led by James Montagu of Lackham,<sup>9</sup> and by c.1793 three private banks were trading in the town: Heath's, Montagu's, and a third, a part of William Tayler's extensive commercial activities.<sup>10</sup> All drew on London banks, as was customary. Heath was still trading in 1808 but died in 1814.<sup>11</sup> In 1822 and 1830 only one private bank, William Gundry and Co., was listed in Chippenham, although in the former year a savings bank was opened at the Yelde Hall.<sup>12</sup> Gundry, a churchwarden in 1819, may have begun banking in 1809.<sup>13</sup> The savings bank continued until 1893.<sup>14</sup>

In common with many private banks Gundry was taken over in 1836 by a joint stock company, the Wilts & Dorset Banking Co., which had been established in Salisbury the previous year.<sup>15</sup> That company's territorial rival, the North Wiltshire Banking Co., also opened a Chippenham branch in 1836.<sup>16</sup> The North Wilts had premises in High Street in 1842 and subsequently, whereas the Wilts & Dorset removed from the Market Place to High Street between 1848 and 1855;<sup>17</sup> its Market Place premises were raided in April 1848 and more than

<sup>1</sup> P.K. Stembridge (ed.), *The Goldney Family: a Bristol Merchant Dynasty* (Bristol Record Soc. vol. 49, 1998), 62-71.

<sup>2</sup> TNA, PROB 4/7811.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, P3/G/294.

<sup>4</sup> TNA, PROB 4/17839.

<sup>5</sup> TNA, PROB 4/12543.

<sup>6</sup> Before 1790 according to G.L. Grant, *Standard Catalogue of Provincial Banks and Banknotes* (Spink, 1977), 27, which lists Beames and Heath; an advertisement in *Bath Chronicle*, 10 Nov. 1791, 2, invited subscribers to a veterinary college to pay to Barry and Heath, Chippenham.

<sup>7</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 29 Mar. 1792, 3, announced that it would open on 1 May 1792.

<sup>8</sup> *Early Wilts Directories*, 3, 4, 9 (listed in 1783 directory).

<sup>9</sup> WSA 568/20.

<sup>10</sup> *Universal British Dir.* vol. 2 (c.1793), 592; *Early Wilts Directories*, 18. Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 111 dates the directory to 1792, which is probably too early.

<sup>11</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 30 June 1808, 2; 10 Nov 1814, 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Early Wilts Directories*, 49, 67; Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 112.

<sup>13</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 112; Grant, *Standard Catalogue of Provincial Banks and Banknotes*, 27.

<sup>14</sup> Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 112.

<sup>15</sup> *Salisbury Jnl.* 4 July 1836, 1. Some inf. in this paragraph from Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 112.

<sup>16</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gazette*, 14 Jan 1836, 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Early Wilts Directories*, 108; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1848, 1855 edns.).

£7,000 was stolen from its safe.<sup>1</sup> The two banks built or rebuilt on adjacent High Street sites, c.1870 (no. 29, North Wilts), and in 1876 (no. 30, Wilts & Dorset).<sup>2</sup> Following a merger the North Wilts became a branch of Capital & Counties Bank in 1878, which was absorbed into Lloyds Bank in 1918. The Wilts & Dorset continued until 1914 when it too was taken over by Lloyds.<sup>3</sup>

For most of the Victorian period there were only these two banking establishments in Chippenham, although in 1855 there was a branch in High Street of Everett & Co., a private Salisbury bank;<sup>4</sup> and in 1899 the National Provincial Bank opened a branch at 5 The Bridge (in 2022 Oxfam).<sup>5</sup> In 1927 this moved to 30 High Street, which had been vacated by Lloyds after it was flooded in 1926. Three more national banks opened branches during the 20th century: Barclays at 66 Market Place in 1920, rebuilt in 1969; Midland at 2 Market Place in 1922, when the building was refronted; and Westminster at 1 New Road in 1953, with a branch at the cattle market from 1956.<sup>6</sup> The Westminster closed in 1975 after its merger with National Provincial in 1970, and business transferred to 30 High Street. Midland became HSBC in 1999.

During the 21st century several former building societies with Chippenham branches became or were acquired by banks, including by 2016 Halifax (49 Market Place), Nationwide (50 Market Place) and Abbey National (acquired by Santander UK, 15-16 High Street).<sup>7</sup> These were trading in 2022, but TSB Bank, at 20-21 Borough Parade in 2016, had closed before 2022. The four principal banks (Barclays, HSBC, Lloyds, Natwest) were all on the same sites in 2022 that they or their predecessors had occupied since the 1920s.

## SOCIAL HISTORY

### SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND FAMILIES

The social structure of market towns such as Chippenham for much of their history would have been a rigid pyramid, where admission to the higher levels was dependent on wealth and connections to other high-status families. Nevertheless, changing commercial fortunes and family circumstances, particularly the lack of an heir to inherit a business, could and did see individuals move within the pyramid, and outsiders enter in.<sup>8</sup>

Urban prosperity can be measured through taxation. In the tax assessment for 1332, Chippenham was the wealthiest borough in Wiltshire after Salisbury (New Sarum); the total tax for the borough was assessed at £16 18s.10¼d.<sup>9</sup> The highest-rated individual, Nicholas Sperlynge (63s. 3¼d.) has not been identified, but the next two highest assessments both related to lords of the manor; Peter de la Huse of Rowden (20s. 6½d.) and Edmund Gascelyn of Sheldon (16s. 3¼d.). Other known individuals in the list were tenants of the manors of Sheldon and Lowden, and the unknown remainder

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<sup>1</sup> *Devizes & Wilts Gazette*, 18 May 1848, 4.

<sup>2</sup> NHL 1268111, 1268112

<sup>3</sup> Grant, *Standard Catalogue of Provincial Banks and Banknotes*, 115, 120-1.

<sup>4</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1855 edn.). Some inf. in this paragraph from Chamberlain, *Chippenham*, 112-13.

<sup>5</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 6 Sep 1924, 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 18 Apr 1953, 10; *ibid.* 3 Mar 1956, 7.

<sup>7</sup> This para, Goad plan of Chippenham (2016 edn.); personal observation.

<sup>8</sup> Clark, P. and Slack, P., *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (London, 1976), 111-2.

<sup>9</sup> *Wilts. Tax List 1332* (W.R.S. xlv), 4-5.

were probably merchants and artisans.<sup>1</sup> The numerical strength of the elite of Chippenham was small, possibly 20 burgesses in an adult population of 369 by the time of the poll tax assessment in 1377. However, it was among the wealthiest towns in Wiltshire, if wealth is measured in terms of moveable goods.<sup>2</sup>

The granting of the town's charter by Queen Mary in 1554 formally conferred on Chippenham the status of a borough. It also set out the terms for its government by a body consisting of a bailiff and twelve burgesses. The bailiff was chosen annually from among the burgesses, who were appointed for life, and only members of this group could vote in parliamentary elections. Below this oligarchy were the freemen of the town, numbering 103 by 1604. Being a freeman conferred the benefit of a share in the borough lands, which was not enjoyed by the 'commoners' of the town.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of the cloth trade to Chippenham is indicated in the appointment of a clothier, Henry Goldney (alias Farnewell) as first bailiff in 1554; he had already represented Chippenham in parliament the previous year. His business interests were also agricultural, and in common with other clothier families in Chippenham he farmed land around Chippenham.<sup>4</sup>

The dominance of the cloth trade in the town continued well into the modern period. It is evident in the number of 'clothiers' listed in a 1783 trade directory; of 12 Chippenham tradesmen and professionals, six were clothiers, and two more involved in the cloth trade.<sup>5</sup> The cloth trade was still buoyant in the 1790s, though by 1822 trade in the manufacture of cloth had fallen off, causing hardship to working people who depended on the trade for their livelihood.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, a directory of 1875 still listed the principal manufactures of the town as broadcloth and silks, as well as an extensive tannery.<sup>7</sup> The dairy industry remained important to the town, with regular cheese and cattle markets, and by 1880 the Anglo-Swiss (later Nestlé) condensed milk factory and Skurray's churns factory.<sup>8</sup> By 1903 cheese and bacon factories had been established. New industries that had arrived in the town by that date included the railway-signalling works of Saxby and Farmer, and Westinghouse, as well as gun and cartridge works and wagon works.<sup>9</sup> The dominance of the clothiers was by now long past, though the Goldney family continued to exercise a considerable influence over the town, having served regularly as bailiffs since 1554.<sup>10</sup> Professional families could now be as influential as the old trading families had once been, notably the Awdry family of solicitors.

Two other families, Hungerford and Baynton (or Bayntun), had considerable influence on the town from an earlier period, though they lived outside the borough itself. Robert Hungerford was listed in 1545 as at Bremhill, and by 1576 the Baynton family were listed with the Hungerfords at Bremhill and Foxham (in Bremhill).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Baines, R., *A History of Chippenham from Alfred to Brunel* (Chippenham, 2009), 38–40; above, landownership.

<sup>2</sup> Baines, *History of Chippenham*, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Baines, *History of Chippenham*, 49–50, 61–3.

<sup>4</sup> Baines, *History of Chippenham*, 65, 77–8.

<sup>5</sup> *Early Trade Dirs* (W.R.S. xlvii); above, econ. hist..

<sup>6</sup> *Universal British Dir.* (1791–8); *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1822).

<sup>7</sup> *Post Office Dir. Wilts.* (1875).

<sup>8</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1880).

<sup>9</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1903).

<sup>10</sup> Goldney, F. H., *Records of Chippenham Relating to the Borough* (1889), 347–8.

<sup>11</sup> *Two Sixteenth-Century Taxation Lists* (W.R.S. x), 28, 58.

Sir Walter Hungerford, whose father, grandfather and great-uncle had all represented the county of Wiltshire in parliament, purchased the manor of Chippenham and Sheldon, with other manors and hundreds, in 1424.<sup>1</sup> In 1434 he acquired an estate at Farleigh Hungerford (Som.).<sup>2</sup> He was already active in court circles, having been appointed as one of the guardians of the infant Henry VI in 1422.<sup>3</sup> In 1442 Sir Walter and his son Robert founded a chantry dedicated to St Mary in Chippenham parish church, whose chaplains were to pray for the souls of the family.<sup>4</sup>

The family's fortunes began to decline after Sir Walter's grandson, Robert, Lord Moleyns, was taken prisoner at the battle of Châtillon in 1453, and was eventually ransomed for the sum of £6,000, part of which was raised by mortgaging the family estates. Robert was executed for treason in 1464, a fate which also befell his son, Sir Thomas Hungerford, in 1469.<sup>5</sup> The attainders on the family were reversed in 1485, when Sir Walter Hungerford, son of Lord Moleyns and brother of Sir Thomas Hungerford, deserted Richard III to support Henry Tudor at the Battle of Bosworth. There followed lengthy litigation proceedings between Sir Walter Hungerford as heir male and Sir Thomas Hungerford's daughter Mary as heir-general. The eventual outcome was that Mary secured the greater part of the family's lands, together with all three baronial titles, though Hungerford still retained a substantial estate.<sup>6</sup> This upturn in the family fortunes was reversed when Sir Thomas Hungerford's great-nephew, Walter, became entangled with the fortunes of Thomas Cromwell, and was executed in 1540.<sup>7</sup>

The Hungerford family retained their influence in the borough for much of the 17th century. John Hungerford was returned as one of the borough's two MPs in 1604.<sup>8</sup> Sir Edward Hungerford (1596–1648) was returned in 1621 and for both the Short and Long parliaments in 1640.<sup>9</sup> A feud with his fellow MP for Chippenham, Sir Edward Baynton, saw both men arrest the other in turn for treason, though parliament found in favour of Hungerford, who replaced Baynton as commander of the parliamentary forces in Wiltshire.<sup>10</sup> His nephew Edward Hungerford (1632–1711), later Sir Edward, represented the borough on several occasions in the latter half of the 17th century, and in 1681 was the last Hungerford to be elected to serve the borough when he was

<sup>1</sup> J.S. Roskell, 'Three Wiltshire Speakers', *WAM* 56 (1956), 275, 301; *Hungerford Cart.* i (W.R.S. xlix), 77–8; above, landownership.

<sup>2</sup> *Hungerford Cart.* i (W.R.S. xlix), 224–5.

<sup>3</sup> Roskell, 'Three Wiltshire Speakers', *WAM* 56 (1956), 318; Charles Kightly, "Hungerford, Walter, first Baron Hungerford (1378–1449)", *ODNB*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015).

<sup>4</sup> *Hungerford Cart.* i. (W.R.S. xlix), 91; below, religious hist.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Hicks, "Hungerford, Robert, second Baron Hungerford (c.1400–1459)", *ODNB*.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015); Michael Hicks, "Hungerford, Robert, third Baron Hungerford and Baron Moleyns (c.1423–1464)", *ODNB*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Michael Hicks, "Hungerford, Sir Walter (b. in or after 1441, d. 1516)", *ODNB*.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015).

<sup>7</sup> D.J. Ashton, "Hungerford, Walter (1503–1540)", *ODNB*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 23 Oct. 2017).

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/hungerford-john-1560-1636> (accessed 20 Sept. 2017).

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/hungerford-edward-1596-1648> (accessed 20 Sept. 2017).

<sup>10</sup> John Wroughton, "Hungerford, Sir Edward (1596–1648)", *ODNB*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 20 Sept. 2017); <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/bayntun-sir-edward-1593-1657> (accessed 20 Sept. 2017).

returned with Sir George Speke. His extravagant lifestyle resulted in the sale of many of his properties, including Sheldon Manor and his Chippenham estates, and the manor and castle of Farleigh, to Henry Baynton of Spye Park (Bromham).<sup>1</sup>

The Baynton (or Bayntun) family of Bromham were at one time the most important gentry family in north central Wiltshire, and like the Hungerfords exerted an influence over Chippenham. That influence began when John Baynton (d. 1526) inherited Bromham in 1508. His son Edward became a courtier under Henry VIII, a sheriff of Wiltshire, and in 1534 was appointed warden of the forests of Chippenham and Melksham. At the dissolution of the monasteries he obtained possession of former abbeys and manors, including nearby Stanley abbey.<sup>2</sup>

Edward's son and heir Andrew threatened the family inheritance with a series of poor decisions, which saw the family embroiled in lawsuits for several years after his death. Sir Edward Baynton (c. 1520–93), Andrew's brother, eventually regained control of the family holdings in Stanley, Bremhill, Chippenham, and other property.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Edward's oldest surviving son, Sir Henry Baynton (1571–1616), was elected as one of Chippenham's two MPs in 1589, though in his remaining parliamentary career he represented Devizes or the county seat of Wiltshire.<sup>4</sup> He served as deputy lieutenant for the county and was an active magistrate. Sir Henry's eldest son Sir Edward Baynton (1593–1657) was elected MP for Chippenham in 1626 and again in 1640 for both the Short and Long parliaments of that year.<sup>5</sup> Despite his quarrel with Sir Edward Hungerford, he retained his seat after Pride's Purge in 1648, sitting to the end of the Rump in 1653.<sup>6</sup> After the destruction of Bromham by Royalist troops in 1645, he built a new house at nearby Spye Park.<sup>7</sup>

Sir Edward's eldest son, also Sir Edward Baynton (1618–79), kept a commonplace book in which he recorded many of his activities in local government. These included matters concerning Chippenham, notably accounts relating to the repair and maintenance of the highways, an order in 1670 to levy a rate in the parish for the repair of the highways, and an account of rents due towards the repair of Maud Heath's Causeway.<sup>8</sup>

The family's influence went into decline after Sir Edward's eldest son and heir Henry Baynton (1664–1691) died young, and although on his death he had left a young son, John, the direct Baynton line died out with John's death without issue in 1716. John

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/constituencies/chippenham> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015); Timothy Venning, "Hungerford, Sir Edward (1632–1711)", *ODNB*.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 20 Sept 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Alison Wall, "Baynton family (per. 1508–1716)", *ODNB*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Alison Wall, "Baynton family (per. 1508–1716)", *ODNB*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015).

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/baynton-henry-ii-1571-1616> (accessed 20 Oct. 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Alison Wall, "Baynton family (per. 1508–1716)", *ODNB*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015); <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/bayntun-sir-edward-1593-1657> (accessed 20 Sept. 2017).

<sup>6</sup> Alison Wall, "Baynton family (per. 1508–1716)", *ODNB*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015); <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/bayntun-sir-edward-1593-1657> (accessed 20 Sept. 2017).

<sup>7</sup> *Commonplace Book of Sir Edward Bayntun* (W.R.S. 43), xi.

<sup>8</sup> *Commonplace Book of Sir Edward Bayntun* (W.R.S. 43), xii.



Baynton left his major estates to his nephew Edward Rolt, on condition that he take the name Baynton Rolt.<sup>1</sup>

Members of the family represented Chippenham in parliament from 1589 and for much of the 17th and 18th centuries. Sir Edward Bayntun Rolt, elected in 1774, was the last Baynton to represent the seat. The last of the family to live at Spye Park was John Bayntun Starkey, who sold the estate in 1864 to pay off debts incurred in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a horse-racing stud.<sup>2</sup>

## SOCIAL WELFARE

Little is known of social welfare in medieval Chippenham. The hospital of St Laurence, in the town in 1338, may have been a leper hospital.<sup>3</sup>

In 1619 the parish owned an almshouse, the churchwardens paying Sir Edward Baynton 2s. annually in rent.<sup>4</sup> It is not known where this almshouse was situated or how many people it supported, though the parish burial records of the 1650s indicate that both men and women were assisted.<sup>5</sup> It may have ceased to operate shortly thereafter as in the churchwardens' accounts Sir Edward Baynton is paid for the ground where the almshouse 'latelie' stood, and in 1660 the almshouse ground was let to Thomas Harris for seven years at an annual rent of 4s.<sup>6</sup> The parish continued to pay rent for the almshouse, or the site where it had once stood, at least to 1673, but there is no other evidence for its existence.<sup>7</sup>

Poor people were relieved by both the parish and the borough. In 1649 the borough accounts include payments of 2s. 6d. given to poor persons who came with passes, 6d. to three soldiers, 4d. to the relief of one soldier, and 6d. to a further three soldiers.<sup>8</sup> The churchwardens' accounts also record people being given relief, probably travellers with a brief authorising them to ask for charity because of misfortune, such as the 'distressed minister' relieved in 1673.<sup>9</sup> In addition, poor townspeople might benefit from charities set up for their relief<sup>10</sup> and from charitable donations made in wills, such as that made by Elizabeth Hawkins, who left £5 for the relief of the poor in 1659.<sup>11</sup>

Accounts for the overseers of the poor in Chippenham survive from 1705. The 18th-century accounts show the overseers relieving the poor either by regular monthly

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<sup>1</sup> Alison Wall, "Baynton family (*per.* 1508–1716)", ODNB. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Bayntun-Coward, H. (ed.), *Notes on the Bayntun Family* (Bath, 1977); Alison Wall, "Baynton family (*per.* 1508–1716)", ODNB. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015); <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/constituencies/chippenham> (accessed 27 Oct. 2015).

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, 565; Thomson, S. M., *Wiltshire Almshouses and their Founders* (Warminster, 2016), 40–1.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 415/6, f. 1v.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 811/7.

<sup>6</sup> WSA 415/6, f. 57v; 811/95, f. 31r.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 415/6, f. 83r.

<sup>8</sup> Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 218–19.

<sup>9</sup> WSA 415/6, ff. 65v, 83r.

<sup>10</sup> below, charities for the poor.

<sup>11</sup> TNA: PROB, 11/292/179.



payments, or by 'extraordinary' or occasional payments. The overseers also paid rent for certain poor people.<sup>1</sup>

A parish workhouse was set up in 1736.<sup>2</sup> This experiment was short-lived; it was still in operation in December 1739, but by the following April the workhouse contents had been sold.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear why the project was abandoned, since the result seems to have been an increase in the overseers' expenditure in the years following the sale. This may have led to the decision to re-establish a parish workhouse in 1753. In that year the overseers agreed that a master and mistress were to be appointed at a salary not exceeding £20.<sup>4</sup> This workhouse is said to have stood in Mac's yard in the Butts in Chippenham.<sup>5</sup> Certainly by 1830, if not earlier, the parish workhouse was situated in the Butts on the site of a former cloth factory.<sup>6</sup>

The offerings made at services in the parish church were sometimes used for poor relief. In 1783 the vicar, Thomas Weekes Dalby, stated that the proceeds of the offertory were distributed by him to the poor in the form of bread, meat or clothing.<sup>7</sup>

Under the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act poor law unions were established, administered by a locally elected board of guardians. The Chippenham Union represented the following parishes, as of its inaugural meeting on 3 December 1835: Avon, Biddestone St Nicholas, Biddestone St Peter, Box, Castle Combe, Chippenham, Christian Malford, Colerne, Corsham, Ditteridge, Draycot Cerne, Grittleton, Hardenhuish, Kington Langley, Kington St Michael, Lacock, Langley Burrell, Leigh Delamere, Littleton Drew, Nettleton, North Wraxall, Pewsham, Seagry, Slaughterford, Stanton St Quinton, Sutton Benger, Tytherton Kellaways, West Kington and Yatton Keynell.<sup>8</sup>

The 1834 Act severely restricted payment of outdoor relief to the poor. As a result, individuals and families were often faced with a stark choice of entering the workhouse or attempting to survive without any assistance. Many refused to enter the workhouse.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the 18th-century workhouse at Chippenham and the Lacock workhouse became inadequate for the needs of the poor of Chippenham Union, and concerns were expressed that at the Chippenham workhouse young people were being kept with adult criminals and undesirables. It was also presented to the guardians that a single workhouse would be cheaper to run than continuing to maintain both establishments, at Chippenham and Lacock.<sup>10</sup>

In 1857 the Board of Guardians voted to build a new workhouse at Chippenham, and in September that year identified a suitable 8 a. site at Rowden Hill, available for £200 per acre. The architect Christopher Creeke of Bournemouth was contracted to design the new workhouse, following a visit made by the guardians to his workhouse at Blandford Forum (Dorset). In April 1858 the tender of R.P. Watts, builder of Chippenham, was formally accepted for the construction, and in June a loan of £13,100

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 811/123, ff. 89v–92r.

<sup>2</sup> WSA 811/125, f. 131v.

<sup>3</sup> WSA 811/125, f. 191v.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 811/126.

<sup>5</sup> A. Platts, *A History of Chippenham AD 853-1946* (1947), 55–8.

<sup>6</sup> WSA H5/190/1.

<sup>7</sup> *Wilts>Returns 1783*, (W.R.S. xxvii), 61–2.

<sup>8</sup> WSA H5/110/1.

<sup>9</sup> WSA H5/110/1.

<sup>10</sup> WSA H5/110/11.

for the purchase of the site and the construction was agreed.<sup>1</sup> The inmates of the former workhouses moved to their new accommodation in September 1859, the Board of Guardians holding their first meeting in the new workhouse on 7 October 1859. The old workhouse buildings at Chippenham and Lacock were sold.<sup>2</sup>

The 1834 Act did not restrict private charity in the town.<sup>3</sup> In 1853 Charles Bailey, a Chippenham surgeon, established a charity to provide accommodation for distressed members of the medical profession or their widows. Six villas were built at Brookfield in Langley Burrell.<sup>4</sup> In 1875 they were described as situated along the Bristol road.<sup>5</sup> The subsequent history of the charity is obscure, but it may be the same Charles Bailey charity that in 2017 was one of the linked charities of the Royal Medical Benevolent Fund.<sup>6</sup>

In 1884 five cottages were built as almshouses on land at Lowden, the gift of Elizabeth Utterson.<sup>7</sup> The charity, known as Mrs Utterson's Almshouses, was established to provide accommodation for aged and infirm women of the parish. The residents were to be members of the Church of England. The occupant of the central cottage was to act as custodian; this cottage could be occupied by a married couple, but the other four dwellings were for women only. Elizabeth Utterson gave money to be invested to provide the occupants with an allowance; in 1905 the four inmates and the caretaker received 3s.6d. per week in winter and 3s. per week in summer. They paid no rent, although the indenture establishing the charity allowed the trustees to charge a small rent if necessary to cover repairs, insurance and administrative costs.<sup>8</sup> In 2015 the charity continued to manage the five almshouses for the benefit of elderly Chippenham residents.<sup>9</sup>

A limited measure of relief remained available to those poor still living in their own homes, since the records of Chippenham Union demonstrate that out-relief continued to be given after 1834. Relief was given to deserving cases such as those unable to work through infirmity, or for expenses such as burying a child.<sup>10</sup> In 1865 429 persons from Chippenham were assisted by out-relief in the half-year to 25 March and 438 in the following six months.<sup>11</sup> This had decreased by 1891 to 298 persons in the half-year to 25 March and 293 in the next six months.<sup>12</sup>

A charity soup kitchen operated on two or three days a week during the winter, at least from 1867 when the kitchen is recorded as being situated in St Mary's Street, and eligible poor persons could buy a quart of soup for a penny.<sup>13</sup> In 1888, in recognition of the prevailing distress among the poor, the soup kitchen supplied bread free of charge.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA H5/110/11.

<sup>2</sup> WSA H5/110/11; WSA H5/190/1.

<sup>3</sup> See below, 'Charities for the Poor'.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 873/211.

<sup>5</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1875).

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 14 Jun. 2017).

<sup>7</sup> WSA 2568/13; Thomson, *Wiltshire Almshouses*, 40–1.

<sup>8</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 274–6.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).

<sup>10</sup> H5/142/1–8.

<sup>11</sup> H5/142/2.

<sup>12</sup> H5/142/7.

<sup>13</sup> WSA G19/991/1–2.

<sup>14</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gaz.*, 15 Mar. 1888, 8.

The year 1888 was one of great hardship in the town, and a relief fund was set up to provide further assistance.<sup>1</sup> The soup kitchen ran for a number of years, possibly up to 1915, but it may not have operated every year, and parts of its history are obscure.<sup>2</sup>

Some churches and chapels assisted their own poor. By Easter 1917 the vicar and churchwardens of Chippenham had established a fund for the poor and needy, which had collected and distributed £17 8s. 5d. in the previous year, the money coming from a single donation of £10, together with money from collections in the church and thank offerings at private communions.<sup>3</sup>

Despite charitable relief, and the limited amount of out-relief available from the Board of Guardians, the workhouse remained the place of last resort for the poor. In the half-year to Lady Day 1865, 64 men, women and children from Chippenham had been resident in the workhouse for periods varying from a few days to the full six months, out of a total of 319 persons admitted to the workhouse; and 43 men, women and children from the town were admitted in the six months following, out of a total of 311 admitted to the workhouse.<sup>4</sup> Vagrants were admitted on a casual basis, as they had been in the old workhouse in the Butts.<sup>5</sup> By 1880 the Chippenham workhouse employed a married couple as master and matron, as well as a chaplain, medical officer, schoolmaster and mistress, porter, nurse and assistant nurse.<sup>6</sup> The Chippenham Union also appointed, separately from the workhouse medical officer, a Union medical officer and a vaccination officer.<sup>7</sup> In the half-year to 25 March 1891, 79 Chippenham residents received relief in the workhouse, out of a total of 227 persons admitted, and in the half-year following 85 people from Chippenham entered the workhouse, out of a total of 229 admitted.<sup>8</sup>

With the introduction of old age pensions in 1909 and a limited form of unemployment and sickness benefits in 1911, the threat of the workhouse receded for many poor persons. The numbers in the workhouse did not decrease significantly in the immediate aftermath of these legislative changes; 279 paupers were admitted to the workhouse in the year to 25 March 1912, and 237 in the year to 31 March 1915.<sup>9</sup> But the Chippenham Union workhouse, later the Chippenham Institution,<sup>10</sup> increasingly concentrated on admitting those unable to care for themselves.<sup>11</sup> On the night of 1 January 1930, of 171 persons in receipt of relief in Chippenham institutions, 44 adults were sick or infirm, 83 adults certified under the Lunacy or other Acts, and only 34 adults were not suffering some form of infirmity.<sup>12</sup> Ten children were cared for in institutions, probably not in Chippenham but in a children's cottage home at Velley Hill (Corsham).<sup>13</sup> The workhouse continued in use until the advent of the National Health

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<sup>1</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gaz.*, 15 Mar. 1888, 8.

<sup>2</sup> WSA G19/991/1–2.

<sup>3</sup> WILBR 5600.

<sup>4</sup> WSA H5/142/2.

<sup>5</sup> WSA H5/142/1–8.

<sup>6</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1880).

<sup>7</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1880).

<sup>8</sup> WSA H5/142/7.

<sup>9</sup> WSA H5/142/8.

<sup>10</sup> WSA F13/207/1–2.

<sup>11</sup> Ruth Marshall, *Chippenham Memories* (Stroud, 2005), 87.

<sup>12</sup> *Persons in Receipt of Poor-Law Relief* (Parl. Papers 1930 (146), xxv), p. 453.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Chippenham/> (accessed 22 Oct. 2017).

Service, when it became St Andrew's Hospital, later Chippenham Community Hospital. Much of the 1859 workhouse still survives as part of the hospital premises.

### *Charities for the Poor*

A number of charitable gifts to the poor of Chippenham are recorded from 1600 onwards. Mr Bull had given £20 to be lent out to poor tradesmen in sums of £5. Sir Henry Bayntun left £20 as a stock to be lent out yearly to poor artificers and tradesmen in sums of £6 13s. 4d. Richard Woodland gave £5 to be lent out as the bailiff and burgesses should think fit. In 1623 the bailiff and burgesses received £5 from Richard Pearse for the benefit of the poor. In 1627 William Geale gave 40s. to be lent out by the bailiff and burgesses annually, and in 1630 the vicar William Proudlove gave 40s. for the same purpose, as did Thomas Hawkins, from whom the bailiff and burgesses received £10 in 1639.<sup>1</sup> The borough records also record other gifts and bequests such as that made in 1603 when Hugh Atwill, a former rector of Calverleigh (Devon), gave 20s. to the bailiff and burgesses to keep the poor at work.<sup>2</sup>

The strategy of distributing charitable money ran into difficulties over distribution and repayment. About 1609 it was noted in the borough records that money had been given by various persons for the assistance of young married couples and the elderly poor, but these benefactions had not been used as intended. It was resolved that the stock of money would henceforth be loaned to those persons whom it was intended to assist, no person to have an annual sum less than £3 or greater than £5.<sup>3</sup> However, a memorandum of 1617 noted that many of those who had been lent money had failed to repay the loan, resulting in trouble for the bailiff and burgesses in chasing up payment, money being unavailable to assist others in need, and discouraging potential benefactors. The bailiff and burgesses ordained that in future, if such loans were not repaid as agreed, legal action would be taken to recover the money.<sup>4</sup>

Despite this decision, it appears that the whole of these gifts was eventually lost. The charities' report of 1834 noted that no mention of them was made in the corporation book beginning in 1684-5 and ending in 1774, and no other information could be found.<sup>5</sup> The charities' report published in 1908 also noted that the parliamentary returns of 1786 did not make any mention of these gifts.<sup>6</sup>

The difficulties encountered in administering loans may have encouraged later charitable donors to make provision for the poor as straightforward gifts of money, clothing, food or fuel. The number of charities making gifts of clothing or blankets to the poor may reflect the importance of the cloth trade in Chippenham. These later charities used the interest on an endowment of property or investments to provide an income. In the 1870s some charitable endowments were appropriated to provide scholarships for secondary education.<sup>7</sup> Many of the charities listed below survived into the late 20th

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<sup>1</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 240; Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 16–18, 58; TNA, PROB 11/177/283.

<sup>2</sup> Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 16–18, 325.

<sup>3</sup> Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 45–6.

<sup>5</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 240.

<sup>6</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 276.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter 'Education'.

century, although those with a fixed endowment saw their income decline in real terms, leading to eventual removal from the register of the Charity Commission.

*Ann Bradbury's Charity:* In her will of 1834 Ann Bradbury left the interest on £100 to provide blankets for the aged and deserving poor of the parish of Chippenham on St Thomas's Day, excepting every fifth year, when the money was to be used to maintain the tomb of her sisters in the churchyard, and the surplus, if any, to go to the vicar and churchwardens for their pains. In 1904 it was noted that tomb had last been repaired in 1896, and 24 blankets distributed in 1903.<sup>1</sup> In 1917 nine blankets were purchased for distribution.<sup>2</sup> Having a fixed endowment, the charity's income from the interest declined in real terms, and by 1948 the income was being disbursed as cash gifts of 5s.<sup>3</sup> The charity was still in existence in 1962 but had ceased to exist by 1998.<sup>4</sup>

*Rebekah Church's Charity:* In her will of 1842 Rebekah Church bequeathed the residue of her estate to be invested and the interest used to provide cloaks to be distributed on 1 November each year to poor elderly women of the parish.<sup>5</sup> The sum invested was £304.<sup>6</sup> According to the Charity Commission report of 1908, the cloaks were to be marked 'R. Scott', but it does not explain why. By 1904 16 cloaks, no longer badged, were usually distributed each year.<sup>7</sup> During and after the First World War coats, rather than cloaks, were distributed. The number of persons receiving coats declined as the purchasing power of the interest reduced over the years, though between four and six coats were still distributed every year from 1920 to 1936. Rugs were distributed after the Second World War.<sup>8</sup> The charity was recorded as registered in 1965 but had ceased to exist by 2005.<sup>9</sup>

*William Colborne's or The Freeman's Charity:* The charity established by William Colborne was also known as the Freeman's Charity. By a recital of 1781 appointing new trustees, it appeared that £1,000 had been invested in trusts by William Colborne declared in a trust deed of 17 November 1769. The dividends were to be used for the assistance of freemen and the widows of freemen, in money, clothes, provisions or otherwise at the discretion of the trustees. The accounts were kept for many years by Anthony Guy until his bankruptcy in 1829, after which it was found that after 1798 the only dated distribution of funds up to 1828–9 had been in 1822.<sup>10</sup>

By 1834, the dividends were being distributed in or around January each year to poor freemen and their widows in sums of between 10s. and £3, according to need. At the distribution made in February 1833 35 persons received assistance. By June 1896 only 47 persons were entitled to benefit from the charity, none of whom was in necessitous circumstances. The funds were therefore appropriated to a charitable

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<sup>1</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 269–70.

<sup>2</sup> WILBR 5600.

<sup>3</sup> WSA L2/58.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).

<sup>5</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 271–3.

<sup>6</sup> J. J. Daniell, *The History of Chippenham* (1894), 162–5.

<sup>7</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 271–3.

<sup>8</sup> WSA L2/59.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).

<sup>10</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 239–40.

foundation, administered by the governing body of Chippenham District County School, for educational purposes. This foundation, approved in 1900, included the charities of Bridge, Colborne, Ray, Scott and Woodroffe, and one-fourth of Sir Francis Popham's gift.<sup>1</sup>

*Robert Gale's Charity:* Robert Gale, citizen and vintner of London, by his will of 1628 left £20 a year to the poor of Chippenham to be paid out of his estates of Claypool (Lincs.) and Brassington (Derbs.), to be distributed at the parish church on the feast of St Thomas by the bailiff and six of the oldest burgesses of the borough. They were to receive 20s. for their pains, and a further 20s. was to be paid to a preacher for a sermon.<sup>2</sup>

Surviving records suggest that the poor benefitted from the charity throughout the 18th century.<sup>3</sup> In 1834 it was reported that the sum of £22 was being paid annually to the bailiff of Chippenham from the estates of Christ's Hospital in London, less 5s. for the receiver's pains. The sermon was preached annually by the vicar, who remitted his 20s. to the poor. The clerk and sexton received 10s. out of the charity for their work in distributing the gift. The gift was distributed in half crowns (2s. 6d.) to all the deserving second poor (that is, those not in receipt of poor relief) of the town of Chippenham, and on occasion to the whole parish.<sup>4</sup>

In 1902 the charity benefitted 169 recipients. The income was applied in payment of £1 to the vicar for preaching a sermon, 3s. to the sexton, and £1 towards a dinner for the trustees. The remainder was distributed in sums of 2s. 6d. each to poor persons resident in the ancient parish of Chippenham.<sup>5</sup> The charity continued to make cash gifts to the poor, the sum increasing to 5s. by 1942, and between 1951 and 1954 between 71 and 75 persons still benefitted from the dole each year.<sup>6</sup> By 2014 the annual income was still £22 a year, and this sum was received and distributed with Sir Francis Popham's charity.<sup>7</sup>

*Goldney's Charity:* In his will of 1681, proved in 1684, Gabriel Goldney bequeathed his nephew, also Gabriel Goldney, land and a house at a place called Millfield, together with two other grounds adjoining it called Cogswells and one other ground called Hatts, on condition that he and his heirs should pay the sum of £6 yearly to buy six coats for honest poor labouring men of the parish of Chippenham. The coats were initially distributed at or around Christmas each year.<sup>8</sup> By 1904 the six coats were still distributed annually.<sup>9</sup>

The Goldney charity later amalgamated with the Gundry, Wicks and Bradbury charities to operate under the working name of 'Goldney and Gundry with John Wicks and Ann Bradbury'. As the Goldney and Gundry Charity it was registered with the

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<sup>1</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 248–52.

<sup>2</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 236.

<sup>3</sup> Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 92, 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 236.

<sup>5</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 260–1.

<sup>6</sup> WSA L2/59.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).

<sup>8</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 236.

<sup>9</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 247.



Charity Commission in 1967 but was voluntarily removed from the charities register in 2009.<sup>1</sup>

*Gundry's Charity:* William Gundry, in a codicil dated 1851 to his will of 1844, bequeathed the sum of £500, the interest to be expended in coals or clothing to be given to poor persons residing in the parish of Chippenham, the distribution to be made on 14 February each year, being his birthday. Beneficiaries received 1½ cwt of coal, known as 'Valentine' coal.<sup>2</sup> In 1904 131 persons received coal.<sup>3</sup> The value of the interest on the endowment declined in real terms over the years, and by the 1920s the distribution in some years dropped to 1 cwt per person. By 1948 50 persons received 1 cwt of coal.<sup>4</sup> In 1967 the charity was amalgamated with the Goldney charity to form the Goldney and Gundry Charity.<sup>5</sup>

*Mrs Hawkins's Charity:* In 1638 Mrs Hawkins of Chippenham left the interest of £10 to be paid by the bailiff to six poor widows of freemen. By 1834 the interest at 6% was 12s. annually, and continued to be distributed to six poor freemen's widows on Candlemas day.<sup>6</sup> By 1904 the sum of 10s. per year was being distributed, but only a few widows were now eligible.<sup>7</sup> From 1905 to 1930 one widow each year received 10s. A change in the charity's investment in 1931 saw the annual rate of interest drop to 8s. 8d. This appears to have been distributed annually to one poor widow at least until 1954.<sup>8</sup> By 2015 the charity was no longer in existence.<sup>9</sup>

*Sir Francis Popham's Charity:* Sir Francis Popham gave lands at Foxham in Bremhill and Dale Mead in Christian Malford to benefit poor freemen. A report of 1834 that gave the date for the foundation of the charity as 1735 was, according to the Charity Commission report published in 1908, incorrect, and the first payment of £6 was in fact made to three poor freemen on All Saints' Day 1638. By 1826 the charity's property consisted of a piece of land called the Slough at Foxham and several detached pieces of pasture land in Dale Mead which had been let for seven years from Lady Day 1826 for £21 per annum. This income was distributed at £2 each to nominated poor freemen; if there was a single pound remaining it was given to the junior of the freemen. The land in Dale Mead was sold in 1839 and 1842, and the money invested. At a meeting on 15 November 1873, it was agreed that money should be taken out of the funds of Sir Francis Popham's Charity to be added to the funds from Scott's, Woodroffe, Bridges and Ray's charities to make up to £50 per annum the income of the newly-established fund for educational purposes. One quarter of Sir Francis Popham's endowment was to be used for educational purposes in Chippenham. The money not earmarked for educational purposes was to be distributed to poor freemen or their widows (£6), and the remainder by the trustees to poor persons residing in the borough, after various

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).

<sup>2</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 273.

<sup>3</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 273.

<sup>4</sup> WSA L2/59.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 811/228.

<sup>6</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 162-5; *Endowed Charities*, 1908, 236.

<sup>7</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 261.

<sup>8</sup> WSA L2/60.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).<sup>9</sup>



items had been deducted.<sup>1</sup> In the year end to 30 September 2014 Sir Francis Popham's Charity had an income of £10,640, and its activities were stated to be the benefit of the poor and needy of the parish by annual distribution by trustees.<sup>2</sup>

*Ray's Charity:* Thomas Ray of Salisbury, in his will of 1615, left his house and tenements in Gigant Street, Salisbury to poor clothiers in the towns of Trowbridge, Chippenham, Westbury and Marlborough in turns. By the time of the 1834 report the property consisted of 13 very small tenements in Gigant Street, all in a bad state of repair, for which the total annual rent was £30. From 1817 to 1829 the charity had been administered on behalf of all four towns by Anthony Guy of Chippenham, but on his bankruptcy in 1829 it was found that no proper accounts had been kept, and the distribution had not taken place in accordance with Ray's will. The decision to increase the annual rent on the properties from the £15 charged under Mr Guy may have been prompted by losses of over £43 sustained during Mr Guy's administration.<sup>3</sup>

In 1873 it was decided that the income from Ray's charity, then amounting to about £12 annually, be appropriated for educational purposes.<sup>4</sup> The whole of the property was sold in 1877 for £1,120 and the money invested. The share of the parish of Chippenham in the stock was one fourth.<sup>5</sup>

*Robert Sadler's Charity:* In his will of 1838 Robert Sadler left the interest on £300 with the stipulation that of this no more than £20 annually was to be spent on keeping his tomb in good repair, and the remainder to be spent providing drab cloaks of the type known as 'Duffel' to poor elderly women of the parish of Chippenham. The distribution was to take place on 17 October each year, being his birthday. Sadler's estate was insufficient to provide the proposed endowment of £300, and the charity was established with a sum of £80 17s. By 1903 the charity was distributing coats to men, rather than cloaks to women, perhaps because women were receiving cloaks from Rebekah Church's charity. Eight coats were given away in 1903, though as none had been distributed the previous year the distribution may not have taken place annually.<sup>6</sup> The charity is recorded as registered in 1962 but was removed from the Charity Commission register in 2001.<sup>7</sup>

*Henry Smith's Charity:* In 1642 Henry Smith, a citizen and silversmith of London, left an estate at Longney (Glos.) in trust to the Governors of Christ's Hospital for the benefit of 23 parishes, of which Chippenham was one. The rents from the estates was to be expended for the relief of the poor in the purchase of clothing of one colour with some badge by which the donor might be remembered, or else in the distribution of bread, meat or fish on every Sabbath day, publicly in the church.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 237, 247, 248, 261–2.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).

<sup>3</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 235–6.

<sup>4</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 247.

<sup>5</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 248.

<sup>6</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 270–1.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 162–5; *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 237; WSA 811/92, vol.1, ff. 1r–3r.

In Chippenham the distribution of its share of Henry Smith's gift seems to have been made on or near to St Thomas's Day, 21 December. In 1645 10 men and 15 women were provided with coats at a cost of £8 11s. 4d. There are no accounts or lists of recipients for some years, implying that the coats may not have been distributed annually.<sup>1</sup> By 1766 they were being distributed to men only, and the number of coats distributed had fallen. In that year seven men received coats at a cost of £17 16s. 7½d., and the following year ten coats were distributed.<sup>2</sup> The charity's accounts are incomplete, but by the early years of the 19th century the number of coats had increased. In the months between Michaelmas 1818 and December 1819 27 were distributed; between Michaelmas 1819 and November 1820 23 were given out.<sup>3</sup> This increase may have been due to the use of a cheaper cloth. The badge required by Henry Smith was still sewn on to the coats in 1834.<sup>4</sup>

By 1904 eight or nine coats, of a value of 25s. each, were usually given away each winter. There was no longer any distinctive mark to show that they were the gift of Henry Smith.<sup>5</sup> By 1917 the proceeds were being distributed in the form of beef to the poor.<sup>6</sup> The charity later widened its remit to cover assisting the poor, sick, disabled or elderly within the parish of Chippenham, and to provide funds to be spent on almshouses and facilities within churches and church halls if these were to benefit the poor, infirm or elderly. It was voluntarily removed from the Charity Commission register in 2009.<sup>7</sup>

*Wicks's Charity:* John Wicks, gentleman of Chippenham, died in 1689 and left in his will 8½ a. of land in Pipsmore Field to the minister and churchwardens, to provide clothing for the people of the town.<sup>8</sup> This was to be distributed on 29 March each year to the poor of the town and parish, or on the next day following if 29 March fell on a Sunday. The sum of 6s. 8d. was reserved for the minister and churchwardens. The land was leased by the minister and churchwardens throughout the 18th century.<sup>9</sup> By 1783 William Pope was paying £8 a year rent for the 'Shirt and Shift Grounds', though by 1792 the land at Pipsmore was known as the 'Smock-grounds'.<sup>10</sup>

In 1767 27 men and women received garments from the charity, and 24 men and women in 1770.<sup>11</sup> By 1819 the charity was receiving £18 in rent from the land, and distributed 45 shifts to women and 30 shirts to men.<sup>12</sup> By 1837 it was receiving £18 10s. in rent, and was distributing shirts and shifts to 63 men and 94 women.<sup>13</sup> By 1847 72 men and 70 women received garments.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WSA 415/6, ff. 94r–104v.

<sup>2</sup> WSA 811/92, vol. 1, ff. 4v–5r.

<sup>3</sup> WSA 811/92, vol. 1, f. 10r.

<sup>4</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 238.

<sup>5</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 265.

<sup>6</sup> WILBR 5600.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 164.

<sup>9</sup> WSA 811/92, ff. 1r–2r.

<sup>10</sup> WSA 811/92, vol. 2, ff. 19v, 24v.

<sup>11</sup> WSA 811/92, vol. 2, ff. 9r, 66r–66v.

<sup>12</sup> WSA 811/92, vol. 1, f. 11r.

<sup>13</sup> WSA 811/92, vol. 1, ff. 46r–47r.

<sup>14</sup> WSA 811/92, vol. 1, ff. 66r–67r.

By the time of the 1834 charities' report the distribution had for some time past been made at Christmas rather than March. The land was being let at an annual rent of £18 10s. Rather more shifts than shirts were made each year, but the amounts spent on men and women were equal. The minister and churchwardens give their 6s.8d. to the charity.<sup>1</sup> By 1905 about 50 garments were distributed annually to poor persons in the ancient parish of Chippenham.<sup>2</sup> The charity was still operational in 1917, when 42 garments were made up.<sup>3</sup> The charity was recorded as registered with the Charity Commission in 1962 but was removed in 1998.<sup>4</sup>

### *Medical Practitioners and Hospitals*

About Whitsuntide 1611 Chippenham was visited by a serious outbreak of plague that lasted for some five months. The parish register recorded that 180 people were buried in the year to March 1612, and of those 130 were due to the plague.<sup>5</sup> The outbreak placed a severe strain on the resources of the town, though through the mediation of local magistrates other towns in the locality provided support.<sup>6</sup>

Stringent measures were put in place throughout Wiltshire whenever plague threatened. In January 1666 the Wiltshire magistrates issued an order prohibiting inhabitants of the county from receiving goods from areas known to be affected by the plague, and imposing restrictions on the hospitality that could be offered by innkeepers and on the movements of pedlars and beggars.<sup>7</sup> Such measures seem to have been successful so far as Chippenham was concerned; no further plague epidemics are recorded in the town after 1611.

Plague was not the only infectious disease that could devastate a town. Until widespread vaccination became common, Chippenham faced recurrent outbreaks of smallpox until well into the 19th century. A particularly serious epidemic visited the town in 1711.<sup>8</sup> In 1748 the overseers' accounts include references to an isolation house, probably for smallpox and other infectious diseases, though it is not known for how long this was in existence.<sup>9</sup> Attempts were made to control smallpox outbreaks by providing inoculation at no cost to the poor. A campaign of 1779 saw 429 people inoculated; in 1785 136 received inoculation, and 273 persons in 1793.<sup>10</sup> A handbill of 1829 warned the townspeople that those infected with smallpox risked prosecution if they exposed others to themselves, but also offered vaccination to poor children at no charge.<sup>11</sup> Cholera was another threat, with nine deaths in the town during the epidemic of 1831–2.<sup>12</sup>

Parish register entries suggest that medical practitioners in Chippenham in the early modern period were largely barber-surgeons and apothecaries, rather than

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<sup>1</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 238.

<sup>2</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 265.

<sup>3</sup> WILBR 5600.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (accessed 22 Oct. 2015).

<sup>5</sup> WSA 811/6.

<sup>6</sup> *VCH Wilts.* v, 319–20; Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 38.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 212B/7195.

<sup>8</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 102.

<sup>9</sup> WSA 811/126.

<sup>10</sup> *VCH Wilts.* v, 323.

<sup>11</sup> WSA 811/100.

<sup>12</sup> *VCH Wilts.* v, 324.

physicians.<sup>1</sup> There is little evidence of midwives, though the registers record the burial of midwives Joan Drake in 1588 and Joan Bond in 1622.<sup>2</sup> In 1783 a town directory listed three surgeons practising in Chippenham.<sup>3</sup> By the early 1790s four men were practising in Chippenham as 'Surgeon, Apothecary and Man-midwife', and one was practising as an apothecary and druggist.<sup>4</sup>

By 1842 four surgeons were resident in Chippenham, as well as four chemists and druggists.<sup>5</sup> There were still no physicians practising in the town, but the beginnings of modern general practice in Chippenham began to develop during the later 19th century. In 1875 two physicians (both practising as physicians and surgeons) were listed in a trade directory.<sup>6</sup>

Doctors' fees could be a prohibitive expense for working people, and one option that developed to mitigate the impact of such fees was to join a 'club', paying a certain regular amount to cover such costs. In the years before the National Health Service one Chippenham practice operated such a club whereby each family paid 1s. per month to cover all medicines and fees.<sup>7</sup>

Chippenham lacked any hospital provision until 1899, when a cottage hospital was built along London Road, with eight beds.<sup>8</sup> By 1903 it could accommodate 16 patients and had an operating theatre.<sup>9</sup> Later known as the District Hospital, it continued to serve the town until 1994, when the site was sold and the buildings demolished.<sup>10</sup>

Also in 1899 the Joint Isolation Hospital for the district was built on a then-rural site at Frogwell.<sup>11</sup> It had 32 beds, and was built at an eventual cost of £1,372.<sup>12</sup> The hospital was later renamed Frogwell Hospital. In 1987 it had 13 general practitioner beds, a ten-bed unit for young disabled persons, and physiotherapy facilities.<sup>13</sup> In 1995 the site, along Lords Mead, was put up for sale with planning permission for residential development.<sup>14</sup>

During the First World War a Red Cross hospital, staffed with Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) nurses, operated in the Town Hall, which had been altered for the purpose. The first patients arrived on 5 November 1915. Demand was such that the original provision of 40 beds was inadequate; a further 40 were added in August 1916, and by November 1916 100 beds were available. By this time the hospital had expanded into the Neeld Hall and the Corn Exchange.<sup>15</sup>

Maternity provision in the years immediately after the First World War was basic. Most births still took place at home, though provision for pregnant women improved

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 811/6, 7; Peter Elmer, research document on Wiltshire medical practitioners, n.d.

<sup>2</sup> WSA 811/6.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Trade Dirs* (W.R.S. xlvii).

<sup>4</sup> *Early Trade Dirs* (W.R.S. xlvii).

<sup>5</sup> *Early Trade Dirs* (W.R.S. xlvii).

<sup>6</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1875).

<sup>7</sup> WSA 4236/7.

<sup>8</sup> WILBR B9392; *Burdett's Hosp. Annual* (1899), 370.

<sup>9</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1903); WSA 4236/7.

<sup>10</sup> WILBR B9392; WSA 4236/7.

<sup>11</sup> WSA J1/166/1.

<sup>12</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911).

<sup>13</sup> WSA J1/164/15.

<sup>14</sup> WILBR B2217.

<sup>15</sup> WSA 1769/56.

when in 1924 a scheme was introduced in Wiltshire to allow expectant mothers two free ante-natal examinations.<sup>1</sup> A county council infant welfare clinic opened at Chippenham in 1925.<sup>2</sup> Complicated midwifery cases were referred to the maternity home in Corsham until a new facility was opened in Chippenham in the early days of the National Health Service.<sup>3</sup> This was situated in the Greenways area of the town, and has since been demolished.<sup>4</sup>

St Andrew's Hospital was established shortly after the creation of the National Health Service in the 1859 workhouse buildings at Rowden Hill, by then known as the Chippenham Public Assistance Institution. Nearby Rowden Hill House became a nurses' home.<sup>5</sup> By 1959 the hospital had 156 beds and 56 nursing staff.<sup>6</sup> Although many new buildings were later added to the site, as of 2015 the original 1859 workhouse building remained, and the hospital, now Chippenham Community Hospital, was continuing to serve the town.

## COMMUNITY LIFE

### *Law and Order*

A 19th-century historian branded Chippenham as 'notorious for riotous assemblages of the populace'.<sup>7</sup> Shortly after the town received its charter in 1554 some persons were fined for riots and unlawful assemblies, and in 1630 there were disturbances at the enclosure of Pewsham forest. In 1647 the townspeople attacked some excise officers and the quarters of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops. A turnpike gate was destroyed in a riot in 1727. Further riots were reported in 1765 and 1767.<sup>8</sup>

Rioting was not the only violent crime to occur in the town. In July 1643 William Iles was killed by a soldier in St Mary's Street.<sup>9</sup> Highwaymen robbed racegoers in 1742.<sup>10</sup> In 1782 William Pease robbed the Chippenham mail coach. He was executed in Salisbury for his crime the following year, and his body was brought back to Chippenham to be hung in chains near the site of the crime.<sup>11</sup> Chippenham also saw other serious crime, such as an arson attack on a flour mill in 1816.<sup>12</sup>

The perceived threat to law and order, including poaching, prompted several Wiltshire towns to establish prosecuting societies in the first half of the 19th century. Chippenham's society was founded in 1809 as the Chippenham Association for the Prevention of Robbery and Thefts and the Protection of the Persons and Property of the Members. It was funded by membership subscriptions, which were used to fund rewards for information leading to the conviction of offenders. Handbills were distributed advertising rewards in cases where members had been the victims of crime.

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 4236/7.

<sup>2</sup> VCH Wilts. v, 335.

<sup>3</sup> VCH Wilts. v, 335; WSA 4236/7.

<sup>4</sup> *Buttercross Bulletin*, 77 (Nov. 1995), 4–5.

<sup>5</sup> WILBR B4404; WSA 1911/8HC, 9HC.

<sup>6</sup> *Wiltshire Times*, 11 Sept. 1959.

<sup>7</sup> J.J. Daniell, *The History of Chippenham* (1894) 107.

<sup>8</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 107–8; F. H. Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham* (1889), xi–xvii.

<sup>9</sup> 811/6.

<sup>10</sup> *Stamford Mercury*, 26 Aug. 1742, 3; *Derby Mercury*, 26 Aug. 1742, 3.

<sup>11</sup> WAM xlviii (1937–9), 429.

<sup>12</sup> WSA 1959/5, 132–3; *Morning Chronicle*, 3 December 1816.

The society would also contribute towards the costs of prosecution lawyers and witnesses in criminal cases. It is not known when the society ceased to operate, or whether its existence was continuous, but it was recorded as meeting in 1868 as the Chippenham Town Association for the Prosecution of Felons.<sup>1</sup>

Occasional riots still occurred in the town nevertheless. In September 1822 a dispute between the men of Chippenham and Kington Langley led to rioting on the streets of Chippenham in which two men were killed and several people injured. Eleven rioters were committed for trial at the Lent Assizes of 1823, of whom nine were discharged, and the remaining two men acquitted.<sup>2</sup> During November and December 1830 Chippenham itself remained untouched during the agricultural rioting which took place in the district (despite arson at Pewsham), but apparently only because the rioters fled on hearing a rumour that troops were coming.<sup>3</sup>

At the parliamentary election for the borough in July 1865, the Liberal candidate William Lysley lost to the two Conservative candidates, Sir John Neeld and Gabriel Goldney. Lysley's supporters rioted, attacking the premises of known Conservative supporters, and caused damage estimated at over £1,000.<sup>4</sup> In 1874 the diarist Francis Kilvert wrote of threatening behaviour by the mob at another borough election. This passed off more peacefully, but the disturbance may have been behind the resolution passed later that year to appoint two police constables for the borough, rather than one.<sup>5</sup>

A borough lock-up was situated under the council chamber in the Old Town Hall, now Yelde Hall. It is not clear when it ceased to be used, although it was still described as the borough lock-up in council records of 1888.<sup>6</sup>

### *Inns and Public Houses*

Chippenham, as a market town, had many inns. An early record is of the Bell Inn in High Street, known as such in 1326.<sup>7</sup> By 1620 there were four inns and eleven alehouses.<sup>8</sup> An account of accommodation in Chippenham in 1686, compiled for the purpose of billeting soldiers, recorded 164 guest beds in Chippenham (including Tytherton Kellaways), and stabling for 208 horses. In Wiltshire only Bradford on Avon, Chippenham, Marlborough, Salisbury and Warminster had more than 100 guest beds, and of these Chippenham had the greatest number of guest beds after Salisbury.<sup>9</sup>

By 1745–7 there were 29 licensed premises in the town,<sup>10</sup> but this total had fallen by 1830, when 2 inns and 17 taverns and public houses were listed in Chippenham.<sup>11</sup> Despite the coming of the railway in 1841 the number remained static; 16 hotels and public houses were listed as late as 1875, when there were also seven beer retailers.<sup>12</sup> By

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 415/439.

<sup>2</sup> WSA 541/3.

<sup>3</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 110–11.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 137/99.

<sup>5</sup> W. Plomer (ed.), *Selections from the Diary of the Rev. Francis Kilvert*, vol. 2 (London, 1969), 407–10; Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 176.

<sup>6</sup> Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 185, 186.

<sup>7</sup> J. S. Davies (ed.), *Tropenell Cartulary*, vol. 1 (Devizes, 1908), 81.

<sup>8</sup> N. J. Williams (ed.), *Tradesmen in Early-Stuart Wiltshire* (W.R.S. xv), 25–7.

<sup>9</sup> J. Chandler, 'Accommodation and Travel in Pre-Turnpike Wiltshire', *WAM* 84 (1991), 83–95, at 85.

<sup>10</sup> WSA A1/325/6, 8.

<sup>11</sup> *Pigot's Dir Wilts* (1830).

<sup>12</sup> *Kelly's Dir Wilts* (1875).

1899 Chippenham still had only 18 hotels and public houses, though by this date a trade directory listed a commercial hotel and a temperance hotel in addition.<sup>1</sup> By 1939 there were 23 hotels and public houses, as well as two temperance hotels, in Chippenham Within, and a public house in Chippenham Without.<sup>2</sup>

### *Benefit and Friendly Societies*

Friendly societies flourished during the late 18th and 19th centuries. They acted as benefit clubs to provide financial support in cases of sickness and death, though their social aspect was also important.<sup>3</sup> A number of benefit and friendly societies were established in Chippenham during the 19th century, usually holding their meetings in one of the town's inns. Under the Friendly Society Acts from 1793 to 1855 such societies had to have their rules enrolled and certified. The earliest known Chippenham society to be enrolled was the Society of Broad and Narrow Cloth Weavers in 1794. This was followed by an un-named friendly society meeting at the Bear Inn in 1806, the Friendly Society of Clothworkers (1807), the Royal Oak and Friendly Society of Handicraft Tradesmen (1808), the Tradesmen's Philanthropic Society (1833), a friendly society meeting at the Great Western Inn (1837), the Order of Odd Fellows (1844), the Chippenham Friendly Society meeting in the vestry of the Baptist chapel (1851), the Ancient Order of Foresters (1853) and the Wiltshire Loyal and Independent Benefit Society (1854).<sup>4</sup>

Some of these societies may have been short-lived. By 1847 only three societies founded up to that date were active in Chippenham: the Tradesman's Philanthropic Society, the Odd Fellows, and an un-named society meeting at the Three Crowns Inn, possibly the same as that previously meeting in the Great Western Inn. This folded in 1855. The Wiltshire Loyal and Independent Benefit Society lasted less than two years, closing in 1856.<sup>5</sup>

The societies often held an annual dinner or similar event around Whitsuntide. The Unity and Loyalty Lodge of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows held their annual festival in May 1888, where it was reported that the Chippenham branch had spent £120 in sick pay and £52 in funeral allowances during the previous year.<sup>6</sup>

Benefit and friendly societies continued to operate in the town well into the 20th century. In 1939 the Wiltshire Working Men's Conservative Benefit Society, the Hearts of Oak Benefit Society, Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows, Pioneer Sick Benefit & Provident Society, the United Patriots Benefit Society, the Royal Liver Friendly Society, the Liverpool Victoria Friendly Society and the Stroud Mutual Benefit Society were all listed in a trade directory, along with a Freemasons' lodge. While some of these societies may have retained their role as social clubs, as well as providing financial support to members in need, the role of many of these societies was more akin to financial institutions than the benefit and friendly societies of the previous century.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kelly's *Dir Wilts* (1899).

<sup>2</sup> Kelly's *Dir Wilts* (1939).

<sup>3</sup> D. Hey (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History* (Oxford, 1998), 195.

<sup>4</sup> WSA A1/390. It is not known at which Baptist chapel the Chippenham Friendly Society was meeting.

<sup>5</sup> WSA A1/390.

<sup>6</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gaz.*, 24 May 1888, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Kelly's *Dir. Wilts.* (1939).



### *Recreation*

A 'new recreation ground' opened in 1889.<sup>1</sup> A recreation ground is shown on a map of 1912 along Cocklebury Road, behind the secondary school.<sup>2</sup> This may have later become part of the school grounds.

John Coles, a Birmingham chemist, settled in Chippenham, and on his death in 1916 left £4,000 for the culture and education of the people of the town. His legacy contributed towards the purchase of 15 a. of land as a recreation ground.<sup>3</sup> The park, known as John Coles Park, opened in 1923.<sup>4</sup> That summer it hosted a carnival and display of motor vehicles in aid of the Cottage Hospital.<sup>5</sup>

The private estate of Monkton Park was sold in 1919.<sup>6</sup> By c. 1960 it was in council ownership, and as the housing estates around it were built, the grounds were developed for recreational purposes. A golf course was established, and an open-air swimming pool built.<sup>7</sup>

By 2016 Chippenham had recreation grounds at John Coles Park and Monkton Park. A third facility, Stanley Park, had been established as a sports ground.

### *Libraries and Museum*

The Chippenham Literary and Scientific Institution was founded in 1833. At its first annual meeting in 1834 it had 45 members and 78 volumes in its library. Various artefacts and scientific apparatus had been donated, including a pair of globes from Joseph Neeld, then M.P. for the borough. By 1835 the society had use of a room in which to house its library and collections,<sup>8</sup> and by 1875 it was based in premises on the Market Place.<sup>9</sup> In 1887, in celebration of the golden jubilee of Queen Victoria, it was proposed that a purpose-built building be erected in the Market Place for a literary and scientific institution; this building, to be used by the inhabitants of the town and beyond for purposes connected with science, literature and the arts, was opened by 1889. The land was gifted by Sir John Neeld.<sup>10</sup>

In 1925 Chippenham Council decide to establish a branch of the county library scheme in the town, worked by voluntary effort and without cost to the rates.<sup>11</sup> By 1939 the library was established in the Market Place, and was also the office for the Literary and Scientific Institution.<sup>12</sup> A purpose built public library, which served as divisional headquarters of Wiltshire Library & Museum Service, was opened in Timber Street in 1973, and remained in use in 2018.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gaz.*, 7 Nov. 1889, 3.

<sup>2</sup> OS xx.14, 1:2500 scale, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> M. Stone, *Chippenham Then & Now* (Stroud, 2011), 16–17.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 1769/97(i).

<sup>5</sup> *Wiltshire Times*, 21 Jul. 1923, 5.

<sup>6</sup> WSA G19/15  
5/7. No /7.

<sup>7</sup> M. Stone, *Chippenham Then & Now* (Stroud, 2011), 48–49; M. Stone, *Chippenham* (Town and City Memories) (2006).

<sup>8</sup> WSA G19/992/1.

<sup>9</sup> WSA 415/465; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1875).

<sup>10</sup> WSA G19/150/50.

<sup>11</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 23 Jul. 1925, 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts* (1939).

<sup>13</sup> Information from Dr John Chandler.

Other libraries may also have been established in the town. A working men's library is known to have existed at Landsend in 1857.<sup>1</sup> A Boots library was operating in Chippenham in 1949.<sup>2</sup>

Chippenham Museum and Heritage Centre opened in 2000 in premises fronting the Market Place.

### *Cultural Life*

There was no cinema in Chippenham before the First World War, but moving picture shows were occasionally shown at Poole's Yard and in a wooden shack near St Paul's school. A public hall and roller-skating rink had been built along Station Hill in 1910, and films were shown there from 1911.<sup>3</sup> In 1913 the hall was leased to Albany Ward, who operated several cinemas in the west country. He refurbished it as the Palace cinema, whose façade can still be seen on Station Hill.<sup>4</sup> The Chippenham Public Hall and Skating Rink Ltd voluntarily wound itself up in 1920 and Ward may have given up the lease at this point.<sup>5</sup> The Palace cinema continued to operate until 1936, when the Gaumont cinema opened in Timber Street.<sup>6</sup> The Astoria cinema opened in Marshfield Road c. 1938.<sup>7</sup>

The Cause music and arts venue opened in 2002. The building had been sold to North Wilts District Council, who left it vacant for many years before putting it on the market in 2000.<sup>8</sup> In 2015 another venue, the Neeld Community and Arts Centre, was reopened following a major refurbishment.<sup>9</sup>

### *Sport*

Horseracing is known to have taken place in Chippenham in the 18th century. Robberies took place at a race meeting held in 1742, and there are newspaper reports of racing taking place in the 1760s and 1790s.<sup>10</sup> Race meetings may not have been held continuously during the 18th and early 19th centuries, but several races took place in the town during the period 1808–16.<sup>11</sup> This appears to have been followed by a period in which no meetings were held, as an attempt was made in 1839 to re-establish horseracing in the town. As the land was owned by the corporation (suggesting that races had been held on the borough lands), the mayor was able to defeat the proposal over concerns of immorality at such occasions.<sup>12</sup> Race meetings are known to have been held in 1857 and in 1898, with at least one further meeting in 1901.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Somerset and Wilts. Jnl.*, 19 Dec. 1857.

<sup>2</sup> *Wiltshire Times*, 17 Sept. 1949, 2.

<sup>3</sup> WSA G19 760/57; Sheldon School, *Early Cinema in Chippenham 1911–1936* (1984).

<sup>4</sup> Sheldon School, *Early Cinema in Chippenham 1911–1936* (1984).

<sup>5</sup> WSA G19/994/9.

<sup>6</sup> Sheldon School, *Early Cinema in Chippenham 1911–1936* (1984).

<sup>7</sup> WSA G19 760/404, 428.

<sup>8</sup> <http://thecausemusicandarts.com/history-of-the-building/> (accessed 18 Feb. 2016).

<sup>9</sup> *Talk Chippenham* (Autumn 2015), 1; <http://www.chippenham.gov.uk/neeld/> (accessed 29 Mar. 2016).

<sup>10</sup> *Stamford Mercury*, 26 Aug. 1742, 3; *Derby Mercury*, 26 Aug. 1742, 3; *Bath Chron.*, 20 Sept. 1764, 4; *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 8 Sept. 1766, 3; *Bath Chron.*, 19 Sept. 1793 3; 30 Aug. 1798, 3.

<sup>11</sup> *VCH Wilts IV*, 381; J. H. Thomas, 'Society, economy and sport in Wiltshire 1700–1914: some initial thoughts', *WAM* 102 (2009), 275–87, at 281.

<sup>12</sup> *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 9 Sept. 1839, 4; 30 Sept. 1839, 4.

<sup>13</sup> *Hampshire Advertiser*, 10 Oct. 1857, 4; *Bath Chron.*, 25 Aug. 1898, 5; *Sporting Life*, 7 Nov. 1901, 2.

A Chippenham football club was formed c. 1873,<sup>1</sup> and was active throughout the 1880s.<sup>2</sup> Before the Second World War the two main clubs in the town were Chippenham Town and Chippenham Rovers. After the war a surge of interest in the game saw attendance increase to the extent that over 2,000 people are said to have attended matches by either team.<sup>3</sup> A third team, Chippenham United, was formed in 1947. United became a professional team in 1948 with a reserve team of amateurs, playing on a ground at The Firs, Hungerdown Road. Declining interest in the game resulted in Chippenham Rovers amalgamating in 1960 with Corsham, on whose ground Rovers had been playing. United folded in 1962, and their ground became a residential development.<sup>4</sup> Of the three teams, Chippenham Town alone was still playing in 2017, based at its ground at Hardenhuish Park on the Bristol Road.

A cricket match was played at Chippenham races in 1798, although it was not until 1837 that a cricket club was established in the town.<sup>5</sup> By 1888 there may have been three cricket clubs meeting in Chippenham – the Town, Langley Burrell and Avon clubs – though it appears that the Avon club later disbanded. The Town club eventually secured a permanent ground at Hardenhuish Park in 1889, where it was still playing in 1959.<sup>6</sup>

In 1878 agreement was reached for a bathing place at the edge of the River Avon, with the tenants allowed to erect a shed for bathers to change.<sup>7</sup> A swimming club may have been founded in the town, c. 1877, and the bathing place became its base. It was in use until shortly after the Second World War.<sup>8</sup> In 1948 the baths were closed following concerns over pollution from the open river. Swimmers had to use facilities in other towns until a public open-air swimming pool was opened at Monkton Park in 1960.<sup>9</sup> A new indoor swimming pool was opened at the Olympiad sports centre in 1989, and despite local opposition the Monkton Park baths were demolished.<sup>10</sup>

Other sports are known to have been played in the town from the late 19th century onwards. Chippenham Hockey Club was formed in 1890.<sup>11</sup> A golf club was established in 1896.<sup>12</sup> The cricket ground at Hardenhuish Park was used for archery practice, and a bowls club was established at Hardenhuish Park in 1912. Croquet may also have been played on the site.<sup>13</sup> Lawn tennis was played in 1886 on two courts at

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *WAM* 102 (2009), 275-87, at 284.

<sup>2</sup> *Bristol Mercury*, 23 Feb. 1886, 6; *Bath Chron.*, 11 Aug. 1887, 2; *Devizes and Wiltshire Gaz.*, 15 Mar. 1888, 8.

<sup>3</sup> D. Twydell, *Defunct F. C.: Club Histories and Statistics* (s.l., n.d.), 63, 65.

<sup>4</sup> Twydell, *Defunct F. C.*, 67, 68, 82, 90, 92-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Bath Chron.*, 30 Aug. 1798, 3; *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 3 Jul. 1837, 3; *Southampton Herald*, 16 Sept. 1837, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Wiltshire Museum Library Mss 282 Box 244 Chippenham Cricket Club, typescript 'Chippenham Cricket Club 1842-1959' by Arnold Platts and H. S. Northover.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 1769/53.

<sup>8</sup> WSA G19/760/112; *Bath Chron.*, 22 Mar. 1900, 7; *Wiltshire Times*, 20 Feb. 1909, 5; *Wiltshire Times*, 9 Oct. 1954, 12; M. Stone, *Chippenham Then & Now* (Stroud, 2011), 48-9.

<sup>9</sup> WSA G19/168/1; *Wiltshire Times*, 9 Oct. 1954, 12; M. Stone, *Chippenham Then & Now* (Stroud, 2011), 48-9.

<sup>10</sup> WSA 3632/4/5; M. Stone, *Chippenham Then & Now* (Stroud, 2011), 48-9.

<sup>11</sup> Wiltshire Museum Library Mss 282 Box 244 Chippenham Cricket Club, typescript 'Chippenham Cricket Club 1842-1959' by Arnold Platts and H. S. Northover.

<sup>12</sup> WSA 3010/19.

<sup>13</sup> Wiltshire Museum Library Mss 282 Box 244 Chippenham Cricket Club, typescript 'Cricket' (s.n.).

Pond's Island.<sup>1</sup> A tennis club is known to have been established by 1930,<sup>2</sup> and by 1934 the club was playing on courts at Hardenhuish Park, where the game was still being played in 1951.<sup>3</sup>

By 1938 the following sports clubs were using the Hardenhuish Park sports ground: tennis, cricket, bowls, hockey and croquet.<sup>4</sup>

By 2016, in addition to the tennis and bowling facilities at John Coles Park, sports facilities were also provided at the Stanley Park sports centre. These included an artificial grass pitch and a BMX track, as well as facilities for local football clubs.<sup>5</sup> Other facilities in the town included the Olympiad swimming pool and golf facilities at Monkton Park.

### *Allotments*

In 1840 Joseph Neeld gave a grant of land for allotments for the deserving cottagers in his neighbourhood, and £3 to be distributed to those whose allotments were the best cultivated. It is not clear where these allotments were situated.<sup>6</sup> Allotment gardening was well-established in the town by 1878, when classes for allotment holders were part of that year's horticultural show.<sup>7</sup>

The Allotments Act of 1887 required local authorities to provide allotments if there was a demand, but the following year it was reported that Chippenham was already well-supplied with plots.<sup>8</sup> Maps of 1886 and 1900 show several allotment sites in and around the town, though many of these were later lost to Chippenham's expanding residential development.<sup>9</sup> These included the allotment gardens at London Road by the Quaker burial ground, which were developed for housing between 1924 and 1937.<sup>10</sup>

Allotment land was not entirely lost to development, and by 2016 Chippenham Garden & Allotment Society was managing six allotment sites on behalf of Chippenham Town Council.<sup>11</sup>

### *Societies and Events*

As a market town Chippenham was a focus for cultural life in the locality, and a number of societies are known to have existed in the town, though the existence of many of them may have been short-lived. A book club may have been established in 1809, and there are records of a book club from 1812, 1829 and 1862.<sup>12</sup>

Chippenham has had an active music scene at least since the early 19th century. James Morris Coombs, composer, and organist at St Andrew's church from 1789 until his death in 1820, published several of his own sacred and secular compositions, and

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<sup>1</sup> Wiltshire Museum Library Mss 282 Box 244 Chippenham Cricket Club, typescript 'Cricket' (s.n.).

<sup>2</sup> OS xxvi.2.4, 1:500 scale, 1886; Wiltshire Museum Library Mss 282 Box 244 Chippenham Cricket Club, typescript 'Chippenham Cricket Club 1842-1959' by Arnold Platts and H. S. Northover.

<sup>3</sup> WSA 4055/1-2.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 4055/1, 206-7.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.chippenham.gov.uk/stanley-park/> (accessed 29 Mar. 2016).

<sup>6</sup> *Bristol Mercury*, 4 Apr. 1840, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Bristol Mercury*, 29 Aug. 1878, 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, 8 Mar. 1888, 8.

<sup>9</sup> OS xx.14, 1:2500 scale, 1886, 1900, 1912, 1924, 1936.

<sup>10</sup> OS xxvi.2, 1:2500 scale, 1924, 1937.

<sup>11</sup> <https://chippenhamallotments.wordpress.com/> (accessed 26 Apr. 2016).

<sup>12</sup> WSA 1769/74.

edited the anthology *Divine Amusement* (1819–20). He was director of music at benefit services held in Bremhill and Chippenham for the dependants of those who fell at Waterloo.<sup>1</sup> His son, James Morris Coombs II, also a composer, succeeded him as organist, and directed a one-day festival of music in Chippenham in 1822.<sup>2</sup>

The 19th century also saw a secular music scene develop in Chippenham, with performances by both local and visiting musicians.<sup>3</sup> The Chippenham Harmonic Society was founded in 1838, and the Chippenham Choral Association in 1858.<sup>4</sup> Musical activity in the town continued up to the First World War, with a Gilbert and Sullivan society founded in 1911, and the Chippenham Amateur Operatic and Dramatic Society in 1913.<sup>5</sup> Although musical and dramatic performances in the town were affected by both world wars, productions resumed in peace-time.<sup>6</sup>

Horticultural and related societies became popular in the 19th century, holding annual competitions and displays. A dahlia society held its first annual show in 1835.<sup>7</sup> A horticultural society was established c. 1871.<sup>8</sup> Horticultural shows were particularly popular in the early years of the 20th century, with shows held at various times for spring flowers, sweet peas, roses and chrysanthemums.<sup>9</sup> A flower club for floral art was established in 1962, and continued to put on floral displays in the parish church and other venues in 2017.<sup>10</sup>

A Temperance Society was established in the town by 1863, when Revd Robert Martyn Ashe sold land to Chippenham Temperance Society for the sum of £425.<sup>11</sup> A Temperance Hall in Foghamshire had been built by the 1870s.<sup>12</sup> In 1874 the diarist Revd Francis Kilvert, whose father was rector of Langley Burrell, recorded taking a group of children to the Temperance Hall in Chippenham to see a panorama of the African travels of Dr Livingstone.<sup>13</sup>

Brass band music became popular in the late 19th century. The Salvation Army formed a brass band in 1886.<sup>14</sup> A town band, known as the Chippenham Town Silver Band, had formed by the late 1890s. It eventually became a leading band in the Wessex Brass Band Association, but a fall in membership led to its closure in 1953. It was reformed in 1992 as a military style wind band, known as the Chippenham Town Band.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C. Kent, *Music, Organs and Composers of St. Andrew's Parish Church Chippenham*, draft, 2016, 17–33, 147–8.

<sup>2</sup> Kent, *Music, Organs and Composers*, 35–46, 148.

<sup>3</sup> WSA G19/996/1; Kent, *Music, Organs and Composers*, 62.

<sup>4</sup> Kent, *Music, Organs and Composers*, 62.

<sup>5</sup> WSA G19/996/2.

<sup>6</sup> WSA G19/996/1, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gaz.*, 17 Sept. 1835, 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Wiltshire Independent*, 3 Sept. 1874, 2.

<sup>9</sup> WSA G19/990/6.

<sup>10</sup> *Buttercross Bulletin*, 165 (Aug. 2017), 20–1.

<sup>11</sup> WSA G19/998/2.

<sup>12</sup> *Spinke's Illustrated Penny Chippenham Almanac and Directory* (1877).

<sup>13</sup> W. Plomer (ed.), *Selections from the Diary of the Rev. Francis Kilvert*, vol. 3 (London, 1969), 121.

<sup>14</sup> *The Local Officer*, Jun. 1905, 412; programme for Jubilee Celebrations 1881–1931, in Chippenham Salvation Army Corps History book, 1938–1974.

<sup>15</sup> *Buttercross Bulletin*, 166 (Nov. 2017), 17–19,

Weekend festivals have sometimes been held to celebrate the music of American singer Eddie Cochran, fatally injured in a car accident on Rowden Hill in 1960.<sup>1</sup> The town also hosts an annual folk music festival, the 47th such festival being held in 2018.<sup>2</sup> The folk festival has a long connection with a morris side founded in 1977, the Chippenham Town Morris Men.<sup>3</sup>

## EDUCATION

### *Before 1900*

Little is known of education in medieval Chippenham, although a grammar school may have existed in the town in the 1420s.<sup>4</sup>

In 1656–7 the churchwardens' accounts of St Andrew's noted a payment to workmen for viewing the vestry where a schoolhouse was intended, but it is not certain if a school was established.<sup>5</sup> In 1674 the Presbyterian Benjamin Flower was presented by the churchwardens of St Andrew's for teaching school, possibly without a licence.<sup>6</sup>

By his will of 1661 Richard Scott left his house in Cook Street for the use of a schoolmaster, if a school should be established.<sup>7</sup> William Woodroffe, by his will of 1664, gave an annuity of £5 to be paid annually out of lands in Chippenham called the Breach to a schoolmaster for teaching ten poor boys.<sup>8</sup> The free school seems to have been established following Woodroffe's bequest in the house left by Scott, but it was not until 1733 that it was eventually conveyed for this purpose to the bailiff and burgesses by Scott's great-grandson, also Richard Scott, who gave the sum of £20 towards repairs.<sup>9</sup>

A school opened in 1713 for 24 boys, which was endowed with £10 a year in land, and £20 a year subscribed by the inhabitants and neighbouring gentry. It was still in existence in 1730.<sup>10</sup> This may be the free school or another, otherwise unknown, charity school. In 1735 there was a grammar school in the town which taught 46 boys under the headship of William Thomas Daudett, a churchgoer who brought his pupils to church regularly. There was another, smaller, school in the town led by one Daniel Berry, a drunkard previously gaoled for fraud.<sup>11</sup>

Mary Bridges, in her will of 1764, left £10 for the use of the free school. In 1774 the money left by Mrs Bridges and the interest earned to that date was invested to provide an annual payment of 15s. to the schoolmaster for teaching two poor boys.<sup>12</sup>

By 1834 the house in Cook Street bequeathed by Richard Scott was used as both the school house and lodgings for the schoolmaster of the free school. Ten poor boys

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<sup>1</sup>

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/wiltshire/content/articles/2009/02/27/the\\_death\\_of\\_eddie\\_cochran\\_feature.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/wiltshire/content/articles/2009/02/27/the_death_of_eddie_cochran_feature.shtml) (accessed 26 Apr. 2016).

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.chippfolk.co.uk/> (accessed 22 Dec. 2017).

<sup>3</sup> *Buttercross Bulletin*, 165 (Aug. 2017), 21–4.

<sup>4</sup> N. Orme, *Education in the West of England 1066–1548* (1976), 40.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 415/6, f. 59v.

<sup>6</sup> WSA D1/54/6/1, Chippenham. See below, religious history.

<sup>7</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 234.

<sup>8</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 234–5.

<sup>9</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 234–5.

<sup>10</sup> T. Cox, *A Compleat History of Wiltshire* ([1730]), 198.

<sup>11</sup> WSA D1/47/3.

<sup>12</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 235.



were instructed through William Woodroffe's gift, and two through the gift of Mary Bridges. There were a further 22 paying scholars,<sup>1</sup> which had reduced to 16 by 1858.<sup>2</sup>

Robert Cock, vicar of Chippenham, by his will of 1719 left the residue of his estate for the establishment and support of a charity school for girls. After Cock's death in 1724 a field along the Bristol road was purchased by the trustees and the rent used to support a schoolmistress.<sup>3</sup> By 1825, when the money was transferred to the new National School for girls, 25 girls were being taught at the school.<sup>4</sup>

A number of small independent schools were established in the town, particularly before widespread provision of denominational education. The evidence of newspaper advertisements suggest that many were short-lived, though the boys' school run by Richard Weaver opened in 1786 and remained in the town until Weaver relocated to Corsham in 1801.<sup>5</sup> A trade directory of 1830 listed five independent schools, including one commercial school.<sup>6</sup> In 1858 there were five dame schools in Chippenham, with about 90 children under instruction.<sup>7</sup> These would have been held in private houses and provided a basic education.<sup>8</sup>

A National (Church of England) school began in 1824.<sup>9</sup> By 1833 there were 104 boys and 56 girls attending the school on weekdays, and 114 boys and 67 girls attending Sunday classes.<sup>10</sup> Despite an annual income of £8 from Cock's gift, and additional charitable donations of around £22, the school was struggling to stay solvent.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, with the aid of a Treasury grant of £170, new school buildings were erected in 1836 for 500 children.<sup>12</sup> By 1858 a mixed school of 100 to 120 children was taught by an uncertificated master in a large upper room. Below this room was an infants' classroom where another 100 to 120 children were taught by an uncertificated mistress.<sup>13</sup> By 1876 the school had an average attendance of 222 pupils, although it had accommodation for 522 children.<sup>14</sup>

A British (non-conformist) school was opened in 1844 in Ladds Lane.<sup>15</sup> It moved to a new site on Wood Lane in 1858.<sup>16</sup> In 1858 about 90 to 100 boys were taught by a master and 70 to 80 girls by a mistress, both uncertificated.<sup>17</sup> A subscription appeal from 1868 records one department for boys, and another for girls and infants.<sup>18</sup> In 1876 the

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<sup>1</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Acct. of Wilts. Schs.* 14–15.

<sup>3</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 239, 266.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 4332/69.

<sup>5</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 29 Jun. 1786; *Salisbury Journal*, 20 Jul. 1801.

<sup>6</sup> *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1830), 795.

<sup>7</sup> *Acct. of Wilts. Schs.* 14–15.

<sup>8</sup> *Acct. of Wilts. Schs.* 14–15.

<sup>9</sup> A. Platts, *Wiltshire Schools: a short history* (n.d.).

<sup>10</sup> Platts, *Wiltshire Schools*.

<sup>11</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 239.

<sup>12</sup> Platts, *Wiltshire Schools*.

<sup>13</sup> *Acct. of Wilts. Schs.* 14–15.

<sup>14</sup> *Return of public elementary schools, 1875–6* [C. 1882], H.C. (1877), lxvii, 280–1.

<sup>15</sup> Platts, *Wiltshire Schools*; *Slater's Dir.* (1852–3).

<sup>16</sup> Platts, *Wiltshire Schools*.

<sup>17</sup> *Acct. of Wilts. Schs.* 14–15.

<sup>18</sup> WSA F8/600/65/1/5/1.



school had accommodation for 201 pupils, and an average attendance of 157.<sup>1</sup> The school was extended in 1898–9, and became Westmead Council School in 1905.<sup>2</sup>

A small school for Roman Catholic children was established in the newly-opened chapel in the town in 1855. In 1866 the Sisters of St Joseph of Annecy opened a convent in Marshfield Road, and ran a school until their removal to Malmesbury in 1884. Chippenham was then without a Catholic school until 1938.<sup>3</sup>

Land was conveyed for St Paul's National school in 1857 and the school opened in 1858 at a cost of £1,767.<sup>4</sup> Sixty to seventy boys were taught by an untrained master preparing for certification, with the assistance of a pupil teacher, and 70 to 80 girls by an uncertificated mistress, also with the assistance of a pupil teacher. Housing for teachers adjoined the school.<sup>5</sup> By 1876 St Paul's school was recorded as having accommodation for 324 pupils, and an average attendance of 188.<sup>6</sup> The increase in population in St Paul's parish during the 19th century saw a separate department for 99 infants added in 1896.<sup>7</sup>

Boys and girls living in the Chippenham Union Workhouse attended school in the workhouse, learning vocational skills.<sup>8</sup> In 1858 there were 60 to 70 pupils in the workhouse school, under one teacher and three industrial instructors, who taught cooking, housework and sewing to the girls, and field labour and gardening to the boys.<sup>9</sup>

Lowden school, a Church of England primary school, opened in 1896.<sup>10</sup>

The boys' free school continued in the house left by Richard Scott until shortly before 1860, when the small income and lack of money for repairs led to the school's closure. At a meeting of Chippenham charity trustees in 1873 it was decided that the money from Scott's, Woodroffe's and Bridges's gifts, amounting to £18 annually, and from Ray's charity amounting to about £12 annually, together with a sum of money invested in the name of Mr Phillips, should be used as an endowment for educational purposes, with money from Sir Francis Popham's charity used to make up the endowment to provide a sum of £50 per year. These schemes, approved in 1875, provided scholarships for boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 15 years to attend secondary school.<sup>11</sup>

Secondary education in Chippenham remained in private schools until the establishment of the Chippenham District County School. The impetus behind this school was the establishment of day classes begun in September 1895 by the Education Committee of the Borough of Chippenham under the superintendence of Edward Newall Tuck, and the recognition of the fact that the private grammar school was in an unsatisfactory condition and its numbers decreasing. A day school for boys was established in 1896, and a girls' school followed in September 1898. Both schools were

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<sup>1</sup> *Return of public elementary schools, 1875–6* [C. 1882], H.C. (1877), lxvii, 280–1.

<sup>2</sup> WSA F8/500/65/13/1, 22 Jun. 1898, 26 Jun. 1899, 31 May 1905.

<sup>3</sup> J. and N. Coggles, *St Mary's Parish 1855–1998* (1998), 79–80.

<sup>4</sup> A. Platts, *St Paul's County Primary School: Centenary Souvenir* (1957); *Acct. of Wilts. Schs.* 14–15; *Bath Chronicle* 15 Apr. 1858, 8; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 17 Apr. 1858, 8; WSA F8/600/65/6/32/1.

<sup>5</sup> *Acct. of Wilts. Schs.* 14–15.

<sup>6</sup> *Return of public elementary schools, 1875–6* [C. 1882], H.C. (1877), lxvii, 280–1.

<sup>7</sup> Platts, *St Paul's Centenary*.

<sup>8</sup> See Poor Relief above.

<sup>9</sup> *Acct. of Wilts. Schs.* 14–15.

<sup>10</sup> WSA F8/500/65/5/1, 15 Jun. 1896.

<sup>11</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 247–8.

initially conducted in rooms hired or lent for the purpose.<sup>1</sup> A new school building was opened on Cocklebury Road in December 1900.<sup>2</sup> Scholarships were provided through a foundation which administered the gifts of Scott, Woodroffe, Bridges, that part of Ray's charity applicable to Chippenham, and one-fourth of Sir Francis Popham's charity. Separate scholarships were provided by Colborne's charity.<sup>3</sup> In 1901 there were 99 pupils on the roll, below the full complement of 380 as the completion of the school buildings had been delayed.<sup>4</sup>

Technical education in the town had also been in private academies, until in 1893 the borough appointed Tuck to organise technical classes for the town and district. Classes were held at various locations in the town and surrounding villages.<sup>5</sup> By 1904 evening classes in technical, commercial and other subjects, including cookery and dressmaking, were being held in the District County School on five days a week with an average attendance of 36 students. The school also provided classes for pupil teachers training at elementary schools in the area.<sup>6</sup>

### *1900 to 1945*

In 1904 a report on the National school condemned the building as unsafe and unsuitable, and the county council ordered its closure.<sup>7</sup> This decision was fiercely resisted, and the lack of alternative accommodation delayed its closure.<sup>8</sup> By September 1906 there were still 141 boys, 115 girls and 92 infants attending the school.<sup>9</sup> The school finally closed in December 1906, apparently without final notice having been given to the teachers.<sup>10</sup> Children transferred to other schools in the town, including Westmead and the new Ivy Lane school.<sup>11</sup>

In early 1907 Westmead school was enlarged when a new building was completed on the opposite side of Wood Lane to the existing school. The infants' department transferred to this new building, and the mixed department remained in the old school.<sup>12</sup>

Ivy Lane, a mixed council school, opened in 1907 with 245 children on the roll. The headmaster was assisted by four certificated teachers and one uncertificated teacher, and three pupil teachers. Academic standards and behaviour were poor.<sup>13</sup> Two years later the head reported an improvement, but there were still areas of concern.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 253–5.

<sup>2</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 239–40, 248–58.

<sup>3</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 239–40, 248–58.

<sup>4</sup> WSA F8/700/4/1/2/1, 16.

<sup>5</sup> WSA F8/700/4/1/23/1, A. Platts, *A History of the School: Chippenham Grammar School, 1896–1956*, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Endowed Char. Wilts.* (N. Div.), 257.

<sup>7</sup> WSA F8/600/65/5/26/1, report of 6 Feb. 1904.

<sup>8</sup> WSA F8/600/65/5/26/1.

<sup>9</sup> WSA F8/600/65/3/27/1.

<sup>10</sup> WSA F8/600/65/5/26/1, letter of 7 Feb. 1907.

<sup>11</sup> WSA F8/500/65/13/1, 7 Jan. 1907; F8/500/65/3/1, 7 Jan. 1907.

<sup>12</sup> WSA F8/500/65/13/1, 7 Jan. 1907, 8 Feb. 1907; OS Map 1:2500, sheet Wilts xxvi.2 (1900 edn, 1924 edn, 1937 edn).

<sup>13</sup> WSA F8/500/65/3/1, 7 and 8 Jan. 1907.

<sup>14</sup> WSA F8/500/65/3/1, 24 Jul. 1909.

In 1927 St Paul's school transferred to Wiltshire County Council's control, and a reorganisation saw older children from the top two classes at St Paul's transferring to Ivy Lane school.<sup>1</sup> The younger Ivy Lane children transferred to St Paul's.<sup>2</sup>

By 1914 the number of scholars at the District County School was still only 120, but had increased to 318 by 1922. By 1935, although numbers had dropped to 288,<sup>3</sup> the Cocklebury Road school buildings were proving cramped for the number of pupils. In 1939 the preparatory department, which had taken children up to the age of 11, was closed, and the rest of the school moved to the 40 a. site of Hardenhuish Park.<sup>4</sup> It was a grammar school, although the name of the new school was to be Chippenham Secondary School.<sup>5</sup> Some accommodation was provided in the old manor house, and the remaining facilities in new buildings. In 1940 the school recorded 414 pupils on the roll, which included eight in the sixth form and 25 evacuees.<sup>6</sup>

A major reorganisation of Chippenham schools took place in 1940. Westmead school retained both its infant and junior departments, Ivy Lane became a junior school, and St Paul's and Lowden schools were to take infants only.<sup>7</sup> The Cocklebury Road premises, formerly occupied by the District County School, became a mixed senior school.<sup>8</sup>

The Roman Catholic order of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God came to Chippenham in 1937. In 1938 the sisters opened the private St Margaret's school at their convent on Rowden Hill, initially with 18 pupils. With the arrival of wartime evacuees numbers increased rapidly, and a new extension was opened in 1940, by which time the numbers had increased to 120.<sup>9</sup>

Frogwell school was opened in 1943 as a primary school taking children under the age of eleven from new estates in the town. It had 31 children on opening, with a headmaster and two certified assistant teachers.<sup>10</sup>

#### 1945-2000

By 1947 technical, commercial and recreational classes were being held in various venues in Chippenham and elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> In 1948 a new technical college opened in Cocklebury Road providing day-release classes in technical and commercial subjects.<sup>12</sup>

The Cocklebury Road site remained in use by the secondary modern school. In 1956 another reorganisation of schools in the town saw two single-sex secondary modern schools established.<sup>13</sup> The new boys' school had 520 pupils on its roll, and the

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<sup>1</sup> WSA F8/500/65/3/5, 30 Mar. 1927.

<sup>2</sup> WSA F8/500/65/3/5, 1 Sept. 1927.

<sup>3</sup> WSA F8/700/4/1/23/1, Platts, *Hist. Grammar School*, 13.

<sup>4</sup> WSA F8/700/4/1/2/5, 29 Nov. 1938, 25 Apr. 1939; F8/700/4/1/23/1, Platts, *Hist. Grammar School*, 13–14.

<sup>5</sup> WSA F8/700/4/1/2/5, 31 May 1938; WSA F8/700/4/1/23/1, Platts, *Hist. Grammar School*.

<sup>6</sup> WSA F8/700/4/1/23/1, Platts, *Hist. Grammar School*, 13–14.

<sup>7</sup> WSA F8/110/65/1/1, Wilts. County Council General Education Committee, Teaching Staff Sub-committee, 18 Oct. 1940; F8/500/65/5/1, 25 Oct. 1940; F8/600/65/4/3/2, 30 Oct. 1940.

<sup>8</sup> Platts, *Wiltshire Schools*.

<sup>9</sup> Coggles, *St Mary's Parish*, 80–3.

<sup>10</sup> WSA F8/500/65/2/1, 1 Dec. 1943.

<sup>11</sup> WSA F8/750/2/1, 3 Dec. 1947.

<sup>12</sup> WSA F8/750/2/1, 24 Sept. 1947, 22 Oct. 1947.

<sup>13</sup> WSA F8/500/65/12/1, 27 Jul. 1956.

girls' school had 486 pupils.<sup>1</sup> The girls' secondary modern school moved to new premises at Hardenhuish.<sup>2</sup> The boys' secondary modern school remained in Cocklebury Road until it moved to new premises at Hardenhuish in 1959.<sup>3</sup> All three secondary schools then shared the Hardenhuish site.

St Margaret's school became a primary school in 1955. The fees were beyond the means of many Catholic families in Chippenham, and in 1959 St Mary's Primary School opened on the Rowden Hill site, providing a state-funded education for Catholic children. New school buildings were opened in 1962. The independent school of St Margaret's continued in the original convent building until 1968.<sup>4</sup>

In 1965 the eleven plus exam was abolished, and pupils of secondary school age transferred directly to either Chippenham Boys' High School or Chippenham Girls' High School.<sup>5</sup> These provided an education for young people aged 11 to 16.<sup>6</sup> Pupils of academic ability could transfer at age 13 to Chippenham School.<sup>7</sup> In September 1965 there were 610 boys on the roll at Chippenham Boys' High School and 646 girls at Chippenham Girls' High School.<sup>8</sup>

Monkton Park primary school was built in 1967 to serve the new residential development around Sadler's Mead.<sup>9</sup>

In January 1972 Westmead junior school was subject to an arson attack. The school office and a classroom were seriously damaged, and all the log books for the junior school destroyed.<sup>10</sup> In April of that year there were 86 children on the roll in the infants' school and 181 in the junior school.<sup>11</sup>

St Paul's school moved in 1973 to a new site at The Oaks. The Park Lane buildings were later demolished and residential properties built on the site, although the master's house was still standing in 2016. In 1973 Lowden infants' school moved to new premises in Lord's Mead as St Peter's primary school, and began to take children up to the age of eleven.<sup>12</sup> The former school buildings were sold for residential development.<sup>13</sup> A new primary school, Redland, opened in Brook Street in 1973 with approximately 160 children.<sup>14</sup>

It was found to be disruptive to have pupils transferring at age 11 and again at 13,<sup>15</sup> so in 1975 the three secondary schools were merged to provide two co-educational secondary schools for ages 11-18. These schools became Hardenhuish and Sheldon Schools.<sup>16</sup> The former buildings of the girls' high school were to house the lower school

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<sup>1</sup> WSA F8/500/65/12/1, 10 Sept. 1956; F8/500/65/15/1, 10 Sept. 1956.

<sup>2</sup> WSA F8/500/65/15/1, 10 Sept. 1956.

<sup>3</sup> WSA F8/500/65/12/1, 16–20 Mar. 1959.

<sup>4</sup> Coggles, *St Mary's Parish*, 84–7.

<sup>5</sup> WSA F8/115/4/1/1.

<sup>6</sup> WSA F8/500/65/1/1, 23 Jul. 1965; F8/500/65/15/2, 9 Sept. 1965.

<sup>7</sup> WSA F8/115/4/1/1.

<sup>8</sup> WSA F8/500/65/1/1, 9 Sept. 1965; F8/500/65/15/2, 9 Sept. 1965.

<sup>9</sup> <https://reports.ofsted.gov.uk/inspection-reports/find-inspection-report/provider/ELS/126188> (2004), (accessed 6 Mar. 2017).

<sup>10</sup> WSA F8/500/65/14/1, 20 Jan. 1972.

<sup>11</sup> WSA F8/500/65/13/4, 17 Apr. 1972; F8/500/65/14/1, 20 Apr. 1972.

<sup>12</sup> WSA F8/500/65/5/2, 20 Jul. 1973; F8/500/65/5/3, 5 Sept. 1973, 25 Oct. 1973.

<sup>13</sup> WSA F8/600/65/4/26/2.

<sup>14</sup> F8/600/65/9/24/1, *Redland School Brochure* (1986).

<sup>15</sup> WSA F8/115/4/1/1, folder 3.

<sup>16</sup> WSA F8/115/4/1/1.

of Hardenhuish School.<sup>1</sup> The boys' high school buildings became Sheldon School.<sup>2</sup> Pupils transferred to these schools from designated catchment areas.<sup>3</sup>

Westmead school closed in 1989, and the pupils transferred to the newly-built King's Lodge primary school on the Cricketts Lane development.<sup>4</sup> Two new primary schools opened in the 1990s: Charter school in 1994,<sup>5</sup> and Queen's Crescent in 1996.<sup>6</sup>

Allington School, a special school, had been established by 1950. In 1997 it had 56 boys on the roll, aged 11 to 16 years. It closed c. 1998.<sup>7</sup>

#### *After 2000*

In 2011 there were ten primary schools in Chippenham: Charter, Frogwell, Ivy Lane, King's Lodge Community, Monkton Park Community, Queen's Crescent, Redland Community, St Paul's, St Mary's Roman Catholic and St Peter's Church of England schools. Outside the town, but within the environs of Chippenham, were the primary schools of Christian Malford, Langley Fitzurse (in Kington Langley) and Kington St Michael. There were three secondary schools in Chippenham; Hardenhuish, Sheldon and Abbeyfield schools. Chippenham had one special school, St Nicholas School, taking pupils from the ages of three to 19 years.<sup>8</sup>

Chippenham's third secondary school, Abbeyfield, was established in 2000 for young people aged 11 to 16 years. It moved to a new purpose-built site along Stanley Road in September 2001. In 2002 it had 332 pupils on the roll aged from 11 to 14.<sup>9</sup> In 2006 the school began accepting students aged from 16 to 18 into a sixth form, and new sixth form accommodation was opened in 2008. By 2009 the school, which took pupils from the eastern area of Chippenham and nearby rural settlements, had 947 pupils, of whom 150 were in the sixth form.<sup>10</sup>

Hardenhuish school became an academy in 2010. In 2013 it had 1,596 pupils, of whom 303 were in the sixth form.<sup>11</sup> Sheldon school became an academy in 2011. In 2012 it had 1,802 pupils on the roll, of whom 410 were in the sixth form.<sup>12</sup>

By 2014 St Nicholas special school was taking children from age four to 19, and had 72 pupils, of whom 10 were sixth-formers.<sup>13</sup>

In 2000 the former Chippenham Technical College, by then known as Chippenham College, merged with other tertiary education colleges at Trowbridge and

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<sup>1</sup> WSA F8/500/65/15/2, 11 Jul. 1975.

<sup>2</sup> WSA F8/500/65/1/1, 31 Aug. 1975.

<sup>3</sup> WSA F8/500/65/1/1, 23-27 Jun. 1975; F8/500/65/15/2, 23-26 June 1975.

<sup>4</sup> WSA F8/500/65/13/5, 21 Jul. 1989; F8/500/65/14/1, 21 Jul. 1989.

<sup>5</sup> WSA F8/223/4, *Admissions to Primary & Secondary Schools in Wiltshire: Central Area* (1993).

<sup>6</sup> WSA F8/223/4, *Education in Wiltshire: A Parent's Guide* (1996).

<sup>7</sup> WSA F8/610/7.

<sup>8</sup> Wiltshire Council, *Directory of Wiltshire Schools, 2011/12* (2011).

<sup>9</sup> <https://reports.ofsted.gov.uk/inspection-reports/find-inspection-report/provider/ELS/131969> (2002), (accessed 6 Mar. 2017).

<sup>10</sup> <https://reports.ofsted.gov.uk/inspection-reports/find-inspection-report/provider/ELS/131969> (2009), (accessed 6 Mar. 2017).

<sup>11</sup> <https://reports.ofsted.gov.uk/inspection-reports/find-inspection-report/provider/ELS/136296> (2013), (accessed 6 Mar. 2017).

<sup>12</sup> <https://reports.ofsted.gov.uk/inspection-reports/find-inspection-report/provider/ELS/136632> (2012), (accessed 6 Mar. 2017).

<sup>13</sup> <https://reports.ofsted.gov.uk/inspection-reports/find-inspection-report/provider/ELS/126552> (2014), (accessed 6 Mar. 2017).

Lackham (also Salisbury from 2008) to form Wiltshire College.<sup>1</sup> New buildings were opened in 2016 at a cost of £21,000,000 on the Chippenham campus in Cocklebury Road, and in 2018 the college was offering a range of vocational courses, including engineering, commerce and construction.<sup>2</sup>

## RELIGIOUS HISTORY

### ESTABLISHED CHURCH

#### *Origins and Status of the Parish Church*

There may have been a church in Chippenham by 853 when Æthelwulf, king of the West Saxons and father of the future king Alfred, married his daughter to Burgred, king of Mercia, at his royal estate of Chippenham.<sup>3</sup> In 1065 and 1086 the manor was still royal, and at the time of the Domesday survey the church was held by Osbern, bishop of Exeter since 1072, who had held it in the time of Edward the Confessor.<sup>4</sup> The Anglo-Saxon church at Chippenham was almost certainly a minster church, serving also Biddestone, Box, Hardenhuish, Slaughterford and Tytherton Lucas. All except Tytherton Lucas became separate parishes after 1159.<sup>5</sup>

The church's dedication to St Andrew is recorded in 1268, 1328, and 1400-1.<sup>6</sup> The charter of c.1327 that records a tenement in Foghamshire belonging to St Mary's church probably refer to the chapel within the church dedicated to St Mary.<sup>7</sup> St Mary Street forms the eastern boundary of the churchyard.

Chippenham originally lay in Ramsbury diocese. In 1045 Bishop Herman was appointed to the diocese, and in 1058 to the united sees of Ramsbury and Sherborne. By order of the Council of London in 1075 the seat of the united sees was moved to Salisbury.<sup>8</sup> Chippenham remained in Salisbury diocese until 1837, when Malmesbury rural deanery, which included Chippenham, transferred with the rural deanery of Cricklade to the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol (Bristol, when divided in 1897). The parish of Chippenham remained in the diocese of Bristol in 2016.<sup>9</sup> Part of the historic parish, including the hamlet of Allington, was taken to form the parish of St Paul's in 1866,<sup>10</sup> and a further portion in 1969 to form the parish of St Peter's.<sup>11</sup> As a response to housing development, part of the parish of Christ Church, Derry Hill, transferred to the parish of Chippenham with Tytherton Lucas in 1974.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Patronage and Endowment*

In 1086 Bishop Osbern held the church with 1 hide worth £2 15s.<sup>13</sup> About 1144 Empress Matilda and her son Henry, later Henry II, gave the advowson of Chippenham to the Cluniac priory of

<sup>1</sup> The Chippenham, Lackham and Triowbridge Colleges (Dissolution) Order (2000), SI 2000, 2728

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.wiltshire.ac.uk/About-Us/Our-Campuses/Chippenham> (accessed 7 Feb. 2018).

<sup>3</sup> Asser, *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and other contemporary sources*, trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge (1983), 69.

<sup>4</sup> A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds.), *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London, 2002), 162.

<sup>5</sup> *English Episcopal Acta* 18, no. 88.

<sup>6</sup> *Crown Pleas*, 1268 (W.R.S. lxv), 126; *CPR 1327-30*, 246; *Papal Regs*, V, 410.

<sup>7</sup> *Hungerford Cart.* i (W.R.S. xlix), 80, 91.

<sup>8</sup> *VCH Wilts.* iii, 156-7.

<sup>9</sup> I.M. Kirby (ed.), *Diocese of Bristol: A Catalogue of the Records of the Bishop and Archdeacons and of the Dean and Chapter* (1970), xvi-xix.

<sup>10</sup> See below, p.

<sup>11</sup> See below, p.

<sup>12</sup> WSA 2658/7; *London Gaz.* 20 Dec. 1974, p. 13072.

<sup>13</sup> *VCH Wilts.* i, 116 (no.8).

Monkton Farleigh.<sup>1</sup> Chippenham church was an early appropriation, the priory becoming rector and the incumbent becoming a vicar by 1189, and the division of the revenues was revised by the bishops of Salisbury in 1244 and 1270.<sup>2</sup> A dispute between the priory and the vicar of Chippenham in 1272 was resolved with an ordinance that the vicar was to have all the tithes and other income of the chapel of Tytherton, then within the parish of Chippenham, excepting the tithes of the sheaves from the demesne of Turpin, and the vicar was to pay the priory £2 yearly and supply ministers for the chapel at Tytherton.<sup>3</sup> In 1291-2 the value of the benefice was assessed at £33 13s 4d, one of the wealthier in Malmesbury deanery, but an exceptionally high proportion always went to the rector and an exceptionally low proportion to the vicar. In 1291-2 £26 13s 4d went to the priory as rector and a further £2 13s 4d to the prior from the vicar, who received only £4 6s 8d.<sup>4</sup> In 1535 the vicar, Henry Myllyn, declared an annual income of £16 3s 4d of which 4s was paid to the archdeacon of Wiltshire and £2 to the prior of Monkton Farleigh.<sup>5</sup> The prior also received 2s from the chantry of St John the Baptist at Chippenham, and £20 in tithes from the manor.<sup>6</sup> Monkton Farleigh priory remained patron until its dissolution in 1536.<sup>7</sup> By 1550 the rectory and advowson of the vicarage had been granted to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, with whom it remained in 2016.<sup>8</sup>

After the Dissolution, the large and small tithes, except the tithes of Tytherton Lucas, were received by Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>9</sup> The tithes of Tytherton Lucas remained for the benefit of the vicars of Chippenham. In 1608 the vicar was receiving all the tithes from Tytherton, where he held a glebe of 12 a. of arable land and ½ a. of meadow, with rights to graze cattle on the commons. He also received tithes of eggs throughout the whole parish at Easter, as well as tithe of hay in Chippenham Westmead and some other unspecified lands in Chippenham.<sup>10</sup> In the Church Survey of 1649-50, the yearly value of the vicarage was given as £6 13s 4d, with the parsonage of Tytherton Lucas annexed to the vicarage of Chippenham being worth £40 per annum, of which the glebe land at Tytherton Lucas was worth £12.<sup>11</sup>

By 1671 the church held 14 a. of glebe land in Tytherton Lucas, with rights of beast and sheep leaze in Westham. A terrier in 1671 specified no glebe land in the parish other than that at Tytherton Lucas.<sup>12</sup> A later terrier, in 1704, recorded that the vicar had a house and garden at Chippenham and another at Tytherton. The parson's close and churchyard adjoining the Tytherton property totalled 1 ½ a. with a further 13 a. 46 lugs (rods) of land at Tytherton, and rights of beast and sheep leaze. The vicar continued to receive all the tithes of Tytherton, with tithe hay of all the freehold land in Westmead, Lord's Hamme and several other, unspecified, pieces of land in Chippenham.<sup>13</sup>

The value of the living being under £50, it was eligible for assistance from Queen Anne's Bounty. In 1729 its governors used a grant of £200 which they had made in 1727 together with £100 contributed by Revd Gilbert Lake and £100 by Edward Colston to purchase 12 ½ a. of inclosed land in the parish, together with 2 a. in the common fields of Chippenham and

<sup>1</sup> *English Episcopal Acta* 18, no. 88 n. For Monkton Farleigh priory see *VCH Wilts.* iii, 262-8.

<sup>2</sup> *English Episcopal Acta* 18, nos. 88, 89; *A Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (1900), iii, 441-451.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Deeds*, iii, 441-451. For the chapel of St Nicholas, Tytherton Lucas, see below, 'Outer Chippenham'.

<sup>4</sup> *Tax. Eccl.*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio> (Accessed 13 Apr. 2015).

<sup>5</sup> *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 139.

<sup>6</sup> *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 143.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Papal Regs.* V, 410; W.R.O. 1663/28.

<sup>8</sup> WSA 1663/28; inf. from Janey Hiller, Diocese of Bristol, 24 Jun. 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Baines, *History of Chippenham*, 103.

<sup>10</sup> *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (W.R.S. lvi), 89.

<sup>11</sup> E.J. Bodington, 'The Church Survey in Wilts, 1649-50', *WAM* 41 (1920), 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (W.R.S. lvi), 89-90.

<sup>13</sup> *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (W.R.S. lvi), 90-91.



Biddestone to augment the value of the living.<sup>1</sup> By 1745 the living, including Tytherton Lucas, was valued at £44.<sup>2</sup> As a living of under £50 in value, it was discharged from the payment of first fruits and tenths.<sup>3</sup>

In 1766 Joseph Colbourne of Hardenhuish bought the lease of the great tithes of Chippenham from Christ Church, Oxford for £3,200.<sup>4</sup> In his visitation return of 1783 the incumbent, Revd Thomas Weekes Dalby, stated that all tithes from Tytherton had been given to the vicar of Chippenham in 1772.<sup>5</sup>

The Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 sought to regularise the payment of tithes by commuting tithe payments from payment in kind to cash payments. Under this Act, in 1847 the tithes of Chippenham, excluding the tithings of Stanley, Nethermore and Tytherton Lucas, were commuted to a rent-charge of £7 5s to the vicar on 28 a. for great and small tithes. On the remaining land £860 was to be paid to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, and £3 for tithes on the vicarial glebe. The tithing of Tytherton Lucas had been subject to an earlier agreement in 1838, amended in 1839, where the vicar of Chippenham was to receive the whole of the tithe rent-charge of £177 for great and small tithes. Stanley and Nethermore tithings were the subject of an award made in 1850 and amended in 1851 whereby the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, received the whole of the tithe rent-charge of £54.<sup>6</sup>

In 1906 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners agreed to grant the vicar of Chippenham the sum of £15 annually, the grant to come from a sum of £500 in their hands. In 1916 this sum was increased to £19 1s 8d.<sup>7</sup>

The existence of a vicarage house is implied by the grant of 1270.<sup>8</sup> In 1608 the vicar of Chippenham held a dwelling house with an orchard and garden, and a second house at Tytherton Lucas with a garden, barn, brewhouse or stable and a bakehouse.<sup>9</sup> The glebe terrier made in 1704 recorded a vicarage house and walled garden in Chippenham, and a house and garden at Tytherton.<sup>10</sup> In 1826 the vicarage house at Chippenham, then a dwelling to the south of the churchyard, was exchanged for a house on the opposite side of St Mary Street, the property of Ebenezer Fuller Maitland, so that part of the garden of the vicarage house could be used as an extension to the churchyard.<sup>11</sup> The vicarage house was valued at £675 and Maitland's property at £1,020. He was to be paid £300 for that part of the garden that was to be taken for the burial ground.<sup>12</sup> Maitland's former property, at 54 St Mary Street, became the vicarage.

In 1964 land in St Mary Street was conveyed for a new vicarage and a mortgage of £2,575 plus interest granted in 1965 for a house and offices for the incumbent.<sup>13</sup> This building, at 54A St Mary Street, remained the vicar's residence in 2016. The former vicarage at 54 St Mary Street was by then called the Old Vicarage.

After 1547 the parish retained gifts of land and property which were used for the maintenance of the church, gifts which became known as the church lands. A terrier made in 1671 recorded an extensive series of gifts of land, some dating from the 15th century, though not their value.<sup>14</sup> A conveyance of 1748 gave the church property as four tenements in the High

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 811/46.

<sup>2</sup> Anon, *The Clergyman's Intelligencer* (1745), 44-5.

<sup>3</sup> W.R. Le Fanu, *Queen Anne's Bounty* (1921), 12.

<sup>4</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 149.

<sup>5</sup> *Wilts>Returns 1783*, (W.R.S. xxvii), 61-2.

<sup>6</sup> *Abstracts Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (W.R.S. xxx), 34.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 1663/13.

<sup>8</sup> See above.

<sup>9</sup> *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (W.R.S. lvi), 89.

<sup>10</sup> *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (W.R.S. lvi), 90-91.

<sup>11</sup> WSA D/375/5/11.

<sup>12</sup> WSA D/375/5/11.

<sup>13</sup> WSA 2568/5; 4326/17.

<sup>14</sup> *Wilts. Glebe Terriers* (W.R.S. lvi), 89-90.

Street; another tenement near the bridge with a garden, 3 ½ a. of land in Chippenham, and some pasture; 5 a. of land; a tenement, close and pasture for one cow in Cocklebury; the land called Tremblows' Mead; and a house, garden, orchard and field at Notton, called Maggot's Field.<sup>1</sup> The Cocklebury property may have been the cottage on Cocklebury Lane that was still standing in 1982.<sup>2</sup> Efficient management of the church lands declined in the 18th century. In 1783 the incumbent mentioned the 1671 terrier, but commented that although some feoffees had the management of the lands, no accounts had been made for many years, and he believed the parish received little or no benefit from them.<sup>3</sup>

In 1833 the bankruptcy of Anthony Guy, one of the feoffees (trustees), prompted an investigation by the Charity Commissioners in 1833-4. They commented that it had proved impractical to trace all the property listed in the conveyance of 1748; some tenements were still in the hands of the feoffees, but with one exception the whole of the lands were lost. It was estimated in 1894 that the lost land amounted to some 20 a. Most had been in large common fields without any form of boundary marker, and it was impossible to trace where the land had been, or when and how it had been lost.<sup>4</sup> However, it seems likely that the church lands were gradually appropriated by private citizens and so disappeared from the church records.<sup>5</sup> The Charity Commissioners' report of 1833-4 was scathing on the negligence of the feoffees, who had kept no regular accounts, and had met to inspect the church property only four times in thirty years. The property that could be traced in 1834 consisted of three houses in the Market Place, one house in the High Street, stables near the Bear Inn, a cottage with garden, orchard and cow-lease at Cocklebury, 1 ½ a. of land on the Bath Road, and two cottages and a field at Notton, the whole portfolio being worth £110 11s per year.<sup>6</sup>

The remaining church lands were eventually sold off, the final sale of land and property being the house and shop at 23 and 24 Market Place in 1973. By 1979 the entire endowment was held in the form of investments in stocks and shares, and in cash.<sup>7</sup> The charity, properly called the Chippenham Church Lands Charity, continued to operate in 2015 by providing funds from its endowment for the maintenance of the fabric of the parish church of St Andrew.<sup>8</sup>

Although the vicar was under-paid, the parish was wealthy and considerable benefactions were made to it in the later middle ages. North and south chapels were added to the chancel and a further outer transept (St Katherine's) to the south. Properties were managed by the wardens of St Mary's service in 1369-80 and other tenements were given to the church c.1400-1560.<sup>9</sup> In 1382 the revenues from an estate in Box were to be distributed annually in masses and to the poor in Chippenham church during the lifetime of Aline, daughter of Peter de la Heose.<sup>10</sup> Additionally during the 15th century the parish was endowed with gifts of land and property. Similarly Maud Heath's benefaction was originally religious, highways being an accepted object of piety.<sup>11</sup> Although unlicensed and undoubtedly for religious purposes, these church lands escaped dissolution in the 16th century.

<sup>1</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 149-54. <sup>2</sup> A. R. Wilson, *Cocklebury: A farming area and its people in the Vale of Wiltshire* (Chichester, 1983), 61-2.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Wilson, *Cocklebury: A farming area and its people in the Vale of Wiltshire* (Chichester, 1983), 61-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts>Returns 1783*, (W.R.S. xxvii), 61-2.

<sup>5</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 149-54.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, *Cocklebury*, 61-2.

<sup>7</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 149-54.

<sup>8</sup> WSA 1663/29.

<sup>9</sup> Chippenham Church Lands Charity, <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/showcharity/registerofcharities> (accessed 29 Jun. 2015).

<sup>10</sup> Daniell, *Chippenham*, 143-51. These deeds have yet to be located.

<sup>11</sup> *Hobhouse Cart*. (W.R.S. lx), 8.

<sup>12</sup> See above p.

### *Chantries and Gild*

There were at least three chantries existing in the medieval parish church of Chippenham: St Andrew, St John and St Mary.

St Andrew's chantry was founded in 1332. The chantry priest for St Andrew's chantry was usually appointed by the prior of Monkton Farleigh, except in 1350 when William Teynton of Calne was appointed by the king for the prior of Monkton Farleigh, and for the last two appointments, in 1515 and 1545, which were made by the Bishop of Salisbury and the king respectively.<sup>1</sup> There is no record of this chantry in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

In 1328 John le Clerc of Chippenham was licensed to endow mass in the church of St Andrew Chippenham for the souls of himself and his wife Alice.<sup>2</sup> Alice's gravestone named her as foundress. In 1327 the Le Clerc family held lands at Rowden, Sheldon and Hardenhuish.<sup>3</sup> No location or altar is stated, but possibly this mass was celebrated in the south chapel where the chantry of St Mary was founded (or re-founded) in 1442 and henceforth known as the Hungerford Chantry.<sup>4</sup> Henry VI issued a licence in 1442 to Walter Lord Hungerford and his son Sir Robert to found a perpetual chantry with one chaplain in the chapel of St Mary in Chippenham for the souls of the king, Walter and Robert, the late Henry V, and of Katherine, late wife of Walter. The chantry was to be endowed with lands of £10 yearly value to support the chaplain. By letters patent of Henry VI in 1447, an additional clause licensed the gift to the chaplain of land and property to the value of 7 marks a year, part of the annual endowment of £10. This document was not enrolled on the patent roll, possibly due to Walter's death in 1449.<sup>5</sup> The first chantry priest is recorded in 1459.<sup>6</sup> The Hungerford family remained patrons until the dissolution of the chantries, although in 1522 the king, Henry VIII, made the presentation during the minority of the heir of Sir Edward Hungerford.<sup>7</sup> The annual value of the chantry in 1535 was £7, of which 3s was paid to the Earl of Huntingdon, and 2s 6d to the abbot of Stanley Abbey.<sup>8</sup> It was worth £11 0s 12d a year when it was dissolved in 1547 and sold to Henry Goldney.<sup>9</sup> The chantry furniture was valued in 1548 at 13s 8d.<sup>10</sup>

The third and last chantry founded in the church at Chippenham was that of St John Baptist, in 1515. There was no single patron of this chantry. The patron in 1515 was the bishop of Salisbury, while the prior of Monkton Farleigh made the next appointment in 1521, and the third and final appointment of a chantry priest was made by Edward, Earl of Hertford, in 1545.<sup>11</sup> The annual value of the chantry in 1535 was £5 6s 8d, of which 5s 4d was paid to the king, and 2s to the prior of Monkton Farleigh.<sup>12</sup> In 1546 it was valued at £8<sup>13</sup> and the chantry furniture was valued in 1548 at 2s 4d.<sup>14</sup> It was dissolved without the king's licence.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the chantries, a part of the church was also used by a gild, the Fraternity of St Katherine, which had an altar endowed with land and houses.<sup>16</sup> Its value in 1547 was £4 9s

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 1663/28.

<sup>2</sup> WSA 1663/28; Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 143, CPR 1327-30, 246..

<sup>3</sup> Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 143-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Hungerford Cart.* (W.R.S. xlix), 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Hungerford Cart.* (W.R.S. xlix), 91.

<sup>6</sup> T. Phillipps, *Institutiones Clericorum in Comitatu Wiltoniae* (1825), 150; WSA 1663/28.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 1663/28.

<sup>8</sup> *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 138.

<sup>9</sup> J.E. Jackson, 'Ancient Chapels, &c., in Co. Wilts', *WAM* x (1867), 269.

<sup>10</sup> J.E. Jackson, 'Wiltshire Chantry Furniture', *WAM* xxii, 328.

<sup>11</sup> WSA 1663/28; Jackson, 'Ancient Chapels', 269.

<sup>12</sup> *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 138.

<sup>13</sup> TNA, E301/59 n.20.

<sup>14</sup> Jackson, 'Wiltshire Chantry Furniture', 328.

<sup>15</sup> M.E.C. Walcott, 'Inventories of Church Goods, and Chantries of Wilts.', *WAM* xii (1870), 377.

<sup>16</sup> WSA 1663/28; Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 143.

11d when, like the Hungerford Chantry, it was sold to Henry Goldney.<sup>1</sup> The value of the chantry furniture in 1548 was 10s.<sup>2</sup> The present baptistery may be the former gild chapel, the ground floor being the gild room and the staircase still remaining leading to an upper chapel.<sup>3</sup>

### *Religious Life*

Apart from the chantries, little is known of religious life in Chippenham in the medieval period. There may have been an attempt to avoid scandal in 1408, when Alexander Champion exchanged his position as vicar of Chippenham with the vicar of Burbage, Thomas Herchenene. In 1412 the parishioners of Burbage reported that Champion had committed adultery with a married woman for seven years both at Chippenham and Burbage, and had several children by a concubine in Salisbury.<sup>4</sup>

The inventory of church goods made in 1553 allowed the church a chalice worth 9d and a bell or bells worth 4d; plate worth 2d was reserved for the king.<sup>5</sup> In 1620 an inventory of the parish church recorded the following: a new Bible for the minister, an old Bible for the clerk, a surplice and a communion cloth, two cushions and a pulpit cloth, a cloth for the clerk, a carpet for the communion table, two Common Prayer books, a Book of Homilies, a copy of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, a Book of Martyrs and a gilt communion cup with a cover.<sup>6</sup> An inventory of 1625-6 included, in addition, seven matted forms on which to kneel at communion, a new flagon for the communion service, a copy of Bishop Jewel's *Apology* and a second Book of Homilies, and a sheet of lead with one other piece of lead.<sup>7</sup>

In the church survey of 1649-50 the minister, Jonathan Giare (or Gyer), preached every Sunday morning at Chippenham, and in the afternoon at Tytherton Lucas, though flooding between Chippenham and Tytherton could prevent him from ministering at Tytherton for up to three weeks at a time. That he had duties at both churches was unsatisfactory for his parishioners; at Chippenham it was suggested that Tytherton become a separate parish in its own right, and furthermore that, since at Chippenham he had the cure of a large population of some 2,000 souls, the value of the living be augmented by the tithes of the disafforested Forest of Pewsham. The villagers of Tytherton also supported the creation of a separate parish, but Tytherton remained annexed to Chippenham parish.<sup>8</sup>

In 1662 it was reported that some parishioners were absenting themselves from church, and some had refrained from having their children baptised, and in 1674 some were refusing to pay the church rate, and two men had disturbed divine service.<sup>9</sup> By 1676 the parish of Chippenham recorded 724 communicants, a figure which probably included the chapelry of Tytherton Lucas.<sup>10</sup> The parish of Kellaways, then held in plurality with Chippenham, recorded ten communicants.<sup>11</sup> In common with other churchwardens' presentments of the period, from the late 17th century onwards Chippenham's churchwardens invariably reported that all was well within the parish, although in 1708 the vicar, Robert Cock, was presented for occasionally omitting some prayers during the service. The churchwardens attributed this to the pressures of

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<sup>1</sup> Jackson, 'Ancient Chapels', 269.

<sup>2</sup> Jackson, 'Wiltshire Chantry Furniture', 327.

<sup>3</sup> *The Parish Church of St Andrew Chippenham* (n.d.), 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Chandler's Reg.* (W.R.S. xxxix), 119, 155.

<sup>5</sup> Walcott, 'Inventories of Church Goods', 368.

<sup>6</sup> WSA 415/6, f. 2v.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 415/6, f. 6r.

<sup>8</sup> E.J. Bodington, 'The Church Survey in Wilts, 1649-50', *WAM* 41 (1920), 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> WSA D1/54/1/1; D1/54/6/1.

<sup>10</sup> A. Whiteman (ed.), *The Compton Census of 1676* (1986), 128.

<sup>11</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*, 128.

looking after such a large parish, echoing the concerns made during Giare's ministry almost 60 years earlier.<sup>1</sup>

In 1783 the vicar replied to the bishop's visitation queries that there were prayers and a sermon every Sunday morning, and evening prayers at 4 p.m. in the summer and 3 p.m. in the winter, unless prevented by duties at Tytherton chapel. Services were also held on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, and on every Friday, holiday and festival in the year. The sacrament of holy communion was administered on the first Sunday in every month, and on Christmas Day, Easter Day and Whitsunday. There were about twenty to thirty communicants, but about double that at Easter.<sup>2</sup> This represented a significant drop from the 724 communicants reported in 1676, and in his replies to the bishop's queries, Dalby did acknowledge that he had many in the parish who did not come to church. At Tytherton there were services every Sunday except the first in the month, and on some days in the winter due to bad weather and shortness of the day. Dalby admitted that he did not constantly reside in the parish, being sometimes absent in Lewisham for family reasons, and it is unclear how the parish was served while he was away; no mention is made of a curate.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, 414 people were recorded as attending Sunday morning service at St Andrew's on the day of the census, and 213 children attended the Sunday School. There was no afternoon service, but 501 people attended evening service at St Andrew's. It is likely that some people came to both services. The church had a total of 1,236 sittings, of which 167 were free seats, and 180 were seats for children. The vicar, Revd Lewis Purbrick, also conducted an afternoon service at the chapel of St Nicholas, Tytherton Lucas, which was attended by 44 persons, in a chapel with 100 sittings.<sup>4</sup>

The construction of the railway line and the increasing population of the town saw considerable pressure placed on the space available in the graveyard. The matter had been raised as early as 1838,<sup>5</sup> and by the early 1840s the Revd Purbrick was expressing some forthright opinions on the matter to the Church Commissioners; no suitable land was available, and his attempts to purchase an otherwise ideal plot of land were frustrated by the unwillingness of the owner to sell. In desperation, he wrote to the bishop that he might soon have to close the graveyard to further burials.<sup>6</sup> The graveyard was finally closed in 1855, when a new cemetery was opened along London Road.<sup>7</sup>

By the later years of the 19th century divine service at St Andrew's had expanded beyond the one or two services held on Sundays in the 17th and 18th centuries. The parish magazine of October 1889 listed the Sunday services as holy communion at 8.15 a.m. with morning prayer, or combined morning prayer and holy communion, at 10.30 a.m. Two further Sunday services were held at 3 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. During the week morning prayer was held at 10 a.m. daily, and holy communion at 8.15 a.m. on Thursdays. Evening prayer was held each Friday and Saturday, and evening prayer 'with instruction' every Wednesday. There were weekly choir practices, a Sunday School, several Bible instruction groups, and a Mothers' Meeting.<sup>8</sup>

By 1906 the demands of a large and growing parish, which at this date still included the church of St Peter's at Lowden, saw the vicar assisted by three curates. The curates, assisted by lady District Visitors, undertook much of the parish visiting. In addition to the Sunday School,

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<sup>1</sup> WSA D1/54/21/1.

<sup>2</sup> *Wilts>Returns 1783*, (W.R.S. xxvii), 61-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Wilts>Returns 1783*, (W.R.S. xxvii), 61-2.

<sup>4</sup> TNA, HO/129/253, 46-47.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 811/48, letter of 15 Nov. 1840 from Revd Lewis Purbrick to Church Commissioners.

<sup>6</sup> WSA 811/48.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 137/88/7.

<sup>8</sup> *Chippenham Parish Mag.*, Oct. 1889.

choir and bell-ringers, several organisations were associated with the church, including groups for boys and girls, and a branch of the Mothers' Union,<sup>1</sup>

Parochial organisations continued to meet during the First World War, but the war presented difficulties not encountered in peacetime. Contributions to church expenses had declined, owing to collections being made for forces' charities and for the Red Cross, and the vicar expressed his concerns at the immoral behaviour of some young women when soldiers had been billeted in the town.<sup>2</sup> During the Second World War the black-out caused problems when holding evensong; the windows of St Andrew's were too large to cover with blinds to comply with the regulations, and the time of evensong had to be changed.<sup>3</sup> Petrol rationing later in the war restricted the provision of services at the church of St Nicholas in Tytherton Lucas.<sup>4</sup> The church assisted evacuees who arrived in Chippenham from south coast towns after bombing raids in the autumn of 1940, and, despite rationing, a knitting group was set up to provide woollen clothing for the troops.<sup>5</sup>

By 2016 the vicar was no longer supported by paid curates, but was assisted by two lay ministers.<sup>6</sup> Said communion was celebrated at 8 a.m, with the main Sunday service at 10 a.m. A monthly Sunday afternoon service was held for young children, and a monthly Sunday evening service of blessing and healing, but there was no longer a regular service of Sunday evensong. A service of morning prayer or holy communion was held each weekday morning, except Friday.<sup>7</sup>

Registers of baptisms, marriages and burials begin in 1578 and are largely complete.<sup>8</sup> An incomplete set of registers recording banns of marriage begins in 1798.<sup>9</sup>

### *Church Buildings*

*St Andrew's Church:* Although there is supposed to have been a church in Chippenham in Saxon times, no trace survives. Remains of a Norman church, possibly c.1120, can be seen in the present building, particularly the Norman chancel arch which was moved in the restorations of 1875-8 to become the arch to the north chapel or vestry. At the same time a Norman window from the north wall of the nave was re-set to the east of the arch.<sup>10</sup>

The tower, at the west end of the church, was built in the early Decorated style, possibly with a spire. In the later 14th century chapels were added to the north and south of the chancel. The south chapel was reconstructed in 1442 by Walter, Lord Hungerford, to serve as his chantry chapel; it is now known as the Hungerford Chapel. At the same time Hungerford rebuilt the upper tower and spire. During this period the south nave chapel was added, and the south aisle may have been reconstructed.<sup>11</sup>

The over-enthusiasm of Chippenham's bell-ringers reputedly weakened the tower and steeple, so much so that in 1633 the church tower and steeple were partially dismantled and rebuilt some 15 ft. lower. The cost of the rebuild, excluding the demolition costs, was £320. The

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 811/40, *Annual Report*, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> WSA 811/40, *Annual Report*, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> WSA 2568/18, *Chippenham Parish Mag.*, Oct. 1939.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 2568/18, *Chippenham Parish Mag.*, May 1942.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 2568/18, *Chippenham Parish Mag.*, Oct. 1940, Nov. 1940, Oct. 1941.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.standrewschippenham.org.uk/contact/rodkey/> (accessed 24 Nov. 2016).

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.standrewschippenham.org.uk/services/> (accessed 24 Nov. 2016).

<sup>8</sup> WSA 811/6-20, 26-30; 1663/1-7; 2568/19, 23-27.

<sup>9</sup> WSA 811/21-25; 1663/8; 2568/20-22, 28.

<sup>10</sup> N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Wiltshire*, rev. ed. B. Cherry (2002), 167-8; J. Noyes, 'A Short Account of the Restoration and Alterations in the Parish Church, Chippenham, 1878', in WILBR B5600.

<sup>11</sup> *Parish Church of St. Andrew*, 3-4.

project was financed by a rate on the parishioners, and by a gift of £40 from Sir Francis Popham.<sup>1</sup>

During the 18th century flat ceilings were installed in the church, and at an unknown date an arcade of Norman arches dividing the nave from the south aisle was destroyed and replaced by plain square columns.<sup>2</sup> Other 18th-century alterations to the church included the addition of a corporation pew and organ. In 1753 the bailiff and burgesses of the town negotiated with the vicar and churchwardens for a corporation pew where they could sit as a body on Sundays and other holy days. Their rights to the seats allotted as the corporation pew were vigorously contested by some parishioners, and the bailiff was assaulted. The issue was not resolved until 1756, when the bishop of Salisbury granted the bailiff and burgesses rights to the seats, which they had by then fitted out at their own expense, provided they continue to maintain the corporation pew at their own expense.<sup>3</sup> A new corporation pew was installed in 1847,<sup>4</sup> but removed in 1963.<sup>5</sup>

During the incumbency of Canon John Rich the church underwent substantial alterations in 1875-8, including the removal of the Norman features referred to above. The 18th-century flat ceilings were removed, the nave and chancel were rebuilt, including the present arcade with its five bays, and the north aisle added.<sup>6</sup> A later restoration saw the south nave chapel altered to serve as a baptistery, and in 1907 a choir vestry was added at the north-east corner of the north chapel.<sup>7</sup>

Belonging to the church is a 13th-century vestment chest with panels flanked by geometric designs. The panels depict the Lamb of God between two doves bearing olive branches, a pair of unicorns, a fox preaching to fowls, a pair of leopards, a hound chasing a stag, and an owl mobbed by small birds.<sup>8</sup>

The earliest record of an organ in the parish church comes in the mid 17th century, when John Aubrey wrote that on the north side of the chancel was an organ loft of freestone, carved in remembrance of one of the church sextons. The organ itself, according to Aubrey, had since been sold to Lacock.<sup>9</sup> It has been suggested that the sale of this instrument, which would have been a single-manual organ with six ranks of pipes, could have taken place during the interregnum period, when instrumental church music was suppressed, but as the churchwardens' account books for 1620-1733 make no mention of an organ, it may have been removed earlier.<sup>10</sup> A façade of free stone, now set in the south wall of the chancel, may be a fragment of the organ loft mentioned by Aubrey, moved from the north wall during alterations in 1875-8.<sup>11</sup> An organ built by Mr Seed of Cirencester, probably one of the Seede family of Bristol organ builders, was installed in the west gallery of the church in 1752, although the organ case has been dated to c.1730.<sup>12</sup> The organ was substantially rebuilt in 1879.<sup>13</sup>

Among the memorials in the church is a damaged sepulchral slab in the Hungerford Chapel carved with a female figure, which is believed to date from the 13th century. In the same

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 415/6, ff. 18r-19r; John Aubrey, *Wiltshire Topographical Collections*, ed. J. E. Jackson (1862), 68; Daniell, *History of Chippenham*, 142-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Parish Church of St. Andrew*, 4.

<sup>3</sup> WSA D1/41/4/18-19; D1/41/3/30; Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 320-1.

<sup>4</sup> Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, 167, 177.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 3714/17.

<sup>6</sup> Inf. from Julian Orbach, 'Chippenham' (Typescript revision of Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, 2015); *Parish Church of St. Andrew*, 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> *Parish Church of St Andrew*, 4-5.

<sup>8</sup> Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, 168; *Parish Church of St Andrew*, 5, 7.

<sup>9</sup> Aubrey, *Wiltshire Topographical Collections*, 68.

<sup>10</sup> C. Kent, *The Organ of St. Andrew's Parish Church Chippenham* (1976), 5-6; WSA

<sup>11</sup> Kent, *Organ of St. Andrew's*, 5-6.

<sup>12</sup> Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, 168.

<sup>13</sup> Kent, *Organ of St. Andrew's*, 6-10.



chapel is a large panelled altar-tomb of 1570 to Andrew Baynton and his son and heir Sir Edward Baynton. The south wall of the south aisle has a monument to Sir Gilbert Prynne (*d.* 1628); five of his seven children carry skulls indicating they died in childhood.<sup>1</sup>

The rood screen of 1921 was designed by F. E. Howard, and below the screen are tablets inscribed with the names of parishioners who fell in the First World War.<sup>2</sup>

*St Paul's*: Workers on the railway, which came to Chippenham in 1841, were accommodated to the north of the line, around New Road. This site was distant from the parish church of St Andrew, and a new church was proposed to serve this part of the town.<sup>3</sup> Robert Ashe, rector and lord of the manor at Langley Burrell, gave land for the new church and burial ground,<sup>4</sup> and an endowment of £1,000 to provide from the interest for a priest.<sup>5</sup> The first minister of St Paul's, Thomas Augustus Strong, became perpetual curate in 1854. The patronage of the living passed from Ashe to the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol in 1855, and the perpetual curacy became a rectory in 1866.<sup>6</sup>

The new parish was created in 1855 from parts of the existing parishes of Chippenham, Hardenhuish, Kington St Michael and Langley Burrell. It included the hamlet of Allington, formerly part of Chippenham parish.<sup>7</sup> Since it was being built in the parish of Langley Burrell, the church was referred to as St Paul's Langley Burrell, rather than St Paul's Chippenham.<sup>8</sup>

The foundation stone of the church was laid in February 1854, and the consecration service held in April 1855.<sup>9</sup> St Paul's was designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott in Gothic Revival style.<sup>10</sup> It was built in stone with a tiled chancel. There is an aisled nave with clerestory windows. The nave pillars are alternately round and octagonal in shape, with carved heads in the arches representing the twelve apostles. The chancel arch has figures of the Virgin Mary and St Joseph. The tower was completed in 1860, when the 176 ft. high spire was added. The clock was added the following year. The bells were installed between 1861 and 1875.<sup>11</sup>

The incumbent and his family originally lived at Oxford Cottage in Langley Road.<sup>12</sup> Correspondence regarding a new parsonage house dates from at least 1864, but progress was slow.<sup>13</sup> In 1872 Revd Strong conveyed 1 a. of land for a parsonage house, garden and glebe on the Malmesbury Road.<sup>14</sup> The house was too large to manage without domestic staff, and in 1965 the new rector, Revd Waddleton, moved into a house in Greenway Park, which remained the rectory in 2016.<sup>15</sup>

In 1864 the incumbent's gross annual income was £220. Part of this derived from an endowment of £1,200, towards which £1,000 had been given by Revd Strong. If he vacated the

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<sup>1</sup> Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, 168; *Parish Church of St Andrew*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, 168; *Parish Church of St Andrew*, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *St Paul's, Chippenham: Centenary Year 1855-1955* (1955), 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 2680/50.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 2680/23.

<sup>6</sup> *London Gaz.* 3 Apr. 1866, p. 2218; WSA 2680/24, 50; *St Paul's, Chippenham: Centenary Year*, 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 2680/23.

<sup>8</sup> WSA 2680/23.

<sup>9</sup> WSA 2680/51 (Typescript history of church, 'St. Paul's Church, Chippenham 1855-1980').

<sup>10</sup> *St Paul's 1855-1955*, 10; Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, 168-9. According to Pevsner, the style is Early English Geometrical.

<sup>11</sup> WSA 2680/51.

<sup>12</sup> WSA 2680/51.

<sup>13</sup> WSA 2680/27.

<sup>14</sup> WSA 2680/28.

<sup>15</sup> WSA 2680/51.

living he and his family would lose both the principal and the interest of the endowment.<sup>1</sup> Strong remained at St Paul's for over 40 years until his death in 1898.<sup>2</sup>

The second rector, Revd J. F. Griffiths, was appointed in 1899, and his incumbency saw extensive repairs undertaken to the church building, largely completed by Easter 1901, when the choir appeared in cassocks and surplices for the first time.<sup>3</sup> Much of the stained glass was installed during his incumbency or within a few years of his departure in 1910. The Brockway memorial window of 1971 in the south aisle was the first stained glass window installed for 50 years.<sup>4</sup> Revd Griffiths was also active in his pastoral mission; in 1906 he reported to a vestry meeting that in the preceding year he had preached 100 sermons at St Paul's, 28 at Hardenhuish and 77 at the workhouse.<sup>5</sup>

The early history of the mission church in the hamlet of Allington is obscure, but there is a tradition that it was originally a barn belonging to Sir John Neeld, who, sometime before St Paul's opened in 1856, allowed its use by those who had difficulty travelling to services at St Andrew's.<sup>6</sup> It was shown on a map of 1889, when it was described as St Paul's Church, but there is no known evidence for a dedication, and the earliest known licence allowing services to be held in the building dates from 1911.<sup>7</sup> By the mid 1960s services were only held four times a year, the last service on 1 January 1967. The mission church was sold in 1978.<sup>8</sup>

St Paul's has been closely linked with those parishes from which it was formed. Revd Griffiths was minister of the parish of Hardenhuish as well as St Paul's.<sup>9</sup> The parish of St Paul's united with Langley Burrell in 1964 to become the parish of St Paul, Chippenham with Langley Burrell.<sup>10</sup> In 1979 a united benefice was formed from St Paul, Langley Burrell, and Hardenhuish, to be held in plurality with the benefice of Kington St Michael.<sup>11</sup> By 2016 the parish was part of the Greenways benefice, with the churches of St Peter at Langley Burrell and St Nicholas at Hardenhuish.<sup>12</sup>

*St Peter's:* The church of St Peter in Lowden opened in 1886 to serve the then isolated area of Lowden, Sheldon Road and Parliament Street. The land had been purchased for £160, and the church, designed by Graham Awdry, was built at a cost of £1,095.<sup>13</sup> The church remained within the parish of Chippenham, and was served by the incumbent and his curates. Services were not always held on a Sunday, but from 1904-5 onwards full-time curates served the church, and regular services seem to have been held in the church from around this time.<sup>14</sup> A parsonage house had been built in Sheldon Road by 1907,<sup>15</sup> though a new clergy house was purchased in the same road in 1938.<sup>16</sup>

The population of the area expanded after the First World War with heavy residential development. In 1954 the question of forming a new parish was suggested. As part of these

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 2680/27.

<sup>2</sup> *St Paul's, Chippenham: Centenary Year*, 13.

<sup>3</sup> WSA 2680/51.

<sup>4</sup> WSA 2680/51.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 1488/22.

<sup>6</sup> WSA 2680/49.

<sup>7</sup> OS Map 1:10560, sheet Wilts xx (1889 edn); WSA 2680/49.

<sup>8</sup> WSA 1488/37; 2680/44, 45, 49

<sup>9</sup> WSA 2680/51.

<sup>10</sup> *London Gaz.* 24 Nov. 1964, p. 10027; WSA 2680/51.

<sup>11</sup> *London Gaz.* 25 Oct. 1979, p. 13333.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.bristol.anglican.org/our-churches/chippenham-deanery/> (accessed 4 Oct. 2016).

<sup>13</sup> R.J.H. Garner, *St Peter's 1886-1986* (1986), 7.

<sup>14</sup> Garner, *St Peter's*, 8-9.

<sup>15</sup> WSA 2851/16.

<sup>16</sup> WSA 3435A/25 (Diocese of Bristol Pastoral Committee report on proposed new parish church, 16 March 1960).

negotiations, St Peter's became a conventional district in 1954, and the curate, Revd Donald Brain, became priest-in-charge. It was proposed that a double-decker church be built on land along Sheldon Road, with the church on the first floor and a church hall below. This plan was never realised, in part because of the limited space for expansion on the proposed site.<sup>1</sup>

The matter of a new church was held in abeyance until part of St Andrew's glebe land at the junction of Lords Mead and Frogwell became available.<sup>2</sup> A new church was opened in 1968 on the site.<sup>3</sup> This building, designed by architects Kenneth Nealan, Tanner and Partners, is six-sided and built of brick and reconstituted stone, with a copper roof and fibre-glass spire. It has no internal supports, to allow the congregation a clear view of the altar.<sup>4</sup> A new parsonage house was built in Lords Mead in 1969.<sup>5</sup> St Peter's became a separate parish in 1969, with the bishop of Bristol as patron, and the priest-in-charge, Revd Phillip Hughes, became vicar.<sup>6</sup>

In 1957 the church at Lowden had four services each Sunday, with an average attendance of 60 at the main morning service. By 1982 a questionnaire regarding worship at the new Lords Mead church gained 77 responses, of whom 57 said they attended the church weekly.<sup>7</sup>

The Lowden church closed and was sold in or shortly after 1968. In 1986 it was in use by a congregation of the New Testament Church of God, in whose hands it remained in 2015.<sup>8</sup>

## ROMAN CATHOLICISM

Chippenham was not a centre for Roman Catholicism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1676 no Catholics were recorded in the parish, nor in the parish of Kellaways, then held in plurality with Chippenham.<sup>9</sup> By 1706 a single Catholic, Joane Procter, was resident in the parish.<sup>10</sup> There is no record of other Catholics resident or owning property in the parish in the early eighteenth century, although in 1717 properties owned by absentee Catholic landlords were registered in the Hundred of Chippenham. These properties, in the Forest of Pewsham, were owned by Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Castlehaven, and by the Cary family of Torre Abbey, Torquay.<sup>11</sup> No Catholics were recorded in Chippenham in the 1767 returns of papists.<sup>12</sup>

By 1780 the vicar, Thomas Weekes Dalby, reported that there were five papists in his parish, excepting French and Spanish prisoners on their parole.<sup>13</sup> In 1783 he reported that there was one family of Catholics in the parish, relations of Lord Arundell. The family had a private chapel with a resident priest, surnamed Smith.<sup>14</sup> The occupant of this house was described by Dalby as 'Mr Arundell'; he was Thomas Arundell, natural son of Thomas Arundell, second son of the fifth Baron of Wardour, who had inherited the lease of a house at Rowden Hill. The Revd John Smith, a secular Roman Catholic priest, was his chaplain, and also ministered to Catholics

<sup>1</sup> WSA 3435A/25 (Diocese of Bristol Pastoral Committee report on proposed new parish church, 16 March 1960); Garner, *St Peter's*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> WSA 3435A/25 (Letter of 18 May 1962); Garner, *St Peter's*, 11-12.

<sup>3</sup> WSA 2851/15.

<sup>4</sup> Garner, *St Peter's*, 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 2851/18.

<sup>6</sup> *London Gaz.* 30 May 1969, p. 5657; Garner, *St Peter's*, 14.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 3435A/25.

<sup>8</sup> Garner, *St Peter's*, 2; New Testament Church of God, <http://www.ntcg.org.uk/> (accessed 29 Jun. 2015).

<sup>9</sup> A. Whiteman (ed.), *The Compton Census of 1676* (1986), 128.

<sup>10</sup> WSA D1/9/1/2

<sup>11</sup> WSA A1/310-311; J.A. Williams, *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660-1791* (Catholic Record Society, 1968), 215-16.

<sup>12</sup> E. S. Worrall (ed.), *Returns of Papists 1767*, vol. 2, Dioceses of England and Wales, except Chester (Catholic Record Society, 1989).

<sup>13</sup> WSA D1/9/1/4.

<sup>14</sup> *Wilts>Returns 1783*, (W.R.S. xxvii), 61-2.

in Wootton Bassett.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Arundell's house has been given as Bowden House in one source, but as Bowden Hill is in Lacock parish, this is in error.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the small numbers of Roman Catholics in North Wiltshire, Chippenham's burgesses opposed the perceived threat of Catholic emancipation with three petitions in the 1820s. In 1850 a public meeting was held objecting to the establishment of Roman Catholic bishoprics in England.<sup>3</sup> In 1855 there were only ten Catholics resident in Chippenham, but the efforts of two recent converts, Richard Hungerford Pollen and Elizabeth Fellowes, were instrumental in establishing the first Roman Catholic church in Chippenham, St Mary's in St Mary's Place, which opened that year.<sup>4</sup> In 1869 land was purchased on Station Hill,<sup>5</sup> but a lack of funds and concerns about the suitability of the site delayed construction of a new church,<sup>6</sup> although a presbytery was built on part of the site in 1901.<sup>7</sup>

The present church of St Mary's was opened on the Station Hill site in 1936.<sup>8</sup> It was designed by Roberts and Willman of Taunton in the Gothic style, and built at a total cost of £2,192.<sup>9</sup> The old church was used as a church hall and was refurbished in 1991.<sup>10</sup> It was still in use as a hall in 2016.

In 2005 the Roman Catholic parish of Chippenham numbered around 3,000 adherents.<sup>11</sup> By 2014 an average of 439 people each week attended Sunday Mass in St Mary's church.<sup>12</sup>

Two Roman Catholic religious orders, both female, have been resident in Chippenham. The Order of the Sisters of St Joseph of Annecy was resident in the town from 1866 to 1884, when the sisters moved to Malmesbury.<sup>13</sup> The Sisters of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God came to Chippenham in 1937, and established a school on Rowden Hill.<sup>14</sup> The last sister left Chippenham in 2003.<sup>15</sup>

Mary Stapleton Bretherton of Lackham, by a codicil to her will in 1882, left £3,000 to be invested for the maintenance at Chippenham of a Roman Catholic priest.<sup>16</sup> The charity trust fund still existed in 1998.<sup>17</sup> As the Stapleton Brethren fund, now augmented to just over £10,000, it was distributing £186 annually by 2016, although it was not among the charities registered with the Charity Commissioners.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 2667/1/16/6, 2667/8/4, 2667/19/10; Williams, *Catholic Recusancy*, 117, 236; *Wilts>Returns 1783*, (W.R.S. xxvii), 244.

<sup>2</sup> Williams, *Catholic Recusancy*, 117, 236.

<sup>3</sup> J. and N. Coggles, *St Mary's Parish 1855-1998* (1998), 5-6, 7, 101-8.

<sup>4</sup> Coggles, *St Mary's Parish*, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Clifton Diocesan Archives, Chippenham Mission n.d., 1854-1863.

<sup>6</sup> Clifton Diocesan Archives, Chippenham Mission n.d., 1854-1863; Chippenham Mission n.d., 1875-1917.

<sup>7</sup> Clifton Diocesan Archives, Chippenham Mission 1900-1902. Papers concerning the new presbytery.

<sup>8</sup> *Wiltshire Gazette*, 5 Mar. 1936, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Clifton Diocesan Archives, 'The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Chippenham': architectural report on the church, (2015).

<sup>10</sup> Coggles, *St Mary's Parish*, 29, 41.

<sup>11</sup> *Clifton Catholic News*, issue 111, July 2005, 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Clifton Diocese Directory 2016* (Bristol: Clifton Diocese [2015]), 89.

<sup>13</sup> Coggles, *St Mary's Parish*, 18-20, 80.

<sup>14</sup> Coggles, *St Mary's Parish*, 80-1. See section on Education above/below.

<sup>15</sup> *Clifton Catholic News*, issue 86, June 2003, 9.

<sup>16</sup> *Endowed Charities, 1908*, 44-5; Clifton Diocesan Archives, Chippenham Mission 1884-1914: Papers concerning the Bretherton legacy.

<sup>17</sup> Coggles, *St Mary's Parish*, 20.

<sup>18</sup> Inf. from Revd Canon Dr Anthony Harding, Clifton Diocesan Archives, 14 March 2016; <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/registerhomepage.aspx> (accessed 27 Jan. 2016).

## PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY

Early records of nonconformity in the town are found in 1605 and 1607, when two weavers from Chippenham are recorded in the banns of marriage from a separatist church in Amsterdam. These may have been followers of the separatist preacher Thomas White, who was active in Wiltshire.<sup>1</sup>

Dissatisfaction with the Established Church, if not outright nonconformity, is suggested by the churchwardens' presentments from 1662, which reported that a number of Chippenham parishioners absented themselves from divine service, and some had not brought their children to be baptised.<sup>2</sup> In 1674 Henry Stephens and Ralph Gale were presented by the churchwardens as 'sectaries' (dissenters) for disturbing the church service, and were among four men who refused to pay the church rate towards repairing the church.<sup>3</sup> In 1676 the parish of Chippenham recorded 134 Protestant nonconformists, a figure which probably included the chapelry of Tytherton Lucas.<sup>4</sup> The parish of Kellaways, then held in plurality with Chippenham, recorded two Protestant nonconformists.<sup>5</sup>

A local tradition that the seventeenth-century religious radical Lodowick Muggleton was born in Chippenham has been disproved.<sup>6</sup>

A burial ground for nonconformists was established along Wood Lane, probably in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is not shown on Powell's map of 1784, but was in existence by 1840 when it was proposed that the parish church negotiate for burial spaces there to ease the overcrowding in St Andrew's churchyard.<sup>7</sup> A small mortuary chapel had been built by 1886.<sup>8</sup> The burial ground later closed, and part was lost to later development,<sup>9</sup> while the chapel has been demolished. What remains survives as open space along Wood Lane.

*Presbyterians and Independents:* A Presbyterian congregation is known to have been meeting in the town in 1669, with Henry Stubbs, previously ejected from Wells (Som.) and Dursley (Glos.) as its preacher.<sup>10</sup> In 1672, under the short-lived Declaration of Indulgence for dissenters, a licence was applied for to use the house of Benjamin Flower as a meeting place.<sup>11</sup> By 1690 Flower was preaching once a month at Chippenham,<sup>12</sup> and in 1692 his house in the town was registered as a meeting place for Presbyterians,<sup>13</sup> although it is not known where this was located, or for how long it was used. In 1701 a new meeting house was erected at the backside of the Bell Inn.<sup>14</sup> By c. 1715 Chippenham Presbyterians had a congregation of 250 'hearers' (who were not necessarily full members), under their preacher Lawrence Maes. Although seven

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<sup>1</sup> VCH Wilts iii, 100; W.T. Whitely, 'English in Amsterdam about the time of John Smyth', *Baptist Quarterly*, 1.8 (October 1923), 368-372.

<sup>2</sup> WSA D1/54/1/1.

<sup>3</sup> WSA D1/54/6/1.

<sup>4</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*, 128.

<sup>5</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*, 128.

<sup>6</sup> K. S. Taylor, 'Lodowick Muggleton – Native of Chippenham?', *WANHM* 97 (2004), 99-105.

<sup>7</sup> WSA 811/48.

<sup>8</sup> OS Map 1:2500, sheet Wilts xxvi.2 (1886 edn).

<sup>9</sup> Ruth Marshall, *Chippenham Memories* (2005), 80.

<sup>10</sup> G.L. Turner (ed.), *Original Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence*, vol. I (1911), 107; *Calamy Revised*, ed. A.G. Matthews, 468-9; Carl B. Estabrook, 'Stubbs, Henry (1605/6-1678)', *ODNB*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 3 October 2016).

<sup>11</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II (1911), 1056.

<sup>12</sup> A. Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection* (1917), 123.

<sup>13</sup> *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (W.R.S. 40), 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (W.R.S. 40), 11.

hearers were said to be worth at least £500 each, the congregation still received a grant of £4 annually from the Presbyterian Fund.<sup>1</sup>

The history of Presbyterianism in Chippenham in the years after 1715 is obscure. The 1701 meeting house is believed to have become Methodist by 1784, and to have been demolished in 1811.<sup>2</sup> This does not necessarily indicate a decline in the Presbyterian interest as in 1773 the town had a Presbyterian congregation with a minister,<sup>3</sup> and in 1783 the vicar of Chippenham reported that the Presbyterians had a preacher, Salter, who was licensed according to the law.<sup>4</sup> The preaching of Calvinist Methodists in the 1760s has been credited as instrumental in founding a number of nonconformist churches in Wiltshire and East Somerset, not only Methodist,<sup>5</sup> and if a congregation was not founded in Chippenham, the evangelism may have invigorated and inspired an existing Presbyterian congregation.

A new meeting house was built in Emery Lane, off St Mary Street, in 1770.<sup>6</sup> The leading Calvinist Methodist George Whitefield was a trustee, and tradition has it that the building opened for public worship on the day of Whitefield's death.<sup>7</sup> It was not a Methodist church, but joined the Congregational movement, being among the founding members of the Association of Wilts. and East Somerset Congregational Churches in 1797, and remaining in membership when it was reorganised as the Wilts. and East Somerset Congregational Union in 1841.<sup>8</sup>

The meeting house was rebuilt in 1826.<sup>9</sup> It was registered as a new meeting house in January 1828, by which time it was known as the Tabernacle, and was described as an Independent church.<sup>10</sup> On Census Sunday in 1851 it recorded an attendance of 260 persons at the morning service, 71 at the afternoon service, and 350 at the evening service, with 160 Sunday School scholars at the morning service and 170 scholars at the afternoon service.<sup>11</sup> In 1889 the interior was extensively altered<sup>12</sup> and further renovations followed in 1904-5.<sup>13</sup> In 1912 89 persons were recorded as being in membership.<sup>14</sup>

The congregation joined the United Reformed Church (URC) in 1972. The cost of maintaining the historic building eventually proved beyond the resources of the congregation, and the Tabernacle URC church closed in March 2016.<sup>15</sup>

*Baptists:* Records of early Baptists in Chippenham are sparse, although a group of Anabaptists was meeting in the town in 1669.<sup>16</sup> The late eighteenth-century history of Chippenham Baptists is unclear. A Baptist congregation, with a minister, was meeting in the town in 1773.<sup>17</sup> A Baptist church was apparently founded in 1788, according to a list of Baptist churches published in 1827, but a list published in 1798 had made no mention of it.<sup>18</sup> What is

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<sup>1</sup> Dr Williams's Lib. MS 38.4.

<sup>2</sup> VCH Wilts iii, 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, vol. 5 (1911-12), 375.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts>Returns 1783*, (W.R.S. xxvii), 62.

<sup>5</sup> A. Antrobus, *History of the Wilts. and East Somerset Congregational Union* (1947), 14-15.

<sup>6</sup> TNA, HO 129/253, 48.

<sup>7</sup> D. E. Evans, *Tabernacle Congregational Church Chippenham* (1970).

<sup>8</sup> Antrobus, *History of the Wilts. and East Somerset Congregational Union*, 17-18, 25.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, HO 129/253, 48.

<sup>10</sup> *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (W.R.S. 40), 28, 116; Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, 169.

<sup>11</sup> TNA, HO 129/253, 48.

<sup>12</sup> C. Stell, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting Houses in South-West England* (Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1991), 217.

<sup>13</sup> WSA 4332/2, f. 1r.

<sup>14</sup> WSA 4332/2, f. 12v.

<sup>15</sup> Inf. from Revd Sarah Simpson, URC minister for the North Wilts Pastorate, 18 Feb. 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. 1, 107.

<sup>17</sup> *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, vol. 5 (1911-12), 375.

<sup>18</sup> W. Doel, *Twenty Golden Candlesticks* (2005), 222-6.

known is that in c.1790 Particular Baptists in the town published a declaration of their faith.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore certain that there was at least one Baptist church in late eighteenth-century Chippenham, but its dates remain uncertain, and it is unclear if there was any connection between Chippenham's eighteenth-century Baptists and the nineteenth-century congregations.

A Strict Baptist congregation was founded in 1804 when the Revd John Paul Porter of Bath baptised five people in the Avon and later preached to a gathering said to be of 3,000 people.<sup>2</sup> It was this congregation that registered a meeting house in St Mary Street in 1804.<sup>3</sup> In 1810 the congregation moved to a chapel in a lane off the High Street.<sup>4</sup> The chapel, in Gutter Lane, now Chapel Lane, is sometimes dated to 1804,<sup>5</sup> but this is more accurately the foundation date for the congregation, rather than the building. In the returns for Census Sunday in 1851 the building was dated to 1810.<sup>6</sup> A modern listing suggests c. 1834, with a late nineteenth century extension,<sup>7</sup> but there is no known documentary evidence for the chapel having been built as late as c. 1834. In 1851 the congregation averaged 130 at the morning service, 82 in the afternoon, and 160 at the evening service, including Sunday School scholars at the morning and afternoon services.<sup>8</sup>

Ebenezer Chapel, a Particular Baptist chapel, was built in 1832. It is not certain where this was situated. By 1851 the congregation was in a declining way, with an average attendance of only twenty persons at each service, owing to the dampness of the building.<sup>9</sup> It had ceased to be a place of worship by 1877.<sup>10</sup>

A Baptist chapel was founded in Bath Road sometime after the religious census of 1851; it is known to have been there by 1871.<sup>11</sup> Little is known of the Bath Road congregation. In town directories for the 1870s it is described as a 'Christian Church' rather than Baptist.<sup>12</sup> It closed in 1877, in what appear to have been controversial circumstances.<sup>13</sup>

In 1854 an appeal was launched to build a new Baptist church on the corner of New Road and Station Hill; the estimated cost, including the land, was £1,200. The lack of spiritual provision for the growing population of Chippenham was cited as the reason for the new church; there was no mention of any existing Baptist congregations in the town. The plans included space for future expansion, including a schoolroom.<sup>14</sup> The new chapel was opened in 1856.<sup>15</sup>

By 1871 there were three Baptist churches in Chippenham; the chapel of 1810 in Chapel Lane, the church on the corner of New Road and Station Hill, and the Bath Road chapel.<sup>16</sup> A survey of Baptist churches in 1889 listed only the 1810 chapel and the Station Hill church as remaining in Chippenham.<sup>17</sup> Another congregation, which may have split from Station Hill, was meeting in New Road by 1891 under the Revd H. B. Bardwell, minister of Station Hill from 1875-90. It continued until 1915 or later.<sup>18</sup> The Station Hill church was still in existence in 2016, while

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 1769/68.

<sup>2</sup> P. Cater, *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Rev. John Paul Porter* (1834), 100-1.

<sup>3</sup> *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (W.R.S. 40), 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (W.R.S. 40), 67.

<sup>5</sup> Stell, *Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels*, 217.

<sup>6</sup> TNA, HO 129/253, 49.

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1268156> (accessed 3 Oct. 2016).

<sup>8</sup> TNA, HO 129/253, 49.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, HO 129/253, 52.

<sup>10</sup> *Spinke's Illustrated Penny Chippenham Almanac and Directory* (1877).

<sup>11</sup> C.S. Hall and D.C. Sparkes, 'The Journal of W. J. Acomb', *Baptist Quarterly* 25.3 (July 1973), 115-43.

<sup>12</sup> *Spinke's Illustrated Penny Chippenham Almanac and Directory* (1877 and 1878).

<sup>13</sup> WSA 1418/13.

<sup>14</sup> WSA 1112/139.

<sup>15</sup> *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, 8 May 1856; *Trowbridge Advertiser*, 10 May 1856.

<sup>16</sup> Hall and Sparkes, 'The Journal of W. J. Acomb', 115-43.

<sup>17</sup> Doel, *Twenty Golden Candlesticks*, 224-6.

<sup>18</sup> *Spinke's Illustrated Penny Chippenham Almanac and Directory* (1892 and 1915).



the 1804 Strict Baptist congregation had become the independent and self-governing Old Baptist Chapel.

*Quakers:* Quakerism established itself strongly in Chippenham.<sup>1</sup>In 1656 George Fox travelled from Bristol to Marlborough, where he preached under the protection of Edward Stokes, a magistrate from Tytherton Lucas, though he does not appear to have preached in Chippenham itself.<sup>2</sup> However, a meeting was certainly established by January 1661, when soldiers pulled down the wall surrounding the Quaker's burial ground,<sup>3</sup> and a meeting was recorded in the conventicle returns of 1669.<sup>4</sup> Chippenham Friends were persecuted in the immediate aftermath of the passing of the Conventicle Act of 1670, and at one time Friends had to meet on the highway when they were kept from using their usual meeting place.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the persecution a meeting house was settled in 1670 on premises on the High Street given to Friends by Thomas Neate on a thousand year lease.<sup>6</sup> After the Act of Toleration in 1689 it was registered as a meeting place in 1690.<sup>7</sup> The meeting house was rebuilt in 1733-4.<sup>8</sup>

Chippenham Particular (local) Meeting was a constituent of Chippenham Monthly Meeting, with the Particular Meetings of Brinkworth, Corsham, Kington, Lea and Slaughterford.<sup>9</sup> The earliest known minute book dates from 1669, though in 1678 a schism within the meeting led to the minute book being snatched by Nathaniel Coleman, a Quaker from Sutton Benger. A separatist meeting was established in the area, and, despite attempts to recover it, the Chippenham book was not returned until 1705.<sup>10</sup> The dispute was part of a wider controversy within the Quaker movement, the Wilkinson-Story schism.<sup>11</sup>

Although after the Act of Toleration Quakers had liberty of worship in their registered meeting places, Friends continued to be prosecuted for non-payment of tithes, church rates and other dues to the Established Church which, on principle, they refused to pay. William Goodship of Chippenham was gaoled in 1693 for refusing to pay a tax imposed on preachers. Another Chippenham Friend was released from gaol in 1696 following several years' imprisonment for non-payment of church rate.<sup>12</sup>

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Chippenham Friends reported that Sunday meetings were generally well-attended, but attendance was thin at the weekday meetings.<sup>13</sup> This suggested a declining attendance, and the meeting was eventually discontinued in 1812.<sup>14</sup> The Quakers kept the building for several years, and in 1822 agreed to the former meeting house being used as a school room for the education of women of any religious persuasion.<sup>15</sup> The building was eventually sold in 1834, when the Primitive Methodists purchased it for £180.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A full account of early Quakerism in North Wiltshire can be found in K. S. Taylor, 'Society, Schism and Sufferings: The First 70 Years of Quakerism in Wiltshire' (Univ. of the West of England PhD thesis, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> G. Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. J. Nickalls, (Religious Society of Friends, 1997), 273.

<sup>3</sup> WSA 1699/17, 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. 1, 107.

<sup>5</sup> WSA 1699/17, 21-2, 25.

<sup>6</sup> WSA 2269/44.

<sup>7</sup> *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (W.R.S. 40), 3.

<sup>8</sup> WSA 1699/81.

<sup>9</sup> WSA 1699/79.

<sup>10</sup> WSA 1699/79.

<sup>11</sup> W.C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1979), 317, 480-1; Taylor, 'Society, Schism and Sufferings'.

<sup>12</sup> WSA 1699/17, 59, 64-5.

<sup>13</sup> WSA 854/88.

<sup>14</sup> Inf. from Friends House Library, 18 Dec. 2015.

<sup>15</sup> WSA 854/40. See 'Education' above.

<sup>16</sup> WSA 2269/44.

It is not known where the 1661 burial ground was situated, but according to an 1870 record of property a burial ground had been established in 1700 on the Calne Road; the last interment being in 1812.<sup>1</sup> This ground was situated on the opposite side of the road to the Pack Horse public house on what is now the London Road.<sup>2</sup> The land was sold in 1927 for £50, and later developed.<sup>3</sup>

A Quaker meeting was re-established in Chippenham in 1935. This closed in 1962, but another meeting opened in the town in 1987.<sup>4</sup> This met in a number of venues, until restoration of the former Primitive Methodist chapel on the Causeway in 2002 as The Cause music and arts centre revealed the existence of rooms believed to be the meeting rooms of the old Quaker meeting house that had been sold to the Primitive Methodists in 1834. Chippenham Friends began to hold meetings for worship in that part of the building later that year, and were continuing to meet there in 2016.<sup>5</sup>

*Methodism:* Early Methodist ministry in the Chippenham area was characterised by the efforts of John Cennick and George Whitefield. John Wesley passed through Chippenham on several occasions on his way to Bath and Bristol, but does not appear to have evangelised in the town.<sup>6</sup> John Cennick, initially a follower of Wesley but later of Whitefield, began preaching in the Chippenham area from 1740, sometimes in the company of Welsh evangelist Howell Harris. Despite opposition, his preaching resulted in the establishment of meeting houses in Brinkworth in 1741 and East Tytherton in 1743, but in 1745 Cennick left his mission work with Whitefield to join the Moravian church. The congregation at East Tytherton became Moravian.<sup>7</sup> George Whitefield preached in Chippenham and the surrounding villages in 1743, and again in 1769.<sup>8</sup>

In 1783 there was a Methodist congregation in Chippenham, with one Moore as their teacher, though the vicar of Chippenham was unable to say if he was licensed or not.<sup>9</sup> Powell's 1784 map of Chippenham shows a Methodist meeting house, possibly a former Presbyterian meeting house. This was demolished in 1811.<sup>10</sup> A house in the Causeway was registered as a Methodist meeting place in 1801 and another house in the town in 1811.<sup>11</sup> They were probably superseded by the new Wesleyan Methodist chapel that opened on the Causeway in 1812.<sup>12</sup>

Primitive Methodists evangelised the area around Chippenham in the mid-1820s, but these missionary endeavours did not prove fruitful, and it was not until a fresh missionary initiative in the early 1830s that Primitive Methodism became established in Chippenham.<sup>13</sup> A dwelling house was registered as a meeting place in 1833, and by 1834 the Primitive Methodist congregation was sufficiently well-established for it to be able to purchase the former Friends Meeting House on the Causeway.<sup>14</sup>

By 1851 there were two Methodist chapels on the Causeway; the Wesleyan Methodist chapel of 1812, and the Primitive Methodist chapel purchased in 1834. On Census Sunday that year the Wesleyans recorded 118 persons and 102 Sunday School scholars attending the

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 1699/106, 78.

<sup>2</sup> OS Map 1:2500, sheet Wilts xx.14 (1886 edn).

<sup>3</sup> WSA 1699/107, 78a.

<sup>4</sup> Inf. from Friends House Library, 18 Dec. 2015.

<sup>5</sup> [http://www.chippenhamchurches.org.uk/main/html/coming\\_home.htm](http://www.chippenhamchurches.org.uk/main/html/coming_home.htm) (accessed 18 Feb. 2016).

<sup>6</sup> *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley* (1827), vol. i. 342; vol. ii. 22, 263; vol. iv. 8, 318.

<sup>7</sup> P. Gentry and P. Taylor, *Bold as a Lion* (2007), 37-40, 46, 62. For Brinkworth see *VCH Wilts* xiv, 24. For East Tytherton see below, 'Outer Chippenham' and 'Environs'.

<sup>8</sup> L. Tyerman, *The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield* (1877), vol. II, 61-2, 76-7, 560.

<sup>9</sup> *Wilts>Returns 1783*, (W.R.S. xxvii), 62.

<sup>10</sup> *VCH Wilts* iii, 107.

<sup>11</sup> *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (W.R.S. 40), 57, 69.

<sup>12</sup> WSA 1907/16; TNA, HO/129/253, 51.

<sup>13</sup> W.C. Tonks, *Victory in the Villages* (1907), 32, 50.

<sup>14</sup> WSA 2269/44; *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (W.R.S. 40), 132, 136, 137.

morning service, while 300 persons attended the evening service.<sup>1</sup> The Primitive Methodists recorded 96 people as attending the morning service, 194 at the afternoon service, and 207 at the evening service. The morning service was also attended by 85 Sunday School scholars, and 96 scholars also attended the afternoon service.<sup>2</sup>

The latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth saw an expansion of Methodism in the town as chapels were built, or rebuilt. A Primitive Methodist chapel opened in Lowden in 1855. The congregation moved to a new and larger church on Sheldon Road in 1901.<sup>3</sup> By 2010 the former chapel at Lowden, by then known as Chequers Yard, had been used as commercial premises for many years.<sup>4</sup> The Primitive Methodist chapel on the Causeway was rebuilt in 1896.<sup>5</sup> A small temporary chapel was established by Wesleyans in the Woodlands area of Chippenham by 1903,<sup>6</sup> but was sold to raise funds for a new church that opened at Monkton Hill in April 1909.<sup>7</sup> The 1812 Causeway building was made redundant by the Monkton Hill church, and became home to the Spinke's printing works.<sup>8</sup> By 2016 it had been converted to private residences.

At the time of a 1993 report on Methodism in Chippenham there were three Methodist churches in the town; the town centre churches at Monkton Hill and the Causeway, and a third church along Sheldon Road. The report recommended retaining the church at Sheldon Road to serve the new housing developments to the west of the town, and one church in the town centre to serve the eastern part of the town.<sup>9</sup> As a result the former Primitive Methodist chapel on the Causeway closed in 1996, and the congregation merged with that at Monkton Hill to become the Central Methodist Church.<sup>10</sup> The Causeway building remained vacant before being put on the market in 2000, and in 2002 became The Cause music and arts centre.<sup>11</sup>

*Salvation Army:* The first attempt to establish a Salvation Army corps was made when the Army held a meeting in the town in December 1881.<sup>12</sup> A corps was established despite disruptions to its meetings and occasional violence from the townsfolk.<sup>13</sup> It had several meeting places in the town, including premises under the railway viaduct, and the Temperance Hall in Foghamshire, before moving to a purpose-built Citadel Hall in Bath Street in 1903.<sup>14</sup> The building eventually proved unsuitable, being cramped and prone to flooding. In 1970 the corps purchased the Co-op Hall in Foghamshire, moving there the following year.<sup>15</sup> It was meeting there in 2016. The former meeting place of Citadel Hall had by 2016 been converted into retail premises on the ground floor and a hall for hire on the first floor.

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<sup>1</sup> TNA, HO/129/253, 51.

<sup>2</sup> TNA, HO/129/253, 50.

<sup>3</sup> WSA 1769/68; C.R. Stevens, *A Short History of 50 Years' Work and Service in Connection with the Lowden Primitive Methodist Sunday School and Church* (1907).

<sup>4</sup> Wilts CC planning application N/10/00297/FUL (28 Jan. 2010)

<http://planning.wiltshire.gov.uk/Northgate/Planning/Explorer/Home.aspx> (accessed 9 Sept. 2016).

<sup>5</sup> WSA 3083/179.

<sup>6</sup> *Spinke's Illustrated Penny Chippenham Almanac and Directory* (1904).

<sup>7</sup> *100 Not Out! Central Methodist Church Chippenham, 1909-2009*.

<sup>8</sup> WSA 2053/22; J. Orbach, *Pevsner Wiltshire* revision (typescript, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> WSA 3083/31.

<sup>10</sup> *100 Not Out! Central Methodist Church Chippenham, 1909-2009*.

<sup>11</sup> <http://thecausemusicandarts.com/history-of-the-building/> (accessed 18 Feb. 2016).

<sup>12</sup> *War Cry*, 19 Jan. 1882, 3; 6 Jan. 1883, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Souvenir Programme for Opening Weekend of the New Chippenham Citadel, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> April 1971.

<sup>14</sup> *All the World*, Feb. 1908, 107-10; *War Cry*, 1 Aug. 1981, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Chippenham Salvation Army Corps History book, 1938-1974, entries for 11 July 1968, 14-15 March 1970, 28 March 1971; *War Cry*, 1 Aug. 1981, 6.

*Other churches:* Alongside the major nonconformist denominations, other churches have established themselves in Chippenham. The Plymouth Brethren were meeting in the town by 1885, with a meeting house in Cook Street. The Brethren were still meeting there in 1913, though by 1933 they had a meeting room in Station Hill. They were still meeting in Station Hill in 1952, though there is no trace of the Brethren in the town directory for 1957.<sup>1</sup> However, in 1966 Chippenham Brethren registered a charity, the Down Trust, to further the religious practices of the Brethren and to provide meeting houses<sup>2</sup> and in 1969 built a new hall along Goldney Avenue.<sup>3</sup> By 2008 the Brethren were meeting here and in two smaller halls at Hill Corner Road and Cocklebury Road. The Goldney Road facilities had become unsuitable, and the Brethren applied for planning permission for a Gospel Hall on a former picnic site at Kingston Langley.<sup>4</sup> In 2015 they moved from their meeting house in Goldney Avenue to the new premises.<sup>5</sup>

The Ladyfield Evangelical Church traces its history back to the Hopgoods, a Plymouth Brethren family who moved from London to Chippenham during World War Two. The family are credited with establishing a small Brethren congregation in Chippenham, at one time meeting over a baker's shop at the bottom of Station Hill.<sup>6</sup> As the town directory gives a Brethren congregation as meeting in Station Hill in 1933, it is possible that the family initially joined existing Brethren in the town. The meeting was struck off as a recognised Brethren congregation for admitting persons of other religious persuasions to communion, and it continued instead as an independent fellowship. Its missionary activity in Chippenham centred on the new housing estate in the Ladyfield area of Chippenham, and in 1954 it secured a site at the junction of Hungerdown Lane and Ladyfield Road. A prefabricated church building was opened in 1957. A flat-roofed extension was added in 1973 and a new church building in 1996. The old church and flat-roofed extension were replaced by new facilities in 2009.<sup>7</sup> It is affiliated to the Fellowship of Independent Evangelical Churches (FIEC).<sup>8</sup>

The Emmanuel Church congregation dates from 2005. It originally met in the hall at Hardenhuish School, but moved into a church building on Goldney Avenue at the end of April 2015, when it was vacated by the Plymouth Brethren.<sup>9</sup> Like Ladyfield, Emmanuel is affiliated to FIEC.<sup>10</sup>

Several other churches were meeting in Chippenham by 2016. The Chippenham Christian Fellowship church, an Elim Pentecostal Church, had been at its Wood Lane premises for over 20 years.<sup>11</sup> The Lowden Community Church, a New Testament Church of God, met in the former St Peter's church.<sup>12</sup> The Redeemed Christian Church of God was meeting in the Rotary Hall along Station Hill.<sup>13</sup> The evangelical Trinity Chippenham church, begun in 2014,

<sup>1</sup> *Spinke's Illustrated Penny Chippenham Almanac and Directory* (1886 and 1913); *Directory of Chippenham and District* (1933); *Directory of Chippenham* (1953 and 1957).

<sup>2</sup> <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/showcharity/registerofcharities/RegisterHomePage.aspx> (accessed 7 Sept. 2016).

<sup>3</sup> Wilts CC planning application N/o8/00631/FUL (14 Mar. 2008) <http://planning.wiltshire.gov.uk/Northgate/Planning/Explorer/Home.aspx> (accessed 9 Sept. 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Wilts CC planning application N/o8/00631/FUL (14 Mar. 2008) <http://planning.wiltshire.gov.uk/Northgate/Planning/Explorer/Home.aspx> (accessed 9 Sept. 2016).

<sup>5</sup> Inf. from Karen Macallister, Administrator, Emmanuel Church. 4 March 2016.

<sup>6</sup> *Directory of Chippenham and District* (1933); *Directory of Chippenham* (1953); Ladyfield Evangelical Church, *A Work of God in the Ladyfield Area of Chippenham* (2009).

<sup>7</sup> Ladyfield Evangelical Church, *A Work of God*.

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.chippenhamchurches.org.uk/main/html/the\\_churches.htm](http://www.chippenhamchurches.org.uk/main/html/the_churches.htm) (accessed 26 May 2016).

<sup>9</sup> Inf. from Karen Macallister, Administrator, Emmanuel Church. 4 March 2016.

<sup>10</sup> [http://www.chippenhamchurches.org.uk/main/html/the\\_churches.htm](http://www.chippenhamchurches.org.uk/main/html/the_churches.htm) (accessed 26 May 2016).

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.chippenhamchristianfellowship.co.uk/> (accessed 18 Feb. 2016).

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.chippenhamchurches.org.uk/> (accessed 18 Feb. 2016).

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.rccgchippenham.org.uk/> (accessed 18 Feb. 2016).

was meeting on Sunday afternoons at the Olympiad leisure centre.<sup>1</sup> Jehovah's Witnesses were meeting in their hall in London Road.<sup>2</sup> Two churches not meeting in the town itself were affiliated to the umbrella organisation Chippenham Churches Together; the evangelical and charismatic Dayspring Church meeting in Lansdowne Hall in Derry Hill, and the Moravian Church in East Tytherton.<sup>3</sup>

*Other religions:* Historically, there is little evidence for non-Christian faiths in Chippenham. In thirteenth-century Wiltshire there were Jewish communities in Marlborough and Wilton, and possibly at Salisbury and Chippenham. The evidence for Chippenham appears to be that, during the reign of Edward I, Salomon, a Chippenham Jew, was accused of theft, but fled before he could be apprehended.<sup>4</sup>

In 2016, of the major world religions other than Christianity, only Buddhists and Muslims were meeting in Chippenham. Buddhist teachers from Bristol were holding meditation classes at The Cause.<sup>5</sup> Muslims were meeting for Friday prayers in the Rotary Club on Station Hill.<sup>6</sup>

## OUTER CHIPPENHAM

[JM to augment landowner sections]

### SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The social structure of the Outer Chippenham settlements for much of their history would have been based on farming. Tenant farmers occupied the larger farms owned by largely absentee landlords, alongside smaller holdings occupied either by their owners or tenants. The remaining population would have been farmworkers and their families. John Aubrey (d. 1697) wrote of north Wiltshire that the agriculture was largely dairy, 'they only milk the cows and make cheese', and this dairy-based diet was responsible for the inhabitants' fanaticism and melancholy.<sup>7</sup>

The settlements at Lowden, Monkton and Rowden grew substantially in the 19th century as those areas were developed for housing.

### ALLINGTON (INCLUDING FOWLSWICK)

#### *Landscape, settlement and buildings*

The origin of the place name Allington may derive from a personal name, Ælla or Ælle's farm.<sup>8</sup> Fowlswick farm may be the Fugelswik recorded in 1231.<sup>9</sup> It may derive its name from 'Fugel's wic', or dairy farm; *fugel* being Old English for 'bird', but here believed to be used as a personal name.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <http://trinitychippenham.org/who/> (accessed 7 September 2016).

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.jw.org/en/jehovahs-witnesses/meetings/> (accessed 7 September 2016).

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.dayspring.org.uk/>; <http://www.chippenhamchurches.org.uk/> (both accessed 18 Feb. 2016).

<sup>4</sup> *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre 1268* (W.R.S. 65), lxxxii; Goldney, *Records of Chippenham*, xix.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.meditationinbristol.org/meditation-classes/meditation-classes-in-chippenham/> (accessed 30 Aug. 2016).

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.islamicfinder.org/world/view-place/54368> (accessed 30 Aug. 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Aubrey, *Nat. Hist. Wilts.*, ed. Britton, 11.

<sup>8</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 90.

<sup>9</sup> *Pat.* 1225–32, 510.

<sup>10</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 91.

Settlement at Allington is known from the Neolithic period. Lanhill barrow, a Neolithic long barrow, is situated some 300 m. south of the present-day Sparrow farm. A stone entrance leads into a chamber, with two further chambers. The site has been partly excavated, and the skeletal remains of 22 individuals found. Windmill Hill pottery was found in one chamber.<sup>1</sup>

In 1249 the settlement of Allington was mentioned in a case before the Wiltshire eyre of that year.<sup>2</sup> It was described as a township by 1268,<sup>3</sup> and in the tax list of 1332 was listed separately from the town of Chippenham.<sup>4</sup>

In the muster of 1539 Allington returned five able men, making it a slightly larger settlement than nearby Hardenhuish which returned only four able men.<sup>5</sup> It was still regarded as separate settlement in 1736, and in the land tax returns of 1780–1831.<sup>6</sup> Allington was described as a tithing in 1830.<sup>7</sup>

By the 21st century the village of Allington had developed in a linear form, along a winding rural lane. It had been designated a conservation area in 1998, which was extended in 2002. The buildings are mainly larger detached houses among farmsteads. Fourteen buildings in Allington were listed by 2005, including Bolehyde Manor and Fowlswick Farmhouse.<sup>8</sup>

Bolehyde Manor, formerly Bulege House (1843) and Bulidge House (1886),<sup>9</sup> is probably a 1635 re-building of an earlier house. The 1635 building was later extended. A separate farmhouse was built to the rear in the late 17th or early 18th century. A pair of ornamental buildings dating to the 17th or 18th century flank the entrance to the grounds. The house was much restored and altered from c.1927, and the moat was reduced to enlarge the courtyard.<sup>10</sup>

Fowlswick Farmhouse was recorded by Aubrey as an ancient house with a moat and barred windows, believed by Aubrey to be evidence of violence in former times.<sup>11</sup> The house is a moated manor site, of late medieval to 17th century date.<sup>12</sup>

Lanhill farmhouse, of c.1840, is noted for a bell tower rising nearly 70ft above the entrance porch.<sup>13</sup>

An 18th century barn to the NW of Allington Manor Farmhouse contains material from a manor house of c.1600.<sup>14</sup>

### *Landownership*

In 1405 John Tanner and Cecily his wife granted back to John Forde for his life one messuage, one toft, 100 a. of land, 8 a. meadow, 10 a. pasture, 2 a. wood and 2s. rent in Kington St Michael and Allington. John Forde was to render 16s. 8d. yearly to John and Cecily and their heirs.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 173; Historic England HER, Lanhill Barrow, 1010908 [OS: ST 87736 74719].

<sup>2</sup> C. A. F. Meekings (ed.) *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249* (WRS 16), 189.

<sup>3</sup> B. Farr and C. Elrington (eds), rev. H. Summerson, *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre 1268* (WRS 65), 118.

<sup>4</sup> D. A. Crowley (ed.), *The Wiltshire Tax List of 1332* (WRS 45), 101.

<sup>5</sup> *L&P Hen. VIII*, XIV (1), p. 302.

<sup>6</sup> J. P. M. Fowle (ed.), *Wiltshire Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS 9), 136; WSA, A1/345/100.

<sup>7</sup> *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1830), 794.

<sup>8</sup> Wilts. CC Design & Estates Team, 'Conservation Area Description: Allington', October 2005, [www.wiltshire.gov.uk/allington-2.pdf](http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/allington-2.pdf) (accessed 6 Nov. 2018).

<sup>9</sup> T/A Kington St Michael (1843);

<sup>10</sup> WBR Report No. B752, 'Bolehyde Manor, Allington, Chippenham Without' (Sept. 2017).

<sup>11</sup> Aubrey, *Topol. Colln.* ed. Jackson, 73.

<sup>12</sup> Historic England HER, Fowlswick Farmhouse, Fowlswick Lane, 1199330 [OS ST 88241 75740].

<sup>13</sup> WBR, B4755; Historic England HER, Lanhill Farmhouse and stables attached, 1283429 [OS ST 88139 75049].

<sup>14</sup> Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 265; Historic England HER, Barn to north west of Allington Manor Farmhouse, 1022898 [OS ST 89512 75124].

<sup>15</sup> J. L. Kirby (ed.), *Abstracts of Feet of Fines Relating to Wiltshire 1377–1509* (WRS 41), 55 (no. 257).

Land at Allington was granted in 1537 to Sir Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp, afterwards the Protector Duke of Somerset. By 1623 it was the residence of Sir Gilbert Prynne, of a Bristol family, who, with his wife, was buried in Chippenham parish church. It remained in the hands of the dukes of Somerset until Algernon, Duke of Somerset, died without male heirs in 1749, when he was succeeded in some of his lands and in one of his titles, that of the Earldom of Egremont, by Sir Charles Wyndham.<sup>1</sup>

In 1780 landholding in the hamlet was dominated by one landowner, Lady Agremount, who owned almost half the land by value, and her chief tenant, Richard Pocock. There were ten smaller proprietors. By 1831 the major landowner was Sir William Wyndham, who owned well over half the land by value, and the number of smaller proprietors had reduced to seven.<sup>2</sup> Allington was sold in 1844 by the Wyndhams, Earls of Egremont, to Mr Neeld.<sup>3</sup>

In 1910 the major landowner was Sir A. D. Neeld. Sir Prior Goldney owned Allington Bar farm, and the Chippenham Golf Club owned a building at Allington.<sup>4</sup>

### *Economic history*

Farming in the 17th and early 18th century was mixed arable and pastoral. Cattle were commonly kept, and the presence of cheese lofts in many farmhouses suggests commercial cheese production. Many farms had flocks of sheep. Pigs were kept, but in small numbers, suggesting a largely domestic or small-scale production. Arable crops comprised wheat, barley, oats and pease.<sup>5</sup> The presence of malt-mills in some inventories implies that the barley was being made into malt.<sup>6</sup> Two inventories, from 1623 and 1630, recorded hives of bees.<sup>7</sup>

Allington Common is recorded in 1802 and shown on the tithe award map of 1848.<sup>8</sup> Common rights varied with the holding, but usually included rights to mow in alternate years, and to graze animals. The common was enclosed in 1869.<sup>9</sup>

A directory of 1880 shows the dominant industry to be farming, though one farmer was also working as a haulier. One man was working as a drillman, suggesting some arable farming in a predominately pastoral agriculture.<sup>10</sup> By 1881 there were five farms in Allington: Shipway farm of 124 a., Beard's farm of 160 a., Fowlswick farm of 148 a., Fowlswick House farm of 208 a., and Lanhill House farm of 890 a. Between them they employed 19 men and eight boys.<sup>11</sup>

By 1910 there were seven farms at Allington of over 50 a; Battens, Allington Bar, Shipway & Allington, Lanhill, Manor, Fowlswick and Beards farms, and a small farm of just over 30 a., Sparrow farm.<sup>12</sup> Beard's farm at Allington, also known as The Grange, was sold at auction in 1939. It was a mixed pasture and arable farm of 254 a., with pasture predominating.<sup>13</sup>

In 1941 agriculture in Allington was dominated by dairy farming and grazing; much of the land was grass for mowing or grazing, and most of the livestock were dairy or other female cattle, with some pigs and sheep. Fowls were commonly kept, suggesting a side-line in the commercial production of eggs or meat by some farmers. Some arable farming was practised, largely wheat, barley and oats. Potatoes were grown, but otherwise few vegetables for human

<sup>1</sup> F. H. Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham Relating to the Borough* (London, 1889), xvii.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, A1/345/100.

<sup>3</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xvii.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, L8/1/31, 40–4.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, P3/F/48; P3/B/302; P1/P/120; P3/B/435; P1/G/168; P1/B/426; P3/S/674; P1/H/524; P3/A/56; P3/A/218; P3/H/958.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, P1/P/120; P3/B/435; P1/B/426.

<sup>7</sup> WSA, P3/F/48; P3/A/56.

<sup>8</sup> *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 19 Jul. 1802, 4; T/A Chippenham and Allington tithings (1848).

<sup>9</sup> WSA, A1/EA/192.

<sup>10</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Hants., Wilts., Dors.* (1880), 592.

<sup>11</sup> TNA, RG 11/2033, 65r–67r.

<sup>12</sup> WSA, L8/1/31, 40–4.

<sup>13</sup> WBR, B4751 (sale cat. 1939).



consumption.<sup>1</sup> There is little evidence for women and girls working on the farms, which suggests that dairying, a traditionally female occupation, was not practised on the farms, and the milk was transported elsewhere.

Lanhall farm is known as a stud farm by 1976.<sup>2</sup> By the late 20th century Bolehyde Manor estate comprised about 120 a. including 80 a. of mostly permanent organically farmed pasture. Hey Wood, comprising c.48 a. of spruce and larch, was let by the estate from the Forestry Commission on a 999-year lease from 1946, and included sporting rights for pheasant and pigeon shooting.<sup>3</sup>

A small industrial and business estate was being established at Fowlswick farm by the early 1990s.<sup>4</sup>

### *Social history*

By 1332 Allington had 14 taxpayers, though none were assessed at more than 6s. 8d., making it a poorer settlement than either Stanley or Tytherton, which were also listed separately from Chippenham.<sup>5</sup> The list of taxpayers for the benevolence of 1545 listed one man from Allington.<sup>6</sup> By 1662 the inhabitants of Allington were assessed for 23 properties with a total of 57 hearths. The settlement was a poor one, with 18 of these assessments being for only one or two hearths. Of the remaining assessments, four inhabitants occupied homes with between three and five hearths, and John Hulbert was assessed for a substantial property of 16 hearths.<sup>7</sup> By 1736 it was able to return two men qualified to serve on juries.<sup>8</sup>

In 1851 the tithing of Allington recorded a population of 147, with 25 households in 23 separate dwellings.<sup>9</sup> By 1871 the population had decreased to 121 with 26 households in 22 dwellings, which suggests some poverty in the settlement.<sup>10</sup> The situation had worsened by 1891, by which time the population had decreased to 102, and five dwellings were uninhabited. Of the 22 dwellings occupied, 12 had less than five rooms.<sup>11</sup>

Little is recorded of the cultural and sporting activities that took place in the hamlet. In 1886 a farm at Allington was the site of a horse show for hunters, in connection with the Chippenham Agricultural Association.<sup>12</sup> The Duke of Beaufort's hounds are recorded as hunting at Allington in 1887 and 1924.<sup>13</sup> Sporting rights for pheasant and pigeon shooting were part of Bolehyde Manor's lease of Hey Wood from 1946.<sup>14</sup>

Chippenham golf course was established c.1896 near Allington.<sup>15</sup> As of 2019, the golf course covered land once in the historic tithing of Allington, and the parishes of Kingston St Michael and Hardenhuish.<sup>16</sup>

### *Religious history*

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<sup>1</sup> TNA, MAF 32/33/23/1, 9, 12, 15, 21, 24.

<sup>2</sup> WBR, B4755 (*Country Life*, 20 May 1976).

<sup>3</sup> Wilts. Mus., SC.50.14.

<sup>4</sup> [planning.wiltshire.gov.uk](http://planning.wiltshire.gov.uk); planning application N/90/02420/FUL (accessed 26 Sept. 2019).

<sup>5</sup> Crowley (ed.), *Wilts. Tax List 1332*, 101.

<sup>6</sup> G. D. Ramsay (ed.), *Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists 1545 and 1576* (WRS 10), 27.

<sup>7</sup> TNA, E 179/259/29, part 2, rot. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Fowle (ed.), *Wilts. Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS 9), 136; WSA, A1/345/100.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, HO 107/1836, 584.

<sup>10</sup> TNA, RG 10/1899, 43v.

<sup>11</sup> TNA, RG 12/1594, 35.

<sup>12</sup> *Bristol Mercury*, 23 Nov. 1886, 7.

<sup>13</sup> *York Herald*, 22 Jan. 1887, 12; *The Times*, 14 Jan. 1924, 6.

<sup>14</sup> Wilts. Mus., SC.50.14.

<sup>15</sup> WSA, 3010/19, G3/150/18; Wilts. Mus., SC.17.27.

<sup>16</sup> T/A Chippenham and Allington tithings (1848); T/A Kingston St Michael (1843); T/A Hardenhuish (1840).

The hamlet of Allington was part of the ecclesiastical parish of Chippenham until 1855, when it was taken from that parish to form part of the new particular district of St Paul's Langley Burrell.<sup>1</sup> A mission church had been established at Allington in the 19th century, but its early history is obscure. There is a tradition that it was originally a barn belonging to Sir John Neeld, who, sometime before St Paul's church opened in 1856, allowed its use by those who had difficulty travelling to services at Chippenham parish church.<sup>2</sup> The mission church was shown on a map of 1886 as St Paul's Church,<sup>3</sup> but there is no known evidence for a dedication. A licence allowing services to be held in the building dates from 1911.<sup>4</sup> By the mid-1960s services were only held four times a year, the last service on 1 January 1967. The building was sold in 1978.<sup>5</sup>

The history of nonconformity in the hamlet is slight, but there is some evidence for a small congregation. A house was licensed as a nonconformist meeting place in 1706, and another building licensed in 1828.<sup>6</sup> Ebenezer Chapel, a Particular Baptist chapel, was built in 1832. By 1851 the congregation was in a declining way, with an average attendance of only 20 persons at each service, owing to the dampness of the building.<sup>7</sup> It appears to have ceased to be a place of worship by 1877.<sup>8</sup> It is shown as disused on the OS map of 1886, where it is described as a General Baptist chapel.<sup>9</sup>

## LOWDEN

Lowden is recorded as Lolvedon in 1307,<sup>10</sup> as Lolvedone in 1337,<sup>11</sup> and as Loldon in 1469.<sup>12</sup> The place name was recorded several times during the middle ages, becoming Lowdon in 1642.<sup>13</sup> It is said to derive from a personal name, 'Lolla's hill'.<sup>14</sup>

Lowden was granted to the Pavely family of Westbury, and afterwards to the family of Turberville or Turvile. In 1258 Henry III granted Lowden to William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. After he sided against the king at the battle of Evesham, Lowden was restored to the Pavelys, who sold it to the Gascelyns of Sheldon in 1272. Christina Gascelyn and her husband Edward Hales sold Lowden with Sheldon to the Hungerfords, and it was later broken up into smaller holdings.<sup>15</sup>

The Knights of St John of Jerusalem are reputed to have had land in Lowden, but the evidence for this is unclear.<sup>16</sup> In 1249 William Pavely held Lowden of the king's gift, and it was worth 10*li*.<sup>17</sup> It was mentioned as a settlement in 1268 but does not appear to have had the status of a township.<sup>18</sup> In 1326 John de Twynyng remised to Edmund Gascelyn and his wife Eleanor for their lives and the lives of their heirs, land and rents in Great Cheverell, Lowden and

<sup>1</sup> WSA, 2680/23; see Chippenham: Established Church.

<sup>2</sup> WSA, 2680/49.

<sup>3</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.9 (1886 edn).

<sup>4</sup> WSA, 2680/49.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, 1488/37; 2680/44, 45, 49.

<sup>6</sup> J. Chandler (ed.), *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (WRS 40), 14, 119.

<sup>7</sup> TNA, HO 129/253, 52.

<sup>8</sup> *Spinke's Illustrated Penny Chippenham Almanac and Directory* (1877 and 1878).

<sup>9</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.9 (1886 edn).

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m.* V, pp. 14–15.

<sup>11</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m.* VIII, pp. 68–9.

<sup>12</sup> HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Late Reginald Rawdon Hastings, Esq. of the Manor House of Ashby de la Zouche*, I, 290.

<sup>13</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 91.

<sup>14</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 91.

<sup>15</sup> Goldeny (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xv.

<sup>16</sup> Goldeny (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xv.

<sup>17</sup> Meekings (ed.), *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249* (WRS 16), 193.

<sup>18</sup> Farr and Elrington (eds.), *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1268* (WRS 65), 119.

Biddestone.<sup>1</sup> In the muster of 1539 the tithing of 'Shyldon and Loeldon', probably Sheldon with Lowden, returned nine able men.<sup>2</sup>

A partially-extant medieval farmstead remains at Lowden farm.<sup>3</sup> Medieval pottery of the 13th and 14th centuries has been found in the driveway of Lowden Manor.<sup>4</sup> Lowden Manor, the former farmhouse of Lowden farm, is a grade II listed manor house, 16th or 17th century in date and remodelled in the early 19th century with additions c.1919. It is built of rubblestone with largely stone tiled roof.<sup>5</sup> It was sold in 1984 and acquired by developers who divided the original building into two properties.<sup>6</sup>

### *Economic history*

In 1314 Edmund Gascelyn was granted free warren in his demesne lands in Chippenham, Lowden, Biddestone and Great Cheverell.<sup>7</sup> In 1337 Edmund Gascelyn and Eleanor his wife held meadow and pasture in Great Cheverell, Lowden and Biddestone.<sup>8</sup>

John Scott, clothier, was living at Lowden in 1640. An inventory of his goods taken that year showed that he was also farming; he had oxen and other cattle, sheep, and 5 a. of wheat in the ground. The presence of hay suggests that he also had meadow land, although the evidence of his will is that this was not all necessarily in Lowden.<sup>9</sup>

The economy of Lowden was predominately agricultural until the latter part of the 19th century. The tithe map shows a settlement of isolated buildings largely strung out along a single street, with the land for the railway immediately to the north west of the settlement.

The only farm in the settlement by 1881 appears to have been Lowden farm, a small farm of 76 a., employing four men and one boy.<sup>10</sup> In 1882 it was advertised for sale as being a freehold estate, with residence, being 51 a. of mixed pasture and arable.<sup>11</sup> It was described as a farm on the OS map of 1923, but on the OS map of 1936 was designated 'Lowden Manor'.<sup>12</sup> As Lowden Manor it was managed as a small working dairy farm in 1941, having just 12 a. of grazing grass, with dairy cattle and some poultry.<sup>13</sup>

During the late 19th century many inhabitants kept pigs. A Lowden pig insurance society was established c.1888, and piggeries were recorded on a map of 1886.<sup>14</sup>

Lowden Nursery is shown on the OS map of 1886, situated along the Sheldon Road.<sup>15</sup> It was gone by 1900.<sup>16</sup> Another, un-named, nursery was established further along the Sheldon Road by 1912, but it is not known if this was connected with the former Lowden Nursery.<sup>17</sup> By 1941 a nursery named Lowden Nursery was growing potatoes and other vegetables for human consumption.<sup>18</sup> A nearby nursery, Sheldon Nursery, was growing potatoes, tomatoes and onions.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pugh (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1272–1327* (WRS 1), 122.

<sup>2</sup> *L&P Hen. VIII*, XIV (1), p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> **Wiltshire and Swindon HER, Lowden Manor (Lowden Farm), MWI66143.**

<sup>4</sup> Wiltshire and Swindon HER, Lowden Manor driveway, ST97SW450.

<sup>5</sup> Historic England HER, Chippenham, Lowden Hill, Lowden Manor, 1268058 [OS: ST 91390 73219].

<sup>6</sup> Wilts. Mus., SC.45.16, SC.45.58.

<sup>7</sup> J. L. Kirby (ed.), *The Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS 49, 1994), 75 (no. 292).

<sup>8</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS 49), 74 (no. 290).

<sup>9</sup> WSA, P3/S/368.

<sup>10</sup> TNA, RG 11/2033, 55v.

<sup>11</sup> Wilts. Mus. SC.6.13.

<sup>12</sup> OS Map 1: 2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1923 edn); (1936 edn).

<sup>13</sup> TNA, MAF 32/33/24/19.

<sup>14</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gaz.*, 17 Jul. 1890, 8; OS Map 1:2500, 26.2 (1886 edn).

<sup>15</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1886 edn).

<sup>16</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1900 edn).

<sup>17</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1912 edn).

<sup>18</sup> TNA, MAF 32/33/24/23.

<sup>19</sup> TNA, MAF 32/33/24/8.

Brickworks were established at Lowden by 1886 and were still there in 1936.<sup>1</sup>

### *Social history*

A Plough Inn was recorded at Chippenham in 1745, but it is uncertain if this was at Lowden.<sup>2</sup> The Plough Inn, Lowden, is known by 1879.<sup>3</sup> It was at the Plough Inn that the annual banquets were held for the mock mayor of Lowden. The offices of the 'mayor' and 'corporation' are known by 1875, with meetings taking place at the Plough by 1889, and mayoral banquets taking place there by 1891 and continuing to at least 1909.<sup>4</sup> The banquets are believed to have died out due to food shortages in the First World War.<sup>5</sup> A mayoral brass badge of 1894 survives in Chippenham Museum.<sup>6</sup> The Plough Inn was still open in 1953,<sup>7</sup> but is believed to have closed c.1968.<sup>8</sup>

A football team, Lowden St Peter's, is recorded in 1896.<sup>9</sup> A reading room and institute was active in 1905.<sup>10</sup>

Lowden elementary school, a church school, opened in 1896, with 70 children on the register, and a further 69 in the infants' department. By 1936 there were 213 children in the senior school and 187 infants.<sup>11</sup> Under the reorganisation of Chippenham's education in 1940 the school was to take infants only. The school closed in 1973, the pupils transferring to the new St Peter's Primary School at Lord's Mead.<sup>12</sup>

### *Religious history*

The church of St Peter in Lowden opened in 1886 to serve the then isolated area of Lowden, Sheldon Road and Parliament Street. The land had been purchased for £160, and the church, designed by Graham Awdry, was built at a cost of £1,095.<sup>13</sup> The church remained within the parish of Chippenham, and was served by the incumbent and his curates. Services were not always held on a Sunday, but from 1904–5 onwards full-time curates served the church, and regular services seem to have been held in the church from around this time.<sup>14</sup> A parsonage house had been built in Sheldon Road by 1907.<sup>15</sup> A new clergy house was purchased in the same road in 1938.<sup>16</sup>

The population of the area expanded after the First World War with heavy residential development. By 1936 the curate estimated the population of Lowden and Woodlands as in excess of 4,000 persons.<sup>17</sup> The church was licenced for marriages on 1 January 1955.<sup>18</sup>

In 1954 the question of forming a new parish was suggested. As part of these negotiations, St Peter's became a conventional district in 1954, and the curate became priest-in-

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<sup>1</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1886 edn); (1936 edn).

<sup>2</sup> Inf. from Chippenham Museum.

<sup>3</sup> *Trowbridge and North Wilts. Advertiser*, 27 Sept. 1879, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 14 Sept. 1889, 7; 7 Nov. 1891, 5; 6 Nov. 1909, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Chippenham Museum, Extract from undated *Gazette and Herald* article.

<sup>6</sup> Chippenham Museum, CHIYH:1978.917.

<sup>7</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 7 Mar. 1953, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Inf. from Chippenham Museum.

<sup>9</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 12 Sept. 1896, 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 21 Oct. 1905, 4.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, F8/500/65/5/1, 15 Jun. 1896; WSA, 3435A/25 (C. R. Haslum, *A Short History of St. Peter's Church Lowden: 1886–1936*, 7).

<sup>12</sup> WSA, F8/500/65/5/1–3.

<sup>13</sup> R.J.H. Garner, *St Peter's 1886–1986* (1986), 7.

<sup>14</sup> Garner, *St Peter's*, 8–9.

<sup>15</sup> WSA, 2851/16.

<sup>16</sup> WSA, 3435A/25 (Diocese of Bristol Pastoral Committee report on proposed new parish church, 16 March 1960).

<sup>17</sup> WSA, 3435A/25 (C. R. Haslum, *A Short History of St. Peter's Church Lowden: 1886–1936*, 8).

<sup>18</sup> Bristol Archives, EP/A/23/60.

charge.<sup>1</sup> It was proposed that a double-decker church be built on land along Sheldon Road, with the church on the first floor and a church hall below. This plan was never realised, in part because of the limited space for expansion on the proposed site.<sup>2</sup>

The matter of a new church was held in abeyance until part of St Andrew's glebe land at the junction of Lords Mead and Frogwell became available.<sup>3</sup> A new church was opened in 1968 on the site.<sup>4</sup> This building, designed by architects Kenneth Nealan, Tanner and Partners, is six-sided and built of brick and reconstituted stone, with a copper roof and fibre-glass spire. It has no internal supports, to allow the congregation a clear view of the altar.<sup>5</sup> A new parsonage house was built in Lords Mead in 1969.<sup>6</sup> St Peter's became a separate parish in 1969, with the bishop of Bristol as patron, and the priest-in-charge became vicar.<sup>7</sup>

In 1957 the old church at Lowden had four services each Sunday, with an average attendance of 60 at the main morning service. By 1982 a questionnaire regarding worship at the new Lords Mead church gained 77 responses, of whom 57 said they attended the church weekly.<sup>8</sup>

After the new church opened at Lords Mead, the old church was sold to the New Testament Church of God, in whose hands it remained in 2015.<sup>9</sup>

### *Nonconformity*

Nonconformity is known by 1845, when a house in Lowden was licensed as a meeting place.<sup>10</sup> A Primitive Methodist chapel opened in Lowden in 1855. This congregation moved to a new and larger church on Sheldon Road in 1901.<sup>11</sup> By 2010 the former chapel at Lowden, by then known as Chequers Yard, had been used as commercial premises for many years.<sup>12</sup> In 2017 approval was given to demolish the building to build five residential properties.<sup>13</sup>

## MONKTON

Monkton was an estate on the north bank of the Avon.<sup>14</sup> It was recorded as Monkton in the reign of Henry VIII and referred to as Mounkton lands in 1605. It was Monckton juxta Chippenham in 1626.<sup>15</sup>

Monkton was given by empress Matilda to the priory of Monkton Farleigh. At the dissolution of the monasteries it was granted to Sir Edward Seymour, later Duke of Somerset.

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<sup>1</sup> Bristol Archives, EP/A/27/39; WSA, 3435A/25 (Diocese of Bristol Pastoral Committee report on proposed new parish church, 16 March 1960);

<sup>2</sup> WSA, 3435A/25 (Diocese of Bristol Pastoral Committee report on proposed new parish church, 16 March 1960); Garner, *St Peter's*, 11.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, 3435A/25 (Letter of 18 May 1962); Garner, *St Peter's*, 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, 2851/15.

<sup>5</sup> Garner, *St Peter's*, 12-13.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, 2851/18.

<sup>7</sup> *London Gaz.* 30 May 1969, p. 5657; Garner, *St Peter's*, 14.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, 3435A/25.

<sup>9</sup> Bristol Archives, EP/addtl2002/J7/3/1; New Testament Church of God, <http://www.ntcg.org.uk/> (accessed 29 Jun. 2015).

<sup>10</sup> *Wilts Meeting House Certs* (WRS 40), 161.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, 1769/68; C. R. Stevens, *A Short History of 50 Years' Work and Service in Connection with the Lowden Primitive Methodist Sunday School and Church* (1907).

<sup>12</sup> Wilts CC planning application N/10/00297/FUL (28 Jan. 2010), <http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/planning-applications-search> (accessed 12 Dec. 2018).

<sup>13</sup> Wilts CC planning application 16/09208/FUL (4 Oct. 2016), <http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/planning-applications-search> (accessed 12 Dec. 2018).

<sup>14</sup> Lewis, *Topog. Dict. Eng.*, I, 586.

<sup>15</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 92-3.

Monkton remained in the Seymour family until the marriage of Lady Elizabeth Seymour with Thomas Lord Bruce, afterwards Earl of Ailesbury. In 1686 Lord Ailesbury sold Monkton to Sir Arthur Esmeade of Calne;<sup>1</sup> although one source states it was sold to Esmeade and to Thomas Goddard,<sup>2</sup> while another source suggests it may have been partitioned in 1690 with Esmeade retaining the house and Goddard the land.<sup>3</sup>

The manor of Monkton was leased to the Bayliffe family from c.1567.<sup>4</sup> The manor house may have been a timber-framed building; no evidence survives but a later manor house was built on the site, probably by William Bayliffe in the late 17th century; it is shown on an estate map of 1710.<sup>5</sup> Bayliffe's inventory of 1673 indicates a substantial house, as well as evidence of farming at Monkton. His was a mixed farm, growing wheat, barley, oats and pease, as well as keeping sheep and dairy cattle.<sup>6</sup>

The Bayliffe family leased the house to 1733, when Esmeade family occupied the manor house, although farmland on the estate continued to be leased by the Bayliffe family.<sup>7</sup>

The house later passed to the Edridge family,<sup>8</sup> some of whom were Quakers.<sup>9</sup> In 1831 Anne Edridge, widow of Thomas Edridge of Monkton House, married Edward Michell of Chippenham.<sup>10</sup> It was owned by 1889 by G. Moore Esmeade.<sup>11</sup>

The grounds of Monkton Park were the site of various cultural and social activities from the late 19th century onwards. The Chippenham Horticultural Society held its annual exhibitions in the grounds from c.1871 to 1889.<sup>12</sup> An event organised by the Chippenham Habitation of the Primrose League was held in the grounds in 1888.<sup>13</sup>

In 1910 Monkton House with the surrounding parkland of Monkton Park, an estate of c.16 a., was owned by Miss Carrick Moore, and occupied by a tenant, H. R. B. Coventry.<sup>14</sup> Monkton Park was sold in 1919 and purchased by Mr Coventry and his wife, Lady Muriel Coventry.<sup>15</sup> The estate, by then comprising the house, a lodge and 32 a. of land, came onto the market in 1954 following the deaths of the Coventrys, and was purchased by Chippenham Town Council for £7,000 in order to dedicate the parkland as a public open space.<sup>16</sup> Monkton House, by then in a state of disrepair, was sold in 1985 and bought by developers who converted the house to apartments, and the former stable block into terraced housing.<sup>17</sup>

### *Monkton House*

Monkton House in its present form dates from the 18th century. A lead rainwater head and pipe dated '1757' has been assumed to indicate the date of the building.<sup>18</sup> The pipe may be earlier than the current house, which is said to have been converted from the 17th century house by Esmeade Edridge in the late 18th century, by raising the roof to create an additional storey and

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<sup>1</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xvii–xviii.

<sup>2</sup> B. G. Bayliffe, *Bayliffe: A Family History* (s.l., 1988), 22.

<sup>3</sup> Wilts. Mus., SC.50.61.

<sup>4</sup> Bayliffe, *Bayliffe*, 21.

<sup>5</sup> Bayliffe, *Bayliffe*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, P3/B/626.

<sup>7</sup> Bayliffe, *Bayliffe*, 22.

<sup>8</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xvii–xviii.

<sup>9</sup> *Wilts. N&Q*, vol. 6 (1908–10), 225.

<sup>10</sup> *Jackson's Oxford Jnl*, 30 Jul. 1831, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xvii–xviii.

<sup>12</sup> *Bristol Mercury*, 28 Aug. 1884, 3; 14 Aug. 1890, 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Bristol Mercury*, 20 Aug. 1888, 6.

<sup>14</sup> WSA, L8/1/31, 19.

<sup>15</sup> WSA, G19/155/7; *Wilts. Times*, 10 May 1919, 7; 26 Feb. 1938, 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 9 Jan. 1954, 8; 18 Aug. 1956, 2; 7 Dec. 1956, 4; see Social History.

<sup>17</sup> Wilts. Mus., SC.50.61.

<sup>18</sup> Historic England HER, Chippenham, Sadlers Mead, Monkton House, 1267930 [OS: ST 92556 73294].

remodelling the front into a more fashionable Georgian style.<sup>1</sup> The house is on an L-shaped plan and is built of limestone ashlar stone, having a slate roof with ashlar ridge stacks. It is grade II listed.<sup>2</sup> As noted above, it has been converted into apartments.

## NETHERMORE

Nethermore farm, in Pewsham, is recorded as Nithermor (1227).<sup>3</sup> Its meaning is 'lower moor or marsh'.<sup>4</sup>

In the middle ages various Chippenham landowners had rights of feeding in Nethermore, which were gradually appropriated for their own use by the monks of Stanley Abbey.<sup>5</sup> It was described as a township in 1249 and again in 1268.<sup>6</sup> Field names from the 19th century tithe award suggest a mixed arable and pastoral agricultural economy.<sup>7</sup>

By 1662 the inhabitants of Nethermore were assessed for eight properties with a total of 24 hearths. Of these five properties had three hearths or fewer, two had four hearths, and that of Edward Keynton seven hearths.<sup>8</sup> It was described as a tithing by 1667.<sup>9</sup>

In 1682 Edward Stevens was farming at Nethermore on a farm of mixed arable and pasture. He had cattle, probably dairy cattle as he also had a cheese loft with racks and cheeses, and the inclusion in the inventory of horses with harness and plough harness, and wheat, oats and barley in his barn, demonstrate arable use. Three pigs were kept, probably largely for domestic consumption.<sup>10</sup>

Nethermore was regarded as a separate settlement for land tax in 1780–1831. It was a small settlement with four farms, the number of individual landowners remaining at three persons throughout the period.<sup>11</sup> It was described as a tithing in 1830, separate from the tithings of Allington and Tytherton-Stanley.<sup>12</sup> The tithings of Nethermore and Stanley were considered as one for the purposes of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836.<sup>13</sup>

The population of the tithing of Nethermore in 1861 was given as 52, with 11 inhabited houses.<sup>14</sup> In the 1881 census it was part of the civil parish of Chippenham, but of the ecclesiastical parish of Christchurch, Derry Hill.<sup>15</sup> By a local government order of 1884 Nethermore transferred from Chippenham to Pewsham.<sup>16</sup>

The 1910 valuation for Nethermore included just under 174 a. of woodland, and a small quarry.<sup>17</sup> By 1915 Nethermore farm was part of the Talbot family's Lacock estate.<sup>18</sup> During the First World War it was a mixed farm of arable, pasture and woodland.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bayliffe, *Bayliffe*, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Historic England HER, Chippenham, Sadlers Mead, Monkton House, 1267930 [OS: ST 92556 73294].

<sup>3</sup> Fry (ed.), *Feet of Fines, 1195–1272*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 109.

<sup>5</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xviii.

<sup>6</sup> Meekings (ed.) *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249* (WRS 16), 191; Farr and Elrington (eds.), *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1269* (WRS 65), 118.

<sup>7</sup> T/A Chippenham: Stanley and Nethermore (1851).

<sup>8</sup> TNA, E 179/259/29, part 2, rot. 47.

<sup>9</sup> J. Freeman (ed.), *The Commonplace Book of Sir Edward Bayntun of Bromham* (WRS 43), 19.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, P3/S/631.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, A1/345/101.

<sup>12</sup> *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1830), 794.

<sup>13</sup> See Stanley.

<sup>14</sup> TNA, RG 9/1284, 73v.

<sup>15</sup> TNA, RG 11/2033, 71.

<sup>16</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.), 65, citing Local Government Order 16529 of 24 March 1884.

<sup>17</sup> WSA, L8/1/36, 3.

<sup>18</sup> WSA, 2664/1/2G/90, ff. 4, 101.

<sup>19</sup> WSA, 2664/1/2G/90, ff. 4, 101, 102, 280, 339, 585, 590, 613.



A United States Air Force B36 bomber crashed in Nethermore Wood in February 1953, having flown for 30 miles after the crew bailed out. There were no fatalities.<sup>1</sup>

## ROWDEN

Rowden, or Rowdon, is recorded as Rueden', 1208<sup>2</sup> and Rowdon by 1575.<sup>3</sup> Its meaning is possibly 'rough hill'.<sup>4</sup> The name at one time referred to Rowden Down, or Rosdensdowne (1561).<sup>5</sup> It lies south-west of Chippenham on the road to Bath.

Evidence of prehistoric settlement at Rowden is known from an Early Bronze Age inhumation found with a fragment of Beaker pot.<sup>6</sup> Evidence of Iron Age and Roman ditches have been found at Rowden.<sup>7</sup>

In c.1190 it was charged with £7 10s. annually during the life of Hodierna the nurse, childhood nurse of the then-king, Richard I.<sup>8</sup> In 1250 it was granted by Henry III to the St. Maur family, and later sold to the Husee family, who held it to 1392. Henry III reserved an annual rent of £7 10s. from Rowden after it was held by the Husees, out of which sum his successor Edward I granted a pension of £5 to the monks at Ivychurch near Clarendon, a pension still paid at the dissolution.<sup>9</sup> In c.1200 Richard of Rowden gave to the priory of Bradenstoke ten sticks of eels annually; it is not certain if these eels came from Rowden, although in 1307 an eel-fishery in the Bristol Avon was recorded as being part of the manor of Rowden.<sup>10</sup> The Hungerford cartulary records that Henry de Sancto Mauro, knight, granted half his manor of Rowden with its messuages, lands, woods, pastures, streams, mills and fisheries to Nicholas de la Huse, knight; no date is given, but apparently c.1274.<sup>11</sup> The Hungerford cartulary also records that Joan le Veske granted pasture for one draught animal and one animal in Rowden, which suggests a common pasture at Rowden; this appears to have been between the mid-13th century and c.1327.<sup>12</sup>

In 1382 In 1392 the Husees sold Rowden to Sir John Erleigh of Bekington in Somerset, whose daughter Margaret and her husband Sir Walter Sandes sold Rowden to Walter Lord Hungerford. Sir Thomas Hungerford, beheaded in Salisbury in 1469 for attempting to restore Henry VI to the throne, was described as 'of Rowdon'.<sup>13</sup>

In 1428 Isabella, wife of John of Rowden, held land and tenements in Rowden.<sup>14</sup> In 1434 the manor of Rowden had lately been held of the king by Isabel, wife of John Roudon, knight. It had 200 a. of arable, 100 a. of pasture and 30 a. of meadow. There were two watermills. A view of frankpledge was held twice yearly, and a court baron every three weeks.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Portsmouth Evening News*, 7 Feb 1953, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Cur. Reg.* V, 227.

<sup>3</sup> H. J. Ellis (ed.), *Index to the Charters and Rolls of the Department of Manuscripts British Museum*, II (1912), 154.

<sup>4</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 91.

<sup>5</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 91.

<sup>6</sup> Wiltshire and Swindon HER, Bronze Age Burial, Rowden Park, MWI76403.

<sup>7</sup> Wiltshire and Swindon HER, Iron Age Ditches, Rowden Park, MWI76407; Roman Ditches, Rowden Park, MWI76408.

<sup>8</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xiii-xiv; *ODNB*, Neckam [Neckham, Nequam], Alexander (1157-1217); *ODNB*, Richard I [called Richard Coeur de Lion, Richard the Lionheart] (1157-1199), accessed 4 Oct. 2019.

<sup>9</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xiii-xiv.

<sup>10</sup> V. C. M. London (ed.), *The Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory* (WRS 35), 184 (no. 619, 619n).

<sup>11</sup> J. L. Kirby (ed.), *The Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS 60, 2007), 3 (no. 962).

<sup>12</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS 49), 82-3 (no. 320).

<sup>13</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xiv.

<sup>14</sup> *Feud. Aids*, v. 251.

<sup>15</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xxiv, p. 244 (no. 337).

In 1458 John Boteler and Katherine his wife remised and quitclaimed to John Chesham and Joan his wife four messuages, 26 a. of land, 4 a. of meadow, pasture for four animals and 12d. rent in Rowden, Sheldon, Chippenham and other places in the locality.<sup>1</sup> In 1502 John Hamont and Helen his wife remised and quitclaimed to Thomas Long, knight, two messuages, one toft, two gardens, 8 a. of land, 6 a. meadow and pasture for eight animals in Rowden Down, Chippenham, Preston, Goatacre and Hilmarton.<sup>2</sup>

In the 16th century one man, designated an esquire, was listed among the taxpayers of the hundred of Chippenham for the benevolence of 1545.<sup>3</sup> Land granted by queen Mary's charter of 1554 to the bailiff and burgesses of Chippenham included 120 a. of land and 21 a. of coppice at Rowden Down.<sup>4</sup>

During the Civil Wars Rowden House (on the site later known as Rowden farm and Rowden Manor) was used as a Parliamentary garrison in the early weeks of 1645. It was besieged by Royalists, and the garrison surrendered.<sup>5</sup> A contemporary source states that Rowden House was garrisoned by Parliamentarian forces to secure the countryside near Malmesbury after the Royalists had garrisoned Devizes. The Royalists attempted to take the house but were repulsed by a relief force. Following a poor tactical decision by the commander of the relief force, the Royalists were able to besiege the house with both the garrison and the relief force inside, and at length the Parliamentarians surrendered.<sup>6</sup>

There may have been common land at Rowden, which was enclosed during the 17th century.<sup>7</sup>

By an indenture of 1670 Rowden farm was leased for 99 years from Sir Edward Hungerford of Farleigh Hungerford to Thomas Long the elder, gentleman, of Mounton in the parish of Broughton Gifford. The property was occupied by Thomas Long's son, also Thomas, and his wife Katherine. The property included 340 a. of pasture and meadow, and its low-lying situation near the river Avon made it highly suitable for rearing cattle. The farm also had a flock of 250–300 sheep.<sup>8</sup> By 1881 Rowden farm was a farm of 310 a., employing eight men and two boys.<sup>9</sup> It was still there in 1910, by which time it was reduced to c.192 a., with grazing rights.<sup>10</sup>

Housing development in Rowden had claimed much of the agricultural land by the Second World War, but some remained. A small dairy farm, The Croft, had 35 a. of grass and grazing, and kept fowls, in common with many dairy farms in the area.<sup>11</sup>

The Rowden Arms is known by 1871.<sup>12</sup> In 1881 it was described as dwelling house, let as beer house to the Chippenham brewers Dowding and Sons for a yearly rent of £18.<sup>13</sup> It remained as licensed premises, being described as a public house in 1910, situated on the Bath road.<sup>14</sup> Alterations were approved during the period 1988–2001.<sup>15</sup> A pub and restaurant known as the Rowden Arms remained on or near to the original site in 2019, though the address was by this time given as Rowden Hill.

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<sup>1</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS 41), 138 (no. 635).

<sup>2</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS 41), 173 (no. 762).

<sup>3</sup> Ramsay (ed.), *Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists* (WRS 10), 27.

<sup>4</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, 270.

<sup>5</sup> T. MacLachlan, *The Civil War in Wiltshire* (1997), 207–9; J. Wroughton, *An Unhappy Civil War* (1999), 279.

<sup>6</sup> J. Corbet, *An Historical Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester* (London: 1645), 125–6.

<sup>7</sup> J. Bettey (ed.), *Wiltshire Farming in the Seventeenth Century* (WRS 57), xix.

<sup>8</sup> Bettey (ed.), *Wilts. Farming in the Seventeenth Century* (WRS 57), xix, 90–4.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, RG 11/2033, 61r.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, L8/1/31, 33.

<sup>11</sup> TNA, MAF 32/33/24/17.

<sup>12</sup> *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gaz.*, 14 Sept. 1871, 7.

<sup>13</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gaz.*, 14 Apr. 1881, 2.

<sup>14</sup> WSA, L8/1/31, 19.

<sup>15</sup> WSA, B11/295/1/32.

The land along the Bath road was developed for housing from the 19th century onwards. A brick yard adjacent to Rowden Lane in 1846 may have been providing bricks for the expansion of Chippenham following the coming of the railway.<sup>1</sup> An auction in 1857 advertised 43 lots of potential building land at Rowden Hill suitable for villas or hunting boxes; it was noted that the land was in the centre of the Duke of Beaufort's hunt.<sup>2</sup> Further auctions of building land were held in the late 19th century.<sup>3</sup> Development continued into the 20th century, with new housing being advertised at Rowden Hill in 1993.<sup>4</sup>

### *Rowden House*

The site of the 1645 siege, Rowden House, was known as Rowden farm by 1886.<sup>5</sup> Historic environment reports of the 21st century describe the site as Rowden Farm or Rowden Manor. It should not be confused with the two later buildings known as Rowden Manor and Rowden House which were situated on the Bath road by 1886.<sup>6</sup>

A house on the site dates from the 16th century and is believed to have been a lodging house to a medieval moated manor house.<sup>7</sup> John Aubrey described a large house with a moat, an inner courtyard and a hall as having been destroyed in the English civil wars.<sup>8</sup> There is evidence of fishponds, and of medieval field boundaries.<sup>9</sup> A barn may be of medieval date.<sup>10</sup> Evidence of an earthwork enclosure seen on aerial photographs and lidar images has been suggested as part of the field enclosures of a probably medieval settlement attached to the manor, or as defences dating from the siege of the English civil wars. A linear embankment has also been suggested as part of the civil war defences.<sup>11</sup>

### *The Ivy*

The name Ivy is reputed to come from a grant of land in Chippenham and Rowden made to the monks of Ivychurch priory near Clarendon in south Wiltshire.<sup>12</sup>

The Ivy, or Ivy House, is a building in the English Baroque style on the Bath road. It may have been built in 1728 for John Norris, MP for the borough of Chippenham in 1713. The entrance hall has a fine staircase.<sup>13</sup> A service wing to the west is dated to the 17th century, remodelled in the 18th century.<sup>14</sup>

## SHELDON

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<sup>1</sup> *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gaz.*, 28 May 1846, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Devizes and Wilts. Gaz.*, 25 Jun. 1857, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Wilts. Mus.*, SC.7.2.; *Devizes and Wilts. Gaz.*, 14 Apr. 1881, 2; *Wilts. Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 6 Oct. 1883, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *The Times*, 5 Mar. 1994, 68.

<sup>5</sup> OS Map 1:2500, *Wilts.* 26.2 (1886 edn).

<sup>6</sup> OS Map 1:2500, *Wilts.* 26.2 (1886 edn).

<sup>7</sup> Historic England HER, Moated Site and Fishponds east of Rowden Manor, 1013876 [OS ST 91859 72009]; Rowden Farmhouse with barn, outbuildings and gatepiers attached, 1022194 [ST 91825 72091].

<sup>8</sup> Aubrey, *Topog. Colln.* ed. Jackson, 74–5.

<sup>9</sup> Historic England HER, Moated Site and Fishponds east of Rowden Manor, 1013876 [OS ST 91859 72009]; Rowden Farmhouse, 1022194 [ST 91825 72091].

<sup>10</sup> Historic England HER, Barn at Rowden Farm, 1363912 [OS ST 91770 72074].

<sup>11</sup> Wiltshire and Swindon HER, Rowden Manor, Enclosure, MW174029; Trackway, Rowden Manor, MW174030.

<sup>12</sup> Goldney (ed.), *Records of Chippenham*, xiv; *Cal. Pat.* 1330–4, 77.

<sup>13</sup> Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 172; Historic England HER, The Ivy and The Ivy West Wing, 1268171 [OS ST 91731 73199].

<sup>14</sup> Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 172; Historic England HER, The Ivy Longhouse and The Ivy Stables, 1268174 [OS ST 91697 73201].

Sheldon is probably the Shyldune recorded in the reign of Henry III (1216–72).<sup>1</sup> It was Shuldone in 1337,<sup>2</sup> and Sholdon in 1307 and 1464.<sup>3</sup> Its name may derive from the Old English words *scylf*, meaning ‘a shelf’ or shelving terrain, and *dun*, meaning ‘a hill’.<sup>4</sup>

The village of Sheldon lay on the south-east slope of a clay ridge. It was deserted during the medieval period. A hollow way running east to west south of Sheldon Wood has been interpreted as the main village street. House platforms have been located on the site. An area south of the main street may have been pastureland.<sup>5</sup>

In 1249 Walter de Cardevill held the townships of Chippenham and Sheldon of the king’s gift, by the serjeanty of a quarter part of a knight and they were together worth £20 a year.<sup>6</sup> By 1287 there were 13 cottagers holding land at Sheldon.<sup>7</sup> In 1323 John atte Yate of Sheldon warranted to Edmund Gascelyn and Eleanor his wife one messuage and one carucate of land in Chippenham and Sheldon.<sup>8</sup>

A meadow called le More, or la More, is recorded at Sheldon, c.1327.<sup>9</sup> In 1337 the manors of Chippenham and Sheldon held 206 a. of arable, 20 a. of meadow, and pasture valued at 10s. There was common of pasture in the meadow after mowing and haymaking, but it is not clear if this right applied in Sheldon, or in Chippenham.<sup>10</sup> Field names given in the 19th century tithe award suggest that the agriculture was mixed arable and pasture.<sup>11</sup>

In 1458 John Boteler and Katherine his wife remised and quitclaimed to John Chesham and Joan his wife four messuages, 26 a. of land, 4 a. of meadow, pasture for four animals and 12d. rent in Sheldon, Rowden, Chippenham and other places in the locality.<sup>12</sup> In 1539 the tithing of ‘Shyldon and Loeldon’, probably Sheldon with Lowden, was assessed at nine able men in the muster of that year.<sup>13</sup> The village was deserted by 1582, when it was divided into two farms.<sup>14</sup>

Sheldon farm is known from leases of 1659 and 1671.<sup>15</sup> Lower Sheldon farm is known, as Sheldon Lower farm, by 1721.<sup>16</sup> Starveall farm is recorded in 1747.<sup>17</sup> The early modern agricultural of Sheldon was mixed.<sup>18</sup> In 1720 Lower Sheldon farm had 50 a. of wheat in the ground, and wheat, oats, barley, pease and rye in store. The farm also had a flock of 145 sheep and lambs, probably providing wool for the local cloth trade. Cattle, including dairy cattle, were kept, cheese produced, and some pigs were kept, but of all livestock sheep predominated.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Malm.*, II, 122; *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m.* VIII, pp. 68–9.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m.* V, pp. 14–15; H. J. Ellis (ed.), *Index to the Charters and Rolls of the Department of Manuscripts British Museum*, II (1912), 154.

<sup>4</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 91; A. H. Smith, *English Place-name Elements*, part I (EPNS 25, 1956), 138; A. H. Smith, *English Place-name Elements*, part II (EPNS 26, 1956), 115.

<sup>5</sup> Historic England HER, Medieval settlement of Sheldon, 1018428 [OS ST 88378 74099].

<sup>6</sup> Meekings (ed.), *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249* (WRS 16), 193.

<sup>7</sup> Historic England HER, Medieval settlement of Sheldon, 1018428 [OS ST 88378 74099].

<sup>8</sup> Pugh (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1272–1327*, 111.

<sup>9</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS 49), 80–1 (nos 311, 313).

<sup>10</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Hungerford Cartulary* (WRS 49), 74 (no. 290).

<sup>11</sup> T/A Chippenham (1848).

<sup>12</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS 41), 138 (no. 635).

<sup>13</sup> *L&P Hen. VIII*, XIV (1), p. 302.

<sup>14</sup> Historic England HER, Medieval settlement of Sheldon, 1018428 [OS ST 88378 74099].

<sup>15</sup> H. J. Ellis (ed.), *Index to the Charters and Rolls of the Department of Manuscripts British Museum*, II (1912), 154.

<sup>16</sup> WSA, P3/T/469.

<sup>17</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 92–3.

<sup>18</sup> WSA, P3/H/669; P3/T/469.

<sup>19</sup> WSA, P3/T/469.

In 1811 Lower Sheldon farm was leased to a tenant, the lease excluding the willow beds.<sup>1</sup> In 1858 the farms of Lower Sheldon and Starveall were sold as one lot of 370 a. The farms were largely arable, which was unusual in an area famed for its cheesemaking.<sup>2</sup> They were held on a yearly tenancy. The tenant also occupied arable land, water meadows and a withy bed on the opposite side of the Corsham to Allington road from Lower Sheldon farm.<sup>3</sup> By 1910 Lower Sheldon farm had expanded to c.420 a., owned by Lord Methuen and leased to tenant.<sup>4</sup> Upper Sheldon farm extended to c.156 a. in 1910 and including grazing rights. It was owned by Sir Prior Goldney and leased to tenant.<sup>5</sup>

In 1941 Lower Sheldon farm was a mixed dairy or grazing and arable farm, with flocks of sheep and fowls.<sup>6</sup> By 2017 it was a mixed dairy and arable farm, farmed by a tenant with Starveall farm. One building at Starveall farm was leased as a pottery.<sup>7</sup>

Chiverlins farm near Sheldon, otherwise Chiverlings, was known as Cheverden farm in 1740 and 1780.<sup>8</sup> By 1941 it was a mixed dairy and arable farm, with dairy farming predominating; it also kept a flock of fowls.<sup>9</sup> On its sale in 1952 it was described as a freehold dairy and mixed farm of c.143 a. The sale included the Cotswold style farmhouse.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Sheldon Manor*

Sheldon Manor is a Grade I listed building with evidence of building from the 13th century onwards. The porch on the south front is dated to c.1300. A staircase gable is dated to c.1660. The north front was built in the early 18th century. On the manor site are a 15th century chapel, an early 18th century barn and a late 18th century granary.<sup>11</sup>

In 1917 Sheldon Manor house was advertised for sale by auction. It was described as a Tudor manor house, with a 13th century porch with flanking 15th and 17th century gables, a William and Mary drawing room and Jacobean staircase. The manor's holdings comprised a total of 156 a., of which 41 a. was in hand with the residence and the remainder, largely pasture land with some arable and woodland, let on annual tenancies.<sup>12</sup> It was purchased by the Gibbs family. The property was restored from c.1952.<sup>13</sup>

## STANLEY

Stanley is recorded as Stanlege in 1086.<sup>14</sup> Stanley Bridge was Stanley bryge (1570), and earlier Stanleysforde (1348).<sup>15</sup> It was a tithing of Chippenham, now in Bremhill parish.

In 1086 Stanley paid geld for one hide and three virgates of land. There was land for one plough and 10 a. of meadow.<sup>16</sup> There were three villans and three bordars, suggesting a population of c.30 persons.<sup>17</sup> Before 1066 it had been worth 15s., by 1086 this sum had risen to

<sup>1</sup> WSA, 473/142 (indenture of 27 May 1811).

<sup>2</sup> WSA, 1213/28; WBR, B6403.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, 1213/28.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, L8/1/31, 26.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, L8/1/31, 24.

<sup>6</sup> TNA, MAF 32/33/23/3.

<sup>7</sup> WBR, B17790 'Building record for Sheldon Farm, Sheldon, Chippenham SN14 0RQ' (Jun. 2017).

<sup>8</sup> WSA, P3/S/1244, P3/S/1513;

<sup>9</sup> TNA, MAF 32/33/23/8.

<sup>10</sup> Wilts. Mus., SC.37.17.

<sup>11</sup> Historic England HER, Sheldon Manor, 1001243 [OS ST 88694 74156].

<sup>12</sup> Wilts. Mus., SC.10.4.

<sup>13</sup> WBR, B215 Sheldon Manorhouse (Obit. Major Martin Gibbs, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 Jul. 1994).

<sup>14</sup> *VCH Wilts.*, 2, 151.

<sup>15</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 88.

<sup>16</sup> A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds.), *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London, 2002), 186.

<sup>17</sup> *Domesday*, 186; E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1086–1348* (London, 1978), 29.

30s.<sup>1</sup> If each tenant household contained five persons, then the total population would have been c.35 persons.<sup>2</sup>

In c.1200 marshland lay between the gateway of Stanley and Chippenham.<sup>3</sup> Stanley was described as a township by 1268.<sup>4</sup>

In 1310 John le Skynner and Alice his wife warranted to John de Sacta Honerina land, rents and feeding for sheep in Avebury and Stanley. The following year other lands and rents at Avebury and Stanley were the subject of an agreement between John Edmund and his wife Joan, to Stephen Peres and Agnes his wife, and their heirs, for the annual payment of one rose to John Edmund and Joan.<sup>5</sup>

In 1378 a grant of reversion was made from William Talbot and Cecily his wife to Michael Skillyng, John Monk, clerk, and others. The estate was held for life by Eleanor, widow of Thomas Bubbe, for the term of her life of the inheritance of Cecily, and the right of John Monk was noted. It comprised common pasture for all kinds of animals in Stanley, with half of six messuages, one carucate of land, 16½ a. meadow and 7 a. wood, and rents of 7½d. and 1½lb. wax in the same place and in Tytherton Lucas.<sup>6</sup> Field names given in the 19th century tithe award suggest that farming in the pre-modern period was mixed arable and pastoral.<sup>7</sup>

In the muster of 1539 the tithing of 'Stanley and Sopporth' returned no able men, and was assessed for harness only.<sup>8</sup>

In the mid-17th century there was a dispute between Chippenham and Stanley regarding repair of highways within the parish of Chippenham.<sup>9</sup> Sir Edward Bayntun's commonplace book records repairs to Stanley bridge in 1669 and 1670.<sup>10</sup>

Stanley was described as a tithing in 1667.<sup>11</sup> It was described as the tithing of 'Tytherton-Stanley' in 1830.<sup>12</sup> The population of the tithing in 1861 was 87, which may have included the tithing of Studley. In 1871 the two tithings were enumerated together as Studley and Stanley, when both were in the ecclesiastical district of Christchurch, Derry Hill, and only Stanley in the civil parish of Chippenham.<sup>13</sup>

#### *Water transport*

By 1801 the Wilts & Berks Canal was open from Semington to near Wootton Bassett, including a branch of 2 miles to Chippenham. Its purpose was to carry Somerset coal to places along its route and bring back agricultural produce. Stanley was on the main line of the canal, rather than the Chippenham branch. There were two locks at Stanley and a short aqueduct. In 1837 the wharves of 'Chippenham & Stanley' handled 4,709 tons of coal, which suggests a wharf at Stanley as well as the Chippenham town wharf.<sup>14</sup> The existence of the wharf is preserved in the name of Stanley Wharf farm.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Domesday*, 186.

<sup>2</sup> Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, 29.

<sup>3</sup> London (ed.), *Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory* (WRS 35), 184 (no. 619).

<sup>4</sup> Farr and Elrington (eds.), *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1268* (WRS 65), 62.

<sup>5</sup> Pugh (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1272–1327*, (WRS 1), 78.

<sup>6</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS 41), 3 (no. 14).

<sup>7</sup> T/A Chippenham: Stanley and Nethermore (1851).

<sup>8</sup> *L&P Hen. VIII, XIV* (1), p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> I. Slocombe (ed.), *Wiltshire Quarter Sessions Order Book 1642–1654* (WRS 67), 315.

<sup>10</sup> Freeman (ed.), *Commonplace Book of Sir Edward Bayntun of Bromham* (WRS 43), 26, 27.

<sup>11</sup> Freeman (ed.), *Commonplace Book of Sir Edward Bayntun* (WRS 43), 19.

<sup>12</sup> *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1830), 794.

<sup>13</sup> TNA, RG 9/1284, 73v; RG 10/1899, 50v.

<sup>14</sup> C. Hadfield, *The Canals of Southern England* (London, 1955), 156–7, 171; OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 26.4 (1886 edn).

<sup>15</sup> WSA, 1409/15/162.

### *Railways*

The Calne branch of the Great Western Railway was opened in 1863. Stanley Bridge Halt, ¼ mile south west of the hamlet, was opened in 1905 primarily to handle milk churns from the surrounding farms, though it also operated as a passenger halt. It was not staffed but was under the supervision of the Chippenham station master. The halt closed in 1965 when passenger services were withdrawn on the Calne branch line. The line subsequently became part of the National Cycle Network, though much of the structure of the halt has gone.<sup>1</sup>

### *Economic history*

In the first third of the 13th century Godfrey of Stanley gave to the priory of Bradenstoke an acre of meadow in his tenement of Stanley.<sup>2</sup> A vaccary, a place where cows were kept, was recorded in Stanley in 1255.<sup>3</sup>

Land was enclosed in Stanley during the 17th century.<sup>4</sup> The existence of common land may be preserved in the name Stanley Common farm.<sup>5</sup>

Farming in the 17th century was mixed; evidence of inventories of the period suggests cheese production, but sheep and some pigs were also kept, and wheat and other crops grown.<sup>6</sup> Farming by 1850 remained mixed, but with meadow and pasture predominating. In that year arable totalled 62 a., meadow 138 a. and pasture 110 a.<sup>7</sup> By 1881 there were four main farms at Stanley: Stanley Pound farm of 143 a., New Leaze farm of 165 a., Maidments farm of 197 a. and Stanley Common farm (with Godwins farm) of 193 a. Between them the farms employed 11 men and five boys.<sup>8</sup> Also in the tithing of Stanley, but in the ecclesiastical parish of Christchurch, Derry Hill, was Forest Gate farm, a dairy farm of 165 a. employing three men and one boy; a female servant living with the family was described as a dairymaid.<sup>9</sup> Stanley Bridge farm was listed in the census with the chapelry of Tytherton Lucas.<sup>10</sup>

Stanley Estate was sold by auction in 1919, by which time there were three farms of over 100 acres: Hither, Middle and Pound farms. The land of all three farms was described as mainly pasture, and all the tenants were on yearly tenancies.<sup>11</sup> In 1941 River Bridge and The Wharf farms were described in the survey of that year as being situated in Stanley; both were largely pastoral.<sup>12</sup>

Stanley Brickworks, abutting the main London Road, was also part of the 1919 sale.<sup>13</sup> The brickworks were shown on the OS map of 1886, but were disused by 1924.<sup>14</sup>

### *Mills*

Stanley mill is reputedly the earliest known fulling mill in Wiltshire, belonging to Stanley Abbey in 1189.<sup>15</sup> A fulling mill is recorded at Stanley in 1524, when it was owned by Stanley Abbey. By 1554 it was in possession of Andrew Bayntun and let to John Scott, clothier. In 1623 it was described as being held of the manor of Stanley. The mill was still in the hands of the Bayntun

<sup>1</sup> M. Oakley, *Wiltshire Railway Stations* (Wimborne, 2004), 121–2.

<sup>2</sup> London (ed.), *Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory* (WRS 35), 56 (no. 112).

<sup>3</sup> London (ed.), *Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory* (WRS 35), 57 (no. 115).

<sup>4</sup> Bettey (ed.), *Wilts. Farming in the Seventeenth Century* (WRS 57), xix.

<sup>5</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 26.3 (1886 edn).

<sup>6</sup> WSA, P3/H/710; P3/B/983.

<sup>7</sup> R. S. Sandell (ed.), *Abstracts of Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30), 34.

<sup>8</sup> TNA, RG 11/2033, 72v, 74v.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, RG 11/2033, 75v.

<sup>10</sup> TNA, RG 11/2033, 76r.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, 1409/15/158.

<sup>12</sup> TNA, 32/30/12/10, 52.

<sup>13</sup> WSA, 1409/15/158.

<sup>14</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 26.3 (1886 edn), (1924 edn).

<sup>15</sup> K. H. Rogers, *Wiltshire and Somerset Woollen Mills* (1976), 89.



family in 1649, and the Scott family of clothiers remained its tenants. It was still described as a fulling mill at this date, by which time the property included a messuage with garden and orchard, pasture and meadow, and common of pasture for 15 sheep and one horse.<sup>1</sup> The mill appeared on the manor rent roll in 1659–72, described as the Abbey grist mill.<sup>2</sup> William Bayliffe, clothier, was occupying the mill in 1698, when it was described as being in the parish of Bremhill.<sup>3</sup> By 1831 the firm of Messrs Crook had become the proprietors of Stanley Mill.<sup>4</sup> It was described as a grist mill in 1919, by which time it was tenanted.<sup>5</sup> It was disused by 1924.<sup>6</sup>

The mill buildings are Grade II listed, of late 18th or early 19th century date, and of ironstone rubble with a stone slate roof.<sup>7</sup> Stanley Mill house is a Grade II listed building of 19th century date incorporating earlier work. It is built of ironstone rubble with small blocks of ashlar, and a slate roof. There is a 20th century extension.<sup>8</sup>

### *Social history*

Stanley is known as a separate settlement by 1268, when a woman was attacked in Chippenham Forest and later died at Stanley.<sup>9</sup> Stanley was listed separately from Chippenham in the 1332 tax list. It listed 14 tax payers.<sup>10</sup> Of these, three were assessed at between 8s. 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. and 7s. 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d., the remainder at 4s. 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. or less.<sup>11</sup> It was again listed separately from other settlements in 1545, when it returned five taxpayers, and again in 1576 when it returned eight taxpayers, including one man described as ‘gentleman’.<sup>12</sup> By 1662 the inhabitants of Stanley were assessed for 30 properties with a total of 66 hearths. Most properties were of three hearths or fewer, though five had between four and six hearths.<sup>13</sup> It was still regarded as separate settlement in 1736, when it returned two men to serve as jurors for the hundred of Chippenham.<sup>14</sup>

In 1780 the largest landowner was Sir Edward Baynton, who held all the major properties in the settlement. With the exception of a parcel of woodland, all were let to tenants. There were ten smaller proprietors. In the following years the Baynton family appear to have brought up further land in Stanley, which was let to tenants. By 1831 the Baynton holdings were in the hands of the Revd Dr Starkey, and the number of small proprietors had decreased to three individuals and one corporate proprietor, the firm of Messrs Crook at Stanley mill.<sup>15</sup>

In 1850 there were four landowners in the tithings of Stanley and Nethermore, two of whom owned above 50 a. Three tenants in the tithings occupied holdings of over 50 a.<sup>16</sup>

In the 1910 valuation, sporting rights were including with Pound and Hither farms and certain other holdings in Stanley.<sup>17</sup>

### *Religious history*

<sup>1</sup> WSA, 1259/22.

<sup>2</sup> Freeman (ed.), *Commonplace Book of Sir Edward Baynton* (WRS 43), 44, 50.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, P1/S/633; P1/3Reg/160–162.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, A/345/102.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, 1409/15/158.

<sup>6</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 26.4 (1924 edn).

<sup>7</sup> Historic England HER, Bremhill, Stanley Mill, mill building, 1283427 [OS: ST 95675 72603].

<sup>8</sup> Historic England HER, Bremhill, Stanley Mill, 1022439 [OS: ST 95656 72611].

<sup>9</sup> Farr and Elrington (eds.), *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1268* (WRS 65), 126.

<sup>10</sup> Crowley (ed.), *Wilts. Tax List 1332* (WRS 45), 98–9.

<sup>11</sup> Crowley (ed.), *Wilts. Tax List 1332* (WRS 45), 98–9.

<sup>12</sup> Ramsay (ed.), *Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists* (WRS 10), 27, 55.

<sup>13</sup> TNA, E 179/259/29, part 2, rot. 47.

<sup>14</sup> Fowle (ed.), *Wilts. Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS 9), 42.

<sup>15</sup> WSA, A/345/102.

<sup>16</sup> Sandell (ed.), *Abstract Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30), 34.

<sup>17</sup> WSA, L8/1/31, 49–52.

For the history of Stanley Abbey see *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 3.<sup>1</sup>

Under the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, the tithes of Stanley and Nethermore tithings were commuted in 1850 and 1851 to £54 payable on 285 a. to the Dean and Chapter of Oxford for great and small tithes. Thirty acres were tithe-free.<sup>2</sup>

The church of Christchurch, Derry Hill, was built in 1839–40. In 1841 it became the church for a district consisting of Bowood and Pewsham extra-parochial places, and parts of Calne, Bremhill, Chippenham, Corsham and Bishop's Cannings parishes, and this new district was called the parish of Derry Hill from 1861.<sup>3</sup> By 1911 Stanley and Studley tithings formed part of the consolidated ecclesiastical parish of Derry Hill. The ecclesiastical parish overlapped in part with the civil parish of Chippenham.<sup>4</sup>

A Primitive Methodist congregation may have existed in Stanley from c.1814.<sup>5</sup> A chapel may have been built c.1860;<sup>6</sup> it was there by 1867.<sup>7</sup> It was described in the parliamentary report of 1882 as situated at Tytherton Lucas, though the OS map of 1900 shows it as situated in Stanley, on the south side of the road between the Marden river and the Navigation.<sup>8</sup> It was closed in 1955 and the building sold in 1976.<sup>9</sup>

## TYTHERTON LUCAS

### *Landscape, settlements and buildings*

The place name Tytherton is variously recorded in 1086 as Tedlintone and Terintone.<sup>10</sup> It was known as Tiderington (1227),<sup>11</sup> Tiderhinton Lucas (1281)<sup>12</sup> and Tuderynton Lucas in 1539.<sup>13</sup> Tytherton Lucas was also known as West Tytherton by 1721.<sup>14</sup> The 'Tytherton' element of the name may come from the Old English *tīdre*, or 'fragile, weak', probably used as a personal name.<sup>15</sup> The suffix 'Lucas' may come from Adam, son of Luke, who had a holding in 1249.<sup>16</sup>

Tytherton Lucas was described as a township by 1249.<sup>17</sup> In the muster of 1539 it returned seven able men.<sup>18</sup> In 1736 its inhabitants were presented for not repairing Tytherton Lane.<sup>19</sup> It was described as the tithing of 'Tytherton-Stanley' in 1830.<sup>20</sup>

The population of the chapelry of Tytherton Lucas was given as 82 persons in 1901. It appears to have been a relatively prosperous community, with no houses unoccupied or in multiple occupation; only two of the 15 homes had less than five rooms. The population of the chapelry did not include the inhabitants of Scott's mill in the ecclesiastical parish of Bremhill

<sup>1</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 3, 269–75. See also Graham Brown, *Stanley Abbey and its estates, 1151–c.1640: A Cistercian Monastery and its Impact on the Landscape* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Sandell (ed.), *Abstract Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30), 34.

<sup>3</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 17, 107–8.

<sup>4</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.), 65, 88.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, 3916/2/1.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, 3916/2/1.

<sup>7</sup> *Swindon Advertiser*, 14 Oct. 1867, 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Return of Churches, 1882*, p. 109.67\1; OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 26.4 (1900 edn).

<sup>9</sup> WSA, 3916/2/1.

<sup>10</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 2, 138, 143.

<sup>11</sup> Fry (ed.), *Feet of Fines, 1195–1272*, 14.

<sup>12</sup> N. J. Williams (ed.), *Collectanea* (Chippenham Veredictum) (WRS 12), 89 (no. 81), 117 (no. 81).

<sup>13</sup> *L&P Hen. VIII*, XIV (1), p. 302.

<sup>14</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 91.

<sup>15</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 91.

<sup>16</sup> M. T. Clanchy (ed.), *Civil Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249* (WRS 26), 89.

<sup>17</sup> Meekings (ed.), *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249* (WRS 16), 188.

<sup>18</sup> *L&P Hen. VIII*, XIV (1), p. 302.

<sup>19</sup> Fowle (ed.), *Wilts. Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS 9), 124.

<sup>20</sup> *Pigot's Dir. Wilts.* (1830), 794.

(though the chapelry did include Scott's Mill farm) nor the 21 inhabitants of what appears to have been designated as a separate hamlet of West Tytherton, including Broome Villa and Gastons farm, in the ecclesiastical parish of Langley Burrell..<sup>1</sup>

There are several listed dwelling houses in the village: Gaston's Farmhouse, Bosmere Farmhouse, Curricombe Farmhouse, Scott's Mill Farmhouse, Cogswell and Manor Farmhouse.<sup>2</sup> Of these, the late 17th century Manor Farmhouse, and the early 18th century Bosmere Farmhouse are noted by Pevsner.<sup>3</sup>

### *Landownership*

In 1303 Reynold Blauncpayn and others remised and quitclaimed to John Turpin one messuage, one carucate of land, 6 a. of meadow 4 a. of woodland and 12s. rent in Tytherton Lucas for the sum of £40. In the same year Blauncpayn, his wife Alice and Joan, the daughter of Nicholas Lucas, remised and quitclaimed to Roger Bubbe for £20. one messuage, 60 a. of land, 3 a. of wood and 12s. rent, also in Tytherton Lucas.<sup>4</sup>

In 1378 a grant of reversion was made from William Talbot and Cecily his wife to Michael Skillyng, John Monk, clerk, and others. The estate was held for life by Eleanor, widow of Thomas Bubbe, for the term of her life of the inheritance of Cecily. It comprised common pasture for all kinds of animals in Stanley, with half of six messuages, one carucate of land, 16½ a. meadow and 7 a. wood, and rents of 7½d. and 1½lb. wax in the same place and in Tytherton Lucas.<sup>5</sup>

In 1453 the manor of Tytherton Lucas, and four messuages, two carucates, 20 a. meadow, 40 a. pasture and 10 a. wood in Tytherton Lucas were remised and quitclaimed by Wibert Charleton, Thomas Hasard and Alice his wife to William Beauchamp, knight, Henry Long and others; the right of Henry was noted.<sup>6</sup>

### *Economic history*

In 1086 Tytherton Lucas (West Tytherton) was held by William Durus of Alvred of Marlborough; it had been held as two manors in the time of king Edward when it paid geld for four hides. In 1086 there was land for four ploughs. Of this land, two hides were in demesne, and there was one plough, two parts of a mill and 10 a. of meadow. It was worth 60s.<sup>7</sup> A further entry for Tytherton, either West or East Tytherton, recorded that in the time of king Edward it paid geld for two hides. There was land for one plough, a fourth part of a mill, and 6 a. of meadow. It had been worth 10s. pre-conquest and was now worth 20s.<sup>8</sup> Field names given in the 19th century tithe award suggested that land use in the medieval period was mixed arable, meadow and pasture, probably with meadow and pasture predominating.<sup>9</sup>

The glebe terrier of 1608 listed 12 a. of arable at Tytherton Lucas, herbage of the churchyard, and commons with the other inhabitants of the settlement for two kine in one year and three in the next, with ½ a. of meadow.<sup>10</sup> Although a small settlement, in 1624 Tytherton Lucas was able to support a carpenter, and by 1660 a glover was working in the village.<sup>11</sup> There were 14 a. of glebe land in the terrier taken in 1671, of which 9 a. was described as tilled land; the

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<sup>1</sup> TNA, RG 13/1919, 85v, 92v–95r.

<sup>2</sup> Historic England HER.

<sup>3</sup> Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 541.

<sup>4</sup> Pugh (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1272–1327*. (WRS 1), 48, 51.

<sup>5</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS 41), 3 (no. 14).

<sup>6</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1377–1509* (WRS 41), 130 (no. 604).

<sup>7</sup> *Domesday*, 181.

<sup>8</sup> *Domesday*, 177.

<sup>9</sup> T/A Chippenham: Tytherton Lucas (1839).

<sup>10</sup> S. Hobbs (ed.), *Wiltshire Glebe Terriers 1588–1827* (WRS 56), 89 (no. 163).

<sup>11</sup> WSA, P3/C/135; P3/G/177.

remainder may have been meadow or pasture. The beast leaze on the common remained unchanged at two beasts in one year and three in the next, although there was additionally a 10 sheep leaze that was not part of the 1608 terrier.<sup>1</sup> The beast and sheep leaze remained unchanged in the terrier of 1704.<sup>2</sup>

By the early 18th century farming in the settlement was mixed arable and pastoral. Dairy cows were kept, and cheese produced. By 1713 one farmer was growing clover, in addition to the more usual wheat, barley, oats and pease.<sup>3</sup>

Scott's Mill farm is known by 1731.<sup>4</sup> Curricomb farm was recorded as Currycombe in 1773.<sup>5</sup> In 1795 the estate comprising the farms of Curricomb, Coleman's, Coggeswell's, Woodman's and Stoke's was predominantly a dairy holding, with stalls for 200 head of cattle, and some 450 a. of land, primarily meadow and pasture, with 70 a. of arable. There were 16 a. of orchards. The rivers Avon and Marden ran through the estate, with fishing rights on the Avon, and the proposed canal from Bath to Abingdon was to run through the estate. The soil was described as being chiefly a fine loam on gravel. There was common of pasture in the meadows of Humbern and Westham.<sup>6</sup>

In 1791 a Tytherton farmer advertised his drill and horse hoe for use by neighbouring farmers.<sup>7</sup> Arthur Young, agriculturalist, visited Thomas Crook's farm at Tytherton Lucas in 1798. Young described a prosperous holding, largely pasture with beef and dairy cattle. The farm also reared pigs and sheep, but arable farming had not met with success.<sup>8</sup> An advertisement of 1805 advertised at Tytherton Lucas two stallions at stud, horses for sale, and grazing for mares and foals.<sup>9</sup>

In 1838–9, there were nine landowners including Samuel William Bythesea with 235 a., Anne Crook with 54 a., Michael Theobald Langton with 80 a. and Susan Ludlow with 149 a. There were 17 a. of glebe. The main tenants were William Crump, occupying 152 a. and Catherine and Mary Crook who occupied 149 a. Tytherton Lucas was a largely pastoral farming community; there were 493 a. of meadow, and only 56 a. of arable. Orchards comprised slightly over 14 a. There was common land of 34 a.<sup>10</sup> The common land at Tytherton Lucas was enclosed in 1856.<sup>11</sup>

In 1881 Currycomb farm, which included the uninhabited White's farm, was a farm of 600 a. overseen by a bailiff and employing six men and two boys. Manor farm was unoccupied, and no estimate was given of its acreage. Stokes farm, of 100 a., was a dairy farm employing two agricultural labourers and two women. Field farm of just 30 a. employed one boy.<sup>12</sup> Scott's (Scots) Mill farm had been a small farm of 61 a. in 1837; it was still a farm of 61 a. in 1881, employing three men.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hobbs (ed.), *Glebe Terriers* (WRS 56, 2003), 89–90 (no. 164).

<sup>2</sup> Hobbs (ed.), *Glebe Terriers* (WRS 56, 2003), 90 (no. 165).

<sup>3</sup> WSA, P1/B/803; P1/M/390.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, 1213/23.

<sup>5</sup> *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 92–3.

<sup>6</sup> *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 22–24 Jun. 1795, 596.

<sup>7</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 10 Mar. 1791, 1.

<sup>8</sup> A. Young (ed.), *Annals of Agriculture*, 31 (1798), 80–3.

<sup>9</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 11 Apr. 1805, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Sandell (ed.), *Abstract Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30), 34; T/A Chippenham: Tytherton Lucas (1839).

<sup>11</sup> WSA, A1/542/30 (enclosure award, 1856).

<sup>12</sup> TNA, RG 11/2033, 78r.

<sup>13</sup> WSA, 1213/23; TNA, RG 11/2033, 77r.

By 1891 the population numbered 39.<sup>1</sup> A craftsman was working with withies in the 1890s.<sup>2</sup> The economy was still dominated by farming in 1911, the land remaining almost entirely pastureland.<sup>3</sup>

In 1910 there were six farms of over 50 a. in Tytherton Lucas; Manor farm, Scott's Mill farm, Bosmere farm, Stokes farm, Curricombe (Curry Coombe) farm and Gaston (Gassons) farm, and Field farm, a small farm of just over 41 a.<sup>4</sup>

Curricombe farm was advertised for sale by auction in 1914, when it was described as a dairy farm of 127 a. in Tytherton Lucas and Langley Burrell, let on an annual tenancy. The sale catalogue noted the nearby Stanley Bridge Halt on the railway line as convenient for the disposal of dairy produce and stock. The farmhouse was described as stone built with stone tile roof.<sup>5</sup>

The predominance of pastoral farming continued to be indicated in farm sales. In 1917 Gaston farm was described as a freehold dairy or grazing farm of 68 a.,<sup>6</sup> and in 1935 Stokes farm as a dairy or grazing farm of c.102 acres, in the same family for nearly 150 years.<sup>7</sup> Scott's Mill farm was also largely pastoral, being advertised for sale in 1955 with 56 a. of pasture and 13 a. of arable.<sup>8</sup>

In 1941 both Field farm and Gastons farm were primarily dairy or grazing farms, though like many similar farms in the area poultry was kept. Some wheat, potatoes and other crops were grown.<sup>9</sup> Since the Second World War farming has become increasingly arable, with some equestrian use.<sup>10</sup>

### *Mills*

In 1086 there were two parts of a mill at West Tytherton, rendering 40d.<sup>11</sup> In 1086 there was the fourth part of a mill at Tytherton, rendering 20d; this could have been in either East or West Tytherton.<sup>12</sup> It was part of the estates of Stanley Abbey, and was let to Henry Goldney, clothier, in 1526 and to John Scott in 1554. It was leased by the Scott family to 1744.<sup>13</sup> By 1806 it was described as a fulling mill, at which time it was converted to a small water-driven factory, or such a factory was added to it.<sup>14</sup> The mill was later let to Richard Palmer, whose property was put up for sale in 1833; it is suggested that trade at the mill came to an end in that year.<sup>15</sup> By 1886 it was a corn mill,<sup>16</sup> and a miller was living on the premises in 1901.<sup>17</sup> It was described as a water mill in 1911, when it was presumably still grinding corn,<sup>18</sup> but was disused by 1924.<sup>19</sup> By the 1970s

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<sup>1</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1895), 241.

<sup>2</sup> Account book in the possession of Dr C. Kent, seen 26 Sept. 2019.

<sup>3</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911), 258.

<sup>4</sup> WSA, L8/1/31, 45–8.

<sup>5</sup> Wilts. Mus., SC.20.4; SC.30.23.

<sup>6</sup> WSA, A1/542/30 (sale catalogue, 1917).

<sup>7</sup> Wilts. Mus., SC.35.77.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, 1409/15/173.

<sup>9</sup> TNA MAF 32/33/24/21; 32/30/12/12.

<sup>10</sup> Inf. from Dr C. Kent, 26 Sept. 2019.

<sup>11</sup> *Domesday*, 181.

<sup>12</sup> *Domesday*, 177.

<sup>13</sup> Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 89–90.

<sup>14</sup> Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 90.

<sup>15</sup> Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 90.

<sup>16</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts 20.15 (1886 edn).

<sup>17</sup> TNA, RG 13/1919, 94r.

<sup>18</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911), 258.

<sup>19</sup> OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.15 (1924 edn).

the building was ruinous.<sup>1</sup> The mill building, on the opposite side of the river Marden to Scott's Mill farm, was demolished in 1987.<sup>2</sup>

### *Social history*

In 1086 Tytherton Lucas (West Tytherton) had two villeins, one cottar and four bordars, who were of lower status than the villeins or cottars.<sup>3</sup> If each tenant household contained five persons, then the total population would have been c.35 persons.<sup>4</sup> A further entry for Tytherton, which could be either West or East Tytherton, recorded two slaves and three cotsets, or cottars.<sup>5</sup>

In 1332 there were 19 taxpayers at 'Tudryntone', which may include Tytherton Kellaways and East Tytherton as well as Tytherton Lucas.<sup>6</sup> One man was assessed at 7s. 4¼d., the remainder at 5s. 10¾d. or less.<sup>7</sup> In 1545 three persons were assessed for the benevolence tax.<sup>8</sup>

In 1650 Henry Bailye of Tytherton Lucas, being destitute of any place of habitation for himself and his family, was given permission to erect a cottage.<sup>9</sup> In 1689 there were 13 ratepayers in Tytherton Lucas, including the rector. One ratepayer was described as a gentleman and another as esquire.<sup>10</sup> Not all were necessarily resident in the village; the rector, if he lived in the parish, would have been resident in the vicarage in Chippenham.

In 1662 the inhabitants of Tytherton Lucas were assessed for 19 properties with a total of 50 hearths. Thirteen properties were of only one or two hearths. The largest properties were those of Edward Crooke, with ten hearths, Edward Stokes with seven and John Townson with six hearths.<sup>11</sup>

In 1736 Tytherton Lucas returned one man to serve as a juror at the Easter quarter sessions, of four men qualified to serve in that year.<sup>12</sup> In 1780 there was no one dominant landowner. From the 1780s, members of the Crook family acquired several holdings in the settlement, though in c.1807 some of these holdings were disposed of to others. The glebe land was occupied by the rector in 1780 but was tenanted by 1805.<sup>13</sup>

In 1838–9 there were nine landowners, of whom Samuel William Bythesea held 235 a., and three further proprietors held between 50 a. and 150 a. There was common land of 34 a.<sup>14</sup>

A trade directory of 1848 listed all the principal inhabitants as being engaged in farming.<sup>15</sup> In 1880 farming was still the dominant occupation, though one man was listed as a carpenter.<sup>16</sup> None of the three principal landowners given in the directory of 1880 were resident in the parish.<sup>17</sup> Farming remained the dominant activity in 1911.<sup>18</sup> By 2004 it was observed that

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<sup>1</sup> WSA 1409/15/176; Rogers, *Wilts. and Som. Woollen Mills*, 90.

<sup>2</sup> Historic England HER, Bremhill, Tytherton Lucas, Scott's Mill farmhouse, 1283401 [OS: ST 95054 73557].

<sup>3</sup> *Domesday*, 181.

<sup>4</sup> Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Domesday*, 177.

<sup>6</sup> Crowley (ed.), *Wilts. Tax List 1332* (WRS 45), 98.

<sup>7</sup> Crowley (ed.), *Wilts. Tax List 1332* (WRS 45), 98.

<sup>8</sup> Ramsay (ed.), *Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists* (WRS 10), 28.

<sup>9</sup> I. Slocombe (ed.), *Wiltshire Quarter Sessions Order Book 1642–1654* (WRS 67), 219.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, 811/216, 22.

<sup>11</sup> TNA, E 179/259/29, part 2, rot. 48.

<sup>12</sup> Fowle (ed.), *Wilts. Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS 9), 42, 136.

<sup>13</sup> WSA, A1/345/103.

<sup>14</sup> Sandell (ed.), *Abstract Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30), 34.

<sup>15</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Dors., Hants., Wilts...* (1848 edn.), 2838.

<sup>16</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Hants., Wilts., Dors.* (1880 edn.), 720.

<sup>17</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Hants., Wilts., Dors.* (1880 edn.), 720.

<sup>18</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.), 258.

the village was experiencing a generational change, with people moving away and new families moving into the village.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Education*

A school is recorded in a cottage belonging to the vicarage of Chippenham. In 1767 the vicar applied for a faculty to demolish the cottage, owing to the cost of repairs. It is not known what happened to the school.<sup>2</sup> In 1889 children from Tytherton Lucas went to school in East Tytherton, which they continued to do in 1911.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Religious history*

##### *Church origins and parochial organisation*

In the Anglo-Saxon period Tytherton Lucas may have been one of the settlements served by a minster church at Chippenham.<sup>4</sup> Its connection with the parish of Chippenham is known from at least 1272, when a dispute between the priory of Monkton Farleigh and the vicar of Chippenham was resolved with an ordinance that the vicar was to have all the tithes and other income of the chapel of Tytherton, then within the parish of Chippenham, excepting the tithes of the sheaves from the demesne of Turpin, and the vicar was to pay the priory 40s. yearly and supply ministers for the chapel at Tytherton.<sup>5</sup> The chapel at Tytherton Lucas was recorded in 1400–1, when it remained part of parish of St Andrew's Chippenham.<sup>6</sup> It was recorded as part of the parish of Chippenham in 1550 and 1681.<sup>7</sup> A document of 1758 recorded a tradition that it had once been a distinct parish from Chippenham, but this is not supported by the evidence.<sup>8</sup> It was a chapel of ease to the parish church in 1783.<sup>9</sup> The chapel, described as a church, remained in the care of Chippenham parish in 2018.<sup>10</sup> The dedication to St Nicholas was recorded by Daniell in 1894.<sup>11</sup>

Registers of baptisms survive from 1813,<sup>12</sup> of marriages from 1839,<sup>13</sup> and of burials from 1813.<sup>14</sup> A register of banns survives for 1841–1981, and two service registers for the period 1905–83.<sup>15</sup> Prior to that all entries were recorded in the parish registers for Chippenham.<sup>16</sup>

A glebe terrier of 1608 for the parish of Chippenham listed a dwelling house at Tytherton Lucas with a barn, garden, brewhouse or stable, and a bakehouse. There was 12 a. of arable land at Tytherton Lucas, and the glebe include the herbage of the chapel there, commons with the other inhabitants of the hamlet for two kine for one year and three the next. There was ½ a. of meadow. The vicar received all tithes from Tytherton Lucas, including those of corn, grain and hay.<sup>17</sup> A glebe terrier of 1783 for the rectory of Langley Burrell stated that the tithes for that rectory were now paid by a composition by the landowners of Langley Burrell and Tytherton

<sup>1</sup> WSA, 2731/16 (copy of triennial parish visitation, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> WSA, D1/61/4/43; D1/61C/3.

<sup>3</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1889 edn.), 1037.

<sup>4</sup> See Chippenham: Established Church.

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient Deeds*, iii, 441–451.

<sup>6</sup> *Papal Regs*, V, 410; see Chippenham: Established Church.

<sup>7</sup> T. Phillipps (ed.), *Wiltshire Institutions* (1825), I, 214; II, 37.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, D1/41/4/36.

<sup>9</sup> Ransome (ed.), *Visitation Queries 1783* (WRS 27), 61–2.

<sup>10</sup> <http://standrewschippenham.org.uk/st-nicholas-tytherton-lucas/> (accessed 12 Dec. 2018).

<sup>11</sup> J. J. Daniell, *The History of Chippenham* (1894), 187.

<sup>12</sup> WSA, 2731/1 (1813–1989).

<sup>13</sup> WSA, 2731/8 (1839–2000).

<sup>14</sup> WSA, 2731/2 (1813–1990).

<sup>15</sup> WSA, 2731/3 (banns 1841–1981); 811/213 (services 1905–35); 2731/2 (services 1936–83).

<sup>16</sup> *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1911 edn.), 258.

<sup>17</sup> Hobbs (ed.), *Glebe Terriers* (WRS 56), 89.



Lucas, but this presumably referred to those parts of the hamlet not within the parish of Chippenham.<sup>1</sup>

In 1783 it was stated that all tithes from Tytherton Lucas had been given to the vicar of Chippenham in 1772.<sup>2</sup> Under the Tithe Commutation Act, in 1838 and 1839 the tithes of Tytherton Lucas were commuted to a tithe rent charge of £177 on 583 a. to the vicar of Chippenham (the rector of Tytherton Lucas) for great and small tithes. The figure included £4 6s. 8d. for great tithes and £2 13s. 4d. for small tithes on glebe. There was 17 a. of glebe.<sup>3</sup>

### *Religious life*

In the church survey of 1649–50 the minister, Jonathan Giare (or Gyer), preached every Sunday morning at Chippenham, and in the afternoon at Tytherton Lucas, though flooding between Chippenham and Tytherton could prevent him from ministering to the people at Tytherton for up to three weeks at a time. That he had duties at both churches was unsatisfactory for the inhabitants of both Chippenham and Tytherton; it was suggested that Tytherton become a separate parish in its own right, but it remained annexed to Chippenham parish.<sup>4</sup>

Complaint was made in 1758 by the four principal inhabitants of Tytherton Lucas that the vicar of Chippenham had failed to conduct services in the church following a dispute with one of the parishioners.<sup>5</sup> By 1783 the vicar of Chippenham came to the chapel to conduct a service with prayers each Sunday except the first Sunday in the month, and when prevented by bad weather.<sup>6</sup>

At the ecclesiastical census of 1851 the chapel's income was £220, of which £50 was from pew rents and £170 from fees. There were 100 sittings in the building, 50 of which were free sittings. Attendance at the afternoon service was 44; there had been no service in the morning or evening, and there was no Sunday school.<sup>7</sup>

By the mid-19th century a vestry meeting was usually held annually, and one churchwarden appointed.<sup>8</sup> A clerk was employed by 1847.<sup>9</sup> The churchwarden was responsible for supplying the bread and wine until 1865 when it was agreed that in future the wine be supplied by the rector.<sup>10</sup> Church expenses were met by the church rate until 1866, when the churchwarden's annual request for the rate was refused. From 1866 the church expenses were met by offerings collected at services and occasional individual donations.<sup>11</sup>

An inventory compiled in 1866–7 listed a bible, a prayer book, an office book, an iron register chest, a surplice, and a communion set of two silver patens and a silver chalice in a wooden box.<sup>12</sup> The patens and chalice were gifted by the Revd Edward Ellis in 1817.<sup>13</sup> In 1880 a stove was installed in the church.<sup>14</sup> In 1876 the diarist Francis Kilvert recorded visiting an elderly man who had played the flute in Tytherton church,<sup>15</sup> but any church band was probably replaced by the harmonium installed in the church c.1870. It was replaced c.1920 with an instrument by

<sup>1</sup> Hobbs (ed.), *Glebe Terriers* (WRS 56), 245.

<sup>2</sup> Ransome (ed.), *Visitation Queries 1783* (WRS 27), 61–2.

<sup>3</sup> Sandell (ed.), *Abstract Wilts. Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30), 34.

<sup>4</sup> E.J. Bodington, 'The Church Survey in Wilts, 1649–50', *WAM* 41 (1920), 1–2.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, D1/41/4/36.

<sup>6</sup> Ransome (ed.), *Visitation Queries 1783* (WRS 27), 61–2.

<sup>7</sup> TNA, HO/129/253, 46.

<sup>8</sup> WSA, 811/39, f. 2r.

<sup>9</sup> WSA, 811/39, f. 1v.

<sup>10</sup> WSA, 811/39, f. 33v.

<sup>11</sup> WSA, 811/39, ff. 35v, 36v, 38r.

<sup>12</sup> WSA, 811/39, f. 37r.

<sup>13</sup> J. E. Nightingale, *The Church Plate of the County of Wilts* (1891), 212.

<sup>14</sup> WSA, 811/39, ff. 50v, 51r.

<sup>15</sup> Francis Kilvert, *Kilvert's Diary 1870–1879*, ed. W. Plomer (1977 edn), 322.

Christophe & Etienne of Paris and restored in 1995; this instrument remains in the church. A chamber organ, originally built by John Clark of Bath c.1837, was acquired in 1987.<sup>1</sup>

The churchyard was extended in 1905 by a grant of part of the glebe land.<sup>2</sup> A second churchwarden, chosen by the parish, was appointed from 1906, in addition to the churchwarden historically appointed by the vicar.<sup>3</sup> This new appointment may have been prompted by the death in 1905 of Henry Broome Pinniger, churchwarden for 44 years.<sup>4</sup>

A new oak pulpit, reading desk and reredos were dedicated in 1907, along with a new stained glass window at the east end of the north aisle in memory of Henry Broome Pinniger and his wife.<sup>5</sup> A newspaper report of the dedication service stated that provisions had also been made for the choir and organ in the north aisle rather than the chancel, but from the church records it seems more likely that the church at this date only possessed a harmonium.<sup>6</sup>

In 1989 the church was recorded as having a George III communion cup by Rebecca Emes and Edward Barnard of London, which was then dated as 1816, together with two matching patens. The church also had an octagonal copper alms dish with embossed inscriptions and decoration.<sup>7</sup>

In 2001 the church had 18 communicants on Easter Day, and 24 at the Christmas Day services, including midnight mass. The usual number attending services on a normal Sunday was nine adults; no figure was given for children under 16 years of age.<sup>8</sup> By 2003 a service was held every Sunday, with matins and holy communion on alternate Sundays. Services were also held on Good Friday, with a carol service and a service of midnight mass at Christmas.<sup>9</sup>

In 2003 the church was the only public building in the village, apart from a barn used for concerts.<sup>10</sup> It was noted that for reasons of geography the community related more to Bremhill than Chippenham, and this was reflected in the contents of the parish magazine.<sup>11</sup>

The triennial parish visitation of 2004 reported that the local congregation maintained the church building without recourse to the resources of St Andrew's Chippenham. It was noted that the churchyard was still open for burials.<sup>12</sup>

### *Nonconformity*

Edward Stokes, a magistrate living at Stokes farm, Tytherton Lucas, wrote *The Wiltshire Rant* (1652) about the controversial activities of Thomas Webbe, Ranter and former incumbent of Langley Burrell.<sup>13</sup> Stokes hosted several Quaker evangelists, including George Fox, at his home, and may himself have become a Quaker, although at his death in 1667 he was buried in the church of St Nicholas, where there is a memorial.<sup>14</sup>

### *Church architecture*

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<sup>1</sup> C. Kent, *The Chapelry of St. Nicholas, Tytherton Lucas: A Short History* (2017).

<sup>2</sup> Bristol Archives, EP/A/22/TL/1-3; WSA, 811/40 (annual report Easter 1905 to 1906), 48-50.

<sup>3</sup> WSA, 811/40 (annual report Easter 1905 to 1906), 48-50.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 25 May 1907, 4.

<sup>5</sup> WSA, 811/214; *Wilts. Times*, 25 May 1907, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Wilts. Times*, 25 May 1907, 4.

<sup>7</sup> WSA, 2731/16 (Insurance valuation, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> WSA, 2731/16 (Return of church membership, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> WSA, 2731/16 (Chippenham Deanery pastoral visit, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> WSA, 2731/16 (Chippenham Deanery pastoral visit, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> WSA, 2731/16 (Chippenham Deanery pastoral visit, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> WSA, 2731/16 (copy of triennial parish visitation, 2004).

<sup>13</sup> J. J. Daniell, *The History of Chippenham* (1894), 188-9; ODNB, Webbe, Thomas (b. 1624x6?), Ranter, accessed 9 Dec. 2018.

<sup>14</sup> U. Dreher, 'Watching pigeons making love', *Dalhousie Review*, 83.3 (2003), 325-54, at 352; T. Phillipps, *Monumental Inscriptions of Wiltshire* (WRS 53), 12.

The Grade II listed chapel is of 13th century date, with a nave and chancel and a north aisle under a separate roof. Pevsner attributes the three-bay aisle to the late 13th century. The font is Norman, of c.1200. The bell is dated by Pevsner to the 12th century.<sup>1</sup> A monument to Thomas Crooks (d.1821) records that he rebuilt the church in 1802.<sup>2</sup> The church was refurbished by Canon John Rich in the mid-19th century.<sup>3</sup>

There are monuments to Hugo Barret (d. 1627), Alice Jacob (d. 1653) and her family, Ann Lloyd Bayliffe (d. 1788) and her sister Lucy Bayliffe (d. 1791), and to members of the Stokes and Crook families.<sup>4</sup>

## FORESTS

The royal forests of Chippenham and Melksham appear in the records under various names; by the second half of the 13th century part of the forest known as the wood of Pewsham became known as the forest of Pewsham. The forest was known by various names up to the early 17th century, by which date the names Pewsham and Chippenham were both in use for the forest. The boundaries of Chippenham and Melksham forests were declared in 1228. Stanley and Nethermore were among the vills which answered at the forest eyres of 1257–70; at the eyre of 1257 it was held that Sheldon, Allington and Tytherton Lucas were outside the bounds of the forest. Nevertheless, woods belonging to the manor of Sheldon were held to be within the forest at this period, as were woods belonging to the hamlet of Lowden.<sup>5</sup>

The forest provided oak for Devizes Castle and firewood for the hearth of the Constable of Devizes; dry and leafless oaks provided lime for building work. Large numbers of fallow deer were hunted to supply the royal court with venison. Pannage, the right to turn pigs out into the forest, was practised, and in 1263 tenants of Stanley Abbey in Nethermore were granted a royal charter allowing them free pasture of sheep, pigs and other animals. Assarts, or land cleared for arable, is known in medieval period. Legal cases in the reign of James I suggest that at least some of this was unlawful; not only had land been cleared for farming but cottages had been erected without licence. By 1618 James had decided to sell his forests of Chippenham and Melksham; the resulting leasing and inclosure of forest wastes depriving the poor of their common rights to pasture pigs and cattle.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 541; Church of St Nicholas, <https://historicensland.org.uk/listing> (accessed 10 Dec. 2018).

<sup>2</sup> Church of St Nicholas, <https://historicensland.org.uk/listing> (accessed 10 Dec. 2018).

<sup>3</sup> Church of St Nicholas, <https://historicensland.org.uk/listing> (accessed 10 Dec. 2018).

<sup>4</sup> T. Phillippo, *Monumental Inscriptions of Wiltshire* (WRS 53), 11–12.

<sup>5</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 18, 409–14, 446–7.

<sup>6</sup> *VCH Wilts*, 18, 409–14.