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Cirencester: the development and buildings of a Cotswold town
- BAR 12 and its after-life

by
Christopher Catling



Four images from the BAR 12 project archive, all dating from Aug/Sept 1974:
Left above: Monmouth House, 28 Thomas Street. Left below: 21-25 West Market Place.
Right above: Lloyd's Bank, 14 Castle Street. Right below: 44-50 Victoria Road.

Richard Reece and Christopher Catling. *Cirencester: The Development and Buildings of a Cotswold Town*, British Archaeological Reports no. 12, 1975. 98pp. Oxford

The Croome Lectures

The annual Croome Lecture has been a Cirencester tradition since 1969 when it was first organised as a joint event by CAHS and Cirencester Civic Society. Lectures are held in memory of Will Croome (1891-1967) and his lifetime of service to the community – locally in Cirencester, in the magistracy and the life of the county, and nationally in the preservation of church buildings.

Speakers are invited to contribute their experience and knowledge on a wide range of topics reflecting Croome's own interests and beyond to wider contemporary heritage and conservation issues. For a list, see <http://www.cirenhistory.org.uk/croome.htm>

This presentation formed the Croome Lecture delivered in Cirencester Parish Church on 26 February 2018.

Christopher Catling was educated at Our Lady's Convent Cirencester (1960-64), Lewis Lane County Junior School (1964-67) and Cirencester Comprehensive School (1967-74). He is now Secretary (Chief Executive) of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales. He has worked most of his life in the heritage sector, as an archaeologist, writer and consultant. He set up the Heritage Alliance in 2002 to represent the voluntary arm of the heritage movement, and is well known for his contributions to *Current Archaeology* magazine as well as his best-selling Dorling Kindersley travel guides to such destinations as Florence and Venice.

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The *Newsletter* serves as an update and archive of various research and local activities and submissions are always welcome. Contact the editor: dviner@waitrose.com. The views expressed in the Newsletters are those of the contributors and/or the editor in each case and are not necessarily those of the Society.

The *Newsletter* (and Annual Report) first appeared for the year 1958/59. An archive set of all these publications, plus the four editions of *Cirencester Miscellany* containing longer articles on local history, is held in Gloucestershire Archives under the reference number D10989, where members and other enquirers are welcome to consult them (www.gloucestershire.gov.uk/archives).

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Cirencester: the development and buildings of a Cotswold town - BAR 12 and its after-life

My overall aim in this lecture is to explain how BAR 12 on Cirencester (in the British Archaeological Reports series) came to be written in 1975 and then to set the book in the context of the rise of the wider conservation movement. To do that I need to explain the role that particular people and particular buildings played in my life up to 1975.

I will start with Mr Dando, headmaster of the County Junior School in Lewis Lane. Ron Dando gave 17 years of continuous service to Cirencester Archaeological & Historical Society between 1968 and 1985, as a committee member, Vice Chairman and Chairman. Perhaps his involvement in the Society might help to explain why one afternoon in 1964, when I was nine years old, he took a group of us to visit the Corinium Museum – a visit that was all the more enjoyable for being an unexpected departure from the normal school routine.

Arriving at the museum, we were greeted by the museum's curator, a man with a distinctive yellow moustache who wore a brown lab coat and smelled strongly of tobacco. That was Mr Real, another stalwart of the Society, serving as a committee member for 15 years from 1961 to 1976. Mr Real reminded us at the end of our visit that the doors of the museum were always open and that he would be very pleased to see us all again whenever we wished to return.

I had never seen anything like the contents of the museum and I departed with my mind crammed with all sorts of new images and ideas. I went straight round there after school the next day for another glimpse of that intriguing acrostic with its coded Christian message and the museum's vivid Four Seasons mosaic. I got the impression that Mr Real did not have many visitors – he always seemed quietly pleased to see me whenever I returned, following him around as he dusted the display cabinets and pestering him to tell me stories about Roman Cirencester.

In those days, parents had no fear for their children being alone with an adult – and in Mr Real's case there was an added reason why my parents were sure I could come to no harm: like us, Mr Real was a Catholic and so could be trusted. Being a Catholic, my first school was Our Lady's Convent in Chesterton Lane. The convent was founded by the Sisters of the Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ, a German order founded in 1851, who established an English base in Hendon, north London, in 1882 and moved to Cirencester in 1939 at the outbreak of war.

Little did I know when I started at the convent that the school buildings in which I learned to read and write had been the home of Charles Brooke, the somewhat shy and retiring Rajah of Sarawak who ruled the territory between 1868 and his death in 1917. Brooke founded the excellent museum in Kuching, Sarawak's capital, that survives to this day. He also founded the Chesterton House Museum on the opposite side of the road from his house in Cirencester. That private museum had once been filled with such thrilling artefacts as shrunken heads, poisoned spears, painted shields and wooden carvings of ferocious Dayak idols. The museum closed in 1923 and the collection was donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum

in Oxford. The museum was demolished – a sad loss – and the little brick building that replaced it was the convent’s gymnasium – now demolished in its turn.

Boys were only allowed to attend what was essentially a girl’s school until the age of nine, at which age I graduated to the County Junior School in Lewis Lane, where we were known as ‘the jam tarts’ by Powell’s School rivals in the town on account of the red caps, ties and badge of our school uniform. For Catholic primary school children in Cirencester, the school day started with Catechism classes taken by the parish priest, Fr O’Donnell, in St Peter’s Hall. This marked us out as different from the other children of our age – who started their day with school assembly and Church of England prayers and hymns. Being largely of Irish and Polish ancestry, we Catholics were very much looked down upon in those days for our large families and a residual sense that we were not quite ‘English’ – people probably thought we were still plotting to blow up Parliament.

The influence of music and religious buildings

Being a Catholic meant that I was forbidden to enter the parish church, the one building in Cirencester that would have served as an inspiration to a budding architectural historian. This wonderful building – a living testament to the town’s long history – was a place of mystery and danger to a Catholic growing up pre-Vatican II. My mother spoke of the rituals that went on inside the parish church as if they were akin to some sort of witchcraft; it was drummed into me that close contact with non-Catholics would put my soul in danger.

Fortunately, all that changed when Lewis Lane school gave me the opportunity to learn the violin and my lessons took me to the Grammar School, where I was privileged, as a 10-year-old in shorts, to be allowed to join an excellent school orchestra run by the late Eric Sanders. Before long I was taking part in orchestral and choral performances here in the parish church.

Eric Sanders’ predecessor as music master at the Grammar School was the late Sir Peter Maxwell-Davies – Max as he was known to his many friends. He taught there from 1959 and established two important principles that lasted well after he left in 1962: that the music department should have a composer on the staff and that the pupils should be encouraged to give professional standard performances of new work. Those traditions were kept alive by Elis Pehkonen, who joined the staff of what by now was the Deer Park Comprehensive School in 1967. In that same year I took part in the first performance here in this church of his very moving Requiem Mass with Felicity Lott (now Dame Felicity, but then a 20-year-old university student) as the soloist as well as myself, Gordon Dyke and Jonathan Bowdige as the boy soprano soloists.

Despite being steeped in Catholic propaganda, I discovered through music that non-Catholics are not devils in disguise. The pope seems to have made the same discovery because the Second Vatican Council, which met between 1962 and 1965 to address questions about the Catholic church and the modern world, decided that all Christians should be nice to each other. Ecumenism was now the new orthodoxy and so I was encouraged by Fr O’Donnell to join The Herd, the ecumenical youth club that Adam Ford, Cirencester’s very trendy young Anglican curate founded in 1969 at his Dyer Street home. Through its membership I began to meet Methodists, Baptists, Salvation Army members,

Quakers and Unitarians as well as Anglicans, and started being invited by them to attend their chapel or meeting-house services.

That was what led me to take an interest in religious buildings. In 1972, on entering the sixth-form, I elected to do a History A' level dissertation on Cirencester's Nonconformist places of worship because I was intrigued by the differences between their buildings and the Catholic and Anglican norm. I became curious about the ways in which Dissenters and Nonconformists re-invented the idea of a church to create their own distinctive chapels and meeting houses. I was aware too that Cirencester had some very early (ie 17th century) examples – namely the Unitarian Chapel and the Friends Meeting House.

So I embarked on a dissertation looking at the ways in which Nonconformist beliefs and liturgy were reflected in the distinctive architecture and furnishings of Dissenting chapels. For example, the fact that Nonconformist places of worship do not have a chancel or high altar; instead they were built for Bible reading and preaching, with the pulpit as the focal point of the building.

Reading what very few books had been published in the early 1970s on Nonconformist heritage, I discovered something else – the newly emerging conservation movement. This had begun with canals and railways in the 50s and 60s, but had developed on to embrace industrial heritage, country houses and places of worship – all of them threatened with redundancy and demolition in the post-war period.

Threats to historic buildings

The unforgettable Victoria and Albert Museum exhibition *The Destruction of the English Country House*, curated by Sir Roy Strong, was still two years away. The Redundant Churches Fund had just been set up to take over the care of listed churches no longer needed for active worship. But nobody seemed to care at all about the Nonconformist chapels being abandoned, vandalised, demolished, declared redundant and converted to other uses at an accelerating rate. Very few historians had studied them as buildings, and a very important chapter in British history, the legacy of the Reformation and Civil War, was in danger of being lost without a record.

This struck a chord with me because I could see the evidence of redundancy and vandalism with my own eyes even in Cirencester. In order to study the interior of Cirencester's historic Unitarian Chapel, I had to climb over the padlocked gates, but this had not deterred vandals and tramps who had done their best to wreck this lovely building, breaking down the back door, smashing the windows of the light-filled interior, overturning the pews and pulpit, breaking the gas lights and throwing books and chapel registers from the balcony down on to the chapel floor below where they lay in pools of water from the leaking roof.

Before long I began to realise this was a pattern being repeated all over the country, and not just to chapels – railway architecture was suffering too, as were the warehouses and roundhouses and lengthmen's cottages, the locks, bridges, tunnels and portals of our wonderful Thames and Severn Canal, Cirencester's gas works and water works, breweries, maltings, seed warehouses, nursery gardens and – a little further away – pioneering textile mills in the valleys around Stroud, timber-framed buildings in Gloucester, prisons,

workhouses and pubs, medieval barns, drystone walls – all falling down, all being demolished in the name of progress by councils turning their back on the past in a drive for modernisation.

David Viner – another mentor and role model for me – shared my sense of outrage at what was being done at the time. We both wrote letters to the *Standard* for example, pleading with Cirencester's Town Council to think again about scrapping the canopy that once sheltered passengers waiting for the train at Cirencester's former railway station – 'it is too expensive to maintain' we were told, 'we must replace it with an easy to clean plastic canopy'. I am afraid we failed to persuade the Council, and the sale of that canopy for scrap has removed a feature that today, thanks to research carried out by the English Royal Commission in the 1990s, we now know was designed by Brunel himself in his characteristic Tudorbethan style, as the blue plaque on the side of the station building now informs us.

Developing techniques for rapid town survey

The scale and speed of the losses that we were witnessing was one of the reasons why Richard and I embarked upon the study that was published as BAR 12. I had met Richard through archaeology, and he had become a valued friend and mentor to me at a time when relations with my parents were becoming difficult. My ecumenism might have been in tune with the zeitgeist, but my parents clung to their pre-Vatican II beliefs. Increasingly we had little in common, and they were not at all happy with my newfound interest in archaeology or heritage – like all Catholic parents they would have preferred me to become a priest.

Well I had different aspirations and I went back to school after my A levels in autumn 1974 to prepare for and sit the Cambridge entrance exams. This meant that I then had a gap year of 11 months to fill before going to university and it was to Richard that I turned for advice on what I should do with that time. Richard told me about a project that he had been mulling over for a while. In archaeology, this was an era in which numerous rapid surveys were being undertaken in historic towns all over Britain with the aim of creating a very quick snapshot of a town's origins, development and archaeological potential. The idea was to create a framework that would highlight priority areas for further investigation.

Lots of different methodologies were being used to do these surveys, many of them time-consuming and complex and needing professional expertise – for example a familiarity with the county records offices and their catalogues. Richard had the idea of trying to make it so simple that anyone could do a town survey using no more resources than could be obtained easily from a library or record office. He wanted it to be something that could be achieved very quickly – hence we set ourselves the challenge of mapping Cirencester's development in three months from start to finish, including writing up.

Some of the methodologies we worked out for the project have since become standard practice in townscape characterisation. For example, we used 'map regression' to identify Cirencester's oldest houses – simply comparing the current plan of the building with the plan as shown on progressively earlier maps. We created colour-coded maps to show the age of every building in Cirencester and then we went out on the street to check that the building we thought from maps was built in the mid-18th century actually looks like a mid-

18th-century building and is not just a 20th-century building that happens to have the same plan.

We also devised a system for describing and analysing the style of the building as a further clue to dating. One diagnostic feature that helped us refine the dates was the shape of stone window mouldings: we created a chronological typology based on whether the moulding was concave, convex or reticulated. And talking of reticulated, we learned a whole new architectural vocabulary in the process. David Verey's *Buildings of England* volume on the Gloucestershire Cotswolds had just been published and from this we soon learned to bandy such terms such as 'Serlian window', 'vermiculation', 'coved eaves' and 'rusticated quoins', 'dentilled cornices' and 'Gibbs' surrounds'. As we gained confidence, we also found ourselves questioning some of David Verey's descriptions and dates.

Richard made an appointment for us to go and visit the great man at Barnsley House, and I remember arriving in some trepidation – would we, complete beginners as architectural historians, be sent away with a flea in our ears for challenging the work of this great scholar. Instead of which, when we started hesitantly to question his dating of certain buildings, he simply laughed and said 'I am not in the slightest bit surprised that you have found errors – I had to do that book very quickly, you know, and there was no time for revisiting the buildings in the book to check them against the final text'.

Richard and I also had our debates. I was very keen not just to describe the stylistic details of each building that we looked at but also to understand the stylistic influences on their design and how typical were they of their time – for example, how did Cirencester end up with so many buildings that display very superior architectural details – Lloyd's Bank, obviously, but scores of fine buildings in and around Park Street, Thomas Street, Cecily Hill and Coxwell Street.

Richard would have none of this because it risked making the project too complex and too time consuming, defeating the aim of creating a template that others could use for undertaking a rapid survey of their town. Instead we agreed to categorise buildings according to a set of ten broad stylistic and chronological criteria. We had lots of debates about what would make the most useful and informative and universally applicable categories that would be as valid, say, for a town in Lancashire as one in Dorset, and that is how we came up with our ten building 'styles' to sum up the main strands of architectural development in the town, from medieval through stone and timber vernacular, to neo-classical, neo-Gothic and vernacular revival.

We also had quite strong views about what were the 'best' buildings in Cirencester, and what were the worst and so we agreed that our commentary on the different building styles would include judgements about what we considered to be good and why, and what buildings in Cirencester were most worthy of saving and celebrating and why. Richard felt that Cirencester could not afford to lose any of the buildings that were built before 1830, but that the town had so many examples of post-1830 architecture that 'some examples could be spared'.

He was far less kind to buildings in the town constructed after 1921, characterising them as having 'no purpose, no direction and no originality' and he was suspicious of the Victorian and Edwardian fondness for revivalist styles – the neo-Gothic, neo-Tudor, neo-classical, neo-Georgian and neo-vernacular, describing this as 'a melancholy list of ... plagiarism'. What, he asked, should a modern architect do in order to design buildings that would give people delight? First, explore the potential of modern building materials instead of trying to copy the past; second be brave and design buildings that are 'exciting, controversial, confident and therefore make a contribution to the town'.

The growth of the conservation area movement

Time then to assess what has happened in the forty years since BAR 12 was published and to ask what impact the book has had. Arguably, the impact has been considerably greater than Richard or I could possibly have conceived back in 1974. This is because our methods have now become standard practice in townscape characterisation and conservation area appraisal.

At the time we wrote BAR 12, conservation area designation was in its infancy. The Civic Amenities Act of 1967 introduced the wholly new concept of giving protection not just to individual buildings or archaeological monuments but to a whole conservation area, encompassing a large number of buildings, monuments, green spaces, trees, views and vistas. Under the Act, local authorities were required by law to define areas within cities, towns and villages worthy of protection on the grounds of their special architectural or historic interest. They were further required to produce conservation area statements, describing the character, history and significance of the conservation area, and to produce management plans, saying what the local authority intended to do to protect and enhance these areas.

Local authorities were slow to respond – Britain's first conservation area was designated in Stamford, Lincolnshire, in 1967, but it was not until the mid-1970s that they really got down to creating conservation areas in large numbers. To do this they needed a methodology – and BAR 12 was one of the few published works to address these issues. Though Richard and I had not designed or written the survey with this specific need in mind, the approaches described in BAR 12 became widely adopted and integrated into the conservation area appraisal process.

For example, conservation area appraisals use map regression to gain a swift overview of the area's development over time; every building in a conservation area is described and grouped by date and style as a means of teasing out the architectural character of the conservation area. Most importantly, judgements are made about the quality of every building within a conservation area – a typical appraisal will have a colour-coded map attached, showing buildings judged to make a positive contribution to the character of the conservation area, those judged to be neutral in their impact and those judged to have a negative impact.

This then feeds into the planning process in that there is a presumption in law against the partial or total demolition of any building judged to make a positive contribution to the area's history and character. Negative buildings can, however, be demolished and replaced,

as can neutral ones, provided that the replacement buildings enhance the area and make a positive contribution in their turn. As for the style of the buildings, conservation management plans will often include a design code analysing and defining the predominant architectural character of the conservation area, so encouraging owners and developers to adopt these same building materials and design characteristics in designing new buildings or extensions.

Today England alone has more than 8,000 conservation areas and Cotswold District Council has the distinction of having the most of any local planning authority – we have 145 in total. To put that in perspective, the whole of the county of Wiltshire has only one more, at 146.

In theory, at least, conservation area appraisals are supposed to result from in-depth community consultation, and some planning authorities encourage local residents to undertake the survey, with varying results. More often, local authorities hire heritage professionals like me to draw up the initial appraisals and then consult on the results by means of open meetings or an exhibition in the local library.

Consequently, I have been very fortunate to spend a good part of my life as one of those heritage consultants. I have now researched and written hundreds of such statements for local authorities, from Grasmere in the Lake District to Epsom in Surrey, and from Gloucester to Cambridge. I have also trained scores of local authority staff to do this work and I have helped to write Historic England guidance notes and toolkits. Thus BAR 12 proved to be the ideal training ground for all of this work; and I have subsequently passed on the methods used in that book to hundreds of others whose work involves understanding and managing heritage assets.

The character of Cirencester

So much for the influence of the book. What about Cirencester itself – how well has the town's historical and architectural legacy been looked after since 1975? Have we, as Richard recommended, cherished the best and encouraged bold and exciting design in modern materials?

Some of Cirencester's streets look the same now as they did in the 19th century – but others have changed beyond recognition. David Viner has written a detailed account of losses and gains in Cirencester in *Cirencester Excavations Vol 6*, so I will not repeat the detail of that here. My overall feeling is that much damage to Cirencester's urban character was done in the 1930s under the provisions of the 1930 Housing Acts and the Town and Country Planning Act 1932. That dreaded phrase 'slum clearance scheme' entered the vocabulary of the Urban District Council which authorised the demolition of so-called slum buildings in five 'improvement areas', including Cricklade Street, which has suffered more than any other street in the town from the wholesale removal of its late medieval and early modern vernacular houses, leaving us with a wholly false impression of Cirencester as a stone town – in reality, there was much timber and thatch.

There have been further losses since the war – notable examples include Abbey House, and the Primitive Methodist Chapel in Lewis Lane, needlessly demolished as the space occupied by the chapel has never been developed. But who can deny that there have been numerous

gains: the brewery, the workhouse, the Unitarian Chapel, the police station and the post office in Castle Street, the water works in Lewis Lane and numerous town centre pubs have all been saved, albeit converted to other uses. The Bathurst Museum has been brought back into use, Black Jack Street and the old post office yard behind the Crown have all been revived, property developers Wildmoor have done a splendid job in breathing new life into the Corn Hall and King's Head Hotel, the Town Hall looks very proud in its coat of golden lime wash; the New Brewery Arts has transformed what was an empty and unused building into a thriving workshop and craft centre and the equally redundant Barracks in Cecily Hill is now in use again as office accommodation.

Perhaps the periphery of Cirencester has suffered more: I personally regret very much the demolition of the canal wharf-inger's house, but at least David Viner and Christopher Powell were able to make a photographic record and a measured drawing. And I cannot look at Cirencester Town Station without a shudder, remembering what was lost when the traditional platform canopy was removed in 1974. At least the station itself has survived, though it nearly didn't: an application to demolish the station was turned down after a public inquiry in 1978 and again in 1988.

By and large, it is the redundant industrial, agricultural and institutional heritage that has suffered most, while the religious, domestic and retail seems to have weathered the changes of the last forty years quite well. We have kept the workhouse and lock-up, but lost the gas works, Watermoor railway station, the Midland Road and School Lane housing terraces. The Cattle Market has gone, but in its place we have a building that perhaps fills Richards's demand for an exciting building using modern materials.

Neglect can have as much of an impact as demolition: it is sad to see the way that the raised pavement on Tetbury Road has been eroded over time through the theft of its coping stones; some of the broken sections have now been repaired, though not in the same style as the original, threatening the integrity of the whole. It also worries me that the collapsed wall at the gate to the nearby icehouse has not been repaired.

These are examples of what might be called commonplace heritage – minor features perhaps, but they add massively to the character of a place and are what makes any town distinctive. Here is another example: it is sad to see the row of cottages just inside the Park Wall by Barton Mill being left empty and boarded up for so long. I can remember when these cottages were inhabited and one of the residents used to grow sunflowers so tall that they reached high above the roof. There are other concerns: substantial neglected houses in Dollar and Thomas Street once occupied by St James's Place until they moved; the deteriorating condition of the Wilts and Glos Standard office in Dyer Street, designed by V A Lawson the leading arts and crafts architect; and what is to be the fate of another Lawson building, the now much messed-about Memorial Hospital?

Arguably all this *is* minor heritage – but it is also vital to our ability to read and understand how Cirencester has developed. The same is true of Cirencester's waterways – how many of us simply take for granted the streams and rivers that flow through the Abbey Grounds or past the open-air swimming pool? Richard Reece's recent studies have proved very enlightening in so many respects.

Summary and a challenge

I will end my account of how BAR 12 came to be written with a challenge. Richard and I never conceived of the project as an end in itself – we always wanted it to be the pathfinder for a detailed house-by-house study of Cirencester’s historic buildings. Some of the early reviews of the book made the somewhat obvious point that the exterior appearance of a building gives no clues to its interior history. Facades can be and frequently are replaced, renewed, updated in more fashionable styles. It is perfectly possible that the remains of older buildings survive encapsulated within a later modernisation. A detailed study, perhaps with dendro-sampling and dating of key timber features, would certainly enrich our understanding of the town’s development.

Of course, there are issues of privacy here and of access to people’s private homes and business premises but there are precedents in a number of towns (Sandwich in Kent, for example) and I have direct experience of a similar project in North Wales. The Old Welsh Houses Project has been going for more than 15 years and has produced a magnificent volume entirely researched and written by amateurs and volunteers. The leader of the Old Welsh Houses group is an energetic former teacher and schools’ inspector by the name of Margaret Dunn who gives regular lectures on the group’s work. After every lecture, somebody approaches to say ‘My house looks like those in your talk – would you like to come and have a look at it’. And so another historic house gets investigated.

In 2008, in Cirencester Excavations report volume 6, David Viner concluded his survey of the town’s standing heritage with the words “sadly, it can be seen how little has been achieved in terms of recording and thereby better understanding of Cirencester’s upstanding buildings, and at the same time how much potential has clearly been missed during the period under review. The very small number of examples of any comprehensive analysis of individual buildings, groups of buildings, ownership patterns or plot layout is disappointing. Future opportunities ‘should be grasped more firmly’ “.

Perhaps in this audience there is Cirencester’s equivalent to Snowdonia’s Margaret Dunn. It would be very nice to think that there is and it would be wonderful to see a successor to BAR 12 in the form of a building by building survey of Cirencester’s historic houses. I leave you with that thought and the observation that perhaps the imminent publication of the Victoria County History volume for Cirencester will be a further catalyst to this – and perhaps the subject for another Croome lecture in years to come.

Further Reading

- CAHS website: www.cirenhistory.org.uk
- p.3 - for Rajah Brooke, see Runciman, S 1960. *The White Rajahs: a history of Sarawak from 1841 to 1946*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- p.4 - for Sir Peter Maxwell Davies’s obituary, see *The Guardian*, 14 March 2016 (<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/mar/14/sir-peter-maxwell-davies-obituary>)
- p.5 - however church records, books etc were recovered and deposited in Gloucestershire Archives, ref no D10690. See also Dr Fred James’ study ‘An old Cirencester chapel’ in *Gloucestershire History*, no 11, 1997, pp.2-9. (<https://www.gloshistory.org.uk/reprints/gh199702.pdf>)

- p.7 - Verey, D 1970. *The Buildings of England Gloucestershire I: the Cotswolds*, Penguin, Harmondsworth; any errors have been corrected in the new edition: Verey, D and Brooks, A 2000. *The Buildings of England Gloucestershire I: the Cotswolds*, Penguin, London
- p.9 – e.g. for the Cirencester Town Centre Conservation Area, see <https://www.cotswold.gov.uk/media/381812/Cirencester-Town-Centre-CA-appraisal-30-33-Details.pdf>
- p.9 - Holbrook, N (ed) 2008. *Cirencester Excavations VI: Excavations and Observations in Roman Cirencester 1998-2007*, Cotswold Archaeology, Kemble; see esp. Viner, D. 'A rich resource: studying Cirencester's historic buildings', pp. 15-27
- p.10 - McWhirr, A 1976. *Archaeology and History of Cirencester*, British Archaeological Reports 30, Oxford; includes Viner, D. 'The Thames & Severn Canal in Cirencester', pp.126-44
- p.10 – Broxton, P. and Reece, R. 'The Interpretation of Streams', CAHS Newsletter no 53, April 2011, 12pp. (<http://www.cirenhistory.org.uk/nl53streams.htm>). As part of the 2018 Croome Lecture, Richard prepared a further contribution on 'Cirencester's Watercourses', to be published on the CAHS website. W St Clair Baddeley has an excellent map of Cirencester watercourses in his *History of Cirencester* (1924)
- p.11 - Clarke, H, Pearson, S, Mate, M and Parfitt, K 2010. *Sandwich: the 'Completest Medieval Town in England'*, Oxbow, Oxford
- p.11 - Dunn, M and Suggett, R 2014. *Discovering the Historic Houses of Snowdonia*, RCAHMW, Aberystwyth.



Out of use and out of time?

The Memorial Hospital in Sheep Street, Cirencester faces an uncertain future, its days as the town's 'cottage' hospital long gone. Opened in 1875, in this photo by W. Dennis Moss the building is seen at its most extensive with additions in 1913.

(image courtesy Philip Griffiths WDM archive)