

THE MOVING DUKE – A Bratton inn-vestigation

by Alison Maddock

The Duke is one of the most familiar buildings in the village of Bratton, Wiltshire, but it did not always occupy its present location. Recent research has unravelled more of the complicated story of this old inn.

The original building and its additions

In the 18th century the vicar of Westbury copied a lease into his parish register, where he was in the habit of recording local events as they affected him. The lease was dated April 1688 and concerned a 'messuage, tenement or dwellinghouse in Milburn called the Church house belonging to the parishioners of Bratton' which, together with a small piece of ground in front of it, was being rented out to a tenant by the Bratton churchwardens.

From the details given, we can be sure this was the building that became the old Duke Inn, standing on a plot at the south-east corner of Sands Lane that was later annexed behind the high wall of Bratton House. In earlier times, this now-central part of Bratton village was considered to lie on the outskirts of the settlement known as Milbourne, and was sometimes referred to as Townsend because of its peripheral position.

Church houses were a medieval institution, most dating from the 14th to early 16th centuries and functioning as the parish feasting hall and brewhouse. This enabled potentially rowdy community use such as 'church ales' to be removed from the church itself, and in Bratton there would be the added benefit of a more central location, after Stoke – the old settlement around the church – had been abandoned. After the Reformation, church ales, and hence church houses, became a thing of the past, and new uses were found for them as schools or poor houses. Alternatively they might be rented out to brewers or innkeepers.

The date of 1688 is the earliest specific mention we have of the property, and there is nothing to say that it was then in use as an inn or alehouse, though it might well have been. The lease was a 99-year one 'in reversion' (to take effect after the end of an earlier lease) granted to John Burgess. The memorandum in the Westbury parish register also records its assignment to another tenant in 1702, when the house was described as lying in Townsend. In both cases the leaseholder was a husbandman (farmer), but it was quite common for people to take out secure long leases of this type not for their own occupation but to sublet at a profit. The rent in the 1688 lease was set at ten shillings a year (20s = £1), which the churchwardens of St James' Church, Bratton put towards church expenses and which, astonishingly, remained at this figure for another 163 years.

Despite having its own church house, and some other attributes of an independent parish, Bratton was officially a chapelry of Westbury. The Westbury vicar who took the trouble to copy out the lease was Revd Thomas Hewitt, a man for whom life was seemingly one long series of arguments and irritations, especially when he felt the rights of his office were being infringed. Thanks to his habit of recording his grievances in the parish register we have some idea of the layout of the building in the mid-18th

century. As part of his glebe, the vicar owned a good-sized piece of garden ground behind it, which in the 1750s was let to a local man for growing crops such as wheat, bringing in useful income. Evidently Hewitt already had a grudge because a previous Westbury vicar had allowed a large room with cellars underneath to be built out into the garden at the north-east corner of the building. Much to his chagrin he now discovered that the usual access to his garden, which lay on the east side of the plot and happened to be required on this occasion by his tenant's dung cart, had been blocked by the erection of a stable and a 'necessary house of office' (a privy). Hewitt unsuccessfully demanded rent for the land they occupied, and his tenant tried to gain access via the west side, but this was Mr Whitaker's property and a locked gate barred the way. Redress proved impossible because the occupant of the church house was not in fact the leaseholder, so in 1757 Hewitt simply had the offending buildings torn down. He continued to complain, though, about a back door being 'impudently' knocked through into the garden where there was no right of entry and blaming the churchwardens for later encroachments including a new 'necessary house'.

Hewitt's remarks give us some idea of how a building that probably started as a simple rectangular block grew in piecemeal fashion first into an L-shape and then into something more complex. Such organic and unplanned development is evident in this remarkable photograph from the late 1880s.



The now-vanished former Duke Inn, Bratton, with the figure of a man on a horse just visible on its sign, and a glimpse of the stables and parapet of Bratton House beyond. Today the village War Memorial stands on what was the forecourt.

The photograph shows what a complicated building the inn had become. At first sight it looks like two buildings: a low one with a tiled roof in front of a tall thatched one, but look at the left hand side and a continuous side wall is visible. The higher rear block is definitely part of the whole, and thatching is one of the maintenance costs of the Duke that feature in the churchwardens' accounts during the 19th century.

This picture has been reproduced in several places and has sometimes been (wrongly) captioned as the White Horse Inn, the other Bratton pub to feature in this tale. Indeed, among the papers of the late Bratton historian Jean Morrison there is a painting based on this photograph, captioned 'The White Horse' and with the colour of the Duke's charger on the inn sign mischievously changed from black to white. In truth, this was never the White Horse, but the confusion is understandable, as will be revealed later.

The earliest depiction of the building's ground plan is on a map of Bratton in the Longleat House archives dating from about 1785. It shows a roughly H-shaped layout, with the left wing wider than the right and the upper left arm of the H lacking. The first large-scale plan to come to light dates from 1827, when Dr Edward Frowd Seagram of Bratton House agreed an exchange with the then vicar of Westbury, Revd Thomas Cook[e]. The vicarage glebe or 'ancient garden' behind the inn had become an anomaly, and Seagram was eyeing it as a desirable extension to his own grounds, having already taken over the tenancy. Accordingly, they agreed that Seagram could have the 1 rood 20 perches of garden (something over a third of an acre, 0.15 hectares) in Bratton, while he conveyed a parcel of his own land near Beres Mere in The Butts area of Westbury to the church authorities in exchange. The plan agrees with the H-shape, and the deed describes the garden as 'bounded on the east by a wall which divides the yard and stables belonging to the mansion house of Edward Frowd Seagram'.

By 1840, when the tithe map was drawn up, surveyors were distinguishing between dwellings and service buildings such as stables. As can be seen in the extract below, the old Duke now has a still more complicated footprint with just the front, south-west, block indicated as a dwelling.



The 1840 tithe map, with the old Duke Inn arrowed. The present Duke is no. 2440

A still later ground plan, incorporated by chance on an application by William Heathcote Frowd Seagram to reconfigure Sands Lane in 1882, shows the various building accretions consolidated into one block matching the outline that can be deduced from the photograph above. It includes the porch, which we know from an entry in the churchwardens' accounts to have been built for them in 1854 by James Burgess. How much of the original church house structure still remained embedded in the 19th-century inn is a matter for conjecture: there are no sources that could reveal whether anything medieval survived. When the building was sold it comprised parlour, taproom, bar, pantry, kitchen, cellars, five bedrooms, brewhouse and outbuildings.

The name of the inn, and some innkeepers

Two men of Bratton, Thomas Tytford and Christopher White, were the subject of alehouse keepers' bonds as early as 1620, while a countrywide survey of travellers' accommodation in 1686 found that Bratton could provide beds for four travellers and stabling for four horses, presumably at an inn. The *Salisbury Journal* of 20 November 1749 recorded the death of Edward Gale, 'shopkeeper and innkeeper' late of Bratton. Unfortunately, these sources do not reveal the names of the alehouses or inns concerned. As will be seen, there were at least two village inns here during the 18th century.

The earliest definite mention of an inn called the Duke that we have so far is a notice in the *Bath Chronicle* of 24 December 1778, recording the death of John Smith '[for] many years master of the Duke public-house in Bratton'. (On the c.1785 Longleat map, which records owners and occupiers, the name Smith still appears next to the inn and is thought to refer to his widow Christian, who left a stock of beer and liquors, casks and brewing vessels in her will.) If the description 'many years' is correct, the name must go back at least to about 1770, so the Duke commemorated was clearly not Wellington, whose exploits were still in the future. If not a 'local' Duke (such as Charles Paulet, created Duke of Bolton in 1689, or the Duke of Somerset), candidates could include the Duke of Marlborough (military hero, died 1722), one of the royal Dukes of York, or the Duke of Cumberland ('Butcher of Culloden', died 1765). The last of these was popularly commemorated in pub names more often than one might expect.

In her book *Sheep Bell & Ploughshare*, Marjorie Reeves wrote that the name had formerly been the Duke William, which would certainly fit the Duke of Cumberland, often known by that name. This alleged name may be questionable though, since there appears to be only one source for it – a listing in the recognisances or bonds required from licensed victuallers in Wiltshire dating from 1827. Details giving the names of both inn and licensee survive only from 1822 to 1827, where we find these names:

1822, Giles Humphries, The Duke, Bratton, parish of Westbury
 1823, Giles Humphries, The Duck, Bratton, parish of Westbury
 1824, Giles Humphries, The Duke, Bratton, parish of Westbury
 1824, William Goodman, The Duke, Bratton, parish of Westbury
 1827, John Snelgrove, Duke William, Westbury

Other sources confirm that John Snelgrove was landlord in Bratton, so his listing appears to refer to the same pub. However, since 'Duck' is clearly a mistake, the other variant could be dubious too. It could, for example, be a confusion with a contemporary pub in Upton Scudamore called the Duke William. Inn names did tend to change over

time, but confidence in the 'William' title of 1827 is also undermined by the deeds of exchange that very same year, mentioned earlier, where the name is given as the Duke's Head in an affidavit (although it appears simply as 'The Inn' on the accompanying plan). Of course, this too may be inaccurate. The inn sign in the 1880s photograph clearly indicates a military man, since he is shown on a rearing charger, but by then the 'original' duke may have given way to a more recent hero.

When the property is first mentioned by name in annual land-tax assessments, which occurs in 1808, it is as the Duke Inn, and the occupier (presumably the licensee) is given as William Watts. He must have died about 1809/10 because his widow's name appears next, before Giles Humphries – whose name has already been encountered in the recognisance lists – succeeds them in 1811. Humphries' name also appears in the churchwardens' accounts for his rental payments on Church House, this description for the property being used by them right up to 1848, when they begin to refer to it as the Duke Inn.

When the licensee John Snelgrove died in 1848 his will described him as an innkeeper, and although the name of the inn he occupied is not mentioned in the will there is no doubt he was still at the Duke, being listed there in an 1842 trades directory. His was a family long connected with supplying food and drink to the village. His father Richard, baker and miller, is probably the Richard Snelgrove listed as the primary tenant of the Duke in land-tax listings from 1825 to 1831 (when the main set ends), with John as the actual occupier. This probably means that Richard rented the property, but it is also possible that he is named because he was parish clerk and could be seen as representing the churchwardens who were legally the proprietors.

Soon after John Snelgrove's death, Bratton parishioners tumbled to the fact that the rent was still set at its 17th-century level and came nowhere near covering costs. A vestry meeting in 1851 agreed a massively increased rate of £15 per annum and granted the tenancy to Martha Snelgrove, who had presumably been running the pub since her husband John's death. (Subsequent income shows that £16 was the figure actually paid, while a rate-book surviving from 1851 assesses the rental value of the property at £18.) The Duke was also insured in 1851, for £200. By 1855 it had passed into the hands of Martha's brother-in-law William Snelgrove, a miller like his father, who proved unable to make the inn pay and was declared bankrupt in 1863, creditors being advised to apply to Thomas Usher of Trowbridge, brewer, for payment. He was succeeded by John Newman as licensee in April that year, by which date the rent had risen to £18 p.a., and according to the census Newman was still there in 1871. In 1872 the lease of the inn passed to James Hurle, and then in November 1882 we see the license being transferred to William Pike Hobbs, whose tenure was to span the end of the old Duke and the beginning of the new.

At the heart of village life

The old Duke was at the centre of village life, much as its 'church house' heritage would suggest. The publican was regularly called upon to supply outside refreshments when required. This included providing beer for the parishioners when they took their turn at the statutory duty of repairing the roads. The accounts of Bratton's parish highway supervisors show payments for beer to licensees Watts and Humphries in most years between 1808 and 1815.

Beyond this expected role, the building itself functioned as a multi-purpose community centre. Around 1816–18 the clubroom of the Duke was being rented out to the Baptist Sunday School by Mrs Humphries, until they could find a more permanent home. Auctions were held there, such as a sale of standing timber in 1839, the disposal of Dunge and Horsecroft Farms by the Whitaker family in 1859, and the dispersal of property following the locally-notorious *Horrell v. Brent* court action in 1884. The public rooms also proved convenient for holding coroners' inquests. In 1883 an inquest on James Merritt, market gardener aged 63, found that he died under chloroform as a surgeon attempted a tracheotomy.

The White Horse

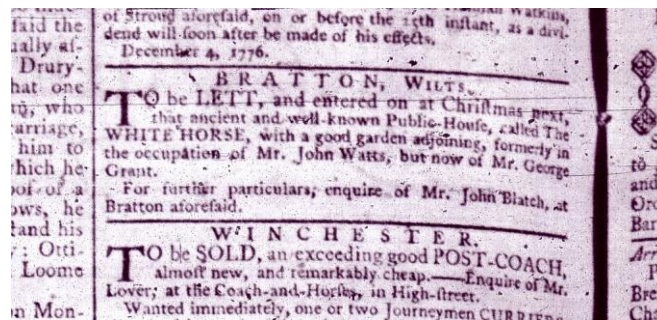
It is now time to introduce another Bratton alehouse into the story, the one we know today under the sign of the Duke. It stands close to the site of the old Duke, but started life quite differently.

Again the Revd Hewitt provides our earliest mention by name, when he wrote that the house of 'old John Sweetland', who died in 1759, was next to the White Horse – clearly meaning an inn, not the hill figure! From this statement it has been inferred that the present Duke – the former White Horse – was originally a pair or short row of cottages, with the pub occupying only part of it. This may well be correct, although sources known so far do not reveal much about its development, nor when it came to occupy the whole range. There is also the possibility that Hewitt got his inns mixed up, since two cottages did once stand on the east side of the old Duke, as shown on the map at Longleat. However, the row-of-cottages theory does fit with the existence of a long narrow building where the White Horse would be, shown on that map as occupying one of two parallel plots belonging to William Aldridge Ballard. These correspond well with the vaguely-indicated location of Ballard's 'two tenements in Townsend' referred to in a deed of 1789 and also with 'two tenements with a garden and orchard at Townsend' listed among the property of Philip Ballard as far back as the early 1700s. As will be seen, the Ballard family name is certainly one that features in the story of the ownership of the White Horse.

Like the old Duke, the present building is complicated in layout and appears to have grown in stages. The north-eastern part consists of two parallel ranges each one room deep, with a valley between the two roofs. This layout is apparent on a plan dating from 1914 (submitted to the local authority as part of an application to make alterations), which also shows that the south-western end was a separate unit presumably built at a different time, and now with a quite differently-gabled roofline. It appears to occupy the site of the outbuilding shown on the tithe map (above).

In 1739 a certain John Sweetland of Bratton, probably the man who lived next door to the White Horse, is recorded as standing surety for Edward Gale, the Bratton innkeeper named above. This led the editors of *The Diaries of Jeffery Whitaker 1739–1741* to suggest that Gale's inn was the White Horse, and further to identify it tentatively with an establishment referred to by Jeffery Whitaker as Pipers, on the grounds that Piper was the maiden name of Gale's wife. If these guesses are correct, 1739 is the earliest reference so far to the existence of this inn.

As the White Horse Inn, it enjoyed a period of respectability in the 18th century. Advertisements for a new lessee in the *Salisbury Journal*, dated 20 November 1775 and 9 December 1776, describe it as an 'ancient and well-known public house called the White Horse, with a good garden and orchard adjoining and a close of pasture if required'. In 1775 it was 'now and for many years past in the occupation of John Watts', who was leaving the business, and in 1776 the occupier was George Grant, who presumably had decided (or been obliged for some reason) not to stay.



Salisbury Journal small-ad, 1776

Applicants for the lease in 1775 were to contact Mr William Aldridge Ballard or Mr John Blatch (who was his brother-in-law), which agrees with indications that this property was already part of the freehold estate of the Ballard family. Most (though not all) of their freeholds had been acquired through the marriage of Philip Ballard to Sarah Aldridge, whose father John was a yeoman farmer who purchased a number of properties in Bratton in the late 17th century, bequeathing them to his Ballard grandson when he died. By the early 19th century, ownership of the Ballard estate including Bratton House had passed to Dr Edward Frowd Seagram, again by marriage, his first wife being Mary, daughter of William Aldridge Ballard. In due course the property was inherited by Dr Seagram's eldest son William Ballard Seagram.

The John Watts mentioned in the advertisement shown above was no doubt the same (or from the same family) as a 'John Watts of Bratton' who was a licensed alehouse keeper in 1758 and 1759, appearing in the recognisance lists for those years and probably earlier ones too, though less securely identifiable because village names are omitted (he is 'of Westbury' in 1756-7). Although the alehouse in question is not named, this looks like further confirmation that the White Horse was in business by at least the 1750s.

For some reason the White Horse does not appear in the early 19th-century licensed victuallers lists, so we have less information on the innkeepers of that period than for the Duke. Trades directories of 1838 and 1842 give the name as William White, while the 1851 census shows that a John Newman held the tenancy then. The rate-book of the same date shows that he also had a windmill, and that the house and garden at the White Horse were assessed at £12 p.a. rental value, only two-thirds the value of the Duke. Newman had probably been at the White Horse for several years by then, since he is mentioned in 1847 as landlord of an unnamed public house in the ledger book of Reeves Iron Works, and he is probably the same as the John Newman who later took up the Duke licence in 1863, though in the meantime the White Horse had come into the

hands of George Snelgrove, according to the 1861 census. George was the son of John and Martha Snelgrove of the Duke, and his tenancy lasted until at least 1871.

It has been said that the White Horse had a bad reputation in the 19th century, with how much justification this writer has yet to confirm. The aspersion may derive from complaints made in 1863 by William Seagram of Bratton House regarding repeated disorderly behaviour in the street late on Saturday nights. As a result, one of the parish constables was obliged to summon some local men involved in an organised bout of fighting after drinking at the White Horse. The men were let off lightly at the next petty sessions in Westbury, since it was not proved that they were actually drunk, according to the newspaper report. (At the same sessions in May 1863, innkeeper John Newman – presumably now established at the Duke – unsuccessfully complained about the behaviour of his nephew whom he employed as a carter, finding his own behaviour sharply criticised by the magistrates in return.)

A few land-tax lists survive from the 1870s and 80s, listing the occupiers of the White Horse (still under Seagram ownership). Together with other sources such as census returns, trades directories and reports of the petty sessions which dealt with licensing, the names of John Ingram from at least 1873/4 up to 1877/8, Charles Bolter after him up to 1879/80, and William Elling Dann to 1882 can be determined, though in fact the licence was transferred from Dann to Alfred Brown in October 1881.

By now the writing was on the wall for the pub owned by a family whose support of the temperance movement was well-known. The Bratton estate passed to William Ballard Seagram's widow Mary Ellen but neither he nor Dr Seagram's other sons had produced offspring, apart from Octavius, who was disgraced when he eloped to Canada with a village girl several years older than himself. So when Mary Ellen died in 1879 the property was inherited by Dr Seagram's great-nephew William Heathcote Frowd Seagram. As the new 'squire' at Bratton House he was happy in the role of encouraging respectable and hardworking villagers to take up improving pastimes, and had already made available a workmen's reading room in 1881, but the ownership of an institution that encouraged drunkenness probably made him deeply uncomfortable.

The following piece (no doubt supplied by a partisan local correspondent) appeared in the *Wiltshire Times* on 27 October 1883 under the heading 'Temperance Movement':

The licensed premises known as the White Horse, formerly occupied by Mr. A. Brown, now of the Castle Inn, Westbury, are being converted into a coffee tavern, the work of the alterations having been entrusted to Mr James Burgess of Westbury. The want of a coffee tavern has long been felt in the neighbourhood; and, on the expiration of the licence last month, the owner of the property, Mr Seagram, generously decided to provide that public convenience, and the house was closed at the commencement of the present month for the necessary alterations. The premises are well situated and easy of access, being in the centre of the village, and appear to be admirably suitable for the purpose required. It is expected that the house will be opened as a coffee tavern in a few weeks; and, if the undertaking should prove successful, it is not improbable that the reading society will remove to it from their present rooms in the lane, for the greater convenience of the members.

As the White Horse Coffee Tavern it was listed in the 1885 edition of Kelly's Directory, under the management of William Stevens.

The end of the old Duke Inn

By the 1880s it was perhaps thought to be anomalous for the church to own a pub, but the more likely spur to its disposal was the huge drain its upkeep exerted in time and money. The churchwardens' accounts itemise frequent expenses, such as paying for repairing a pump in 1859, thatching in 1865, 1872 and 1877-80, as well as insurance premiums and income tax, all to be set against the rental income of £18 p.a.

Permission to sell was sought from the authorities and was approved by the Charity Commissioners, leading to its sale by auction on 5 April 1887, the vendors being the vicar (Bratton had its own by now), churchwardens and trustees representing the Commissioners. The *Wiltshire Times* reported keen interest from local brewers, since it was now the only licensed premises in the village, though its condition was said to be 'indifferent'. The buyer at the higher-than-expected price of £1350 was Edward Smallcombe, a Westbury brewer who also had interests in other local public houses, and the conveyance was completed in September 1887. The tenancy of William Pike Hobbs was on a yearly basis and he remained as licensee.

The money from the sale was invested in consolidated funds, and church accounts immediately saw the benefit, with a dividend from the Charity Commissioners of nearly £50 in 1888/9, settling down to a steady income of £34 or so in subsequent years. Clearly this had been a long overdue move from the financial point of view.

Jean Morrison wrote that 'when the Church House was sold, the occupants of Bratton House [i.e. the Seagram family] bought it, pulled it down and added it to the garden'. But this is to overlook the awkward fact that Mr Seagram was in fact owner of the White Horse, while the old Duke was in the hands of the Smallcombe brewing family. Clearly there had to have been some switching of ownership, overlooked in telling the popular story.

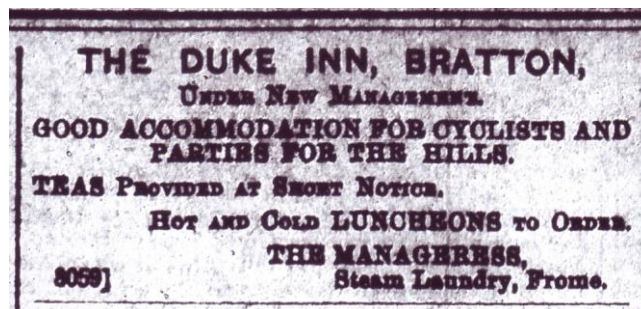
In September 1890 the owner Edward Smallcombe applied for the Duke's licence, held by William Pike Hobbs, to be transferred to 'the White Horse Coffee House adjoining, this being more convenient for the purpose of the business'. Research in solicitors' records reveals that Smallcombe had already acquired some kind of tenancy of the White Horse, paying rent to Seagram in April that year. They were in the process of negotiating an exchange agreement, with WHF Seagram trying unsuccessfully to improve on Smallcombe's offer of £100 to effect the transaction. This sum was paid over in October, and the deeds of the Duke were delivered to Bratton House in April 1891, following completion of the legal process. Smallcombe thus became owner of the White Horse, now once again a licensed public house with its name changed to the Duke Inn (and, according to Mrs Morrison, its sign repainted as the Duke of Wellington), while Seagram could go ahead with demolition of the old Duke. The exact date of its disappearance does not seem to have been recorded, but it was probably soon afterwards. The 25-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1901 (showing amendments surveyed in 1899) has a glasshouse and only some small remnants of buildings on the site.

The one photograph we have of the old Duke (reproduced earlier in this account) may well have been taken to commemorate either its sale in 1887 or its closure in 1890.

The new Duke

'Host Hobbs' continued the tradition of outside hospitality, and whenever a village organisation needed catering services the licensee and his wife could be called upon to do the honours. Local newspaper reports of such functions as the Pig Club supper at the Jubilee Hall or the annual festivities of the Friendly Society in the National Schoolroom never fail to acknowledge their contribution. Unhappily, it was to end in tears for this namesake of the present (2014) landlords, when William Pike Hobbs was caught by the Inspector of Weights and Measures selling whisky under proof – perhaps inadvertently, as he claimed, since he had purchased it in bulk. In March 1900 he was fined £2 with costs, and the owner quickly moved to get the licence transferred into the name of his son John W Smallcombe.

In May 1900 the Duke was advertised as 'under new management' with some slightly surprising new details, as the following image from the *Wiltshire Times* of 12 May 1900 reveals. An explanation for the Frome Laundry connection which features in it has yet to be researched.



JW Smallcombe was still listed as licensee in 1903, but a surviving 1905 Bratton rate-book, and the Inland Revenue survey of c.1910 which seems to be based on it, reveal a change to William Staniford, though the owner of the 'Duke Inn and Garden' was still Edward Smallcombe. Just before the First World War the Duke was one of the local pubs he sold to the Trowbridge brewery Ushers, which closed in 2000, although the Duke was no longer part of the firm's portfolio by then. That brewery is recorded negotiating an exchange of perimeter land with the adjoining Reeves works in 1913, but the actual sale of the freehold to Ushers, for £3041 13s 2d, was completed in September 1914.

The foundry must have been a noisy neighbour, and its disappearance after 1970 one of many changes seen over the course of the 20th century. The Duke itself had more than one transformation, operating as the Duke Hotel for many years, and changing its outward appearance over time; (for example, a plan of 1913 shows only the right-hand porch, but there are two on a plan drawn the following year, though their shape has been altered since then). Also part of its 20th-century history are ventures such as the tea gardens and the holiday chalet on the hillside above the church. All of which really belong in a separate story, to be set down another time and probably by another writer.

Postscript: Researching the Rose & Crown

It should perhaps be added that Bratton probably had at least one other alehouse in the 18th century. A property known as 'Rose and Crown', part of the Earl of Abingdon's estate, lay below Bratton House near the corner of Lower Road. The copyhold tenancies

of this and an adjoining farmhouse were in the hands of farmer and maltster Aldridge Whitaker, who stood surety for John Watts (of the White Horse) in 1758, with Watts returning the favour, meaning that Aldridge Whitaker was licensed as an alehouse keeper in that year. The present writer hopes to firm up on this information and include it with the results of on-going research into Bratton's malthouses.

PRIMARY (ARCHIVE) SOURCES – Wiltshire & Swindon Archives at the Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre (WSHC), *with WSA catalogue numbers*

Westbury enclosure and tithe maps, 1808 and 1840
 Ordnance Survey 25-inch map of Bratton, 1901 edition
 Copy print from c.1785 Longleat plan of Bratton (X6/8)

Memoranda by Thomas Hewitt in Westbury Parish Register (1427/7)
 Bratton Highway Surveyors account book, 1768–1836 (1872/16)
 Bratton churchwardens' accounts, 1812–1935 (3349/1-2)
 Bratton land-tax returns, 1780–1831, 1873–84 (A1/345/55)
 Bratton Baptist Sunday School account book (1112/36)
 Reeves Ironworks archive (951)
 Bratton rate-book 1851 (1872/15)
 Bratton rate-book 1905 (G12/510/42)
 Inland Revenue survey c.1910, Bratton section (L8/1/118)

Alehouse keepers' recognisances: 1739 (A1/325/3), 1756–61 (A1/326/1–2) and 1822–27 (A1/326/3) *see next page for 17th-century alehouse-keepers*

'A Terrier of Mr Ballards Freehold at Bratton', c.1699–1710 (*in* 1195/22) *and*
 Demise of 'Cook's Plot', 1789 (212B/659) (with mention of 2 tenements in Townsend)

Poster for timber sale, 1839 (628/5/6)
 Sale particulars, Dunge and Horsecroft Farms, 1859 (137/125/66)
 Sale particular for the Duke, 1887 (*research papers of Jean Morrison*, 3433/2/10)

Exchange of land, Seagram + Vicar of Westbury, 1827 (628/2/5 & D375/5/18)
 Application to alter Sands Lane (Seagram), 1882 (A1/110/1882T)

Solicitor's record books covering 1890–91, Herbert Wakeman & Partners (628/48/51 & /72)
 Records of Westbury Petty Sessions 1898–1902* (B23/110/1)
 Lease of the Duke by the trustees, 1872 (2221/2/33/1/2)
 County Licensing Committee minutes from 1872 (A1/615)
 Survey of property of Edward Smallcombe, brewer, 1897 (2221/2/11/1)
 Exchange of land, Ushers + Reeves, 1913 (951/188)
 Ushers property purchases 1888–1916 (1075/240/1)
 Plan of proposed alterations to Duke Inn by Ushers, 1914 (G12/760/18)

** Most other dates unavailable due to loss of records, so newspaper reports of licensing business used instead.*

OTHER SOURCES

Newspapers (on microfilm)

Salisbury Journal	} 18th century references first brought to the writer's
Bath Chronicle	} attention by R. Jago at WSHC

Trowbridge & North Wilts Advertiser (later the Wiltshire Times) for report of Snelgrove bankruptcy and 'New management' advert (*thanks to research papers of Jean Morrison now at WSHC*) and for reports of the Horrell v. Brent sale, the sale of the Duke, Westbury Petty Sessions and the proposed Coffee Tavern.

Trades directories

'Early Trade Directories of Wiltshire', publ. Wiltshire Record Society, 1992
For later dates, Kelly's etc are available on microfiche at WSHC

Census returns available on the Internet

Books and journal articles

'Tradesmen in early-Stuart Wiltshire', publ. Wiltshire Record Society, 1960
(includes alehouse-keepers)

'Accommodation and travel in pre-turnpike Wiltshire' by John Chandler, *in* Wiltshire
Archaeological & Natural History Magazine vol. 84, 1991 (based on a 1686 document at
The National Archives entitled 'Abstract of a particular account of all the Inns Alehouses
etc in England with their Stableroom etc')

Also referred to in the text are:

'Sheep Bell & Ploughshare', by Marjorie Reeves, Moonraker Press, 1978

'The Diaries of Jeffery Whitaker, Schoolmaster of Bratton, 1739–1741', ed. Marjorie Reeves
and Jean Morrison, publ. Wiltshire Record Society, 1989

'The Ballads of Bratton House', by Jean Morrison, *in* Bratton History Association Journal
vol. 1, 1990–91

*The view of the old Duke was purchased as a copy from the county photograph collection at the
Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre and is included with acknowledgment.*

Alison Maddock
Bratton, Wiltshire
February 2016