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# The Buttermarket, Market Strand, Redruth, Cornwall: Historic building investigation

Johanna Roethe

Discovery, Innovation and Science in the Historic Environment



**THE BUTTERMARKE  
MARKET STRAND, REDRUTH,  
CORNWALL**

**HISTORIC BUILDING INVESTIGATION**

Johanna Roethe

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Cover image: Looking down into the courtyard of the Buttermarket from the roof scaffolding in the north-west corner. [James O. Davies © Historic England Archive, DP275873]



## **SUMMARY**

This report on the historic market buildings now known as the Buttermarket was prepared to inform the High Street Heritage Action Zone (HSHAZ) initiative at Redruth. The Buttermarket includes a two-storey market house of 1825-6 and further buildings with ground-floor colonnades around a courtyard which date from the mid- and late 19th century. The market is an example of the 'agora' or loggia type market, a precursor of the Victorian market hall. Another part of the Redruth market was a meat market hall of the late 1870s, which burnt down in 1982 and was replaced in 2000-1 with a new two-storey shopping arcade within the historic perimeter walls.

## **CONTRIBUTORS**

The report was written by Johanna Roethe. Rebecca Lane read and commented on the draft. Photography is by James O. Davies and Johanna Roethe. Graphics are by Sharon Soutar.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I am grateful for the help of my colleagues Samantha Barnes, Catherine Marlow, and Dr Helen Woodhouse at Historic England; Tamsin Daniel and Cheryl Welsh of Cornwall Council; Ross Williams and Dr Tamsin Spargo of Redruth Revival CIC; Jenny Matravers, Claire Fear and Vanessa Ruhlig at Thread Architects and the staff of Kresen Kernow. The following generously provided information from their own research: Linda Beskeen, Dr Tamsin Spargo and Terry Knight. Unless otherwise indicated, all photos are the copyright of Historic England. Images from Kresen Kernow and The National Archives have been reproduced with their permission.

## **ARCHIVE LOCATION**

Historic England Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon, SN2 2EH

## **DATE OF RESEARCH**

The research took place between October and December 2020, with additional research in July 2021. The site was visited in December 2020. Photographs by James O. Davies were taken in April 2021. The initial report of February 2021 was updated and desktop published in November 2021.

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Figure 1: Modern OS map showing the town centre of Redruth, with the location of the market buildings (outlined in red), the main streets and the location of the parish church. [Background map © Crown Copyright and database right 2021. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900]

## INTRODUCTION

This historic building investigation of the Buttermarket at Redruth was commissioned by Tamsin Daniel, Heritage Services Manager at Cornwall Council, and Dr Helen Woodhouse, Historic England Delivery Lead for the Redruth High Street Heritage Action Zone (HSHAZ), to inform decisions about the refurbishment of the buildings, their assessment for statutory listing and public engagement initiatives. The Buttermarket was listed Grade II in May 2021 (NHLE 1475141).

In 2019 Redruth was selected as one of 68 Historic England High Street Heritage Action Zones across England. The refurbishment of the Buttermarket, together with two buildings on the south-west side of Alma Place, is a priority for the HSHAZ initiative, which aims to bring the under-utilised buildings back into use.

From the early 14th century, Redruth's historic market has been located in Fore Street. Since 1826 it has been housed in a complex of buildings off the south side of Fore Street, which occupies the rear of a long burgage plot between Fore Street and Station Hill. The entrance from Fore Street is set back from the road and approached via an alley known as Market Strand (Figure 1).

The main focus of the report is the complex of market buildings and particularly the buildings around the courtyard, which are now known as the Buttermarket. It also briefly includes adjacent properties like the former Mining Exchange and the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office in Alma Place, which are part of the same refurbishment proposals and whose lower ground floors have historically been used in conjunction with the market. The early history of the nearby Fair Meadow is closely linked to the market; its post-medieval history is briefly covered in the Appendix to this report.

### Designations

The Buttermarket is Grade II-listed building (NHLE 1475141) in the Redruth Town Centre Conservation Area, which was designated in 1983. Several neighbouring buildings in Alma Place are listed buildings, all at Grade II: the Coffee Tavern (NHLE 1142583), the bank and post office building (NHLE 1328176), the Mining Exchange (NHLE 1161540) and the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office (NHLE 1142584). Redruth is located in the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape World Heritage Site.

### Existing research into the history of the site

There has been relatively little detailed research into the history of the market buildings. In 2001 Cornwall Archaeological Unit produced a report to inform the rebuilding of the meat market and the Alma Place buildings after a fire, which also included the results of excavations.<sup>1</sup> It briefly covered the history of the whole market but did not investigate in detail the different phases of the extant buildings. More recently, Thread Architects have produced a brief historical analysis as part of their RIBA Stage 2 (concept design) document and a heritage statement to accompany planning and listed building consent applications.<sup>2</sup>

Other recent secondary sources on Redruth like the conservation area appraisal, the Extensive Urban Survey, the Cornwall Industrial Settlements Initiative report and the *Buildings of England* volume briefly mention the history of the market but do not go into detail in their dating of the individual elements.<sup>3</sup>

### **Research limitations**

Not every part of the buildings was accessible during the site visit. Inaccessible areas include the roof spaces, the first-floor flat in the south-west and south-east courtyard ranges, and some of the ground-floor units. Due to limits on archive appointments in 2020, only the most pertinent items could be viewed at Kresen Kernow (Cornwall Archives).

### **Abbreviations**

HSHAZ:	High Street Heritage Action Zone
NGR:	National Grid Reference
NHLE:	National Heritage List for England
OS:	Ordnance Survey



## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARKET

### Origins of the town, market and fair

Redruth and its market originated in the 14th century. Like many planted Cornish towns, the settlement did not develop near the parish church, St Euny's, which may have been founded as early as the 6th century, but about 1km to the north-east of it (see Figure 1).<sup>4</sup> Instead, the town focused on the junction of two major land routes (now West End/Fore Street and Chapel Street/Penryn Street).<sup>5</sup> Redruth was part of the manor of Tehidy (spelled Tedintone in the Domesday Book), which in the mid-12th century had passed through marriage to the Basset family.<sup>6</sup>

On 28 July 1333 King Edward III granted a charter for a market and a fair to William Basset, the lord of the manor.<sup>7</sup> The market was to be held twice a week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The fair took place twice a year: on Michaelmas Day (29 September) and the following three days, and on the eve of the feast of 'St Peter in Chains' (1 August) and the following three days.<sup>8</sup>

The medieval market was held in Fore Street, which originally may have been wider with gardens in front of several buildings. The recessed frontages of nos. 20 and 28 Fore Street may represent the historic width of the street. Over time, front extensions and new buildings have encroached on the gardens and the former marketplace.<sup>9</sup> The fair was held on Fair Meadow, a large, square meadow immediately south of the burgage plots of Fore Street.

Over the next few centuries the market charter was periodically renewed. In 1564 Elizabeth I issued a new grant to William Basset for a market on Tuesday and Saturday and two fairs on 21 April and 22 July.<sup>10</sup> (After 1516 royal grants of markets were no longer recorded in charters but in patent rolls.)

In 1664 a grant for a market and fair was issued by Charles II.<sup>11</sup> This appears to have been prompted by a petition in 1660 by John Bassett (c. 1624-1661) to move the market days from Tuesday and Saturday to Tuesday and Friday, 'especially for the Common Labouring Tinnens and poorer sort of people'.<sup>12</sup> Annual fairs were to be held on the same days as in the Elizabethan charter. More specifically, these were to be held on the 'vigil [evening before] and morrow' of 21 April (i.e. 20 and 21 April) and on the 'vigil and morrow' of the feast of St Mary Magdalene (21 and 22 July).<sup>13</sup>

Curiously, the new patent was granted to 'John Buller and his heirs'. The Cornish historian Thomas Tonkin (1678-1742) explained this with the fact that John Buller, lord of the manor of Tolgus, near Redruth, was a trustee for Francis Basset (died 1675), son of the recently deceased John.<sup>14</sup> However, it seems that the Buller family at some point acquired the market and two of the fairs. In 1814 the Lysons brothers mentioned in the Cornwall volume of their *Magna Britannia* that two of the fairs, held on 2 May and 3 August, and the market were 'the property of James Buller, Esq, M.P.'.<sup>15</sup> Only one fair, 'the Roast-goose-fair' on 12 October, still belonged to the Basset family.<sup>16</sup> For further discussion of the post-medieval history of the fairs, please see the Appendix to this report.

## Earlier market buildings

The earliest known market structure at Redruth was a timber-framed building with a steeply pitched, thatched roof, probably of a post-medieval date. It was located in Middle Row in Fore Street, directly beside a clock tower, which then was about 12 feet further north-west from the current tower.<sup>17</sup> Based on an undated sketch by J.M.W. Turner, the ground floor of the market structure appears to have been open, with lean-to roofs surrounding the building above ground-floor level which provided shelter.<sup>18</sup> John Nicholls (born 1814) described the building in 1898, presumably based on other peoples' reminiscences: 'The old Corn Market, a thatched room, adjoining the clock tower, and under it was a way for foot passengers. All vehicles had to go round the old clock to go up or down the street...'<sup>19</sup>

According to a market lease document of 2 March 1795, this market house was demolished that year as it was obstructing traffic in Fore Street.<sup>20</sup> The historian C.S. Gilbert stated in 1817: 'Redruth town was greatly improved about twenty years ago, when the Market House, which greatly interrupted the traffic, together with several other old buildings, were taken down, and the principal street, being laid open, is now very commodious. It contains several inns and shops, which enjoy an excellent trade'.<sup>21</sup>

Following the demolition of the old market house, the market is said to have moved to Market Strand and to a new building on the site of the later meat market building.<sup>22</sup> According to Linda Beskeen, John Buller leased the market in 1795 to James Jenkins and a note of 1801 certified that he had rebuilt the market in the agreed time and manner: 'to pull down and remove all part of the market house which now stands in the Fore Street of the town of Redruth...and erect and rebuild the same in and upon the Recepts [recess?] next thereto according to the full dimensions of the building so to be pulled down...'<sup>23</sup> The new building had glazed windows, as the churchwardens were paying for setting glass in the market house in March 1805.<sup>24</sup> No further details are known about this market house.

## The market buildings of 1825-6

In September 1823 Sir Francis Basset (1757-1835), 1st Baron de Dunstanville and Basset, paid James Buller 'for the purchase of Redruth Market £1,000'.<sup>25</sup> This appears to refer to the market rights, as well as the site and any extant buildings. In September 1825 Lord de Dunstanville also acquired the Fair Meadow from the Rev Walker, uniting the market and fair once again in the ownership of the Basset family.<sup>26</sup> A plan of 1825 showing the landownership and the location of mine setts in the vicinity of the town centre also depicts the site of the future market buildings, which was still largely undeveloped (Figure 2).

In the spring of 1825 Lord de Dunstanville initiated the construction of new market buildings at the southern end of the plot. In April 1825 the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* advertised the tender for a new market house:



Figure 2: A plan of Pedn-an-drea and Wheal Sparnon Mine Sett, surveyed in 1825 by Richard Thomas of Falmouth. The approximate site of the 1825-6 market is outlined in red; the Fair Meadow is labelled with the name of its then owner, the Revd Mr Walker. [Kresen Kernow, MRD/R119B]

To Carpenters and Masons. Notice is hereby given that tenders will be received for getting by contract, the building of a new Market-House in the town of Redruth. Agreeable to a plan and specification of the Work now lying for Inspection at Mrs Bray's, the White Hart Inn, in the said town, on or before Monday, the 18th instant; and that such Tenders may be addressed to Mr Reynolds, Trevenson.<sup>27</sup>

'Mr Reynolds' was William Reynolds of Trevenson Park, Steward for Lord de Dunstanville.<sup>28</sup>

By August 1826 the work appears to have been well advanced and the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* reported:

The new market-place at Redruth is in a state of forwardness, so that the removal of the serious nuisance created by holding the market in the street, will speedily be removed [sic]. The stalls for the butchers are finished and on Tuesday the persons who are to occupy them were, we understand, treated with a substantial dinner, &c. at the cost of Lord de Dunstanville, on whose estate the new market is built.<sup>29</sup>





Figure 3: Detail from the tithe map of 1841, surveyed by John Rowe, showing the approximate market site outlined in red. The main buildings, streets and sites have been labelled for clarity. [The National Archives, IR30/6/165]

The Basset family's estate accounts reportedly include an entry for paying 'an account of Building a new market house at the Market Place at Redruth' for £2,000, which was paid on 13 September 1826. Smaller sums were paid in the following years: £507 11s. 11d. in 1827 and £116 18s. 9d. in 1828.<sup>30</sup>

The new market buildings were part of several civic improvements in Redruth in the late Georgian period. Another key improvement was the rebuilding of the clock tower in Fore Street, on a site slightly south-east of that of the tower extant in c. 1795. The foundations of the present tower, believed to be the third on the site, were laid on 3 July 1826.<sup>31</sup> The architect is said to have been Mr Crout, the house-steward at Tehidy, the seat of the Basset family, although it is not clear what the evidence for this assertion is.<sup>32</sup>

As constructed the market buildings appear to have comprised a two-storey market house on the southern boundary of the property, with stalls in single-storey colonnades to the east and west of a narrow alleyway, accessed via an entrance from Fore Street to the north. The butchers' stalls were probably in the long open-sided colonnades to the north, where they were located by 1874.<sup>33</sup> In 1829 a member of the Jenkin family described Redruth market as having about 30-40 butchers, of which 15 occupied recently erected stalls.<sup>34</sup> The original use of the two floors of the market house is not known. The upper floor may have been used for meetings or administrative business, while trading went on below. For example, in 1838 the 'market house' was used for church services by the Wesleyan Association; it is likely that this refers to the upper floor of this building.<sup>35</sup> Alternatively, the two floors may have been used for different kinds of produce. For example, the market house



Figure 4: Detail of the Local Board of Health plan of 1854-5, surveyed by R. Symons and Son of Truro, showing the market ('market house') and the two-storey 'hall'. Note the small gate drawn in red at the entrance in Market Strand. [Kresen Kernow, DCKER/326/9]

at Liskeard of 1822 had a general market including fish on the ground floor, and a poultry market on the upper floor.<sup>36</sup>

In 1838 D. Gilbert described the Friday market:

[It] is supplied in great abundance with everything that can be wanted in the ordinary concerns of life. Large quantities of fish, of pork and of home manufactures, especially of shoes, are brought from Penzance market ... The long street of Redruth is scarcely adequate to contain the people who come from all these populous mining districts, although a new and spacious market has been constructed ... on the south side of the main street, in which all the standings were previously fixed.<sup>37</sup>

The 1825-6 market is shown schematically on the tithe map of 1841 (Figure 3). Although the tithe map does not show all of the buildings on the market site, particularly the parallel ranges, it is likely that it had in fact been constructed in its entirety by this date. By 1841 the market and the fair meadow were owned by Frances Basset (1781-1855), daughter and heir of Sir Francis, who leased them to James Eathorne.<sup>38</sup> The occupiers were George Harris and John Charles Lanyon (1800-68), a merchant.



The buildings are shown in more detail on the Board of Health map of 1854-5 (Figure 4). A narrow and slightly tapering lane, entered through a gate and lined with open-sided colonnades for the market stalls, led to a courtyard to the south, whose south side was partly formed by the two-storey market house, labelled 'hall'. The footprint of the whole market was L-shaped, and to the north-east its site bordered onto that of a Baptist chapel of about 1806 facing Treruffe Lane (later Alma Place).<sup>39</sup> The parallel ranges of colonnades north of the courtyard were of a single storey only; the original courtyard ranges, apart from the two-storey market house, were probably also of single-storey height.

Despite the new market building, market stalls continued to be set up in Fore Street, much to the chagrin of Lord de Dunstanville. In 1829 he was thought to have instigated a summons for three people for erecting stalls in the street.<sup>40</sup> In 1834 a further three men were indicted at the Cornwall Quarter Sessions 'for obstructing the King's high-way, by erecting stalls in the street of Redruth, on market days', but found not guilty.<sup>41</sup> However, this custom continued at least into the late 19th century, when it appears to have been boosted by the demise of the market at nearby St Day.<sup>42</sup> In 1888 the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls visited Redruth and found that the practice of street trading, by renting space in front of houses and shops from their owners, had been growing recently:

This practice [of street selling] has grown in recent years; it used to be only in Fore Street. There is scarcely any other street in which it does not go on to some extent. It goes on in Green Lane, for instance.<sup>43</sup>

### Mid-19th-century extension of the courtyard

At some point between 1855 and 1874 the courtyard was extended to the south-west, resulting in an inverted T-plan of open colonnades. It seems likely that the extension happened early on within this timeframe, possibly in the late 1850s. It may well have been prompted by the economic peak of the local mining industry in the 1850s, the construction of a new and more central railway station in 1852 and its connection to the national railway network in 1859.<sup>44</sup> Both affected the local economy and by extension also the market.

By 1866 a variety of produce was sold in the market. John Doidge's *Directory of Redruth* describes it as 'a commodious market-place, built at the expense of the late Lord de Dunstanville, for the sale of corn, meats, butter, poultry, eggs &c'.<sup>45</sup> In addition, the Redruth Rifle Corps kept their arms 'in a room in the market place'.<sup>46</sup> This additional use as an armoury continued at least into the early 1880s. In 1883 *Kelly's Directory* mentioned that the Duke of Cornwall's (1st) Rifle volunteers (H company) had their armoury in the market.<sup>47</sup>

The new extension of the market is first shown on a plan of the manor of Tehidy from 1874 (Figure 5). This shows the subdivision of the perimeter colonnades into enclosed stalls, which ran around the sides of the courtyard, and along both sides of the northern approach. The latter are labelled 'butchers' stalls'. Steps at the centre of the south-west courtyard range gave access to the Fair Meadow, an archway in the

south-east range led to Station Hill, and steps in the north-east range led up to the lane which was to become Alma Place.

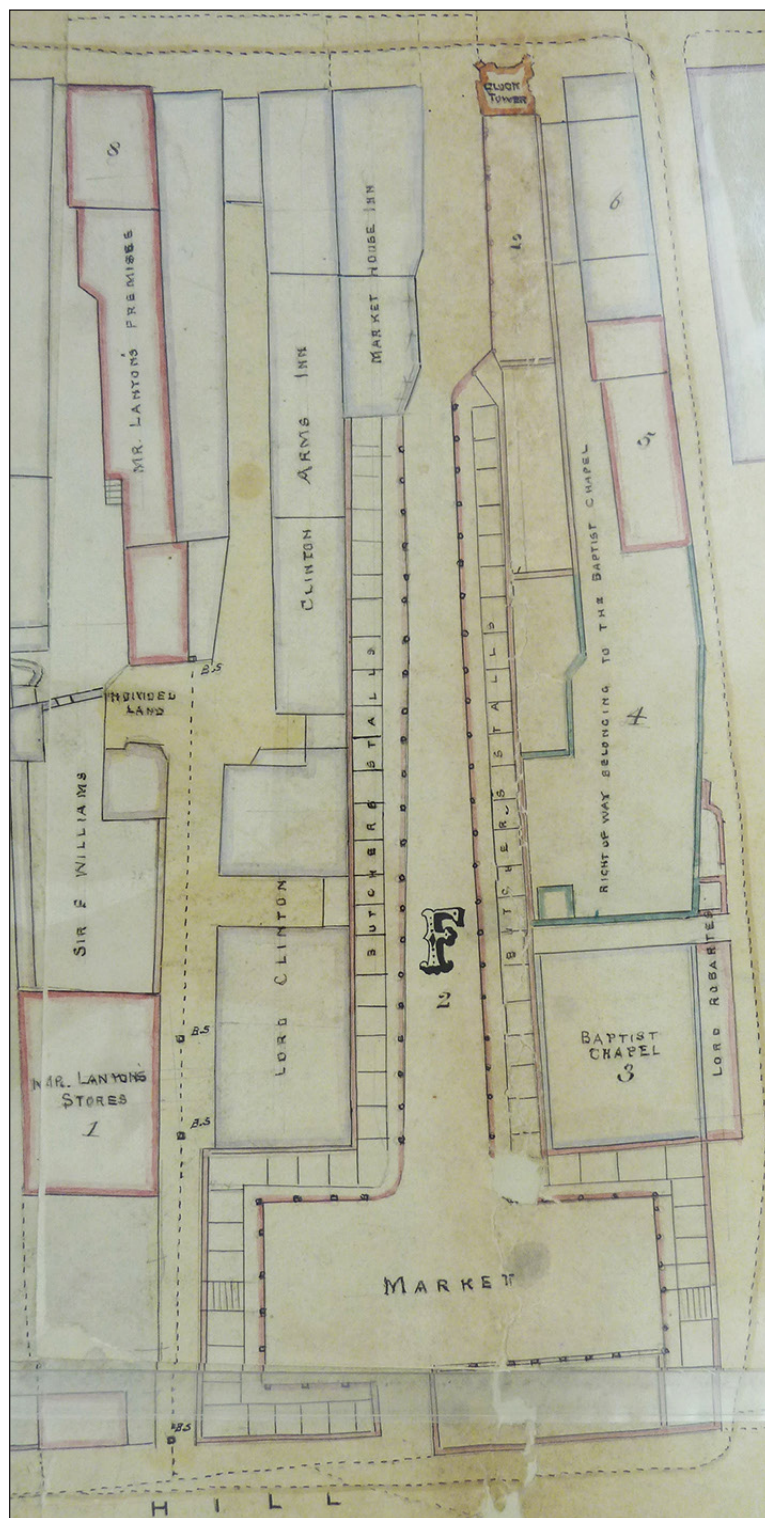


Figure 5: Detail of a plan of part of the manor of Tehidy, surveyed by James Henderson of Truro, June 1874. [Kresen Kernow, Library collection, X001567365]



Figure 6: Undated historic photo taken between about 1874 and 1877, showing the southern courtyard and the market house (left), looking south-west from Alma Place. In the background is the old timber railway viaduct, which was replaced in 1884-8. [Kresen Kernow, Corn02860]

### Late 19th-century improvements

In 1877 the *West Briton* newspaper reported that ‘the rebuilding of the long talked of market house was commenced on Monday last’.<sup>48</sup> This improvement of the market facilities was undertaken by Gustavus Lambert Basset (1834-88) and was said to have cost £2,500.<sup>49</sup> The proposals had been discussed between Mr Basset’s steward John L. Bolden and the Local Board of Health from early 1877.<sup>50</sup> This entailed the replacing of the northern part of the market with a new meat market building, as well as alterations to the older buildings around the southern courtyard. This campaign of improvements took place at the same time as the demolition of the adjacent Baptist Chapel and associated buildings to the north, and the widening of the lane to the east which became Alma Place.

The first stage of the redevelopment appears to have been the demolition of the Baptist Chapel and of the north-east range around the southern courtyard. An undated photo from the 1870s shows the site of the recently demolished north-east range and the resulting view from Alma Place down into the courtyard (Figure 6). The photo shows that the butchers’ stalls to the north were single-storey covered loggias, in contrast to the mid-19th-century ranges of two storeys to the south-east and south-west. The two-storey market house of 1825-6 appears to still have had open arches on the ground floor, of which the central arch is just discernible. It also





Figure 7: Redruth market as shown on the OS town plan (scale 1:500, published in 1879), with the new meat market completed and the redevelopment of the south-west side of Alma Place underway [© and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2021) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024.]

had a central cross-gable on the long elevation and a tall first-floor opening on the short north-east elevation.

The next stage of the improvements is shown on the first edition Ordnance Survey (OS) map which was surveyed in 1877 and the OS town plan published in 1879 (Figure 7) which show the new meat market building on the site of the former northern stalls and a new block on a wider footprint on the north-west side of the southern courtyard. The latter is shown as one block, possibly because the roof was continuous and it continued across the future site of the Mining Exchange of 1880. The site to the south of this new range, the later site of the Wheal Peavor Purser's Office, had not yet been redeveloped and was occupied by stairs leading down from Alma Place to the level of the courtyard.

As in the plan of 1874, the buildings forming the three sides of the southern market courtyard were depicted as open and supported on columns. A dotted line on the north side of the two-storey market house (labelled 'pork market') confirms that the ground-floor arches of the building were then still open towards the courtyard.

For most of the 19th century, the pork market is said to have been the main place for buying and selling pork in West Cornwall. According to local historian Frank Michell, the pork market opened at 6am, dead pigs were brought to the market from all over West Cornwall and hung on the ground floor of the 'market hall' (i.e. the market house). 'They were weighed and sold and many were sent away by train'.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that the function of the pork market became absorbed into the new meat market soon after the latter's completion.

It is not known who designed the new meat market building. According to the local historian Linda Beskeen the architect James Hicks (1846-96), then the main architect in Redruth, is the most likely candidate.<sup>52</sup> Hicks designed many of the new buildings in Alma Place, including the Mining Exchange, the Redruth District Bank, the post office and the Coffee Tavern; the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office has also been attributed to him.<sup>53</sup> By the time the meat market was built, Hicks had already been worked for Alfred Lanyon, the lessee of the market, and, for example, had in 1870 remodelled Tolvean, Lanyon's house in Redruth.<sup>54</sup> Hicks worked in a wide range of architectural styles and it is difficult to identify any characteristics of his style for certain in any of the remaining fabric of the meat market.

Alternatively, the meat market may have been designed by someone working for the site owner Gustavus L. Basset. The minutes of the Local Board of Health do not mention the author of the plans for the 'new market house' which Mr Bolden first showed the Board in April 1877.<sup>55</sup> The surveyor James Henderson of Truro, who had also surveyed and drawn the 1874 plan of the manor of Tehidy (see Figure 5) for Basset, prepared a design for a new clock tower in May 1877 (which remained unexecuted) and a drainage plan for the market in January 1878.<sup>56</sup> However, he seems to have been primarily a civil and mining engineer, and on balance it seems unlikely that he designed the new meat market.<sup>57</sup>

Another plan of the manor of Tehidy of 1889 shows the internal layout of the new meat market (Figure 8). It had a regular, oblong plan with two internal aisles lined with stalls along the outer walls and along a central block. Later aerial photos (see below) show that as constructed its roof consisted of two hipped and clerestoried ranges, which were supported on a central spine of cast-iron columns.<sup>58</sup> It was entered from Market Strand to the north through one arched opening; two arched openings led into the market courtyard to the south. The new north-west range of the southern courtyard is shown as two separate sections on either side of the entrances. Earlier maps had presumably shown them as one continuous structure because of the continuous roof over the two sections.

According to this 1889 plan, the westernmost arches in the north-west elevation of the two-storey market house of 1825-6 had been blocked. The plan also shows a short internal subdivision at the eastern end of the market house building and a narrow entrance in the north-east elevation. The plan also appears to show a row of additional stalls north of the meat market building, on the east side of Market Strand, but it is not clear if they were formally part of the market complex.



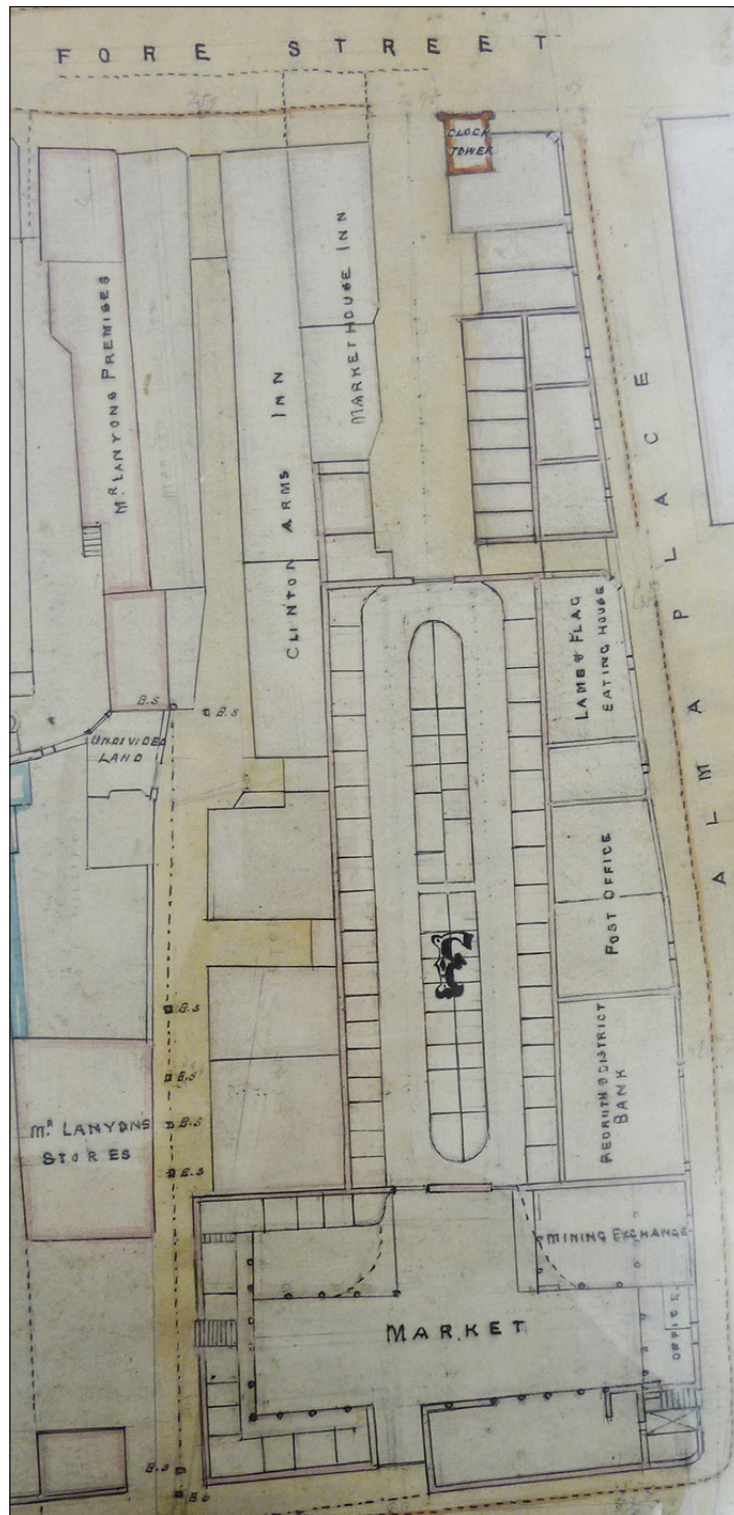


Figure 8: Detail of a plan of part of the manor of Tehidy, revised by William Brenton of Redruth, June 1889. The building labelled 'F' is the meat market. [Kresen Kernow, Library collection, X001567357]

The 1889 plan shows the continuous line of new buildings on the west side of Alma Place, most of them built in 1879-80. In 1880 the Mining Exchange was built on a site at the east end of the north-west range of the market courtyard. Construction

started in February 1880 and it opened in May 1880.<sup>59</sup> Although labelled ‘Mining Exchange’, the 1889 plan shows the open, colonnaded lower ground floor which was used in conjunction with the market courtyard. A contemporary newspaper account described that the new Exchange ‘will stand over the market-house [i.e. the market courtyard]’.<sup>60</sup> It is not clear what impact the construction of the Exchange had on the slightly earlier north-west courtyard range, whether the latter was simply shortened or whether a more significant reconstruction was required. As James Hicks designed the Mining Exchange, he may also have supervised alterations to the north-west range, although firm evidence to support this is at present lacking.

The new buildings in Alma Place also included the Redruth District Bank (also known as Redruth & District Bank), which shared a continuous granite frontage with the adjacent post office. Both were under construction in early 1879 and opened in 1880.<sup>61</sup> The foundation stones for the Coffee Tavern, also known as the Lamb & Flag (a reference to Redruth’s tin smelting stamp), were laid in December 1879 and the building opened in May 1880.<sup>62</sup> The date of the small office of Thomas Pryor, the purser of the Wheal Peevor mine, to the south of the Mining Exchange is less clear but it seems to have been extant by 1883.<sup>63</sup> Like the Exchange, this was built over the east side of the market courtyard and its lower ground floor was used for market purposes.

Further alterations and improvements followed in the 1880s. On 31 May 1884 the carpenter Richard Nettle of Camborne, and the mason W.H. Gray of Redruth signed a contractor’s agreement with the Tehidy Estate for a new roof for the ‘Butter Market’.<sup>64</sup> This entailed ‘works comprised in the completion of [a] new roof and raising walls three feet and launders [i.e. gutters] ... for the price or sum of £87’. This document does not include a plan to identify the building in question. It is not clear what the term ‘Butter Market’ at this date referred to, whether this meant the whole courtyard complex or a specific part of it. It is most likely that this agreement referred to the alterations to the roof of the market house, which in the late 1870s was still labelled the ‘pork market’ but its purpose may have changed following the construction of the new meat market building to the north. This previously had a hipped roof with a cross roof towards the courtyard (see Figure 6), which certainly by the 1920s had been replaced by a new hipped roof at a higher level, on raised first-floor walls which were built up using rubble stone on either side of the former cross gable.

In 1886 Gustavus Lambert Basset sold the market buildings, the Fair Meadow and the rights to the market and fairs to Alfred Lanyon, who had previously leased them.<sup>65</sup> Lanyon was the son of John Charles Lanyon who was one of the occupiers of the market in 1841. Before the purchase Alfred Lanyon had asked the auctioneer John Thomas to value the market buildings and related properties. The valuation of April 1886 includes a brief description of the market complex, listing ‘the Meat Market, Pork Market, Buttermarket’, and the associated properties like the De Dunstanville Arms pub and the shops and premises in Alma Place.<sup>66</sup> The valuation also took into account any factors which could affect their value, including the vicinity of the railway station, the local spending power and its dependence on the ‘fluctuating’ mining industry, the potential for increasing the cattle market facilities,

and the need to invest in 'some frontages for building'. Thomas valued the properties at over £11,000 but proposed deducting £375 for repairs: 'considering the great roof area and that a good deal of it has skylights the deduction for repairs is, I feel, anything but excessive'.<sup>67</sup>

In October 1888 Arthur J. Ashton, Assistant Commissioner, visited Redruth on behalf of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls and took evidence on the state of the market and fair. Ashton's summary describes the cattle market held in the Fair Meadow, the 'general market' and 'pannier market' which were held in separate covered buildings, and a street market held on Saturdays. The term 'general market' appears to refer to the Buttermarket site. It is not clear where the 'pannier market' was, as this usually means a large market hall without fixed stalls.<sup>68</sup> The term is not found in any other records for the market in Redruth and is likely to be a misnomer introduced by Ashton. He concluded: 'The general market is not quite full but is very prosperous. This is about the best butchers' market in Cornwall'.<sup>69</sup> Ashton estimated that Lanyon took about £1,100 each year from rents, tolls and 'stallage' (a tax or toll for erecting a stall at a market or fair).<sup>70</sup> Some of the rents were for adjoining buildings; for example, the post office and bank in Alma Place had to pay five shillings a year rental for their south and west walls and another five shillings rental for ventilation and water pipes.<sup>71</sup>

The published minutes of the Commission's inquiry give a more detailed picture. Alfred Lanyon described several covered markets (general, butchers', poultry and pork) but it is unclear which parts of the buildings these occupied. He also reflected on the change in produce sold at the market over time:

The fact is that there is no corn market. I remember when the corn market was a very important item in the revenue of the market, but I do not suppose that anything has been collected from corn for the last five years ... There was a time when there was no such thing as a butter market; it was a corn market, and the premises, which were then used as a corn market, are now used as a poultry and butter market, because a considerable trade has been developed in farm produce, which 30 years ago was an unknown business ... No butter or poultry was brought to the market formerly ... There is no fish market in my market, but I have no objection to fish coming into the market. The fish comes to Redruth, and they sell it upon stands in the street.<sup>72</sup>

For the transport of the goods and produce the market's vicinity to the railway station was crucial. When showing the assistant commissioner around the pork market Lanyon stated that 'by the 5.30 train all these 200 carcasses will be sent away to Plymouth'.<sup>73</sup>

Lanyon and the other men who gave evidence made a careful distinction between the 'official', chartered market held on Fridays, and the unofficial street market on Fridays, Saturdays and Tuesdays. James Hicks, who seems to have attended in his capacity as a prominent local citizen rather than as architect, explained at the inquiry the rise in popularity of the Saturday market:



The Saturday market has arisen chiefly from this cause, that formerly the miners were paid on a Friday, and they came into the market on a Friday but the pay-day was changed from Friday to Saturday, and then they came on the Saturday instead, and the market on the Saturday has grown in consequence of the men, after receiving their pay, coming into the town.<sup>74</sup>

The Royal Commission's published account includes few details about the actual buildings. Lanyon only stated that: 'We have spent a large sum of money in the last few years, and improved the premises. The market has grown considerably in the last 10 years'.<sup>75</sup>

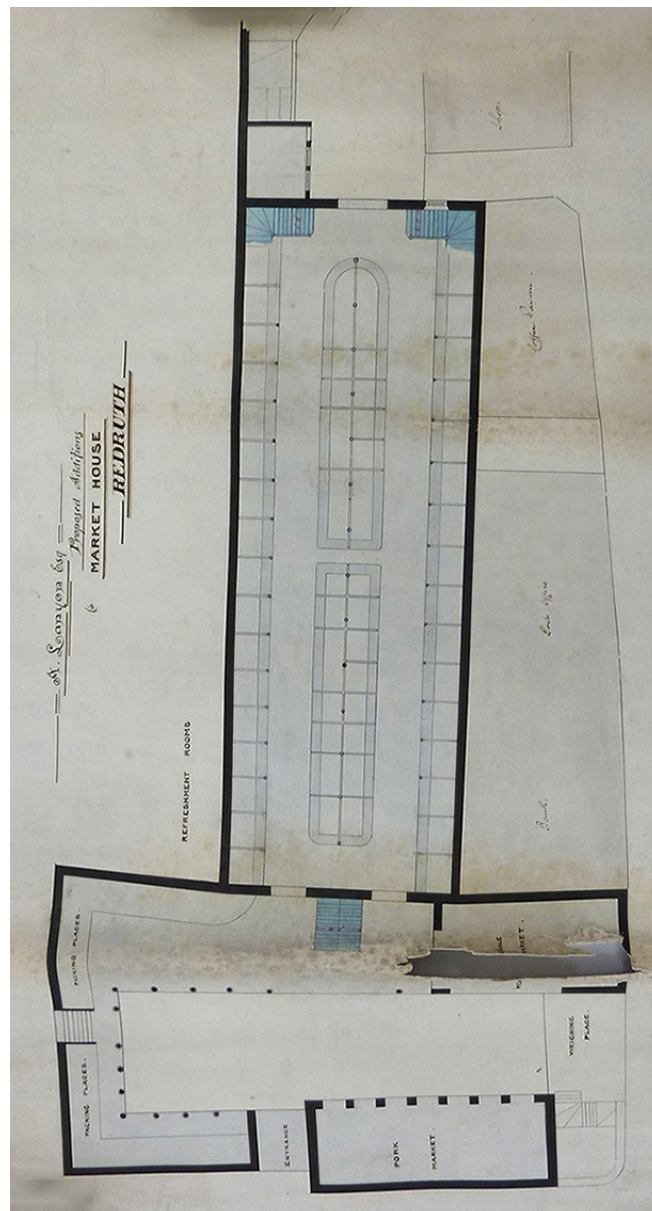


Figure 9: Ground floor plan of proposed but unexecuted additions to the market, November 1892, James Hicks. [Kresen Kernow, X44/2]

One effect of the Royal Commission's inquiry was to start local debates about the potential benefits of public ownership of the market. One of the first discussions at a meeting of the Local Board took place in December 1887 but the debate continued in the columns of the local newspapers into the early 20th century.<sup>76</sup>

In November 1892 the architect James Hicks prepared plans for 'proposed additions to [the] market house'.<sup>77</sup> According to Linda Beskeen, these were for a proposed public hall above the meat market, which however remained unbuilt.<sup>78</sup> The proposed ground-floor plan shows three new staircases, including one in the courtyard, which would have led up to the new upper floor (Figure 9). According to this plan, the lower ground floor under the Mining Exchange was then in use as a 'Wholesale Meat Market' and the floor under the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office as 'Weighing Place'. The stalls in the south-west range of the courtyard are labelled 'packing places'. The 'Refreshment Rooms' to the west of the meat market are the buildings in Clinton Passage now known as the Clinton Social Club.

### The early 20th century

By 1901 the two-storey market house had ceased to be used for market purposes. Its upper floor was in occasional use for auction sales and its ground floor was used as a printer's workshop by the local printing and stationery company P. R. Earle & Co. The company is said to have originated in 1779 but was by 1901 named after Paul Rabey Earle (1853-1907).<sup>79</sup> The entry in *Kelly's Directory* of 1902 reads: 'P. R. Earle & Co., stationers and printers, Fore Street and Station Hill', which appears to refer to the market house which was then accessed from Station Hill.<sup>80</sup> In earlier editions, up to and including of 1897, the company was based only at 71 Fore Street, so it appears to have moved to the market house between about 1897 and 1901.<sup>81</sup> It is likely that several factors led to the building falling out of market use. It is possible that the pork market may have moved to the new meat market building. In addition, a number of butcher's shops opened in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the wider town which may have reduced demand for the market. Furthermore, the founding of the Redruth Bacon Curing Company in 1892 may have diverted some of the trade in pork away from the market. Some of the adjoining buildings also changed use in the years around 1900: the Mining Exchange closed in 1892; the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office was still in use in 1902 but appears to have closed soon after that.<sup>82</sup>

In 1901 a detailed inventory of the market buildings 'and [the] businesses carried on therein' was prepared by the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company, for the purposes of fire insurance.<sup>83</sup> Like the 1886 valuation, this encompassed all the buildings in Lanyon's ownership, including buildings in Alma Place and various sheds and stables. As the reference plan does not survive, it is difficult to identify some of the individual buildings referred to. However, it seems certain that entry no. 1 refers to the two-storey market house, no. 2 to the rest of the buildings around the courtyard and no. 3 to the meat market. The relevant entries are:

£300 on the Building of the Butter Market and Workshop and Office in tenure of Earle and Company, Printers, communicating situate [sic] Station Hill, Redruth aforesaid and marked No. 1. Said Market is occasionally used for



Auction Sales and the Workshop contains a gas engine ... for working two printing machines. One well secured stove standing on concrete floor ... is allowed therein for warmth. A little paper polling is done but no paper bags, envelopes, or cardboard boxes made and no bookbinding done therein.

£450 on the Building of the Butter, Poultry, and General Markets and Refreshment Room, including the Market Stalls and Weighing House communicating with each other and last marked No. 2 and partly Timber built. The ground floor extends under the Mining Exchange and Offices occupied by Mr Pryor [Thomas Pryor, the Wheal Peevor Purser] to which this Insurance does not extend.

£1,500 on the Building of the Meat Market and Stalls communicating with last, marked No. 3.

£40 on the Building of the Mess Room and Domestic Offices communicating occupied by the Market Keeper adjoining last and marked No. 4.<sup>84</sup>

It is not clear which building or space the entry for building no. 4 refers to. The most obvious candidate is the small unit in Market Strand, just to the north of the meat market (see Figures 7-9), which appears to have been built at the same time as the meat market. Another possibility is the first-floor offices in the north-west courtyard range (currently the Redruth Revival offices). These were just south of the meat market and thus 'adjoining' building no. 3. However, due to the initial lack of columns underneath this area, they are more likely a later insertion (see discussion below under phase five).

The second edition OS map shows the market complex a few years after the insurance inventory (Figure 10). It does not show the party walls between the Mining Exchange and the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office, probably because their lower ground floors were open and in market use.

Around the turn of the 20th century, the debate about whether the market should become public property was revived.<sup>85</sup> In 1902 the Redruth Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution recommending that the Urban District Council acquire the market.<sup>86</sup> Their report stated: 'We are told that the market is not in the state it was ten or twelve years since, it is not now half of what it was then.'<sup>87</sup> However, although Alfred Lanyon, the market's owner, was willing to sell the market, this proposal did not come to anything.

Lanyon died on 5 March 1915.<sup>88</sup> A few years later, his executors offered the market and fair for sale to Redruth Urban District Council but in April 1919 they withdrew their offer, presumably because the Council were not in a position to accept it.<sup>89</sup> They next approached the Redruth Chamber of Commerce which formed a limited liability company, the Redruth Market Company, which was incorporated on 18 January 1920 and acquired the market for £3,000.<sup>90</sup> Before the sale, both parties jointly sought legal opinion on the extent of the market rights and whether they constituted a monopoly on markets in the parish.<sup>91</sup> The resulting report by Arthur Underhill of



Figure 10: Detail from the 2nd edition OS map (1:2500), revised in 1906 and published in 1908. [© and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2021) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024.]

Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, found that 'of late years many butchers' shops have been opened in the town and the Market House has been less occupied'.<sup>92</sup> He also observed that 'four of the stalls seem to have been sold in fee simple, [and] that the upper part of the market house appears to be a separate freehold owned by third parties'.<sup>93</sup> The latter note probably refers to the upper floors of the Mining Exchange and the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office.

A meeting of the newly-formed Redruth Market Company in March 1920 considered plans for alterations to the Fair Meadow and to adapt the 'market hall' for use as a corn exchange.<sup>94</sup> It is not known if these proposals were implemented, or if it would have involved any significant intervention in the buildings.

On aerial photos of 1924 and 1928 the market buildings appear largely unaltered in their external form and footprint since the late 19th century (Figures 11-13). One notable change is the insertion of first-floor rooms at the north-east end of the north-west courtyard range (see Figure 13). By 1924 the south-west end of the market house had a chimneystack, which is not shown on the 1870s photo (see Figure 13 and contrast with Figure 6). This may have been inserted for the stove which is mentioned on the 1901 fire insurance certificate.





Figure 11: Detail of an oblique aerial photo taken on 1 March 1924, looking south-east, with arrows pointing out the twin clerestoried roofs of the meat market (left) and the two-storey market house. [© Historic England Archive (Aerofilms Collection), EPW009902]



Figure 12: Detail of an oblique aerial photo taken on 1 March 1924, looking north, with an arrow pointing out the two-storey market house. [© Historic England Archive (Aerofilms Collection), EPW009904]

By the time the aerial photo of 1928 was taken, the roof of the market house was painted with lettering to advertise ‘Moons Pianos, Plymouth & Truro’. It is unknown if Moon & Sons were ever based in Redruth and they probably just paid for the use of the roof as an advertising billboard, which would be visible from the nearby railway viaduct and station. The photo also shows the open lower ground floor under the Mining Exchange, which was still used as part of the market.

In 1931 the De Dunstanville Hotel (formerly the ‘De Dunstanville Arms’ and also known as the ‘Market Inn’) at the corner of Fore Street and Market Strand (see Figure 7) was demolished, together with some ‘old market buildings’ to make way for the new Burton’s shop at 73-74 Fore Street.<sup>95</sup> According to the local historian



Figure 13: Detail of an oblique aerial photo taken on 24 June 1928, looking north-east. The arrow indicates the north-east end of the north-west range with the inserted first-floor rooms. [© Historic England Archive (Aerofilms Collection), EPW021734]

Frank Michell, at the same time some redundant ‘pillars of the market’ were moved to Penventon (now the Penventon Park Hotel, Redruth), the residence of Sir Arthur Carkeek.<sup>96</sup> It is not clear where these came from but they may have belonged to the 1825-6 colonnades on the site of the meat market which were perhaps reused in other buildings.

### After 1945

For most of the 20th century, the Alma Place buildings have been in a variety of alternative uses: the Wheal Peevor Purser’s Office was an optician’s shop in the early part of the century, an auctioneer’s office by 1989 and most recently an estate agent’s office; the Mining Exchange was used as a day centre by 1989, as offices by the local authority housing department and by 1995 as an Age Concern shop.<sup>97</sup>

In the mid-20th century there were a number of incremental alterations and extensions to the market buildings. By 1967 a shallow extension had been built behind the former Wheal Peevor Purser’s Office (Figure 14). On the OS map of this date this is shown as an extension of the two-storey market house, which is labelled ‘printing works’. In fact, its use appears to have been split horizontally, with the lower ground floor used in conjunction with the printing works, and the upper ground floor used as an auction house by the estate agents who then occupied the Wheal Peevor Purser’s Office in Alma Place.<sup>98</sup> This split use was certainly in place ten years later, when another extension was proposed.<sup>99</sup>

At some point in the post-war period the meat market ceased trading because of the lack of traders and the increased costs, and the building was repurposed as a furniture warehouse. Secondary sources disagree about when this happened and



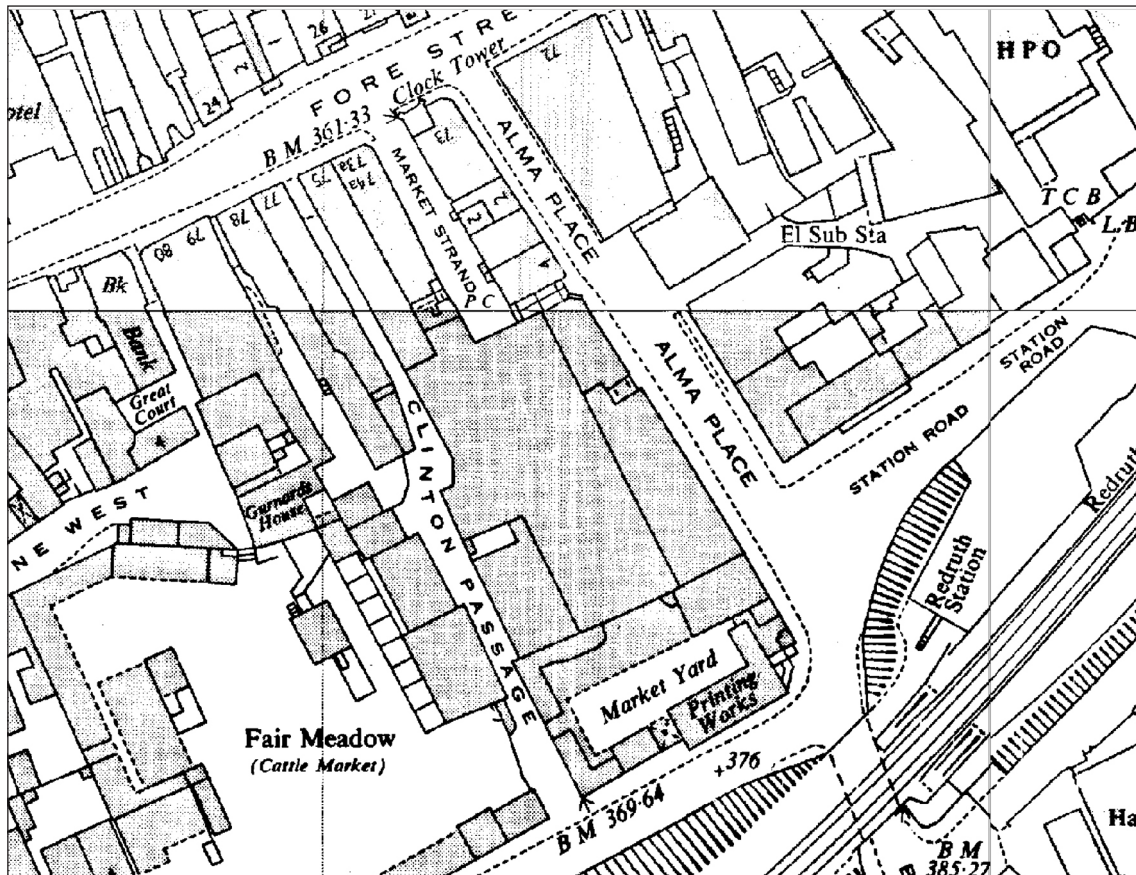


Figure 14: Detail of the OS map (1:1250), published in 1967. [© and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2021) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024.]

neither cites a primary source for their dating. According to Frank Michell, the Redruth Market Company sold the meat market in 1958.<sup>100</sup> Historic photographs of the 1960s show that the northern end of the meat market building was initially used as a car showroom, called 'Market Motors'.<sup>101</sup> It was later used by Dowty Furniture Ltd., a furnishing business, which covered the granite floor in concrete and inserted an additional floor, supported on steel joists.<sup>102</sup>

In 1976 there were two planning applications for the site. In September an application for the erection of an extension in the market courtyard was refused because of concerns that it would represent an overdevelopment.<sup>103</sup> In January 1977 a revised application for the erection of a two-storey extension to the printing works (the two-storey market house), paper store and estate agents office (the former Wheal Peevor Purser's Office) was approved with conditions.<sup>104</sup> This latter extension was added behind the earlier extension in the angle of the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office and the market house. In this period, the other courtyard buildings were used for a range of purposes, including a residential flat on the first floor of the south-west and south-east ranges and offices on the upper floor of the north-west range, while some units continued to be used for market trading. A Saturday market, which had started in the Fair Meadow in 1971, later moved into the market.<sup>105</sup>

## The meat market in the late 20th century

The histories of the meat market and of the market courtyard to the south diverge in the late 20th century, from the point at which the meat market building was sold and converted to a furniture warehouse. On 10 September 1982 a fire broke out in Dowty's warehouse in the former meat market and spread to the buildings on the west side of Alma Place. The meat market building was completely gutted, leaving only the outer walls, as were the former bank and post office in Alma Place.<sup>106</sup> The small structure on the west side of Market Strand and just to the north of the meat market, which may have been the market keeper's offices, was also destroyed.

In 1985 Charville Estates Ltd purchased the site of the burnt-out buildings, but their initial proposal for a medium-sized supermarket and five shop units did not materialise.<sup>107</sup> In 1992 the Town Centre Strategy for Redruth recommended the use of the Alma Place buildings for a Redruth Heritage Centre.<sup>108</sup> A feasibility study was commissioned in 1995 and outline planning permission granted in March 1996. Following the offer of a Heritage Lottery Fund grant for £600,000 in 1998, full planning permission was granted in May 1999 for the design by the architects Hocking & Newton.<sup>109</sup>

In early 2000 the buildings were researched, a photographic record was made, three trial trenches inside the former meat market excavated, and the floors recorded.<sup>110</sup> A central spine of 13 granite bases for cast-iron columns was among the recorded features; these formerly supported the roof.<sup>111</sup>

Work on site started in February 2000 and the buildings opened in October 2001.<sup>112</sup> The new design did not attempt to recreate the 1870s building but instead included a ground-floor arcade of shop units on either side of a central corridor with a larger covered space beyond and a first floor with offices. The historic outer walls were preserved as far as possible, albeit with some changes to the openings in the north and south walls. Part of the east wall behind the former post office was demolished.<sup>113</sup> The former bank and post office were converted to the Cornwall Centre containing Kresen Kernow and the Cornish Studies Library, and the new building on the site of the former meat market was used for independent shops and offices above. The buildings are now owned by Redruth Town Council.

## The market courtyard in the late 20th century

In February 1989 the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) took a series of photographs of the market courtyard (Figures 15 and 16).<sup>114</sup> They show the alterations which had taken place by then. The original windows with narrow, vertical panes survived only above the carriageway to Station Hill (see Figure 16), with horizontal weatherboarding below, and at the north end of the south-west range, with vertical weatherboarding below.<sup>115</sup> All other windows in the south-west and south-east courtyard ranges had been altered to plate-glass windows with blank panels below. As the photographs show, some limited commercial activity continued in the courtyard at this time.



Figure 15: The courtyard in February 1989, looking north-west. [© Crown copyright. Historic England Archive, BB057063]

In the 1980s the Redruth Market Company sold the Fair Meadow for use as a carpark. The proceeds from the sale enabled them to undertake a range of repairs and improvements to the buildings around the market courtyard, which appear to have happened shortly after 1989. The surviving original windows and weatherboarding were used as the pattern for recreating the internal elevations of the south-west and south-east courtyard ranges. The windows were replaced with vertical window panes and the featureless panels with horizontal timber boarding reinforced by iron railing panels attached to the outside. The works also included the re-paving of the courtyard, new rainwater goods, and new iron gates.<sup>116</sup>

In 1996 conservation area consent was granted for re-roofing and alterations to the market courtyard.<sup>117</sup> The accompanying drawing by the architect Clive Malim shows the elevations of the courtyard and former market house, highlighting in yellow the areas to be altered.<sup>118</sup> They include the roofs of the south-east and south-west courtyard ranges, the first-floor windows of those blocks, a drainpipe and door lintel on the south-east elevation, and six capitals of columns in the south-east and south-west courtyard blocks. The conservation officer commented: ‘The proposal to re-roof is supported, but the Council would prefer to see the use of scantle slate retained; the submitted plans indicate some work on the windows but no details are provided. Accordingly, further information on this aspect of the application is requested.’<sup>119</sup>





Figure 16: The carriageway to Station Hill in February 1989, seen from inside the courtyard. [© Crown copyright. Historic England Archive, BB057064]

However, the planning file does not contain any further details and it is not clear if all of these repairs and alterations went ahead.

The printers Earle and Company still occupied the two-storey market house in the 1980s.<sup>120</sup> In 2001 permission was granted for the conversion of the ground floor



to a place of worship for the Emmanuel Full Gospel International Church.<sup>121</sup> More recently, the ground floor of the building has become a hairdresser's salon, while the upper floor is an artist's studio and exhibition space.

In 2017 the market was bought by Redruth Revival Community Interest Company. The following year, Redruth Market Ltd, the company founded in 1920 to acquire the market, was formally dissolved.<sup>122</sup>

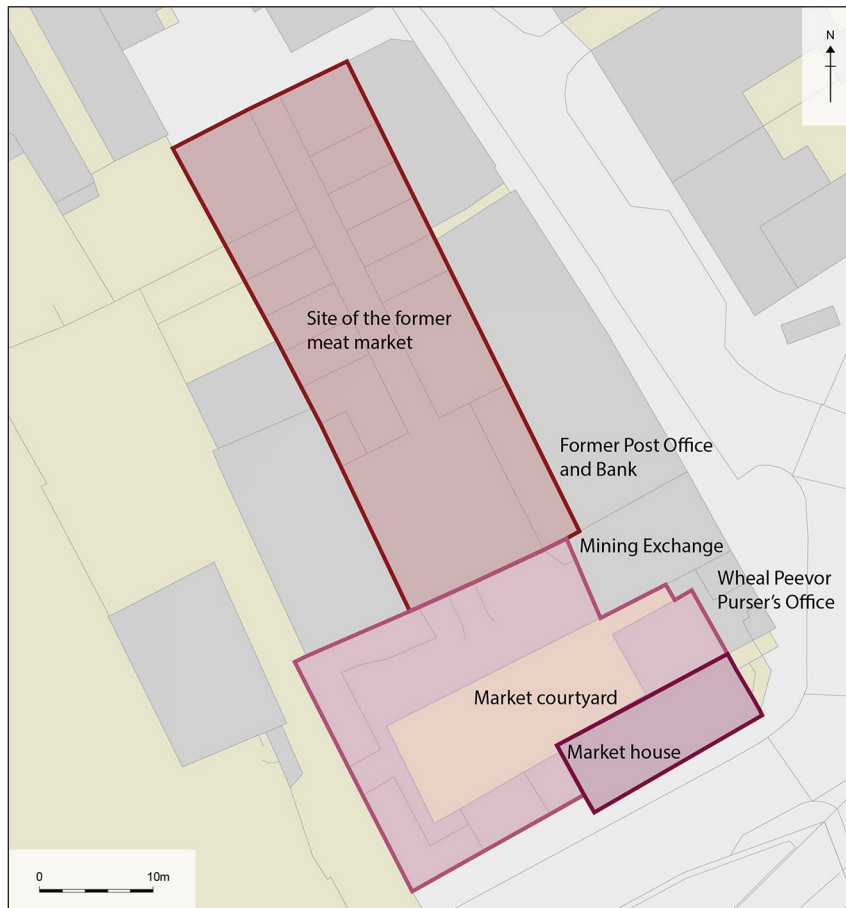


Figure 17: Modern OS map of the market labelled with the names of the different buildings as used in this report. Outlined in red is the extent of the Buttermarket, the main focus of this report, although related spaces also included the lower ground floors of the Mining Exchange and the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office. [Base map © Crown Copyright and database right 2021. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900]

## BUILDING ANALYSIS

The following analysis describes the principal features assigned to each phase of the buildings' development.

### Terminology

The uses and thus the names for different parts of the market complex have varied considerably over time. The name 'Buttermarket' for the southern part of the market is a relatively modern one. For the sake of clarity, this report distinguishes between the former meat market to the north of the courtyard, the market courtyard to the south, and the two-storey building which is part of the south range of the courtyard (Figure 17). The latter has had many names, including 'hall' in 1855, 'pork market' in 1878 and 'market house'. Although the latter term has also on occasion been used for the whole complex, this report uses the term 'market house' solely for this building.

### Topography

Fore Street occupies the eastern side of a valley, meaning it and the parallel Station Hill slope down from north-east to south-west. Alma Place, which connects the two streets north-east of the Buttermarket, is on a higher ground level than the market courtyard. Therefore, the lower ground floor of the Mining Exchange and the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office is on the same level of the market courtyard and their upper ground floors which face onto Alma Place are at the level of the first floor of the buildings around the market courtyard.

### Phase one: 1825-6

The earliest surviving building on the site is the two-storey market house on the south-east side of the courtyard. It formed part of the original L-plan courtyard (see Figures 3 and 4). The building's main (north-west) elevation of ashlar granite faces into the courtyard. The arcade on the ground floor was originally open and all seven arches had projecting keystones and a projecting impost band (Figure 18). The first floor originally had three windows with monolithic lintels, which originally were probably timber sash windows. The original roof is not extant but was hipped with a small cross gable towards the courtyard, whose outline is still discernible in the stonework (see Figures 6 and 18). This cross gable had one small opening, which probably was a louvred vent as now.

The other elevations of the market house are all of rubble killas stone with granite quoins to the corners. Courtyard ranges, probably only a single storey in height, formerly abutted the building's short (south-west and north-east) elevations (see Figure 4). Both of these elevations have a plainer arch in the northern half of the wall (Figure 19). These arches appear to have provided access between the courtyard ranges and the market house.





Figure 18: The north-west elevation of the market house, seen from the courtyard. The left arrow indicates the line of the former cross gable, that to the right the line of the original eaves height. [James O. Davies, DP275883]



Figure 19: The arches on the south-west elevation (left) and on the north-east elevation (right) of the market house. The arrow in the image to the left indicates a later chamfer. [Left: James O. Davies, DP275887; right: Johanna Roethe]





Figure 20: The south-east elevation of the market house in April 2021. [James O. Davies, DP275890]

The south-east elevation also had three first-floor windows (Figure 20). The four arched, former window openings on the ground floor are probably original; they were still in use in 1996.<sup>123</sup>

Internally, there is hardly any visible evidence of the original arrangements, due to later alterations. The building currently does not have a staircase which connects the two floors, and it is likely that the upper floor was originally accessed via an external stair. Such an external stair was not uncommon for market houses, particularly those with an upper floor over an open ground floor, as was the case for example at the market court house of 1828 at Dartmouth, Devon, and at the market house of 1866 at Dulverton, Somerset.<sup>124</sup> There may have been an additional, internal stair in the Redruth market house, but its location has not been identified.

The rest of the buildings that formed part of the market of 1825-6 have been demolished. However, much of their original form can be discerned from the documentary sources as outlined in the previous section. The market house was part of the southern courtyard, with four ranges of market stalls extending around the space, accessed via the alley from the north. The parallel colonnaded ranges to the north of the courtyard were only of single-storey height (see Figure 6). It is unknown if the ranges flanking the courtyard were originally also of a single storey or higher. The historic photo of the 1870s shows the complex following the demolition of the original north-east range; the lack of a party wall at the east end of the north-west ranges suggests that the north-east range would have continued at the same height (see Figure 6). There is also no evidence for the height of the original south-west range. However, on the basis of the available evidence it seems most likely that this too was of single-storey height. For example, the current opening between the first floor of the south-east range and the upper floor of the market house appears to be a later insertion in the form of a brick arch (see phase two).



Figure 21: Granite column and capital on the lower ground floor of the Mining Exchange. [Johanna Roethe]

Other surviving elements from the first phase probably include the granite columns which are now built into the later ranges which form the courtyard (see Figure 5). A recent measured survey has shown that all the columns in the courtyard are of a similar height and thickness, although the thickness of the abacus varies.<sup>125</sup> This suggests that they are probably of one phase and were reused in the later buildings, although sometimes with new capitals and abaci. Possibly the only surviving column with an original capital is that on the lower ground floor of the Mining Exchange, which has no fluting on the neck (Figure 21). A column has been in this location since at least 1889. A comparison of the current plan of the lower ground floor with the 1889 plan shows that this column is indeed located along the line of columns under the Mining Exchange (see Figure 8). This plan shows three columns in that location; those on either side of the extant column have been replaced over time by masonry piers.

### **Phase two: between 1855 and 1874**

According to map evidence, the market courtyard was extended to the west at some point between 1855 and 1874, to form an inverted T-plan (see Figures 4 and 5). Unlike the earlier courtyard ranges, the new buildings were of two storeys. While previously the market courtyard appears to have been accessed primarily from Fore Street, the new extension provided new access points to the south, of which two





Figure 22: The south-west elevation of the south-west courtyard range, seen from the Fair Meadow carpark. [James O. Davies, DP275878]



Figure 23: The south-east elevation of the south-east courtyard range from Station Hill. [James O. Davies, DP275877]





Figure 24: The western half of the courtyard looking at the north-east elevation of the south-west range. [Johanna Roethe]

survive: a carriageway in the south-east range linked the market to Station Hill and steps under a brick arch in the south-west range provided access to the Fair Meadow (Figures 22 and 23).

Of this phase the south-west and south-east ranges survive, forming a continuous L-shaped building which defines the layout of much of the southern courtyard. The outer walls are of rubble killas stone. The external (south-west) elevation of the south-west range has a shallow projecting plinth, which acts as a retaining wall necessitated by the drop in ground level (see Figure 22). Several first-floor windows in the external elevations provided additional light into the spaces on the upper floor. The south-west range originally had a regular arrangement of five two-over-two sash windows, of which two are now blocked up (see Figures 13 and 22). The south-east range originally had four first-floor windows, of which three have small two-over-two sashes and one is blocked up now (see Figure 23).

Inside the courtyard, the two-storey ranges continued the 1820s pattern of ground-floor open colonnades (Figures 24 and 25). The new colonnades probably reused the granite columns of the demolished ranges but with new capitals (Figure 26). Compared to the capital on the lower ground floor of the Mining Exchange these have a fluted neck and an additional torus between neck and shaft.



Figure 25: The ground-floor colonnade of the south-west range, looking south-east. To the right are the steps down to the Fair Meadow. [Johanna Roethe]



Figure 26: Two 1820s columns with mid-19th-century capitals at the north end of the south-west courtyard range. [Johanna Roethe]





Figure 27: Example of historic boarding between stalls in unit 10 at the north end of the south-west courtyard range. [Johanna Roethe]



Figure 28: Unit 7 on the ground floor of the south-west courtyard range, with the window of unit 8 to the right. All of the panelling, the window surrounds and the door date from the original date of the building. [Johanna Roethe]





Figure 29: Example of a historic timber work bench (on a modern support) in unit 10 at the north end of the south-west courtyard range. [Johanna Roethe]

Set back behind the colonnades were enclosed market stalls. They were divided by vertically-boarded timber partitions, some of which survive in their original form, for example in units 7 and 10 in the south-west range (Figure 27). Towards the courtyard most of the units have horizontal, beaded boarding under windows with vertical panes. The doors are of vertical boards (Figure 28). In unit 10 at the north end of the south-west range, a wooden workbench survives (Figure 29).

Originally, the first-floor elevations of the south-west and south-east ranges facing the courtyard were probably similar to their present appearance, with a continuous row of vertically-glazed windows above boarding. The earliest visual representation is a photograph of the 1870s (see Figure 6), which appears to show a similar arrangement of fixed and casement windows of vertical panes above boarding to that existing today. However, it does not show in detail what kind of boarding was then in place. It may have been weatherboarding, like that surviving over the carriageway in the south-east range in 1989 (see Figure 16). Later alterations removed most of the original windows and weatherboarding (see phase five).

Throughout the first floor, full-height chamfered posts divide the bays of two windows each and their position corresponds with those of the columns below. The central bay in the south-west range is slightly wider because of the wider bay below with the steps down to the Fair Meadow. Of the original nine bays of the south-west range, the northern four bays are now inside the north-west courtyard range.

Similar to the ground-floor plan, the first floor has a corridor on the side facing the courtyard, which provides access to the individual stalls or units. These were originally unheated as the current two chimneystacks are not shown on the 1870s photo (see Figure 6).



Figure 30: The carriageway in the south-east courtyard range beside the two-storey market house. The weatherboarding is a like-for-like replacement of the previous and possibly of the original arrangement. [Johanna Roethe]

Above the carriageway to Station Hill in the south-east range, just west of the market house, is an inscription which faces the courtyard (Figure 30 and see Figure 16): 'Notice. Any person leaving any empty wagon or cart in the market place will be subject to a fine of 6d before they will be allowed to remove the same.' The current lettering is a re-painting of the inscription extant in 1989 but may well perpetuate an earlier inscription.

At the same time as the courtyard extension, the ground-floor arch in the south-west elevation of the market house was blocked up and the north corner canted to ease the passage of foot and vehicular traffic around the corner (see Figure 19). It is possible that the south corner of the same elevation was rebuilt and canted at ground-floor level at the same time, although it was subsequently altered again (see phase four). On the floor above, a new brick-arched opening was inserted in the south-west elevation, to link the market house to the first floor of the south-east range.

### Phase three: 1870s-80s

A number of major changes occurred in quick succession during the 1870s and 1880s. The parallel ranges of the former butchers' stalls to the north were demolished for a new meat market which was built in 1877 and possibly designed by James Hicks. Only the outer walls survive and only the two short elevations (north-





Figure 31: The north-west elevation of the former meat market, seen from Market Strand, in April 2021. [James O. Davies, DP275881]

west and south-east) are fully visible. The north-west elevation towards Market Strand is of coursed rubble with granite quoins at the west corner and the central arch, which also has granite voussoirs (Figure 31). The west corner has above the parapet a pyramidal cap; a matching one is aligned with the central arch. This arch appears to have been originally the only entry into the building from the north; the subsidiary openings on either side were added later. The south-east and south-west walls are of coursed and random rubble. The south-west and north-east walls had no openings, as other buildings backed onto them. Two arched openings in the south-east wall led into the south courtyard (Figures 32 and 33).

Between about 1874 and 1877, and probably at the same time as the demolition of the butchers' stalls, the two 1825-6 north-west ranges of the market courtyard were demolished and replaced by a new, wider range supported on columns and the south wall of the new meat market. The footprint of this range seems to be largely identical with the present north-west range, apart from the east end which was demolished in 1880 for the Mining Exchange (Figures 34 and 35). There was only limited access to these spaces during the site visit for this project and there may be some remains of 1870s fabric on the lower ground floor of the Mining Exchange, which may be revealed during further investigation. A comparison of the OS town plan of 1879 with a current plan shows that the width and the placement of columns in the 1870s north-west range match those of the current north-west range, and thus are probably the same structure. However, it is not clear if the range was originally as high as at present, or if it was later raised, possibly when the Mining Exchange was built. At present there is no fabric evidence for the raising of the roof but a large part of the





Figure 32: The blocked east arch in the south-east elevation of the meat market. [Johanna Roethe]



Figure 33: The west arch in the south-east elevation of the meat market. [Johanna Roethe]



Figure 34: The north-west courtyard range with the rear gable of the Mining Exchange at the far end, April 2021. [James O. Davies, DP275874]

rear (north-west) wall is obscured by later structures. A closer examination might reveal further evidence.

The north-west range takes the form of a roofed area which is open at ground floor level. It was probably originally open to the roof throughout. The roof is hipped at the south-west end and its height matches approximately that of the two-storey south-west and south-east courtyard ranges. To the north-west the range abuts the south-east wall of the meat market and to the south-west the south-west courtyard range. To the north-east the roof of the north-west range now abuts the Mining Exchange, although when first built it extended as far as Alma Place. Towards the courtyard, the roof is supported on columns on stepped pedestals. The roof has queen-post trusses and long struts on the courtyard side which bridge the gap between the wall plate and the top of the columns. Later boarding covers the struts towards the courtyard and provides extra protection from the elements; it is likely that the current boarding replaced a similar original arrangement.

The granite columns are further examples of the reused 1820s columns and they are placed on tall bases to gain the requisite height. It is not clear what kind of capitals they had in the 1870s as most have been replaced in concrete and the remainder are damaged. The photographs of 1989 appear to show similar capitals to that surviving below the Mining Exchange (see Figures 15 and 21). Originally there was a wide gap





Figure 35: The interior of the north-west courtyard range, looking west. [Johanna Roethe]

in the line of columns in front of the two entrances from the north (see Figures 7-9), which suggests that there was initially no partial first floor. Along the back (north-west) wall of the north-west range are said to be markings for three further stalls, which are now obscured by a modern café and were not seen during the site visit for this project.<sup>126</sup> In the far north corner of this range, and originally right beside the east entry from the meat market, is a small partitioned space with a decorative pediment over the doorcase and with a row of timber corbels as part of the panelling above. This may be an original office dating from the 1870s for the market keeper or another official, although it is not shown on the 1889 map. Its canted entrance partition suggests this might be an *ad hoc* insertion. The space seems to be too small to be the market keeper's 'Building of the Mess Room and Domestic Offices' mentioned in the 1901 fire insurance document and valued at £40, but it may have served an ancillary function.

Walkways through the north-west range led from two arches in the meat market's south-east wall into the courtyard. Both of these entrances were flanked by granite floor drains, which also continued around the courtyard and in the lower ground floor of the Mining Exchange (Figures 36 and 37). Similar drains were recorded in 2000-1 in excavations of the floor of the former meat market.<sup>127</sup>

By 1877 the 1825-6 north-east range of the market courtyard had also been demolished. This site was not immediately redeveloped and for some years was occupied only by the east end of the north-west range and by stairs leading from Alma Place down into the courtyard (see Figures 6 and 7). In 1880 the Mining





Figure 36: The late 19th-century floor drains lining the remaining (western) entrance from the meat market into the courtyard. The paving between the drains is a modern replacement. [Johanna Roethe]

Exchange was built on the site of the east end of the north-west range, followed shortly afterwards by the adjacent Wheal Peevor Purser's Office which occupied the remainder of the north-eastern side of the courtyard (Figure 38). The Mining Exchange was designed by James Hicks, and the Office is attributed to him (see the section on the late 19th-century improvements).

Both are two-storey buildings with an upper floor which faces Alma Place and a lower ground floor which was used in conjunction with the market. By 1892 these lower ground-floor spaces functioned as a 'Wholesale Meat Market' (under the Mining Exchange) and the 'Weighing Place' (under the Office) (see Figure 9). They were open to the courtyard and supported on one wall pier and several columns, a row of which also ran below the north-eastern part of the Mining Exchange and one column survives in that location (see Figures 8 and 21). The cobbles and granite floor drains of the market courtyard extended into these spaces as well (see Figure 37).

On the upper floor these buildings were designed to front onto Alma Place (see Figure 38). Both have single-storey, tripartite elevations with a pediment with a finial over the central bay. But beyond those similarities there are considerable differences, which are typical of Hicks's eclectic style. The Mining Exchange has a base of granite and killas rubble and walls of red brick with dressings of limestone. A central round-arched doorway with colonnettes with carved, foliate capitals is flanked by round-arched windows. The central section of the parapet has the inscription 'Mining



Figure 37: Historic cobbles and granite drain just inside the current entrance to the lower ground floor of the Mining Exchange. [Johanna Roethe]

Exchange' and the segmental pediment bears the Cornish crest with the motto 'One and All'. Above the pediment is a ball finial. The neighbouring Purser's Office also has a base of granite but its walls are of coursed killas stone with ashlar dressings. The round-arched doorway is flanked by plain pilasters; on either side are round-arched, cross windows with floral reliefs in the spandrels of the arches. A recessed panel in the parapet has a circular motif and the triangular pediment above has a central fluted panel flanked by thin scrolls. Above it is a slim finial of stone.

Also in the late 1870s and early 1880s the older buildings were altered and improved. Once the Wheal Pevor Purser's Office had been completed, the area to the north-east of the two-storey market house was remodelled. New stairs led from Alma Place down to the lower ground floor of the Purser's Office and another stair led up to a new arched doorway to the first floor of the market house (Figure 39). The doorway replaced a tall, oblong opening (see Figure 6). At the same time, the ground-floor arch in the north-east elevation of the market house must have been blocked up, as the new lower stair was built right up against it (Figure 40, also see Figure 19).

It is likely that the first-floor spaces in the south-west and south-east ranges were converted to offices in the late 19th century and possibly in the late 1870s. The brickwork of the two chimneystacks near the south corner appears to be consistent with a late 19th-century date, which would make it likely to be in this period that these spaces were then converted from market stalls into heated spaces (see Figures 22 and 23).





Figure 38: The Wheal Peevor Purser's Office (left) and the Mining Exchange (right). [Johanna Roethe]



Figure 39: The remodelled north-east end of the market house. The lower stair is behind the modern gate to the right. [Johanna Roethe]





Figure 40: The steps from Alma Place to the lower ground floor of the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office. The blocked arch in the north-east elevation of the market house is to the right. [Johanna Roethe]

In 1884 the walls of the two-storey market house were raised by three feet and the roof structure replaced or reconstructed as a hipped roof without the central cross gable (see Figure 18). It is not clear what prompted this and why an increase in the ceiling height of the first-floor spaces had become necessary. It is possible that the 1884 roof alterations referred to another part of the courtyard complex, such as the north-west range (see the section on the late 19th-century improvements). However, at present firm evidence is lacking and it seems most likely that this referred to the market house of 1825-6 whose roof is known to have been remodelled and raised between about 1877 and 1928.

#### **Phase four: c. 1900**

Between about 1897 and 1901 the ground floor of the two-storey market house was converted to a printer's workshop, which included a number of alterations. A new entrance was inserted at the south corner, which may have been already canted, so that the workshop could be accessed independently of the market (Figure 41). This entrance took the form of a recessed door while the structural support for the intact upper corner was disguised under a deep moulding. Above this runs a moulded string course which continues along the south-east elevation of the market house; this was probably added at the same time (see Figure 20).

Although some of the ground-floor arches in the courtyard may have been bricked up in the late 19th century (see Figure 8), it is likely that the whole arcade was at



Figure 41: The south corner door from Station Hill. [Johanna Roethe]

this point consistently infilled with timber windows above a brick wall. The three currently visible arches all have bricks laid in English bond, and the detailing of the timber windows is consistent with a date around 1900 (see Figure 18). Similar windows were inserted in the four arched windows in the south-east elevation and are shown on aerial photos of 1928 (see Figure 13) and an architectural drawing of 1996.<sup>128</sup>

The building was also internally strengthened, possibly against the vibrations of the two printing presses and the gas engine on the ground floor, which were mentioned in the fire insurance documentation of 1901 (see the section on the early 20th century). Five pairs of cast-iron columns were inserted, which support encased ceiling beams (Figures 42 and 43). The cast-iron columns have the maker's inscription 'W. Visick & Sons, Devoran'. Visick & Sons was a foundry established by Walter Visick (c. 1852-1934), which moved in 1894 from Veto Works at Bissoe to 'Old Basset's Foundry' near Devoran.<sup>129</sup> The same firm also supplied ironwork for cattle pens at the Fair Meadow.<sup>130</sup> At the south-west end of the building a chimney was inserted, probably for the stove mentioned in the 1901 fire insurance document.

It is possible that the upper floor was also refurbished at this time. The metal windows may have been inserted at this date and the sills strengthened with iron beams (Figures 44 and 45). The latter were then covered with timber-boarded window seats, which overlap the windows.



Figure 42: The main ground-floor room of the market house, looking west along the north-west wall. [Johanna Roethe,]

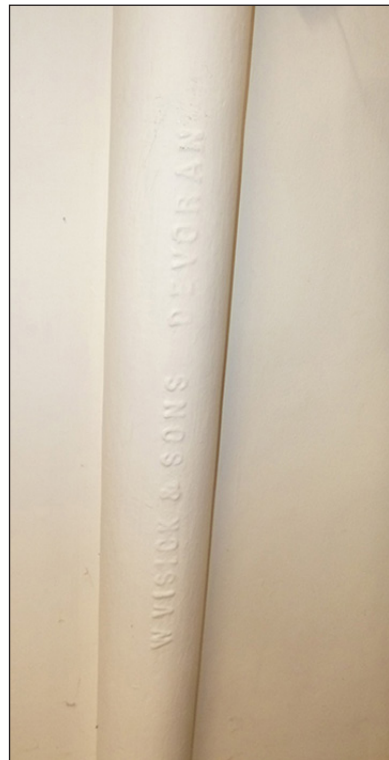


Figure 43: A capital (left) and the maker's mark of the cast-iron columns on the ground floor of the market house. [Johanna Roethe]





Figure 44: First-floor metal window in the south-east elevation of the market house. [Johanna Roethe]



Figure 45: Rusted I-beam under the westernmost first-floor window in the south-east elevation of the market house. [Johanna Roethe]



Figure 46: The first-floor offices in the north-west range with the two late-20th-century pillars to the left. [Johanna Roethe]

### Phase five: 20th-century changes

During the 20th century, a number of alterations took place, many of them incremental. By 1924 a partial first floor had been inserted at the north-east end of the north-west range (Figure 46 and see Figures 12, 13, 34). It is not clear how this was originally accessed, possibly via the first floor of the Mining Exchange or a staircase from the courtyard. Such a staircase is unlikely to have been in the location of the present stair, as this blocks the east arch from the meat market into the courtyard. As far as is known, this arch did not fall out of use until the meat market became Dowty's warehouse in a subsequent phase (see below).

As these first-floor spaces were built over an area with a wider gap of columns (see Figures 7-9), additional supports were inserted underneath, which were in place by the 1920s (see Figure 13). By the later 20th century, these had become insufficient and were replaced by two large pillars, initially square in plan, then cylindrical, as part of a general strengthening of the floor of this area (see Figures 15 and 46).

In the early to mid-20th century the lower ground-floor spaces under the Mining Exchange and the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office were enclosed and subdivided. Some walls are of breeze block, others reuse timber and glazed partitions in a more *ad hoc* manner. Two of the three earlier granite columns under the Mining Exchange were replaced by more substantial brick pillars and cast-iron columns, probably at





Figure 47: The extension of c. 1977 in the angle of the market house (right) and the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office. [James O. Davies, DP275885]

some point in the mid- to late 20th century. Perhaps at the same time, a modern stair was inserted in the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office, to link the upper and lower ground floor.

According to Richard Eddy, the former director of the Redruth Market Company, the two-storey market house was reroofed in about 1959.<sup>131</sup> The angle between the market house, the Wheal Peevor Purser's Office and the Mining Exchange has been partially infilled in two phases: the first had been built by 1967 with a shallow two-storey structure with a flat roof directly behind the Purser's Office. A further, larger extension received consent in 1977; this is the pitched-roof, two-storey structure which faces the courtyard (Figure 47).<sup>132</sup> On the lower ground floor, this extension was originally used in conjunction with the printing works on the ground floor of the former market house, with its paper store on the ground floor of the earlier extension. On the upper floor the extension was used as part of the the estate agent's office which occupied the former Wheal Peevor Purser's Office at that time.

When the meat market became Dowty's warehouse, both arches from the meat market into the courtyard fell out of use. As noted in the historical development, it is unclear when the conversion took place, but it was certainly before 1978.<sup>133</sup> Some modifications took place as part of the conversion and on-going use of the building. An architectural drawing of 1996 shows the arrangement at the south end of the building, with a gate in the west arch and the east one as permanently blocked and the stair to the first-floor offices in the north-west range built up against it (see



Figure 46).<sup>134</sup> The west arch was reopened after 2001 and is now the connection between the courtyard and the building within the historic walls of the meat market.

During the second half of the 20th century, two areas of the courtyard colonnades were infilled, to form a full-depth shop unit in the south-east range which was extant by 1989 (see Figures 15, 16, 24 and 30) and an artist's studio at the east end of the north-west range which extends into part of the lower ground floor of the Mining Exchange (see Figure 46).

At some point before 1976 the first-floor rooms in the south-west and south-east ranges were converted to form a residential flat.<sup>135</sup> This required the insertion of a bathroom and a kitchen, the latter lit by a new, small window in the south-west elevation of the south-west range (see Figure 22). The current access stair in the south-west range may have been inserted at the same time, replacing an older stair further north in the same range (see Figure 8); however, this stair could not be inspected for this project and its dating needs to be confirmed. The doors to the staircase and to the cupboard below it date from the later 20th century.

The proceeds from the sale of the Fair Meadow in the 1980s enabled the Redruth Market Company to re-pave the courtyard (see Figures 15 and 24), replace the rainwater goods and install new metal gates. The repaving of the courtyard left the historic flagstones in the colonnades and the granite floor drains intact. A few areas of historic cobbles survive in places (see Figure 37). Based on surviving sections, new vertically-glazed windows and boarding were installed on the first floor of the south-east and south-west courtyard ranges (see Figures 15, 16, 24, 30). The current boarding consists of modern, machine-cut tongued-and-grooved boards, which are set back behind the posts, to allow for the installation of railings. By contrast, the older windows and the weatherboarding of the 'bridge' over the carriageway in the southeast range are set further forward in relation to the posts which divide the bays.

At some point after 1996 a new door into the ground floor of the market house was created in one of the bricked-up arches in the north-west elevation towards the courtyard.<sup>136</sup> Until then, the main access to the ground floor was through the corner door in Station Hill and through the extension of c. 1977. The chimney at the south-west end of the market house is still shown on a drawing of 1996 but has been removed since (see Figure 13).<sup>137</sup>

### **Phase six: reconstruction of 2000-1**

The most recent major phase of change was the construction in 2000-1 of a new building, reusing the remaining fabric of the former meat market which had been destroyed in the fire of 1982. Designed by architects Hocking & Newton, the new building was constructed inside the historic outer walls, which were retained as far as possible. Instead of copying the form of the 1870s meat market hall, the new building contains a shopping arcade with specialist shops, leading into a wider space at the rear, with first-floor offices above (Figures 48 and 49). A new linear route, called Market Way, leads through the new building to the west archway into the courtyard (see Figure 49).



Figure 48: The new arcade of 2000-1 on the site of the former meat market, looking south. [Johanna Roethe]



Figure 49: The covered market space at the south end of the 2000-1 building, looking south towards the courtyard. The blocked east arch is just visible to the left, near the corner. [Johanna Roethe]

## CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The history of Redruth's market reflects several national trends. Like most British markets before 1800, it was owned by local manorial families, in this case the Bullers and the Bassets.<sup>138</sup> Unlike other aristocratic owners, they actively sought to improve the market by providing new buildings, probably predominantly driven by the desire to free up Fore Street for through traffic. The market was then acquired by Alfred Lanyon, a local businessman and politician, in 1886. From the later 19th century, the residents of Redruth debated the potential benefits of public ownership of the market, as happened elsewhere in the country during this period of general market reform. Although the local authority was not in a position to acquire the market, this led eventually to its acquisition by the Redruth Market Company in the early 20th century. As in other towns, the nearby railway proved to be an important boon to the market, aiding the cheap and fast transport of market produce and customers, particularly after a new siding was laid out and the good shed improved in the 1880s.<sup>139</sup>

The type of market buildings at Redruth were also influenced by national trends in market design. The overall form of the market of 1825-6 and as perpetuated by later alterations is an example of the 'agora or loggia market' type, one of the precursors to the Victorian market hall, as defined by Schmiechen and Carls.<sup>140</sup> Popular in the early decades of the 19th century, it was loosely based on the ancient Greek agora with its open loggias and colonnades. Some of these included classical frontage buildings, usually facing onto the high street; others, like Redruth, incorporated a taller building at the rear. Most appear to have been of only single-storey height and only a few examples of this type of market survive intact.

Examples include:

- The Butchers' Shambles of 1808 at Stamford, Lincolnshire, which, like Redruth, occupied a long burgage plot between two streets. The buildings consisted of a neo-classical entrance building in the High Street with a buttermarket, followed by a fish market courtyard, and then an open-air shambles market and stalls. Only the frontage building, now the public library, survives today (listed Grade II).<sup>141</sup>
- The Market House of 1808 at Chichester, Sussex, with a classical frontage building by John Nash (listed Grade II\*) and formerly an open market space, shops and a fish market behind it, which have been demolished.<sup>142</sup>
- The Provisions Market of 1810 in Ipswich, Suffolk, had two concentric square loggias in a courtyard. It was, like that at Redruth, set back from the road, forming a T-plan. It was demolished in 1897.<sup>143</sup>
- The Rotunda Market of 1820 at Torquay, Devon, had a rare circular colonnade with a taller block at the centre. It was largely demolished and the remains are unlisted.<sup>144</sup>



- The Old Market (also known as the Pannier Market) of 1828 in Dartmouth, Devon, has a two-storey market court house at the centre of a single-storey quadrangle of market buildings (both listed Grade II).<sup>145</sup> Instead of columns, these have square pillars. This is one of the most intact examples of the type.

The type was not widespread nationally and in Cornwall only a few examples survive, generally heavily altered. These include the Pannier Market at Callington of 1832, which like the mid-19th-century (phase two) plan at Redruth is of an inverted T-plan, without a grand frontage building. Its single-storey colonnades have been infilled to create commercial units and the building is unlisted. The Grade II-listed Market House at Copperhouse of 1839 may originally also have been of the loggia type.<sup>146</sup> The building now has roofed blocks around three sides of a courtyard behind a frontage building but the first edition OS map published in 1879 shows behind the frontage building a square courtyard with perimeter colonnades and a central block.

The next development in the national story of markets was the appearance of covered market halls. An early example was St John's Market in Liverpool of 1822, which influenced many market halls into the late 19th century.<sup>147</sup> In cities and larger towns these could be very large buildings which made increasing use of glass and iron. Smaller towns adapted the market hall to suit their needs and budgets, generally using an oblong plan with avenues or aisles, and clerestoried glass-and-iron roofs. The meat market at Redruth of the late 1870s was an example of this building type. Few historic photos survive showing the building during its heyday but judging from the surviving fabric this appears to have been a relatively plain and functional market hall. It had neither a tower, which was common particularly for dual-purpose town and market halls, nor an elaborate front elevation. However, with a footprint of about 46 m by 15m it was one of the largest, single-purpose Victorian market halls in Cornwall, with only the market hall at St Austell of 1844 being larger.<sup>148</sup>

While some markets declined in the 20th century due to changed shopping habits, the rise of the chain store and later the out-of-town shopping mall, others reinvented themselves as places for specialist shopping and a historic retail experience. The latter trend, together with a preference for historicist designs, can be observed in the building of 2000-1 within the walls of the meat market, which emulates the general layout of a shopping arcade.

The historic market buildings at Redruth reflect several national developments in market design, use and reform during the 19th century. The complex is one of the few surviving examples of the early 19th-century loggia-type market. The buildings are also tangible evidence of the central position of the market in the life of local residents and producers. The changing names for different parts of the complex and the frequent adaptations attest to the fluctuating demand for different types of produce over time. The success of the market, particularly in the later 19th century, led to several waves of expansion, culminating in the large meat market hall.

## POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There is potential to discover more about the Buttermarket's history, development and use. Further research might be undertaken among the papers of Alfred Lanyon at Kresen Kernow, and among the market ledgers and business records still held at the Buttermarket. A systematic search of the local newspapers and the minutes of the Local Board of Health might uncover new information, such as the precise date of the mid-19th-century (phase two) extension and the authorship of the 1870s work.

Several areas of the buildings were not accessible for this project, including the first-floor flat, the roof spaces and several of the units. They might hold further clues about the buildings' development and use. Other fabric evidence might be revealed during the proposed opening-up works and the refurbishment of the Buttermarket buildings. Any new evidence from the buildings or additional research should be appropriately recorded as part of the refurbishment project.<sup>149</sup>

## APPENDIX: THE ANNUAL FAIR AND THE FAIR MEADOW

The royal grants of 1333, 1564 and 1664 specified the dates and length of the two annual fairs at Redruth. However, by the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century the number of fairs had increased to four or five per year and their dates varied considerably, before stabilising somewhat in the mid-19th century. The fair dates between 1792 and 1914 were:

- 1792: 2 May, 9 July, 5 September, 12 October<sup>150</sup>
- 1814: 2 May, 3 August, 12 October<sup>151</sup>
- 1830: 21 April, 2 May, 3 August, and 12 November<sup>152</sup>
- 1844: Easter Tuesday, 2 May, 3 August, and 12 October<sup>153</sup>
- 1856: 25 March, 2 May, 4 August, and 13 October<sup>154</sup>
- 1888: Easter Tuesday, 2 May, 30 May, 3 August, 12 October<sup>155</sup>
- 1894: Easter Tuesday, 2 May, 3 August, 12 October (known as Easter, April, Mazzard and Goosey Fairs)<sup>156</sup>
- 1914: Easter Tuesday, 2 May, Whit Monday, 3 August, and 12 October<sup>157</sup>

During medieval times a huge variety of goods would have been for sale at the fairs in addition to entertainments, attracting people from far and wide. However, by the 19th century the fairs held at the Fair Meadow had become primarily cattle markets, while the entertainments had moved by about 1906 to the Fairfield to the west of the town centre.<sup>158</sup> Apart from cattle, only one other commodity is mentioned early in the 19th century: in 1814 Samuel and Daniel Lysons recorded in their *Magna Britannia* that the fairs were ‘chiefly for cattle, and osier manufactures’ (i.e. willow baskets etc).<sup>159</sup> In the 1880s the cattle market was described as holding 500 head of cattle.<sup>160</sup>

There were few permanent structures on the Fair Meadow. The tithe map of 1841 shows no structures (see Figure 3) but by 1855 several buildings had been erected around the perimeter, including a long cattle shed and a small free-standing building along the south-east boundary, and an L-plan building on the south-western edge (Figure 50). There was a gate north of the west end of the boundary wall to Station Hill and possibly pedestrian access through a narrow gap near the east end of the wall. By 1879 one entrance appears to have been just opposite the south-west elevation of the Buttermarket courtyard, possibly between two gate posts (marked ‘stone’ on the map) and another at the west end (see Figure 7). The gap between the two structures along the south-east boundary wall appears to have been blocked. The long cattle shed along the south-east boundary – towards Station Hill – is shown as having an open, inner side and the L-plan building had been extended in its own walled enclosure. The latter is labelled ‘coal shed’ on the 1889 plan of





Figure 50: Detail of the Local Board of Health plan of 1854-5, surveyed by R. Symons and Son of Truro, the earliest detailed depiction of the Fair Meadow. [Kresen Kernow, DCKER/326/9]

the manor of Tehidy (Figure 51). By that date, another cattle shed had been erected along the south-west boundary wall. Curiously, the cattle shed along the south-east boundary wall is no longer shown on this map, although one is known to have been in this location into the 1980s.<sup>161</sup>

In 1888 Alfred Lanyon explained during the Royal Commission inquiry that there were no pens for cattle and why there was no asphalted surface on the Fair Meadow: 'We do not pen them [the cattle]... If they wish there are rings to fasten the cattle to, and a chain to which they can attach them... The cattle market is not asphalted, the inclination of the ground is such that the cattle dealers protested against anything which would endanger their cattle. The farmers and dealers asked me not to asphalt [sic] it, because they are afraid that their cattle would slip and fall.'<sup>162</sup>

In 1902 various improvements were made to the cattle market, possibly by the Redruth Chamber of Commerce. This included the erection of further sheds around the Fair Meadow, a proper water supply, and cattle troughs.<sup>163</sup> In the same year there were calls at a public meeting for the provision of a railway siding, without



Figure 51: The Fair Meadow on the Tehidy manor plan of 1889. [Kresen Kernow, Library collection, X001567357]

which ‘there could not be any great importation or exportation of cattle there’.<sup>164</sup> This must refer to a larger and improved siding, as there was already a siding, constructed in the 1880s, when ‘ground at the eastern end of the Station was excavated to form a siding with a platform for off-loading pigs and cattle’.<sup>165</sup>

The new buildings of 1902 are shown in the 1906 OS map (see Figure 10) and included a further open-sided cattle shed along the north-west side, and a new building at the north. Aerial photos of the 1920s and 1950 show all of these structures (see Figures 11 and 12). Two further buildings had been erected by 1967, taking up formerly valuable space in the centre of the Meadow (see Figure 14).

In June 1920 the new owner, the Redruth Market Company, debated the future of the cattle market, following the ‘de-control of live stock’. There was strong

support for continuing the market.<sup>166</sup> However, the cattle fair declined after 1945. In November 1971 a Saturday market of stalls was started in the Fair Meadow, which later moved into the market courtyard.<sup>167</sup> One of the final cattle markets was held in February 1989 and photographed by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.<sup>168</sup> Following its sale in the 1980s, the Fair Meadow has been used as an asphalted car park. Most structures have been demolished, apart from the boundary wall which includes markers for the Basset mining sett boundary, that is the area leased by the landowner to a miner or group of miners for extracting ore.<sup>169</sup>

In 2004, 2005 and 2007 there were several applications to redevelop the car park with housing.<sup>170</sup> The first two applications were refused but the third one for 26 sheltered apartments and six sheltered cottages was approved in 2009 with conditions. No such building work has yet taken place and the space within the historic boundary walls remains in use as a car park.



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