

# PROCEEDINGS

## OF THE HISTORY OF BATH RESEARCH GROUP



No: 5

2016-17

### Trevor Fawcett

### 1934-2017

A noted local historian



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Obituary  
Trevor Fawcett  
1934-2017

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The great achievement of Trevor Fawcett, who died on July 21, was to open up the fascinating detail of life in 18<sup>th</sup> century Bath through his writings on a whole range of subjects. His meticulous research and his eminently readable articles and books have been the inspiration for so many other historians both amateur and professional over the past 30 years. Trevor showed us that the stories of everyday people and events in Georgian Bath are there to be found in archival sources if only we take the time to look.

In 1986 he was the inspiration behind the History of Bath Research Group and its guiding secretary for many years. He believed that the word 'research' in its name signified genuine interest in forwarding research rather than mere attendance at meetings and talks. Trevor had arrived in Bath in 1984 at the age of 50 having taken early retirement from the library of the University of East Anglia. The first chairman of the HBRG, Brenda Buchanan, drew an apt parallel with Edmund Rack who two hundred years earlier had arrived in Bath, also from Norfolk, and within two years had founded the Bath and West Agricultural Society and become its secretary.

In the first year the HBRG grew to some 80-100 more-or-less active members and proved a lively forum for the sharing of ideas and the promotion of local research. The time was ripe: there was a new archivist, Colin Johnston, at the Bath Record Office, the Bath Archaeological Trust was sponsoring a new biennial journal called *Bath History* and sympathetic staff in the Reference Library were keen to promote local research. But there is no doubt that it was Trevor's assiduous nurturing that established the Group's role in the city and encouraged its development.

Trevor recognised that in Bath local history is conducted largely by non-professionals and he was ever ready to give help where needed. He was well aware of the pitfalls in local history, especially of antiquarianism or the failure to appreciate the wider context and was able to advise how to avoid them. Trevor was convinced that the world wide influence of the conduct of social life in Bath in the 18<sup>th</sup> century should be understood.

In his own research he always tried to open up new territory and encourage others to use the archival riches on their doorstep. He was scrupulous in maintaining the high standard he set himself in carrying out his own research and always so generous in sharing the fruits of his own wide scholarship with anyone seeking his help, while at the same time always so modest about his own achievements. His output in articles and books was prodigious and ranged widely over the life and activities of 18<sup>th</sup> century Bath. It was not surprising that he was invited to edit *Bath History* in 1990 and he also edited the following two volumes in 1992 and 1994.

He always organised his time carefully. He hated waste of all kinds, time, effort, materials, but especially time. Life was structured and carefully organised. The evening meal was always at 6.00pm so he could start work at his desk at 7.00pm (often to 11.00 or midnight) unless there was an evening engagement. Weekends were always free for family pursuits.

Life had begun in Leeds: Trevor was born in 1934, the only child of Irene and Joseph Fawcett, a wholesale florist in Leeds Market. Childhood was affected by war-time rationing, nights in an air-raid shelter, nearby bombs. He was a ‘cassocked and surpliced treble’ in the church choir until his voice broke. Then Leeds Grammar School after the war and from 1952 -1955 he studied Portuguese, French and Geography at Leeds University while still living at home. So National Service was first time away and he spent two years on an intensive course to become a Russian interpreter. Being undecided about his future, he led a number of Ramblers trips in Europe (on one at Positano he met his future wife, Mary) and discovered the joys of planning visits by public transport which continued throughout his life.

In the autumn of 1958 he decided to qualify as a librarian through a postgraduate course in London and later became Fellow of the Library Association. His first post in 1960 was at Leicester Colleges of Art and Technology (later De Montfort University) and – significant for the future – was converted to the fascination of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Norman Scarfe at an Adult Education Centre. In 1962, after marriage, he worked for three years at the University of Southampton Library, responsible for cataloguing, and began researching in the local history library. It was there that he discovered the riches of newspapers for the historian, which formed such a significant source for him in Bath.

In 1963 came the move to the new University of East Anglia where he was in charge of cataloguing and also responsible for visual arts and music. There was plenty of government funding and he built up an exciting collection of books on art and music, and wrote widely on art librarianship in the *Art Library Journal*. He proposed an organisation to bring art librarians together and this became ARLIS. Today it flourishes across UK and Ireland and has spawned associations around the world.

Trevor continued to write articles on aspects of art librarianship and more widely on the history of art. His first book *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons and Institutions outside London 1800-1850* was published 1974. He became deeply absorbed in Norwich’s rich past, especially the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and numerous articles appeared. Over the UEA years he enabled many students and staff in their own research and studies and these friendships continued after the move to Bath. Trevor’s energy was unstoppable! It was a happy family time too with their sons Adrian and Jon, and Trevor was a hands-on father, and a good DIY man.

In 1984 the end of liberal funding of universities meant that Trevor’s opportunities for building the art and music section of the Library were over. He also felt that he had established a sound cataloguing system for the arts in the library. There was the chance for early retirement (at 50) which he decided to take and after 19 years in Norwich a new location seemed right. The move to Bath was to prove fertile ground for the next 30 years of research.

Trevor’s life falls into three parts, geographical and chronological: Leeds and growing up; Norwich and librarianship; Bath and early retirement but continuing research. Naturally there were developments through a long life but the same Trevor emerges, and each part has passed on or strengthened something of the central core. Being an only child gave him self-reliance and his linguistic abilities led him into European travel; building up an art and music collections developed his creative and organisational skills and historical research increased its hold; finally full-time research in Bath increased his published output and the kindness with which he enabled others to follow in his footsteps.

Trevor had many other interests which Mary shared: art, chamber music, environmental matters, natural history (monitoring butterflies on Bannerdown) and much else. He was asked by Stephen Bird who interviewed him in 2011, of what was he most proud and what did he count as his greatest achievement. He replied ‘I don’t know about “achievement” but undoubtedly my family – including my two sons and three grandchildren.’

Compiled by Mary Ede with contributions from:

Stephen Bird  
Philippa Bishop  
Brenda Buchanan  
Mary Fawcett  
Colin Johnston  
Lucy Powell  
Michael Rowe



Trevor recalled that probably his first effort at publication was a sonnet on chess printed in his school magazine, *The Leodiensian*. Another bit of verse that attained some slight local fame was 'Izba', quatrains circulated in the camp magazine of the Joint Services School for Linguists. His earliest minor research piece was about a 19C Southampton artist, Richard Cockle Lucas, that appeared in a Hampshire monthly magazine, and it was this that no doubt whetted his appetite for getting into print. he also placed one or two pieces early on in library journals. (Ed)

**FOR A FULL LIST OF TREVOR'S PUBLICATIONS, PLEASE SEE THE APPENDIX AT THE END OF THESE  
'PROCEEDINGS'**

## MEETING REPORTS

### BATH - THE PREMIER SPA OF THE EMPIRE

Monday 12<sup>th</sup> September 2016      St Mary's Bathwick Church Hall

Speaker                                      Nigel Pollard

Abstract                                      Nigel Pollard

The third edition of '*PROCEEDINGS*' in 2014/5, displayed the photograph below showing the stone pavilion that was The Bath Corporation's contribution to the British Empire Exhibition (BEE) held at Wembley ninety years previously in 1924-25 and that now resides in the Botanical Gardens in Royal Victoria Park.



Following on from this, a search in the Bath Record Office came up with this small brochure that was published by the Bath Corporation at the time and given away to all those visiting the Pavilion. It is a mine of information and informs us of all the key facts surrounding the building and its exhibits.

The pavilion was designed by **Mr Alfred J. Taylor**, the architect to the Baths Committee and constructed of Bath Stone from the **Monks Park quarries**. It was erected by **Messrs. Jacob Long & Sons**, local Bath builders and surrounded in a garden laid out by Messrs. **Blackmore and Langdon** of Twerton Hill Nurseries.

Its site in the Exhibition was in the Horticulture Section, plot HS.5a just off the Kingsway that lead to His Majesty's Government Pavilion.

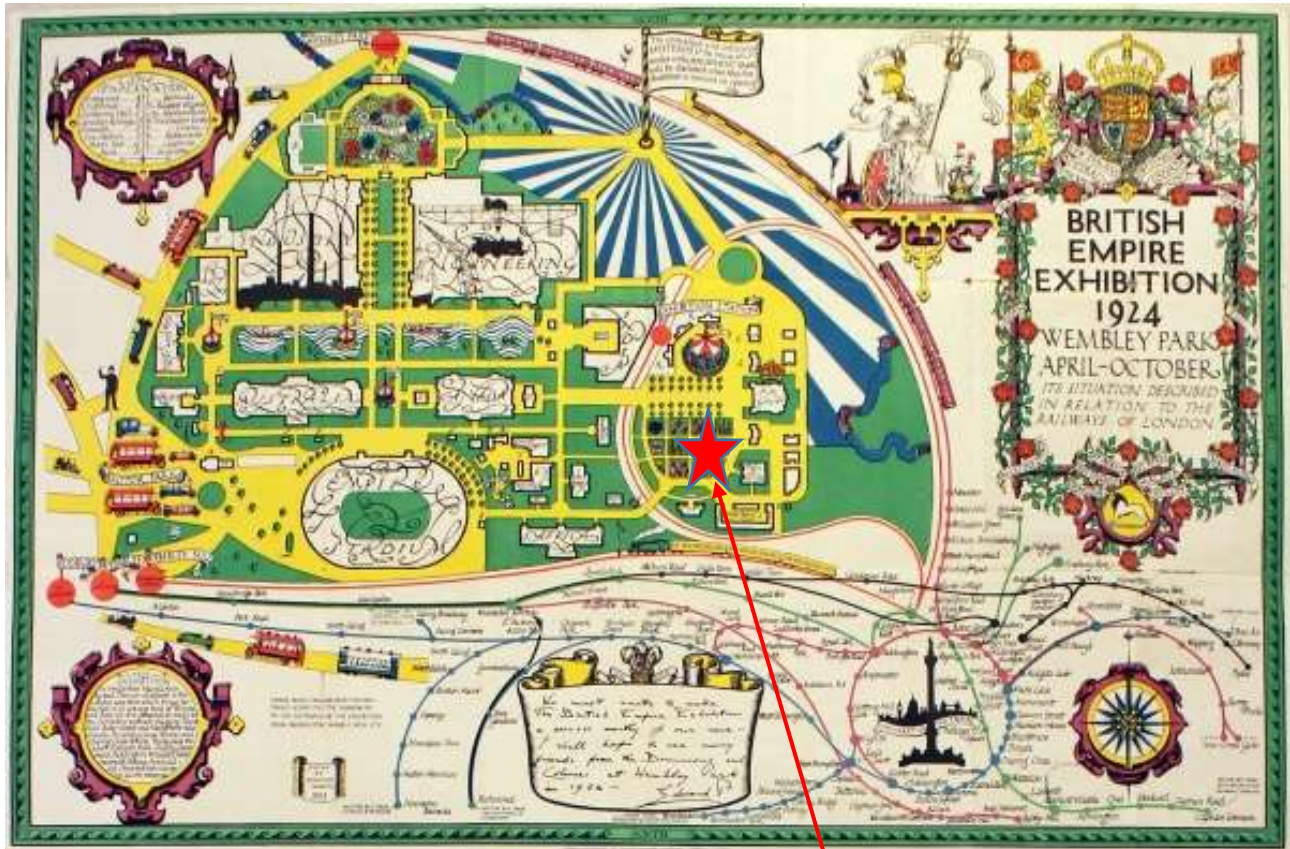
Inside, there was a model of the "Roman Thermae" as they existed at the time and the walls were decorated with a series of watercolour drawings by Mr Samuel Poole.

The Speaker had carried out some further research which had located the Bath model, now retired to the Council's store at Locksbrook, (shown adjacent) and the Samuel Poole watercolours that are now in the Victoria Art Gallery >



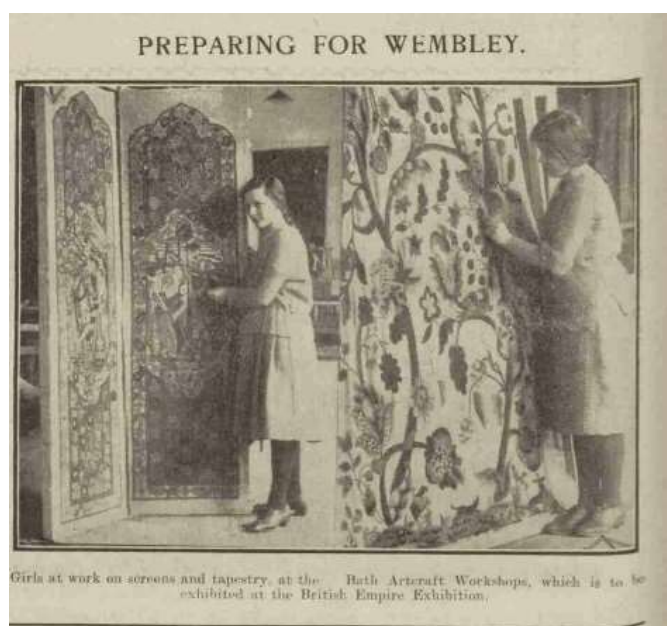
It also appears, from the reminiscences of Morris Page, supplied by David McLaughlin, that the Page family were employed as custodians of the Pavilion while it was at Wembley.

The Speaker, who was born and grew up near Wembley and was familiar with the history of the BEE, had been able to research further Bath links to Wembley following a visit to the LB of Brent Library that hold the archive of the Wembley History Society, of which he was a member in the 1960s. These showed that both the Palaces of Industry and Engineering contained commercial stands of West Country or Bath based Companies. The Palace of Industry contained exhibits by 'Harbutt's Plasticine' (Stand F.205) and 'Bath Artwork Ltd', (Stand T.809) while the Palace of Engineering hosted the 'Great Western Railway - Swindon Works' (Avenue 11) and 'Horstman Cars.' (Stand D.52). 'Fry's Chocolate' also had a kiosk at Kingsway East.



Site of BATH Pavilion

Back in Bath, the 'Museum of Bath at Work' holds the archives of both 'Harbutt's Plasticine' and 'Horstmans, from which further material had been resourced, but unfortunately no direct images, while the only reference to the 'Bath Artwork' exhibit has been a tantalising image from the *Bath Chronical* of March 29 1924 of some handmade tapestries being 'Prepared for Wembley'. >



The Corporation had originally taken the decision in 1923 NOT to exhibit at Wembley, but over the Christmas period 1923/24 had a change of heart and agreed early in 1924 to go ahead. The overall cost was later given as £2,115 (Equivalent to c. £116,000 in today's money) for which the main items were broken down as follows:

The Site	£150
The Pavillion	£823
The Model	£200

The cost of carrying on for the second year, 1925, was given as £750

The '*Bath Chronicle*' has been one of the most valuable resources for the talk, by way of the word search facility offered through the 'British Newspapers' Website.

From this, we learn that the model dioramas for the **Malayan Pavilion** were made by a Mr de la Mare Norris, an old boy from Kingswood School who had a workshop, and offered a viewing of his work, above E.P Mallory's premises in Bridge Street.

The remainder of the talk revolved around further snippets from the *Bath Chronicles* of the period and particularly the "Impressions of Wembley" written by four school girls who had won the prizes offered by 'Uncle Fred's - Young Folks League'. The four girls were: Sadie Hughes, Doris Ellett, Gladys Holbrook and Kathleen Rigby, who's day out at Wembley was followed as they traversed the Empire from Australia to Canada via India, Burma and Hong Kong.



It was also noted that both the Butchers and Grocers had their respective days out, closing all their local shops for the day in the process, while various detachments of the VADs (Voluntary Aid Detachments) also had their days at Wembley.

Finally, with even the famous Stadium now demolished, we were reminded of the foresighted decision of the Bath Corporation to bring the Pavilion back to Bath and re-erect it in 1926 in the Botanical Gardens where it remains to this day.



## TRACKING NELSON THROUGH BATH 1771-1798

Monday 10<sup>th</sup> October 2016      St Mary's Bathwick Church Hall

Speaker      Louis Hodgkin

Summary by      Louis Hodgkin/Nigel Pollard

Nelson's association with Bath can be put down to his father, the Reverend Edmund Nelson, a Norfolk parson with 'always a weak and sickly constitution', who nevertheless fathered three daughters and five sons. Widowed in 1767, he would take an annual 'recruit' in Bath from January to March, 'due to his sickly health' and to avoid the bleak, cold Norfolk winters, an arrangement he continued until his death in the City in 1802.

In 1771, at the age of twelve, Horace known to the family as Horatio, persuaded his elder brother to write to their father in Bath to ask his maternal uncle Captain Maurice Suckling RN to take him as a recruit on his ship the 'Raisonnable'. The reply from Suckling; 'What has poor Horace done, who is so weak that he above all the rest should rough it out at sea? But let him come; and the first time we go into action, a cannon ball may knock off his head, and provide for him at once'.



Nelson had a good introduction to life at Sea, partly due to his uncle's move to the Admiralty Board but he also impressed the Captains he served under, including Mark Robinson who retired to Bath after the loss of a leg, where he lived at 20 Henrietta Street and was often seen around Bath Abbey, declaring he had been Nelson's Captain.

Nelson's service took him to the West Indies in a Merchant ship via West Africa, to the Arctic, and to the East Indies. He passed his Lieutenants exam, his uncle presiding, in 1777, first commanding the brig 'Badger' and then in 1780, the 'Hitchinbrooke' which was sent on a futile expedition to Nicaragua to capture the San Juan Castle. Taking no account for the season, nearly the entire ship's company came down with fever within the first day of arrival, however the attack was a tenuous success. Appalling fever nearly killed Nelson were it not for a fellow officer William Cornwallis in Jamaica persuading him not to go to hospital but be treated by a local healer.

On his return to England he came to Bath to recuperate at the home of the apothecary Joseph Spry at No.2 Pierrepoint Street that had been arranged by his father Edmund who lodged across the road at No.9. Nelson arrived, unable to walk, in January 1781 where in his front facing room on the ground floor he stayed for three months. Under the care of his doctor Francis Woodward of 8 Gay Street, his routine was to drink the waters three times a day, take a bolus supplied by his landlord, and to bathe in the waters in the evening to avoid the crowds. Nelson made a gradual recovery, his greatest frustration not able to drink a glass of wine.

Declaring he would 'yet be an Admiral', he was back at sea on the American Station where he gained a reputation as a safe pair of hands by his Admiral Lord Hood who was to become an important part of his life, introducing him to William, Duke of Clarence (King William IV), whom he mentored and who became a lifelong friend.

The next challenge was to find a wife. On a holiday in France he met a Miss Elizabeth Andrews who was a possible suitor, but was too poor, although he did take her brother George in as a midshipman when he returned to the West Indies.

While in France Nelson heard of the death of his sister Ann, who having inherited money from her uncle Captain Maurice Suckling had been able to give up her lace making apprenticeship in London. She had died while in Bath after catching a chill at the New Assembly Rooms and was buried in Bathford Church where her father had preached. The two other sisters Susannah and Catherine (or Kitty) both were apprenticed to Watson's milliner of Bath. Susannah was to marry Thomas Bolton merchant of Wells next to the Sea, while the youngest Kitty named after their mother Catherine, met in Bath, George Matcham a wealthy retired East Indian merchant. (Nelson being prepared to pay for a second season in Bath so that she would not be stuck in Norfolk Society). Of his four brothers: William became a vicar, Maurice worked first in Customs and Excise (thanks to Uncle



William Suckling) and later in the Navy Office, Edmund became a shopkeeper, and Suckling worked for brother-in-law Thomas Bolton.

Returning to the West Indies accompanied by his brother William as ship's chaplain and his Admiral's wife and daughter, did not make an easy passage. Patrolling the Leeward Islands enforcing the 'Navigation Act' ensuring the transport of British goods in British not American ships that would attract heavy 'duty', did not make him popular with local merchants. Determined not to be undermined by the lassitude's of the Tropics, he had disagreements with the Local Governor of the Leeward Islands, General Shirley, who felt he should command a bit more respect from this unconvincing young officer. The reply was that if Britain could be entrusted to Pitt (25yrs) could he not trust Nelson? Further on in Antigua, a retired naval officer John Moutray, now Commissioner, flying his pennant as the senior officer also enraged Nelson as a senior serving officer. However, in neither case did the parties hold any resentment and both antagonists enlisted their sons on Nelson's ship. Captain Moutray and his younger wife Mary held open house to the naval officers of the region. Nelson became besotted with Mary seeing her his ideal woman, writing to his family of all her attributes. Unfortunately, John Moutray later suffered the effects of the tropics and retired to Bath where he died in 1785. He is commemorated by a plaque in the south aisle of Bath Abbey along with General Shirley who also retired to Bath where he died in 1800 and has a memorial plaque in the North aisle.

Back in the West Indies, the dispute with the merchants was getting worse. Nelson was following his orders from the Admiralty, while his Admiral Hughes offered no support when a writ for damages was served on Nelson of £4000. President Herbert of Nevis, one of the Leeward Islands, was the only person to offer support and stand bail. Nelson paying a visit to Herbert's residence on Nevis in 1786, found him playing with a young boy who turned out to be the son of his housekeeper and niece, widow Frances Nisbet, whom Nelson fell in love with. A year later on the 11 March 1787 they were married at Fig Tree Church on the Montpelier Estate, Nevis, where at the insistence of the Duke of Clarence his 'best man' was Prince William Henry later to become William IV.



The young couple returned to England separately in 1788 where Frances (or Fanny) went to visit relatives in her home city of Bristol while Nelson visited the Duke of Clarence in Plymouth. Nelson was 'on the beach', on half pay, his services not required during a lull in hostilities. With no home of their own they moved into his father's parsonage in Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk where they would remain for the next five years, Nelson 'studying' the London Gazette for a resumption of hostilities, while Frances spent long periods in bed avoiding the cold.



In 1793 hostilities were renewed against France and Nelson given a new command, the 'Agamemnon', sailed for the Mediterranean taking his stepson Josiah Nisbet as midshipman. Fanny moved to Bath where she spent a year staying with members of Nelson's family before taking lodgings at 17 New King St. with her father-in-law Edmund for the next three years (Fanny paid the rent and Edmund paid living costs). Familiar Bath life revolved making the home suitable for a rising naval officer when home on leave. Old 'Will' the faithful retainer from Norfolk, and a maid kept house, while for entertainment Fanny bought a piano, enjoyed painting watercolours, and bought a parrot "Polly" that apparently could talk.

In the Mediterranean the British Fleet under the command of Lord Hood occupied Toulon by invitation of the French Royalists. Nelson was dispatched to get reinforcements from our ally the Kingdom of Naples. Here the British Ambassador's wife Emma Hamilton entertained Nelson and his stepson Josiah.

Repelled from Toulon by the French Republicans under Napoleon, the British were invited by the Corsicans to repossess Corsica from the French, Nelson distinguished himself in besieging Bastia, Calvi and San Fiorenzo, in 1794 at Calvi, losing the sight in his right eye from flying debris. Lord Hood was recalled to England while Nelson stayed on in the Mediterranean on diplomatic duties with the Italian States.

Fanny made contact with the Hoods who were sympathetic and introduced her to naval officers who had been serving with Nelson, including Dr Harness surgeon to the Fleet who re assured her not to worry. Otherwise she and Horacio kept in touch by letter one on average every two weeks, but inevitably they arrived in bunches, delayed occasionally due to fumigation. News was also exchanged via naval wives and officers in Bath. Edmund wrote of family and Norfolk while Fanny of Navy news and people she met who she felt may be of use to him, as well as notes for her son to write, ensure he brushed his teeth etc. Nelson wrote that a letter was better than any 'prize'. Nonetheless Fanny was not outgoing and needed encouraging. General Shirley, formerly Governor of the Leeward Islands visited with his family but had to persuade her to attend a ball with them.

Under his new commander Hotham, Nelson pursuing and capture of two French ships of 80 and 74 guns. His main preoccupation was harassing the French along the Italian coastline around Genoa, ferrying Austrian troops, assisted by Neopolitan and Portuguese ships. Fanny in Bath was getting anxious and suggested she join him while the 'Agamemnon' was in for a refit. She was told she would not be welcome - while he took up with an Opera singer ostensibly to gain 'intelligence'! However, he did commissioned a portrait miniature on ivory mounted in a locket for her, which Fanny treasured for the rest of her life.



By the end of 1796 a change of Admiral in Sir John Jervis coincided with Spain declaring war as the Royal Navy evacuated Corsica with Nelson being one of the last to leave the Mediterranean for Lisbon.

Nelson was now ranked as Commodore with the honorary rank of Colonel of Marines with a pension for the loss of sight in his eye; His father writing an epistle that included 'the almost daily proofs of your faithful observance of your professional duties are pleasing compensation for long absence'.

On February 14th 1797 Jervis' Fleet encountered a Spanish Treasure Fleet off Cape St Vincent. Nelson realising his commander's intentions, broke the Line to cut the Spanish line and by use of his 'patent bridge' captured two Spanish Ships the 'San Josef and San Nicolas'. This victory due to Nelson's action catapulted him into the 'limelight', his father proud to hear Nelson's name on everyone's lips in Bath. Promoted to Rear Admiral, a Knight of the Order of the Bath and Freeman of the City of Bath.

Fanny became the centre of attention, naval officers seeking her out to congratulate Nelson. Invited as a guest of Admiral Jervis' sister Mrs Ricketts to 8 Argyle St, Fanny summed up 'ladies of quality have fashion in their mode of speaking, laughing or smiling at every word they say which I don't like'.

Later in the year the Navy mutinied at the Nore and the Admiralty pulling Earl Howe away from Bath to deal with the mutineers, some wives joining their husbands on their ships. Edmund writes 'Poor Mrs N's anxieties are no doubt doubled by the unfavourable events the public cause has felt. There are here at Bath many partners of her apprehensions and many really sorrowing under the calamities of war.'

Nelson meanwhile undertook a raid on Santa Cruz Teneriffe, ostensibly to capture a treasure ship, in a small boat action, but as he prepared to land a shot caught his right arm which required amputation.

He felt this could be the end of his career. Invalided home, he returned to Bath to be reunited with his wife. A letter came from the Corporation of Bath welcoming his safe return. At last Fanny had a role to nurse him. While in Bath he used the services of Mr Nicoll, a surgeon at 14 Queen Square to dress his wound, Mr Spry to provide his medicine and for consulting on the state of the wound, a Dr Falconer of 6 Bladud Buildings. After two weeks he returned to London to be assessed, consider his future and for his investiture in the Order of the Bath. In January 1798 due to the smoke of London he returned to Bath to stay for a further two weeks which were at Nos. 10&11 Abbey Green, now the Crystal Palace pub. From here he and Fanny attended the Theatre in Orchard St. where the audience rose to sing 'Rule Britannia' as he took his place in John Palmer's theatre managers box, commenting on the 'handsomest ladies in Bath'.

While in Bath he and Fanny were also negotiating to buy their first home 'Roundwood' near Ipswich, a home they never lived in, while a new command the 'Vanguard' was soon to take Nelson back to the Mediterranean, but not before sorting his luggage that created a brisk correspondence as to items, that should or should not have

been sent. To care of their father Edmund, and for when Fanny would come to visit him, Kitty, Nelson's youngest sister, and George Matcham moved to Bath to 19 Kensington Place.

Later in 1798 Nelson was back in the Mediterranean on 'Vanguard' where following victory over the French at the Battle of the Nile he protracted a stay in Naples dealing with the restoration of the King of Naples from the Parthenopian Republic, and an overland return to England with Emma Hamilton in 1800.

He and Emma were now inseparable and she was pregnant. Nelson laid no blame on Fanny but no longer wanted to be associated with her although he did confer on her a good annuity. His behaviour did not go unnoticed however and was divisive with naval associates like John Jervis and Lord St. Vincent who refused to go to Nelson's funeral. His father Edmund continued to have a close friendship with Fanny until his death in 1802, Nelson now avoiding visiting his father, stating he would go if asked, but never going, afraid he might meet Fanny.

In November 1805 the Admiralty sent a messenger direct to Fanny in her lodgings at 14 Sydney Place to inform her of Nelson's death and of the Victory at Trafalgar.

Bath celebrated Nelson's victories and made generous donations for injured sailors marines widows and orphans, a proposed memorial statue never happened as no one turned up for the meeting.

In subsequent years, many of Nelson's fellow officers and men came, visited, lived and died in Bath along with his family, the last, Reverend Hugh Nelson Ward of 7 The Circus, dying and being buried in the Abbey Churchyard in 1952.

His ship the last remnant "Victory" was managed as a minor ship by the Admiralty in Bath, before being handed over in 2012 to the National Royal Naval Museum Portsmouth.

## BATH'S DOUBTFUL SILVERSMITHS

Monday 14<sup>th</sup> November, 2016     St Mary's Bathwick Church Hall

Speaker                                     Duncan Campbell

Abstract                                     Duncan Campbell

Just like most provincial towns and cities in England, before the start of the eighteenth century, Bath supported a rather modest local silver trade. The demand from Bath residents would have been mostly for smaller utilitarian items like spoons, small bowls and cups and wedding rings. Such pieces were considered essentials not luxuries to those commissioning them. The alternative to a silver spoon being one made from latten or worse, wood. Being an "inert metal", silver, uniquely, has no taste and so offered the owner of a silver spoon the flavour of the food only without the taint of pewter or yesterday's onions.

Only a tiny minority of the population could afford to buy the elaborate and expensive silver services of London made silver. The big bowls, salvers and cups we see in museums from the 17th/18th centuries were produced largely for display, but a simple spoon, only costing about 10% more than the value of its metal, was well within the price range of the middle classes. The cost of a spoon was equivalent to about 2 weeks semi-skilled labour and beside which, the intrinsic value of the metal could always be recouped if the wolf snarled at the door.

Over the centuries there must have been many silversmiths working in the City of Bath to supply the local demand, but, out of all these craftsmen only one family of maker's marks is attributable to Bath with any degree of certainty.

George Reeve (working c.1650-70) and his sons Spencer and George made and marked mostly spoons for their Bath clientele. There is a plaque in the Abbey commemorating the family, who presumably were successful in their trade to have been able to afford such a memorial.

Other silversmiths are recorded in Bath as being in business at the end of the seventeenth century, names like George Watkins and John Shelton are mentioned in old documents but sadly if they used a mark to identify their output, it has been lost to history.

The beginning of the eighteenth century brought with it a sea change in the economy of Bath and consequently in the demand for and supply of silver. The wealthy and aristocratic visitors to Bath were used to the finer things in life and would have had a taste for more sophisticated, even if more frivolous, items. From 1700 onwards the volume of silver sold in Bath increased dramatically and so did the variety of items on sale.

The standard work on silvermakers' marks, "London Goldsmiths 1697 to 1837 Their Marks & Lives" by Arthur Grimwade, lists the following as being Bath based Silversmiths with their marks registered at The Goldsmiths Hall:

Name	First registered at Goldsmiths Hall	Name	First registered at Goldsmiths Hall
Thomas Wynne	18/10/1754	Thomas Graham & Jacob Willis	29/06/1789
William Townsend	07/09/1774	Thomas Graham	14/05/1792
John Ford & John Williams	06/05/1782	Peter Merrett	28/01/1793
John Townsend	10/09/1783	William Bottle & Jeremiah Willsher	27/10/1796
Thomas Howell	27/05/1784	James Welshman	22/07/1813
William Basnett	03/09/1784	James Bottle	16/01/1819
Lionel Bretton	18/11/1784		

As well as the silver makers, the Bath trade directories list numerous retail businesses offering a wide range of silverware both to tourist and Bath residents.

The sudden boom in Bath's fortunes in the first half of the 18th century gave rise to a vast expansion in the retail luxury trade especially during the Bath season when the great and the good descended on the city with their healthy appetites for souvenirs and presents. The local silver sellers had to up their game to cater for this new market, they did exactly that. As the century wore on the silver trade continued to grow.

Curiously, the silversmiths listed above, though registered as working in Bath, all marked their wares at the Goldsmiths Hall in London. At first glance this seems an odd decision to make as the assay office in Exeter is somewhat nearer to Bath. In fact, most of the silversmiths working in Bristol did go to Exeter for assay marking and only very rarely to London. Even more difficult to understand is the doubling of the risk of transportation having to make the return journey. The Bath to London road was littered with highwaymen and Hounslow Heath in particular was considered one of the most dangerous passages in England. There are many tales of wealthy travellers being robbed, a waggon full of fresh made silverware would have been a very tempting target.



Geo. III silver teapot 1789. Hallmarked in London with Bath maker's mark for Thomas Graham and Jacob Willis.

Whereas most provincial centres of silversmithing, Newcastle, Exeter, Bristol etc., had their own unique styles and repertoire of objects, the silver marked by Bath makers is indistinguishable from London made goods. Since even spoon making was, at this period, a specialist occupation, it is unusual to find a silversmith able to produce a wide variety of objects. The small permanent population of Bath could not be expected to provide enough work for a specialist spoon or candlestick maker but the demand especially from tourists for all manner of different items meant that the Bath makers had to try to provide as comprehensive a range of silver wares as possible.



The explanation for Bath's unusual system of trade is cleared up by examination of the legal affairs of the individual silversmiths. The list of names above, though fully trained and apprenticed in the craft of silver manufacture, were in fact merely middle men and shop keepers. The Goldsmiths Company records show that each one had in place partnership agreements with London based silversmiths in the form of powers of attorney held by a London firm allowing them to use the mark of a Bath silversmith and to stamp London made items with it.

The silver maker's mark exists in the form of a steel punch cut with initials cut into it. Technically known as a sponsor's mark, the maker's initials must be struck onto silver items before their submission to the assay office (the Goldsmiths Hall in London) for testing and for the rest of the "Hallmarks" to be struck. Should the assay office find that the metal was sub-standard, the maker could then be easily identified. On occasion, the mark of a Bath maker is found struck over the existing mark of another silversmith. This system provided a full range of luxury silver to the Bath buying public with the commercial necessity of Bath silversmiths' brand names being attached to the goods.

In short, despite the various claims of the trade in Bath [Trade cards], the last Bath silversmith was Mr Spenser.

## MUSIC SHOPS AND THE MUSIC TRADE IN GEORGIAN BATH

Monday 9<sup>th</sup> January 2017

St Mary's Bathwick Church Hall

Speaker

Mathew Spring

Abstract

Mathew Spring (Taken from Research Gate Pub: Brio Vol. 50. No.1)

### Introduction

On the first of April 2011 *Duck, Son and Pinker* closed its doors, selling the accumulated stock of music, instruments and accessories in the months that followed. With it the tradition of Bath's grand music shops ended, killed off by the internet and decreasing sales of traditional instruments and music. The business founded by William Duck in 1848 was the last and longest surviving remnant of a once crowded music business scene situated in Bath's Georgian centre, and in particular the area around Milsom Street, Bond Street, Pulteney Bridge and the Orange Grove just north of the Abbey. In the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century, Duck's business alone extended across the whole of the north side of Pulteney Bridge. In the decades before William Duck started his business the situation was particularly vibrant with the businesses of the two Loders (Andrew and John David), John White, Matthew Patton and George Packer, to be joined by that of Charles Milsom, a business that closed only a few years before Duck, Son and Pinker. Indeed in 1830 Milsom Street alone, arguably one of the most prestigious shopping streets in Britain, had three music warehouses at nos.1, 28 and 46 (White, Patton, J. D. Loder). These shops, music warehouses, or music repositories blossomed in the early nineteenth century with the increasing popularity of domestic pianos, expensive instruments that needed a good deal of expert salesmanship, and space for storage, display, and trial.



Fig 1 Trade card for *Duck, Son and Pinker* c. 1950

The subject of Bath's music shops has been little studied, though they are touched upon in several articles by Trevor Fawcett, and in his book *Bath Commercialised*. Michael Kassler's *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (2011) is, despite its title, a very London-centric study, and an influential and long-lasting firm like Linterns has but one mention in the book.<sup>1</sup> The research for this article is largely based on newspaper advertisements and city directories, and not on any exhaustive trawl through the hundreds of advertisements, but rather by dipping in and sampling across periods.

As part of Bath's developing luxury trade the music businesses were an important element in the commercial life of the city. Some were led by members of Bath's musical families (male and female), and might be one of a combination of music activities that supported an extended family (for example in the case of the Lintern, White and Loder families). The shops provided music spaces for the trial, hire, and sale of instruments and accessories. More than this, they sold large quantities of music, some provided circulating music libraries, were occasionally venues for demonstration and performance, and were places where teachers could be found, musical events advertised, and tickets purchased and collected. Certainly some music was published by Bath's music-business owners (Linterns and Loders), and some advertised themselves as musical instrument makers (Underwood, Milgrove, Lintern), though there is little evidence of actual instrument manufacture in Bath before the early nineteenth century, and such publishing and instrument making as there was in Bath was dwarfed by the very considerable retail activity of the music businesses. Bath's music shops had developed during the eighteenth century and from the 1750s the city maintained a number of musical businesses at any one time. Though there were a good number of shops in Bath that dealt in instruments, accessories and music, there was normally one principal music-business specialist in the town until after 1800. This situation altered in the early nineteenth century when the music warehouse and circulating library of James (d.1817) and Walter Lintern declined, giving way in the period after 1810 to the businesses of Andrew Loder, John David Loder, John White, Matthew Patton and George Parker; and after 1840 of William Duck and Charles Milsom.

<sup>1</sup> M. Kassler, ed., *The Music Trade in Georgian England*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, p. 139;

Trevor Fawcett, *Bath Commercialised: Shops, Trades and Market at the 18th-Century Spa*. Bath: Ruton, 2002.

The tracking of music businesses in Bath becomes possible with the onset of newspapers in the 1740s, and from them it is clear that the earliest established maker/business owner who advertised regularly was Thomas Underwood. Before this date Claver Morris (1659-1726/7) made regular purchases of music from a Mr Hammond on his frequent visits to Bath from as early as 1711 (Claver Morris unpublished accounts), and we know that individual musicians, like Thomas Chilcot and Thomas Orpin, sold and hired out music from their homes. Underwood's business was followed by that of Benjamin Milgrove in 1762, who diversified into a toyshop ownership in 1778, giving way to James Lintern, whose firm remained in business until 1819. While there were a number of other music business owners (Tylee, Whitehead, Matthews, Ashley, etc.), the regularity of advertisements and the range of activities outlined in them shows that Underwood, Milgrove and Lintern clearly outstripped their competitors, each in their time.

### Thomas Underwood and Benjamin Milgrove

The first important music business in Bath that can be followed from newspaper advertisements was that of Thomas Underwood, who first advertised on 3 February 1746 that he was then operating from 'next Door to the SpreadEagle and Crown, on Belvedere-Hill, Lansdown-Road, in the Parish of Walcott, near Bath'.<sup>2</sup> He had first served an apprenticeship as an instrument maker but had diversified into music retail.<sup>3</sup> His long advertisement in the *Bath Journal* for 27 October 1746 shows that he had moved down into the city centre, and lists the great variety of instruments, music and music services he offered. He ends by announcing that, 'All the above Articles will be sold, Wholesale or Retail, as good and as cheap as in London; where Country Shops, and others may be supplied with every Article they want in the Musical Way. Instruments mended and neatly strung and brid'gd in the neatest Manner, may be supplied'. By way of further diversification, in the same advertisement Underwood also retails, 'Catchup, Mushrooms and all Sorts of Pickles'.<sup>4</sup>

Though titling himself 'instrument-maker' in large letters in most of his advertisements, it is clear that retail sales, hiring out instruments, mending, music and accessories were Underwood's real trade concerns. In part this may suggest that the social standing of a shopkeeper was less than that of a skilled artisan, hence the desire to be more an instrument maker than a music seller. As the attractions of Bath's season gathered pace after 1760, increasing numbers of visitors needed instruments to hire while in Bath, particularly if a family member played a harpsichord or piano which was not easily transportable. Maintaining and supplying such instruments for the company may have been the key activity that allowed the development of so much commercial music activity in Bath. Underwood took on a number of apprentices in the 1740s and 50s including Thomas Atwood in March 1749 and Benjamin Milgrove in 1755.<sup>5</sup> Occasionally Underwood also seems to have promoted concerts, as the *Bath Chronicle* for 31 December 1761 advertised that

'In a parlour at Mr Underwood's, adjoining to his Music-Shop, in StallStreet, Mr Cartwright, Jun. Will perform every Day (Sundays excepted) on the Musical Glasses, between the hours of Twelve and Three, and from Six to Eight in the Evening. Admittance 2s 6d, N.B. There will be a Fire constantly in the Room, to render it commodious for Gentlemen and Ladies.'

Underwood quitted business in 1762 but opened a new shop in Pump Room Passage and another in between Church Yard and Cheap Street by 1770<sup>6</sup>, though it seems this later venture did not last long.

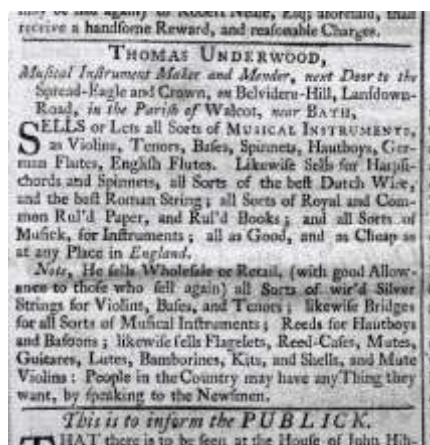


Fig. 2:  
Advertisement for Thomas Underwood, *Bath Journal*, 03/02/1746, no.103, p.3 a.]

<sup>2</sup> *Bath Journal* 03/02/1746, no.103, p. 3 a

<sup>3</sup> See Kenneth Edward James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', PhD dissertation, 2 vols., (University of London, 1987), i, p. 336. There were instrument-makers in eighteenth-century Bath (see James, p. 384), among them: John Holland, organ builder; John Morris, violin-maker; Benjamin Milgrove, brass instrument maker; Edward Boehman, pianoforte maker; and John Simcock, who devised and made the Bell Harp, an instrument both plucked and swung while played to give a pulsating sound.

<sup>4</sup> *Bath Journal*, 27/10/1746, no. 141, p. 2 a; and 03/11/1746, no.142, p. 2 b.

<sup>5</sup> James, op.cit., i, p. 340; 'Bath Freeman's Apprentice Register', p. 75.

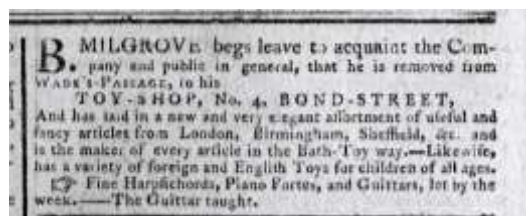
<sup>6</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 21/01/1770, no. 211, p. 2 d.

While there is no evidence that Underwood was an active musician in Bath, the same is not true of his apprentice and successor Benjamin Milgrove (1731-1808). The *Bath Enrolment of Apprentices* notes that he was articled for the usual seven years as an apprentice instrument maker to Underwood.<sup>67</sup> Milgrove took over Underwood's business 'At the sign of the Bass Viol, in Cock Lane' with John Brooks in September 1762, a few months after completing his apprenticeship, Underwood 'having quitted business in their favour'.<sup>8</sup> Brooks was an important cellist in Bath, a leading freemason and father of the violinist James Brooks. The business was quickly moved to a new music shop in Stall Street from where Milgrove's *Forty Lessons for the Guittar* (1762) was first advertised for sale on 16 December 1762 in the *Bath Chronicle* as 'This Day is Publish'd' and priced at 40 shillings.

Milgrove's music shop led to expansion into other areas of commercial enterprise. Like many Bath music businesses he moved his premises several times, from Stall Street to Abbey Green by 1766, and then to Wade's Passage from 1768.<sup>9</sup> By May 1774 Brooks's name had been dropped from the business, and Milgrove had acquired the toyshop next door. This acquisition was a major departure and crucial to his future business development. As a member of Bath's pump and assembly rooms band Milgrove was sufficiently known and approved of by Captain William Wade, then Master of Ceremonies, that Wade gave Milgrove sole selling rights to his *The Dancer's Guide* (Bath, 1774). In 1778 Milgrove moved his business a fifth and final time to the newly built and prestigious no. 4 Bond Street (now Old Bond Street), styling it now a 'Toyshop'.

Eighteenth-century toyshops, and especially those in fashionable Bath, were the precursors of twentieth-century department stores. They sold not just toys but fancy goods of all description; anything that was complicated and intricate. Toyshops relied on the manufacturing expertise in working metals of the newly industrialised cities; Birmingham, Sheffield and Bradford. In Bath such shops typically sold a mixture of ornamental and semi-useful items for the visiting luxury market. William Rodgers of Bond Street had a handbill that advertised 'buckles, sleeve buttons, watch chains and trinkets, pocket-books and letter cases, purses, smelling bottles, toothpick cases, combs, patch boxes, steel thimbles, knives and scissors, spectacles, enamelled candlesticks and Pontypool ware tea kettles',<sup>10</sup> articles that would make acceptable presents or souvenirs of a stay in Bath. The commercial development of Bath from the area around the Abbey and the Terraced Walk up Milsom Street was predicated on the success of Bath's luxury trade, led by the toyshops. Leaders among them were the partnership of William Glover and J. L. Newman, which moved under Glover alone into no. 40 Milsom Street, presenting 'one of the finest displays of manufacture in the whole of England'. Much of the characteristic toyshop range was on display, but eclipsing all that the musical instruments.<sup>11</sup>

Milgrove continued to purvey music, instruments and all necessary accessories from his toyshop. That he maintained his musical business from within his toyshop is shown by his advertisement on 17 September 1778 (Fig 3):



'B. Milgrove begs leave to acquaint the Company and public, in general, that he is removed from Wade's Passage to his TOY-SHOP no. 4 Bond Street. And has laid in a new and very elegant assortment of useful and fancy articles from London, Birmingham, Sheffield, etc. and is the maker of every article in the Bath Toy way. Likewise, he has a variety of foreign and English Toys for children of all ages. Fine Harpsichords, Piano Forte, and Guittars, let by the week. The Guittar taught.'

<sup>6</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>8</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 30/09/1762, no. 105 p.2 b; James, op.cit., p. 824

<sup>9</sup> *Bath Guildhall*, City Archives, *Rate book* no. 1-6.

<sup>10</sup> Trevor Fawcett, 'Eighteenth-century shops', *Bath History* vol. 3 (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), p. 68.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.



The nexus of Bond Street and Milsom Street was the heart of this luxury trade; this is where Jane Austen's characters came to window shop, and among them they would have passed and seen Milgrove's shop window. Styled 'Toy man' in the *Bath Directory* for 1800<sup>12</sup>, he maintained his business for the rest of his life and was financially successful. He is always listed among the prominent members of Bath's business community, could afford to pay £42 per annum for his apartment in Bond Street, to send his daughter to Paris to improve her French, and to help her to open a French School in Bath.<sup>13</sup> The Rate Book for 1805 gives his business as 'Milgrove and Fanning', suggesting that in his last years he had again gone into partnership.<sup>14</sup>

### James and Walter Lintern and other music-business owners in late eighteenth-century Bath

Of all music businesses of Georgian Bath none was longer lived and more diversified than that of James and later Walter Lintern. It is interesting to observe that as Milgrove re-launched himself as a toyshop owner, Lintern's

business began to emerge. Linterns were operating in Church Street by 1783<sup>15</sup> and the shop stayed in the area around the Abbey for most of forty years, first at no. 3 Abbey Church Yard, but gravitating to the Orange Grove between 1805 and 1809, according to Bath directories. Normally listed as a 'music seller' with a 'music warehouse', Lintern was also variously described as 'musical-instrument maker' and music library owner. Linterns were sellers and agents for the London music publishers Cahusac and Sons, but also published a certain amount of music themselves, such as the '*Ten Country Dances, and four Cotillions . . . for 1797*', printed for and sold at J. & W. Lintern's Music Warehouse, Bath.' Many of Lintern's advertisements emphasised the sale and hire of keyboard instruments, for instance: 'James Lintern, music library & instrument warehouse, 3 Abbey Church Yard, Bath. Sells (or hires out) patent pianofortes, pianoforte guitars, harpsichords, French pedal harps, guitars, flutes etc. Also 2nd hand harpsichords & pianofortes.'<sup>16</sup>

Linterns evidently kept a large stock of music, as the *Bath Chronicle* advertisement of 13 November 1785 announced that they have 'a collection of some Thousands of New and Old songs' at half price. Remarkably in 1789 'near a thousand of the most favourite songs' were stolen from the shop counter. Linterns acted as agents for teachers and performers and were an ad hoc performance venue from time to time, for example: 'Mr Boynton, organist, teaches pianoforte & harpsichord, & can be heard at Lintern's music shop, Abbey Church Yard.'<sup>17</sup> Described as 'Messrs Lintern' after 1791 when Walter joined James in the business, there may have been more members of the family involved. The firm sold not only music and instruments, but like Milgrove sold tickets for concerts, and continually advertised in the newspapers. Indeed the most frequent recurring newspaper references to Linterns in the decades before and after 1800 are as agents for the ticketing of musical events. Like many of the music businesses Linterns undertook a good degree of non-musical diversification as they also sold pictures and miniatures by Mr Ogier, writing pens in gold and silver by Daniel Fellow, and art works of various sorts. The Linterns business survived until around 1819 when George Packer took over, advertising the transfer in the *Bath Directory* of that year.

Underwood, Milgrove and Lintern found a degree of lasting success (James Lintern did go bankrupt in 1781, but seems to have recovered), but the list of firms that were short-lived or did not share the same degree of success is longer. Among those that failed were Joseph Tylee, friend and successor to Chilcot as Abbey organist, who opened a shop near the Pump Rooms in 1770 and ran a music business for much of the 1770s. Another Bath musician who ran a music retail business was Thomas Whitehead, who operated a business between 1783 and his death in 1793. He moved his business several times but was forced to sell up in 1786, letting much of his stock go at very low prices. In 1789 James Matthews started a 'Music Warehouse' in Market Street that sold

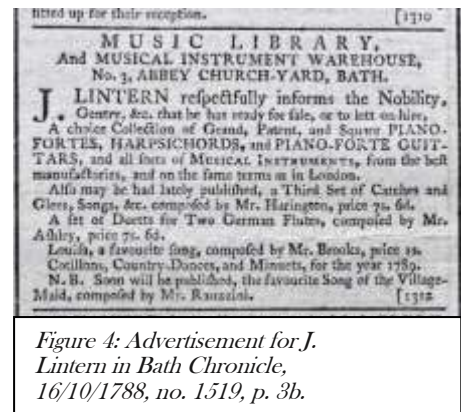


Figure 4: Advertisement for J. Lintern in *Bath Chronicle*, 16/10/1788, no. 1519, p. 3b.

<sup>12</sup> Robbins's *Bath Directory* (Bath, 1800), p. 77.

<sup>13</sup> James, 'Concert Life', ii, p. 825; *Bath Chronicle*, 01/07/90 and *Bath Directories after 1800*

<sup>14</sup> *Rate Book for 1805*.

<sup>15</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 01/05/1783, no.678, p. 3b

<sup>16</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 26/11/1789, no.1678, p. 2c

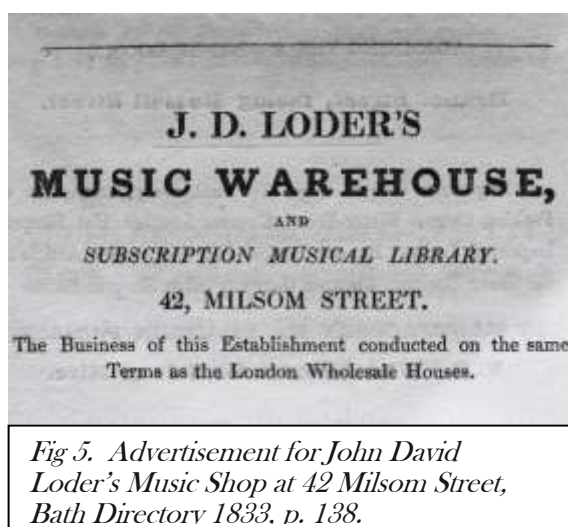
<sup>17</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 30/10/1788, no.1591, p. 3b

instruments, music and a full range of accessories.<sup>18</sup> Matthews was a comic singer who had inherited a butchery business from his widowed mother. He advertised concerts held in his 'New Music Warehouse in Market Street. Corner of Cheap Street and Market Place', from where he sold instruments, music and full range of accessories. He moved to Milsom Street and then to new premises in George Street and had a music library where the company could hire out music. The Ashley family were a long established Bath family that diversified into a music business for a period in the 1790s and continued in business until after 1812. Charles Marshall had a well-known circulating library that operated from Milsom Street, and that also hired out music, but went bankrupt in 1799.<sup>19</sup> Unlike James Matthews and Henry Dixon Tylee (son of Joseph Tylee), who both ran music circulating libraries, Marshall was not known to be actively involved with the musicking of Bath.

### Nineteenth-century Bath Music Shops

In the first decade after 1800 Linterns remained in a dominant position, with a frequency of advertisements far outstripping those of Ashley and Matthews, both of whom ceased trading around 1812. Yet by the 1820s the market had become unusually crowded with a number of new firms entering the fray. Among these newcomers undoubtedly the most important to emerge in the early nineteenth century were those of John White and the several businesses belonging to members of the Loder family. Such was the influence of Loders in particular that the 1833 Bath Directory lists eight members of the family active as professionals in Bath (professors of music or music sellers), two of them female, plus a Miss J. F. Loder as a 'professor of dancing'.

The various Bath branches of the Loder family were descended from two brothers John (1757-95) and Andrew (1752-1806), west-country musicians and actors who came to Bath via London by 1780, and were much involved with the Bath and Bristol theatres. Andrew later became organist of the Octagon Chapel, played a number of instruments and published church music. John Loder's career as a Bath musician seems to have been more worthy than glittering, often playing the 'tenor' (viola) in the Concert and Pump room bands. On John's death in 1795, his son John David was projected into Bath's musical life at the tender age of eight in a benefit concert for his widowed mother, drawing his uncle David Richards to Bath to undertake his instruction and to support his mother. John David Loder (1788-1846) had perhaps the most illustrious pedigree of all nineteenth-century Bath musicians; his mother a Richards, and his grandmother a Cantelo. The newspaper notice for 5 November 1795 reads



'Benefit concert for the widow & 7 young children of late John Loder, musician. - postponed from 4th Nov to Wed 11 Nov at New Assembly Rooms on Wed 11 Nov. Violin concertos played by Mr Richards & by Master J. Loder aged 8; Mrs Miles playing concerto on piano; Symphony by Haydn; songs, etc. Tickets 5s from Mrs Loder, 5 Orchard St, Bath.'<sup>20</sup>

John David Loder did indeed become a most accomplished musician, a Professor at the Royal Academy of Music and one of the leading violinists and orchestral leaders of his day. His violin tutor, based on the innovations of Paganini, was widely used in the nineteenth century. Yet he also maintained one of the most successful Bath music businesses. *Gye's Bath Directory* for 1819 listed Loder, J. D. as 'music warehouse and director of the musical department at the Theatre Royal, 46, Milsom St'. Fourteen years later the shop is described in *Silverthorne's Bath Directory* of 1833, as 'Music Warehouse and Subscription Musical Library, 42 Milsom

<sup>18</sup> James, *op.cit.*, ii, p. 808; *Bath Journal*, 07/12/89, no. 2396, p. 4 b.

<sup>19</sup> James, *op.cit.*, i, p. 384

<sup>20</sup> *Bath Chronicle*, 05/11/1795, no. 2120, p. 3e

Street'. The Loders were certainly the leading family of musicians in Bath by 1810. John David's son Edward James Loder went on to become a leading composer of English opera in the mid-nineteenth century. The Loders published music and the Directories show that the business employed a good number of the numerous family.

Of the other branch of the family Andrew Loder's son, also confusingly called Andrew (1785-1838) was a musician, professor of music and singing, and organist in Bath at the Octagon Chapel like his father. He maintained a business in the Orange Grove 1820-26 but went bankrupt (like his father - though his father's business was in spirits) in 1827, and moved to Ashbourne in Derbyshire where he was an organist until his death. The younger Andrew Loder was also active as a goldsmith (1809 *Bath Directory*), published music and particularly books of dance music with instructions for the steps, but evidently his business acumen did not match that of his cousin John David.



John White's shop in 3 George Street (1805) clearly prospered. He had previously been listed as a musician (1800), and in 1819 his son, John White junior, is listed as a composer, and a Miss White as a piano teacher. By 1830 John White's firm had moved to the prestigious address of no.1 Milsom Street, and in 1833 he was in business with G. H. White and the business was described as a 'music and piano warehouse'. The firm continued this success into the Victorian era. Another son of the first John Loder was George Loder (c1794-1829), a flautist and pianist. By his first marriage he was the father of another George Loder (1816-68), who was active both in the USA, and here conducted the first performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in that country, and in Australia, where he died. By his second marriage George Loder senior was father of the eminent pianist Kate Loder (1825-1904). *Keene's Bath Directory* of 1826 lists Mrs George Loder as having a business selling music and instruments at the address of 1 Pulteney Bridge, and her prospectus for an ambitious music academy at her Pulteney Street shop was printed in the 1833 *Bath Directory*. It seems clear from the advertisements for the early nineteenth-century shops in Milsom Street and Pulteney Bridge that the sale of pianos remained central to the music business in a way that had not been the case in the eighteenth century, when the businesses were less focused on one instrument.

## Conclusion

Bath had many spheres of musical activity taking place in a variety of venues; assembly rooms, pump rooms, gardens and walks, private homes, abbey, churches and chapels among them. Yet the music shops provided a vital entrée to these other spheres and were spaces for the amateur, would-be pupil, listener or participant. Here instruments could be serviced, hired and purchased, teachers could be found, music bought or hired, and tickets purchased in advance. In this way the shops certainly facilitated many of the other activities. For the resident musical families setting up a business was one way of widening a portfolio of activities to offset the decline in performance revenue that was inevitable with increasing age. The hundreds of newspaper and directory advertisements often give us precise and detailed information on the costs involved in the practice of music at both a professional and amateur level. Clearly a good number of the businesses failed but the general impression is that over time they prospered and reached a zenith in the nineteenth century with the great boom in piano sales.

## THE LOST CHURCH OF ST. MARY DE STALLES

Monday 13<sup>th</sup> February 2017

St Mary's Bathwick Church Hall

Speaker

Peter Davenport

Abstract

Peter Davenport

Bath's four intra-mural medieval parish churches vanished after the Dissolution when "Bath Abbey" became the parish church of most of the town. St Mary de Stall was the most important of these churches, being the city corporation church. It remained in use until 1593 or even later. After this the shell of the church survived, as shops and workshops, gradually disappearing as parts were rebuilt. The tower finally went in 1669. The site of the church has always been generally known, but the details were lost. The talk outlined the history of the church, the plan and exact site of the medieval building and how it gradually disappeared.



Fig.1 Detail from the Savile map of Bath

### Origins and history of the church

A date in the eleventh century is most likely for the creation of the parishes in Bath, and the chapel of St Mary in the Churchyard is first mentioned in c.1190. The church is first mentioned in 1220.

The name of the church is derived from Stall Street: the street lined with market stalls, which naturally developed into "shoppes" and houses. The church was simply St. Mary at the stalls.

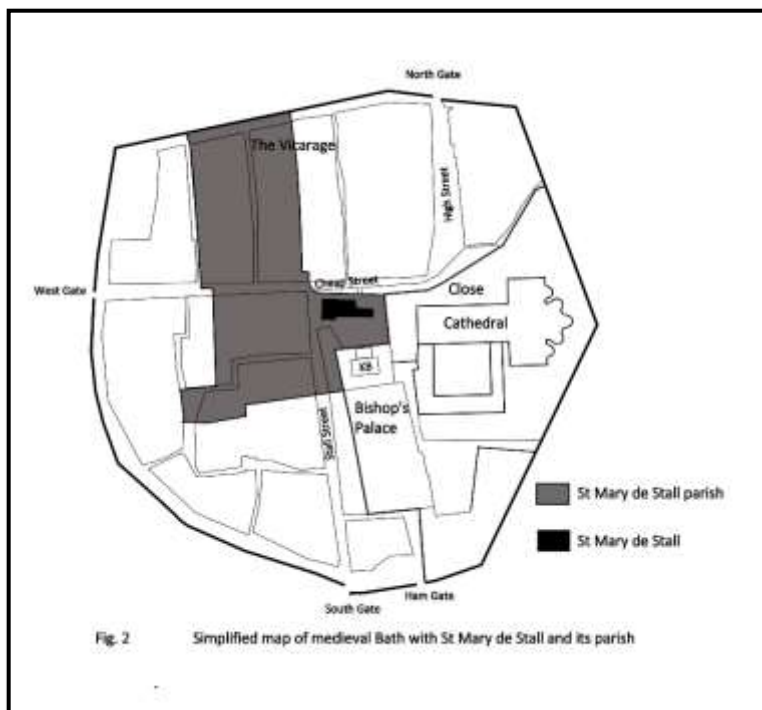
The vicarage of Stalls was on Upper Borough Walls, between Parsonage Lane and Bridewell Lane (Fig. 2).

Little is known about the history of the church in the middle ages. There is a partial list of incumbents of St Mary's which starts with Henry, before 1191, and by a neat coincidence the last vicar of Stalls was another Henry: Henry Adams who died in 1577.

After its closure, the church and churchyard were immediately rented out by the Corporation, starting the process that led to its disappearance.

### The church and churchyard

We know from wills that there was a churchyard. Excavation in 1980 sampled part of it with burials from pre-Conquest times until the late 16th century. The exact boundaries of the churchyard and the site of the church were never mapped, but studies of medieval and post-medieval property deeds and leases allow the shape of both to be deduced.



The churchyard extended from Stall Street to a point somewhere between the Roman Baths Kitchen restaurant and the west front of the abbey. On the south the boundary was just north of the Kings' Bath and on the north ran along the south side of the properties along Cheap Street leaving just a narrow procession way alongside the church.

Savile's map of Bath shows a bird eye view of the church and this shows a tower, a porch and it seems that the chancel had already been demolished. The site of these features can be traced from description in leases of properties that abutted them or occupied their sites.

Later leases, known to be the same as much earlier ones, have dimensions and can be mapped. This allows the reconstruction of a church with a nave about 75' 3" (c.23m) long and approximately 35' to 33' 9" (10.7-10.3m) wide, externally. There are medieval references to the chapel of St Katharine and a chantry. These are hypothesised to have occupied a north aisle (c. 12' or 3.6m wide).

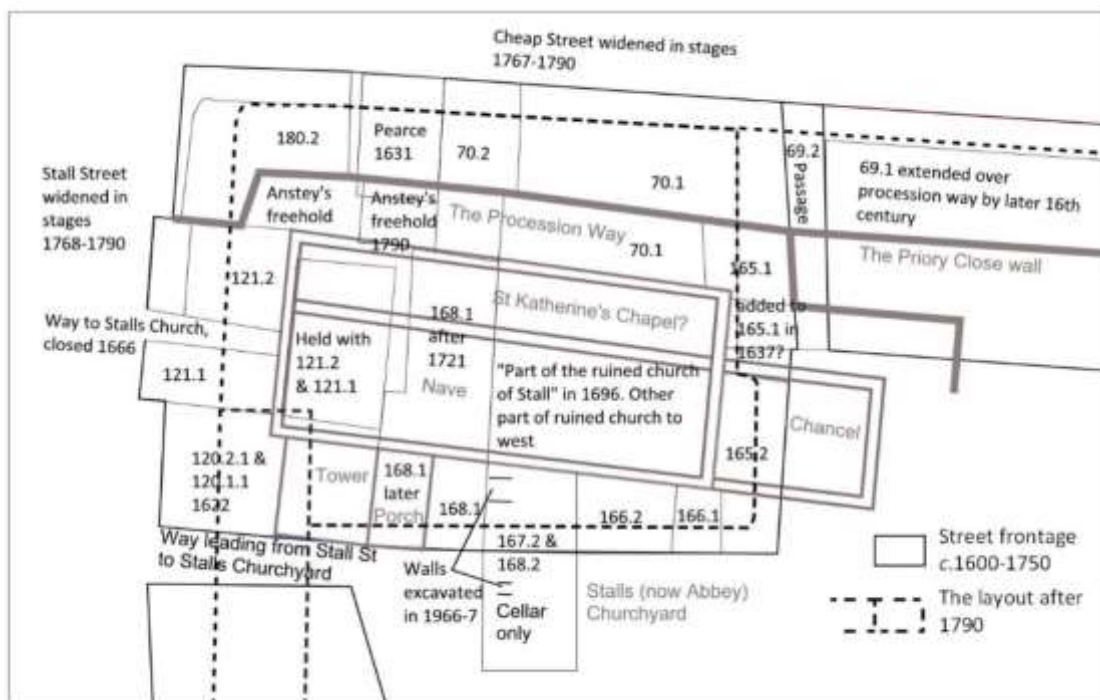
If Savile can be believed the tower was three storeys with a battlemented parapet and a crocketed pinnacle at each corner. A low, two-light window with a circular light in the tympanum suggests thirteenth-century plate tracery in the first stage, with tall belfry windows in the top stage suggesting a later raising. The pinnacles and battlements suggest a fifteenth-century date. The property that later occupied its site suggests it was about 16-17' (4.8 - 5.2m) square.

### Archaeological traces

There are next to no archaeological remains of the church. A vault found in 1845 was thought to be part of the church, but it is fairly certain now that this was a post-medieval cesspit or small cellar.

More certainly a medieval wall and a good candidate for part of the church is a structure found during excavation in 1966-7. Prof. Barry Cunliffe uncovered a short length of a wall, just over 1.2m (4') wide, in a narrow trench just south of the south wall of the church as we have reconstructed it. It was undated, but considerably later than the end of the Roman period.

A north/south aligned burial across the top of the wall, and its position, mean it cannot have been part of the medieval church. The arguments are complicated but the most likely explanation for the wall is that it belongs to an earlier version of the church, perhaps late Saxon. The burial is under an 18th century cellar and may be evidence of foul play!





St Mary de Stalls on the modern map

### Acknowledgements

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## BATHWICK PUBS

Monday 13<sup>th</sup> March, 2017

St Mary's Bathwick Church Hall

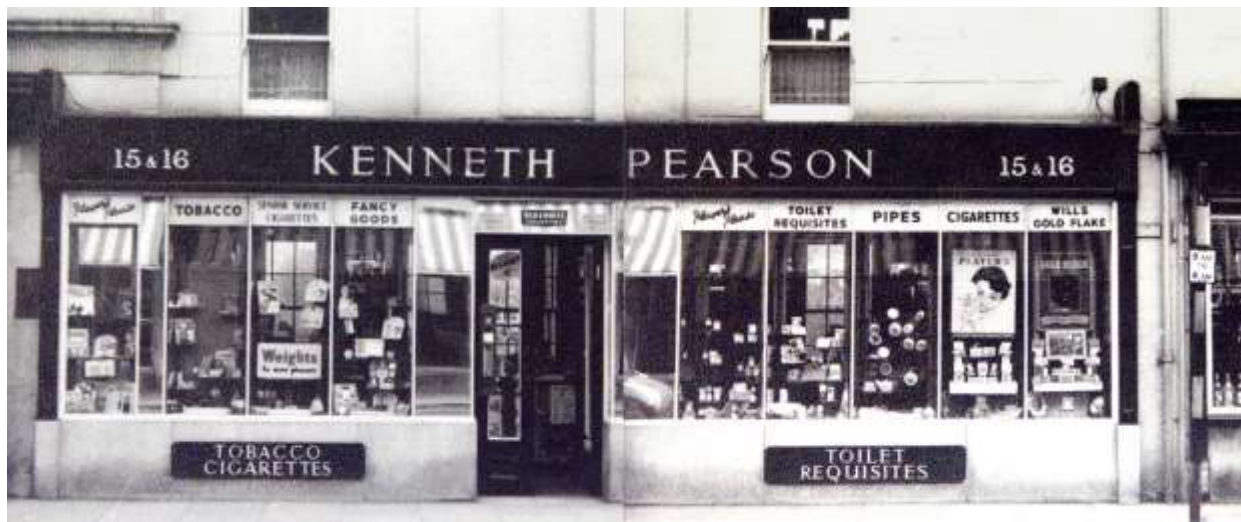
Speaker

Kirsten Elliot

Abstract

Kirsten Elliot

This talk embarked on the Great Bathwick Pub Crawl – a virtual tour through the many pubs which flourished (or occasionally did not flourish) in the Bathwick area. It began on Pulteney Bridge, where, in 1795, John Gould, bookseller and stationer, opened vaults for the sale of British or foreign spirits. Also on the bridge was the Pulteney Stores. In the early 1860s, the tobacconist at No. 16 expanded into No. 15 and obtained a beer licence. It was there till 1903. The shop remained as a tobacconist for many years, was latterly a gift shop and is now the Bridge Coffee House.



Former Pulteney Stores – now Bridge Coffee House. (Akeman Press Archive)

Next came the Argyle Coffee House and tavern. In 1791 Mr Blew set it up for the reception of gentlemen. Just over a year later it was to let, with the Argyle Tap offered separately if required. It passed through several hands but seems to have been popular. In September 1797, there was dinner to celebrate Nelson's arrival. In 1800 John Gould moved from 18 Pulteney Bridge and took it over. Sixteen years later the tavern closed but not the tap, which did not close until 1830. A sign asking gentlemen to pay for their drinks as they were delivered to them still survives in the basement.

From there the tour moved to Grove Street – a street of many pubs. These included the Rising Sun, the King's Arms later the Porter Stores, the Dog and Gun (which was possibly an earlier name for the Porter Stores), the Royal Oak, the Ostrich, the Duke of Cambridge and the Pulteney – or more correctly Pulteney's – Arms. The reason so many was, firstly, the presence of the prison, and secondly, industry, notably the various premises associated with the West of England Brewery on the other side of the river. The Royal Oak at No. 21 was possibly the tap for the brewery.

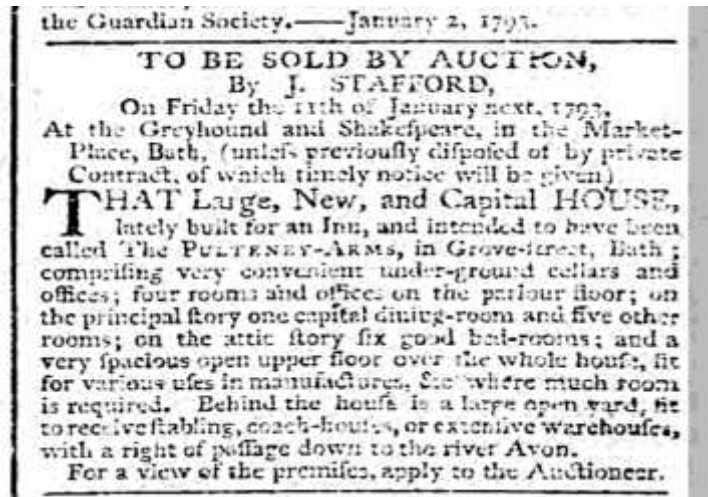
At no. 14 John Jones opened the King's Arms in 1837. It was the Porter Stores in the 1880s, but the enigmatic Dog and Gun occurs between these dates, so it may have been here – conveniently next door to the prison for those newly released and desperate for a pint. The Ostrich at was No. 9. It Started out as a quite respectable pub. It was built by John Eveleigh in 1791 who was first licensee. But by 1840s there were continual cases against customers, including one being concealed in the pub for an illegal purpose. It closed circa 1890 when the street was rebuilt. The Duke of Cambridge was opened by 1864 by William Field, It was possibly Bath's smallest pub with a serving bar in passage, and tap room at back. It closed in 1929 on grounds of redundancy.



Architect's drawing for rebuilding of Grove Street, showing Duke of Cambridge. (Bath Record Office)

Still surviving is the Rising Sun. In 1788 William Tutton opened ‘The Rising Sun and Lark’, one of the first houses in the street. In 1795 you could book your seat on one of the boats which took visitors to Grosvenor Gardens from the pub. In 1841 an advertisement described it as having a bar parlour, tap room, brewhouse, an Assembly room on the first floor, five superior bedrooms on the next floor with a further four above. It also had a granary. During 1916, when the landlord was William Heizman, he felt obliged to change his name to Hayman due to anti-German feeling. Today it remains a lively pub with home cooked food and offering boutique bed and breakfast.

By contrast, the Pulteney’s Arms barely seems to have existed at all. It was advertised to let in November 1792. However, just a week later, the Argyle Tavern was advertised to let with the news that the licence for the Pulteney’s Arms had been suppressed in its favour. The next week carried and advertisement for the sale of its goods, which shows it had been lavishly equipped. In January the house was put up for auction, described as ‘That large, new and capital house, lately built for an Inn. It was suggested it could be used for manufacture, and had behind it a large yard where stables or warehouses could be built and a right of passage to river. It was probably on where Eveleigh had his yard.

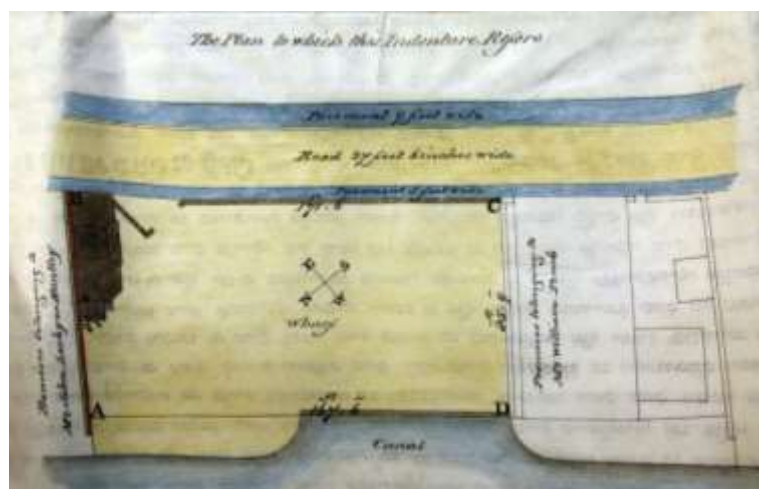


Returning to Argyle Street, we find the Boater- first recorded as a wine and spirits merchant in 1837 and later taken over by Bath Brewery Company. It was absorbed into Georges in 1923. Formerly the Argyle Wine Vaults, it is now the Boater and is a Fuller’s pub.

A long pub-less walk followed until the tour reached Sydney Buildings to unravel the mystery of the Bathwick Tavern.

Andrew Swift and I had identified it as No. 13. Chris Morrissey of Sydney Buildings points out on his blog that that couldn’t be right. However, he then proceeds to muddle himself over the numbering and well he might. The numbering of Sydney Buildings is indeed confusing, with frequent alterations. Even once it had been rationalised in 1903, the matter was still open to confusion since there is no No. 11. So confusing is it that Mr Morrissey finally convinced himself that the Bathwick Tavern had moved next door. To add to the mystery, the 1852 map by Cotterell and Spackman shows buildings about to be erected - but they were not built until over thirty years later. Careful investigations into the ratebooks, directories, newspapers and various deeds finally established the following.

The building was erected by John Pinch the Younger in about 1840. It forms the eastern part of the present No 10 the western extension appears not to have been built until the 1880s when the adjacent terrace was also built. The first landlord, was Mr Mott, who is there in 1841. The directory describes him as John Mott, sawyer and publican, at 9 Sydney Buildings. It was still described as No 9 in an advert of 1851 but in the ratebook of 1854 it is No 10, the landlord being John Smith and the owners were Pinchin and Co. They also held the malthouse next door. It had not moved, however - an advertisement of 181 makes that clear - it had just been renumbered again. Yet this time it was ‘formerly known as the Bathwick Tavern’. It became tea rooms before finally becoming a private house.



Deed of 1844 showing building and site of Bathwick Tavern (Bath Record Office)



Moving back down to Sydney Wharf, we find more industry and that means more pubs. On 20 Dec 1827 ‘the most honourable William Harry Marquis of Cleveland Earl of Darlington Viscount and Baron Barnard of Raby Castle Durham’ made a contract with John Vaughan, mason to build houses and create new streets adjacent to Sydney Wharf. Although Vaughan built himself a house, his other developments did not come about, so in Dec 1830 William Robinson took a lease of the same land with the now Duke of Cleveland. Robinson, who was described as a Common brewer, was so proud of this connection he called it the Cleveland Arms. A brewery was later built at the back. This closed in 1926 and the pub closed six year later when its licence was transferred to the Trowbridge House. It then became the Rendezvous Club and almost immediately caused trouble by cunningly applying for extra time on the licence by saying it served meals – though they were just sandwiches. In 1935 there were allegations of after hours drinking. There was a raid after a rugby match and several rugby players were arrested. The case forced the owner into bankruptcy and in 1937 it was sold to The Church Army.



Bargeman's Tavern – 2 Sydney Wharf.  
(Kirsten Elliott – Akeman Press Archive)

Further along Sydney Wharf was the Bargeman's Tavern. Examination of the censuses established that this was not canalside, but at No. 2. In 1846 it was run by Francis Hooper then passing to the Hawkins family. More elusive, and very short-lived was the Alma Tavern, named after the Battle of Alma in 1854. It was run by Samuel Brooks, but after a tragedy in 1856, when his little daughter drowned in the canal, the family seem to have left. It is not certain where it was, but the present No. 7, opposite the old Cleveland Arms, looks like a very good claimant. The final pub in the vicinity was off Sham Castle Lane. Known as the Castle it was there in the 1840s, run by Matthew Marks.

We now head down to Sydney Gardens to find the Sydney Tap. It was also known as the Royal Tap in 1809, the Sydney Gardens

Tap in 1812 and the Pulteney Tap in the 1840s. But where was it? We know from Nattes' illustration from 1805 that it was somewhere to the right, and from various advertisements that it was a separate buildings. There have been claims for a building shown on a plan of the early 1830s just behind the wall, but for a variety of reasons this will not do. The best claimant must be the building long used as a storehouse, but now entirely ruinous. Before leaving this area, we should remember that the tavern – now the Holburne – was itself licensed, though no one would have called it a pub.

Moving into Daniel Street we find the Pulteney Arms. It is a graphic illustration of the boom bust economy of the late Georgian period. The first three houses were earlier than rest of street. Work stopped after they were completed, only to be resumed later. A licence was granted to John Bagshaw in 1794, when it was described as at the Back of Sydney Place. At the other end, on the corner of Bathwick Street, was the Rifleman's Arms. It started life as a grocer's shop by 1841. Eventually the shop became a dairy but an extension at 35A was the Sydney Porter Stores – a beer house. The dairy became a butcher's run by Robert Ham, and George Wolfe took over the stores. But by 1864, Ham moved on and Wolfe expanded into next door and renamed it all the Rifleman's Arms. Within four years it was back to being just 35A and around 1872 it closed.

Also in Bathwick Street is the Barley Mow, which opened as a beerhouse in 1840s. Like many pubs, it had its own brewery. Although that is still a pub, the street's last pub is now a Chinese restaurant. It is, of course, the Crown.

Lots of claims are made for the age of the Crown. The earliest landlord we've found is Thomas Bolwell who was there in 1767. Bolwells remained there until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when they became leading Chartists. This may explain the pub's popularity with Roebuck, Bath's famous liberal MP. In 1898 Bath Brewery company rebuilt it as we see it today, with No 21 next door. It was described in the Bath Journal as 'the most ancient building in the parish,' and was, the account says, yellow washed.

The tour then visited the Forester Road area, once called Villa Fields, after Bathwick Villa. Here was the Castle. In 1841 it was the Windsor Castle and in 1846 it was known as the Sham Castle. It was rebuilt and enlarged in 1898 as the estate pub. It may have been named after the sham castle in Sydney Gardens which was destroyed by the coming of the railway.

At one time, there were several pubs in Hampton Row. In 1826 Thomas Pope opened a brewery at Myrtle Cottage., but the pubs opened with the coming of the railway and the thirsty navvies about 1839. At No. 1 was the Queen Victoria, which in 1895 extended into No 2. It had a urinal in front garden and a WC in basement. It closed 1965.

There were other beer houses at No 7, No 9 (The Lamb), and No 11. All closed when the navvies left, but in 1852 the Hampton Museum was opened by John Brown at No 14. He had a shop at 15 Pulteney as a bird and animal preserver.



Queen Victoria pub, Hampton Row (Akeman Press Archive)

The final pub on the tour was The Folly, right up against the boundary with Bathampton. The building appears on Thorpe's Map of 1742. It is possible it became linked with Grosvenor Gardens, decorated in some way to be seen from the Gardens, for on Harcourt Masters' Map of 1800 it appears as the Folly. It was, however, leased as a dairy farm by William Hulbert when the Gardens failed. Then came the canal and brought business so he opened a tea garden. In 1829 there was a shocking report. 'On Monday morning, ... several young men were bathing in the canal a little beyond the folly on the Bathampton side and while so engaged, three young ladies happened to come up from the adjoining fields. On seeing the young ladies, one of the fellows actually rushed out of the water and offered them the greatest indignities.'



Advert for The Folly up on the towpath of the K&A (Akeman Press Archive)

A year later, Grosvenor footbridge was built, bringing a further increase in trade. In 1833 William retired and Matthew his son took over. With the coming of the railway in 1839, the Folly was redeveloped. Hulbert was supposed to 'take down, remove, or alter the message.' He appears merely to have altered it, for it remained on the same footprint. It probably opened as a pub then. It was certainly a pub in 1847 because a boy was rescued from the canal and taken to the Folly Public House. It was, however, still functioning as a farm.

It was also a receiving house equipped with drag net, barrel float grappling iron two reels with cords two 17ft poles and a box of resuscitating instruments. These were bellows with tubes, to inflate lungs or give an enema of tobacco smoke or other herbs.

The pub began to get a dubious reputation. Between 1854 to 1862, it went through three licensees. Then Thomas Osmond took over. He renamed it Cremorne Gardens. It advertised 'Dancing on a monster platform, old English brewing from the Hampton Springs, wines; spirits; cigars; all of high quality'. But people complained about the noise. Then Osmond had problems with people bathing in the canal. After some more changes in licensees the Great Western Railway bought it in 1887. In 1890 it opened the Grosvenor Brewery. The Burgess family arrived in 1931. Many local inhabitants remember the pub with great affection but all the pleasurable outings ended in 1942 when a bomb fell. Although the pub really suffered little damage beyond some windows being blown out, it was closed. All that remains are a few mysterious flights of steps, some humps and bumps and a damp patch where there was once a fountain.

## **AGM FOLLOWED BY PRESENTATIONS BY PHD STUDENTS:**



**'PRAY HAVE YOU COMBED THE POWDER OUT OF YOUR HAIR?'**

Hitty Canning's correspondence with her daughter in Bath.

By Rachel Smith

**WHITE POCKET HANDKERCHIEF PREACHERS OF BATH:**

William Robert Wake (1756-1830) and Richard Warner (1763-1857).

By Diane Brunning

**LANSDOWN CRICKET CLUB: A MIDDLE CLASS INSTITUTION?**

The Construction of Civic identity in Early Nineteenth-Century Bath.

Sam Hollingshead

Monday 24<sup>th</sup> April, 2017

St. Mary's Bathwick Church Hall



**'PRAY HAVE YOU COMBED THE POWDER OUT OF YOUR HAIR?'**

**Hitty Canning's correspondence with her daughter in Bath.**

By Rachel Smith



This presentation discussed the historical significance of the correspondence between Mehitabel 'Hitty' Canning and her daughter, Bess. This collection of letters was part of a manuscript detailing the Canning family but were considered 'collateral detail'.

Hitty Canning was the aunt of George Canning, the Prime Minister in 1827, with her son, Stratford, a successful Victorian diplomat. With her husband's death in 1784, she became the head of her household and a single parent to five children. We begin to see the importance of letters in her role as a mother as primary educator to her daughter. The letters between them chronicle Bess's development as a letter writer, with her mother commenting upon her grammar and spelling frequently. Hitty also criticised her daughter's attention to her letter-writing, stating that she needed to pay more attention to her form and language in order to improve and insisted that their frequent correspondence would aid her development. This repetition of writing and then subsequent evaluation appeared to be born out of Hitty's desire for her daughter to avoid the stereotype: that women could not spell or correctly apply the rules of grammar. This was especially important as Hitty moved in upper class circles: her intimate friend was Mrs Sheridan who was close friends with the Devonshire House set. Bess's actions as a connected young woman would be commented upon and Bess's trips to Bath in 1792/3 and 1798 highlighted this.

Bess was sent to Bath, certainly in 1798, due to its reputation as a marriage market, as made clear when her mother comments on her lack of serious beaux. Her visit in 1792/3 is more likely to be in aid of Bess assimilating into society at the age of sixteen. In 1792, one can see echoes of Catherine Moreland, the heroine of Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, as Bess excitedly details her balls, plays and outfits to her mother. Yet Bess displays an ease that Catherine Moreland did not possess, owing to Hitty's education on society through her letters. Bess's chaperones, the Leighs, were decidedly better than the Allens, as they procured a partner for Bess for almost every ball, thus allowing her to dance. Bess does not, however, give detail on the buildings and streets, just the people and the atmosphere, suggesting that Hitty is familiar enough with Bath for this detail to be unnecessary. As post to Brighton from Bath would have cost 4d per sheet, Bess clearly did not want to waste her paper.

Hitty's letters to Bess in Bath show the importance of communication in order to fit in with fashionable society. Hitty's letter which asks Bess to report whether she had combed the powder out of her hair, tells one in real terms, how the powder tax affected people as well as demonstrates Hitty's continuing societal education. This comment, and Bess's subsequent reply detailing that she now had 'red' locks, also proves the significance of the 'see and been seen' aspect of society, where Bess would be judged as unfashionable with powdered hair.

'Mrs Stratford Canning' as painted by George Romney, photo © National Trust for Scotland / Bridgeman Images [Accessed 24/05/17]



Therefore, these letters are full of societal tidbits, educational messages and also demonstrated Bess's improvement as a letter writer. They are far from lacking historical significance. In fact, they are full of it.

## WHITE POCKET HANDKERCHIEF PREACHERS OF BATH:

William Robert Wake (1756-1830) and Richard Warner (1763-1857).

By Diane Brunning



My talk was drawn from the research I undertook for my recently completed Bath Spa University MA thesis '*White Pocket Handkerchief Preacher[s] of Bath*'. For this work I examined a range of diocesan records, manuscript and printed sources to research Reverend William Robert Wake (1756-1830) and Reverend Richard Warner (1763-1857), who were two Anglican curates who worked in Bath during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The aim of my thesis was to identify the reasons why Wake and Warner moved to the city, and to compare their lives and work with the historiography and satirical portrayal of the Georgian clergy.

For many years the historiography of the Hanoverian Church was based on contemporary Evangelical and later Victorian claims that it was neglectful of its duties, with the common practices of pluralism and non-residence often cited as examples. The enduring image of the Georgian clergyman also suffered at the hands of satirists and novelists who characterised him as gluttonous, obsequious, dull and uninspiring. Recent studies into the negative claims about the Church during this period have drawn mixed conclusions and have tended to focus on a diocese as a whole, or on the work of the rural clergy; my research into the lives and work of two urban clergymen has therefore contributed to the gap in the scholarship.

Wake and Warner were curates of two of the parishes which comprised the Bath Rectory. William Robert Wake was the Curate of St. Michael's between 1791 and 1801, and Warner was the Curate of St. James' from 1795 until 1817. Thirty-four year old Wake, who was also the Vicar of Backwell in Somerset, was born in Bath and his father practiced as an apothecary in the city for over fifty years. Given the dominance of apothecaries on the Corporation during the period, it is likely that his appointment at St. Michael's was secured through his father's connections. Thirty-two year old Warner was not a local man. Prior to his appointment at St. James' he worked as a curate in rural Hampshire and as the curate of the newly opened proprietary chapel of All Saints in Bath. He had only been in the city for a few months when the Curate of St. James' died and he was nominated for the position by the Bath Rector, James Phillott.

Wake and Warner were among a large number of rural clergymen who, in the second half of the eighteenth century, withdrew from the countryside to spend more time in towns and cities. By the 1790s the demographics of Bath had started to change and, as described by Jane Austen in *Persuasion*, as a cheaper alternative to London more retired and professionals started to move to the city. Among them were many clergymen including, in 1802, Jane's father.

Bath held many attractions for the clergy whether they came to live or to visit. The city's reputation as a spa town provided satirists with an excuse to mock those clergymen attracted to it for health reasons, who they characterised as over indulgent and afflicted with related conditions such as obesity and gout.

There is always a great *shew* [sic] of the clergy at Bath; none of your thin, puny, yellow, hectic figures, exhausted with abstinence and hard study, labouring under the *morbi eruditorum*; but great overgrown dignitaries and rectors, with rubicund noses and gouty ankles, or broad bloated faces, dragging along great swag bellies, the emblems of sloth and indigestion.

*The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. Tobias Smollett. 1771.*

There is no evidence that either Wake or Warner came for medical reasons, although several members of Warner's family moved to the city ahead of him due to poor health.

The majority of the clergy during this period were graduates who were used to being in the company of other professionals. Contemporary life writing reveals that clergymen often found their lives in a rural parish dull and tedious. In contrast Bath's large population and number of visitors provided a wealth of opportunities for social and clerical networking. Warner later wrote that his appointment in the city had enabled him to escape the 'monotony' of his rural parish.

In an urban environment there was also a better chance of an introduction to a prospective patron. For a large section of the clergy the opportunities to acquire a preferment were limited. In common with many of their contemporaries,

Wake and Warner were the sons of urban professionals without the means to own a family advowson. Neither were they able to benefit from a college owned living; Wake was expelled from Oxford a few months before qualifying for his MA, and unusually Warner was a non-graduate having left university early to take up the offer of a curacy. Both men benefited from the contacts they made while in the city. Wake left Bath after ten years at St Michael's when a visiting clergyman offered him a 'valuable rectory' which provided him with a house and a higher income. During his twenty-two years at St. James' Warner conspicuously solicited for a preferment which would provide him with a house and an adequate income to support his family. He was however hindered by his controversial views, but eventually secured the patronage of the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Bath's range of cultural and intellectual activities appealed to both men. Wake was particularly interested in the theatre and wrote prologues which were performed at the Theatre Royal and printed in the *Bath Chronicle*. Warner's interests were in antiquities, topography and literary pursuits, and while living in the city he wrote and published several books.

For the clergymen who worked in Bath, the number of churches and frequent services meant that there were more opportunities to lead a spiritual life. There was also a wide variety of pastoral and charitable work to become involved with. Both Wake and Warner worked hard while they were in the city. They each had over 3,000 parishioners and, in contrast to Wake's rural parish where there was just one service per week, the city guide books advised that there was 'divine service on Sundays, prayers Wednesday and Friday mornings and morning prayers on Saints-days' at St. Michael's and St. James. Wake also held afternoon services at St. Michael's.

The urban environment provided the two men with more opportunities to increase their income. As well as their annual stipends of 100 guineas they also received surplice fees. Whereas in Backwell Wake had earned an additional £1 a year, in 1799 there were 90 baptisms, 33 marriages and 63 funerals at St. Michael's which earned him £25. He also received £30pa for issuing marriage licences as a surrogate of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and £21pa for conducting Sunday worship at Mary Magdalene Chapel in the Holloway district.

Although an early eighteenth century verse described the parsons at Bath's five parish churches as dull and uninspiring, by the end of the century there were fourteen places for Anglican worship and numerous non-conformist options in the city, and the parish curates had to compete to attract a congregation.

Five wrangling parsons venerably dull,  
To atheism or lethargick quiet lull,  
With soothing tenets from the pulpit thrown,  
Their auditory's conscience and their own.

*The Diseases of Bath: A Satire. Anon. 1737.*

Neither Wake nor Warner could be accused of being dull. Both were acknowledged as good orators and preached at other churches in the city as well as their own. Warner was particularly popular but gained a reputation for being controversial for his outspoken views against the war and evangelicalism. Both of them published some of the sermons they preached while working in the city, and Wake also published a two volume translation of the psalms which were designed to make them 'intelligible to every capacity'.

As well as their religious duties, an earlier Archbishop of Canterbury had directed that clergymen were expected 'to advise and comfort the diseased and afflicted, to relieve or procure relief for the necessitous'. No evidence has been found to establish the extent to which Wake and Warner visited the sick and dying, however, it is clear that they were both actively involved with procuring relief. They preached charity sermons and made appeals in local newspapers. Wake anonymously published at least one pamphlet to raise funds for the Puerperal Charity, and on several occasions the two curates worked together on charity committees. During the 1790s both supported the Sunday School & School of Industry, and in the early 1800s Warner was a founding member of several of the city's charities and a governor of the General Hospital. Wake also supported one of his parishioners when she was accused of stealing a card of lace; at the trial of Jane Leigh-Perrott (Jane Austen's aunt) he testified as to her good character.

In her novel *Pride and Prejudice*, Jane Austen portrayed the clergyman, Mr Collins, as obsequious towards his patron Lady Catherine de Bourgh. Competition for clerical livings was fierce, and for men like Wake and Warner without the benefit of a family advowson it could often be a long wait before they were presented with a preferment. Courting a patron was a common means of advancing a career and achieving financial security.

Too fond of freedom and of ease  
A patron's vanity to please,  
Long time he watches, and by stealth,  
Each frail incumbent's doubtful health;  
At length, and in his fortieth year,  
A living drops – two hundred clear!

*The Progress of Discontent. Thomas Wharton. 1746.*

Warner's controversial views meant that it was many years before he gained his first preferment. In later life after he befriended George Law, the Bishop of Bath and Wells and reaped the benefits by being presented with several rural Somerset livings. There is no evidence that Wake was ever obsequious. On the contrary, later in his career after going against his patron's wishes, his licence as the Curate of Maidstone was revoked by the Archbishop of Canterbury, publicly damaging his reputation and commencing his slide into debt and poverty.

Both Wake and Warner were pluralists and non-residents during their careers. Pluralism and non-residence often went hand in hand and in Wake's case it might be argued that it was justified. Backwell was a poor parish without a house and pluralism was necessary to enable him to support himself and his family. Although Warner's first living was also poor and without a house, there is evidence that he did neglect some of his other four parishes. His friend Reverend John Skinner commented 'Richard ...had been a sad fellow, having married one, two, three, four, and five wives ...all of whom he had deserted, excepting one poor old dame whom he left lying desolate in a field – *Chatfield /sic/*- and seldom visited her to administer consolation'. Unlike Wake, Warner married well and with an income from his literary pursuits his clerical income became less important. On at least one occasion he used his friendship with the Bishop of Bath and Wells to obtain a dispensation permitting his non-residence in his parish.

Wake and Warner were attracted to work in Bath for a variety of reasons, and in many respects their backgrounds and careers concur with the historiography of the Hanoverian clergy. The answer to the question whether or not they fit the negative and satirical portrayal of the Georgian clergyman is mixed, but where they do their actions can often be justified. They were not dull or uninspiring and when Warner was obsequious it was in an attempt to gain a living and security for his family. Justifying Wake's pluralism, non-residence and consequential neglect of Backwell is not difficult, but in Warner's case it cannot always be explained and the evidence suggests that, at times, he was guilty of neglecting his clerical duties.

Reverend Richard Warner is the subject of a chapter in the forthcoming edition of *Bath History*.

## LANSDOWN CRICKET CLUB: A MIDDLE CLASS INSTITUTION?

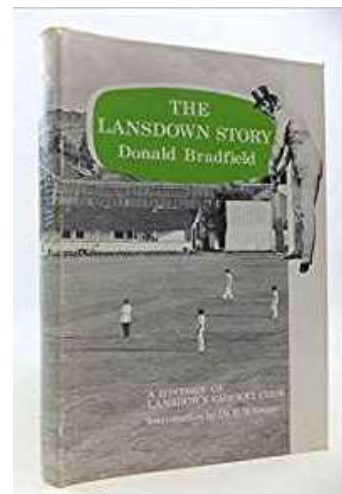
### The Construction of Civic identity in Early Nineteenth-Century Bath.

Sam Hollingshead



There would appear at present to be but one text about Lansdown Cricket Club, 'The Lansdown Story', which explores the key figures and events throughout Lansdown Cricket Club's 192 year existence.

However, using the newly discovered scorebooks of Lansdown Cricket Club in the roof of the pavilion, alongside the Bath Directories, both dating between 1825 and 1835, and passing comments on the formative members of the Cricket Club in *The Lansdown Story*, it becomes apparent that the players of Lansdown were well associated with the established institutions in Bath.



The presentation, therefore, highlighted the vacant historical intersection between the construction of civic identity and the history of cricket. The ten-year period following the establishment of Lansdown Cricket Club offers an insight into the characteristics of English cricket as well as an understanding of the social history of Bath. The presentation highlighted that there are no known works that have bridged the gap between sport and civic institutions within Bath.

Between 1825 and 1835, a considerable percentage of Lansdown members were Reverends of religious institutions. Bath's religious culture was a key component to the voluntary philanthropic network. Arguably the most emblematic figure of Lansdown Cricket Club in its first decade was Bendall Robert Littlehales, Rear Admiral in the Royal Navy and Chairman of Bath United Hospital which was ruled by a committee of local worthies and dependant on charitable donations.

Having presented a variety of Lansdown Players and their interests on the other side of the boundary, it was argued that Lansdown Cricket Club, between 1825 and 1835, was more than just a sports venue: it was part of a broader local social network, one which was replicated in other towns nationally, which facilitated the construction of social status and civic identity and contributed to society in Bath. Thus, the presentation offered the audience an insight into early nineteenth century Cricket, the philanthropic networks in Bath and how the Gentlemen of Lansdown Cricket Club were presented an opportunity to enhance their civic identity by playing in a team comprising of men from other philanthropic institutions within the City of Bath.

#### *Editor's Note*

*Lansdown cricket club founded in 1825 is one of the oldest in England. The original home of the club was on the old race course at Lansdown. In 1850 the club played on the Sydenham field, now covered by the Green Park complex, from which, in 1864 the club was given notice to quit and took up a lease at Combe Park in 1865.*

*The club badge is derived from the family crest of Sir Bevil Grenville who lost his life in the Royalist cause at the Battle of Lansdown in 1643.*





## WALK: PULTENEY BRIDGE TO WIDCOMBE

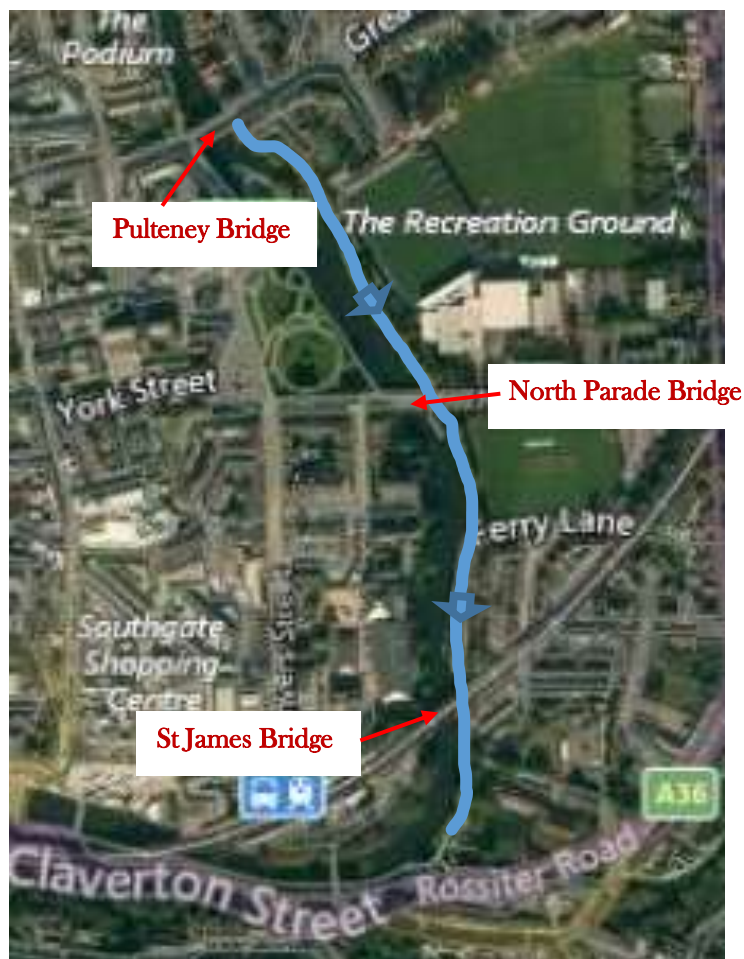
Monday 8<sup>th</sup> May 2017

Leader: Mike Chapman

Abstract: Mike Chapman

### River Walk from Pulteney Bridge to Widcombe.

Following the old riverside path later known as Spring Gardens Road in the Bathwick, it is now difficult to visualise the river before Pulteney Bridge was built in 1774. Previously this was the site of a ferry to Bathwick which was moored at the end of a quay called The Boatstall below the city wall. Here fish was landed for sale, with access either through the medieval East Gate via Boatstall Lane, still visible under the colonnade below New Market Row, or down Slippery Lane which has also partly survived beside the Podium. The present road in front of New Market Row was originally built as a parade attached to the bridge, the quay serving as an access path to the vaults below which initially contained slaughterhouses. However, complaints soon led to these being converted to stables for coach horses belonging to the White Lion Inn in the High Street, together with a long timber shed for the coaches built over the pathway on a row of stone pillars. By the 1830s, as coaching declined, the shed was converted to use as a potato market, which it remained until the 1890s when it was removed to make way for the extension of New Market Row along Grand Parade and the building of the Empire Hotel. The stone pillars were finally replaced in the 1930s by the more attractive colonnade, as appears today.



Spanning the river below the quay was the town weir, with the Town Mill known as Monk's Mill (formerly owned by the monastery in Bath) at one end, and Bathwick Mill at the other. When Monk's Mill burned down in 1883, it was abandoned and the site incorporated into the adjoining Parade Gardens, but Bathwick Mill was not finally demolished until the 1970s when the new U-shaped weir with flood-gates was installed as part of the flood prevention scheme. In the early 18th century, before the bridge was built, a pleasure ground called Spring Gardens was opened up in the meadow behind Bathwick Mill, with ornamental walks among shrubberies and flowerbeds, together with bowling, musical entertainments, dancing, fireworks and refreshments. Although the Gardens disappeared under the Great Pulteney Street development in the 1780s, some of the buildings at their entrance beside the Mill (now site of the Beazer maze) survived until recent times, one part of the premises (now incorporated into the Recreation Ground) being used in the 1880s as an engineering works by Joseph Day where he invented the two-stroke engine.

Spring gardens formed part of a large meadow called West Mead which was originally intended by William Pulteney for building fashionable crescents and squares, but when these did not materialize it was temporarily filled with kitchen gardens until the 1850s when it was returned to grass as an open-space amenity for the villas built in Pulteney Road.

**Home and builder's yard of Jon Pinch >**  
Charles Arthur Fare 1930.

Site of the Beazer maze and Italian restaurant noted above.

*Watercolour:*

*Courtesy of the Victoria Art Gallery Bath*



In 1894 the main part of the meadow on the north side of North Parade Road was taken over by the Bath and County Recreation Ground Company Limited for sports grounds (now the Bath Rugby Football ground), and it was at this stage that the ground was separated from the riverside walk by the present embankment. A roller-skating rink was also laid out at the southern end adjoining North Parade Road, replaced in 1910 by the present Pavilion for a dance-hall and extended in the 1980s by the Bath Sports & Leisure Centre.

On the opposite bank in the open ground below the city wall, was the monastery's 'Abbey Orchard'. It was here, in 1709 that Bath's first Assembly Rooms were built against the city wall, along Terrace Walk. Also belonging to the Assembly Rooms was an espaliered riverside walk, known as 'The Green Walk', which ran along the bank downstream from the tailrace of Monk's mill to the boundary ditch of the orchard, now site of South Parade. At the northern end of the walk was a summerhouse on the river's edge, and towards the southern end a small pedimented folly set back with arched alcove. The latter, known as 'Delia's Grotto', still remains in a garden belonging to a restaurant in North Parade a few yards below North Parade Bridge, and has been identified as the site of Sheridan's trysting-place with Elizabeth Linley, mentioned in his love-poem 'Delia', dedicated to her.

In the 1740s North Parade was added along the south side of the orchard by John Wood, leaving a triangular open-space amenity with a bowling green for the residents in front. It was the combination of these open grounds, including those belonging to the Assembly Rooms (converted to use by the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institute after a fire in 1824) that eventually formed the basis of the present Parade Gardens when the Institute was demolished in the 1930s. Originally North Parade had a walkway in front which did not become a road for vehicular traffic until North Parade Bridge was built in 1835. This, the second major cast-iron road bridge to be built in Bath (the first being Cleveland Bridge) was designed by William Tierney Clark, FRS (1783-1852), who was also responsible for the Hammersmith Bridge in London and the great Chain Bridge in Budapest. On the Bathwick side of the bridge, North Parade Road was carried over West Mead to Pulteney Road on a viaduct with four flood-arches (now mostly blocked), cutting off part of the meadow on the south side, now site of the Bath Cricket Ground. Both the bridge and viaduct road were privately owned by the North Parade Bridge Company Ltd. who erected a gate and toll-house on the Bath side of the bridge. The bridge was eventually released from tolls (the usual 1/2d for pedestrians) in 1929 after it was purchased by the City for £12,097, and in 1936 it underwent drastic reconstruction by the City Engineer who clad the ironwork arch in ashlar masonry. It now appears as a conventional stone bridge with masonry balustrades except for an inspection door to the interior in the side arch over the pathway and a fragment of the original iron balustrade attached to the end building in North Parade.

Ferry Lane on the south side of the cricket ground marks the line of Smallcombe brook (now culverted for a storm drain) which formed the boundary between Bathwick and Lyncombe & Widcombe, reaching an outfall into the Avon opposite South Parade. It was to this point that a ferry brought visitors across the river in the 18th century from a flight of steps ('Whitehall Stairs') at the end of South Parade. From here they could follow the riverside path; either downstream to reach the attractions of Prior Park and Lyncombe Vale, or upstream to the Spring Gardens pleasure ground. The ferry was eventually superseded by North Parade Bridge, and only a few signs of the original 'stairs' can now be made out in the wall at the end of the Parade.

South of South Parade was a meadow called the Ham where John Wood planned a grandiose scheme for a square on both sides of the river called the Royal Forum with a central harbour. Although this was not carried out, the idea of a fashionable building development remained, and for many years the Ham was covered with temporary kitchen gardens. The idea was finally abandoned when the GWR station was built at its southern end in 1840, allowing a large timber yard and wharf to be established along the river bank between the station and St. John's Catholic Church, the latter built in 1863 below South Parade. In 1901 a GPO and Sorting Office was opened near the station (now Bayntun's bookshop) but about 1938 part of the timber yard next to the church was acquired by the Sorting Office for a new classical-style office building which still stands facing the river. The timber yard remained in use up to the beginning of WWII when the business removed to Bristol, but since that time the sorting office has progressively covered the rest of the timber yard area with new utility buildings.

On the opposite side, between Ferry Lane and Claverton Street in Widcombe, are 'The Dolemeads', originally a large waterside meadow which in early times was apportioned by lots or 'doles' among the tenants of the manor (hence the name), but after the entrance of the K&A canal was built at the southern end of this ground in 1810, the remainder became ripe for development and by 1825 was filled with a rabbit-warren of cheap terrace housing. Built on low ground immediately next to the river it was frequently inundated with floods which, combined with the miserable condition of its inhabitants, led to its local title of 'Mud Island'. Things were hardly improved when the GWR viaduct on the east side of St. James's Bridge was constructed straight through the middle of this slum in 1840. Following the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890, plans were put forward in 1898 to raise the ground some 13 ft. on which to rebuild the houses and provide them with proper drains and sewers - in effect Bath's first Council Housing scheme. Although the work was started in 1901 using bricks for the new houses instead of the usual Bath ashlar, the whole scheme took nearly 20 years to complete and the last of the old houses did not disappear until about 1970.

Following the completion of the K&A canal locks in Widcombe, the ground opposite, in the bend in the river at the southern end of the Ham, was reserved for a diversion of the river as part of a flood prevention scheme. By 1840 this had still not been carried out, providing Brunel with a site for the Great Western Railway station in Bath - a much cheaper option than building the railway through the centre of the city. However since most of the line followed the opposite side of the river, two bridges were needed to cross and re-cross from the station, the one on the east side being called St. James's Bridge. Like other distinguished masonry bridges built along the line by Brunel, this example conformed to the classical idiom, constructed of Bath stone ashlar with ornamental strap-work over the piers. Although still impressive today it has been much disfigured by late 19th century repairs with blue and red engineering brick. During the Second World War, when trains often had sixteen coaches which exceeded the platform length, it was necessary to draw up twice at Bath. In the blackout a sailor towards the rear of a long train from Portsmouth Harbour stepped out onto the bridge parapet thinking it was the platform and, taking a further stride, fell into the river. Fortunately this mishap did not have a fatal ending, but a fence was erected on the parapet to prevent this event happening again.

The area on the south side of the bridge is now mainly occupied by the side pound at the bottom of the lock flight, but in the early 18th century this part of the Dole Meadow was acquired by Ralph Allen for his stone wharf, where stone from his mines on Combe Down was brought down by railway. The wharf included a boathouse, carpenters' shop, smithy and sheds where the stone blocks were dressed for export. They could then be loaded onto vessels using a specially designed quayside crane or, for delivery to the city across the river, onto the railroad wagons which were then winched by capstans directly onto 'roll-on, roll-off' barges. The railway (or 'carriage road' as it was generally called, now Prior Park Road) entered the yard via a grooved level crossing over Claverton Street, where Allen commissioned John Wood to design a rank of cottages for his stone masons, together with an Inn, the White Hart, both of which remain.

The stoneyards and wharf closed after Allen's death in 1764, providing an ideal site in 1810 for the junction of the Kennet & Avon Canal with the Avon Navigation. River barges were built in the side-pound from the 1860s to 1899, and a small stone building with a chimney known as the 'Thimble Mill' still stands next to the entrance lock. This was actually built to house a steam engine for pumping water from the lock back up the flight when there was a water shortage, but its use was curtailed when it was found that pumping was taking place with the lower lock gate open, thereby using the river water to which the canal was not entitled.

The walk finished at the small but elegant bridge over the canal entrance which was built to carry the old riverside path to Claverton Street, where the name 'Spring Gardens Road' can still be seen on the side of a house at the end of Claverton Buildings.



**Beechen Cliff from Widcombe** Samuel Poole c.1925.

*Watercolour: Courtesy of the Victoria Art Gallery Bath*

## VISIT: BOWLISH HOUSE, SHEPTON MALLET

Monday 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2017

Leader            Ian Keys



Built around 1618, this Grade II\* clothier's mansion was modernised by the Georgians c.1735 and the Victorians c.1860. A Palladian frontage and stone mullioned rear windows are two of the external features which enclose finely proportioned rooms, original fireplaces and a magnificent heavily-carved Jacobean openwork scroll oak staircase which winds through all three of its floors. Originally built as both a family home and the visible expression of the wealth of a branch of the Strode family, the house saw a tempestuous history during the Civil Wars and during the 18th and 19th centuries. Used by the navy in WW2, it was a somnolent officer then who shot at the ghost of a 19th century woman. Built into a Mendip hillside, the house is surrounded by five gardens, one of which contains the ruin of cloth finishing workshops.

Bowlish itself is a small hamlet on the outskirts of the town of Shepton Mallet in Somerset, UK and from about 1450, there was a sheep farm of about 60 acres here owned by the Strodes. Their fortunes dramatically improved following an influx of French-speaking Huguenot weavers during the time of Henry VIII and their expertise in the production of fine woollen cloth transformed the farm. The new weaving, dyeing, fulling and many other production processes led to the evolution of the buildings in the hamlet from about 1550 onwards and as a result, the fortunes of the Strode family dramatically improved. Today, the house is very much a family home, having been lovingly renovated by the Keys family, and has been featured in both *Period House* and *Period Living* magazines as well as on BBC Radio Somerset. You will leave your visit understanding an unexpected tapestry of wool, wars, Huguenots and a ghost or two.

## BOOK REVIEWS:

### BATHAMPTON DOWN

A Hill Divided 1700-2000

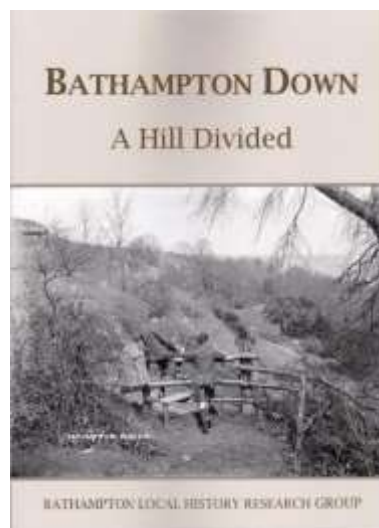
Research and Written by **Mary Clarke**

Compiled by **Gillian Huggins**

BATHAMPTON LOCAL HISTORY RESEARCH GROUP

ISBN: 978-1-91202067-6

£ 10



Bathampton Down is noted for its unique pre-historic remains but its more recent history is also fascinating. This new book, written and researched by Mary Clark and published by the Bathampton Local History Research Group, tells the story of the Down since 1700 when the Lord of the Manor built a wall to divide it in two and enclose his rabbit warren

The story unfolds with chapters on the warrener's house, Sham Castle, Ralph Allen's influence, two shocking murders, a fatal duel, a college that was never built, a forgotten farmstead, a rifle range, the Golf Course and the secrets of the Second World War. All these have coloured the Down's history since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Industrial Archaeology of the stone quarries and their early tramway, together with the former Bathampton Waterworks and more recent reservoirs are also included whilst the final chapter illustrates things of a more curious nature.

This book acts as a record of the Down's more recent history and will give readers a greater understanding of this area of outstanding natural beauty.

200 pages with 215 col/bw illustrations.

Editor: Nigel Pollard - [nigel.e.pollard@zen.co.uk](mailto:nigel.e.pollard@zen.co.uk)

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## APPENDIX

### TREVOR FAWCETT (1934-2017): LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

#### I. Bath History

1. 'Dance and teachers of dance in eighteenth-century Bath' and 'Chair transport in Bath: the sedan era', *Bath History* v.2, 1988, 27-48 and 113-38.
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3. 'Where did Louis XVIII stay in Bath?', *Mayor's Guides Newsletter* no.35, 1989, 14-15.
4. 'Eighteenth-century shops and the luxury trade', *Bath History* v.3, 1990, 49-75.
5. 'Retailing Norwich textiles at Bath, 1750-1800', *Norfolk Archaeology* v.41 pt1, 1990, 67-70.
6. 'Selling the Bath waters: medical propaganda at an eighteenth-century spa', *Proc. Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society* for 1990, v.134, 1991, 193-206.
7. 'A case of distance shopping in 1763', *Costume* no.25, 1991, 18-20.
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10. 'Black people in Georgian Bath', *Avon Past* no.16, 1993, 2-9.
11. 'Landor and Dickens in Bath', *Guidelines* no.46, 1993, 18-19.
12. *Bath: History and Guide*, by Trevor Fawcett and Stephen Bird (Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1994).
13. *Paving, Lighting, Cleansing: Street Improvement and Maintenance in Eighteenth-century Bath* (Bath, Building of Bath Museum, 1994).
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19. 'Bath in Woodforde's time', *Parson Woodforde Society Quarterly Journal*, v.30 no.3, 1997, 41-8.

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21. *Bath Entertain'd: Amusements, Recreations and Gambling at the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Spa* (Bath, RUTON, 1998).
22. 'Mechanical enterprise in eighteenth-century Bath', *BIAS Journal* no.30, 1998, 8-10.
23. 'Hospital, casino, holiday resort, heritage site: the eighteenth-century transformation of Bath', *The Historian* no.59, 1998, 4-8.
24. 'Science lecturing at Bath, 1724-1800', *Bath History* v.7, 1998, 55-77.
25. 'Custodians of the pumps', *Guidelines* no.58, 1999, 12-16.
26. *Northampton Street: an Outline of its Historical Development* by Trevor Fawcett, Francis Kelly and Peter Malone (Bath, 1999). [Limited edition of 60 copies.]
27. 'French émigrés at Bath, 1789-1815', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* for 1997, v.141, 2001, 161-9. [Earlier version printed in *Studies for Elizabeth Fudakowska*, 1994.]
28. *Bath Administer'd: Corporation Affairs at the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Spa* (Bath, RUTON, 2001).
29. 'Wedgwood's Bath showrooms' in *Pickpocketing the Rich: Portrait Painting in Bath, 1720-1800* (Bath, Holburne Museum of Art, 2002), 104-12.
30. *Bath Commercialis'd: Shops, Trades and Market at the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Spa* (Bath, RUTON, 2002).
31. 'Quite a fuss about Ariston Men U(h)'dor', *Guidelines* no.62, 2003, 16-17.
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34. 'Benjamin Smith, Bath optician and instrument maker', *The Speculum: the Journal of the William Herschel Society* v.5 no.1, 2006, 38-43.
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36. 'John B. Bryant: linen draper, soap boiler, electrician, astronomer', *The Speculum* v.6 no.1, 2007, 27-8.
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40. *Georgian Imprints: Printing and Publishing at Bath, 1728-1815* (Bath, RUTON, 2008).
41. 'Alexander Herschel at Bath', *The Speculum* v.7 no.2, 2008, 5-8.
42. 'William Street: an apothecary's progress', *The Survey of Bath and District* no.23, 2008, 38-41.



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44. 'Bath Natural History Society in the 1940s', *Bath Natural History Society Magazine* 2008/2009, 39-42.
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46. 'Bath's eighteenth-century coaching inns', *The Survey of Bath and District* no.26, Oct 2011, 21-27.
47. 'The Upper Assembly Rooms at Bath in the 1770s: private property or public amenity?', *The Regional Historian* (UWE), no.24, winter 2012, 14-20.
48. *Spa Medicine: Patients, Practitioners and Treatments in Stuart and Georgian Bath* (Jan 2012) ([www.spamedicine.talktalk.net/main](http://www.spamedicine.talktalk.net/main) htm)
49. 'The new Georgian Assembly Rooms at Weymouth: a Bath initiative', *Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, v.37, 2012, 125-8.
50. 'Milsom Street goes commercial', *Guidelines* no.70, 2012, 11-12.
51. Edmund Rack, 'A Disultory Journal of Events at Bath' [Bath Central Library MS.1111], transcribed and ed by Trevor Fawcett ([www.batharchives.co.uk](http://www.batharchives.co.uk)). 2012
52. 'Charles Pratt, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Camden', *Guidelines* no.71, Mar 2013, 32-5.
53. 'William Herschel and the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau', *The Speculum* v.12 no.2, 2013, 30-1.
54. 'Property crime in Georgian Bath: evidence from the Guardian Society, 1783-1800', *The Regional Historian* no.27, summer 2013, 21-5.
55. 'John Jelly's botanic garden', *The Survey of Bath and District* no.28, Oct 2013, 23-28.
56. *Bath City Council Members, 1700-1835* (2014). Electronic and print-out versions held at Bath Record Office.
57. 'An amateur musician in Georgian Bath' [John Marsh]. *Guidelines* no.73, Jan 2015, 25-8.
58. 'Walking about Bath in 1743', *Guidelines* no.74, Feb 2016, 9-11.
59. 'The Bath Volunteers: Civil defence against the French, 1779-1815', *Bath History* v.14, 2016,48-59.
60. 'After Bertrand: the Roubel family', *The Survey of Bath and District* no.31, Oct 2016, 11-13.
61. 'Medical sensitivities: a black smallpox victim', *Guidelines* no.75, Jan 2017, 15-18.
62. Also articles in *Bath Magazine*:
  - 2005 6 articles on black people, river fatalities, market, Italians, electricity, dogs.
  - 2006 6articles on T.French, footpaths, hire trade, Dickens, J.Guest, eye doctors.
  - 2007 6 articles on art shows, Bowdlers, fossils, dentistry, T.Goulding, Morford's field.
  - 2008 3 articles on a defence subscription, Georgian horsepower, Irish.
  - 2009 articles on women novelists.

63. Also reports, editorials and brief surveys of new books in Bath Natural History Society *Magazine*, especially 2004/5-2008/9.
64. Also some short pieces in *Bath City Life* and History of Bath Research Group *Newsletter* including items on the elder William Pitt, bubonic plague at Bath in 1604, the Stuart Guildhall, fasts and humiliations, and the Lee sisters' girls' school.

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65. 'The founding of the Norfolk and Norwich Literary Institution', *Library History* v.1 no.2, 1967, 46-63.
66. 'Patriotic transparencies in Norwich, 1798-1814', *Norfolk Archaeology* v.34 pt3, 1968, 245-52.
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78. 'Eighteenth-century art in Norwich', *Walpole Society* v.96, 1976-1978, 71-90.
79. 'Thorpe water frolic', *Norfolk Archaeology* v.36 pt 4, 1977, 393-8.
80. 'Music circulating libraries in Norwich', *Musical Times* Jul 1978, .594-5.
81. *Music in Eighteenth Century Norwich and Norfolk* (Norwich, Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1979).
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83. 'John Crome and the idea of Mousehold', *Norfolk Archaeology* v.38 pt2, 1982, 168-81.
84. 'Argonauts and commercial travellers: the foreign marketing of Norwich stuffs in the later eighteenth century', *Textile History* v.16 no.2, 1985, 151-82.

85. 'Retailing Norwich textiles at Bath, 1750-1800', *Norfolk Archaeology* v.41 pt1, 1990, 67-70.

86. Also some short pieces in *East Anglian Magazine*.

### III. Art History

92. *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons and Institutions outside London, 1800-1830* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974). [Printed experimentally from computerised text, not very happily.]

93. 'Scholarly journals' and 'Illustration and design' in *The Art Press: Two Centuries of Art Magazines*, ed. Trevor Fawcett and Clive Phillpot (London, Art Book Co., 1976)/ [[Published in connection with The Art Press exhibition at the Victoria & Albert Museum, 1976.]

94. 'Royal Academy mottoes', in *Kunst und Kunsttheorie des XVIII. Jahrhunderts in England*, hrsg. von Gerhard Charles Rump (Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verl., 1979).

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96. 'Graphic versus photographic in the nineteenth-century reproduction', *Art History* v.9 no.2, 1986, 185-212.

97. 'Democratising the visual arts', *The Lantern* no.1, 1988, 20-3.

98. 'The nineteenth-century art book: content, style and context', *Art Libraries Journal* v.17 no.3, 1992, 12-17.

99. 'Plane surfaces and solid bodies: reproducing three-dimensional art in the nineteenth century' in *Art History through the Camera Lens*, ed. Helene E. Roberts (New York?, Gordon & Breavh, 1995) 59-86. [First printed in *Visual Resources* v.4 no.1, 1987, 1-23.]

100. 'Reproductions of works of art' in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner, 34 vols (London, Grove, 1996).

101. 'Art reproductions and authenticity', *Art Libraries Journal* v.22 no.2, 1997. 20-5.

102. *The Nineteenth Century: Visual Arts and Architecture Special Collection*, ed. Trevor Fawcett (Cambridge, Chadwyck-Healey, 1988-97) [20 units of microfiches.]

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103. 'Zusammengerhörigkeitsgefühl', *Library Association Record* v.67 no.4, 1965, 124-7. [Despite its outlandish title this may have contributed to my landing the UEA job since it came out around the time I applied in 1965.]

104. 'Art libraries' in *British Librarianship and Information Science, 1971-1975* (London, Library Association, 1976?), 260-66.

105. 'Theses' and 'Conservation' in *Art Library Manual*, ed. Philip Pacey (New York, Bowker, 1977), 186-99 and 395-403.
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108. 'Subject indexing in the visual arts', *Art Libraries Journal* v.4 no.1, 1979, 5-17.
109. 'Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, 2nd ed.: a review article', *Art Libraries Journal* v.4 no.2, 1979, 23-30.
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111. 'The complete art librarian' [reprinted from *ARLIS Newsletter* no. 22, 1975], 'The problem of the artefact: subject limits of the art library' [reprinted from *Art Libraries Journal* v.4 no.4, 1979], 'Control of text and images: tradition and innovation' [reprinted from *Art Libraries Journal* v.7 no.2, 1982] in *A Reader in Art Librarianship*, ed. Philip Pacey, IFLA Pubs 34 (Munich, K.G.Saur, 1985), 18-21, 123-32, 133-41.
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113. 'Beyond the gossip shop', *Art Libraries Journal* v.19 no.3, 1994. 8-12.

## V. Miscellaneous

114. 'Cultural centres and societies in Britain and on the Continent during the eighteenth century' [ not strictly published but reproduced from typescript in maybe 100 copies for the Urban History Group's conference at Leeds, April 1975.]
115. 'Bishop and Aladdin', *Musical Times* Nov 1972, 1076-7.
116. 'Eighteenth-century debating societies', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* v3 no.3, 1980, 216-29.
117. 'Self-improvement societies: the early Lit. and Phils' in *Life in the Georgian Town* [Georgian Group Annual Symposium 1985] (London, 1986), 15-25.
118. 'Butterfly transects on Bannerdown, 2002-2008', *Bath Natural History Society Magazine* 2008/2009, 37-9.

The above list is selective. It omits various short items - including the 81 abstracts from French and Russian librarianship periodicals Trevor did for *Library Science Abstracts* vv.13-18, as well as letters (e.g. to newspapers, *TLS*, *LRB*, *Burlington Magazine*, *Apollo*) and scores of notices and reports of meetings etc. in *ARLIS Newsletter* and the *HBRG Magazine*, as well as book reviews in *Urban History* (5), *Textile History* (3), *Visual Resources* (4), *Art Libraries Journal* (6) and other places.