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Avon Past 16

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Portrait of Francis Danby, c.1825, photograph of a lost drawing only known from
an old glass negative in The City of Bristol Museum & Art Gallery

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Black boy holding a basket of exotic fruit, c.1773(?)
By the Bath artist William Jones, oil on canvas.
Courtesy Victoria Art Gallery, Bath

BLACK PEOPLE IN GEORGIAN BATH

Trevor Fawcett

Writers on eighteenth century Bath tend to emphasise its glamorous side. They present it as a 'magical meeting place', an architectural showpiece, a hotbed of sinful indulgence, a 'gigantic pleasure garden for propertied society', a kind of supernova among spas¹.

Even its medical significance is often downplayed as attention focuses on the high life and the *beau monde*. One might argue that such an emphasis is by no means unfair, for it was indeed the free spending of the well-to-do that sustained the city's economy and brought unprecedented growth. The idea of the holiday resort was virtually invented at Bath and its stream of famous visitors deserves to be chronicled. All the same it remains a selective vision, ignoring for the most part the everyday existence of humbler folk and ordinary residents, taking for granted the army of servants, the tradesmen, backroom workers, labourers, providers of essential services, who buoyed up the system, and the paupers and beggars at the bottom of the scale who also hoped for a small share of the pickings.

Black people are customarily overlooked altogether. No account of Georgian Bath so much as mentions them. Yet they were undoubtedly present all through the period. In fact the first record dates from as early as 1681 when Francis Hooper, 'a blackmore', was baptised – probably as a youth or adult – at St Michael's church.

It would have been astonishing if black people had not become an increasingly common sight at Bath, given its geographical location and the clientèle it attracted. Scarcely a dozen miles from the busy slave-trading port of Bristol, it was also in constant communication with London where a majority of the country's sizeable black population (10,000 – 20,000 by the late eighteenth century) lived². Former or actual slaves from the black communities in both these cities must sometimes have ended up in Bath which had an insatiable demand for domestic servants. Families frequenting the spa, or settling there permanently, might also have the odd black servant among their attendants, attired perhaps in turban and exotic livery. A black boy in the household gave a certain social cachet, particularly if he happened to be good-looking and responsive – like the 13-year old offered for sale in the *Bath Journal* in 1769, advertised as quite black, well-built, intelligent, musical, trained as a footboy, and skilled in waiting at table³.

Plantation owners returning from the Caribbean and American colonies were another source. They often made a bee-line for Bath, either to recuperate or to retire on the income from their sugar and tobacco estates. Sometimes accompanying them were trusted black retainers, usually freed slaves allowed a degree of independence⁴.

Two such servants from the West Indies spring to sudden life in the fictional pages of Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker* (1771) when they try out their French horns on the common staircase of a Bath lodging house in South Parade. Irritated by the disturbance and unable to get satisfaction from their master, a 'Creole colonel', the testy Matthew Bramble launches a furious personal assault on the musicians,

bringing their wind practice to an abrupt halt. Smollett's own attitude to wealth derived from slavery was clearly ambivalent. Through his character Bramble he was ready enough to dismiss those 'upstarts of fortune' at Bath, the 'planters, negro-drivers, and bucksters from our American plantations, enriched they know not how', yet in his personal life he remained as anxious as any to obtain the periodic remittances from his wife's considerable estates in Jamaica⁵.

It is parish registers that largely save Bath's black inhabitants from anonymity. Here, in the records of baptismal and burial services, is the bare documentation of their existence. Even so only the names of those for whom these ceremonies were performed come to light, probably a small percentage of black people who lived in Bath at some period during the eighteenth century. Not only that, we have to depend on names being distinguished in the registers by some ethnic comment – 'a black woman', 'a Negro', 'a Blackmore, abt. 29 yrs of age', for example. This was not always done. Indeed in the registers of the booming parish of Walcot⁶, where black servants certainly lived in the spreading terraces and crescents of Bath's upper town, ethnic differences are hardly ever noted. The case of Myrtilla Hampshire, whose funeral was recorded on Wednesday 5th February 1755, is a graphic witness of the fact. For we know she was black solely from a chance, revealing report in a contemporary newspaper:

Wednesday last a Black Girl (servant to a Gentleman in the Square [Queen Square]) was buried at Walcot Church. There were six Black Men to support the Pall; and several others, of the same Complexion, attended the Corps, as Mourners.

Occasionally a surname in the registers may afford a clue – Blackman Cole, Coffee, even Bath – but always requires corroboration. A rare instance from the Walcot baptisms has just the additional evidence needed: Mary Cole, a 'negro' aged 20, christened on 17th November 1807.

By 1776 black residents and visitors must have been dispersed throughout the city's expanding suburbs, but by the fortunes of documentation the majority of records come from the inner parishes⁷. Between 1700 and 1812 the parishes of Abbey, St. James and St. Michael list 54 christenings (41 male, 13 female) and 11 funerals (all male) of identifiable black people, including the occasional child of mixed race. The higher proportion of christenings may simply reflect the relative youth of most black servants, especially those of visiting plantation owners, though it is true a number were in their twenties before undertaking the ceremony. Another explanation may be the lingering but unfounded popular belief that baptism on British soil automatically released slaves from their chattel status and gave them the basic rights of free citizens.

If baptisms are plotted decade by decade, the numbers rise gradually to a plateau in 1761-80 when altogether 25 are recorded, before falling away again. Burials are scattered more randomly from 1702 to 1791. Again, however, it is necessary to emphasise the partial nature of the documentation from parish registers. To give a further instance, they are silent about a black boy called Jack, accidentally drowned while swimming in the Avon near Kingsmead in 1804 and referred to in the book of Coroner's Inquests⁸. They are therefore of interest less for their quantitative evidence than for the incidental information they provide on names, ages, and status.

It is evident at once that most black people in Bath were known by everyday names, the surname element probably taken from families who had owned them (or their parents) as slaves: Thomas Gilley, George Thomas, Martha Claxton, John Lewis, Nancy Tucker, Elizabeth Grigg, Henry Giles, William Samuels, and so on. Only a handful have been named for their skin colour or place of residence – John Black, John Coffee, William and John Bath, for example – and only two suffered under more outlandish names: Oliver Cromwell, one of three black men listed among baptisms in the Widcombe parish register⁹, and Black Hopperkin found in the Roman Catholic records¹⁰. The single surname that hints at domestic duties is that of James Butler, and indeed while most of the baptisms must have been of household servants only intermittently is the owner named. In 1706 a 'Blackmore which was born in Jamaica, and is now servant to Mr. Charles Dreads' was christened at St. Michael's. At the Abbey Church two servants belonging to Mr. John Garner were christened in 1717, and others owned or employed by Mr. Laas, Mrs. Hetling, and Jacob Allen Esq. of Jamaica in 1739, 1754 and 1756 respectively. (Rachel Hetling ran a lodging house near the Hot and Cross baths). The most intriguing reference of all is to the burial at St. James's church in May 1722 of 'Mr. Allen's servant a black boy', for this may plausibly be guessed to reveal the up-and-coming postmaster Ralph Allen, soon to be investing heavily in the development of Georgian Bath. One later record, of the burial of a 'Black from York House' at St. Michael's in 1779, suggests a waiter, doorman or other domestic employed at Bath's newest and most fashionable inn.

But not all were in service, and some were perhaps destitute – like the unnamed 'blackmore' consigned to the Abbey's skullhouse after his funeral in 1778, or the 28-year-old blackman from St. James's, described as a 'casual' and interred in the pauper burial ground at Widcombe in 1791¹¹. Three black paupers were also baptised at different times in the late 1780s. Those not forced to join Bath's notorious population of street beggars might have found some employment as common labourers. That outspoken resident Philip Thicknesse, whose racial prejudice had been confirmed by his years in Jamaica, at least hints at this in a characteristic racist remark: 'Did any man ever see a Negroe in England at work? I never did except now and then to serve the mason or bricklayer, with mortar'. In fact Thicknesse claimed that white day labourers in England had a harder lot than slaves in the West Indies, citing as witness the opinion of 'an old Negro servant now living at Bath'¹².

The approximate ages of twelve black males are noted in the baptismal registers, ranging from 12 years to 30 with an average of 21½. In addition several younger children and infants appear, at least two of whom were born of a black mother and white father, and one of these certainly illegitimate. Mixed marriages were, however, not altogether unknown, and one was celebrated by licence at St. Michael's in 1753 between Thomas Bowen, a black man, and the white Mary Davis. The likelihood that some black families lived in Bath over two or more generations is strengthened by the evidence that a Thomas Prince was christened at St. Michael's in 1732, and another of the same name, probably his son, at St. James's 41 years later, both identified as 'black' or 'negro'.

In addition to the testimony from Anglican sources a few further names occur in Catholic records¹³. Miss Bathoe's maid Black Hopperkin, already mentioned

above, turns up twice in the Easter listings (1782 and 1785). 'Mary Diana and James, Negroes adult in the service of Mistress and Governor Lovett' were baptised in 1787. Five years later the *Status Animarum* includes 'Mary Coffee and Son'. And in 1805 the death of Samuel Abraham, a black man aged 63, is recorded with a respectful R.L.P.¹

The respected black man is in fact a category too important to overlook. Whether the foppish Soubise, once the Duchess of Queensbury's protégé, ever charmed his way among the visiting company at Bath is uncertain. The talented black trumpeter Douglass ('one of the best in England on that Instrument') certainly found favour around 1718-19. Another minor black celebrity, Ignatius Sancho, whose posthumously published *Letters* became a best-seller, was at the spa in November 1768 when Gainsborough dashed off his portrait in one hundred minutes at his studio in the Circus². A still more important figure, Olaudah Equiano, visited in 1793. The first political leader of Britain's black community and a tireless campaigner against the slave trade, Equiano stopped off at Bath to promote his widely-read autobiography. After receiving a sympathetic hearing he was recommended by one of his Bath supporters, William Langworthy, to a circle of friends in Devizes, Equiano's next port of call³.

The greatest impact that any black individual had on Bath society in the eighteenth century was achieved by a precocious young violinist, George Polgreen Bridgetower, who arrived towards the end of November 1789 accompanied by his engaging and ambitious father. Though he claimed to have had lessons from Haydn and had performed in private before the royal family, the 10-year-old Bridgetower was little known to the musical public before he took Bath by storm at his concert debut in the Upper Assembly Rooms on the 5th December. The critics were enraptured with this child virtuoso



Ignatius Sancho

Friend of the writer Laurence Sterne, was reputedly painted in one hour forty minutes when he visited Thomas Gainsborough's Bath studio in 1768. Seen here in P. Bartolozzi's stipple engraving, the painting is now in the National Gallery of Art, Ottawa.

"whose taste and execution on the violin is equal, perhaps superior to the best professor of the present or any former day... He is a Mulatto, the Grandson, it is said, of an African Prince. - The greatest attention and respect were paid by the Nobility and Gentry present to his elegant Father, who is one of the most accomplished men in Europe, conversing with fluency & charming address in its several languages."

Bridgetower's spectacular premiere, and his performance at subsequent concerts organised by Bath's musical director Rauzzini, launched him on a national and then international career as a solo violinist during which he gained the esteem of the great Beethoven himself. No wonder the grateful father promised that throughout their lives 'the City of Bath shall be foremost remember'd in their Prayers and Praises' for taking to its heart 'the poor wandering Strangers from the Neighbourhood of the Tropics'⁴.

By this date the anti-slave-trade movement was also taking root in the city. Earlier in the century the enslavement and transportation of Africans to forced labour in the colonies had raised little protest or comment, while the very growth of Bath depended in some measure on the investment of capital ultimately derived from the slave trade. The Duke of Chandos, John Wood's first patron, took a leading role in the Royal Africa Company which shipped many cargoes of slaves to the Caribbean. The Pulteneys, whose Bathwick estate would be developed in the 1790s, owned large American plantations. Prestigious buildings like the Royal Crescent were financed in part by Bristol capital generated by the lucrative transatlantic commerce⁵. Many of Bath's wealthy residents and visitors enjoyed income from overseas estates, some of it flowing into the local economy. And in the last analysis almost every citizen was implicated: even the poor might sweeten their tea with Jamaican sugar, smoke a pipe of Virginian tobacco, or take the occasional dram of rum.

Complacency about the cruelties of slavery often co-existed with more humanitarian and religious sentiments. That stern moralist of Bath society, the Countess of Huntingdon, saw no apparent incongruity between what was preached at her Methodist chapel and her possession of slave estates in Georgia and Carolina⁶. She was guilty perhaps more of a failure of imagination than of downright prejudice - unlike Philip Thicknesse who considered black people 'in every respect, men of a lower order, and so made by the Creator'⁷. Late in life, moreover, the Countess seems to have looked with favour on the abolitionist campaign spearheaded by the new Evangelical party of William Wilberforce and Hannah More, who both had strong ties with Bath⁸.

One indicator of growing support for the anti-slavery cause was the popular success of George Colman's ballad opera, *Inkle and Yarico*, staged time after time at the Bath theatre in 1788 and 1789⁹, an unabashedly propagandist piece in which the black heroine displays all the 'noble savage' virtues and finally wins the white man's hand, enough to shock Thicknesse with his horror of miscegenation. Backing came too from the local press. The national campaigner Thomas Clarkson had visited Bath in 1787 and won over the editor of the *Bath Chronicle* with his vivid testimony on the evils of the slave trade¹⁰. In January 1788 both the *Chronicle* and *Journal* gave coverage to the powerful declaration of the Manchester abolitionists, the former paper adding that all friends of humanity would

welcome the news that 'the Slave Trade, and treatment of the negroes in our West Indian Islands, (which have been a disgrace to Europe) will become the subjects of Parliamentary investigation'.³⁴ Nevertheless, there was still much latent opposition at Bath to any ending of the trade, not merely from those with a direct interest in its continuance but also from the many secondary beneficiaries. The *Chronicle* made the point adroitly by printing a mock petition from medical practitioners, lawyers, clergy, bankers and others, against the prohibition of their beloved African commerce.³⁵

Early in 1792, however, the abolitionist campaign reached a new climax and Bath, like many other places, was caught up in the great wave of petitioning. A public meeting in February agreed the text of a petition that denounced 'a traffick originating in the grossest injustice, and marked in every stage of its progress with cruelty and blood'. Bearing over a thousand signatures the petition was eventually presented to Parliament by the Somerset M.P.s, Bath's own representatives, like the city's Corporation, being unsympathetic.³⁶ Only six months later any attempt at petitioning would have been unthinkable as political pressure built up to stifle radical reform of any description. Not until 1807 was the slave trade abolished, while total emancipation had to wait another generation.

Whether the gradually awakening conscience to slavery's inhumanity improved the lot of black people living in Bath is hard to say. The actual black experience has left no records. We have no evidence how black servants were treated, whether they suffered the indignity of having to wear silver collars engraved with their names, what measure of personal freedom they had, whether they were insulted in the streets. Their status in Britain was anomalous, midway between slave and common servant. As time went by they were more and more likely to have received some payment for their work. The case of the black girl's funeral at Walcot church, cited earlier, suggests they had some liberty to associate. And the Bath newspapers carry no reports of runaway slaves as Bristol newspapers sometimes did, slight evidence perhaps that their lives were not made intolerable. The baptismal registers furthermore suggest the care of at least some households to encourage their black domestics to assimilate.

Bath's population in the early decades of the nineteenth century continued to grow and the numbers of black inhabitants may well have grown with it. By then it is likely that more Asian servants were to be seen, as former employees of the Indian civil service, military officers, and East India Company merchants retired to a favourite spa. The first synhs and other Asian servants must have reached Bath with returning nabobs like Robert Clive, though the earliest definite record is not before 1812 when the 10-year-old Thomas Ternate, a native of the East Indies, was baptised at the Abbey Church. Between that date and the immigrations of more recent times the history of both black and Asian people resident in Bath still awaits investigation.

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Acknowledgements

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EXCAVATIONS AT BATH STREET, BATH

Peter Davenport

Since the end of the highly publicised excavations of the Sacred Spring and Temple Precinct at Bath, archaeological investigation at Bath has continued and Bath Archaeological Trust have continued the task of research and rescue without a break. This has been largely possible because of support from MSC through the Bristol Churches Community Programme (which came to an end in 1988 of course), and funding from English Heritage and developers. The latter include Marples Ridgway (ARC), Grosvenor Square Properties, Leisure Investments plc and Rosehaugh Heritage plc.

Three major excavations have been mounted in the centre of town (Swallow Street, Bath Street and Beau Street) along with watching briefs and small trials. Important Roman and Iron Age sites on the fringes of the ancient town have also been investigated.

Recently, work on the second hot spring in the town, the Cross Bath, has revealed the Roman structures long suspected. However, extensive post-medieval construction has destroyed any deposits which might have paralleled those from the Sacred Spring which fed the Baths.

A preliminary article on the results of the Swallow Street dig has already appeared (*Popular Archaeology*, Aug. 1985), and a full report on all research in Bath between 1976 and 1985 (excluding the Sacred Spring and Temple) is now available.

This article proposes to describe the preliminary results of the excavation in Bath Street. This site was excavated in 1986 and 87 and is chosen for discussion here as the first site to give some real topographical information on the plan and growth of the town, in medieval as well as Roman times.

Bath Street

This was a major site in the heart of the city, and the excavation was the largest in area since Major Davis cleared the baths in the 1880s.

The site became available prior to redevelopment, and ten weeks, later extended to a total of fourteen, was negotiated from the developers, Grosvenor Estates, who also contributed £10,000 towards the costs of excavation.

Roman

The plan shows the fragments of Roman buildings, most of which survived only as foundations or robber trenches. Nonetheless, simple rectangular buildings, perhaps workshops, occurred in the centre part of the site, and the structure at the western edge of the site might just be the *mansio*, standing as it does along a major north-south street, in a position to enjoy the baths around the Cross Bath, themselves suggested by the well-founded and substantial apse under Bath Street itself. More of the latter building was investigated in 1989, and was found to be a substantial two roomed building, running south from the apse, extending



Figure 1

right across Bath Street. Further rooms were hinted at to the east. Coins suggest a 4th century date. The *'mansio'* is a also a late building, dating to the 4th century, but some slight evidence was found for a timber predecessor.

More important than these individual buildings, though, was the overall layout. In particular, and for the first time in Bath, we were able to see Roman streets, providing information on the development of the street plan in Roman times.

The first of these roads run under the western portico of the Outer Precinct of the Temple of Sulis Minerva which fell just inside the east end of the site. This portico is thought to date from the 60s or 70s AD and clearly post-dates this extremely well-built road, running diagonally across the site from north-east to south-west. This road is likely to be military in origin, and may in some way be a part of the *Fosse Way* complex of frontier roads of the conquest period. Alternatively, it may have been purely for access to the hot springs here at which it certainly is pointing. The road was later incorporated in the city layout, as it was clearly diverted around the Temple (see Fig.1). Later it went out of use and buildings were constructed over it, perhaps as late as the 3rd century. It is probable that the road north of the temple which can be postulated on the evidence recorded in rescue work in the 1860s and 1959, was continued westwards until it met the new street constructed to run in front of the *'mansio'* and then turned south, providing a replacement route.

The space north of the buildings and west of the new north-south road, seems never to have been built on, but was covered by a 30cm thick layer of dark loam.

A finely cut and finished block of Bath stone was found sitting over one of the old roads, contemporary with this loam, and clearly deliberately set up. This may have been the base for an altar or statue, and suggests that the open space may have been a garden. Such a garden may well have been associated with the adjacent Temple. Ancient temple gardens are well known, and there seems to be a similar one at Gosbecks Farm, near Colchester.

The road and building at the west end of the site are very close to the Cross Bath. Observation in service trenches in 1986 suggests a road running east of the Bath, and building floors to the north. The masonry building may have been part of the complex including the Cross Bath. Recent survey work under the present 18th century bath, has shown that there is an elliptical stone tank, 10m x 12.5m, and of Roman date, standing c.1.5m high, enclosing and originally containing the spring.

In the excavations in the Sacred Spring in 1979, quantities of Mesolithic stone flakes were discovered. A large assemblage of similar material, but more extensive and better preserved, came to light in and under the Roman layers at Bath Street, representing a substantial Mesolithic presence along the gravel ridge between the King's and Cross Baths.

Medieval (Fig.2)

To our great surprise an undisturbed strip of stratified deposit stretching from Roman times up until the 13th century survived cellaring. This provided us with

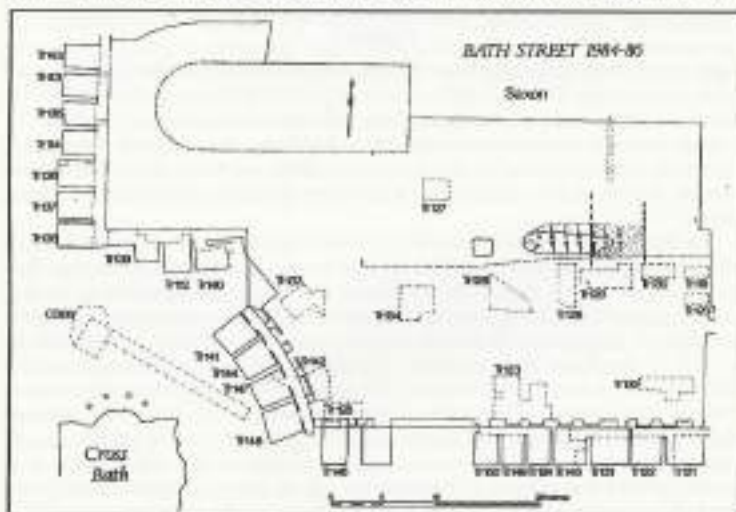


Figure 2

Post-Roman and Pre-Norman remains only survived in the central strip of stratified deposits.

unexpected information on the development of the Saxon and medieval topography.

The latest deposits on the site as a whole, excluding the foundations and floors of the 18th and 19th century buildings, were of 13th century date, comprising pits cut through the earlier layers, and into the natural surface. Only one of these pits occurred in the section of deep deposits, and was fairly shallow. Since this area coincided with a road the absence of pits is not surprising, but does indicate either a well-developed social conscience, or a strong civic authority!

Pit digging seems to have been most common during the currency of Saxon-Norman cooking pots, broadly 1050-1200. The pits, many of them waterlogged in the lower levels, contained evidence of leatherworking, woodworking and the making of horn objects. A potsherd from this area seems to exhibit evidence of dye-boiling, an early expression of Bath's medieval dependence on the cloth trade (most strikingly brought to our attention by *Chaucer's Wife of Bath*).

The major structural feature of this period, sealing the section of deep stratigraphy, is a much repaired and re-surfaced metallised road, aligned east and west, obviously the precursor of White Hart Lane, which during the later middle ages, and until 1790, was the access from the King's Bath to the Cross Bath.

The road was cobbled with large limestone blocks, and was carefully cambered. Two of the metallings of this road, however, consisted almost entirely of iron oxide deposits. These have not yet been analysed, but they seem most likely to be iron panning deposits, dug up from valley bottom sites and brought in as a road metalling (*Stop Press. These iron deposits do appear now to be likely to be iron working debris.*).

Until 1790, White Hart Lane had a dog-leg south and then west again as it approached the Cross Bath. A substantial building at this point was represented by a short length of a well-built masonry wall, one metre wide, running north-south across the western limit of the road metalling. This would mark the eastern boundary of plot 6 (see below).

The road was not in existence before about 1050; it was probably laid out during the improvements after the relocation of the seat of the Bishop here in 1091, when there was clear and renewed interest in the thermal springs which it links.

Saxon

The road was laid over a one metre thick layer of what can only be described as 'urban peat'. This only survived to be studied in the narrow strip under White Hart Lane but could be seen to have extended at least another 5 or 6 metres to the north, and was at least 20 metres east-west. This appeared to be the result of prolonged dumping of organic rubbish.

On its upper surface several stone hearths were uncovered. Within it at intervals were several clay and small stone spreads, and two particularly well-defined horizons of charcoal and ash, strongly suggesting singularly aquid occupation of some kind. There was no clear dating evidence, although there was some reused Roman stonework, and we can only say that the dump would seem to date from the later Saxon period. Some late Saxon metalwork has been recovered, but none in undisturbed contexts.

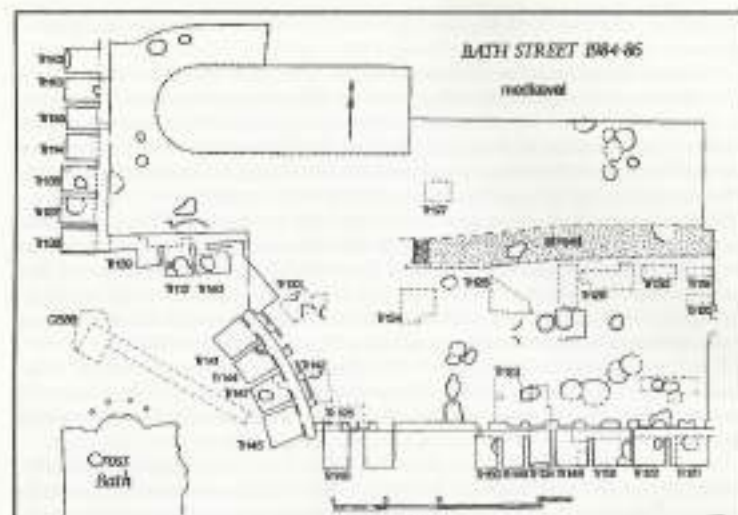


Figure 3

Outside the central stratified strip, only pit-bottoms survived later disturbance

At the east end the rubbish layer buried a clay bank, on the alignment of the later road. This bank survived to about three quarters of a metre high, and the rubbish had accumulated around it. Although it was disappearing under the muck and was being partly slighted in places, (for example one of the clay and stone occupation spreads was laid in a terrace cut into it) it was clearly important. It formed the line of our later road even though it was by then invisible, suggesting that it had a legal or customary significance. It may even be that it represents the pre-conquest northern limits of a large freehold property that appears otherwise to be traceable back to the 13th century (plot 7 see below). Certainly White Hart Lane gives the impression of threading its way around pre-existing properties.

The bank served another, perhaps primary, purpose: that of blocking an earlier north-south road. This road, seen as a short length of cobbling, and again further north in section, seems to be the Saxon continuation of Bilberry Lane, (1317, Bynnebury; 1641, Bimbery; 1886, Bimberry) running north-south from Lower Borough Walls to Westgate Street. It ran alongside the western boundary of the Temple Precinct, then standing about a metre high, and is the first confirmation of the Saxon street grid which had been predicted on the basis of topography, and analogy with other Saxon *burhs*.

It is obvious that at the time the road was laid out the Roman ruins were still substantial enough to dictate, to an extent, the layout of the Saxon town. But when did this planning take place? It would be reasonable, in the absence of close dating evidence to say that the street plan must have belonged to the period when the

burh was created, say 890. There is no reason why this should not be so, but it is worth bearing in mind that there had been a substantial monastic presence in Bath since the 8th and probably the 7th century, and that Offa clearly considered the place of some importance. It is also true that there was only about 30cm of 'dark earth' between the road and the Roman levels, whereas there was over a metre of dump and living surfaces between it and the road of c.1100. It could be earlier. Nonetheless, it was short-lived. There was no sign of repair or resurfacing.

It is not clear if the blocking bank respected the precinct wall, but the layers thereafter did not. The later east-west road, 'White Hart Lane' as it became, sailed over the stub of the wall and the site of the Temple, and, in this part of the city, marks the end of Roman influence on the later topography.

A layer of uninformative 'dark earth' separated the later remains from those of the Roman period. As well as blanketing the site (or that part where it survived), it also filled the robber trenches of the Temple portico.

Later and post-medieval

For the period after 1200 we are dependent on documentary evidence, and Jean Manco has been working on the history and topography of the site.

The present layout of the area between the King's Bath and the Cross Bath dates to the 'improvements' of 1789. Then, two narrow lanes, White Hart Lane and Union Passage, were swept away, with the buildings along and between them, and a new, spacious and elegant colonnaded street, the present Bath Street, was laid out, with quadrants of columns framing the newly rebuilt Cross Bath, and a similar arrangement in front of the New Private Baths at the King's Bath. All this redevelopment meant that the town Corporation were involved in much purchasing and exchanging of properties, and maps were drawn to show the existing and proposed state of affairs. These maps form the basis of a study of the deeds, which enable us to trace some of the properties back to the 13th century.

The excavated area covered properties owned by four corporate bodies: The City, King Edward's School, St. John's Hospital, and St. Mary Magdalen Hospital, all leased out to tenants; and a block of freehold properties, a rarity in the city (Fig. 3).

The freehold properties (plot 7) can be traced back to deeds of the 13th century when they were held by Dunstan son of Andrew the clerk.

References to ovens and stalls indicate commercial activity, and one part of the property became the Punchbowl Inn.

North of White Hart Lane is the large property owned by King Edward's School from 1552 but previously a priory holding (plot 4). In 1503 this is held by Thomas Chapman, running an inn, 'le Herte'. The Hart prospered, and extra properties were leased from 1625 onwards until in 1790, it covered most of the southern half of the 'insula' north of Bath Street and south of Westgate Street. Indeed the latter part of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, saw the apogee of the White Hart's success as a coaching inn, under Moses and Eleazer Pickwick, immortalised by Dickens.

The western part of the site has a history beginning in the 13th century when plot 1 was in the tenure of one Nicholas Lavender, but our first clear indication

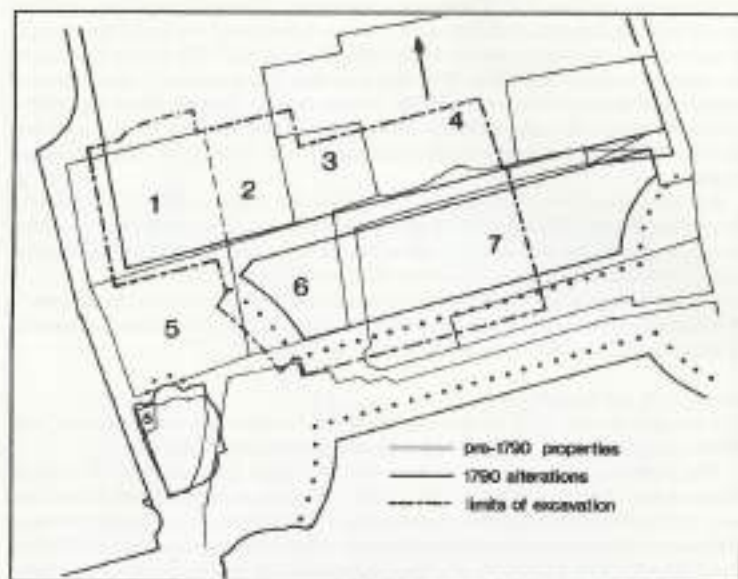


Figure 4

The excavation in relation to ancient and modern property boundaries and streets. Now, are medical properties mentioned in the text.

1. Priory; 2. St. John's Hospital; 3. St. Mary Magdalen Hospital; 4. Priory; 5. Private/Priory/St. John's; 6. St. John's; 7. Freehold.

is that it was occupied by large houses and gardens in the 17th century. These were mostly lodgings for visitors to the town anxious to benefit from the newly fashionable waters of the Cross Bath, plot 5 having its own private changing room for its visitors. Figure 4 shows this lodging in 1694.

Plot 3 was occupied by the 'Lantern House' so-called for its many and large windows. This was seemingly a grand Elizabethan lodging house in ruins by 1805 and taken over for stables by the Pickwicks.

The White Hart prospered as a coaching inn and between 1790 and 1830 took up leases on plots 2 and 3 and part of 7. The railways gave it a fatal blow and it was demolished, after standing idle some years, in 1867. Its site became that of the Grand Pump Room Hotel and the connected New Private Baths in 1869. In the 1880s and 1890s, the Grand Pump Room Hotel took over the houses on the north side of Bath Street, which later became the Spa Treatment Centre. Plot 1 had been developed as housing in 1807-10, but this too was swallowed up by the Treatment Centre at this time. Plot 5 had disappeared for road improvements in 1790. The Hotel was replaced by the present flats and shops of Arlington House in 1960, and more shops and offices are now being erected on the site of the Treatment Centre.

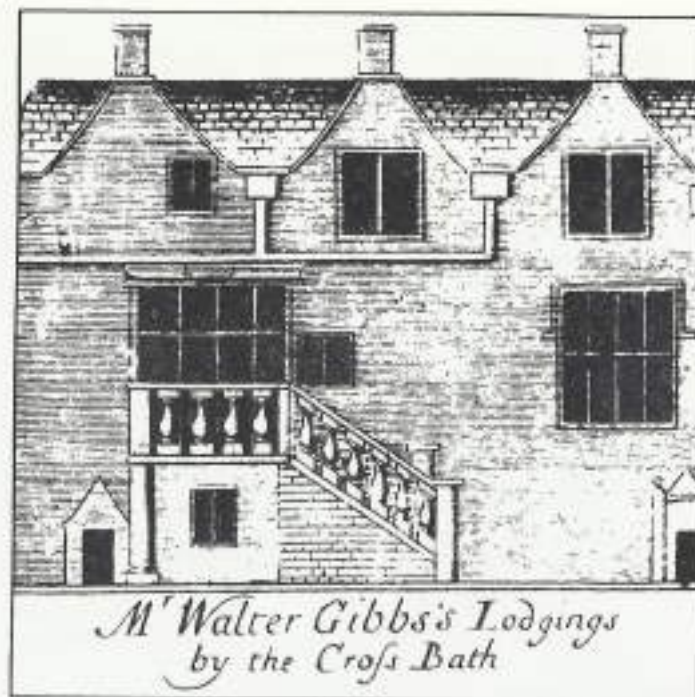


Figure 5

The house on Plot 5 in 1654

MORE THAN AN INTEREST IN SCIENCE

The Worsley Story

Raymond Holland

The Worsley Library, The University of Bristol Chemistry Department Library, is known to many. Some will have used the library and a few have perhaps noticed the commemorative plaque to Philip and Anna Worsley. But how many know the story of Philip John Worsley, a man of many parts, with more than an interest in Science?

Early Education

Philip Worsley was born in London on 29th October 1834. He lived there during his school and college days. He entered the Junior School of University College, Gower Street, in September 1843. In speaking of his schooldays, he said that he was not successful because he seldom kept his mind continuously on his work. Classics did not come easily to him and he had the greatest difficulty in learning by heart; but he was interested in Chemistry.

His taste for science showed itself when he was quite young and he was encouraged by his grandfather, John Taylor FRS and his uncles, who were mining engineers. Worsley wrote in his Recollections:

"In 1845, Uncle John Taylor gave me a large white glass stoppered bottle, sugar of lead, some distilled water and a lump of zinc to make a 'Lead Tree'. Later he gave me a Chemistry Set and I was helped by Faraday's 'Chemical Manufacture', from my grandfather's library."

(The thought of a boy of 11 reading, and being helped by, such a book makes my mind boggle.)

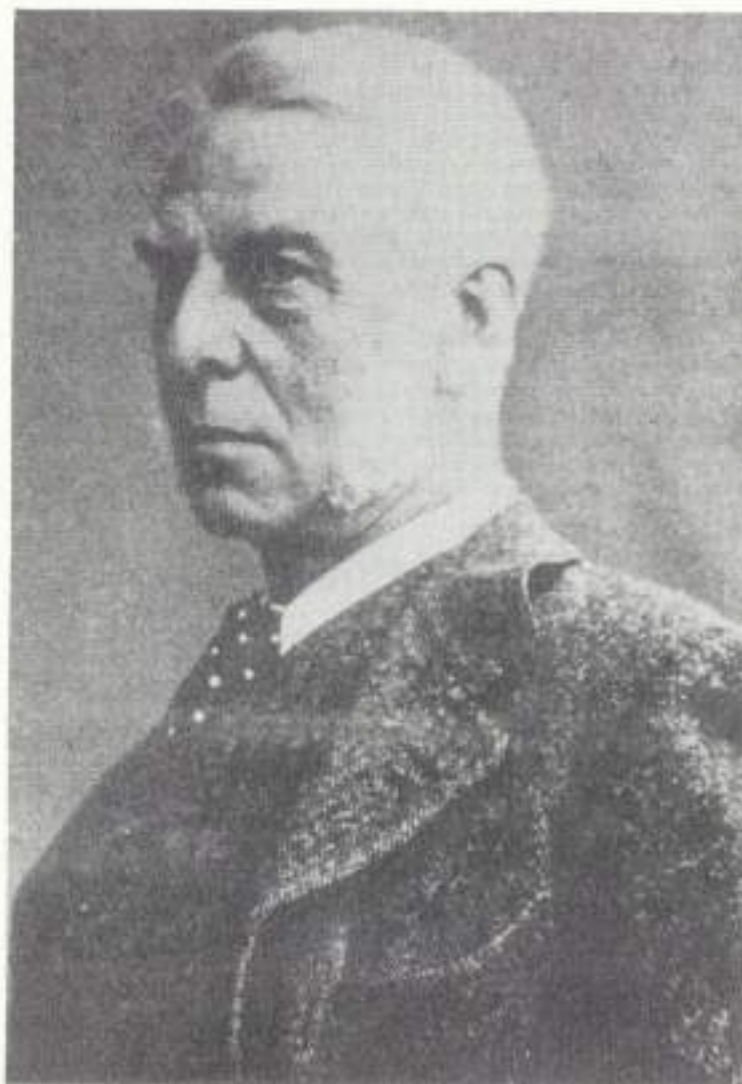
In 1850, while he was on holiday with his cousin James Pring at Uphill, Weston super Mare, he received a letter from his father pointing out the lesson to be learned from failure:

"That success in any pursuit can only be obtained by needful exertion and, in general, the more worthy of our efforts any object is, the more necessary is it that they should be persevering and sustained."

Failure or no, he entered University College in September 1850 to be taught Chemistry by Thomas Graham. At University he was no failure, for in October 1853 he graduated with 1st Class honours. He obviously remembered his father's letter for he recorded:

"I felt how great an escape I had from the disgrace of being 'plucked' and of bringing sorrow upon my father and mother. I had found out how to work and felt that I had some strength in me, a very new experience."

In 1853 he went with his uncle, Richard Taylor, on a visit to lead mines at Pontgibaud in the Auvergne, where he was given the run of the Works. From Pontgibaud he went by coach to Marseilles – the railway was not opened beyond



Philip John Worsley, 1834-1917

The photograph was probably taken to mark his retirement in 1901.

Lyons. Here he stayed with his great-uncle, Philip Taylor, who had an engineering works which became one of the ship-building yards of the French Navy.

His next experience was in Germany, where he went to be educated as a mining engineer at the Bergakademie, the Royal School of Mines at Freiberg. On the way he passed through Heidelberg and was taken by his friend Henry Roscoe, afterwards Sir Henry Roscoe, to see Bunsen's laboratory. Before attending lectures at the Bergakademie, the students had to take a practical course either in the mines or the smelting works. Worsley chose the latter.

On his return from Germany in 1854, he took a course of practical chemistry in the Birkbeck Laboratory at University College, London, under Professor Alexander Williamson and Assistant Professor Henry Watts, author of the well-known *Dictionary of Chemistry*.

Employment

His first employment came in 1855 when he was sent to Ireland to assist Dr. Adolf Gurlt, a former Freiberg student, in working a new process for extracting copper from poor ores for the Wicklow Copper Company. This only lasted for a month or so, his first regular work being at Upper Ordnance Wharf, Rotherhithe, where he started a works for Messrs. H.J. Enthoven and Sons, for the separation of silver from lead. He supervised the erection of the plant and constructed subsidiary furnaces from his own plans, all this at an annual salary of £120 with lodgings free on the premises.

While he was at Rotherhithe, he joined the Chemical Society and was elected a Fellow on the 4th February 1858. He also joined the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In the Autumn of 1856 his grandfather, who was an original member and Treasurer of the British Association from 1832-62, took him to their meeting in Cheltenham and made him an Associate. His friends, who were members of the Chemical Society, put him upon the Committee of Section B, the Chemical Section. He was elected to full membership of the British Association in 1864 and became a Life Member.

In Autumn 1858, Worsley and his friend, George Carey Foster, went together to the meeting at Leeds, where they met the set of young chemists, whom he had seen working in Bunsen's Laboratory at Heidelberg in 1854. They did not appreciate the social evenings of the Association but met in each others' rooms and formed what they called Sub-Section B. These meetings were full of fun and interest and other friends besides the original members asked to be allowed to join them.

Inspired by the success of Sub-Section B meetings, twenty or so, including Frederick Abel and Bloxam, students of Hoffmann, Bauermann and others from the School of Mines, instituted a series of suppers at the Cheshire Cheese, a tavern off Fleet Street. Worsley said:

"It was a quiet old house, celebrated for its beefsteak puddings and stewed cheese served upon pewter. These, and London Stout, were our regular menu and suited the light purses of the members."

This led to much the same set becoming original members of the New Club, later the Saville Club in Saville Row, which moved again to 107 Piccadilly.

At the end of 1860, through his father's good friend Henry Palmer, came the

offer of a position as Manager of the largest Bristol Alkali Works at Netham, where he started on £300 for a three months trial on the 1st March 1861. As soon as his permanent appointment was confirmed at the Netham Works and he was receiving £500 per annum, he lost no time in getting married.

After his 'Wedding Journey' (he didn't use the word *Honeymoon* though Edmund K. Muspratt, who was married earlier that year did!) through the Yorkshire dales, ending up, believe it or not, in Newcastle upon Tyne, *"the seat of my new industry"*, he made his first home in a cottage at Brislington. This was on the opposite side of the river to the Works and so he had to cross the river by the St. Anne's Ferry. The Brislington Bridge was not built until 1890, when Messrs. Sinnott, Marden and Harris wanted to open up their Brislington estate. It was constructed by John Lysaght Ltd. The present New Bridge was not built until about 1936.

In 1871, Worsley was given a place on the Netham Works Board in appreciation of his management. Despite his promotion he was worried he might lose everything and he wrote:

"Although for the first ten or fifteen years the business was successful as regards profit, I felt like a toad under a harrow as regarded the permanency and security of its future."

What a wonderful turn of phrase!

On the 22nd October 1890, the Netham Chemical Co. Ltd. was merged into the United Alkali Company Limited and P.J. Worsley became a Director. He retired in 1901 and died in 1917. The main processes at Netham were the chamber process making sulphuric acid (vitriol) and the classic Leblanc process. (See the *Netham Chemical Company Limited*, Raymond Holland, *Acron Post* No.9, Autumn 1963.) On the 1st January 1927, the United Alkali Co. Ltd. was one of the four founder firms of Imperial Chemical Industries Limited. The Netham Works then became part of ICI and was finally closed down in 1949.

The Society of Chemical Industry

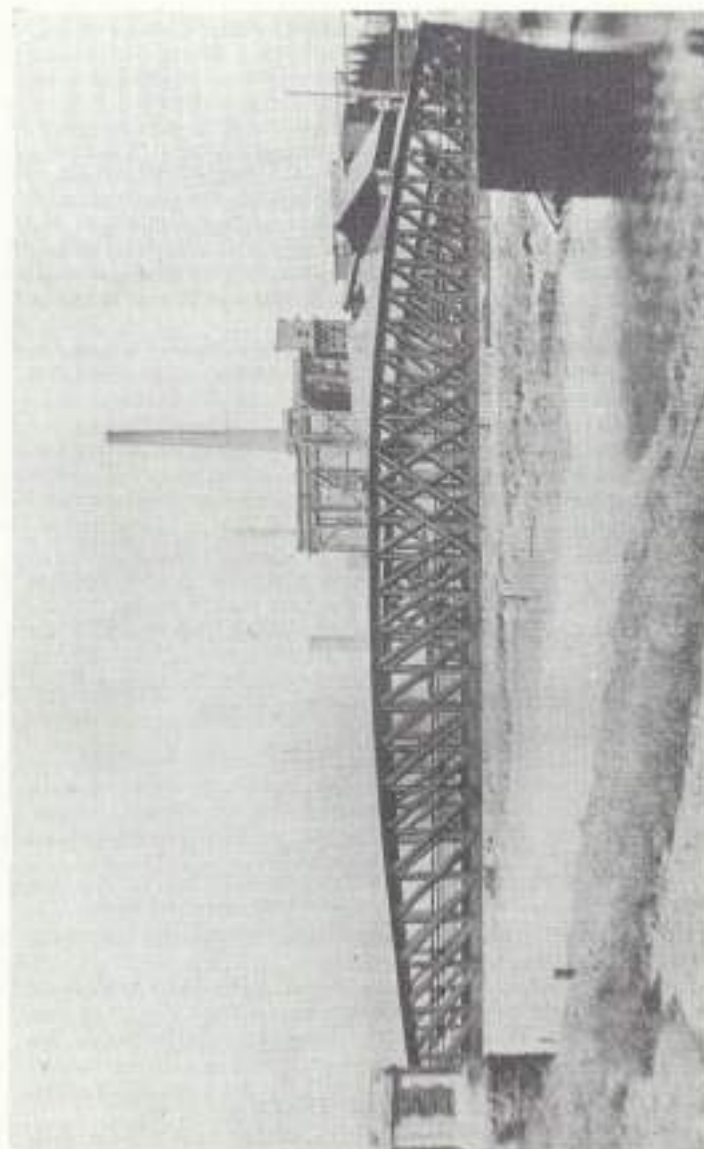
In addition to his membership of the Chemical Society and the British Association, Worsley was an original member of the Society of Chemical Industry and a founder Committee Member in 1881. He became an Ordinary Member of Council and then Vice-President. This was not surprising for one of his friends was Henry Roscoe FRS, who became the Society's first President.

A 'Bristol and South Wales Section' of the SCI was formed in 1917 but there had been an earlier 'Bristol and South Wales Section' in 1885, active only for one year, with Professor William Ramsay as Chairman and Worsley as Vice-Chairman!

The Great Western Cotton Company

Philip John Worsley had another business interest and that was in the Great Western Cotton Company, which was a Works near to the Alkali Works, just along the Feeder Canal. (The Comet Discount Warehouse now occupies the site.) The Cotton Works was started in 1793 but closed down around 1803. It was reopened to resume the manufacture of cotton cloth in 1837. By 1885 it was in difficulties, a struggling concern and in imminent danger of closing again.

Worsley became a Director of a new company with some 2,000 hands of whom some 1,800 were women. Business was very uncertain and his father advised



Bristolington Bridge 1880, erected by John Leywright Ltd.

caution, for only the Managing Director, W. George Spofford, had any practical knowledge of cotton manufacture. It did survive and Worsley was Chairman from 1903 until 1906 when he resigned. In his *Recollections* written around 1910 he wrote:

"During my chairmanship, we were able to make important renewals of machinery and since that time it has done fairly well."

It did eventually close and the site was cleared for redevelopment.

Religion and Lewins Mead Chapel

University College, London, attended by Worsley, was the 'Godless Institution in Gower Street', for he was by religion a Unitarian and so could not have gone to Oxford or Cambridge, where he would have been required to sign his belief in the 39 Articles of the Church of England before receiving a degree. When he came to live in Bristol he and his family went to the Lewins Mead Chapel. When they lived in Clifton, he said that *"they walked home to Clifton by way of the Christmas Steps."* He was, in fact, as the old fashioned style runs, the 'Treasurer of The Congregation of Protestant Dissenters meeting at Lewins Mead' from 1866 to 1868 and again from 1876 to 1880. His Grandfather had held the same office sixty years before in 1806. Just imagine these gentlemen carrying out their duties:

"The Chapel Committee met in the Minister's Vestry at 8 o'clock on the first Tuesday of the month, the Treasurer being expected to pour tea!"

By the 1860s, Clifton and Durdham Down had become a popular residential area and a proposal was made to have a Unitarian Chapel near Clifton, but it was to be a church, not a chapel, with a new congregation. Worsley described this proposal as a schism. However, in November 1864, Oakfield Road Church opened. Those, including Worsley, who liked the old ways, stayed at Lewins Mead Chapel but around 1896, even he started attending Oakfield Road!

Clifton College was founded in 1860 and opened on the 30th September 1863 as a school for the sons of gentlemen in the principles of the Church of England, with Dr. Percival as the Headmaster. By March 1878, Dr. Percival had proposed that the school should be freed of its exclusive character and established in the liberal basis of public schools. So a Conscience Clause was included, which allowed parents to withdraw their sons from religious teaching and religious observances.

Worsley sent his two sons to Clifton College and took advantage of this clause by absenting them from Morning Service to attend Lewins Mead Chapel but he really had a 'nob each way', for he wrote:

"I never objected to their attending the afternoon service at the College. I considered that the importance of the principles in which your Mother and I had brought them up was fully maintained in their minds, by their going with us to our own chapel Sunday Morning Service."

Public and Civic Duties

One of his first public duties concerned the Red Lodge, now the home of the Bristol Savages, meeting in their Wigwag, which was at one time a Reformatory School for Girls. It was established by the liberality of Lady Byron and run by Miss Mary Carpenter, supported by her sister, Mrs. Herbert Thomas and her brother-in-law W. Herbert Thomas, who was on the Management Committee.

Around 1864, when he had moved from Brislington to 1 Codrington Place, Clifton, Worsley was asked to join the Management Committee but he wrote:

"It soon became clear that I was not expected to take any part in the management or to know anything of the finances, but only to assent to any such proposals as she made to us."

Miss Carpenter was very authoritarian and it is obvious that Worsley did not like being a 'yes man', so he resigned. However, when Miss Carpenter died on the 15th June 1877, she still had the last word, for she left him as one of the three Trustees for the School! By 1897 he had become the senior Managing Trustee and he only 'escaped' in 1899 by appointing a paid Secretary!

Another public duty was as an elected member of the committee of the Bristol Museum and Library Society, from 1873 to 1892.

Then there was his civic duty. In 1887 he was placed upon the Commission of the Peace for the City and County of Bristol. He had declined this honourable duty some eight to ten years earlier, as he had too many claims on his time, but by 1887 he had handed over part of his Netham duties and so was able to take on more public work. So he was appointed a Magistrate in June 1887 and was sworn in before the Chief Magistrate, the Mayor, on the 16th September 1887.

Politics

In politics he was a Liberal. From 1861 he declared his allegiance to the Liberal Party in Bristol and regularly attended the Anchor Society Dinner. This was held on the 13th November each year, to commemorate the charitable gifts of Edward Colston and to collect subscriptions for charitable purposes. It was an opportunity for the Liberals to rally and support their party politics. In 1876, Philip John Worsley was elected President of the Anchor Society for the ensuing year. The Liberals had just built the Colston Hall and so the dinner was held in the new hall. The Dinner was a great success, the guest speaker being the Marquis of Hartington, later to become the Duke of Devonshire.

Worsley was politically active from the General Election held in November 1869, when he was Chairman of the Liberal Party Branch Committee at Barton Hill, until after the Election of April 1880. His *Recollections* give a fascinating description of Elections at that time: voting lists (the Ballot Act was not achieved until 1872), canvassing, bribery, corruption, petitions and unsittings. He wrote:

"When there had been an unsitting there were bad feelings between the Liberal and Conservative parties, which made problems - one could hardly invite men of opposite camps to dine together!"

Education

Worsley had a great interest in Education and took part in a number of ways. In a letter to his mother dated 28th November 1869, he wrote:

"I have begun to visit a newly opened British School, close to the Russell Town Congregational Chapel, which the Netham Chemical Co. Ltd. helped to build. I hope to be able to keep up a supervision of it. Mr. Herbert Thomas is busy with the carrying out of the Endowed Schools Act as concerns Bristol Grammar School and Queen Elizabeth's Hospital. With the certainty of some National System coming in a year or two, there is work cut out."

The Education Act of 1870 led, in 1871, to the Bristol School Board being set up under the Chairmanship of Lewis Fry. The Netham Works was in the Parish of St. George and when the St. George School Board was formed in 1874, Worsley became its Chairman. He set about providing a new school in the Easton District, an Infant School near the Summerhill School and a Boys' School in a disused Chapel in Lygpiatt Street. An Attendance Officer was appointed who achieved a 50% improvement in attendance between January and December 1875! Worsley remained Chairman until he retired in 1880, characteristically making sure that his policies would be maintained by the new Chairman.

The Reverend John Percival, the Headmaster of Clifton College, later to become Bishop of Hereford, was outspoken on behalf of the creation of a University in Bristol. In 1873 he wrote a pamphlet, *The Connection of the Universities and the Great Towns*. This met with a response from the Master of Balliol, Benjamin Jowett. An Oxford student broadsheet of 1881 wrote of him:

*First come I. My name is Jowett,
There's no knowledge but I know it.
I am the Master of this College,
What I don't know isn't knowledge.*

A meeting was held in the Victoria Rooms on the 11th June 1874, when Percival and Jowett argued that Bristol needed the prestige of its own University. Worsley's friend, Henry Roscoe, was also at that meeting and spoke in favour of a Bristol University.

From that date, Worsley became a member of the original committee to establish University College, Bristol, which opened its doors in Park Row in October 1876. He was later to become its Vice-Chairman. Worsley wrote:

"In 1890 I was nominated by Sir George Jessel, Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, as the representative of that University upon the Council of University College Bristol. University College became one of my chief interests. In 1909 I was made an original Member of Court."

In fact, as a subscriber of £1,000 and upwards to University College Bristol AND as a subscriber of £1,000 and upwards to the University of Bristol, he became a Life Member of Court twice over!

Worsley and Charles Thomas were the only two survivors of the original committee to see the founding of the University of Bristol on the 17th May 1909.

Worsley was involved in yet another level of Education in Bristol. In 1891 he became a trustee of the Trust for the Bristol Municipal Charities and Endowed Schools. This he described as "One of the most honoured public functions in Bristol." Herbert Thomas was the Trust's Chairman from 1875 until his death on the 1st September 1903. He was succeeded by Worsley as Chairman from the 1st January 1904.

Herbert Thomas had been a very authoritarian Chairman but Worsley restarted the Management of the various schools through Committees and was himself elected Chairman of the Bristol Grammar School Committee. In 1906 he had the difficult job of pensioning off Mr. Leighton, the Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School for twenty-five years, but he was also responsible for the

appointment of Mr. W. Cyril Norwood, who raised the school to new heights of educational success.

Worsley endowed a number of prizes. In June 1904 he gave the Chairman's Science Prize, £5 per year. In June 1911 he gave £300 to be invested in Bristol Corporation 3½% Perpetual Debenture Stock, the income to provide two prizes, the Worsley Prize for Latin and the Worsley Prize for Physics. The Bristol Grammar School Prize List for 1908/09 shows that these two prizes are still presented.

He wished to resign in 1907 from the Chairmanship of the Municipal Charities Trust, he wrote that *"all the public work was taxing my strength"*, but his resignation was not accepted! Eventually, a compromise was reached, whereby Mr. Fenwick Richards became Chairman of the Trust, while Worsley remained Chairman of the Governors of Bristol Grammar School for another five years, until 1912.

Other Interests

Worsley had a great interest in his family history and must have spent a lot of time over the years producing his family tree. The tree, derived from the parents of John Taylor FRS, his grandfather, which is in the University of Bristol Special Collection, is like a roll of wallpaper!

However, he said that *"gardening was my chief hobby."* From childhood his parents had taught him to respect plants and flowers. Both his first home in 1861, The Cottage at Brislington and after 1864 his second home at 1 Codrington Place, Clifton, had gardens, but he said, *"I had little time."* In 1877, when he moved to Rodney Lodge he had nearly an acre, with fields and gardens adjoining it. He described it as *"Our own oasis in Clifton."* Rodney Lodge is now part of the University, the home of the School for Advanced Urban Studies.

At Shows, Worsley made the acquaintance of growers and amateur florists. In 1881 he met W. Henry Wilson of Halifax, William Windus's father-in-law, an authority on auriculae, and in 1883 he met the Reverend F.D. Horner who was, by general consent, the *facile princeps* of the auricula world. He lived at Kirby Malzeard near Ripon, Yorkshire. Following their advice, Worsley attempted to grow new varieties of these *"jewel like flowers"* but he recorded:

"Nothing specially fine was produced. The climate of Clifton did not suit the plants, which prefer a colder alpine situation."

He had more success with daffodils. Soon after he moved to Rodney Lodge he purchased a piece of land in Manilla Road, which adjoined his garden, to provide more room for flower growing.

He engaged in an animated correspondence with another gardening cleric, the Reverend G.H. Engleheart of Appleshaw, near Andover, Hants, which he had bound into a thickish volume to form a valuable treatise on daffodil hybridisation. Unfortunately for Worsley, Engleheart turned professional and Worsley said, *"After this, discussion of methods and results became difficult!"* Worsley raised new varieties of daffodils of which he said:

"They were very ornamental to the garden and the house, a subject of interest to all the family and many friends. Some of the best have been exhibited with success and are a credit to their raiser."



Rodney Lodge, now part of the University of Bristol's School for Advanced Urban Studies

Conclusion

Worsley died on the 7th March 1917, in his 83rd year. An extract from his obituary makes a fitting conclusion:

'As a young man, Worsley's strong inclination was towards pure science. He imagined that he would always be able to keep up his interest in chemistry, and that he might in his leisure find time to make investigations which would establish him as the equal of the men of science who were his friends. However, instead of working in a private laboratory, he gave his scanty leisure to the cause of education and philanthropy.

From the Chairmanship of the St. George School Board to the Vice-Chairmanship of the University College, afterwards the University of Bristol, he helped forward every grade of education in the city.

As a Liberal in politics and a Unitarian in religion, he took an active part in public life.

His chief recreation in later years was gardening and one of his greatest pleasures was the success he obtained in producing new varieties of daffodils by hybridisation.

As a memorial of his great work in connection with the University of Bristol and his interest in the Chemical Department, the Chemistry Library was dedicated; The Worsley Library.'

Philip John Worsley made a great contribution at the Netham Chemical Company Limited and he was a leader in the Chemical Industry, but his public and civil duties, together with his other interests, demonstrate that he had more, much more, than an interest in Science.

A LOCAL MYSTERY SOLVED

Jane and Margaret Baker

Francis Danby 1793-1861

Francis Danby's obituary described him as one of 'England's most distinguished painters of the Romantic School' and he is known nationally as a painter of poetical landscapes. Born near Wexford, Ireland, he spent the years between 1813 and 1824 in and around Bristol and it is for his early landscapes and topographical works of this area that he is best known locally.

The authors of this article were privileged to solve a local mystery and make a contribution to art history with the aid of their family history research, some strange coincidences, hard work and a little serendipity.

It was the local artist Francis Danby (originally from Ireland) who started it all and indeed his shade seemed to hover over our work, almost a palpable presence and asking us the teasing question, "Can you find me?", also the title of a book that turned out to have some significance.

Margaret Baker's childhood home held a painting of a farmyard scene by one 'Danby'. Margaret's maiden name was Danby. Was the picture an old family heirloom handed down? Was there a family relationship to Francis Danby? This was the first in a string of coincidences that lay on our path.

The authoritative work on Francis Danby is Eric Adams' *Francis Danby, Varieties of Poetic Landscape* (1973) but even this book revealed that five years of Danby's life from 1812 to 1817 were a blank where he disappeared from history as if spirited away. We have Danby's own rather unreliable words to give some indication of what he was doing in that time. He went down to Somerset, he says, to paint the local red faced farmers and drink cider. Here he met a barefoot serving wench, who would not give in to his blandishments till he married her. So he persuaded an 'out at elbows' companion to accompany him to Bristol where the necessary offices were performed.

As usual with Danby, the above account is broadly true but also misleading in specific details, something Danby seemed to delight in when dealing with potential biographers. Danby also spoke of his estranged wife in rather derogatory fashion and his biographers have rather taken her at Danby's own rather chauvinistic word. No portraits survive of her, she could not read or write, and until recently even her identity was unknown. So Danby's own image of himself as a lug-ridden genius kept back by an ignorant wife has stood unchallenged.

It should be noted that Hannah Danby had the gumption to resist seduction and achieve the married state, did learn to read and write, and was sufficiently attractive after the breakdown of her marriage to gain the attentions of Danby's pupil thirteen years her junior, another Bristol artist, Paul Falconer Poole. He remained faithful to her and married her in 1864¹ after Danby's death when Hannah was aged seventy years to Poole's fifty-seven.

Discovering the truth about Danby's missing years hinged on finding the 'secret' marriage that had proved so elusive to generations of Danby's biogra-

phers. An uncanny chain of coincidences led the present writer to need to search through the parish registers of Winscombe in Somerset, which are at Somerset Record Office. There, to my amazement, I found Francis Danby's marriage. Obviously over the years many eyes had passed over this marriage entry, none before knowing what to look for. It was a unique thrill to make a historical discovery.

All the facts about Danby fell into place. When he and his companion returned to Bristol from London, having failed to make their fortune, they lodged at rooms above a baker's shop. The baker's name, we are told, was Fry and his wife came to collect the rent and invited the young artists down to Somerset to stay with relatives where they could earn their money painting local scenes and portraits. Danby accepted the offer and while in Somerset met the servant girl Hannah Hardidge and married her at Winscombe.

The Bristol baker was William Fry of the Winscombe Fry family and his energetic wife was Joyce (née Stabbins from Worle). Their daughters were baptised at Winscombe between 1806 and 1811. William Fry was a cousin to Peter Fry of Compton House, Compton Bishop. Peter Fry and his wife Joanna belonged to the minor gentry of the county, honest Somerset squires who could trace their ancestry back in the parish for centuries. The book *Can You Find Me?* was the story of his ancestors by the playwright Christopher Fry of Compton House. It was this Peter Fry who was Danby's patron during the time he was in Somerset, so he should have some credit for nurturing this artistic soul and thus making possible Danby's later career in Bristol and elsewhere.

While working for Fry, Francis Danby met the "little barefooted servant wench" he wrote about. She may have worked as a servant maid at Compton House, as the back of the Compton Bishop parish register has a fascinating section recording the indentures of young girls taken on at Compton House to work as servants, including at least two Hardidges, but not Hannah.

Francis and Hannah were married at Winscombe on the 4th July 1814⁴; after a perfectly respectable interval of thirteen months, their first son Francis James was baptised at Compton Bishop on the 13th August 1815⁵ thus giving the lie to Danby's later malicious accusation that he only married Hannah when she was heavily pregnant, a statement curiously at odds with his other that Hannah would not succumb to his blandishments till the marriage had been performed.

In 1817, on the 27th April⁶, Francis and Hannah's second son James (Francis) was baptised at Compton Bishop but later that year Danby is first found listed at a Kingsdown address in Bristol. He quickly became accepted by the literary and artistic coterie of Bristol showing that his Somerset apprenticeship had been worthwhile.

Books of Reference

- Eric Adams: *Francis Danby Varieties of Poetic Landscape* Yale University Press 1978.
Francis Greenacre: *Francis Danby 1793-1861* City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery 1988.
Journal of the Bristol & Avon Family History Society:
No.54, Dec. 1988. Jane and Margaret Baker: *Francis Danby 1812-1817 The Missing Years*.
No.55, March 1989. Norman Davies: *The Fry Connection*.

References

1. Letter from Francis Danby to John Gibbons, 29th February 1836.
2. Newchurch, Isle of Wight, 4th February 1884.
3. *Journal of the Bristol & Avon Family History Society*.
Norman Davies *The Fry Connection*. William Fry married Joyce Stabbins at Worle on the 29th April 1803. William Fry died in May 1817 and is buried in Temple, Bristol. Joyce Fry was later remarried to Anthony Stabbins.
A set of Fry family charts showing all the relationships is held by Bristol Record Office, Reference Information Box 27, Document 20.
4. Winscombe Parish Register Marriages D/P Winc 2/1/6. Somerset Record Office.
5. Compton Bishop Parish register Baptisms D/P com. b. 2/1/4. Somerset Record Office.

Footnote

Thanks to Miss Gwen Hardidge of Wokingham, Berks, a descendant of William, brother to Hannah Hardidge, we have learned that the correct marriage for their parents James and Ann is that of James Hardwich of Compton Bishop and Ann Thomas of Cheddar, 5th January 1782. This has very interesting implications for us, the authors of this article, as our ancestor, George Hancock, married Mary Thomas of Congresbury on the 1st April 1777. Could Mary and Ann have been sisters? Yet another example of the mysterious conundrums Francis Danby presents us with and how he always manages to implicate himself in our research.

THE ROYAL PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY COLLECTION

Pam Roberts

Curator, Royal Photographic Society, 1989

The Royal Photographic Society was founded in 1853 (initially as The Photographic Society) because of the interest engendered in photography by both the 1851 Great Exhibition and the Society of Arts photographic exhibition of over 700 prints held in December 1852. It was felt by photographers like Roger Fenton, Peter Fry and Dr. Hugh Diamond that there were enough interested parties to form a separate organisation, rather than operate as an offshoot of the Society of Arts and the first meeting, held in January 1853, proved them right. By the end of that year, the Society had a membership of 370 under the Presidency of Sir Charles Eastlake and the Secretaryship of Roger Fenton, and had secured Queen Victoria and Prince Albert as patrons. It was Albert who first mooted the idea that the Society should collect examples of photography and he appears to have started the ball rolling with a gift of 50 of his own photographs. Whether these were from his own collection or were actually produced by himself is unknown as the photographs have not survived.

During the next 70 years, various attempts were made to collect examples of outstanding photography, but, by 1924, only 100 framed prints had been accrued. In the first four decades of its existence, the Society changed homes and personnel many times and no coherent acquisitions policy was formulated. All this changed in 1924 when J. Dudley Johnston, a previous President and noted pictorial photographer, was appointed Curator with a mission to collect examples of the milestones in photography over the past century and, to add to this, outstanding work of the present and the future.

During Johnston's Curatorship, many of the Society's most important items, not only prints, but also equipment, books and periodicals were gathered in as Johnston worked tirelessly to build a collection. Three of the most important bodies of work came from Harold Holcroft, Frederick H. Evans and Alvin Langdon Coburn who presented the Society with their own work and their own private collections but, also, Johnston secured Talbot/Calvert Jones/Bridges material from Matilda Talbot at Lacock Abbey, Fenton, Cameron and Tripe material from descendants and work by H.P. Robinson from his son. With this last bequest, Johnston also gained three heliogravure plates by Nicéphore Niepce dating from 1827 and these are still the earliest items in this collection.

Johnston stamped his own personality and his own enthusiasms on the Collection, thus the emphasis of his acquisitions policy was placed very much on photographs which illustrated the history and progress of photography and those which showed photography to be a fine art. Pictorial photography was always his *raison d'être* so there is little documentary, technical, equipment or avant garde material and it is fair to say that the Collection's strengths are still along the lines which Johnston established.

In the last forty odd years since Johnston's death, the Collection has grown tremendously until it now numbers over 100,000 photographs from Daguerreotypes to holograms, taking in practically every photographic process ever invented. Its strengths are nineteenth century British photography, including the largest collections in the world of the work of Roger Fenton, Julia Margaret Cameron, O.G. Rejlander, B.B. Turner, Linnaeus Tripe, H.P. Robinson and Horace Nicholls; turn of the century Pictorialism, especially the British, European and American Secession movements with important collections of work by Alvin Langdon Coburn, Fred Holland Day, P.H. Emerson, Frederick H. Evans, Edward Steichen, Alfred Stieglitz, F.M. Sutcliffe and Clarence White; autochromes, several thousand dating from 1907-1914 and including work by Baron de Meyer, Coburn, Agnes and John Werburg, Adolf Paneth and that great unsung autochromist, Anonymous, and, following on from autochromes, examples of a variety of early colour processes.

Subjects covered include nineteenth century travel photography: India, with over 500 paper negatives and prints by Linnaeus Tripe and five albums by Samuel Bourne. Egypt, with six albums by Francis Frith and work by Maxime Du Camp and Claudius Galen Wheelhouse. Russia, an early album of salt prints and loose prints of Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad by Roger Fenton; Portraiture, work by Hill & Adamson, J.M. Cameron, Frederick Hollyer, Coburn and Robinson and a variety of other subjects including architecture, war, nature, medical, landscape, nudes, still life and Victorian countryside all contribute to the incredible richness of this Collection. The Society's largest collection, by one photographer, that of 11,500 negatives and prints by Horace Nicholls, covers topics as diverse as the Boer War, South African diamond mining and the Edwardian social life and sporting calendar.

It must be remembered that The Royal Photographic Society is a private organisation with no government funding. All income is raised from either the subscriptions of its 10,000 members or through sponsorship attained for specific projects. The Collection of 100,000 images, 6,000 items of equipment, 12,000 books, 10,000 bound periodicals and 2,000 documents has been largely acquired through donation with only about 1% of total holdings being bought. These purchases have been inspired, from an album of calotypes by Talbot and his circle bought in February, 1895 for 34 shillings to five Ansel Adams prints bought in the early seventies for \$75.00.

The Society relied upon donations, bequests and permanent loans to acquire its Collection as, until recently, money for an acquisition budget has not been available. The photographic climate has changed and photography is no longer the pursuit of those with private incomes and independent means. It is now a relevant way of making an income and photographers rightly expect to be paid for their efforts. Photography has proliferated and split into a vast number of branches - sport, fashion, industrial, portraiture, advertising, editorial, war etc., etc. and it is impossible for one organisation to collect a fraction of the work produced these days without a bottomless budget. The RPS Collection, so strong from 1830-1930, has later omissions which it is now too late to fill as the photographic sales have increased the prices of all photographs to the point where retrospective buying is not possible. Every RPS Curator has added important

items to the Collection started by Johnston and acquisitions have never totally stopped, but, in the absence of full time staff, a determined acquisition policy and, above all, money, they have faltered. In the last fifteen years or so, the RPS has acquired contemporary British and American work by Ansel Adams, Jerry Uelsmann, Larry Burrows, John Blakemore, Calum Colvin, Pradip Malda, Martin Parr, Mike Ware etc., and important nineteenth century material by Paul Martin, Felice Beato, Francis Frith, Lewis Carroll and William Notman as well as a plethora of albums and anonymous Daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, cartes-de-visite etc. Future acquisitions will include the work of young British photographers, RPS members and those whose work is exhibited at the RPS's National Centre of Photography but this does not preclude relevant material from photographers who do not fall into the above categories. Lacking the purchasing power of the major photographic museums, the RPS can still compete on the grounds of photographic excellence and, because of the often duplicated strengths of its own Collection, hopes to be able to practise an exchange system with European and American galleries whereby some twentieth century omissions can be rectified.

The removal of the Society's headquarters from London to Bath in 1979/80, allowed more space to be made available to the Collection as well as an improvement in archival and environmental conditions. Accessibility to and availability of the Collection have been vastly improved so that in the 1988/89 financial year, the Collection was able to deal with over 10,000 phone and letter enquiries, offer research facilities to over 400 researchers, produce numerous publications of its own in the form of books, posters, postcards, diaries, calendars etc. and provide material for a variety of other publishers, TV programmes and exhibition organisers. It researched, assembled and travelled three major exhibitions and loaned over 600 prints to other museums and galleries, being especially in demand during the 1989 150th anniversary of the invention of photography celebrations. All this was done with three full time staff.

The Royal Photographic Society at Milcom Street, Bath BA1 1DN (Tel: 0225 463841) is open seven days a week from 9.30 am to 5.30 pm (last admission 4.45 pm.)

The admission prices are:

Adults - £3.00; Concessionaires (Students and citizens over 65) - £1.75; Family ticket - £6.00 (Children under 16 admitted free with two paying adults); RPS Members & 1 guest, disabled & children under 7 years - Free.

An Annual Exhibition Pass entitles the holder to unlimited access to all the galleries and the museum for one year. Price £15.00 or £7.50 for concessionaires. There is a 10% price reduction for parties of 12 or more.

Excellent conference and entertainment facilities including a fully equipped lecture theatre and galleries are for hire.

The Schoolroom shows a variety of work of an educational nature. This year the programme will include work from various educational bodies. For dates and more details contact the Society.

For more details on membership contact the Membership Officer at the above address.

CALL YOURSELF AN HISTORIAN?

Brian Austin

During the last decade Records Offices have filled to overflowing with hopeful genealogists, causing problems to archivists and annoyance to serious researchers. At least that is what a number of them seem to suggest if you watch and listen.

It is high time, however, that all those fortunate enough to be involved in historical research of any kind realised that the genuine genealogist has as much to offer as anybody else and that there are in fact several levels of researchers in this subject who, under no circumstances, should be lumped together. In general terms I would suggest the following levels:

- Someone researching his Family Tree.
- Someone researching someone else's family tree for money.
- Someone involved in Genealogy - construction of Family Trees.
- Family Historians - research on all aspects of individuals.

After thirty years I would claim to be a Family Historian, but I certainly had to go through the other stages to get to that point. The British Educational system has not really provided a way to the last stage yet, and I am not enamoured of some of the organisations that claim to give people "qualifications" for large sums of money, so the only true way to Family History Research is by researching.

I believe that this explosion of interest has not yet been taken on board by many Archivists, as it is quite true to say that enthusiastic amateurs can be a pain to people who consider their work more important, but this is the major point. The majority of people I meet in my line are doing something that they enjoy a lot and should therefore be allowed to do it within reasonable bounds. But there are far too many people chasing into the County Records Offices without being made aware that they could examine the records they need at other venues. In our area the Avon Central Library has become an important depository for genealogical material, and the Mormon Library at Whitchurch allows access to a vast holding of information that could be of use to all forms of research.

It appears that I have become unusually well placed to see the join between the Family History and the Local History researcher through my work on Weston super Mare history and families (over 10,000 hours of actual research now). In my opinion it is actually not possible to understand the Local History of a place if you do not know about the people who lived there in detail, and that research takes an awfully long time.

Well yes, and so it should because that is what genuine research is all about - dedication and hard work. I have seen a number of books on my local history, all of which repeat old stories which can be corrected by knowing something of the families involved. Similarly, many people insist on researching a parish without looking at the adjoining parishes. The early landowners, for instance, would more often than not have holdings spread around the entire area, and if you do not know about them you are writing blind. It is the Family Historian who is most likely to pick up that kind of information.

The detailed study of local landed families will throw up interesting cross-connections that show why something was built or bought, and family history shows who was doing what to whom in best detail – an essential aspect of Victorian England. Those people lucky enough to be in a parish where the register starts in the 16th century are sitting on one of the most valuable aids they will find.

It is essential that all researchers realise that with the advent of modern technology, computer, microfiche, microfilm, etc., (most of which is in place because of genealogists) the researcher can at present work faster and over more detail than anyone has before. The Family Historian should be involved with Local Historians at every level helping to get a clearer picture and change the old canards into truths, and the only reason this is not so is that the one still does not want to associate with the other.

Every time somebody tidies up a bit of local history, he is making a small dent in National history (which is still full of ideological junk), and that should be of concern to all genuine historians everywhere.

One of the more important problems is that profiteers are jumping on the genealogical bandwagon and claiming the high ground. I cannot think of a single Genealogical Society that is specifically tied in to a Records Office or an allied general research society. Why are there no directories listing Local Historians (of repute), showing who is the known person for given parishes? Because there is no money in it. It is something that archivists should really be looking at now because it could save wear and tear on their offices. Also, in genealogical terms, so much work has been done that it should be affecting the work needing to be done, but the vast majority of research has vanished with the researcher. How silly!

A lot of my genealogical research has ended up in the Woodspring Library in index form, an idiosyncrasy of mine, where it saves a lot of people numberless hours of research and gives them clues to other areas.

BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY

Since the eleventh century Bristol has been one of the most important and populous of English towns, and for many centuries was second only to London in the volume of its trade and its importance as a manufacturing centre. Its varied industries and extensive network of communications made it 'the metropolis of the west', and the port played a crucial part in the discovery, exploration and settlement of the New World.

The medieval wealth of the port is reflected in the architecture of its numerous parish churches, and especially in the splendour of St. Mary Redcliffe; the eighteenth-century prosperity of the city and its widespread trading connections, including its involvement in the notorious traffic in slaves, is evident from the remarkable Georgian architecture and gentry houses of Clifton and the other suburbs. The documentary evidence for the long history of Bristol is remarkably full and varied, and Bristol Record Society was founded in 1929 to encourage the preservation, study and publication of documents relating to the history of the city and county of Bristol. Since then it has pursued an energetic policy of publication, and has so far produced forty-three volumes of historic documents. These are an indispensable aid to all those who are seriously interested in the study of any aspect of Bristol history, and form an invaluable and readily-available collection of source material.

Volumes already published include editions of Bristol charters which provide details of the growth of the town and the development of its government, documents relating to the trade and commerce of the port, the ships, their cargoes and destinations, including the traffic in slaves. Volumes of records with introductions have also been published on the government of the town, on the abbey, cathedral, churches and ecclesiastical history, and on legal records and social life in the city. All the volumes, together with their informative introductions, are produced by the freely-given work of scholars, each of whom is an expert in the chosen subject. The series represents by far the fullest and most authoritative printed source for the history of Bristol.

An edition of Bristol wills of the sixteenth century will be published shortly. Other volumes under preparation include a study of Bristol apprentices, the government of Bristol during the later nineteenth century and further records relating to the industries, church life, non-conformity and topography of the city.

In order to sustain and develop this ambitious programme of publication, it is essential for the Society to recruit new members, and all who are willing to support this important historical work are cordially invited to join. In return for the remarkably modest subscription, members receive the volumes of records as they are published, as well as ensuring the continuance of the publication programme.

The annual subscription for individual members is £5.00, and should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Bristol Record Society, History Department, University of Bristol, 13-15 Woodland Road, Bristol BS8 1TB. Cheques should be made payable to the 'Bristol Record Society'.

PUBLICATION REVIEWS

VILLAGES AT WAR

by Peter Wright

80pp. Peter Wright in association with Nailsea and District LHS, 1990
ISBN 0-9516257-0-5 (PW) & 0-9516258-0-2 (NDLHS). £3.99 (£4.20 by post)

Considered from a desk in Whitehall, the four villages of Backwell, Nailsea, Tickenham and Wraxall must have seemed remote indeed, far distant as they were from the high-risk zone in the south and east of the country facing the Continent. When designating "danger", "neutral" and "safe" areas, therefore, the government classified the villages as safe, and commenced a rapid evacuation of women and children from the capital. About five hundred had arrived before the end of September 1939, including two complete schools: North Hammermith Central and Wernington Road School from North Keneington.

The plan almost backfired, however, for the villages proved to be under the flight path to Bristol (initially a "neutral" area) and the aeroplane works at Filton. Such were the numbers of German bombers flying overhead on the 25th September 1940 that some villagers watching from their homes and fields were convinced that the enemy must already have conquered southern England. For two years air raids, high explosive and incendiary bombs, searchlights and anti-aircraft fire were part of normal life. Property was damaged, livestock was injured and killed, and one villager lost his life to a German bomb. Strangers were everywhere, and it is hard to tell who were the most perplexing: the Londoners with their unruly ways, the coloured American servicemen or the occasional enemy airmen retrieved from their crashed aircraft.

The four villages knew they were at war, and this booklet puts some of their experiences on the record whilst a few of those who lived through them are still around to tell the tale. It is attractively designed and printed and well illustrated, though I would have preferred the photographs, evocatively reproduced in sepia tones, to be a little larger. The product of extensive local interviews backed up by research at the Somerset County Record Office, it makes no claim to be a comprehensive account, and it is written in a note-taking style which satisfactorily conveys the sense of pooled memories but sometimes impedes the flow of narrative.

For those who were not present at the time, the details of the bombs and the complex school arrangements may pall, but there is much else here to enjoy. I especially liked the story of the night Bob Hobbs was injured whilst taking part in a Home Guard exercise on Morgans Hill. His platoon had dived to the ground for cover, whereupon Bob felt a blow to his chest and then realised that his tunic was wet, presumably with blood. His mates carried him through the dark - one can picture the sad procession - to the Ring of Bells pub, where they intended to summon medical help. Only in the light of the bar did it become apparent that the dampness was not blood but a fresh cow pat.

Grim times but, as the author says, tinged with happy memories.

Peter King

BOOKS RECEIVED

Bath History, Vol.3, 1990. Alan Sutton Publishing. £6.95

Tytherington in the past: some historical notes. A. Baddeley, 1990, £5.00 + 80p p&p. (Available from the Author, Hawking's, Tytherington, Wotton-under-Edge GL12 8QB.)

Bristol's Lost Empires. K. Barker. Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1990. £1.25.

Bristol and the Indian Independence Movement. R. Barot. Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1989. £1.25.

The Suppression of the Religious Houses in Bristol. J. Betney. Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1990. £1.50.

Mangotsfield Picture Post 3. Downend Local History Society. £4.90 inc. p&p. (Available from Colleen Miller, 16 Queensholm Close, Downend, Bristol BS16 6LD)

The Police in Late Victorian Bristol. B. Howell. Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1989. £1.25.

Three Garden Buildings by Thomas Wright in Stoke Park, Bristol. Excavation and Fieldwork 1987-88. J.R. Russell. 1988. £2.20 inc. p&p. (Available from the Author, 3 Priory Avenue, Westbury on Trym, Bristol BS9 4DA.)

The Bristol Hotwell. Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1980 (1990 reprint). £1.25.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

TREVOR FAWCETT is Secretary of the History of Bath Research Group and the current editor of 'Bath History'. He left the University of East Anglia in 1984, after nineteen years residence, and is now a freelance researcher, editor and consultant, based in Bath.

PETER DAVENPORT is Unit Manager and Director of Excavations for the Bath Archaeological Trust, who advise the Bath City Council on the archaeology of Bath. The Trust carries out research and excavations in Bath and the surrounding area.

RAYMOND HOLLAND has spent all his working life in the Chemical Industry. He has been associated with the Society of Chemical Industry since 1963 in various offices and is currently the Secretary of the Bristol Section. He was awarded the Lampitt Medal in 1991. He is interested in the history of the chemical industry and is at present researching a fertiliser works on the Isle of Sheppey, Kent.

JANE and MARGARET BAKER have been researching their family history for over a decade and have produced twelve volumes entitled *Days Beyond Recall*. For Margaret's son-in-law's family they have written *The Crudge Family of Bristol and Devon*. Jane has produced a survey of the census records for the Bristol, Kingswood and Bath areas 1851-1881, and street indexes for Clifton, Ashley, Westbury and Stapleton districts. She has also published a popular history of her local area called *Hillfields, the First Sixty Years, a Local Study*, proceeds from the sale of the book going to a local school for disabled children.

PAM ROBERTS' background training was in information retrieval. She came to the Royal Photographic Society primarily to organise the collection into an accessible form. She worked as Librarian and Keeper for ten years before becoming Curator of the collection in 1989.

BRIAN AUSTIN is a native Westonian with local roots going back at least five centuries. His research into the history and family history of Weston super Mare has been indexed and deposited at the Somerset Record Office and the libraries in Bristol and Weston. He describes himself as a local/family/social consultant historian who invites inquiries from members of the public at the Reference Department of Bristol Central Library and at Woodspring Museum. He is Members' Research Consultant for the Somerset and Dorset Family History Society.