

## PATRICK ABERCROMBIE AND PLANNING IN BATH

Robin Lambert

Abercrombie's relationship with Bath began before 1930 and he maintained his contacts with the city for the next fifteen years. He had a great effect on the appearance of the city which is still in evidence today. Patrick Abercrombie (1879-1957) was trained as an architect, pupil of Charles Henry Heathcote, a Manchester architect, in 1897-1901. He then worked with Sir Arnold Thornely, in Liverpool.<sup>1</sup> Charles Reilly (1874-1948), Roscoe Professor of Architecture at Liverpool University (1904-33), appointed him to a post in the new Department of Civic Design in 1909. Abercrombie became Professor of that department in 1914, when Stanley Adshead (1868-1946), the first Professor of Civic Design, left to become Professor at University College, London. Twenty years later, Adshead left London University and Abercrombie replaced him there in 1934. Together, Adshead and Abercrombie founded the *Town Planning Review* in 1910; according to Reilly, they wrote most of the articles in the first few issues.<sup>2</sup> Abercrombie was president of the Royal Town Planning Institute in 1925-6. As well as teaching and writing for the *Town Planning Review*, he worked on town-planning schemes all over the country; between 1923 and 1935 he participated in at least sixteen regional plans.<sup>3</sup> He was hugely successful. In 1938 Charles Reilly wrote:

After thirty years, there is hardly a town of any importance, or a county, which has not consulted Adshead or Abercrombie, and where they have not been consulted men they have trained have been.<sup>4</sup>

Abercrombie was not just omnipresent in planning, but active in conservation: in 1926, he wrote an article entitled 'The Preservation of Rural England', published in the *Town Planning Review*.<sup>5</sup> It was a major study of the conservation of the rural environment and led directly to the foundation of the Council for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE) in the same year. Abercrombie was one of the founder members. His constant theme is the need for control: not just planning control, the where and why of building, but aesthetic control, the how of building. He refers to the Bath Corporation Act of 1925 by which the powers of control of street elevations, which had been given to other local authorities, were extended in Bath to cover the general city landscape.<sup>6</sup> At this time it was too early

for Abercrombie to criticise the lack of implementation of the Act. He gives examples of how not to build: wasteful ribbon development, use of unsuitable materials, bungalows and industrial construction. In 1926, there were thirty-three joint committees of local authorities in England which were preparing or had prepared plans; these laid down the framework for detailed schemes. Abercrombie outlined the details which should be taken into account: layout, roads, trees, control of advertisements and cooperation with amenity societies. A warning note appears: 'There must be a thorough knowledge of the trend and requirements of modern traffic, and skill to aid its smooth running but strength not to be hypnotised by it.'

Abercrombie recommended a form of 'persuasive planning' which would encourage the right kind of development in the right place; education of the public and of planners was essential. He was genuinely distressed by the 'slums of the smoke-oppressed towns' and advocated 'a heavy hand on outrage' which was destroying the countryside. In this, he was certainly not alone; apart from the foundation of the CPRE, there were other militant voices, such as Clough Williams-Ellis (1883-1978), the architect in 1925 of Portmeirion. Williams-Ellis published *England and the Octopus* in 1928 and *Britain and the Beast* in 1937; the latter contains a polemic series of photographs which contrast the rural idyll of England with uncontrolled suburban building, industrial landscapes and cityscapes.

In 1933, Abercrombie published *Town and Country Planning*, which explained his planning doctrine and contributed to his growing reputation. His principal theme was the combination of controlled social structures with artistic expression in town planning. In the second part of the book, 'The Practice of Town Planning', he discusses the problems which planners faced in the early thirties. He says that beauty, without the requisite sanitary arrangements or commercial convenience, is of singular emptiness in civic art, but at the same time, the individuality of a town should be preserved so that its character could be strengthened rather than smoothed away.<sup>7</sup> The building regulations introduced by the public health laws from 1875 onwards had given rise to a particularly disastrous form of planning, the 'bye-law method', which had disfigured towns and cities. In 1945, Abercrombie was to describe the Dolemeads development in Bath as a prime example of bye-law housing.<sup>8</sup>

The two essential aspects of a successful plan were zoning and the construction of a coherent road network. Zoning should be based on separation of usages; there is a clear reasoning behind this, to prevent housing being polluted by industry and to group commercial or business premises together. Character, density and height of buildings were all

factors to take into account. Communication between zones logically needs a system of ring-roads, by-passes and what was known as the traffic parkway, a fast through road set in a belt of open space. With transport between zones a necessity, the provision of parking areas becomes an integral part of the ideal plan. The establishment of a green belt, which would prevent ribbon development along major arteries, was also essential: it was not until 1935 that the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act was passed, in effect recognising the dangers of a trend rather than stopping it. The 1943 edition of *Town and Country Planning* includes Abercrombie's famous judgement: 'Towns at the centre are like worn-out machines.'<sup>9</sup> By this time, bomb-sites all over Britain had opened the way for planners to put into practice what had previously been a theory. However in 1933, all this was in the future; the reality of imposing a theory on an individual historic town would inevitably bring the kind of smoothing away of character that Abercrombie himself wished to avoid.

Abercrombie believed that a firm hand was needed when dealing with an urban setting. He took the example of Haussmann in Paris to demonstrate the value of autocracy in planning.<sup>10</sup> He admitted that the Haussmann style had become unfashionable, but still admired the monumental treatment and the creation of vistas.<sup>11</sup>

Abercrombie condemned the practice of road-widening (as encouraged by the bye-laws) as expensive and ineffective, but to recommend that new roads should be built across the urban fabric, as Haussmann did in Paris, could lead to even more devastating results. He agreed that to make a zoning plan work, it was essential to have the support of the citizens, but he suggested limiting public participation to a stage after the formulation of a plan. Three years later, he expressed his lack of respect for all non-professionals involved in the planning process: 'No group of local representatives of authorities ... can possibly know what is good or what is bad in architecture. They think they can but they cannot!'<sup>12</sup>

### *The Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Scheme, 1930*

Although Abercrombie's *Town and Country Planning* was published after the *Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Scheme*, it gives a good introduction to the reasoning behind the plan. The plan was commissioned by the Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Committee, which employed Abercrombie as consultant from about 1928. The co-author, Bertrand Brueton, was Town Planning Officer of Bristol. Abercrombie and Brueton follow the Geddesian model: a detailed survey of every aspect of the region, history, geography,

natural resources, communications etc, is followed by an analysis and finally the propositions of the plan.<sup>13</sup> This was not intended to be a definitive scheme, rather a general outline, which would be developed at the local level. Moving from the general to the particular, a planner could take a broad view of the region, so that development would not take the form of a series of isolated pockets without overall coherence. The plan insists on the need for cooperation between local authorities. One reason for the confidence in the power of planning was the apparent stability of the population during this period. In 1927, the birth-rate was the lowest ever recorded in England. It seemed possible to predict the future population with confidence, decide where people should live and what they should do. The *Regional Planning Scheme* included statistics of the Bath population: from nearly 66,000 in 1901, the number had risen to 69,173 in 1911 (because of an extension of the city boundary) but had gone down to 68,669 by 1921 and was still falling.<sup>14</sup>

Abercrombie and Brueton aimed to provide a 'reasoned basis for future growth'; planning could be a stimulus to growth and at the same time control development in such a way as to protect the countryside. They described Bath as a 'compact city in a setting of beautiful country, specially to be preserved'. They pointed out that the City Council was already making improvements to internal circulation, which would prevent an 'absolute stoppage' in the streets, but the construction of an outer ring-road was impossible because of the topography. They did suggest the construction of a new road linking Bathampton and Batheaston, to avoid through traffic on a north-south axis. The creation of a hierarchy of roads for different forms of traffic was seen as essential. The plan recommended the principle of grouped development surrounded by open areas, which could be linked by a structured road system. In Bath, this could take the form of small satellites built at Odd Down, Claverton and Lansdown.

Abercrombie took a firm stand on aesthetic control. As a future member of the Georgian Group, he could be expected to appreciate the qualities of Bath, but he had a strong distaste for Victorian architecture, which according to him had broken up the orderly building in Bath. The plan gives no direct guidance on demolition or rebuilding in the city centre, but insists on the need to employ an architect for all building projects. Disfigurement of a town or village could be attributed to three causes: bad design, discordant materials and wrong placing.<sup>15</sup> In fact, by 1933, the green frame around Bath had been substantially reduced by municipal and private building.<sup>16</sup>

Clough Williams-Ellis wrote a review of *The Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Scheme*.<sup>17</sup> He congratulates the authors on producing a rational

and reasoned plan, based on a flexible zoning policy, which would stimulate the natural tendencies of growth. He remarks sadly that already there seemed little hope that the plan would be put into action, and fears that commercial interests would prevail over conservation. The fundamental dilemma was explained by T. Alwyn Lloyd, who wrote a review of the plan for the *Town Planning Review*. Lloyd notes that the survey area included fifteen local authorities, and that they were responsible for putting the plan into action; the Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Committee had no mandatory powers.<sup>18</sup> Abercrombie and Brueton had achieved an innovation in making a landscape survey as well as concentrating on urban planning; it was an early attempt to create a total integrated environment, to coordinate country and city. In practice, nothing was done for the next three years in Bath.

### The Bath and District Joint Planning Committee

After the publication of Abercrombie and Brueton's plan, Bristol went on to prepare a town planning scheme of its own but no real decisions were reached by Bath City Council. Then in 1933, Charles Reilly launched an attack on the City Council in the pages of *The Times*. Reilly had attended the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) conference in Bath in 1928, and was aware of changes in the city. His first letter, on 7 October, contained three main criticisms: the lack of a town planning scheme, three years after the publication of the *Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Scheme*; the style of council housing at Englishcombe Park and Southdown, particularly their red tiled roofs; and the danger that the council might be influenced by speculative builders, who feared that a town planning scheme would curtail their activities. Reilly was not the only one to criticise the new housing; the Old-Bath Preservation Society had protested about the red tiles in September 1930.

The City Council fought back. The first to reply was Alfred Wills, who accused Reilly of libel. Alfred William Wills (1872-1949) first became a Bath city councillor in 1908, and was Mayor in 1918. He was a local builder, founder of Alfred Wills and Sons Ltd, with offices at 15 Argyle Street, and one of the first to see the commercial possibilities of converting large houses into flats, for example in Great Pulteney Street. He was a practising member of the Argyle Street Congregational Church and a member of the Liberal Party. Wills was chairman of the Surveying Committee 1915-44, and chairman of the City Improvements Committee 1927-35. His brother, C.C. Wills and his daughter, Mrs E. Williams, were also city councillors.

The Mayor, Rhodes G. Cook (1860-1950), was not a builder, but head of a clothing manufacturing firm, W. and R. Cook Ltd, of Twerton, and a city councillor 1929-36. Cook replied formally on behalf of the Bath City Council: he maintained that problems over the siting of a new cemetery at Kelston Road had delayed cooperation between the authorities involved. As for the red tiles, the Ministry of Health had refused to contribute towards the cost of more expensive tiles, and the Council had been forced to use these materials. Reilly continued the debate, asserting that speculative builders should not be elected as councillors, however honourable they may be personally.<sup>19</sup>

The same year, 1933, Bath, together with Bathavon Rural District Council and Somerset County Council, formed the Bath and District Joint Planning Committee. The chairman was Arthur Lawrence Hobhouse (1886-1965), who farmed at Castle Cary in Somerset. He was Liberal MP for Wells, 1923-4, and a member of Somerset County Council from 1925 until 1947, serving as chairman from 1940-47. The vice-chairman was Alfred Wills. Other members of the committee included Thomas Sturge Cotterell, who represented the Old-Bath Preservation Society and George E. Hughes, who represented the Somerset Rural Community Council, as well as being a Bath city councillor and member of the Old-Bath Preservation Society.

A resolution was passed in March 1934 to prepare a planning scheme for the area. In March 1935, Abercrombie (then Professor at London University) was appointed as consultant town planning officer to the committee, at a salary of £250 per annum. In December 1935, the Bath City Council Surveying Committee reported that the Bath and District Joint Planning Committee would recruit staff; each authority would contribute towards the cost of employing a professional town planning officer. Henry Anthony Mealand was nominated in January 1936. Mealand, formerly Town Planning Officer for Taunton and the district of Wellington, had studied planning at London University under Stanley Adshead. He was a member of the RIBA, the Royal Town Planning Institute and the Institution of Structural Engineers. He moved to Bath in 1936. In his memoirs, Abercrombie notes that although it might be thought that the plan produced by the committee was based on his own work in 1930, in fact it was really the original work of Anthony Mealand. The main problem with this committee was lack of progress: Bath City Council was more concerned with the passage of the Bath Corporation Act of 1937. In *A Plan for Bath*, Abercrombie produced an analysis of employment in Bath in 1939: 26.66% of employment was in the building trade, compared with 9% for Great Britain. Between 1919 and 1939, 4,242 new

houses were built in Bath: 1,804 by the City Council and 2,438 by the private sector.<sup>20</sup> The new construction represented an increase of about 30% in the built-up area of Bath over twenty years. This was how Bath escaped the worst effects of the slump years; it was in the interests of all concerned to promote employment possibilities, and there was a risk of restriction on suburban building if a planning scheme was ratified. It was not until July 1939 that a draft plan was agreed and exhibited to the public; it was never submitted to the Ministry of Health for approval. War was declared in September and all planning was temporarily shelved. The only real achievement during these pre-war years was the creation of the committee with a professional staff and Abercrombie as consultant. His national status made his opinion authoritative, not just in planning but as a conservationist.

### The Bath Corporation Act, 1937

Alfred Wills was undoubtedly the architect of the Bath Corporation Bill: a monumental plan for the improvement of the city as a commercial centre. Wills presented the scheme to the City Council at a meeting on 22 October 1935, where he outlined three major aspects. First, the extension of Milsom Street to the north as far as the Assembly Rooms, to create a piazza, and restore the balance of trade, which had tended to concentrate in the southern part of the city after alterations following the 1925 Bath Corporation Act.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, the relocation of the Mineral Water Hospital to a site between Southgate Street and the new Kingsmead Flats, built in 1932. The Mineral Water Hospital corner would be rounded and the central block of shops in Old Bond Street would be demolished. Wills was later to describe this block as having the architectural quality of a match-box. The third aspect was a programme of road improvements, including the widening of Barton Street and opening up the George Street/Gay Street junction, amongst other proposals. The Bill also proposed purchasing land at South Parade and the Baptist Chapel in Manvers Street, to create a new car park. At this stage, Alderman Thomas Sturge Cotterell was so impressed by the scheme that he gave it his blessing in principle and invited Wills to address the Old-Bath Preservation Society. Wills presented the plan as a dream of 'a city of beauty, of healthfulness and of improved traffic facilities'.<sup>22</sup> The Milsom Street project was only one of twenty-one improvement schemes, but it was to prove the most contentious.

Section 51 of the Bill dealt with eighteenth-century buildings, specifically all buildings dating from before 1800. At this point there was no mention

of selection. Any proposed alterations concerning external elevations would have to be submitted to the City Council for approval, and the Council would have the right to make conditions or alterations to the plans. The Council would have the power to offer loans to owners of historic buildings to assist in preservation. Finally, the Council would purchase the Pulteney Bridge with a view to preservation. It was only after the debate on the Bill began that the Bridge was scheduled as an Ancient Monument, in January 1936, thus ensuring control over restoration.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of Sturge Cotterell's initial approval, resistance to the Bill gathered force rapidly: not only the demolition of Edgar Buildings and the Old Bond Street block, but the proposed acquisition of over 600 properties in the city centre and a radical rethinking of the character of the city were at stake. By mid-1936, the Old-Bath Preservation Society had over one thousand members, and had founded the Bath Preservation Trust in 1934, as 'the body we have had legally constituted as our fighting force'.<sup>24</sup> The first document which refers to the Trust is dated 1 December 1934, a prospectus published after a public meeting at the Assembly Rooms. The chairman of the meeting was the Mayor, Lieutenant-Colonel H.S. Davey, and the chairman of the new Trust was Thomas Sturge Cotterell. He reported that the Old-Bath Preservation Society was limited in its powers, especially when it needed to raise funds for a campaign. The Trust's first Annual Report was published in March 1935. By January 1936, the chairman of the Trust was the Marquis of Bath and the chairman of the committee was Sturge Cotterell. Mowbray Green was a prominent member.

It would appear that even before the announcement of the Bill in October 1935, there were divisions within the City Council over the future of Bath, and these were mirrored by divisions within the Old-Bath Preservation Society. The exact moment of the split between the two amenity societies is not clear, but the Trust took on the same role as the Georgian Group, founded in April 1937 from within the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings: a militant group prepared to use publicity as a weapon. The Trust launched a nationwide campaign against the Bath Bill and produced a pamphlet containing alternative proposals, under the title 'Preserve Bath Movement'. Due to the publicity generated by the Trust, which managed to secure the support of public figures such as Rudyard Kipling, it was agreed in December 1935 to call in Patrick Abercrombie for a professional judgement. Meanwhile, the financial side of the Bill had also been called into question, and it was rejected at a Ratepayers' Meeting on 30 December 1935.

Patrick Abercrombie refers to his role in this affair in his memoirs. He states that Alfred Wills had tried to have his plan approved by the Act,

thus avoiding the criticism of the Bath and District Joint Planning Committee. He gives his opinion of the Milsom Street plan:

the sort of thing a third year student would do and would be commended for as a gymnastic exercise, but who would be told that he had quite missed the genius loci and that his details would suit Buenos Ayres rather than Bath.<sup>25</sup>

Abercrombie recognised the importance of the Bath Preservation Trust in publicising the proposals, and says that the Bath and District Joint Planning Committee had given him the opportunity to inspect all the plans in the Bath Bill. It was understood that his decision would be taken as final. He describes the end of the story in dramatic terms:

One Saturday evening in a room of the deserted Guildhall, Hobhouse and I went to see the Alderman [Wills], who as yet knew not the tenor of my report. He guessed, however, that it was not favourable to his bill. It was a strange, almost tragic moment: in spite of the trickery which had been practised upon us, we felt as we listened to his defence of the proposals that, quite apart from his desire for prestige, he was genuinely, deeply interested in his city and hoped that at the last he might influence me. Later the clauses were dropped and the official scheme continued to deal with the future of Bath.<sup>26</sup>

Abercrombie's influence was crucial. On 23 December 1935, he made a detailed report on the Bill to the Special (Parliamentary Bill) Committee, published as an appendix to the Council minutes for 7 January 1936. He dismissed Wills' dream of a beautified city. As far as he was concerned, the objectives of the Bath Bill were limited to the acquisition of property which would bring financial gains to the City Council, and an incoherent traffic management scheme largely made up of road-widening proposals. The scheme had been drawn up without reference to the Bath and District Joint Planning Committee, which had already prepared a report on traffic in the region. He also referred to a survey carried out by the Ministry of Transport in 1935, which had reported an increase of 65% in the number of vehicles in Bath between 1925 and 1935. The London Road alone had an increase in the number of vehicles of 120%, and 46% of the traffic was now made up of cars. Horse-drawn vehicles had almost disappeared from Bath, representing only 0.5% of the total. Road-widening would be justified in certain cases, but there was a need for an integrated plan for the city. Abercrombie was firmly against the demolition of Edgar Buildings and the Old Bond Street block. He approved the clauses for the protection of eighteenth-century architecture, but suggested that the date of 1800 was too early as a limit for buildings to be protected. The Bath Preservation

Trust suggested the date of 1820 as a more realistic definition of a historic building and Abercrombie agreed.

A new Bill was drawn up, presented to Parliament in a later session because of the abdication crisis, and the Bath Corporation Act was passed on 30 July 1937. Milsom Street and Old Bond Street were saved, but the most important element of the new Act was to institute a list of protected buildings. In the event, this was the only measure put into effect, partly because a time limit was imposed and partly because it did not involve major capital outlay on the part of the City Council. In any case, it would have been impossible to extend protection to every house built before 1820. The innovation was the involvement of the Bath Preservation Trust in choosing the buildings. The day after the ratification of the law, the Town Clerk, J. Basil Ogden, wrote to the Trust to ask for their help. He had formulated a preliminary list; reading between the lines, he had neither the staff nor the expertise available for the work. Mowbray Green was after all the acknowledged expert on the architecture of the city, and the Trust accepted the invitation immediately. The result was a far more extensive list, which was published in March 1938. 1,251 buildings were included, ranging from the watchman's box at Norfolk Crescent to the great terraces, public buildings, and nos. 2, 3 and Weymouth House in St James' Street South. There were ominous omissions: for example, Edgar Buildings and Alfred Street, both of which would have disappeared according to the original Bill. However, the fact that Bath possessed an official list of important buildings before the bombing of 1942 was an advantage for subsequent conservation.

### *A Plan for Bath, 1945*

The bombing of Bath in April 1942 meant that the formulation of a plan could no longer be postponed. The damage was widely reported in the national and architectural press. The war artist John Piper (1903-92) came to Bath immediately after the bombing; his watercolours were shown at the National Gallery in a continuous exhibition of war paintings organised by the War Artists' Advisory Committee, under the aegis of the Ministry of Information. The destruction of the Assembly Rooms was cited as one of the principal cultural losses of the country in a report published in 1949 by the Ministry of Works, entitled *War and Archaeology in Britain: the Excavation of Ancient Sites and the Preservation of Historic Buildings*. The Assembly Rooms had not been included in the list of protected buildings published in 1938. It is one of the ironies of the law that thanks to the

activities of the Luftwaffe, the Assembly Rooms had become an uninhabited ruin, and was therefore eligible to be scheduled as an Ancient Monument under the Ancient Monuments Act legislation of 1931. This ensured that the ruins would not be demolished.<sup>27</sup>

In June 1943, the Bath and District Joint Planning Committee passed a resolution to request Patrick Abercrombie, Henry Anthony Mealand and John Owens (then Bath City Engineer) to prepare a joint report on the re-planning of Bath. While Abercrombie laid down the framework of the plan, it is likely that most of the detailed work was done by Mealand and Owens, with a team of about forty employees at the City Council and other consultants. In October 1944, Mealand gave a talk to the Bath Soroptimist Club, where he described the group of three as 'something like a secret society who had been working since July 1943 on a plan for the future of Bath'.<sup>28</sup>

John Owens, as well as Abercrombie and Mealand, had long experience of Bath and Bathonian politics. He was born in 1890 and trained as an engineer in Manchester. He was a member of the Royal Town Planning Institute and the Institution of Structural Engineers. He became Assistant City Engineer in Bath in 1925, and took over the post of City Engineer when Frank Pugh Sissons died suddenly in 1940. These fifteen years service under Sissons were crucial to Owens' attitude to Bath. When he arrived, Sissons told him that his first job would be to tackle Walcot Street and get it widened; by the time Owens retired in 1958, this had still not been achieved. The continuity of administration was typical of the inter-war years. J. Basil Ogden was Town Clerk from 1921 until 1948. Dr James Francis Blackett (1882-1951) was Medical Officer of Health from 1920 to 1945 and participated in preparing *A Plan for Bath*. Described in his obituary in the *Bath Chronicle* as a pioneer of public health, Blackett declared at a meeting of the City Council on 14 October 1930, that there were 500 houses in Bath that he would like to demolish immediately, except that there was no alternative housing available for the occupants. This was not an attitude peculiar to Bath; the public health laws became more and more precise in their definition of substandard properties. The Medical Officers routinely quoted the 1936 Housing Act to justify a closing or demolition order. With this belief in demolition as the key to health and progress, it is not surprising that Owens saw the results of the bombing as a golden opportunity to deal with what he described as 'areas ripe for clearance'.<sup>29</sup>

The plan was revealed to the public at an exhibition held at the Victoria Art Gallery; it was opened on 1 February 1945, by W.S. 'Shakes' Morrison (1893-1961), then Minister of Town and Country Planning. It was easy to



1. Kingsmead Street before bomb damage had been cleared away. This and the following illustrations are to be found in *A Plan for Bath* (1945), but they are here reproduced, with the kind permission of the Bath Record Office, from original photographs now in their care.

prove that something had to be done. Emotional photographs of children playing on bomb-sites, unfit housing in Walcot Street (blighted by designation as a Clearance Area since the 1930s) and a sinister basement kitchen were contrasted with drawings of Bath renewed on a monumental scale.<sup>30</sup> The photographs of bomb sites are equally revealing. Abercrombie chose to show two of Kingsmead Street, one taken immediately after the bombing (fig.1), the other after clearance;<sup>31</sup> there was substantial demolition in the interval, encouraged not just by fire risk but by the fact that the City Council had been seeking to clear this area since the 1920s. Other illustrations extended the propaganda of improvement to traffic circulation. There were photographs of traffic jams in Milsom Street and George Street which were still used as Class A roads, but in all the perspective drawings of the future city, cars are strangely absent. Even the 'proposed improvement at the junction of George Street and Gay Street' shows only eight vehicles.

Abercrombie's aesthetic judgement of Bath was decisive: he invented a new term, 'Utility Georgian Buildings', which could be applied to any building which was not part of a formal architectural composition. New

King Street, and other similar streets, fell into this category. They were recognised as pleasant, providing a harmonious background for the city, but were not considered essential. Conversion into flats and maisonettes remained a possibility, but basements and attics were considered unfit for human habitation. On the other hand, Abercrombie seems to have appreciated the Gothic. He proposed incorporating the Church of St Andrew (1870-3, by Sir G.G. Scott) as a feature of the transformation of Royal Crescent into municipal offices. In 1958, Pevsner said of this church: 'Big E.E. tower ... the rest happily bombed. The tower is now also coming down – a blessing; for it was unacceptable even from the picturesque mixer's point of view.'<sup>32</sup>

An impressive feature of the exhibition was an architectural model of the city centre of the future.<sup>33</sup> All old buildings were shown in detail, while new building was represented by plain blocks; it covered the area from Bath Spa station in the south, at least as far as Queen Square in the north. Even in the central area, within the former city walls, there would have been substantial demolition, including everything designed by Major Davis. The Old Bond Street block remained, but the Mineral Water Hospital would have disappeared, as well as the buildings on the west side of the High Street, later known as the Harvey Block, a contentious site in the early 1960s. In the southern part of the city, the only buildings to be retained were the Forum Cinema, designed by A.S. Gray in 1934, and the Bath Electricity Offices and Showrooms in Dorchester Street, designed for the City Council by the local architect William Alfred Williams in 1932-3. Both were in the neo-Georgian style approved by Abercrombie, who noted: 'Most of the other properties are old and obsolescent. Our plans propose redevelopment on new lines and the elimination of all existing streets.'<sup>34</sup>

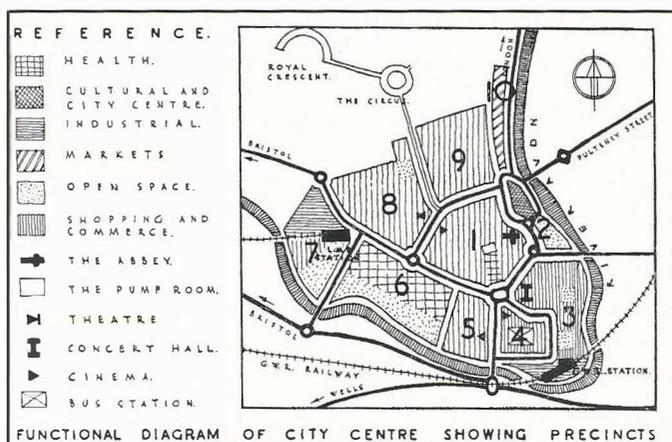
The key to understanding *A Plan for Bath* is the concept of the precinct, then a specific planning term not necessarily restricted to the shopping precinct which became such a familiar feature of British towns in the post-war period. The precinct was a refinement of the theory of zoning, first proposed in England by H. Alker Tripp (1883-1954), then Assistant Commissioner of Police at New Scotland Yard. His first book was published in 1938, *Road Traffic and its Control*. His second book, *Town Planning and Road Traffic*, published in 1942, made a breakthrough in planning theory. He recognised that the creation of a hierarchy of roads, together with the division of a city into precincts to prevent through traffic and protect pedestrians, were the only methods to integrate the car into the urban environment. Abercrombie wrote the foreword to Tripp's second book, and emphasised the need for a designated function for each precinct and road. A precinct would be reserved for a certain activity, with restricted

points of access. Tripp describes the ideal precinct system as being like a series of independent pockets. This would have two positive effects: traffic circulation would be rationally controlled, and mixed usage would no longer create problems of hygiene or pollution.

On the subject of historic buildings, Tripp was equally forthright: 'Noble buildings are of extreme value, but they should be isolated, like most of our cathedrals, thus giving the buildings their proper atmosphere of dignity and repose, and promoting public safety at the same time.'<sup>35</sup> Access should be by subterranean pedestrian walkways or by other traffic-free means, as was proposed for the Guildhall block. The isolation of historic monuments had been a controversial issue since Camillo Sitte wrote *City Planning according to Artistic Principles* in 1889,<sup>36</sup> in which he examined historic towns to discover which building forms and layouts created an aesthetically pleasing environment. To apply his arguments to Bath: Abbey Churchyard to the west of the Abbey, of irregular plan and with varied building types, is organically successful; the open space to the south of the Abbey, created by the demolition of the Kingston Baths and adjoining buildings in 1923, is not. In several places, Abercrombie tried to create Sitte-style irregular picturesque spaces: for example, he proposed the creation of a pedestrian open space in front of Ralph Allen's Town House – but the enhancement of the façade would have been achieved at the cost of yet more demolition.

The city centre was to be divided into ten precincts, each with a specific function (fig.2). Roundabouts would channel traffic flow between the precincts, effectively creating an inner ring-road more or less on the line of the old city walls. There was a precedent for this in the treatment of

2. Functional Diagram of the City Centre, showing the numbered precincts.



European cities such as Paris, where the city walls had remained until relatively recently, with a wide enough strip of open land to allow new road-building. This was not the case in Bath: although the line of the wall is clearly visible in the morphology of the city, it no longer represents a frontier between the mediaeval core and 'new' eighteenth century building. Precinct no.2 would become a cultural centre, no.6 would be dedicated to 'medical research, health and healing', no.7 would have offices, light industry and the Midland (Green Park) station, no.8 would become the shopping and business precinct, the new 'West End' of Bath, etc. The city as a whole would be divided into fourteen neighbourhoods, each with independent facilities, ranging from Larkhall and Lansdown in the north to Roundhill, Odd Down and Combe Down in the south. The density of the population in the outer neighbourhoods would be increased, while that of the city centre would be decreased: Abercrombie proposed reducing the residential population of the central area from 5,810 to 4,500.<sup>37</sup> The logic behind the zoning policy is clear: a separation of uses, with integrated traffic flow and the majority of the population living in the outer neighbourhoods, with adequate facilities for daily life: schools, local shopping centres, communal gardens and pubs.

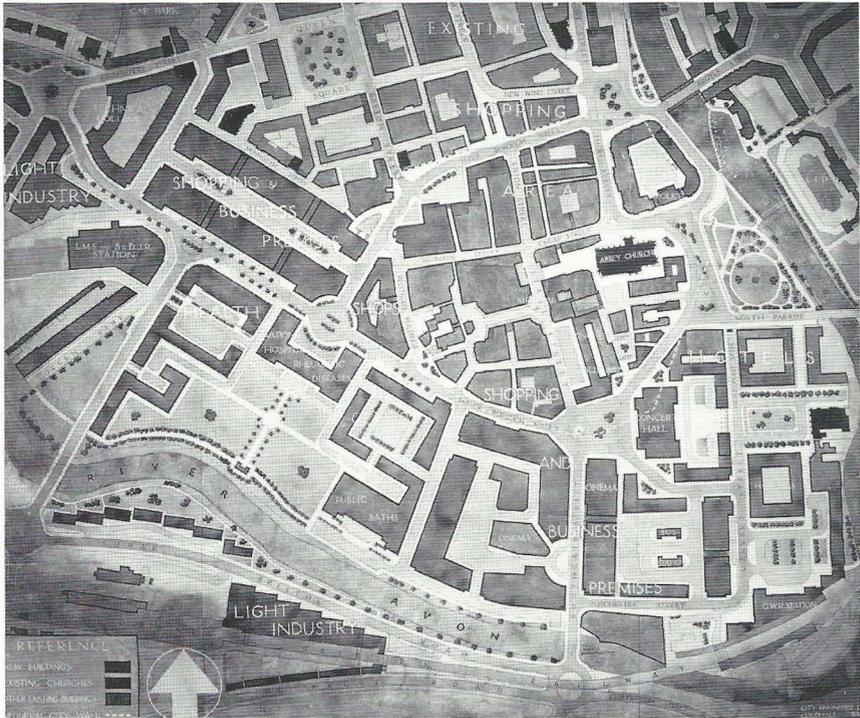
When looking at the plan, it is easy to find influences and reasons; the rigour of the Geddesian investigation, the theories of Alker Tripp which seemed more and more plausible at a time when the number of motor vehicles was increasing suddenly with mass production techniques, European influences like Sitte and Haussmann (but how to create a grand boulevard in a city as small as Bath?), and the Garden City movement, an influence which was felt in the neighbourhoods rather than the city centre. During the 1930s and 40s, architects and planners rejected the monotony of the traditional street as an architectural form. The great achievements of the eighteenth century were recognised and admired by modernists, some of whom were active members of the Georgian Group, and Bath was often cited as a model of urban composition. But Thomas Sharp (1901-78) expressed the general view in his book *Town Planning*, written in 1940: the nineteenth-century street composed of uniform housing induced a feeling of anonymity. Combined with the fear of standardisation and loss of personal expression in a mechanised world, there was a 'current hatred of the continuous street.'<sup>38</sup> *A Plan for Bath* reflected this in the layout proposed for new building at West Twerton, designed to promote community spirit and provide safe housing.

*A Plan for Bath* was favourably reported in the national and local press. An article published by the *Manchester Guardian* on 8 February 1945, went

so far as to refer to 'conveniently devastated areas'. The overwhelming impression was that modernisation was essential, to make way for a new world where traffic would flow freely and substandard housing would disappear. Abercrombie's emphasis on the protection of outstanding buildings served to distract attention from the extent of the proposed demolition. There was also a strong feeling against the creation of a museum-city; Abercrombie himself rejected the creation of a 'faked, exhibitionist pseudo-antique district' in his plan for Plymouth, published in 1943.<sup>39</sup> The Bath Preservation Trust also accepted the need for a plan and approved Abercrombie's work. Their Annual Report of 1945 made only one criticism, that the construction of a new concert hall would entail the demolition of Abbey Green. At this stage, the Trust considered that the main threat to Bath came from the number of new houses proposed; the Housing Committee of the City Council had voted in favour of the construction of 6,500 dwellings.

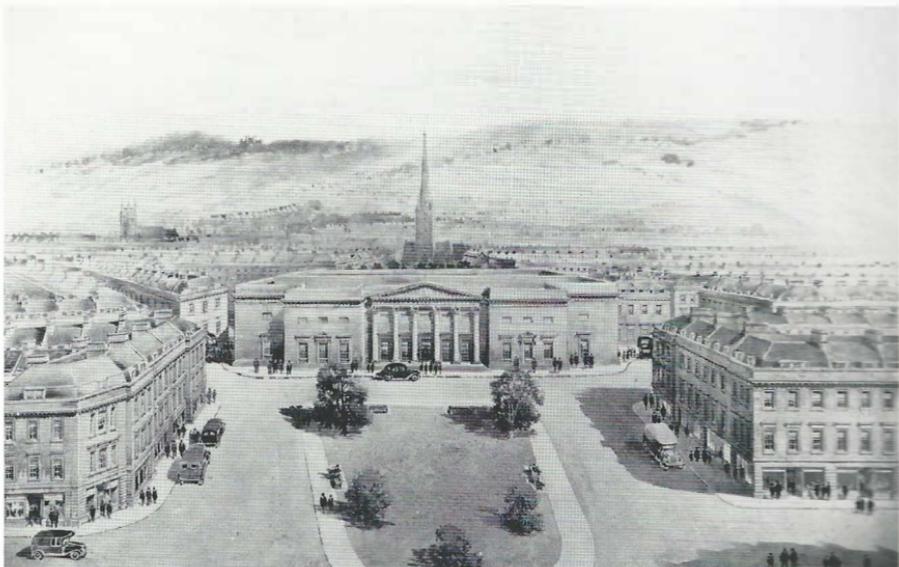
The only real critical analysis of *A Plan for Bath* came from the Bath Group of Architects, who published a series of four articles in October 1945 in the *Bath Daily Chronicle*.<sup>40</sup> They warned that if the plan were carried out, Bath would lose qualities which could never be regained. They stressed the importance of the lesser buildings as well as the crescents and squares, and made positive suggestions for a system of grant-aid and advice for the maintenance of historic buildings. The fact that a plan existed without an agreed time-scale for implementation was already causing planning blight only seven months after the exhibition: as long as certain areas were condemned, repairs would not be carried out and degradation would soon follow. The proposed neo-Georgian style was criticised, although it must be said that if Abercrombie had proposed a modernist reconstruction it would certainly have been just as badly received. The Bath Group of Architects also stressed the monumental and over-symmetrical character of the plan, designed to accommodate traffic flow without taking into account the changes of scale which form an essential part of the character of Bath.

During the formulation of *A Plan for Bath*, the Bath and District Joint Planning Committee had created a new sub-committee, the Bath Re-planning Sub-Committee. With Alfred Wills as chairman, it had the task of putting the plan into action. The fragmentation of Abercrombie's vision began. The Bath Re-planning Sub-Committee reported in October 1945 with reference only to the town centre. But the Abercrombie plan was vast, and each element depended on a number of factors: to put the whole plan into action required an enormous budget, for construction as well



3. Model of the Replanned Central Area. Note the location of the Concert Hall, shown also in Precinct 3 of fig.2.

as demolition, and it was impossible to establish a coherent programme of works. *A Plan for Bath* was reduced to four separate schemes, which only referred to a preliminary phase, in such a way that the future of the city as a whole was left undecided. Even though the principle of building a ring-road around precinct no.1 was accepted, this depended on the location and construction of the proposed new concert-hall (figs.3&4). Without a definite decision, the future of St James' Street South, Weymouth Street, Henry Street and others remained insecure. The only propositions to be rejected outright were the transformation of Royal Crescent into municipal offices (figs.5&6) and the construction of a new commercial centre in precinct no.8. The construction of a bus station was considered essential, but it was not opened until March 1958, designed by Alan A. Briggs, architect for the Bristol Motor Omnibus Company. Other proposals took even longer than thirteen years to come to fruition. Finally, the report recommended a list of streets which should be acquired by compulsory

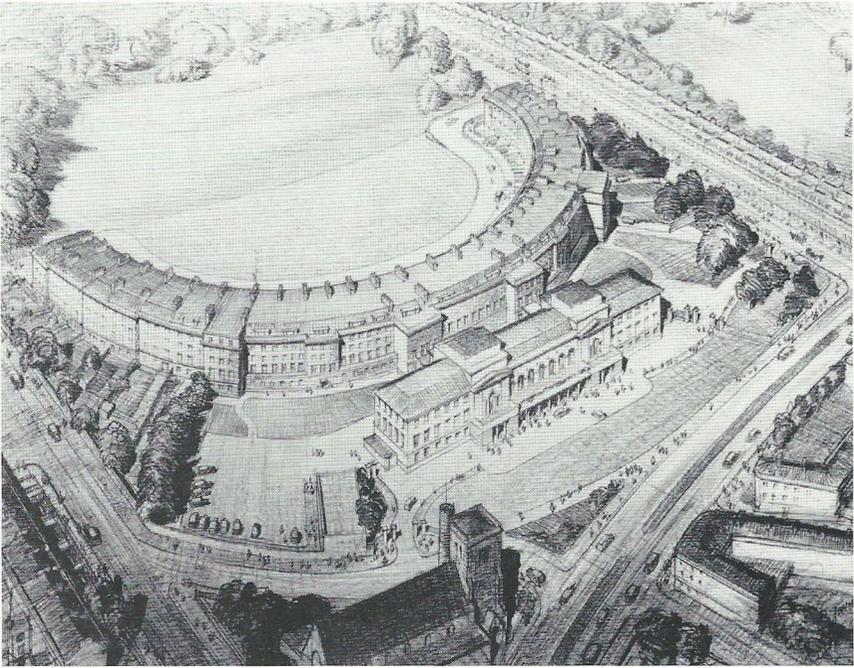


4. The proposed Concert Hall, looking east from Lower Borough Walls, with the spire of St John's Church, South Parade, in the background.

purchase: Walcot Street, Upper Borough Walls, Henry Street, Manvers Street, Southgate Street and Dorchester Street amongst others.<sup>41</sup> At a special meeting of the City Council on 16 October 1945, the first phase of this reduced version of the plan was approved. Abercrombie and his team had produced a remarkable fusion of contemporary planning and conservation theory; it was impossible to realise and the reality became a process of deconstruction and selection.

### Abercrombie's Legacy

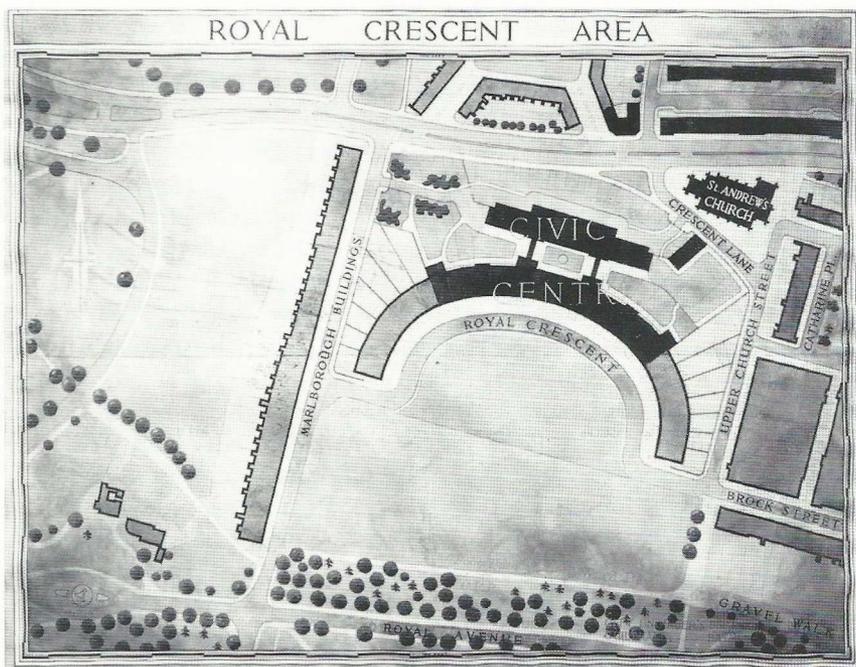
While Abercrombie's team was preparing the plan, the 1944 Town and Country Planning Act launched the first system for listing historic buildings in England. The Ministry of Works' salvage scheme, carried out by a team of panel architects, had already started preparing lists of buildings to be protected in case of war damage; Mowbray Green was the panel architect for Bath. The Maclagan Committee, which directed listing under the 1944 Act, first met on 6 December 1945.<sup>42</sup> The newly appointed investigators started work in April 1946. Bath was one of the first cities to be surveyed, and the Provisional List (the first stage in the procedure) was published in March 1947. George Holt, who carried out the Bath survey, made a



5. The proposed new Council Chamber and Committee Rooms, within and at the rear of the Royal Crescent. These were to be separated by a forecourt from Julian Road, the proposed new east-west route through Bath. Saint Andrew's Church, with spire removed, is shown in the centre foreground.

comment in the Bath list which was extremely unusual at a time when the description of the listed building was limited to features which would enable it to be recognised. When describing Claverton Street, Widcombe, he added: 'The North side of Claverton Street has many miscellaneous C.18/19 houses which might have been graded somewhere other than in Bath.' Holt was undoubtedly under pressure to limit the number of listings to outstanding buildings, and even to limit those listed at grade III, which received no statutory protection. There were also changes made in the interval between the publication of the Provisional List and the Statutory List. In 1947 the Mineral Water Hospital was listed at grade II, but it did not appear on the Statutory List, published in June 1950. Abercrombie's proposal to remove the hospital was still a strong possibility.

There is a coincidence in statistics between the Abercrombie plan and the first listing. In 1954, Alan Crozier-Cole, Secretary of the Bath Preservation



6. Plan of the Royal Crescent area, showing the development of the central part as a centre of Civic Administration.

Trust, estimated the number of listed buildings in Bath at 2,959, including all grades. Counting only the buildings in grades I, II\* and II, which received statutory protection, there were 1,763.<sup>43</sup> Of these, approximately sixty were public buildings, baths, churches and structures other than houses. Abercrombie had stated that Bath possessed about 20,000 houses, of which 1,700 were 'Georgian'. The figures are too close to avoid the question: did Abercrombie himself, or at least the plan, influence and perhaps restrict the listing in Bath? Of the 1,196 buildings listed at grade III, many would certainly have been listed at grade II elsewhere. The size of the Bath list must have been a shock to the Maclagan Committee. When the Civic Trust produced a special issue of *The Architect's Journal* in 1967, Bath led the field with 1,786 statutory listings. The next two cities in importance were Oxford, with 660 listed buildings and York with 632. The percentage of listings in grade I was also superior in Bath, about 20% of the total.

The conflict between preservation and reconstruction is best illustrated by the story of Seymour Street, which has disappeared completely from

the map of Bath. Built in 1792-6, probably by John Palmer, the street originally had two identical terraces, each made up of nine houses, linking Green Park and Charles Street. The western range was demolished for the construction of Green Park station at the end of the 1860s, but the eastern range (nos. 1-9) was included in the list of protected buildings of 1938, an indication of its outstanding quality. Each terrace was a single composition; the end pavilions had a pediment and Venetian windows. In *The Georgian Buildings of Bath*, Walter Ison reproduces a photograph of nos.1 and 2, after the bombing. Only no.1 escaped; of the rest, the façades remained. In his report of 1942 on bomb-damaged buildings, Mowbray Green estimated the cost of basic repair work at £100 per house. He noted that the interiors and roofs were burned, but that the state of the houses was not worse than that of Somerset Place. Immediately after the bombing, the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Works sent two representatives to direct repair work in Bath, R.W. Wardill and G.H. Chettle. They inspected Seymour Street in January 1943, and found a demolition team removing timber and masonry which were considered a fire risk. Wardill reported that the terrace could be saved. On 24 and 25 October 1944, Wardill again inspected Seymour Street with Mowbray Green and John Owens. Wardill noted that restoration work would have to be carried out swiftly, and referred to the architectural quality of the houses. Owens wanted the Ministry to assume responsibility for public safety during the work; Wardill refused, although he did agree to further demolition work for safety purposes, on condition that no work should be carried out without the express permission of the Ministry. It was agreed that the terrace should be rebuilt and Wardill stated that the Ministry wished to reconstruct as much as possible. John Owens had been working with Abercrombie since July 1943; it is possible that the scheme for a ring-road had already been discussed, if not agreed, which would inevitably entail the demolition of Seymour Street. He said nothing about this at the meeting in October 1944. The last word on Seymour Street comes in a letter dated 19 February 1945. Wardill wrote to Chettle, saying that he had prepared a contract for the reconstruction of Seymour Street, but that meanwhile, he had seen a brochure entitled *A Plan for Bath*; this must have been the brochure which accompanied the exhibition. Apparently it came as a complete surprise to Wardill that the plan for a ring-road would obviously include the demolition of Seymour Street. In the circumstances, he could not allocate funds for the terrace, if it was to be demolished in the near future. Only no.1 Seymour Street (still inhabited) was listed at grade II in the Provisional List, as the rest of the terrace had deteriorated

so badly; listing instructions did not allow the inclusion of ruins. It was still included in the Statutory List in 1950. By 1954, the house seems to have been declared unfit, and the whole terrace disappeared in the traffic management plan which replaced the Abercrombie ring-road.<sup>44</sup> Today Charles Street leads directly to Green Park Road.

Meanwhile, in February 1945, the City Council employed a City Architect and Planning Officer for the first time since the death of Major Davis in 1902. John George Wilkinson was born in 1908. He had studied civic design and architecture at the University of Liverpool, where his teachers had been Charles Reilly and Patrick Abercrombie. He was a member of the Town Planning Institute, and had previously worked in Oxford, Hereford and Northampton. He had also played a part in preparing *A Plan for Bath*. In 1950, the City Council decided to convene a local conference to discuss the 1949 Housing Act. This Act specifically encouraged the conversion of houses into flats and allowed grants to be made to local authorities and private owners, although unfortunately not more than three adjacent houses could benefit from these without incurring the Development Charge then in force. John Wilkinson prepared a report (dated 19 October 1950) which described the themes of the conference. He gave the impression that the architectural heritage of Bath could be divided into two categories: houses which were worth preserving, and those which should be demolished. There were 'scores of eighteenth and nineteenth century houses which on architectural or historic grounds we must try to retain, but which for economic or other reasons can no longer be regarded as suitable modern units of housing accommodation.' Wilkinson stated that the cost of conversion for one dwelling unit was on average £500-750, compared with the average cost of construction of one dwelling unit in a new block of council flats of £1,500. Even so, in the post-war years, the hopes for a brave new world and the nation-wide horror of slum dwellings (extended in Bath to a deep mistrust of old, obsolescent houses) encouraged new construction projects rather than piecemeal conversions. The great architectural compositions of Bath were undoubtedly a tourist attraction, but Wilkinson expressed a clear preference for the restoration of whole terraces rather than of individual houses. Abercrombie's concept of disposable 'Utility Georgian Buildings' was hard to forget.<sup>45</sup>

The Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 made radical changes to the practice of planning. Town planning became an integral part of the function of local government. The formulation of a Development Plan was compulsory, and it had to be reviewed and brought up to date every five years. Wilkinson prepared the *City of Bath Development Plan Written*

*Statement*, which was published in 1952; it abandoned all Abercrombie's technical vocabulary of precincts and neighbourhoods but introduced a new term from the 1947 Act: the Comprehensive Development Area. The following areas were designated: Snow Hill; Calton Road; an area to the south including Broad Quay, Narrow Quay, Kingsmead Terrace, James Street West, Peter Street, Corn Street and the Ambury; an area at London Place, Walcot Street; one at Northampton Buildings including bombed sites; and one at Twerton. There was also a Comprehensive Development Area including properties at Chapel Row, Palace Mews, Queen's Parade Place, Gay Street and George Street, chosen as the route for a new road to by-pass Queen Square and improve the junction between Gay Street and George Street, as proposed by Abercrombie. Parts of the Ballance Street area were designated as Clearance Areas but it was not officially declared a Comprehensive Development Area until 1966, then a site of 5.4 acres. Building did not begin at Ballance Street until 1969; out of the 152 houses on the site, 130 were demolished, and the third phase of the project was completed in 1973. The layout of the buildings at Ballance Street was loosely based on that proposed by Abercrombie twenty-four years earlier.

The history of planning is full of stories of abandoned, unfinished or altered plans. Arturo Soria y Mata conceived a planned linear garden city to be built at Madrid at the end of the nineteenth century. By 1904, a three-mile strip of the thirty-mile city was built but it never progressed further. In 1928, Clarence Stein and Henry Wright created Radburn, New Jersey; their theory of separation of pedestrians and motor traffic influenced Abercrombie, but Radburn itself never grew to its planned size, partly because of the Depression. Abercrombie's plan had both immediate and long-term effects. Wilkinson, a disciple of Abercrombie, remained as City Architect and Planning Officer until 1966. Throughout this period, elements of *A Plan for Bath* were included in the successive Development Plans. An advantage of this *ad hoc* approach was that much of the demolition proposed never took place; by the time schemes were definitely proposed, the conservation movement had grown and changed. Preservation was no longer limited to major buildings but extended to the total environment of the city.

## Notes

- 1 G. Dix, 'Patrick Abercrombie 1879-1957', G.E. Cherry ed. *Pioneers in British Town Planning* (1981), p.103. This article by Gerald Dix is the principal source for Abercrombie's life. There is no biography or major critical study of his life's work.

- 2 C.H. Reilly, *Scaffolding in the Sky* (1938), p.129.
- 3 Dix, *op. cit.*, p.108.
- 4 Reilly, *op. cit.*, p.130.
- 5 *Town Planning Review*, Vol.12 (1926), pp.5-56.
- 6 R. Lambert, 'The Bath Corporation Act of 1925', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, Vol.44 (2000), pp.51-62.
- 7 P. Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning* (1933), pp.104-6.
- 8 The Dolemeads housing was designed by Charles Robert Fortune (1844-1915), who arrived in Bath in 1879 and became City Surveyor in 1888. The opening ceremony for the first street was held on 24 June 1901. Fortune was not an architect.
- 9 Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning* (1943 edition), p.153.
- 10 Baron G.-E. Haussmann (1809-92) remodelled Paris under the Second Empire between 1854 and 1870, creating a network of great boulevards, spreading in star-formation from strategic points.
- 11 Abercrombie, *op. cit.*, p.91.
- 12 *Journal of the RIBA*, Vol.44.1 (1936-7), p.494.
- 13 Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) was the director of an exhibition and conference on town planning held at Crosby Hall in London in 1910. He published *Cities in Evolution* in 1915. He established the principle that all town-planning schemes should be based on a rigorous examination of the whole region. What came to be known as the Geddesian triad of survey, analysis and plan, would provide a healthy environment for growth.
- 14 P. Abercrombie and B.F. Brueton, *The Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Scheme* (1930), p.41.
- 15 Abercrombie and Brueton, *op. cit.*, p.72.
- 16 Abercrombie and Brueton, *op. cit.*, p.157. They quote the White Paper no.940, 29 November 1928, published by the Ministry of Health.
- 17 C. Williams-Ellis, 'Dawn in the West', *The Architect and Building News*, Vol.123 (1930), pp.691-5.
- 18 Alwyn Lloyd, review of *The Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Scheme* in *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 14 (1930), pp.130-32.
- 19 In 1933, three members of the Long family, of Jacob Long and Sons, builders, were members of the City Council. Wills was not alone.
- 20 P. Abercrombie, J. Owens and H.A. Mealand, *A Plan for Bath* (Bath, 1945), p.9, p.30 and p.97.
- 21 For further information, see D. McLaughlin, 'Mowbray Green and the Old Bath Preservers', *Bath History*, Vol.IV (Bath, 1992), pp.155-72.
- 22 Bath Record Office (BRO). City of Bath Press Reports of Council and Committees 1935.
- 23 J. Fawcett, ed., *The Future of the Past; Attitudes to Conservation 1174-1974*, (1976), p.21.
- 24 Old-Bath Preservation Society, *Annual Report*, 24 June 1937.
- 25 P. Abercrombie, unpublished memoirs written in about 1940, in the possession of Sir Peter Shephard. I would like to thank Professor Andrew Saint, who enabled me to see the pages relevant to Bath, pp. 84-7.
- 26 Abercrombie, *op. cit.*, pp.84-7.
- 27 Information from D. McLaughlin.

- 28 *Bath & Wilts Chronicle & Herald*, 21 October 1944.
- 29 J. Owens, 'Notes on A Plan for Bath', *Journal of the Institution of Municipal Engineers*, Vol. 71 (1945), pp.328-40.
- 30 These illustrations were mostly the work of Arthur C. Fare and J.D.M. Harvey. A.C. Fare (1874-1958) was born in Bath and had been the pupil of the architects Thomas B. Silcock and Samuel S. Reay. He was known for the quality of his drawings and watercolours.
- 31 Abercrombie, Owens and Mealand, *op. cit.*, illustrations between pp.56 & 57.
- 32 N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England; North Somerset and Bristol* (1958), p.105. Pevsner was by no means the only critic of this church.
- 33 I have found references to the model up the the early 1960s, but since then it seems to have disappeared.
- 34 Abercrombie, Owens and Mealand, *op. cit.*, p.57.
- 35 H. Alker Tripp, *Town Planning and Road Traffic* (1942), p.62.
- 36 Camillo Sitte (1833-90) was a Viennese architect and art historian. He influenced Raymond Unwin and the Garden City movement but was rejected by Le Corbusier and the modernists for his recommendation of asymmetrical layouts and organic growth as the basis of urban composition.
- 37 Abercrombie, Owens and Mealand, *op. cit.*, p.71.
- 38 T. Sharp, *Town Planning* (Harmondsworth, 1940), p.98.
- 39 J. Paton Watson and P. Abercrombie, *A Plan for Plymouth. The Report prepared for the City Council* (Plymouth, 1943), p.14.
- 40 *Bath Daily Chronicle*, articles published on 3, 6, 8 and 9 October 1945.
- 41 BRO, *Surveying Committee October 1944-March 1948* - volume of press cuttings.
- 42 A. Saint, 'How Listing Happened', M. Hunter, ed., *Preserving the Past: the Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain* (Stroud, 1996), pp.115-33.
- 43 BRO, file LAC 24. It is extremely difficult to count precise numbers of listings - one single entry may contain as many as thirty houses.
- 44 Information from Colin Johnston, Bath Record Office.
- 45 Bath Preservation Trust archives.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Colin Johnston at the Bath Records Office for his unflinching help through the years of my thesis, as well as for this and other articles. I would also like to thank the Bath Preservation Trust, who gave me permission to use their archives, and all the people I met in the Bath Record Office or the Central Library who were generous with their knowledge of Bath; particularly David McLaughlin, who let me see his collection of material on Bath.