

MAJOR DAVIS: ARCHITECT AND ANTIQUARIAN

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When Charles Edward Davis died in May 1902 at the age of 75 it was the end of an era for Bath. For forty years Davis had served the city as its architect, or more correctly as its Surveyor of Works, a post to which he had been elected on 8 April 1862 at a salary of £60 per year. Throughout this time he ran a successful architectural practice inherited from his father Charles Davis and herein lay one of the reasons for his controversial career. On more than one occasion his critics, many of whom were on the Council, pointed to a conflict of interests – could a servant of the city who was responsible for drawing up specifications for open competitions fairly compete against other architects for Council contracts? Many, including the influential weekly *The Builder*, thought that this was unethical: evidently Davis did not and Davis was a stubborn man.

It is hardly surprising then that his life in Bath was sometimes tempestuous. In a nice understatement his obituary notice in the *Bath Herald* tells us that his official life was 'clouded with troubles with his committees and more than once things reached a breaking point'. The last of several attempts to dismiss him, early in 1900, led to a compromise when he was relieved of most of his duties and left only with the care of the city's Baths and Markets. The inclusive salary of £400, on which he was now placed, was seen by many as, essentially, a pension.

Major Davis, as he chose to be known, had served in the Bath Volunteer Rifles and gained his commission in the Worcester Militia. He was devoted to Bath and played an active part in civic life becoming a prominent Freemason and also a Freeman of the city. For twenty-four years he was Honorary Secretary of the Bath School of Art, of which he was a founder, and for twelve



1 Major Davis

years, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Literary Institution. He was, then, a solid pillar of the Victorian establishment, whose only mild eccentricity was the breeding of deerhounds – a fancy which involved him in ‘regrettable trouble’ as a local paper so archly puts it. Apparently certain of his dogs got into trouble, resulting in an order being issued by the authorities requiring them to be kept under proper control. An enigmatic mention in the *Field* (17 May 1902) tells us that ‘unfortunately Major Davis did not receive (the order) in quite a proper spirit’ adding that one of the hounds, Sir Gavin, ‘contrived to bring himself into contact with the authorities’. Unperturbed, the Major was seldom seen in public without a hound in tow. He became a noted breeder of the beasts and President of the Deerhound Society.

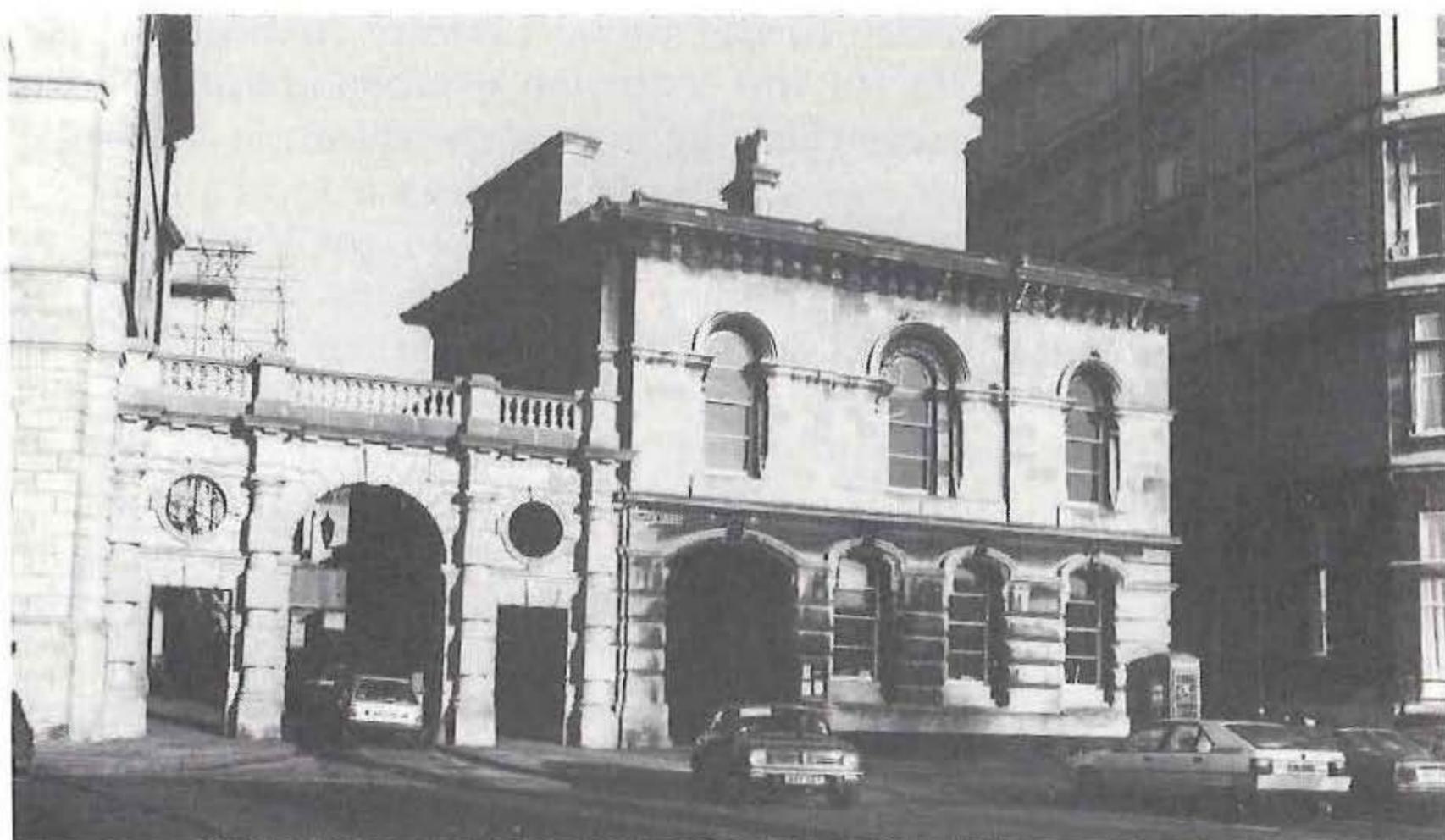
But what manner of man was he? He was evidently a person able to make good and lasting friends but also able to inspire envy, verging on hatred, in others. In his correspondence, however provoked, he was always proper, formal and courteous but his antiquarian writings, limited though they are, suggest an arrogance born of uncertainty. Thrown into the academic world by his discovery and excavation of the Roman baths he was out of his depth but not prepared to admit it.

Throughout most of his career as an architect he undertook a range of church work – restorations, minor additions and occasionally new buildings, almost invariably Gothic in style – very much the normal bread and butter work of provincial Victorian architects. His practice also extended to a number of local country houses. But his appointment as Surveyor of Works in 1862, in succession to G.P. Manners, meant that much civic work could be expected to come his way since his contract specified that

He shall prepare estimates and plans and specifications of every work for the Corporation when the estimated cost is less than £1000, and superintend the execution of the same, and when any single work is projected the estimated cost of which shall exceed the sum of £1000, then a special arrangement in writing shall be made with him before the commence of such work.

The lack of clarity in the drafting was, in part, the cause of many of his conflicts with the Council.

Within a month of his appointment the Theatre Royal burnt



2 Bath police station with the Guildhall to the left

down and after a great deal of local fuss it was decided to go ahead with rebuilding. Davis immediately prepared plans for the restoration to be submitted in open competition. Strict anonymity was maintained and each of the six entries was identified by a motto chosen by its author – Davis chose ‘Much Ado About Nothing’ whether innocently or with wry humour we don’t know. In the event his entry was not successful but it did receive a special commendation.

The next year, 1863, Davis was called on to design an escritoire to be a wedding gift to the Princess of Wales but so complex a piece of work did he embark upon that it took six years to complete! Meanwhile his plans for the Central Police Station were approved and the building was completed in 1865.

The Police Station still stands on the north side of the Orange Grove. It is an interesting little building designed in the Italianate Norman style favoured by Davis at this stage in his career. The Ladymead Fountain (1869) and the Trowbridge Market House (1861) were similar in style. These much neglected and depreciated structures must have been strikingly modern at the time. The publication of Ruskin’s, *The Stones of Venice* (1851–3) first introduced the delights of the medieval architecture of

Northern Italy and France to Victorian Britain and here in Bath we see Davis experimenting with the style within a few years of its presentation to the architectural profession. He was to return to it later from time to time but his essays of the early 1860s are the most successful and deserve more attention than they have received.

By the early 1860s the fortunes of Bath had reached a low ebb. Visitor numbers were declining annually, hotels were closing and an air of hopelessness hung about the place. It was against this deepening depression that the city authorities decided to make a vigorous effort to revive the city's attractions. The way forward was clear: the springs were to be made more attractive to visitors and a great new hotel was to be built to cater for their every need. For Davis the Council's grandiose schemes provided a heaven-sent opportunity. Here was a worthy cause to which he could devote his talents and for 25 years, on and off, he was to be engaged energetically in guiding the often-reluctant City Council in a determined attempt to make Bath the prime spa of Europe.

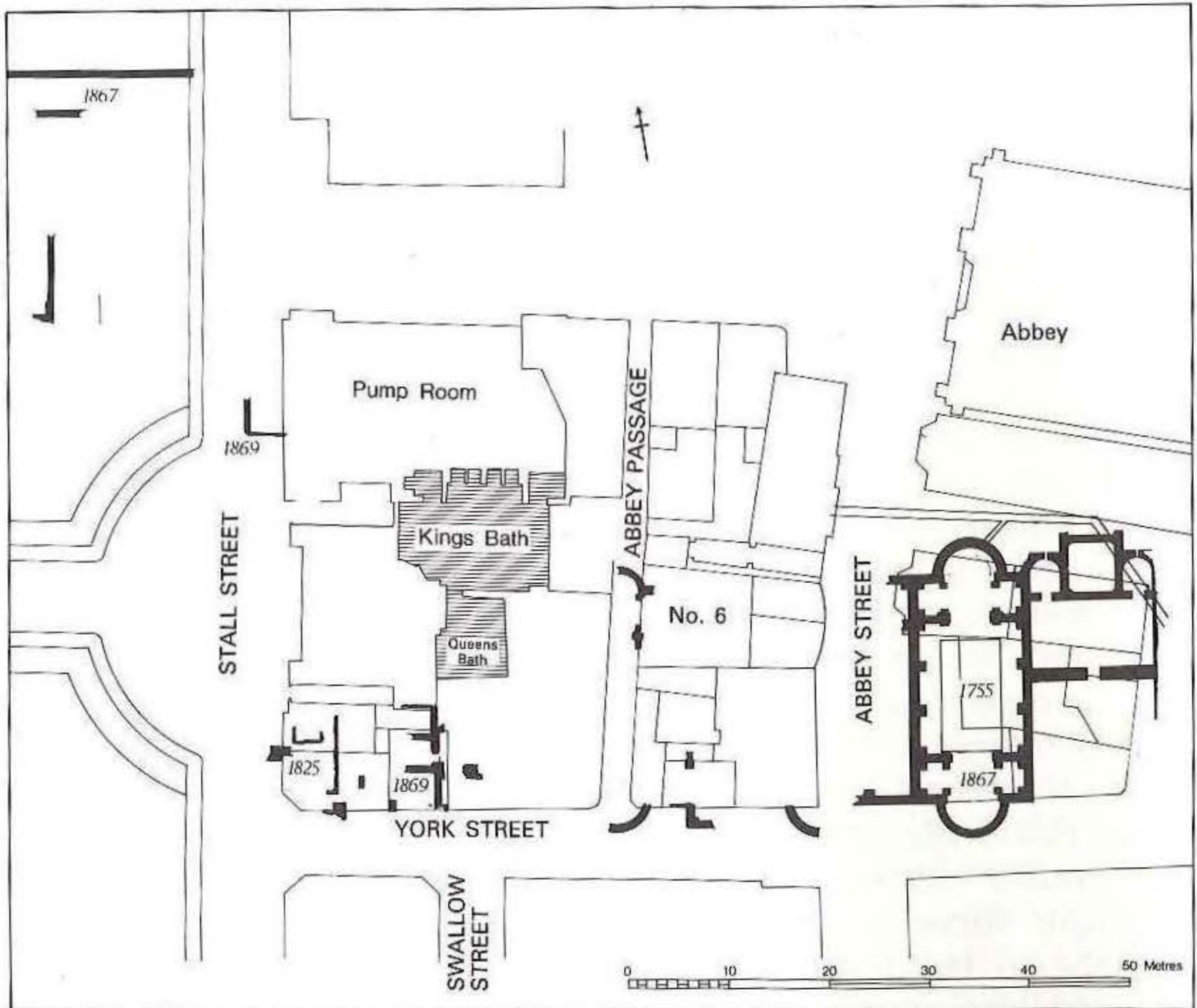
The first scheme was to demolish the derelict White Hart Hotel in Stall Street just opposite the Pump Room in order to make way for a grand new hotel fitted out with its own suite of mineral water baths. Conscious of its past the Council decided that the building should be called Bath Forum House.

Davis drew up the specifications and the development was opened to competition. Eleven architects submitted schemes – including Davis himself, much to the displeasure of the profession. A City Architect, they felt, would have inside information that would give him an unfair advantage and even if his scheme was judged the best, people would consider that he had been favoured. 'No architect should place himself in such a position', wrote *The Builder* of February 1865. Thirty years later the problem was to arise again in rather more bizarre circumstances.

In the event Davis' plans were considered to be worthy of the first prize, with those of Wilson and Willcox coming second. Then the trouble started. The Council had both schemes costed by a quantity surveyor who claimed that Davis' hotel would cost £27,824 to build and that of Wilson and Willcox £20,291: the Council had specified that the cost should not exceed £15,000. Needless to say both architects insisted that their hotels could be

built within the specifications. The Council dithered while *The Builder* (18 March 1865) warned, 'if they withhold the premiums offered to the architects who have already competed, they will perpetrate something very closely approaching a swindle'. The Council were stung into action. At their meeting in April they received a committee report urging that Davis be awarded first premium of £200 and Wilson and Willcox the second of £100. After some debate it was decided to award the first premium to Wilson and Willcox though the reasons for the reversal are not explicit. Clearly Davis had enemies in the Council who were now actively working against him: it was a taste of things to come.

Meanwhile there was growing opposition in the city to the idea of spending so much of the ratepayers' money on building a hotel – considered by many to be an unnecessary extravagance. As pressure mounted the Council gave in and on 16 June 1865 the



3 Plan of the bathing establishment showing known Roman remains up to 1870

Mayor instructed the committee to go for a cheaper option. By 10 October a new deal had been put together. James Wilson (of the Wilson and Willcox partnership) was prepared to set up a company to raise the capital for the hotel – to be called the Grand Pump Room Hotel – while the city would fund the building of the baths – the new Royal Baths. Thus Davis was effectively excluded from the scheme though a few years later the Council required him to alter and enlarge the baths which were already proving inadequate.

Davis was intent on building a grand new hotel in Bath and having failed to get the Pump Room Hotel contract he turned his thoughts to a scheme of his own. By 1875 his ideas were sufficiently advanced. He had involved a number of leading citizens and together they called a meeting to consider building a leisure complex on the recreation ground – the low-lying land to the east of the Avon. This was to be a great Winter Garden together with an aquarium and all the other amenities that would make it an attraction to visitors of the High Victorian period. A company was formed and Davis was appointed as its architect. Meeting after meeting ensued but gradually the project ground to a halt. Another of Davis' grand schemes for Bath had been frustrated and he was £400 the worse off. It was a set-back but not sufficient to deter him and, as we shall see, he was soon to bounce back.

The 1880s were in many ways the high point of Davis' professional career for it was in this decade that he excavated and exposed the great Roman bathing establishment. It was a turbulent period of claim, counter claim, innuendo and downright abuse, all conducted publicly in the columns of the local newspapers, the Council chamber and in the meeting room of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Leaving aside the trivial nature of much of the abuse, it is a story of some fascination not only as part of the history of archaeology but also one which shows Davis as a man capable of steering a middle course through the minefield, carefully balancing his duty as an architect working in the interests of the city, and his academic responsibilities as an antiquarian and a Local Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was a Fellow.

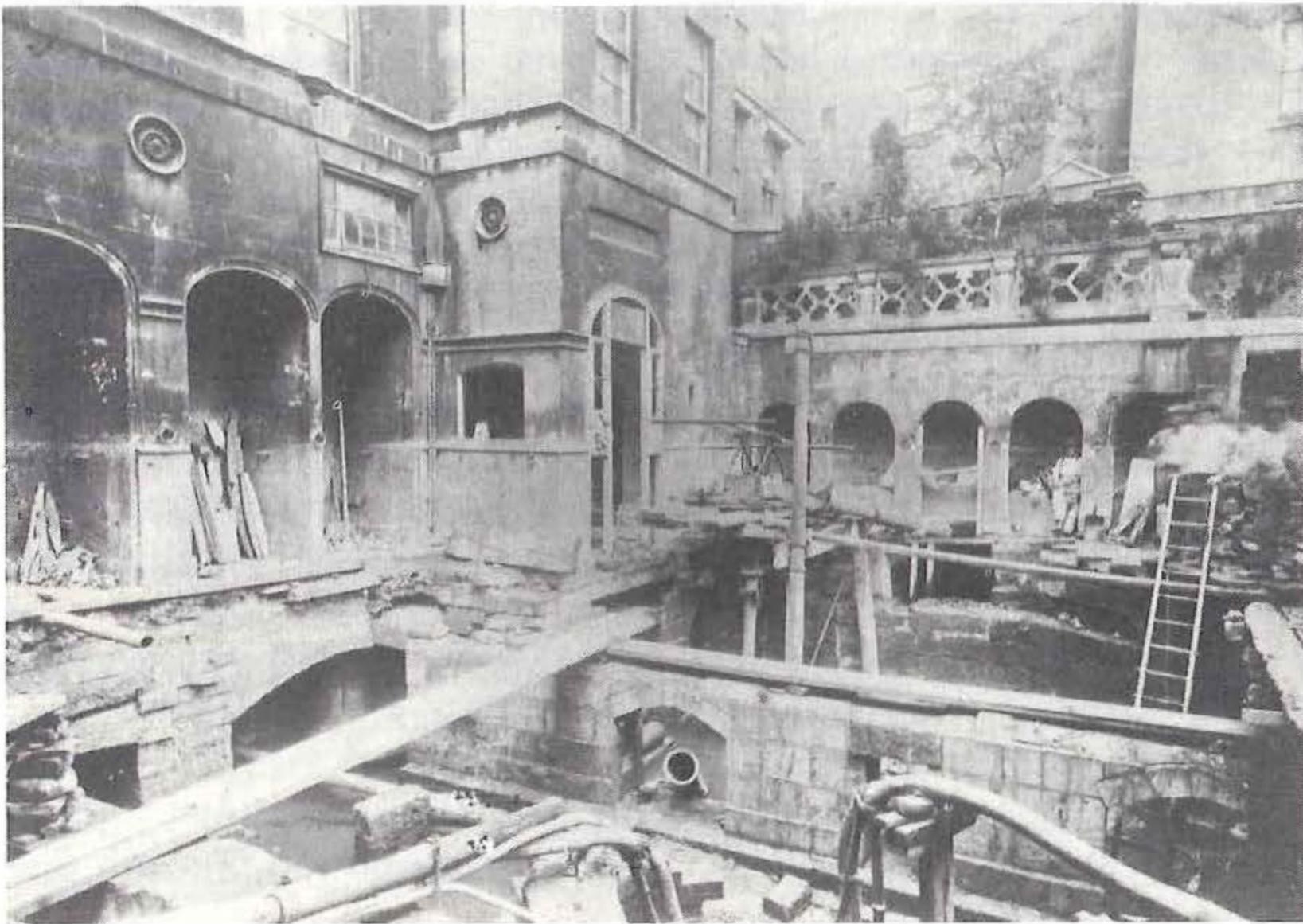
Knowledge that a Roman bathing establishment existed in the centre of Bath dates back to 1755 when the demolition of the old

Abbey House and its replacement with a suite of baths, built by the Duke of Kingston, exposed substantial Roman remains. The discovery was widely reported at the time but the remains were covered in. A few additional discoveries had been made in Abbey Passage in 1799 and when York Street was constructed in 1803. Further scraps of Roman buildings were exposed on the York Street-Stall Street corner in 1825, but none of the discoveries was followed up and there matters rested.

The incident which began the chain of events leading to the uncovering of the bathing establishment was the discovery, in 1865 by James Irvine, of the Roman main drain. James Thomas Irvine was a remarkable man and an important figure in antiquarian studies in Bath. Born in the Shetlands, he became Clerk of Works to Sir George Gilbert Scott and in this capacity spent long periods in the cathedral towns of Tewkesbury, Bath and Peterborough where Scott's practice was involved in restoration work. His stay in Bath, 1864 to 1873, was a most productive one. His antiquarian researches filled several manuscript volumes but he was also a practical man and among his achievements can be listed the recognition and recording of the Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon.

In Bath he began an active programme of archaeological research. In 1864 we find him digging holes through the cellar floor beneath the recently-closed White Hart Hotel to search for the Temple of Sulis Minerva, and during the building of the Pump Room Hotel, erected on the site 1867-9, he was present throughout recording details of the Roman masonry exposed.

His discovery of the Roman drain, on 6 October 1865, seems to have been the result of one of his trial excavations in the cellar of a building next to the Abbey for he notes that it was found 'after trying down in the floor'. Two years later, in September 1867, we find him digging in the cellars beneath the Duke of Kingston's Baths and exposing the south side of the Roman baths which had originally been found in 1755. Another two years were to pass before he was at work again on the baths, this time at the west end of the establishment when, in December 1869, the engine room was undergoing alterations (overseen by Major Davis) and Irvine was able to record much of a Roman *tepidarium*. This was probably the first time that Davis had come into intimate contact with Roman remains and Irvine kept him well informed. Indeed



4 Major Davis' excavations in the King's Bath in 1878 (Bath Museums Service)

the two men corresponded quite amicably throughout. Thus by 1870 the extent of the Roman bathing establishment was evident and Irvine had demonstrated the fine degree of preservation that was to be found. The next move lay with Davis.

Davis had a professional interest in the baths and as Surveyor of Works he was responsible to the Council for their maintenance. The perennial problem was how to control the seepage of water from the King's Bath and how to keep the spring clear of contamination. In March 1871, in company with Irvine and a Mr. Mason, he set about surveying the Roman drain which Irvine had discovered six years before, and the next month part of it was cleared out to improve the drainage. Later in the same year he had an exploratory shaft dug in Abbey Passage which showed the ground to be waterlogged with hot mineral water escaping from the King's Bath.

I pumped out this water with powerful pumps, emptying in so doing the Kingston Baths. This enabled me to sink to a

depth of 20 ft., passing in so doing a flight of four steps . . . to the bottom of a bath which was coated with lead. Being compelled by the then owner of the Kingston Baths to discontinue pumping, I was obliged to abandon my work; and having little hope that I should ever be allowed to recommence it, I removed a portion of the lead. . . . Fortunately I did not again fill in the soil, but arched it in, building walls of masonry to keep it in position.¹

What Davis had discovered was the north-west corner of the Great Bath: the square hole which he made in the lead sheeting of the bottom can still be seen today when the bath is drained.

Seven years later, after the city had acquired the Kingston Baths:

I again drained off the water, maintaining it at a low level by a laborious excavation and re-construction of the Roman drain which was conducted at great expense for two or three years. This drain I followed for several hundred feet until it reached the great well [i.e. the Roman reservoir beneath the King's Bath].²

His workmen were now tunnelling beneath the Pump Room. Having reached the east wall of what we now know to be the Roman reservoir enclosure they tunnelled northwards along it for some distance and then turned west, along the north wall of the reservoir enclosure, exposing the Roman wall along the south side of the trench and propping up the eighteenth century footings above their heads with Roman stone blocks, sawn to shape within the confines of the tunnel. In the base of the tunnel they were exposing the massive slabs of a Roman drain built originally to drain the temple precinct.

Davis now turned his attention to the King's Bath itself. He had established the east and north sides of the reservoir enclosure and had done sufficient work to drain off surface water. He had also found the arch in the east wall through which the Roman outfall passed but he could not get through because of a blocking of massive tumbled stones. The only thing to do was to approach it from the other side by draining the King's Bath and sinking a shaft through its floor. In doing so he demonstrated, for the first time, the existence of the Roman reservoir 2 metres deep and packed with debris:

After much labour and many weeks of pumping, we cleared away many tons of rubbish consisting of block stones, hypocaust tiles, earth, sand, bones etc.: and proved that this well enclosed an irregular area. . . .³

This bland statement belies the enormity of the task accomplished – Davis had removed the King's Bath floor and had totally excavated the upper part of the Roman reservoir down to a basal tile and concrete surround. More to the point he fully understood what he was exposing.

This wall is the Roman enclosure for the hot springs built to enclose the various sources of the springs. And in my opinion was the first work they did in Bath, and sometime before the grand system of the Baths was commenced. This wall is excellently jointed, and is cased with lead averaging in weight 30 lbs to the square foot.⁴

Having completed the excavation Davis had the lead lining removed and sold 'to furnish sinues for the work' and carefully pointed the wall before arching the whole thing over and restoring the King's Bath floor in concrete. In the two years which the project took, 1878–9, he had succeeded in stopping all the major leakages from the spring, preventing contamination, and establishing a control of the waters greatly in advance of anything that had been done since Roman times. He had also whetted the appetite of the antiquarian world with his lectures to the Society of Antiquaries in 1878 and 1880, at both of which he exhibited a fascinating array of finds from the excavation.

Throughout the project he employed a local builder, Richard Mann 'who estimated at its true value the importance of the work we were engaged upon, giving me every assistance and allowing nothing to escape him'. It was a generous acknowledgement but the two men were soon to fall out, Mann becoming one of the prime instigators of the subsequent attacks on Davis. As Davis implies Mann took an active interest in the work and throughout was regularly writing to Irvine, who had by now left Bath. The letters survive in the Irvine Papers (curated by Bath Reference Library) and provide a valuable source of detail: indeed the only accurate plans to survive were those drawn up by Mann.

Relations between Mann and his employer seem to have been

cool from the beginning. In a letter to Irvine written on 9 November 1878 he says:

Mr Davis was down below with us on Tuesday last. He only came to the bottom of the hole and looked right and left. I pointed out the wall opposite to him, he at once took it as a support of his theory that the niches in the present Kings Bath are Roman work but I couldn't agree with him. This is the first time he has been below since a cursory visit with his clerk just as we broke through the 3ft Roman wall . . . he caught cold then, he says, and has not been able to get rid of it since.

Some strain in their relationship may have been caused by Mann's desire to communicate the results of the work to the academic world. In one incident we find Mann addressing the



5 Demolition of the Queen's Bath in the 1880s (Bath Museums Service)

British Archaeological Association in London on 15 May 1878 with Davis giving a paper to the Society of Antiquaries the next day. The rivalry between them eventually made it impossible for them to work together and although Mann continued to be employed for a while to excavate the baths he was eventually dismissed. In a footnote Davis refers to him as 'the builder employed under me to excavate the greater portion of the discoveries, but whose services were dispensed with. . . .'⁵

It was now perfectly clear that a major Roman monument lay to be unearthed beneath the centre of Bath. In 1880 excavation proceeded apace and large areas of the Great Bath were exposed beneath Abbey Passage and Abbey Street. The visible remains were remarkable and the City Council began to come under pressure from the Society of Antiquaries to take a positive stance in their protection. In a letter dated 1 March 1881 the President of the Society, Sir Augustus Franks, wrote to the Mayor urging him of the 'expediency both in the interests of Archaeology and with a view to increase the attractions of that important City, of keeping uncovered the large Roman Bath which was exposed to view last year. . . .' The Mayor, Jerom Murch, was sympathetic and a fund was raised to which the Society of Antiquaries contributed £100. On 3 May 1881 6 Abbey Street and the adjacent building lately used as a library were purchased at a cost of £1255 and demolished. An Antiquities Committee was set up by the Council to undertake the work of excavation and a tender of £847 was accepted from Richard Mann to clear the remains.

Murch, who took an active interest in the work, takes up the story:

Public interest increased as the houses were removed, the immense deposit of former ages carted away and the magnificent basement of the ancient structure gradually revealed. This work occupied considerable time, during which circumstances occurred causing some anxiety to the Committee.⁶

What happened was that a local tradesman sued the Council for damages claiming that the excavations were obstructing his business. The action was successful. 'This involved liability of £250 to the Committee, whose pecuniary calculations were upset to that amount'.

For a while the Great Bath remained encumbered with the Poor Law Offices perched precariously on arches and other supports high above the Roman work. After some difficulties the building was purchased and removed in 1886 allowing the Great Bath to be wholly exposed for the first time.

In the autumn of 1883 Davis was busy improving the facilities of the New Royal Baths, built in 1867 over the west end of the Roman bathing establishment and in December had exposed much of the hypocaust of the Roman *tepidarium* first noted in 1869. The next three years, 1884–6, saw the demolition of the sixteenth century Queen's Bath, the boiler and engine house and two houses on the Stall Street-York Street corner, and the total excavation of the whole area exposing a considerable expanse of well-preserved Roman structures including the Roman Circular Bath. In January 1887 part of the Oval Bath, north of the *tepidarium* had been cleared and by the summer of 1890 excavation had extended beneath York Street to the Swallow Street corner where the New Corporation Steam Laundry was under construction.

The wholesale clearance of the Stall Street-York Street corner (1883–7) was in preparation for the extension to the New Royal Baths. Whilst it had been accepted that the baths were in desperate need of upgrading no decisions had been taken as to the nature of the improvements until 1885 when, following a visit to continental spas by Major Davis and Dr. Freeman, the Baths and Pump Rooms Committee presented their Surveyor's report to the Town Council (3 September 1885).

The essence of the scheme was to construct an up-to-date establishment fitted out with the most modern scientific appliances. 'Bertholet' vapour baths, and Aix-les-Bains Douche baths were already being constructed in the old building – to these the Committee proposed adding 'Salles de Pulverization' a Sitz or reclining bath, a Wildbad Bath, an inhalation room and various vapour and douche baths – in fact every bathing gimmick that Bath's continental rivals had seen fit to develop. It was all part of the Council's desire to reinvigorate their ailing spa. That the scheme was at least a short-term success is shown by the annual receipts which rocketed from £2717 for the year 1880 to £7117 for 1890.

The project, as originally proposed, was an ambitious one which involved the bringing into use of the Roman Circular Bath.

Your Committee desire to utilize this Bath and in so doing to provide against any mutilation or dangerous restoration. This Bath will nobly supply the loss of the Queen's Bath, be greater in extent with a platform north and south, and will have nine lofty and commodious Dressing Rooms.

The Hall will be arched over and lighted on the four sides with ventilation in the centre, and perhaps what is more important than all, the Bath, unlike the Queen's Bath, that was simply fed from the King's Bath, will possess a continuous stream of Hot Mineral Water that has been wasted for many centuries.⁷

The report goes on to say that the floor of the new basement storey will be the original level of the Roman Bath and in addition to the Circular Bath with its nine dressing rooms the same floor would accommodate six reclining baths and douches, two attendants' rooms, two WCs and a staircase with lift.

It takes little imagination to anticipate what havoc such an arrangement would have played with the Roman structures. Davis appears to have concurred with the conclusions and was probably instrumental in drawing them up. In allowing the scheme to go forward in this form he was guilty of a major error of judgment and to that extent deserved the tirade of criticism and abuse which followed.

As work progressed criticism grew, organized, it seems, by Richard Mann (whom Davis had dismissed some years before) and a local clergyman the Revd. F.A.H. Vinon, curate of St. John the Baptist, Bathwick. Mann wrote to the British Archaeological Association while Vinon alerted the Society of Antiquaries who, on 8 April 1886 passed a resolution calling on the Corporation of Bath to 'so modify their plans as not to involve any destruction or concealment of the Roman work'.

The city authorities were alarmed at this sudden outburst of criticism and called upon Davis, as the responsible officer, to give an account of himself. This he did in a long and careful report presented to the Baths and Pump Rooms Committee on 3 May and this was subsequently sent to the complaining bodies. The report shows that he had clearly thought carefully about the conflict of interests posed by the development of this difficult site and he ends by making, rather pompously, the perfectly valid point that:

There is no argument that could be brought that would justify the lover of antiquity in narrowing the bounty that Providence has bestowed on this city, in still suffering the helpless to be helpless in order that he may revel in the stones of the past and study the habits and manners of long-forgotten Bath.

These are defiant words and were clearly seen as such by his opponents.

The Society of Antiquaries responded by asking their Local Secretary in Gloucester, an architect, J.H. Middleton, to visit the site and report to Council. Middleton made his inspection on 30 July and sent a bland and rather unhelpful statement to the Antiquaries concluding, 'The present somewhat objectionable scheme is, however, being carried out (so far) with care, and with as little damage as is possible to the Roman remains'. He goes on to mention the proposed restoration of the Circular Bath saying that it would essentially destroy the bath as a piece of genuine Roman construction and in a post-script, following further information, he concludes, 'The whole place is full of very exceptional interest and deserves very different treatment to that which it has received'.

The city authorities, hearing that Middleton had sent a report to the Society of Antiquaries, began to get worried the more when they learnt that no lesser person than the Assistant Secretary of the Antiquaries, W.H. St. John Hope, proposed to make an inspection on 24 August. In an attempt at outflanking they invited their own expert, F.C. Penrose, an architect and amateur Greek antiquarian (who had gained some brief notoriety by criticizing Schliemann's work at Tiryns), to visit the site on 23 August. Penrose, who appears to have known Davis, was paid a fee of twenty guineas for his two days' work. His report dated 26 August concludes, 'I therefore am of opinion that the arrangement of the buildings now contemplated involves no destruction of antiquities; and further, that their concealment from view is avoided to as great an extent as is compatible with the prime necessity of providing for the extension of the Baths'.

St. John Hope's letter to the President of the Antiquaries written on the same day was a far fuller and more perceptive document. He had spent much of the day on site with Davis,

Davis having been instructed by the Mayor to 'afford me every facility for seeing the Roman remains, and to show me any plans I might wish to see'. It was a somewhat tense day. 'Mr. Davis pointed out a portion of a newly discovered bath on the north of this corridor which he had instructions to explore, but he said he should give himself no trouble in the matter if interfered with'. Hope then listened while Davis explained how he intended to plaster the Roman walls

. . . marking on the plaster the height of the old work and inscribing it 'ROMAN'. On my pointing out how this would effectively prevent any of the old work being seen Mr. Davis declined to discuss the question, and stated that the levels of the floors were not settled, and need not even be thought of *till the roof was on*. I, however, returned to the subject and suggested that the levels should be raised so that the Roman work would be accessible but his only reply was the Corporation would not go to the expense. To my suggestion that as architect to the Corporation he was at liberty to place his levels where he thought fit, Mr. Davis had nothing to say.

Clearly Davis was in a tetchy mood and on the defensive.

St. John Hope's conclusions were that there was no need to use the Roman walls and the new floors could easily be raised; the Roman site had not been properly examined before building began; and that he had the strong personal feeling that the new building work would end in the whole of the ancient structure being sealed beneath plaster and concrete. It was a devastating indictment but nothing was communicated to the city authorities in spite of several requests from the Mayor to be sent copies of the reports.

Early in September the pace of local discontent began to hot up and the local press seethed with letters for and against the building scheme, the anti-Davis camp led, predictably, by Richard Mann and the Revd. F.A.H. Vinon.

The Baths and Pump Rooms Committee finally capitulated on 12 November when they issued a statement for Council in which they reported that they had already agreed to give up the idea of using the Roman Circular Bath 'in deference to the wishes of some antiquarians (and as instructed by the Council)' and had thereby sacrificed an annual income of £260. Giving up the six

reclining baths in the basement would increase the loss by a further £864. At the same meeting the Council unanimously passed the somewhat ambiguous resolution that 'it be an instruction to the Baths and Pump Rooms Committee to take the best and most effective measures for the preservation and exhibition of the Roman remains consistent with plans adopted by the Council'. Clearly the weight of public reaction was now beginning to tell.

Ten days later, on 22 November 1886, there was another visitation from the Society of Antiquaries. This time St. John Hope was joined by the architect J.T. Micklethwaite and at Bath they met H.H. Winwood (President of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club) and J.J. Wilkinson (Chairman of the Baths and Pump Rooms Committee) who had borne the brunt of the criticism. This was the first time that the authorities in Bath had been shown the two previous reports. Hope's second report, written the next day describes the situation as he saw it. At a meeting at which Davis was present Davis and Wilkinson

. . . explicitly promised . . . that the new basement floor should be placed at such a height above the hypocaust floor as to allow easy access to the Roman work. . . . The promised alteration of the levels is, of course, satisfactory; but the intersecting brickwork will still be a concealment of old work, which even piercing will not undo.⁹

By this time much of the superstructure of the new baths had been erected so there was little room for compromise but the raising of the floor level ensured the preservation of much of the Roman work. It is highly likely that Davis had already come round to the view that this was the preferred solution, certainly by the time of the Council's meeting ten days before the Antiquaries visitation. St. John Hope's second report omits to mention the decision taken by the Council to leave the Circular Bath clear of clutter but he must have known about it. The probable explanation is that as a man of hectoring personality, he needed to give the impression that his visit was decisive when in reality it had no great influence on the completion of the project.

Even so the Council was alarmed by the tone of Hope's critical report which had been sent to the President of the Society of Antiquaries on 23 November and communicated to them on 30

November. Who was right – their own surveyor and architect or this august domineering figure sent down by the London Antiquaries? They took the only course open and invited the well-known London architect Alfred Waterhouse, RA to provide them with a professional opinion. Waterhouse arrived on 3 January and spent two days inspecting the site. His report to the Chairman of the Baths and Pump Rooms Committee, written on 14 January, presented a clear description of the intricate problems involved and an assessment of the ways in which Davis had tackled them. He had read all the previous reports and had seen everything for himself. His opinion was unequivocal. Referring to the previous reports he writes:

They evince the great importance attached by the Society of Antiquaries to the conservation of these remains, and demand that nothing may be done in the Works now in progress which should in any way injure them or prevent their being displayed in the way most favourable to their intelligent study.

Major Davis, your Architect, has however had not only to consider the question as an antiquary, but as your professional adviser he has had to arrange for the increased bathing accommodations required by the reputation of your baths, and to reconcile the ideal mode of treating the relics of the past with the necessities of the present and future. This, as is admitted by some of his critics, has been a difficult problem to solve.

For the general way in which your Architect has arranged for the due exhibition of the Roman remains in the basement, while not sacrificing his space for bathing purposes, I have nothing but praise. Almost everything of interest he is leaving uncovered, or at any rate accessible.

The report was presented to Council on 1 March 1887. It must have been a great relief for them that someone as eminent as Waterhouse was prepared to express himself so positively in favour of what was being done. His remarks were balanced and entirely without the rancour that had pervaded Middleton's and St. John Hope's letters. Davis was totally exonerated. They eagerly passed a resolution of confidence in their architect and went on to require that a letter be sent to the Antiquaries saying

that they, the Council, were entirely satisfied with the work and that 'they doubt not but that the Society are equally satisfied'.

The august Society of Antiquaries was not used to being treated in this way by a mere town council and they were far from pleased but we will return to the unhappy sequel shortly.

The foundation stone of the new baths had already been laid in the summer of 1866 when the conflict was just beginning to hot up. The inscription read:

On July 23rd 1866
Under the mayoralty of Anthony Hammond,
The Hot Mineral Baths Committee,
J.J. Wilkinson, Chairman,
have laid, on Roman masonry seventeen hundred years-old, the
corner stone of new baths
thus connecting in work and object
the modern with the ancient world

It was a nice compliment to the esteem in which Davis was held that the Committee, on seeing the inscription, insisted that a further line, 'Chas. E. Davis, F.S.A., architect' be added. The building was finally opened in June 1889 by Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany. In 1972 it was demolished.

The decade 1878-1888 had been an uncomfortable time for Davis. As Surveyor of Works he had served the city well. His work on the King's Bath ensured the continuance of a pure and constant supply of spa water and his advice and expertise had undoubtedly been instrumental in upgrading the city's spa facilities. Not only did he design the Douche and Massage Baths but he also greatly improved the New Royal Baths built in 1867 in connection with the erection of the Grand Pump Room Hotel. In the eyes of many he was the saviour of the spa and reviver of the city's fortunes.

Two of his other schemes, developed during this busy period deserve mention. As we have seen, he had long wished to build a large hotel complex in Bath. Undeterred by earlier set-backs, in 1886 he put forward plans for the Spring Garden Hotel, to be built on the low-lying land on the Bathwick side of the river. Promises of £100,000 of capital were forthcoming from sponsors but well-orchestrated opposition in the city successfully stifled the progress and yet another of his hotel schemes languished. While all this was going on the Rivers estate property was purchased

allowing him to lay out Crescent Gardens and to improve considerably the quality of the buildings along Upper Bristol Road.

But how did Davis' reputation as an archaeologist fare? He was already a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of some standing and one of its Local Secretaries and he clearly saw himself as something of an academic. In 1883 he published *The Mineral Baths of Bath* subtitled *The Bathes of Bathe's Ayde in the reign of Charles II As illustrated by a Drawing of the King' and Queen's Bath (signed) 1675*. The drawing referred to is a fine pen and wash illustration of the King's Bath by Thomas Johnson, which had just been acquired by the British Museum. Davis used the illustration as the starting point for an excursus on Bath in the seventeenth century. It is a rambling rather pompous work full of assertion and inaccuracy but not without a general interest and no worse than much local history published at the time. The next year it was viciously attacked in an anonymous privately printed pamphlet, *The Pretended Discovery of a Roman Bath at Bath. With remarks on a recent publication entitled the Bathes of Bathe's Ayde in the Reign of Charles II*. In 32 pages of trenchant criticism the author sets about the assassination of Davis. Two quotations will suffice to give the flavour.

These defects are rendered the more intolerable from the calm complacency with which the statements are expressed in language, too, full of inaccuracies and vulgarisms. On nearly every page is found the objectionable 'I', and then the 'our' and the 'we'. There is the occasional assumption of the dignity of the historian and then the rapid descent to the style of the showman. . . .

There was opportunity for anyone gifted with a moderate ability and patience, and guided by knowledge, modesty and accuracy to have invested the small subject matter with unique and lasting interest. The time and circumstances were favourable, the qualifications altogether absent.¹⁰

A substantial part of this unsavoury document was devoted to the question of whether or not Davis was the first to discover the Roman Great Bath. It is a matter of no importance and yet the anonymous writer rambles on for 12 pages raking through the history of excavation in an attempt to belittle Davis'

achievement. The critic may well have been the writer of a letter published in the local press, here styling himself 'A Citizen' – at least exactly the same ground is covered. In a spirited retort, however, another correspondent concludes,

That the existence of the great Roman Bath has been transferred from the region of conjecture to the region of fact we owe entirely to the enthusiasm and unwearied zeal of Major Davis, and no fair mind can deny him the credit of being the practical discoverer of the great Roman Bath. More credit than this he has never claimed; less than this only the churlish and envious will grudge him.

It is a fair comment on the totally unjustified attack and must have given poor Davis some satisfaction. Who the anonymous critic and 'citizen' were is unproven but certain stylistic similarities can be found with the signed writings of the Revd. F.A.H. Vinon.

Throughout the period of the Roman discoveries Davis was lecturing widely. Between 1871 and 1884 he gave five papers to the Society of Antiquaries, two or more to the Bath Field Club, one to the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society and one to the British Association and no doubt many more. He also produced two booklets, based on lectures, *The Excavation of Roman Baths at Bath* and *Guide to the Roman Baths of Bath* both published in 1884 and going through many editions. Although these later editions include notes on discoveries after 1883 no adequate description of the discoveries of 1884–6 is offered. It's almost as though Davis was tired of the whole business and simply lost interest. Indeed it was left to Davis' old enemy Richard Mann to produce the only accurate set of drawings of the baths which he sold to the Society of Antiquaries in 1900.

The saga of the Roman baths did not finish with the Council's rebuff to the Society of Antiquaries. Soon after the contents of Waterhouse's report became known there were moves afoot in the Society to have revenge on Davis. On 22 February 1887 a resolution was passed by the President and Council recommending the Society to revoke Davis' appointment as Local Secretary. It was a particularly petty move, most likely instigated by St. John Hope. In a lengthy discussion at an ordinary meeting of the Society on 3 March, with Davis present, the meeting got as far as agreeing that the entire Fellowship should be circulated

with the various extant reports. Significantly the Society was prepared only to circulate the letters from Middleton and Hope. It was left to Davis, presumably at his own expense, to print and distribute the reports of Penrose and Waterhouse. When the proceedings came to be published¹¹ the Middleton and Hope letters were printed in full but not those of Penrose and Waterhouse! A further discussion on 10 March got nowhere and was finally taken up again on the 17th by which time the Council had tacitly admitted defeat by dropping the resolution to sack Davis from his post as Local Secretary. Even so they felt it necessary to record that 'they still feel that he has failed to extend to the Roman antiquities at Bath that protecting care which is looked for in a Local Secretary'.

In an enigmatic rider to the resolution the President and Council affirmed that nothing they had heard had lessened their trust in Middleton and Hope. Clearly what had happened was that at the ordinary meetings on 3 and 10 March the supporters of Davis had thrown such doubt on the credibility of the Society's experts that the Council was forced to retreat. The whole issue must have been excessively painful for Davis: his credibility as an antiquarian was at stake and, although he had been vindicated by the impartial report of Waterhouse and by the support of the Fellows, the wound was deep. His bitterness is apparent in his letter of 2 April 1887 to the Hon. Secretary of the Society:

Notwithstanding the great respect I have for the Society of Antiquaries I do not recognize their authority to criticise my professional labours. My works have received the most unqualified expressions of approval from those whose judgment cannot be questioned.

I shall feel obliged upon being informed when the next election of Local Secretaries takes place as it is my present intention to withdraw my name for re-election.

There is a tail-piece to the story. When the British Association visited the baths in 1888 Davis addressed the delegates in the Roman Bath, which had been emptied for the purpose. He had the satisfaction of being publicly thanked and praised for his efforts by one of the foremost antiquarians of the day, Sir John Lubbock, and Sir John Evans, by then President of the Society of Antiquaries.

Now, a hundred years on, how should his work on the Roman baths be judged? In 1972 the present writer presided over the demolition of the baths which Davis had so painfully built, and was responsible for overseeing the unpicking of the Victorian floors and foundations from among the remains of the Roman West Baths. As the work proceeded our admiration for Davis grew and it soon became apparent that he had taken immense care to ensure that the Roman structures remained intact and were clearly distinguishable from the more recent work. Although he had made no attempt to publish an account of the West Baths he had left them in excellent order for posterity. Careful recording and dissection in 1972 allowed the entire structural sequence to be elucidated – all thanks to Davis.

By 1888 Davis was well used to conflict. The skirmish of the baths was over but he was about to be plunged into another of a rather different kind – the Battle of the City Arms. The essence of the controversy was that there are two versions of the arms: the 'accepted version' which shows a sword against a crenellated city wall with water above, and a '1623 version' which reverses the wall and water (perhaps indicating the King's Bath). Although there are records of the 'accepted version' going back to the sixteenth century, the Herald's Visitation in 1623 legitimized the alternative. When the Guildhall was built in 1778 the architect, Thomas Baldwin, had the accepted version carved on the front pediment and there it remained until Major Davis decided, without authority, to replace it with the 1623 version whilst he was restoring the building. When the change was noticed uproar ensued culminating in a motion to City Council that Davis' appointment as Surveyor of Works be revoked. The motion was defeated by two votes but Davis was required to replace the offending 1623 version with the accepted version even though, in the view of the College of Arms, the 1623 version is the one they officially recognized. The incident polarized even further the pro- and anti-Davis parties and Alderman Radway who called for his dismissal was, six years later, to lead to the attack on Davis in the next episode – the Affair of the Pump Room Competition.

If the saga of the Douche and Massage Baths was a fraught episode in Bath's civic history and does not reflect too favourably on any of the chief personalities involved, what was to follow – the Bath Pump Room Competition – seems even more like a farce.

The story begins on 8 March 1892 when the Baths Committee presented a report to the City Council. In it they stressed two problems: first the Pump Room was too small for the audiences wishing to attend the now-popular daily concerts and second the Roman baths were an uncared-for mess, suffering from exposure to the weather. What they proposed was to develop the site immediately to the east of the eighteenth century Pump Room as a new concert hall and at the same time to roof over the Roman baths:

The Roman Bath should be roofed in and enclosed, as well as the King's Bath. The roof of the Roman Bath should be sufficiently lofty to admit of the erection of a side balcony all round it, on a level with the floor of the Pump Room or nearly so. Easy access should be provided by staircase to the lower level of the scholae of the bath, through which the general public should be admitted by a separate entrance. The area beneath these additions to the Pump Room should be excavated to the level of the Roman Bath, and if anything should be found of antiquarian interest it should be left accessible as are the present Roman remains. If, in addition to this a portion of the basement, well lighted, could be set aside for a museum for all the Roman antiquities belonging to the Corporation . . . it would be a very desirable addition.

The original report was eminently sensible and had it been followed in detail the Roman baths would have been far more intelligible to a visitor than they are today – but things seldom progress simply in Bath.

The Council gave its agreement to the scheme and a Local Government Board Inquiry sanctioned the raising of a loan to purchase the necessary land. By the middle of the next year the site had been cleared and excavated. It was now that the problems began.

By a small majority the Baths Committee recommended to Council that Davis 'be instructed to prepare and submit to the Council a plan and design for the utilization of the site adjoining the Roman Baths'. The matter was hotly debated in Council, during which time of course the pro- and anti-Davis factions had their say. The outcome, quite rightly, was the decision to launch an open competition.

At a Council meeting held on 5 August 1893 the conditions of the competition were agreed. Three premiums, of £100, £75 and £50 respectively were to be awarded for the three best designs. After the plans were in, an assessor would be appointed by the Institute of British Architects. To maintain absolute fairness the plans would be anonymous, the names of the individual architects being submitted in sealed envelopes. When the premiums were awarded the Committee would choose which designs they considered to be most suitable for their purpose – it need not necessarily be the scheme winning the first premium. Only then would the envelopes be opened and the identity of the winner revealed. The arrangements appeared to be foolproof.

On 5 December 1893 the Committee presented their report to Council. There had been 14 entries each of which was identified by a letter. The eminent architect, Alfred Waterhouse, who had served as assessor, had nominated 'K', 'O' and 'I' as the three winners in that order. The Committee considered the designs in detail and unanimously chose 'O' as the scheme most appropriate to the site and to their needs, praising in particular the skilled way in which the author had proposed to roof the Roman Bath and the magnificence of the concert room. The Council agreed, again with unanimity.

The moment had come to reveal the identity of the successful architect. The Mayor took up the envelope marked 'O' and broke the seal. The *Bath Herald* reports what ensued:

The Mayor 'There is nothing in it' (sensation) 'That's rather extraordinary'.

The Town Clerk (examining the envelope) 'There is nothing in it'.

At this exciting juncture Major Davis stepped forward and handed a letter to the Mayor. Amid cries of 'There is some trickery about this' a confused debate ensued at the end of which the Mayor refused to open the letter and the meeting was adjourned.

What had apparently happened was that Davis had simply forgotten to put his card into the envelope in the haste of getting the drawings together and delivered on time. His letter was one of explanation which he had judged it improper to deliver until

the contest had been decided. There is, of course, another explanation – that Davis was so distrustful of his enemies that he deliberately refrained from identifying his drawings until the Council had decided in their favour. In either event he had judged wrong for now his opponents knew the winning designs to be his and the deviation from the strict rules of the contest gave them the excuse to attack.

The Council reassembled the next week and the pro- and anti-Davis factions put their cases, one claiming natural justice for Davis, the other arguing that 'O' should be disqualified. The meeting was adjourned with the decision to take legal advice.

On 2 January and again on 9 January 1894 the Council returned to their problem. The anti-Davis faction was now arguing that since he had drawn up the specifications for the competition he had an unfair advantage over the other competitors and should not have entered in the first place. Several votes were taken but the position was one of stalemate. Then on 23 January 1894 a special meeting was called at which a grotesque compromise was proposed. It was argued that the scheme was too expensive and

. . . far in excess of the requirements of the city, and that the Baths Committee be requested to consider and report upon the possibility of adopting a scheme of less pretensions and that so much of the resolution adopted on 5th of December 1893, as is contrary to the above be rescinded.

This was bad enough but then in an amendment a second clause was added proposing that the author of the first scheme, 'K', 'be requested to consider and report upon the possibility of erecting a building of a less costly character'. The amendment was carried by 2 votes, 23 to 21 with 3 abstentions.

Thus through a minor oversight (or a trivial error of judgment) Davis was cheated of the opportunity of completing his life's work on the Pump Room/Baths project. The successful contestant, 'K', turned out to be J.M. Brydon who had already carried out creditable work in Bath in his Guildhall extensions. His Pump Room extension is competent and not unpleasing but as a result of the competition fiasco the Roman baths were left unroofed, to the confusion of visitors, and Brydon's concert room soon proved to be, acoustically, the worst hall in Bath. The editor

of the *Bath Herald* was, one suspects, speaking for a good number of citizens when he wrote

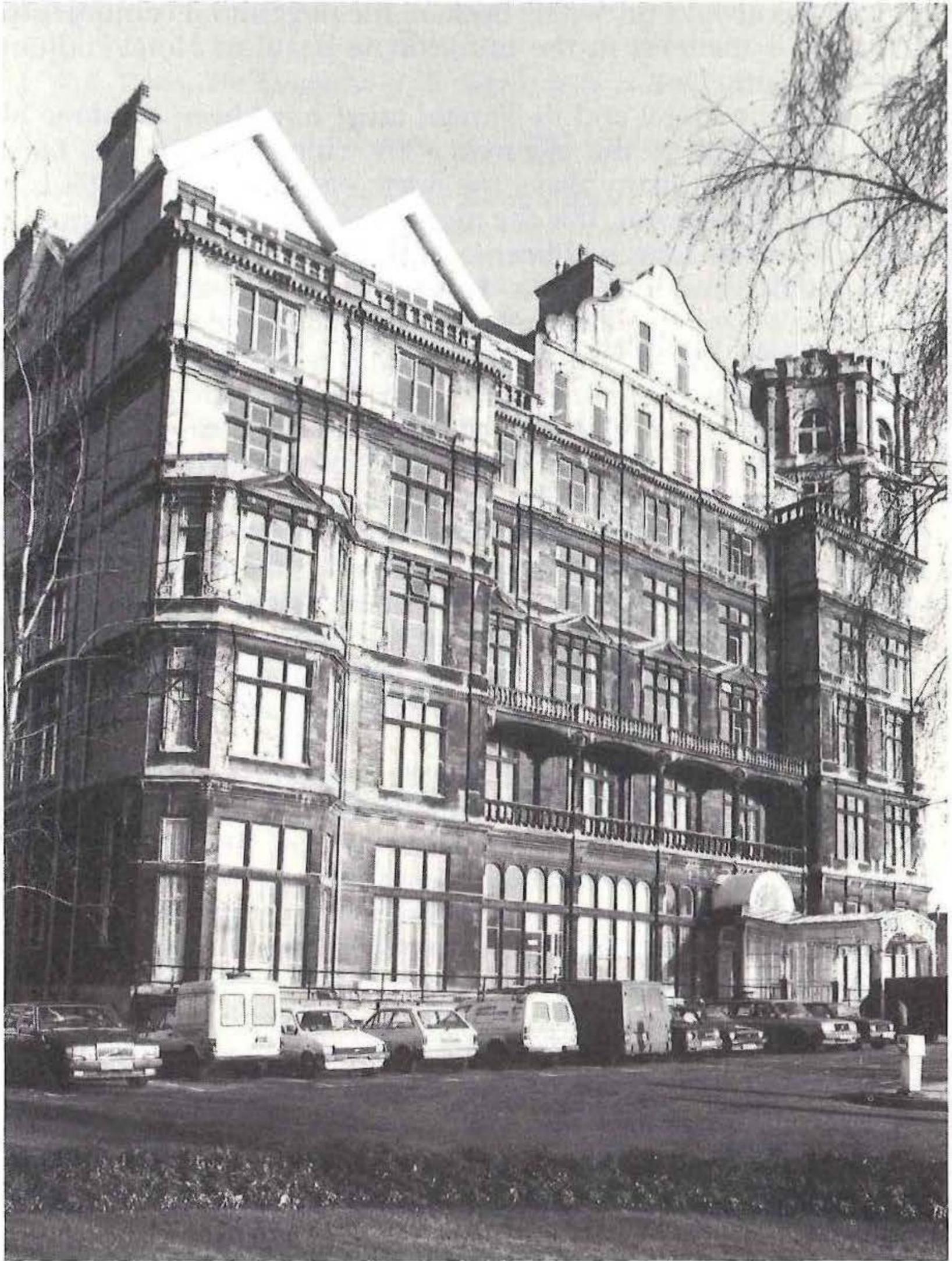
The history of the Competition for the Pump Room Extension Plans is a black page in the annals of the city: the interests of the citizens who send their representatives to the Council to legislate for them have been sacrificed to gratify personal pique which should find no place in the deliberations at the Guildhall.¹²

It must have been small consolation for the angry and dispirited Davis.

After a life engendering so much criticism and disappointment it is a relief to be able to end this brief biography of Davis on a triumphant note. Throughout his working life in Bath Davis had two particular ambitions, to create a new road along the Avon between the Orange Grove and Bridge Street, and to build a large hotel. His several hotel schemes had come to nothing and his plans for a link road failed to receive Council approval on more than one occasion. At last, at the very end of his life, these two ambitions were realized in the great scheme which saw the erection of the Empire Hotel and its fronting Grand Parade.

It was the era of mega-hotels and Bath was not to be outdone. A wealthy entrepreneur, Mr. Alfred Holland, came forward with the money and the hotel company he formed entrusted the task of design to Davis having made clear in approaching the Council that it was 'taking it for granted that there are no restrictions as to height'. Davis seems to have been mildly concerned by the problem and did, in fact, go to the trouble to prepare 'skylines' showing his proposed new building in relation to those immediately adjacent. In the event his seven-storey 'Jacobean' monster, crowned with an eclectic ensemble of gables and turrets, towers above the city directly challenging the grandeur of the Abbey and all else. It is fashionable at the moment to treat the Empire Hotel with contempt and ridicule but it has a distinct quality and even a fin-de-siècle charm. It is the only truly grandiose High Victorian building that Bath can boast and for all its faults the city would be the poorer without it.

As to the Grand Parade, Davis is the only architect Bath has ever had who has appreciated the enormous potential of the city's river frontage. It is a remarkable fact that but for the Grand Parade



6 The Empire Hotel seen from Orange Grove

the city has always turned its back on the river and it continues to do so (as is manifest in the unfortunate Beaufort Hotel/Podium development).

The Empire Hotel and its Parade must have been a source of great satisfaction to the old man – the culmination of his life's work in Bath. In many ways the brash egotism of the hotel is a reflection of its creator. It is the mature, expansive expression of a man who for so long had been constrained and thwarted by the small-minded and the jealous. Is it too fanciful to see in the hotel the Major's revenge? The building was completed early in 1901: within a year Davis was dead.

In forty years as Surveyor of Works and City Architect, Major Davis had made an impression on Bath. He had secured a permanent supply of pure mineral water, he had recreated the spa and made it a financial success and he had uncovered the Great Roman Baths, one of the cornerstones of the city's present prosperity. His architectural endeavours are currently ridiculed but unfairly so: his early Italianate buildings deserve to be recognized as an early provincial manifestation of Ruskin's influence while even the Empire Hotel, a child of its time, is a significant building in Bath's architectural development and is deserving of thorough and unbiased study.

As an archaeologist Davis has little reputation but his care of the Roman Baths was immaculate and his persistence in having so much uncovered should not be lost sight of. The only sadness is that he published so little but then in this he was no different from most of his fellow antiquaries.

When all is said and done what manner of man was he? Flamboyant and energetic, he did not suffer fools gladly. Such a man, with his evident abilities and capacity for hard work, was bound to find working within the confines of local government irksome. He was too maverick for the narrow-minded pettiness of Victorian Bath. Conflict was inevitable and conflict there was in plenty. Perhaps he relished it.

Notes

- 1 C.E. Davis, *The Excavation of the Roman Baths at Bath*, 1884, 23–4.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 24.
- 3 Paper to Society of Antiquaries, read 1880 (unpublished).
- 4 *Ibid.*.
- 5 C.E. Davis, *The Excavation of the Roman Baths at Bath*, 1884.
- 6 J. Murch, *Bath Celebrities with fragments of Local History*, 1893, 391.
- 7 *Baths and Pump Rooms Committee Report*, 3 September 1885.
- 8 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Vol. XI, 1887, 336–7.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 343.
- 10 Anon., *The pretended discovery of a Roman Bath at Bath with remarks on a recent publication entitled the Bathes of Bathe's Aydt in the reign of Charles II*, 1887, 6–7, 20.
- 11 *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, Vol. XI, 1887, 335–343.
- 12 B.S.P., *The Pump Room Competition*, 1894.

The writer is most grateful to Sam Hunt for asking him to write this paper in the first instance and for much support during its preparation. He also wishes to record his thanks to Jean Manco and Jane Root for researching many of the obscure details. Thanks are also due to Colin Johnston the City Archivist and to John Hopkins, Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries.

Appendix 1: sources

The principal sources used in the preparation of this paper are to be found in the holdings of the Bath City Archives, in the columns of the contemporary local newspapers, and in the archives of the Society of Antiquaries.

Of the published accounts the following are useful:

The pretended discovery of a Roman Bath at Bath with remarks on a recent publication entitled the Bathes of Bathe's Ayde in the reign of Charles II, London, 1884.

B.S.P., *The Bath Pump Room Competition, its history, rise and fall*, Bath, 1894.

Murch, J., *Bath Celebrities with fragments of Local History*, London, 1893.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Vol. XI, 1887.

Wardle, F.D., *Arms of the City of Bath*, Bath, 1953.

Major Davis did not publish his researches in any detail but the following books and pamphlets contain much that is of interest:

Ancient Landmarks of Bath, Bath, 1864.

The Inscribed plate found beneath the baths of Bath, Bath, 1881.

The Mineral Baths of Bath. The Bathes of Bathe's Ayde in the Reign of Charles II, Bath, 1883.

The Excavations of Roman Baths at Bath, *Trans. Bristol & Glos. Archaeol. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, 1884.

Guide to the Roman Baths of Bath, Bath, 1884.

Continental Baths, as reported by the City Architect to the Hot Mineral Baths Committee, July 1885, Bath, 1885.

The Saxon Cross found in Bath, Bath, 1898.

In addition to this he wrote many reports for the Baths and Pump Rooms Committee and contributed notes to the local newspapers. His principal papers to learned societies, most of which were published or fully reported, include:

Paper to Society of Antiquaries of Roman discoveries, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, Vol. V, 1871.

Paper to Society of Antiquaries on Roman discoveries, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, Vol. VII, 1878.

Paper to Society of Antiquaries on Roman discoveries, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, Vol. VIII, 1879.

Paper to Society of Antiquaries on Roman discoveries (manuscript), 1880.

Lecture to Bath Field Club on Roman discoveries, *Proc. Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, Vol. IV, 1881.

Lecture to Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, *Trans. Bristol & Glos. Archaeol. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, 1884.

The Excavation of Roman Baths at Bath, Bath, 1884.

Appendix 2: Davis the Architect

No attempt has been made in this paper to refer to all of Major Davis' buildings and schemes, nor has any critical appreciation of his architectural styles been attempted. In his 40 years in Bath, Davis was prolific and as one contemporary commentator remarked, 'There is not a street in the whole city of Bath that can have been innocent of his great architectural skill, or which has not been improved or widened as a result of his influence officially exerted'. He also had a lively private practice. The following list is at best a preliminary statement of his more important contributions to Bath and its immediate neighbourhood. The writer would be grateful to hear of additions.

Major works in Bath:

Ladymead Fountain:	built 1860
Police Station:	built 1864
Technical Schools:	designed late 1860s
Quiet Street, north side:	facade rebuilt 1871
Cross Bath:	restoration 1880s
New Queen's Bath:	built 1886-9
New Royal Baths:	extension 1880s
Pump Room:	modernization 1888
Empire Hotel and Grand Parade:	built 1899-1901
Crescent Fields estate:	layout and design of houses in Crescent Gardens and Marlborough Lane
Old Bridge:	improvements
Institution Gardens:	improvements
Orange Grove, south side:	rebuilding

Bath Neighbourhood

Market House, Trowbridge:	built 1861
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Churches and Chapels

All Saints, Dunkerton:	rebuilt 1858-60
Lyncombe and Widcombe:	cemetery chapel 1862
St. Nicholas, Bathampton:	restoration of chancel c. 1865
St. Matthew, Widcombe:	reredos c. 1870
St. John Evangelist, Weston:	enlargement c. 1870

St. Mary Magdalene, Longridge:	restoration 1872
St. Peter, Twerton:	built 1878-80
St. Saviour, Larkhall:	chancel 1882

Also restoration works at Newton St. Loe, Freshford, Priston, Stanton Prior, Swainswick, Marston Bigott, Marshfield, Rode.