SOCIAL DECLINE AND SLUM CONDITIONS: IRISH MIGRANTS IN BATH'S HISTORY

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Today, Bath sells an image of itself to three million annual tourists. This image includes the classical appeal of the finest Roman baths complex in Europe, the most complete Georgian townscape in Britain, and an enviable host of cultural associations with figures such as Thomas Gainsborough, Jane Austen and William Herschel. It does not include the social deprivation to be found huddled in city streets and on suburban estates, although Bath has always had these two aspects to its life. In the Middle Ages, the sick and the poor travelled to the tiny walled city in search of a cure from the hot springs, while most residents earned their living from the woollen-cloth trade. By the mid-eighteenth century, the newly-built, elegant city of crescents and squares provided a perfect setting for the entertainment of the visiting, fashionable company, yet the city was infested with beggars, pickpockets and prostitutes. In the Victorian era, having lost the custom of the social elite, Bath had to settle for advertising itself as a residential city and health resort for the genteel middle classes; an image that belied the poverty, squalor, crime and epidemic disease within the city's slums.[1] These transformed images were only established after periods of suffering and adjustment had been endured. It is in this respect that the presence of the Irish in Bath was highlighted during two different periods of adjustment in the city's history.

The first occurred as Bath's supremacy as the leading fashionable resort began to wane, after the death of 'Beau' Nash, Master of Ceremonies and self-styled 'King of Bath', in 1761. With the physical expansion of the city gathering pace, it became clear that Bath was no longer the exclusive preserve of the rich and famous. The '*nouveaux riches*' and 'vulgar' tradespeople rubbed shoulders with the aristocracy in the Pump Room and on the Parades. By the end of the century, the city had become overcrowded during the season, and complaints abounded about the noise from street-sellers and the hazards of encountering a host of undesirables.[2]

Bath's remarkable growth in population and physical expansion accelerated in the second half of the eighteenth century. From an estimated population of 3,000 in 1700, the number of Bath inhabitants increased more than tenfold to number 33,951 in 1801.[3] A mania for speculative building,

supported by cheap credit, increased the numbers of houses available as lodgings. The most rapid of a series of building booms, over the period 1780 to 1793, saw the number of houses increase by 45%. Coach services from London rose by 70% and traffic recorded on the Avon Navigation more than doubled. Not surprisingly, the number of distinguished visitors also increased. The *Bath Journal* recorded a tenfold increase from 510 in 1746 to 5,341 in 1800.[4] Yet the very success Bath enjoyed at the height of its fame brought with it the seeds of a gradual social decline. Well before the end of the eighteenth century, Bath was attracting far more new visitors and residents of the second-rank – retired civil servants, superannuated parsons, and army and navy officers on half-pay – than the first. This, together with the rising cost of medical treatment in Bath, the growing preference for what Jane Austen described as 'the elegant stupidity of private parties',[5] and the sheer size of the bustling city, tempted some of the fashionable company to look for pleasure in rival watering places, Leamington, Cheltenham, and at the Prince Regent's alternative court held in Brighton.[6]

Ostensibly, the nobility, gentry, and merely famous, were in Bath to take the waters for their health, but to the cognoscenti there were many other delights on offer – gambling, political intrigue, and all kinds of opportunity for dissipation. Behind the elegant façade of Georgian Bath lay an obsession with gambling and a fascination with all forms of vice.[7] Along with the informality of relations between the sexes there existed a less-than-rigid adherence to class etiquette in the mingling of the social orders. All this rich tapestry of people in close proximity, pretending respectability while hell-bent on illicit pleasures, offered comic opportunities to the satirists of the day.

It is no coincidence that the mockery of Bath society assumed a renewed vigour just at the time when the city was beginning a process of social decline.[8] The fashionable verse of Christopher Anstey's *New Bath Guide* made its public debut in 1766. Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, containing the most biting assault on Bath society, was published in 1771. Richard Brinsley Sheridan's comic play, *The Rivals*, set in Bath and owing much to Sheridan's own experience of a romantic elopement with Elizabeth Linley and the fighting of two duels in the city, was first performed in 1775. These works began a fashion for comic writing on Bath, and Anstey especially set in train a fashion for visitors to pen a few lines to commemorate their visit. In addition, late eighteenth-century Bath attracted the artistic talents of the cartoonists, Rowlandson and the Cruikshank brothers. The series of comic scenes entitled 'The Comforts of Bath' pointed the contrast

between the elegance of the buildings and the coarseness of the company.[9] A constantly repeated theme throughout this body of satirical work, in its varied forms, was the lament for a fall from grace, and the vulgarisation of the once-proud fashionable élite. Moreover, what was featured within that general lament was the presence of an impoverished Irish gentry, depicted as spendthrift, full of braggadocio, and unashamedly in search of the restoration of family fortunes through marriage.

Smollett depicted the presence of the Irish gentry in the company at Bath. They were to be found alongside a host of undesirable *nouveaux riches*: 'clerks and factors from the East Indies, planters, negro-drivers and hucksters, from our American plantations, contractors, usurers, brokers, and jobbers of every kind; men of low birth and no breeding.'[10] He noted that there were 'a great many gentlemen and ladies of Ireland' who found it agreeable and useful to mingle in the crowd at the Pump Room, in the coffee houses or in Spring Garden.[11] Sensitive to Bath's reputation as a marriage market, Smollett employed an Irish character, Sir Ulic Mackilligut, 'an Irish baronet of sixty five, "much out at elbows" ', to depict the process of social decline.[12] Sir Ulic's financial embarrassment is confirmed by his lodgings in South Parade, which by the 1770s was no longer a fashionable address. Here, there was a general racket that draws a letter of complaint from Matthew Bramble to the Irish baronet tenant living above him. Responding to that complaint, Sir Ulic, of County Galway, greets him:

> Mister What dy'ye callum, by my soul and conscience, I am very glad to sea you, if you are after coming in the way of friendship; and indeed, and indeed now, I believe you are my friend sure enough, gra; though I never had the honour to sea your face before, my dear; for becaase you come like a friend, without any ceremony at all, at all!

Brushing aside the baronet's assumed affability, Bramble demands that he should make less noise as there was a sick gentleman below whom he had no right to disturb with such preposterous doings. Ulic replies: 'Why, look-ye-now, young gentleman ... perhaps upon another occasion; I might shivilly request you to explain the meaning of that hard word, *prepasterous*: but there's a home for all things, honey.'[13]

What is on display here is beguiling Irish charm covering up a certain 'stupidity' and 'ignorance' of the proprieties expected of society in Bath. The Irish brogue, not very effectively portrayed in the text, offers additional comic possibilities to those of the mere vulgarity expected of English trades-folk. That Smollett was pointing to a general phenomenon of social decline is clear from his diatribe against the vulgarisation of the company at Bath:

> Every upstart of fortune, harnessed to the trappings of the mode, presents himself at Bath ... men of low birth and no breeding ... all of them hurry to Bath, because here, without any further qualification, they can mingle with the princes and nobles of the land. Even the wives and daughters of low tradesmen, who, like shovel-nosed sharks, prey upon the blubber of those uncouth whales of fortune, are infected with the same rage of displaying their importance; and the slightest indisposition serves them for a pretext to insist upon being conveyed to Bath, where they may hobble country-dances and cotillons among lordlings, squires, counsellors, and clergy. These delicate creatures from Bedfordbury, Butcher-row, Crutched-friars and Botolph-lane, cannot breathe in the gross air of the Lower Town, or conform to the vulgar rules of a common lodging-house; the husband, therefore, must provide an entire house, or elegant apartments in the new buildings. Such is the composition of what is called the fashionable company at Bath: where a very inconsiderable proportion of genteel people are lost in a mob of impudent plebians, who have neither understanding nor judgement, nor the least idea of propriety and decorum; and seem to enjoy nothing so much as an opportunity of insulting their betters.[14]

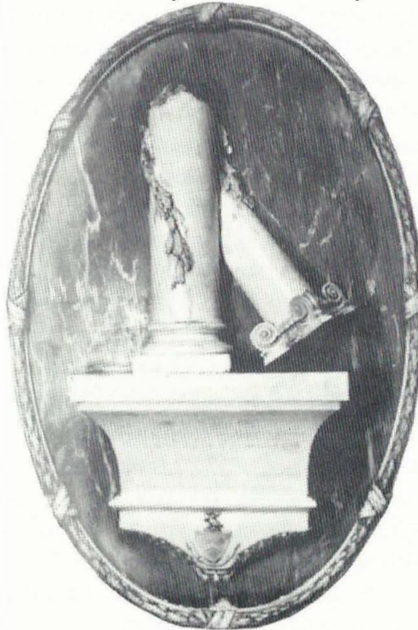
Whilst the Irish gentry may have possessed breeding to recommend them to Bath society, their fictional names fulfilled a humorous intent in representing the Irish as showy, vulgar and hot-blooded. In listing the company at Bath, Christopher Anstey has Lord Cram and Lord Vulter rhyme with the delightfully named Sir Brandish O'Culter, and, in the following stanza, he depicts two fiery Irishmen ready to fight a duel:

> Sir Toby MacNegus is going to settle
> His tea drinking night with Sir Philip O'Kettle.
> I hear that they both have appointed the same:
> The majority think that Sir Philip's to blame,
> I hope they won't quarrel – they're both in a flame.
> Sir Toby MacNegus much spirit has got,
> And Sir Philip O'Kettle is apt to be hot.[15]

The duel was also an important feature of Sheridan's plot for *The Rivals*. Set in Bath, this included in the cast of characters the improbably-named Sir Lucius O'Trigger, an impoverished Irish braggart. In the preface to the play, Sheridan, who was born in Dublin, denied that the character represented a slur on his fellow countrymen, but there was certainly comic effect in the way that the part was portrayed in accordance with English preconceptions of the Irish gentry.

> 'Ah, my little friend', says Sir Lucius to Acres, 'if I had a Blunderbuss Hall here, I could show you a range of ancestry, in the O'Trigger line, that would furnish the new room; and everyone of whom had killed his man! For though the mansion-house and dirty acres have slipped through my fingers, I thank Heaven our honour and the family-pictures are as fresh as ever.'[16]

Sir Lucius *et al* were symbols of the social transformation in Bath's history in the late eighteenth century, as the city's exclusive claim to be the premier resort of fashion was being eroded by the vulgar presence of English *nouveaux riches*, and an impoverished gentry from Ireland thought to have dissipated their fortunes by extravagant living. Literary reference to the presence of Irish gentry families in Bath is supported by the Irish names on the burial tablets that adorn the interior walls of Bath Abbey Church. For the Anglo-Irish, as well as for English visitors who came ostensibly for their health, and promptly died, 'in the Abbey there was very snug lying.'[17]



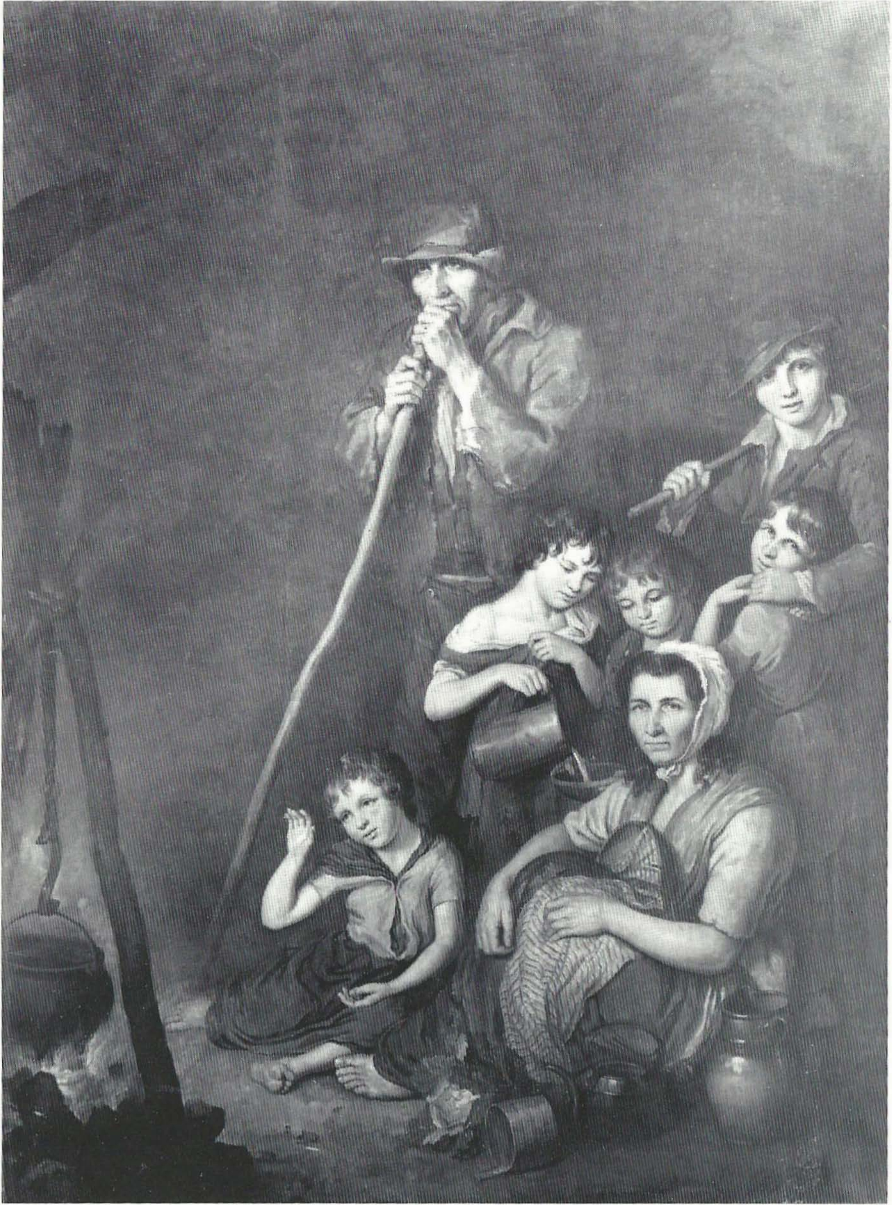
1. The memorial in Bath Abbey to Robert Walsh (1788). The inscription reads: 'By the death of this Gentleman, an ancient and respectable family in Ireland became extinct'. The end of the family line is shown by a broken column, a device used here for the first time but later frequently found elsewhere. (*Reproduced by courtesy of Bath Abbey*)

* * *

In the 1840s, Bath experienced a second crisis of identity. By this time, the slow process of social decline had brought the economy of the city to a wretchedly low condition. Deserted by the fashionable company, on whom the tradesmen and craftsmen were thought to depend, the city had not yet fully developed its new identity as a genteel place of residence for the middle classes. Trade was so bad that, as one contemporary observed, you could fire a cannon up Milsom Street, the principal shopping street, and be in no danger of hitting anyone.[18] Wrestling with the problems common to medium-sized and large Victorian cities, Bath, with its population reaching 54,000 in 1841, was endeavouring to raise its social tone in order to attract a new respectable clientele. The sense of crisis was evident in the numerous problems facing the city at a time of depression. Outbreaks of cholera and typhoid, in 1832 and 1848, frightened away potential visitors to a city that posed as a health resort. A spate of charitable initiatives by wealthy residents was designed to placate the residential poor who might swell the ranks of the disgruntled artisans in the local Chartist movement.[19] The city also faced a continuing nightmare of itinerant beggars who annoyed visitors and residents with 'feigned misfortune and disability'.[20] The problem of beggars was addressed but not resolved by the establishment of a borough police force in 1836 and by tough action on the part of the city magistrates in the 1840s.[21]

Against this background of fear for the economic condition and future prosperity of Bath, there was an influx of poor Irish fleeing from the devastation of the Great Famine. The Irish in Bath formed part of a national pattern. Irish migration to Britain developed progressively in the first half of the century, reaching a climax during the famine years, 1845-1852. In 1841, the number of Irish-born resident in Britain was over 400,000; within a decade it had risen to 700,000: and in 1861 a peak figure of 806,000 was recorded. While major concentrations of Irish settlers were found in the great industrial regions of Britain, with London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow the leading urban centres, Irish migrants were also found dispersed in many other places. In both 1851 and 1861, at least 31 towns in England and Wales had a recorded Irish-born population of over a thousand. These included Bath, Colchester, Derby, Newport (Salop), Plymouth, Portsmouth and Southampton.[22]

Irish settlers were caught up in the fears and anxieties surrounding the urban crisis that dominated early Victorian Britain. It was a tragic coincidence that an awareness of acute urban problems in the 1830s and 1840s occurred at the same time as the rising tide of Irish immigration. The Irish became a target for denunciation by reformers and officials alike.



2. 'The Irish Emigrants', a painting by John Joseph Barker (1824-1905).
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath)

As numerous investigations and commissions of enquiry revealed the alarming scale of urban squalor, crime, drunkenness and epidemic disease, an explanation was found in the presence of an alien people. The horrific details uncovered were in truth part of an old problem. Slums had existed long before in London and elsewhere but the problems were now perceived to be of epic proportions. The burgeoning cities lacked the administrative and legislative capacities to deal with the crisis, and even if they had been in place, there was no recognition in contemporary understanding of the economic forces that created a slum district. What was seen as a social evil was interpreted as the product of moral degeneracy.[23]

The Bath Irish came mostly from County Cork, one of the worst hit counties, via south Wales and Bristol. They settled in the common lodging-house district and notorious slum community of Avon Street, the plague-spot of Victorian Bath. Overcrowded, insanitary, a centre of crime, prostitution and epidemic disease, Avon Street was the symbol of everything evil and morally degenerate about the urban condition.[24] Naturally, middle-class readers of the Bath newspapers, regaled with a stream of negative reports on Avon Street, moved away from the city stinks to the relative safety of the suburbs.

Avon Street had been built in the 1730s as fashionable lodgings. By the 1760s it had become the home of working men, the carpenters, masons and decorators who were needed to build the expanding city. But a process of social descent was already being noted in the 1770s, by Smollett's reference to the 'nymphs of Avon Street'.[25] In the 1820s, an established reputation for criminality and vice was confirmed in a newspaper report that claimed there were 'at least 300 persons who obtain their livelihood by begging, thieving, or on the miserable wages of prostitution'.[26] So the poor immigrant Irish settled in a community which had all the negative attributes of a classic slum:

> Everything vile and offensive is congregated there. All the scum of Bath – its low prostitutes, its thieves, its beggars – are piled up in the dens rather than houses of which the street consists. Its population is the most disproportioned to the accommodation of any I have ever heard; and to aggravate the mischief, the refuse is commonly thrown under the staircase; and water more scarce than in any quarter of the town.[27]

Once established, the 'evil' reputation of the Avon Street district became an entity in its own right, rooted in past associations, and with a message that did not always accurately reflect the condition of the area. Throughout the Victorian period, both before and after there was a sizeable

Irish presence, the reputation of Avon Street was forged out of the political conflict over social problems within the city. Both sides in the continuing municipal debate over social policy looked to Avon Street as a symbol to provide ammunition, either to reform existing evils or to point to the hopelessness of reform. In each case, the 'depraved condition' of the inhabitants was reinforced in the public mind, but to serve different political ends.

The Irish who came to Bath, as to other cities in search of work and cheap lodgings, were caught up in a national crisis about the urban condition. As elsewhere, if they settled in the worst quarters of a city, they became associated with its surroundings and often became the scapegoats. A common contemporary theme was the belief that the Irish would lower standards among the decent English working class. This view was held by both the Socialist Friedrich Engels and the Tory Lord Ashley. Engels wrote:

> For when, in almost every great city, a fifth or a quarter of the workers are Irish or children of Irish parents who have grown up among Irish filth, no one can wonder if the life, habits, intelligence, moral status – in short, the whole character of the working class assimilates a great part of the Irish characteristics.[28]

Similarly, the great philanthropist and champion of the oppressed, Lord Ashley, shortly to become Lord Shaftesbury, asked in a speech at the Assembly Rooms in Bath, 'Was it not found that where the Irish appeared wages were lowered, respectability disappeared and slovenliness and filth prevailed?'[29]

From the late 1840s, press reporting of court proceedings featured the Irish regularly. Specific references became noticeably more prominent with the arrival of poor Irish fleeing the famine. The years 1848 to 1852 show a peak in the numbers of Irish brought before the magistrates. Examples of hostile reporting of the Irish, as well as of more compassionate reports that reflected the diversity of the Irish migrant experience, may be found in the standard works on the Irish in Britain.[30] The prisoner's Irish origin was invariably given as the first piece of information, and the tone of the press treatment was commonly hostile and deprecating. An unflattering description of the prisoner commonly preceded the details of the case. Thus, in 1848, Julia Murphy was described as 'an Irishwoman of shabby appearance', and Alfred Witch as 'a thorough Irishman, in rags and tatters.'[31] The Irish also became the target for English humour, and Irish prisoners with their obvious destitution, strange accents and ignorance of English ways, were often the subject of amusement in court:

> Mary Collins, an old Irishwoman of drunken habits, [was] charged with stealing a waistcoat and handkerchief. The garrulity of the prisoner to her vernacular, when called upon for her defence partook of the semi-comic and excited an amusement among the bystanders which ill-comforted with her pitiful slum condition.[33]

Comic dialogue, pointing up an Irish brogue, could be cruelly effective in reinforcing English stereotypes of the drunken Irish:

> An old Irishwoman, who goes by the sobriquet of 'Waterloo Poll', but whose real name is McDonald, was charged with being drunk and begging on Sunday. The prisoner said she was seized with cramp on the road from Bradford [-on-Avon], and a lady gave her some brandy. She was reminded by the Bench that she had recently been sent to prison for a similar offence.
>
> *Prisoner*: I hope yer worships will not send me to prison, for I would not live there, and I should not like to die in a prison.
>
> She was committed in default of bail to keep the peace for eight days, and in committing her, the Mayor advised her not to go on to Bristol, or its neighbourhood for it was the opinion of medical men that intemperate persons were such as were liable to the cholera.
>
> *Prisoner*: Why, yer worship, the docthers tould me I ought to take a dthrop of brandy to keep it away.[33]

Drunkenness and begging were common charges brought against the Irish in Bath. Hannah Fitzpatrick was charged with being in such a state of drunkenness on a Sunday afternoon that she was unable to walk. An inmate of the Union Workhouse, she had obtained leave of absence to attend Catholic chapel and on her way back friends induced her into the *Devonshire Arms*.[34] Similarly when a destitute Irishman, John Williams, with his wife and two children applied at the Police Station for relief, a bottle of whisky and 10d was found on them. When the mayor asked why they had applied for relief, he received a 'frivolous' answer from Williams who was discharged and cautioned to leave the city.[35] Such cases need to be seen against a background of frequent articles in the press highlighting Irish distress. Commonly, Irish vagrants were apprehended for trying to obtain bread in bakers' shops without paying for it, in the hope of acquiring a night's lodging in the police cells.

The presence of an Irish colony in Avon Street provided an opportunity for bad publicity against both the people and the place. The following case provides a further example:

> STEALING FROM A BEGGAR – Mary Hurley was charged with stealing a sovereign from her mother Julia Hurley. The parties are Irish people living in Avon Street and the prosecutrix and her husband are well known to the police as beggars.[36]

In this instance, the charge was not pressed and the case was subsequently dismissed, but the Hurleys also featured in the press for disorderly behaviour, which became synonymous with the Irish presence in Avon Street.

> AN IRISH ROW – John Hurley, an Irish labourer, was charged with committing a breach of the peace by fighting, and Catherine White, his wife, was charged with attempting to rescue him from the custody of the policeman.
>
> It appeared that, on Saturday night, the police were called in to quell a disturbance at the Odd Fellows' Arms public-house, Avon Street, when they found from a dozen to twenty Irish, male and female, engaged in a general MELEE. The house was cleared, but the prisoner refused, when outside to go away, and on Hurley being taken into custody, his wife endeavoured to get him away. The former was fined 5s. (25p) and costs, or in default for five days.
>
> The woman was discharged. Mary Bryan and Mary Toohig, two Irishwomen, concerned in the same disturbance, were each required to find one surety in £5 to keep the peace for seven days.[37]

The Irish were made scapegoats for the state of the slums which were deplored on grounds of moral degeneracy. Yet several of the impressions of the Irish in the Avon Street district are contradicted by an analysis of the 1851 census enumerator's schedules. First, the Irish presence was significant but not overwhelming. The 230 recorded Irish-born inhabitants formed only 18% of the street's population, though their concentration at one end of the street, the 'low end', and in close proximity to each other, gave them a greater prominence than mere numbers warranted. In the extreme case of one lodging-house, 38 of 58 inhabitants were recorded as Irish-born. And, in many respects, the Irish were not so different from the rest of the population. The average number of families per house in Avon Street differed little between those with Irish and those with English heads of household: the average number of people per house in the former case was 14.2, compared with 15.3 for English households.[38] A high proportion of men and women worked as labourers, hawkers or servants, and among the Irish who had been in Bath for some years before the Famine influx, there were lodging-housekeepers, publicans and craftsmen. Irish children attended school as commonly as the English children, and unlike the alarms generated by the Poor Law authorities in other cities,

there was little concern expressed about the Irish as a burden on the rates. Given the plight of Famine migrants, there were remarkably few Irish, a mere 13, found in the Bath Union Workhouse in 1851.

By the 1880s, when the Irish presence in Avon Street had diminished, the slum conditions and alleged moral depravity of the area remained a cause of local concern, especially to clergymen like the Rev. W Jay Bolton and the Rev. F W Caulfield. Bolton ran an anti-vice campaign against the brothels he discovered in St James's Court, a stone's throw from the parish church. Caulfield, as secretary of the Bath Vigilance Society, whose mission was to root out sin and licentiousness, campaigned against the supposed moral depravity of the lodging-houses in Avon Street.[39] Both men represented a renewed national sense of crisis about urban conditions, in a decade that witnessed the publication of a shocking pamphlet by another clergyman, Andrew Mearns's *A Bitter Cry of Outcast London*. The 1880s also saw the beginnings of Charles Booth's monumental study of poverty in London, and the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Class in 1885. In Bath, with the Irish presence less evident, and more integrated through marriage, attention turned to the wretched conditions of the English working class and, reflecting the new political climate, attacks were made on the avarice and neglect of slum landlords.

Thus, anti-Irish feeling was temporary in nature, and induced by panic and alarm corresponding with the arrival of thousands of poor Irish. In Bath, as elsewhere, the anxieties and fears that were projected on to the Irish are as revealing about the British mentality as of the condition of the Irish in Britain. The migrants of the 1840s shared with the impoverished Irish gentry of the 1760s and 1770s an unfortunate reputation, which cast them as either comic figures or scapegoats, providing a distraction from Bath's painful adjustment from a fashionable resort to a residential city for the middle classes.

Notes

1 Graham Davis and Penny Bonsall, *Bath: A New History* (Keele, 1996).

2 Bath Library (BL), *The Fusseltons in Bath: a series of poetical letters*, letter viii, vol. 40, Sir Hector Stormer to Admiral Tornado, Bath, 1836.

3 All population figures before the first national census in 1801 are estimates. R.S. Neale has calculated that the population of Bath in 1700 was approximately 3,000. R.S. Neale, *Bath: A Social History 1680-1850 or A Valley of Pleasure, yet a Sink of Iniquity*, (1981), p. 41. The first recorded population total for the City of Bath was 33,951, Census of Great Britain, 1801.

4 Davis and Bonsall, *Bath: A New History*, p. 42; R.S. Neale, *Bath: A Social History 1680-1850*, p. 42. In 1740, there were 17 coaches weekly from London to Bath and this number had risen to 154 by 1793.
5 Jane Austen, cited by Barry Cunliffe, *The City of Bath* (Gloucester, 1986), p. 116.
6 P.M. Wadsworth, 'Leisure Pursuits in Nineteenth-Century Bath', unpub. MA thesis, University of Kent, 1975, pp. 13-14.
7 G. Davis, 'Entertainments in Georgian Bath: Gambling and Vice', *Bath History*, vol. I (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 1-26.
8 Bath's rise to fame had already provoked satirical comment in the early eighteenth century: see Anon, *A Step to the Bath with a Character of the Place* (1700). For a chronology of social decline, see David Jeremy, 'The Social Decline of Bath', *History Today*, vol. 18 (1967), pp. 242-9.
9 T. Rowlandson, 'The Comforts of Bath' (1798), Victoria Art Gallery, Bath.
10 T. Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771: Penguin, 1983), p. 65.
11 Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, p. 70. See also the letter of Sir James Caldwell's valet to Patt Maguire, 1779: 'you would not wonder to see the flourishing state of Bath were you to see how money circulated here, many families of consequence from Ireland are here at present, who spend their money very free and at more extravagant rate than they would in their own country, which is the chief means of Ireland being always in poverty and distress.' Quoted in Mervyn Busteed, 'Identity and economy on an Anglo-Irish estate: Castle Caldwell, Co. Fermanagh, c. 1750-1793', in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26, (2000), p. 185.
12 Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, p. 77.
13 Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, pp. 58-9
14 Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, pp. 65-6.
15 C. Anstey, *The New Bath Guide* (1766; Bath, 1970), p. 38.
16 G G S, *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan with a short account of his life* (1902). See *The Rivals*, Act III, Scene IV, p. 352.
17 Sheridan coined the phrase, 'snug lying', subsequently taken up by John Cam Hobhouse (Baron Broughton), in *The Wonders of a week at Bath* (1811), Bath Library, Somerset Pamphlets, vol. 84.
18 Bath Library, 'A letter to the Mayor of Bath on the causes of the Present declining condition of the City', LUD HUDIBRAS, Bath, Miss Williams, 1840.
19 R.S. Neale, *Bath: A Social History 1680-1850*, pp. 370-379.
20 *Bath Chronicle*, October 12th 1848.
21 G. Davis, 'Image and Reality in a Victorian provincial city: a working class area of Bath, 1830-1900', unpub. PhD thesis, University of Bath, 1981, pp. 336-347.
22 Census of Great Britain 1861, Appendix to Report, Table 126, p. 160.
23 For a fuller account of Irish migration to Britain, see G. Davis, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1914* (Dublin, 1991).
24 Davis thesis, 'Image and Reality', ch. 2. pp. 114-63.
25 Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, p 81.
26 *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*, 20 November 1821.
27 Rev. Whitwell Elwin, in E. Chadwick, *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population in Great Britain*, M.W. Flinn ed. (Edinburgh, 1965), pp. 235-6.
28 F. Engels, *The Condition of the English Working Class* (1845; Panther, 1969), p. 125.
29 *Bath Chronicle*, 9 November 1848, 28 September 1848.

30 J.A. Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (1963); R. Swift and S. Gilley eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City* (1985), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (1989), *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension* (Dublin, 1999), Donald MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750-1922* (Basingstoke, 1999).
31 *Bath Chronicle*, 9 November 1848, 28 September 1848.
32 *Bath Chronicle*, 23 December 1847.
33 *Bath Chronicle*, 28 June 1849.
34 *Bath Chronicle*, 21 September 1848.
35 *Bath Chronicle*, 11 January 1849.
36 *Bath Chronicle*, 12 February 1852.
37 *Bath Chronicle*, 2 June 1853. Catherine White was the common-law wife of John Hurley.
38 For a fuller discussion of the issues relating to density of settlement in Victorian cities, see Davis, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1914*, pp. 51-82.
39 Bath Library, Rev. W.J. Bolton, *St. James's Court, Bath: A narrative of events* (1884), Bath Pamphlets, vol. 5.