



But who was the Queen of Bath?

Barbara White

Would you see our law-giver, Mr. Nash, whose white hat commands more respect and non-resistance than the Crowns of some Kings, though now worn on a head that is in the eightieth year of its age? To promote society, good manners, and a coalition of parties and ranks; to suppress scandal and late hours, are his views; and he succeeds rather better than his brother-monarchs generally do...¹

So wrote Lady Luxborough (c.1700-56) [fig. 1] to her friend the poet William Shenstone in 1752, at the beginning of her four-month stay in the city to take the waters. Mindful of the order Richard 'Beau' Nash (1674-1761) had brought to the City, Lady Luxborough's references to him are 'suffused with monarchical imagery'.² She was not alone. John Wood (1704-54), for example, referred to 'the *Bath* Monarchy devolving upon Mr. *Nash* on his first coming to the City on the 4th of *August*, A.D. 1704' whilst Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74) described him as the 'Monarch of Bath'.³ Nash's transformation into a sovereign being of fabled proportion is, according to Peter Borsay, part of a Georgian reworking of a royal foundation myth, one which made Nash, rather than Bladud, the royal founder of Bath.⁴ Nash played his part to perfection transforming himself from a boy from Swansea into the absolute monarch of Bath and acquiring a quasi-legendary stature after his death. In 1867, the novelist Elizabeth Mary Braddon (1837-1915) described Nash [fig. 2] as:

glittering like the rainbow, shining in jewels like the stars of heaven. Upon his head he wears an ornament peculiarly his own - a white cocked hat, embellished with a plume of the same spotless purity. And how does he go? In a chariot with six grays, with outriders both in van and rear, and esquires blowing French horns. All salute him as he passes.⁵

In Nash's kingdom even genuine royalty submitted to his will. At one ball, Princess Amelia (1783-1810), daughter to George III (1738-1820), famously ceased dancing at the stroke of eleven at Nash's command. On another occasion, Catherine, Duchess of Queensberry (1701-77) let Nash tear her fashionable (and expensive) lace apron from her, because it



HENRIETTA ST JOHN, LADY LUXBOROUGH.

fig 1: Henrietta St. John, Lady Luxborough, c.1750

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

contravened his dress code. According to John Walters, the Duchess 'begged the pardon of "his Majesty" for having broken one of his commands'.⁶ Here is a willing and half-joking collusion in the subversion of the natural order. As Borsay says, Bath under Nash was:

a pseudo-kingdom, a parallel society sealed from the outside world where conventions of rank were temporarily relaxed... In such a community, it was natural that the court fool should be permitted to play the part of the king.⁷



fig 2: Marble statue of Richard Beau Nash, 1752, probably by Joseph Plura working in the studio of Prince Hoare

The Pump Room, Bath & North East Somerset Council. Photograph - Dan Brown.

If Nash displayed the sagacity of a court fool, he could also be the court buffoon and there are references enough to suggest that Nash's self-importance, royal airs and extravagant dress made him a figure of fun in the eyes of his contemporaries. For example, in 1734, in a letter to Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk (1689-1767), Lord Chesterfield (1694-1773) remarked on a ball to celebrate George II's birthday at which Nash had worn 'his gold-laced clothes on the occasion and looked so fine that, standing by chance in the middle of the dancers, he was taken by many at a distance for a gilt garland'.⁸ A century later, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63) ridiculed his sartorial excesses yet also acknowledged Nash's extraordinary gift for wielding power: 'it was a splendid, embroidered, beruffled, snuff-boxed, red-heeled, impertinent Folly', said Thackeray, 'and knew how to make itself respected'.⁹

Despite such mockery, Nash remained the undisputed 'King of Bath' for 55 years, until his death in 1761 at the age of 87. So, if Nash was the 'King of Bath', who was its queen? She was not to be found within Nash's own household, for Nash 'tolerated no female companion. Her presence

would have spoiled his flirtations, his strolls and dances with high-born ladies'.¹⁰ Even his beautiful and witty mistress Fanny Murray (1729-70) was kept in the background, and, although she became a celebrity in her own right within Bath circles, as Horace Bleackley noted, 'it cannot be said that she reigned as Queen of Bath'.¹¹

If being 'Queen of Bath' had meant no more than being a beauty queen then Bath would have been overrun with crowned heads. Eighteenth-century Bath was a magnet for the beautiful and the fashionable so that any number of women could have aspired to the throne. There was, for example, the 'too lovely' Mrs. Provis (c.1745-1813) who held court amongst the Royal Crescent set, the exquisite Elizabeth (1754-92) who belonged to the musical Linley dynasty and the elegant harpist, Louisa, Lady Clarges (c.1760-1809), each of whose beauty was captured by Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88).¹² Beauty, however, was never the sole pre-requisite to wearing Bath's crown. Of Bath's three most eminent eighteenth-century queens, only Miss Susannah

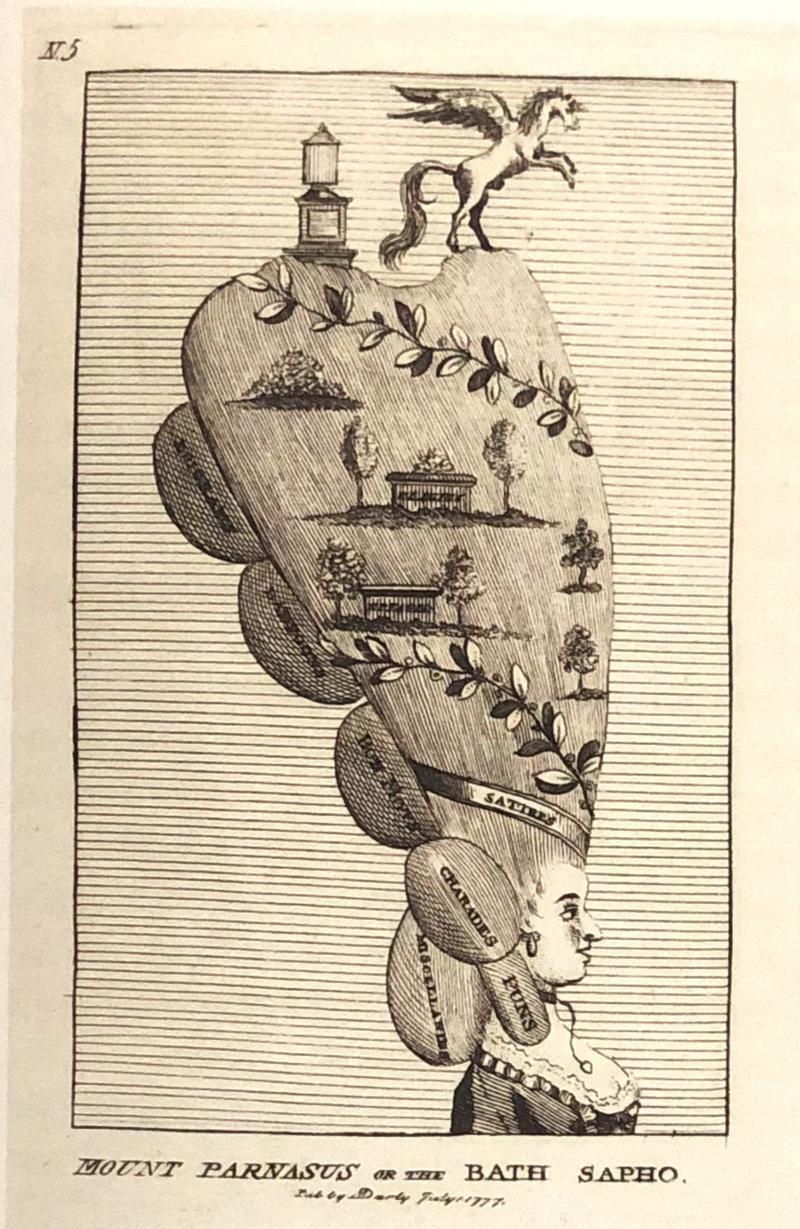


fig 3: Mount Parnasus or the Bath Sapho, 1777 by Matthew Darly (c.1720-78). A caricature of Lady Miller from Darly's Bath Characters series Victoria Art Gallery, Bath & North East Somerset Council



fig 4: Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, c.1798 Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

Wroughton (c.1745-1825) had any claims to beauty or modishness. Lady Anna Miller (1741-81), and Mrs. Alicia Macartney (1716-1804), were not pretty at all and were certainly not leaders of fashion. The caricaturist Matthew Darly (d.1781) ridiculed Lady Miller's fashion sense in an extravagant portrait of her entitled *Mount Parnasus or the Bath Sappho* (1777).¹³ [fig. 3] When the novelist Fanny Burney (1752-1840) met her in 1780, shortly before Lady Miller's death, Miss Burney described her as:

a round, plump, coarse-looking dame of about forty, and while all her aim is to appear an elegant woman of fashion, all her success is to seem an ordinary woman in very common life, with fine clothes on. Her habits are bustling, her air is mock-important, and her manners very inelegant.¹⁴

Miss Burney's description of Mrs. Macartney whom she met in the same year was even less flattering. Her face, according to Miss Burney, was:

bold, hardened, painted, snuft, leering and impudent! - Her Dress, too, was of the same cast, a thin muslin short sacque and Coat lined throughout with Pink, - a modesty bit - and something of a *very* short cloak half concealed about half of her old wrinkled Neck - the rest was visible to disgust the Beholders, - red Bows and Ribbons in abundance, a Gauze Bonnet tipt on to the top of her Head, and a pair of Mittens!¹⁵

If beauty was inessential to Bath royalty, then so was intellect. For example, Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu (c.1720-1800) [fig. 4], who lived in the centre house of the Royal Crescent, was a respected bluestocking in both Bath and London society. Perhaps facetiously, Samuel Johnson (1709-84) dubbed her the 'Queen of the Blues', but she was never also crowned 'Queen of Bath'. Similarly, the pious Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (1707-91) who established chapels in Bath and elsewhere was never more than 'Queen of the Methodists'.¹⁶

What was it that made a select handful of women acknowledged queens of Bath's fashionable milieu? Was the title bestowed because of a casual comment in a letter or conversation that was picked up, gathered momentum and became common parlance within Bath's social circles? This was certainly true of Miss Wroughton, Mrs. Macartney and Lady Miller where reference to their royal sobriquets occurs frequently throughout their lives. In the case of the historian Mrs. Catherine Macaulay Graham (1731-91), however, whose eight-

volumed *History of England* (1763-83) made her a household name, there appears to have been only one source for her ennoblement. Darly's etching of her in 1777, as part of his Bath Characters series, complete with a little crown, is entitled *Catharine, Queen of Bath* [fig. 5]. That this was the year of her 'enthronement' is confirmed in another of Darly's etchings (dated 1777) entitled *Master of the Cerimonies at Bath. Created in the first year of the reign of Queen Catherine*. Mrs. Macaulay, whose husband the physician George Macaulay died in 1766, lived in Bath between 1774 and 1778. Although she established her own little salon in the city, she was never a real contender for Bath's crown for she left a scandalized Bath immediately after her second marriage in 1778, at the age of forty-seven, to a much younger man, the twenty-one year old surgeon's mate William Graham.¹⁷

Did wealth matter to aspiring queens? Certainly, Miss Wroughton and Mrs. Macartney were rich enough to finance lavish parties but the same could not be said of Lady Miller whose



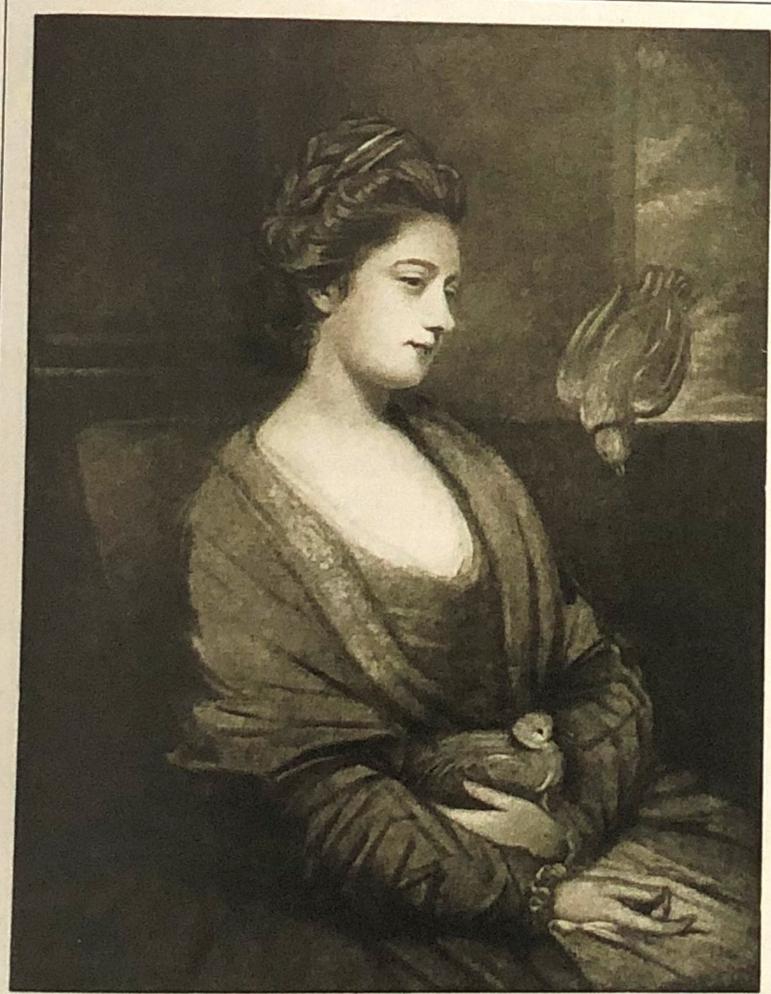
fig 5: *Catharine, Queen of Bath*, 1777 by Matthew Darly. Catherine Macaulay Graham from Darly's Bath Characters series
Victoria Art Gallery, Bath & North East Somerset Council

relative poverty forced her to live abroad in the 1770s. Was the honour no more than a term of endearment amongst friends, and a sarcastic by-word for derision amongst detractors? Did the title carry with it any meaningful sense of power, honour or supremacy within Bath's modish elite? Contemporary attitudes, as surmised from letters, memoirs, diaries and reported gossip, do not provide a clear answer. Bath's queens excited feelings of deep affection, as toward Miss Wroughton, but also pure loathing bordering on fear, as harboured for Mrs. Macartney. They each provoked ridicule and, as with Nash, mockery of their personalities, pretensions and 'personal rule' was a vital element in the subversion of Bath's status quo. The derision ranged from gentle wit to invidious personal attack. For example, the 'ever Angelic' Miss Wroughton was deeply hurt by Richard Warner's *Bath Characters* (1807) which contained, according to Mrs. Piozzi (1741-1821), 'more Malice than Wit'. In it, Miss Wroughton appeared as 'the divine Signora Rattana', 'the patroness of solos, duettos, trios, concertos, and full pieces'. She was cruelly mocked, however, for her excessive use of cosmetics. The pamphlet described how 'a laugh would inevitably crack the enamel of her face' (also described as a 'facial crust') and 'the various dyes which bespread her countenance; mingle them into the most horrible confusion of tints'.¹⁸

Although all three queens developed differing styles of sovereignty, they shared in common a remarkable industry and talent for creating enduring, voguish worlds of glittering parties and social occasions that were attended by society's élite. Such celebrity endorsements were essential seals of approval, conferring status on the 'royal' hostess, adding cachet to

the entertainments and ensuring a reputation that extended well beyond the city limits and at least as far as London. As a result, all three queens spearheaded meticulous campaigns to guarantee a patronage that would give them a primacy over Bath's *beau monde*. Gentle persuasion, charming cajolment, and, in Mrs. Macartney's case, the occasional resort to blackmail, were all employed with great dexterity, to ensure celebrity invitations were not declined. Thus, only those women who could command Bath's most illustrious visitors and residents and, season after season, orchestrate the most fashionable and prestigious assemblies, were acknowledged as 'Queens of Bath'. It was by hosting the finest and most sought-after entertainments year after year, and having the power to give or withhold invitations, to include or exclude, that these nonpareils established and maintained a supremacy over Bath's social élite.

The famous courtesan Kitty Fisher (1739-67) [fig. 6] was one exception to this general rule for she became Bath royalty very fleetingly,



KITTY FISHER
BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

fig 6: Photogravure of Kitty Fisher after Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), c.1763

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

without mounting such a careful social campaign, and only in death. Like her friend Fanny Murray, Miss Fisher had found respectability in marriage, becoming the wife of John Norris, M.P. for Rye, six months before her death at the age of 28. She died quite suddenly on March 10th 1767, at the *Three Tuns Inn* in Stall Street en route to Bristol, having arrived in Bath the day before. It has been variously suggested that she died from consumption, small pox, or lead poisoning derived from the cosmetics she used. Within a couple of days, Miss Fisher's body was removed from Bath for burial in the Norris family vault in Benenden Church, Kent on March 23rd 1767. During those few days in Bath, however, Miss Fisher was mourned like royalty as a result of her grieving husband's desire to see her resplendent in death. At his instruction, she was laid out, not in a shroud but 'in her costliest finery, with satin ribbons and sparkling jewels' and, as at a state funeral, the public was permitted to file past her coffin and pay their last respects to her beauty.¹⁹ One such mourner may have been Henry Harington (1727-1816) who later became Mayor of Bath and who, in 1780, recalled the scene in an elegy entitled 'On Kitty Fisher Lying in State in Bath'. [fig. 7] This elegy for a dead queen mourned the passing of her beauty.

Alas! What boast hath Blooming youth;
 Since this Florella Lies;
 Paleness oe'r her Damask'd Cheek,
 And Clos'd her Beauteous Eyes.
 If fade those glories of her face,
 Ah why such frailty Trust;
 When Virtue still its sweetness keeps,
 And Blossoms in the Dust.

Other queens who may have reigned just as briefly but who are now lost are exemplified by a letter to *Notes and Queries* in 1869. All that the enquirer had to go on in his forlorn quest was that the lady's surname was Delamain, and that she had been known as the 'Queen of Bath' early in the nineteenth century.²⁰ Then there is Anna Crewe, a Drury-Lane actress who had been mistress to the future George IV and possibly the Duke of York during the 1790s. Some thirty years later and nearing sixty years of age, she wrote to George IV to beg for money to alleviate her poverty and aid her in her ill health. For the previous three years, she explained, she had

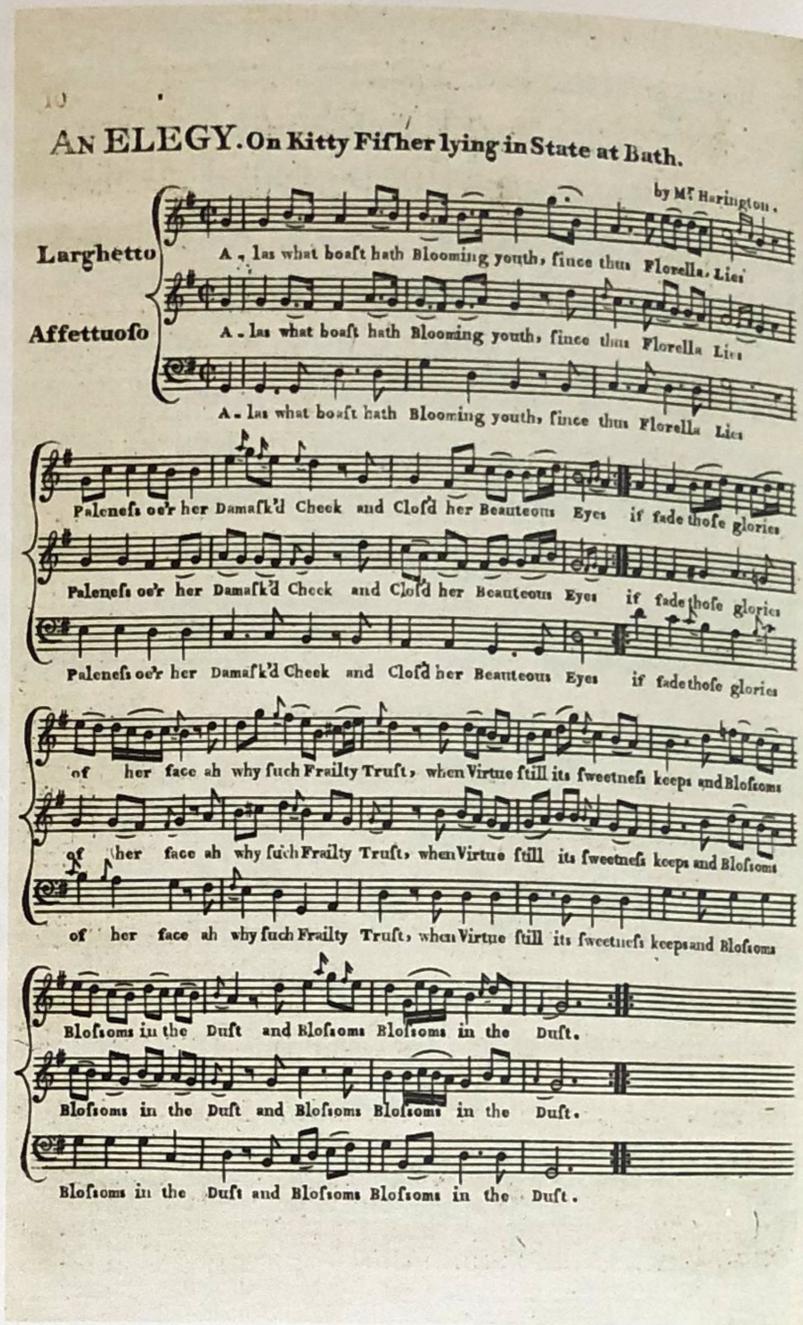


fig 7: An elegy on Kitty Fisher lying in state in Bath. By Henry Harington, 1780
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

been 'most dreadfully afflicted with the *sciatic* in my left hip: and the rheumatism in all my limbs'. She described expensive journeys to Brighton in search of treatment, but her letter showed her resignation to the fact that she was 'still a cripple, and must ever remain so'. This infirm and impoverished woman reminded the king how, as an actress, she had 'personated EVERY QUEEN *in the drama*: and by that circumstance went by the name of, *the Queen of Bath*'. Anna played on the equality of her status with the king to beg her situation. 'Now I am sure your most gracious Majesty', she opined, 'will think of me, that *Her poor Majesty*, ought not to want those little comforts, in her old age, which *many* of her late *Theatrical subjects* enjoy in great profusion'.²¹

William Lowndes adds another dimension to the notion of Bath royalty by championing Frances Elizabeth Sage (c.1762-1835), better known as Fanny, as an 'unofficial' queen. Although no other such queen has come to light, Lowndes' claim for Miss Sage opens up the possibility that there existed within Bath's royal hierarchy, a complete sub-category of unofficial queens. Lowndes claimed that Miss Sage 'became well-known in the city, and her charm and personality, allied to her beauty, earned her the unofficial title of "Queen of Bath"'.²² As previously discussed, such attributes alone do not make a queen of Bath and there do not appear to be any references to her contemporaries acknowledging her as such, or of her name as queen passing into common parlance. It might be nearer the truth to say that had Miss Sage's scandalous downfall not put paid to any hopes of wearing Bath's crown, she was a 'potential' queen rather than an 'unofficial' one. The advantages were all there. As the only daughter of Isaac Sage (d.1818), former governor of Patna, and Elizabeth Whalley (1745-78), sister of Dr. Thomas Sedgewick Whalley (1746-1828), a member of Lady Miller's Batheaston circle, Miss Sage came from a good family with strong Bath connections. On her mother's death, Miss Sage lived with the Whalleys in their Royal Crescent home for several years and uncle and niece remained close throughout their lives. She was a gifted musician and so was well poised to dominate Bath's musical world. In May 1780 when only nine years old, her enthusiastic and interminable playing of the harpsichord at a party given by Lady Miller, had 'terribly wearied' Miss Burney.²³ However, at the height of Sage's musical powers, the poet Anna Seward (1742-1809) noted in a letter to her friend Mrs. Powys that Miss Sage's

skill, taste, and invention on the harpsichord is scarce inferior to that of the first masters; and to a voice of exquisite tone, power, compass, and inflexion, she adds the touching graces of harmonic expression, in a degree of excellence that approaches to enchantment.

By the time Miss Sage was 28 she was wealthy enough to offer the kind of musical entertainments that would have enabled her to lay claim to Bath's crown, had she so wished. On May 12th 1790 she became the second wife of William Townshend Mullins (1761-1827) who, in 1824 became the 2nd Baron Ventry. His first wife Sarah Anne Falkiner by whom he had two daughters, died in November 1788. Anna Seward described Mr. Mullins as a 'gentleman of graceful person, splendid fortune, and generous virtues' and the 'impassioned choice of her [Miss Sage's] avowed affections'.²⁴ Miss Sage's impulsive nature, however, which had been evident from her teens, meant she was more interested in conquering men than Bath society. A family friend, Miss Penelope Sophia Weston (1752-1827), who later became Mrs. Pennington, wrote to Dr. Whalley in 1789 warning him of the 'intolerably giddy' female company his niece kept and her dangerously inappropriate conduct.

When you and Mrs. Whalley think she is walking in the Crescent, she is often flying all over the Parades. The dear thing is wonderfully prone to flirtation, and hunts after a new beau, who has happened to strike her fancy, with a degree of activity and interest more natural than fit.²⁵

Her wildness proved her undoing for within a year of her marriage, she was living with a Captain Tothe of the guards, 'in total disgrace, reckless of having blasted her constellation of talents'.²⁶ Her marriage was dissolved by Act of Parliament in March 1796 and she was thereafter shunned by respectable society. Such a woman could never be 'Queen of Bath'. The Whalley family correspondence explains that by July 1799 she had become Mrs. Sullivan. It seems likely that her husband was the 'tall, ill-looking' Irishman who rode to Mrs. Piozzi's Welsh home of Brynbella in April 1799 from St. Asaph two miles away, with a begging letter for £20 from a debt-ridden Mrs. Sullivan. Mrs. Piozzi was 'little disposed to give what would make 40 honest cottagers happy, to a gay lass whom [she] never liked in her *best days*, and who never had any claims on [her] *friendship*, which she now talks so loudly of'.²⁷



fig 8: Detail from the memorial to Lady Miller at Bath Abbey, 1786
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

By 1802, the Sullivans were living in Sidcot in Somerset but at some point they moved to Versailles in France where they were visited in 1823 by the increasingly frail Dr. Whalley. By 1828, Mrs. Sullivan was widowed and living in extreme poverty in La Fleche in the Loire. Such was the bond between uncle and niece that Dr. Whalley, 'disregarding his extreme age and emaciated body', went to her aid. He died some two months later without fulfilling his dream of bringing her back to England to 'live with [him] in some snug and pleasant house in Devonshire'.²⁸

While Miss Sage frittered away her potential, the following women rose to command Bath's social milieu by virtue of their personalities, energy and skill, but most importantly, because of their sheer single-mindedness. The first queen to be discussed is Lady Miller [fig. 8] although, as Miss Burney remarked, she should be more accurately styled 'the sovereign Lady of Bath Easton' than of the city itself.²⁹ Lady Miller was born in London, the daughter of Edward Riggs, an Irish M.P. who became a commissioner of customs in London in 1741. Her mother, Margaret Pigott, whom Horace Walpole (1717-97) described as 'an old rough humourist who passed for a wit', was from an old established Shropshire family.³⁰ Lady Miller inherited her wealth from her grandfather, also named Edward, who had been a Privy Councillor in Ireland. She married Captain John Miller in Bath in August 1765, who was created an Irish baronet in 1778 and by whom she had two children. Her husband was descended from an impoverished Irish family from Ballicasey, County Clare and had seen active service in Germany during the Seven Years War (1756-63).³¹ Shortly after their marriage, they built an extravagant villa at Batheaston (now 172 Bailbrook Lane), described by Walpole as 'a new Parnassus, composed of three laurels, a myrtle-tree, a weeping willow, and a view of the Avon', but were soon forced to live abroad in order to economize.³² They chose France, from whence in 1770, they



Fig 9: The Batheaston Vase, adorned in myrtle, 1775

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

myrtle. Between 1775 and 1781, four volumes of selected poems from the vase were published as *Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath*, with a fifth in preparation at the time of Lady Miller's death. The proceeds went to charity, but despite this benevolence, Lady Miller and her poetic circle were ridiculed for the silliness of the vase ritual and the inferior quality of the poetry. Samuel Johnson regarded the *bout rimé* as 'a mere conceit' and Lady Miller's collection of verses as 'very cheap'.³⁵ Others deemed the flattering verses to the hostess cloying and poems, including those where the end rhyming couplet had been pre-assigned, such as the Duchess of Northumberland's lines on a buttered muffin, were mocked:

Ever so fine, for all their	puffing,
I should prefer a butter'd	muffin.
A muffin, Jove himself might	feast on,
If eat with Miller at	Batheaston ³⁶ .

Nevertheless it became extremely fashionable (or 'tonish' as Miss Burney described it), to visit Lady Miller on her Thursday public days, whether it was during vase season or not. Thousands did so, squeezing into her over-crowded rooms.³⁷ Even so, Lady Miller was careful to control and screen her visitors, ever heedful of her wish to establish and maintain her own premier status. She admitted 'few people who are not of rank or of fame, and [excluded] those all who are not people of character very unblemished'. In addition, she purposefully pursued those whom she wanted to attend her parties: Mrs. Thale, for example, was scolded for not introducing Miss Burney to her sooner.³⁸ A letter to her friend and loyal supporter of the salon,

made a year-long tour of Italy. It was there that they purchased an antique Etruscan urn which had been unearthed at Frascati near Rome in 1759 and which was to play a central role in the literary salon Lady Miller established once the Millers returned to Batheaston around 1774.

According to Ruth Avaline Hesselgrave, Lady Miller saw her literary circle and promotion of poetry as a way of fulfilling her desire for social and literary prominence, and as an entrée into Bath's fashionable society that she could not otherwise have afforded.³³ It is a tribute to Lady Miller's energy, drive and ambition that she turned a modest poetry circle into a renowned literary salon which was talked about (and, it must be acknowledged, sometimes derided) in all the Bath and London newspapers and to which the fashionable came in droves.

During the Bath season, from November to May, on alternate Thursday mornings, guests came to place anonymously a *bout-rimé*, (a six-lined poem) on a pre-determined subject in the Etruscan vase, which was 'dressed with pink ribbons and myrtles' for the occasion.³⁴ [fig. 9] A committee of six then chose the best three poems, and Lady Miller crowned each winner with a wreath of

Dr. Whalley, dated November 3rd 1780 shows her charm, focus and industry, in manipulating the right people to attend her gatherings, and in sufficient numbers:

I give you the earliest notice possible, and beg you will not refuse the assistance of your charming muse, on the first day of opening the Vase for the winter season... Excuse the hurry I write in, for this is the fifteenth letter I have written this day...³⁹

Apart from Walpole, the Thrales, and Miss Burney, Lady Miller's fashionable visitors included Samuel Johnson (despite his derision), Mary Delany (1700-88), Christopher Anstey (1724-1805), David Garrick (1717-79), and her close supporter and friend, Anna Seward. In addition, 'a whole host besides of magnificent obscure mortals', long since forgotten as one commentator noted, 'fluttered and danced attendance at the court of a certain allegorical-fantastic-fashionable Queen of Bath'.⁴⁰ Thus, Lady Miller created her own kingdom of Parnassus; one that like Nash's, had elements of the ridiculous contained within it, but one that, nevertheless, established her supremacy within Bath's literary circles. She may not have been regal in her dress or manner, yet, by all accounts, she reigned over her Bathaston realm with great civility and good nature. She had staunch supporters who paid fortnightly homage at the urn, and she was herself a king-maker of sorts with her poetic crowns of myrtle. When Lady Miller died suddenly, 'in her chair, and without a groan', at Hot Wells in Bristol at the age of forty-one, on June 24th 1781, her literary salon and the world she had created at her Bathaston villa died with her.⁴¹

By contrast, another claimant, Mrs. Alicia Macartney, was neither civil nor good-natured. Like Lady Miller, 'she contrived to get Company to her Mansion, and to be Countenanced by People of Character and Rank'.⁴² Yet, where Lady Miller might gently persuade, Mrs. Macartney 'achieved great wealth and influence by dint of usury, blackmail and the selling of information'. As a result, Old Mac or Mrs. MacDevil as she was nicknamed in Bath was regarded as 'a woman of notoriously vicious character'. Miss Burney's friend Miss Cooper confided to her that 'she was one of the worst women Breathing; a Drunkard notoriously, an assistant to the vices of others, and an infamous Practicer of all species of them herself'. This was confirmed by another friend Miss Bowdler who relayed how Mrs. Macartney gave away 'obscene Books, to corrupt youth, [and] to assist already corrupted maturity in the prosecution of vice!'.⁴³ Stories abounded of her promiscuity and even in 1799, when Mrs. Macartney was eighty-three, respectable gentlemen kept their distance. 'She offer'd her hand lately to Colonel Mackenzie, who refused it, and kindly gave notice to her nephew, Greville, to look after his curious aunt'.⁴⁴

If members of Bath society could not avoid her invitations, then they attended her assemblies out of fear of offending and the retribution that might follow. Great consternation ensued when Mrs. Thrale gleefully accepted Mrs. Macartney's invitation to a lavish entertainment, on behalf of herself and Miss Burney. Mrs. Thrale had been curious to visit this 'Bath Queen', but had mistaken Mrs. Macartney's younger sister Catherine Macartney (1718-88), of irreproachable character, as the fabled 'Queen of Bath'. Mrs. Thrale and Miss Burney sought the advice of Mrs. Montagu on how to extricate themselves from this unsuitable invitation, fearing that if they did not treat the matter delicately they would find themselves lampooned as had Sophia Streatfeild (1754-1835), a lady famed for her Greek learning, after she had declined one of Mrs. Macartney's invitations. A cruel set of verses appeared in the *Morning Post* describing the 'learned lass' as 'so

fat and so fine' and ridiculing her for her attachment to the cleric Dr. William Vyse (1741-1816) who had secretly married someone else the year before.⁴⁵ It was a great relief to Miss Burney to discover that whilst 'the sovereign Lady of Bath City, Mrs. Macartney, has made much effort to enlarge her *Coterie* with our Set, - but it has not succeeded'. Fortunately for us, as Miss Burney's godmother was the poet Frances Greville (d.1789), a younger sister of Mrs. Macartney, Miss Burney was unable to escape this 'odious wretch' completely and, as a consequence, has provided us with these sharply observed insights and gossip.⁴⁶

Invitations from Mrs. Macartney placed other women in similarly awkward situations. For example, Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave (1760-1816) sought advice from Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806) on whether to attend one of Mrs. Macartney's parties; Georgiana astutely suggested Lady Waldegrave defer to her mother. Refusals did not deter Mrs. Macartney. As a letter, written in December 1780, from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806) to Mrs. Montagu demonstrates, Mrs. Macartney's perseverance and bullying tactics could yield spectacular results:

the lady in the Crescent, who was so unsuccessful in her attempts upon you, has been more successful, or more fortunate, in her application to their Graces of M[arlborough]; and that she makes a ball for them on Wednesday next.⁴⁷

Mrs. Macartney's political clout in eliciting acceptances from this élite aristocratic family ensured the success of her grand assembly and her own ascendancy over Bath society, despite the strong tide of public opinion that ran against her. In addition to her enviable guest list, Mrs. Macartney's draw was unquestionably the lavishness of the entertainments she organized at her home in the corner house of the Royal Crescent. Miss Burney noted in a letter to her sister Susanna that they 'were all curious to see this Queen of Bath, as she is called, on account of the expensive Entertainments she makes'. Earlier in the letter, she quoted her friend Miss Cooper as saying Mrs. Macartney 'kept a superb House, and gave most Elegant entertainments'.⁴⁸ Catherine Mary Howard remembered visiting Bath in 1796, and remarked how 'the stillness of the town' was enlivened by the Staffordshire militia who were stationed there and also by the several ladies who opened their houses at night, including Mrs. Macartney, whom Mrs. Howard described, in understated fashion, as 'quite a character'.⁴⁹

As a consequence of her premier position within society, Mrs. Macartney, like Lady Miller, was somewhat self-important and was mocked for her conceitedness. One anecdote relates that when the playwright Frederick Reynolds (1764-1841) opened in Bath on November 25th 1785 with his first play the tragedy *Werter*, he regarded

the great feather in my cap, [as] an intimation from Mrs. Macartney, the *old queen* of Bath, that she would visit the theatre on Tuesday, and if she approved of *Werter*, she would *honour* the author, by an invitation to her grand ball and supper on Thursday...

...Being suddenly summoned to London, I was relieved from the suspense of longer waiting the queen of Bath's decision.⁵⁰

One laughed at Mrs. Macartney's affectedness at one's peril, for she was an implacable enemy. For example, she viciously crossed swords with George Hunt, (1720-98) M.P. for Bodmin and a frequent visitor to Bath, over his serial pursuit of beautiful women. Mrs. Macartney advertised in the *Morning Post* for December 2nd 1779, her intention of exposing him in an ensuing letter, and he, by return, attacked her 'in print and plates'. On another occasion, her aggressive lobbying of her candidate Richard Tyson for the position of Master of Ceremonies of the Lower Assembly Rooms, so incensed a cleric, probably the Dean of Ossory, that he published a paper in the *Morning Post* for April 14th 1779, denouncing her abuse of the electoral process.⁵¹

Eventually, Mrs. Macartney's unpopularity caught up with her. Mrs. Powys, a regular visitor to Bath, quoted Mrs. Macartney as saying she would 'rather live in hell than on the Queen's Parade, where the families were so shockingly impolite as not one to visit her'.⁵² As Mrs. Macartney became increasingly isolated socially, she took herself off into self-imposed exile in London where, like Fanny Murray before her, she flourished, receiving the ultimate society accolade, namely, a royal, personal invitation to a ball. In a letter dated April 18th 1789, Miss Bowdler noted that 'the Prince of Wales has sent six Tickets for Broker's Ball to Mrs. Macartney with a pressing invitation under his own hand, and a Very kind Letter from Mrs. Fitzherbert'.⁵³ Mrs. Macartney died in London in Park Street Grosvenor Square in April 1804, at the age of 88.⁵⁴

The final claimant to the title 'Queen of Bath' is Miss Susannah Wroughton whose family had held a country seat in Wilcot near Devizes for generations. She was an extremely wealthy woman, inheriting land around Wilcot and Wilcot House where she lived with her mother (also named Susannah c.1719-1816). Mrs. Powys noted in 1803 that Miss Wroughton was 'formerly one of the first of the Bath beauties'.⁵⁵ It was in recognition of her beauty as well as her place in fashionable society that the honour of opening the first ball at the Upper Rooms in 1770 fell to her.⁵⁶ Dr. Whalley dedicated verses to the 'Fair Wroughton', whilst Dr. Campbell confided to his diary for May 1st 1775 (when Miss Wroughton was about thirty), that she was 'the brunette beauty but she discovered such sensibility of mind, & had so much beauty that I fancy upon acquaintance I shd prefer her'.⁵⁷ Even in her seventies, when she was debilitated by illness and the loss of her mother, Miss Wroughton's enduring loveliness struck everyone who met her. This earned her another moniker, 'the evergreen of Bath'. Joseph Farington noted in his diary for September 15th 1820, on the occasion of a ball given to celebrate Mrs. Piozzi's eightieth birthday, that 'Miss Wroughton at 76 [is] still handsome'.⁵⁸ Similarly, Lady Bedingfeld, who did not appear to take to Miss Wroughton on first meeting her, was nevertheless arrested by her lingering beauty. 'Miss Wroughton, the famous Evergreen of Bath, not at all pleasing but certainly wonderfully well looking for her age'.⁵⁹ Only the Right Honourable William Windham seems to have been unmoved by Miss Wroughton's charms. In a diary entry for February 4th 1799, he noted that Miss Wroughton was at a ball he had attended in the new rooms at Bath, and that she '[looked] like a mummy, dead and dressed'.⁶⁰

Miss Wroughton divided her time between Wilcot and Bath, spending the summer months at her country retreat and the winter season in town. She lived as a yearly tenant in a large double-fronted house at 2 Catherine Place [fig. 10] which became the centre for some of the finest entertainments Bath had to offer.⁶¹ She was acclaimed as an accomplished hostess, singer and patron of the arts, whilst her Sunday evening concerts 'were so glittering that they were occasionally reviewed in the newspapers'.⁶² 'Was there not *the* Wroughton,' asked the writer George Monkland, 'the patroness of Rauzzini, who for so long not only led the musical world,

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,

By Mr. ENGLISH, Jun.

AT THE
Greyhound-Inn, in the City of Bath,

On WEDNESDAY, March the 20th, 1805,

AT ONE O'CLOCK AT NOON,

Subject to such Conditions as will be produced, the following Lots.

LOT I.

A Capital Messuage,

MOST ELIGIBLY SITUATED,

No. 2, CATHARINE-PLACE,

BETWEEN THE CIRCUS AND THE LOWER CRESCENT,

And now in the Possession of Mrs. WROUGHTON, as Yearly Tenant;

COMPRISING

An Entrance Hall, 17 feet by 12 feet 3; a Dining Room in Front, 26 feet by 17; a Breakfast Room behind, 15 feet by 12 feet 3; a Drawing Room over the Dining Room, 26 feet by 17; and Two Rooms adjoining, the one 17 feet by 12 feet 6, the other 17 feet by 13, all 12 feet in height; Three large Bed Rooms on the Attic Story, and Five other Bed Rooms over; also, a commodious Kitchen, House-keeper's Room, Servants' Hall, Pantries, Cellars, Wash-houses, Vaults, &c. and a Garden behind.

LOT II.

Another Messuage,

DESIRABLY SITUATED,

No. 20, BENNETT-STREET,

NEAR THE UPPER ROOMS;

COMPRISING

A good Dining Room in Front, and Two other Rooms behind; a Drawing Room over the Dining Room, and Two other Rooms adjoining; Four Bed Rooms on the Attic Story, and Four other Bed Rooms over; also, a good Kitchen, House-keeper's Room, Servants' Hall, Cellars, Vaults, &c. and a Garden behind.

The central Situations of these Houses render them particularly desirable, and well deserving the Attention of any Persons wishing to reside in Bath. The House in Bennett-Street is well calculated for the Residence of a genteel Family, or from its Situation, and the Division of the Rooms in it, may let as a Lodging House to great Advantage.

POSSESSION MAY BE HAD AT LADY-DAY NEXT:

* Tickets for viewing the House in Catharine-Place may be had of the Auctioneer, on Tuesday and Friday, the 12th and 15th Days of March, between the Hours of Twelve and One each Day; and for viewing the House in Bennett-Street, Seven Days previous to the Sale.

Further Particulars may be known on Application to Messrs. VIZARD, Solicitors, Dursley, Gloucestershire.

OVE, PRINTER, BATH.

fig 10: Sale particulars for No 2 Catharine Place, in the possession of Mrs Wroughton, March 20th 1805

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

but was, in the circles of fashion, looked up to as 'the Queen of Bath'?'⁶³ Miss Wroughton continued to hold court well into old age. Mrs. Powys who, in company with the Duchesses of Newcastle and Hamilton, did not attend entertainments on Sundays, nevertheless confided to her diary in 1799 that 'the once celebrated beauty Miss Wroughton, still keeps up her consequence by her large parties, and fine concerts every Sunday evening, where Ranzini [sic] and many amateurs sing and play'. Even when, in 1803, the Bishop of Meath preached in Bath against Sunday card parties and concerts, 'Miss Wroughton declared she would always have her Sunday concerts, for all the bishops'.⁶⁴

Miss Wroughton's final years were marred by illness and bereavement. Her mother, to whom she was devoted, died in the Spring of 1816 at their country seat of Wilcot, at the remarkable age of ninety-seven. Miss Wroughton felt her passing keenly and Mrs. Piozzi was alarmed to see how bereavement had taken its toll on her. 'Miss Wroughton looks very grave', she wrote to Dr. Whalley, 'and I am told feels sadly deserted by the loss of a mother whom many beauties would have thought an incumbrance; but she has a feeling heart, and is a most affectionate relation'.⁶⁵ Mother and daughter had shared everything, from serious decisions about the development of the Wilcot estate (at the coming of the Kennet and Avon canal), to a subscription to Philip Thicknesse's *A Year's Journey Through France and Part of Spain* (1777). An anecdote, told by Mrs. Piozzi just weeks before Mrs. Wroughton's death, about the remarriage of General Donkin at the age of ninety-one to a thirty-six year old widow, gives a brief glimpse of Miss Wroughton's affection for her mother and also the witty badinage she shared with her friend, Mrs. Piozzi. According to the gossip, General Donkin had invited his bride-to-be out to dinner the very day his wife died. Mrs. Piozzi remarked playfully to Miss Wroughton that she should protect her mother from such 'espouseurs', but Miss Wroughton assured her that her mother had all her faculties and was out of such marital dangers! When Mrs. Piozzi told her friend and literary executor, Sir James Fellowes, of Miss Wroughton's mother's death, she noted 'General Donkin is married and Mrs. Wroughton dead, characters well known in Bath. They are nearly of an age, but the lady's is the more prudent step, sure, after ninety'.⁶⁶

In November 1818, when Miss Wroughton was seventy-three, Mrs. Piozzi was convinced her old friend was dying, lonely and abandoned at Wilcot, and begrudged the expense of physicians by her nephews and nieces. 'Miss Wroughton is dying at her Country Seat in Wiltshire, with Beauty and Fortune enough for any Two Women - and nobody cares at all'.⁶⁷ Although Miss Wroughton survived this illness, she was unwell the following year and by the summer of 1819 was in Bath in a 'given-up state' to consult with Mr. Hicks, Bath's most famous physician at the time. She had recovered by October, and lived the remainder of her life enjoying her musical evenings and participating in Bath's social politics. In Spring 1820, she put Mrs. Piozzi out of sorts by her refusal to support the benefit performance of the actor William Augustus Conway, with whom the elderly Mrs. Piozzi's name was linked.⁶⁸ Miss Wroughton, as a deliberate piece of mischief-making planned a musical evening of her own, the very night of Mr. Conway's benefit. Having done what she could to sabotage Mr. Conway's benefit, she later asked Mrs. Piozzi to support a benefit for the actor Mr. Ashe, even though the Ashes had spoiled Mrs. Piozzi's fête on January 27th by tempting away some of the best singers to another event. 'Miss Wroughton, tho' she cross'd me at every turn this Winter, begs me to take Tickets now for Mr. Ashe!!! I really wonder how she can think of such a thing', exclaimed the exasperated Mrs. Piozzi.⁶⁹

April 30. At her house in Catherine-
 place, Bath, the celebrated Miss Wrough-
 ton. She had attained an advanced age. By
 her death, Bath has lost an extraordinary
 character, that for upwards of half a century
 was the *cynosure* of its world of fashion.

fig 11: Announcement in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of the death of the celebrated Miss Wroughton, May 1825

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

died unmourned by her family, 'her death was much regretted' by others who recognized that 'she had many excellent qualities'.⁷¹ Such feelings echo Mrs. Piozzi's summation of her friend in 1818 that 'she had led a blameless and useful life for half a century'.⁷² This undoubtedly refers to her work at Wilcot where, according to Monkland, 'she entirely threw off her regal dignity, and went about doing good'. An elegy for Miss Wroughton quoted by Monkland describes her thus:

View her at *Willcot*, tread the village path;
 Behold that figure, late the ball-room's pride,
 There humbly tending by a pauper's side!
 Still making daily calls at many a door,
 Not on the great, but on the aged and poor!⁷³

This good opinion is further confirmed by the obituary that appeared in *The Bath Chronicle* which emphasized her benevolent works at Wilcot: 'here all was natural and good, kindness and courtesy to the humble, consolation to the sorrowful, encouragement to the industrious and beneficence to the needy'⁷⁴.

Having established that eighteenth-century Bath had at least three queens as well as its famous king, the question remains, who was the 'Queen of Queens'? Despite creating a literary kingdom of Parnassus, Lady Miller can be ruled out for, as Miss Burney noted, she was more the 'Queen of Batheaston' than of the City of Bath itself. Mrs. Macartney was an astute politician, who moved in the highest royal and aristocratic circles, but she was an unpopular, despotic monarch whose tyrannies led her to vacate her throne and choose self-exile in the capital. The crown therefore belongs to Miss Wroughton whose rule was hallmarked by elegance, beauty and resplendent music. On Nash's death in 1761, the sixteen-year-old Miss Wroughton was years away from ruling Bath's fashionable elite. Like Nash, however, she would do so for well over fifty years and her benevolence, munificent entertainments and patronage of the arts would make her a much loved and worthy figurehead of Bath's *beau monde*. She enhanced Bath's royal lineage in ways that Nash could not, bringing to it personal qualities of humility, grace and self-effacement. With her death, the city acknowledged that it had 'lost an extraordinary character that for upwards of half a century was the *cynosure* of its little world of fashion; the animating spirit of its most polished private parties and the unwearied patroness of all its elegant public amusements'⁷⁵. Largely forgotten until now, it is fitting that her 50 year reign in Bath should be recognized once again and that she should be hailed once more as 'Miss Wroughton, Queen of Bath'.

News of Miss Wroughton's death at approximately eighty years of age, on Saturday April 30th 1825 at Catharine Place, was widely reported. *The Bath Chronicle* erroneously gave her age as 72, perhaps seduced by her 'evergreen' image whilst *The Gentleman's Magazine* [fig. 11] simply stated that 'the celebrated Miss Wroughton...had attained an advanced age'⁷⁰. Although it might be assumed from Mrs. Piozzi's earlier comment during her 1818 illness, that she

Notes

1. Marjorie Williams, *Lady Luxborough Goes to Bath*, (Basil Blackwell, 1946), p.6.
2. Peter Borsay, *The Image of Georgian Bath 1700-2000: Towns, Heritage, and History*, (Oxford University Press, 2000), p.58.
3. John Wood, *A Description of Bath*, (Bath Kingsmead Reprints, 1969), p.184 and Oliver Goldsmith, *The Life of Beau Nash, Esq; Extracted Principally from His Original Papers*, (J. Newbery & W. Frederick, 1762), p.234.
4. Borsay, *The Image of Georgian Bath*, pp.58-65.
5. Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Belgravia: A London Magazine*, (February 1867), vol. 1, p.40.
6. John Walters, *Splendour and Scandal: The Reign of Beau Nash*, (Jarrolds, 1968), p.43. According to Nash, 'none but abigails [ladies' maids] appear in white aprons'.
7. Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, 1989), p.277.
8. Letter to Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk from Lord Chesterfield, dated November 2nd 1734, quoted in A. Barbeau, *Life and Letters at Bath in the Eighteenth Century*, (The History Press, 2009), p.48, (n.39).
9. William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Four Georges*, (Smith, Elder & Co., 1866), p.88.
10. Walters, *Splendour and Scandal*, p.75.
11. Horace Bleackley, *Ladies Fair and Frail: Sketches of the Demi-Monde during the Eighteenth Century*, (John Lane, 1909), p.6. Miss Murray was a celebrated courtesan before finding respectability in a successful marriage to the Scottish actor David Ross. In London's *demi-monde* she became divine rather than merely royal and was described as 'the Bath Goddess'. See *Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Fanny Murray*, 2 vols, 2nd ed., (J. Scott & M. Thrush, 1759), vol. 1, p.87.
12. Reverend Hill Wickam, (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Sedgewick Whalley, D.D. of Mendip Lodge, Somerset*, 2 vols, (Richard Bentley, 1863), vol. 2, p.417. Letter from Mrs. Pennington to Dr. Whalley, dated December 17th 1815.
13. This portrait is one of a series to be found in the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath, entitled *Bath Characters* (1778) in which Darly lampooned the fashionable of Bath.
14. Charlotte Barrett, (ed.), *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, vol. 1, 1778-84, (Bickers & Son, 1784), p.263.
15. Peter Sabor and Lars E. Troide, (eds.), *Frances Burney, Journals and Letters*, (Penguin, 2001), p.151. Journal letter to Susanna Burney dated April 8th 1780.
16. See for example, Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz, *Brilliant Women 18th - Century Bluestockings*, (National Portrait Gallery, 2008) and Boyd Stanley Schlenker, *Queen of the Methodists: The Countess of Huntingdon and the Eighteenth-Century Crisis of Faith and Society*, (Durham Academic Press, 1997).
17. See for example, Bridget Hill, *The Republican Virago: The Life and Times of Catharine Macaulay, Historian*, (Clarendon Press, 1992).
18. Richard Warner, *Bath Characters or Sketches From Life*, (G. Wilkie & J. Robinson, 1807), pp.15-16. See also, *Notes and Queries: A Medium of Inter-Communication for Literary Men, Artists, Antiquaries, Genealogists, etc*, 2nd series, vol. 2, (July-December 1856), (Bell & Daldy, 1856). Entry for September 27th 1856, pp.253-254; Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom (eds.), *The Piozzi Letters: Correspondence of Hester Lynch Piozzi 1784-1821 (formerly) Mrs Thrale*, 6 vols, (University of Delaware & Associated University Presses, 1989-2002), vol. 4, (published 1996), p.181. Letter to John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury dated March 22nd 1808. Hester Thrale (née Lynch) was

- married to Henry Thrale, a rich brewer until his death in 1781. In 1784 she married Gabriel Mario Piozzi, an Italian music teacher.
19. Bleackley, *Ladies Fair and Frail*, p.94.
 20. *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, vol. 4, (July-December 1869). Entry for December 11th 1869, p.513.
 21. Arthur Aspinall, (ed.), *The Letters of George IV 1812-30. Published by Authority of His Late Majesty King George V*, 3 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1938), vol. 3, pp.342-343, Letter to King George IV dated December 3rd 1827.
 22. William Lowndes, *They Came to Bath*, (Redcliffe Press, 1987), p.89. See also, William Lowndes, *The Royal Crescent in Bath: A Fragment of English Life*, (Redcliffe Press, 1981), pp.49-50.
 23. Betty Rizzo, (ed.), *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney, (The Streatham Years, Part 2, 1780-1)*, 4 vols, (Clarendon University Press and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988-2003), vol. 4, (published 2003) p.128. Journal entry for May 1780.
 24. *Letters of Anna Seward Written between the Years 1784 and 1807*, 6 vols, (George Ramsay & Co., 1811) vol. 4, pp.43-44. Letter to Mrs. Powys dated April 1st 1795.
 25. Wickam, (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Sedgewick Whalley*, vol. 2, p.33. Letter from Miss Weston to Dr. Whalley dated May 18th 1789.
 26. *Letters of Anna Seward*, vol. 4, p.44. Letter to Mrs. Powys dated April 1st 1795.
 27. Oswald G Knapp, (ed.), *Intimate Letters of Piozzi and Pennington*, (Nonsuch, 2005), p.173. Letter to Mrs. Pennington dated April 5th 1799.
 28. Wickam, (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Sedgewick Whalley*, vol. 2, p.507. Letter from Dr. Whalley to his great-nephew July 14th 1828.
 29. Rizzo, (ed.), *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, vol. 4, p.67. Letter to Charles Burney dated April 18th 1780.
 30. Peter Cunningham, (ed.), *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, 9 vols, (Richard Bentley, 1857), vol. 6, p.170. Letter to the Honourable H.S. Conway and Lady Aylesbury dated January 15th 1775.
 31. Impoverished members of the Irish gentry were often lampooned in literature. See Graham Davis, 'Social Decline and Slum Conditions: Irish Migrants in Bath's History', in *Bath History*, (Millstream Books, 2000), vol. 8, pp. 134-147.
 32. Cunningham, (ed.), *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, vol. 6, p.170.
 33. Ruth Avaline Hesselgrave, *Lady Miller and the Batheaston Literary Circle*, (Yale University Press, 1927), pp.17-18.
 34. Cunningham, (ed.), *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, vol 6, p.171.
 35. Robert William Chapman (ed.), *James Boswell, Life of Johnson*, (Oxford University Press, 1980), p.608.
 36. Quoted in Hesselgrave, *Lady Miller and the Batheaston Literary Circle*, p.44.
 37. Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 51, (J. Nichols for D. Henry, June 1781), p.295; Leonard Benton Seeley, (ed.), *Fanny Burney and her Friends: Select Passages from her Diary and other Writings*, (Seeley & Co., 1890), p.116.
 38. Rizzo, (ed.), *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, vol. 4, p.127. Journal entry for May 1780.
 39. Wickam, (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Sedgewick Whalley*, vol. 1, p.315.
 40. John Passmore Edwards, (ed.), *Lives of the Illustrious: The Biographical Magazine*, (Partridge & Oakey, 1853), vol. 3, p.180.
 41. Sylvanus, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 51, (June 1781), p.295. Lady Miller was buried in Bath Abbey. Her monument, designed by John Bacon and erected in 1785, bears an epitaph by her friend Anna Seward.

42. Sabor and Troide, (eds.), *Frances Burney, Journals and Letters*, p.150. Journal letter to Susanna Burney dated April 8th 1780.
43. Rizzo, (ed.), *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, vol. 4, pp.44-46 and n.55. Letter to Susanna Burney dated April 9th-20th, 1780.
44. Emily Jane Climenson, (ed.), *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon, A.D. 1756-1808*, (Longmans, Green & Co., 1899), p.327.
45. Rizzo, (ed.), *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, vol.4, p.47, (n.61). Letter to Susanna Burney dated April 9th-20th, 1780. When Miss Burney met Miss Streatfeild again in May 1792, she noted that Miss Streatfeild's life-long devotion to Dr. Vyse had left her 'sadly faded - & looked disturbed & unhappy'. See Joyce Hemlow et al, (eds.), *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay)*, 12 vols, (Clarendon Press, 1972-1984), vol. 1, (1791-92), (published 1972), p.164.
46. Rizzo, (ed.), *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, vol.4, p.67. Letter to Charles Burney dated April 18th 1780.
47. *Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Montagu between the years 1755 and 1800, Chiefly upon Literary and Moral Subjects. Published from the Originals in the Possession of the Rev. Montagu Pennington*, 3 vols, (F.C. & J. Rivington, 1817), vol. 3, p.139.
48. Sabor and Troide, (eds.), *Frances Burney, Journals and Letters*, pp.150-151. Journal letter to Susanna Burney dated April 8th 1780.
49. Catherine Mary Howard, *Reminiscences for my Children*, (Charles Thurnam, 1838), vol. 4, p.90.
50. Frederick Reynolds, *The Life and Times of Frederick Reynolds, Written by Himself*, 2 vols, 2nd ed., (Henry Colburn, 1827), vol.1, pp.312-313.
51. Rizzo, (ed.), *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, vol.4, pp.67-68. Letter to Charles Burney dated April 18th 1780; Sylvanus, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 59, part 2, (October 1789), p.962.
52. Climenson, (ed.), *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe*, p.327.
53. Eva Mary Bell, (ed.), *The Hamwood Papers of the Ladies of Llangollen and Caroline Hamilton. Edited by Mrs G.H.Bell*, (Macmillan & Co., 1930), p.198.
54. Sylvanus, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 74, part 1, (Nichols & Son, April 1804), p.388.
55. Climenson, (ed.), *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, p.352.
56. James Greig, (ed.), *The Farington Diary by Joseph Farington R.A.*, 8 vols, (Hutchinson & Co., 1928), vol. 8, p.260.
57. James L. Clifford, (ed.), *Dr. Campbell's Diary of a Visit to England in 1775*, (Cambridge University Press, 1947), p.89.
58. Greig, (ed), *The Farington Diary*, vol. 8, p. 260.
59. Egerton Castle, (ed.), *The Jerningham Letters, (1780-1843), being excerpts from the Correspondence and Diaries of the Honourable Lady Jerningham and of her daughter Lady Bedingfeld*, 2 vols, (Richard Bentley & Son, 1896), vol. 1, p.331.
60. Mrs. Henry Baring, (ed.), *The Diary of the Right Hon. William Windham, 1784-1810*, (Longmans Green, 1866), p.405. It is likely that Windham was referring to Mrs. Wroughton the elder who would have been about eighty at the time.
61. An advertisement for the sale of 2 Catharine Place in 1805 with Miss Wroughton as a yearly tenant, gives a glimpse inside her commodious home. The house comprised: an Entrance hall, 17 feet by 12 feet; a Dining Room in Front 26 feet by 17; a Breakfast Room behind, 15 feet by 12 feet 3; a Drawing Room over the Dining Room, 26 feet by 17; and Two Rooms adjoining, the one 17 feet by 12 feet 6, the other 17 feet by 15, all 12 feet in height; Three large Bed Rooms on

- the Attic Story, and Five other Bed Rooms over; also, a commodious Kitchen, House-keeper's Room, Servants' Hall, Pantries, Cellars, Wash-houses, Vaults etc and a Garden behind. See *Bath in Time*, Broadsides and Posters 97, Image Ref 15469, Bath Central Library Collection.
62. Kenneth James, 'Venanzio Rauzzini and the Search for Musical Perfection', in *Bath History*, vol. 3, 1990, p.95. Rauzzini was a famous castrato singer whose memorial can be seen in Bath Abbey. He settled in Bath from about 1780 until his death in 1810 and his name was linked romantically and scandalously with several women including Lady Gooch. According to James, his relationship with Miss Wroughton, his chief patron for many years, was 'only Platonique'.
 63. George Monkland, Supplement to the '*Literature and Literati of Bath*', *Containing Additions, Notes, and Emendations*, (R.E. Peach & J.H. Parker, 1855), pp.49-50.
 64. Climenson, (ed.), *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p.352.
 65. Wickam, (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Sedgewick Whalley*, vol. 2, p.430. Letter from Mrs. Piozzi to Dr. Whalley dated May 13th 1816.
 66. Abraham Hayward, (ed.), *Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale)*, 2 vols, 2nd ed., (Longman Green, Longman & Roberts, 1861), vol. 2, p.324. Letter from Mrs. Piozzi to Sir James Fellowes dated January 17th 1816 and p.331, Letter from Mrs. Piozzi to Sir James Fellowes dated March 1st 1816.
 67. Bloom and Bloom, *The Piozzi Letters*, vol. 6, (1817-21), (Associated University Presses, 2002), p.231. Letter from Mrs. Piozzi to John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury dated November 9th 1818.
 68. John Tearle, *Mrs Piozzi's Tall Young Beau William Augustus Conway*, (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1991), p.149.
 69. Knapp, (ed.), *The Intimate Letters of Piozzi and Pennington*, pp.305-306. Letter from Mrs. Piozzi to Mrs. Pennington dated April 10th 1820.
 70. Sylvanus, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 95, part 1, (May 1825), p.477.
 71. Monkland, *Supplement to the 'Literature and Literati of Bath'*, p.49.
 72. Bloom and Bloom, *The Piozzi Letters*, vol. 6, (1817-21), p.231. Letter from Mrs. Piozzi to John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury dated November 9th 1818.
 73. Monkland, *Supplement to the 'Literature and Literati of Bath'*, p.50.
 74. This sentimentalized view of her works at Wilcot is in contrast to the business-like manner with which Miss Wroughton and her mother managed the estate. When the builders of the Kennet and Avon Canal wished to take the waterway across the Wroughton estate, Miss Wroughton negotiated to advantage, permitting the canal on condition that west of the manor house, the canal be widened to create an ornamental lake known as Wide Water with the view of the lake closed off by an ornamental bridge. 'Ladies Bridge', attributed to the builder John Rennie and completed in 1808, has proved a lasting testimony to the close relationship enjoyed by mother and daughter.
 75. *The Bath Chronicle*, Thursday May 5th 1825.

Acknowledgements

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H. Smith.

T H E
PARISIAN MASTER;

O R,
A NEW AND EASY METHOD

F O R
ACQUIRING A PERFECT KNOWLEDGE

O F T H E
FRENCH LANGUAGE

I N A S H O R T T I M E,

D I V I D E D I N T O T W O P A R T S;

C O N T A I N I N G
THE RUDIMENTS AND THE SYNTAX
OF THE LANGUAGE.

C O M P O S E D, D I G E S T E D, A N D E X P L A I N E D,
I N A M O R E C O N C I S E, A C C U R A T E, A N D E A S Y M A N N E R
T H A N A N Y E V E R Y E T A T T E M P T E D.

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M DCC LXXXIX.

Private Schooling in Eighteenth-century Bath

Trevor Fawcett

At the Bath mayor-making ceremonies in 1785 pupils of the city Grammar School carried aloft a banner with the words 'Athenae Redivivae' (Athens Reborn) - a reference, said the *Bath Chronicle*, to the spa's reputation as 'a seminary of polite education, and the residence of philosophers and learned men'.¹ By this date some of the 'philosophers', William Herschel among them, had already departed,² but otherwise it was a fair claim. Later eighteenth-century Bath abounded in schools and offered instruction of every hue. Alongside the two more-or-less official institutions - the long-established Grammar School and the charity Bluecoat School - dozens of private schools catered to the needs of Bath's own rapidly expanding population, as well as serving pupils attracted from well beyond the city limits by the cachet of a Bath education and the unusual number of boarding establishments on offer. Uninspected, unregulated, and variable in quality, the many private schools nevertheless offered between them a very broad curriculum at all levels, from the most basic grounding in the three Rs to the mental discipline of the Classics, practical training in commercial subjects, or genteel tutoring in the polite 'accomplishments', an area in which Bath was pre-eminent, served as it was by dozens of language, dancing, drawing and music masters.

Concerning the education of boys in general, opinions differed over the respective merits of a traditional Classical curriculum and a more vocational one favouring 'modern' subjects. At Bath the long-established Grammar School held to the Classics model: indeed its very terms of endowment obliged it to teach only Latin and Greek. For the sons of Bath freemen who made up the core of the Grammar School's intake an Eton-style syllabus of dead languages and ancient authors might seem narrow and even inappropriate, yet a Classical schooling did of course carry cultural weight and, for the brightest students, opened the door to university and the professions.

As one of its headmasters, the redoubtable Rev. Nathanael Morgan, reminded them on one occasion, 'So many of the Comforts and Advantages of Life are derived from a Classical Education...'.³ After its move to Broad Street in 1754, the Grammar School had places for over a hundred day boys and boarders (c.140 in 1798 during its Morgan heyday).⁴ Yet it is clear this did not wholly mop up the local demand for Latin and Greek since a number of private schools also offered Classics in some form, though often taught within a much broader mix of subjects. As early as 1733, Edward Brett advertised Latin among the optional extras at his school in Barton Fields,⁵ and by the 1780s and 1790s it was fairly common for boys' schools to teach at least the rudiments of Latin and sometimes Greek as well. But only one long-lasting private school appears to have provided a full Classical alternative to the Grammar School, namely the establishment run by the Rev. Richard Graves [fig. 1] just outside Bath in the village of Claverton.⁶

During his lifetime Graves became a nationally known figure for his novels, essays, poems and translations, but this was spare-time activity. As rector of Claverton from 1749 he also had church and parish duties. Yet it was the school that absorbed most of his time for nearly forty years, boosting his otherwise slender income but anchoring him to the spot sometimes even



fig 1: The Rev. Richard Graves, from *Public Characters, 1799-1800*
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

we know Graves did experiment with school texts by adding some uncommon authors to the usual diet of Horace, Virgil, and the like. Nothing is known either about the detailed workings of the school, or how his wife and own children assisted, or what extra teaching help Graves had, but the evidence at least suggests he treated his pupils rather as extended family, tempering strictness with good humour.

The same sense of kindly responsibility, of acting *in loco parentis*, can be found in various other boarding schools of the time. Advertisements speak of making learning a pleasure,⁹ of pupils' health and happiness being no less important than their education,¹⁰ of bans on corporal punishment and 'the usual hated methods of discipline',¹¹ and, repeatedly, of the close attention paid to moral conduct. Boarding school pupils were generally expected to attend church on Sundays, and at least one school held regular sermons and Anglican services on its own premises.¹² Richard Graves's scholars merely had to cross the road to the village church.

Careers advice to parents published in 1747 referred to the current popularity of 'private Boarding Schools, called Academies', while admitting that their teaching methods were not always much better than the pedantic regimes of the public schools.¹³ What especially drove the boom in private boys' schools, whether day or boarding institutions, was the more broad-based, practical education they usually offered. This often meant an emphasis on commercial

during school vacations, as in 1763 when he admitted he would have lost four pupils, including two 'of great consequence', had he not boarded them at Claverton while their parents were 'absent upon a summer's expedition'.⁷ He had started teaching around 1750 with twenty pupils housed in an annexe to the parsonage house specially built for him by his wealthy neighbour, Ralph Allen. The total intake eventually expanded to over forty when space in the nearby manor house became available. Some came from the neighbourhood, perhaps preferring the more personal care, supervision and rural quiet of Graves's school, despite the extra cost in fees, to the rougher, bullying, urban atmosphere of the Grammar School.⁸ Among them were the three sons of Henry Harington, a prominent Bath physician, and the sons of Graves's two Claverton patrons, Henry Skrine of Warleigh Manor and Bishop William Warburton of Prior Park. Two more famous pupils, Thomas Bowdler and Thomas Malthus, would later give their names to the English language as a result of the Bowdlerised *Family Shakespeare* and the Malthusian theory of population, though their originators' previous boyhood education under Graves would have included little if any Shakespeare or economics. Because he never advertised his school curriculum in the newspapers, it remains uncertain whether lessons strayed much beyond the standard drill of Latin and Greek, though

subjects taught typically by writing masters and accountants. Edward Brett, a writing master trained in London, offers an early example, advertising his Bath presence first in 1733 and then as follows in 1745.¹⁴

At the HAND and PEN In St. James's-street, BATH, WRITING, in all the Hands; ARITHMETICK, in whole Numbers; FRACTIONS, Vulgar and Decimal; and FOREIGN EXCHANGES, shewing the Price-Currant, and in what Species the chief Trading Cities or Places make their Exchanges, &c.; MERCHANTS ACCOMPTS, or the true *Italian Method of Book-Keeping*, by double Entry, are Taught, by ED.BRETT, from the late eminent Mr.CHARLES SNELL, *London*.

Brett was still teaching as late as 1779 (though only as visiting writing master at Mrs. Aldworth's girls' school),¹⁵ by which time other specialists in commercial handwriting, mathematics and Italian book-keeping had established themselves, including John Wignall and John Jarman. The latter gave his main aim as equipping his students for employment in 'Merchant's Counting-Houses, Trades, the Public Offices, Attorney's Clerks, or any other Business they are intended for, and particularly to fix them in a neat and expeditious Running Hand, so necessary in every Business'.¹⁶ A later commercial school, run by Robert Carpenter, particularly emphasised the book-keeping side, which he claimed to address 'in a manner seldom practised in schools, by uniting practice and theory, in imitation of real business'. The negotiation of bills of exchange would be explained by circulating drafts among the pupils themselves, who would also handle counterfeit money to practise 'telling' and achieve fluency in business correspondence by writing real letters on commercial topics.¹⁷ Other schools inclined more to the practical applications of mathematics, measurement, surveying and navigation. Thus in 1751, besides the essential trio of writing, arithmetic, and tradesmen's accounts, William Kingston was advertising algebra, geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry, calculus, 'mensuration' (using logarithms), surveying, mapping, and navigation (using astronomy).¹⁸ Around the same date John Wignall's school offered geometry, trigonometry and other useful mathematics, together with quantity surveying - the 'methods and customs' in use for measuring the work of stonemasons, bricklayers, carpenters and plasterers.¹⁹ Publicity for a later school highlighted another application - land and timber measuring.²⁰

The trend towards educating boys for fairly specific careers took a fresh turn with Charles Moor. A former actor with the Bath Theatre Royal company, Moor opened a boys' school in Abbey Green in 1774, moving into Union Passage in 1776. Unlike the majority of other actors who turned schoolmaster, he focused not on theatrical skills such as reading and elocution, but rather on mathematics and the use of scientific instruments - indeed directly advertising his business as a 'mathematical school'. Increasingly in fact he channelled his energies into preparing his students for military and naval careers. A friendly correspondent to the *Bath Chronicle* in 1778 reported seeing his pupils out on Claverton Down measuring ground and positioning stones to make a fortification, putting classroom theory into practice. The following year Moor published *An Easy Introduction to Naval and Military Mathematics*, and by 1781 his school went openly under the title of the Naval & Military Academy. The fact that it took only six boarders but was able to run both day and evening classes suggests a healthy local demand for a syllabus that included - in addition to mathematics and accounting - the science of fortification, gunnery, land surveying, the use of

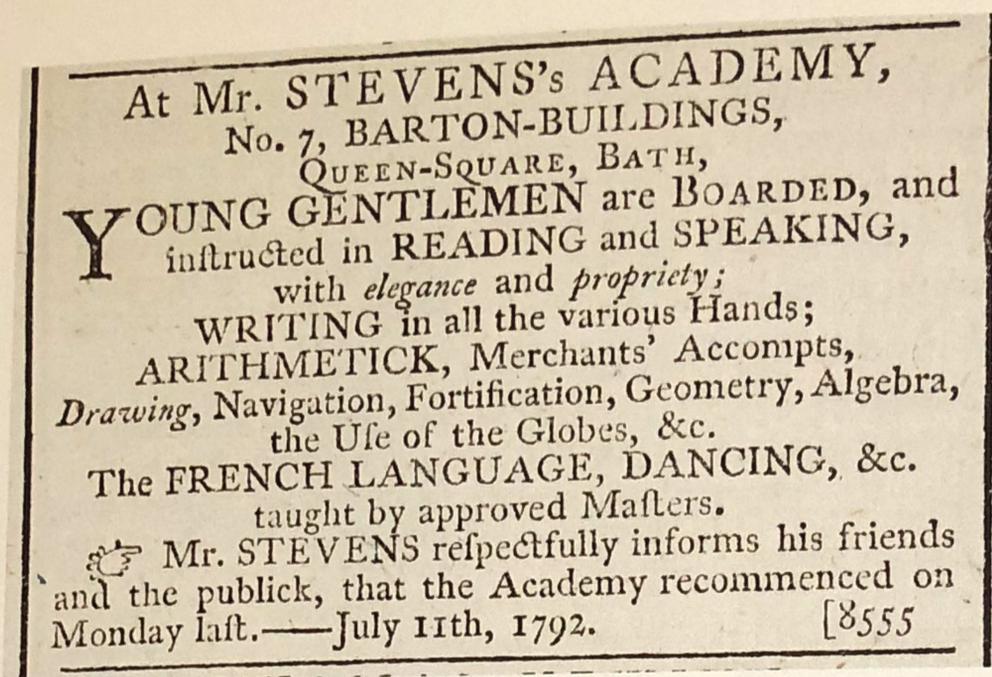


fig 2: Advertisement for Mr Steven's Academy, No. 7 Barton Buildings, Bath, 1792

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

Academy [fig. 2], now housed near Queen Square, and ran it until his own death in 1797. Under Stevens and his successor, Groombridge, the naval and military emphasis significantly diminished, as subjects such as 'Reading and Speaking with Elegance and Propriety' came to the fore, and French and dancing masters now attended.²² [fig. 3] They did of course teach geography with 'the use of globes', for this had now become an almost obligatory school subject. Addison's boarding school at Bathampton, for example, took a special interest in it - 'In learning Geography, they [the pupils] are made to draw all the different Parts of the Globe, according to their real extent, on a given scale, and plan all the towns, rivers, &c. according to their known latitude and longitude'.²³ Most schools could muster a terrestrial and perhaps even a celestial globe, and some amassed more elaborate equipment - mathematical and surveying instruments, gauging tools, sextants, telescopes, and other devices. Giving notice of his mathematical and philosophical [i.e. scientific] academy in 1799, J. Weaver referred to the large terrestrial globe he used in lessons and promised lectures on the properties of matter, mechanics, electricity and astronomy, all to be explained with the aid of 'apparatus'.²⁴ Similarly J.B. Florian, master of another Bath academy, owned an electrical machine, a camera obscura, a theodolite, station staves and measuring rods - these being items put up for auction when he left town in 1798.²⁵

A French émigré from Brittany, Florian was author of *An Essay on an Analytical Course of Studies* (1796), the pedagogical system behind the expensive boys' school he set up in 1797 in



fig 3: Embossed quill pen of William Bowden at Mr Stevens's Academy, Bath

Author's own collection

globes, astronomy and navigation (with practice on naval instruments and the nautical almanac), in other words a fully vocational course based on those at the naval and military academies of Portsmouth and Woolwich. A further important topic of instruction under Moor was perspective and topographical drawing, not in this case taught as a polite accomplishment but as one further skill valuable to an army officer.²¹

On Moor's death in 1784 his assistant, W. Stevens, took over the Drawing, Naval and Military

Burlington Place.²⁶ In essence his 'Education upon a Superior Plan' amounted to providing a general curriculum of classical and modern languages, writing, mathematics and drawing, all taught in a strong Gallic atmosphere and with the intention of preparing his students 'for any civil or military Profession... at an Age when, among the generality of Youth, an imperfect smattering of Latin and Greek too often constitutes the Whole of their Attainments.'²⁷ The main teaching was undertaken by a fellow Breton, Kerouartz, assisted by a classics master and

and the Number of his Pupils is limited to Fifteen; consequently they are under immediate and constant inspection, and not only their literary Improvement but their Morals, Temper, and general Behaviour are attended to with the most conscientious Vigilance; they sleep all in separate Beds, two or three in one Room; they rise at half after Six in Summer, and half after Seven in Winter; immediately after the French Lesson, which lasts two Hours, Breakfast upon Milk, Bread and Butter; have their Luncheon at One o'Clock. Dine at Four with Mr.KEROUARTZ and Family, where no other Language but French is used, have their Supper at Eight, and are always in Bed at Nine.²⁸

The experiment was soon abandoned. Although Florian's academy seems to have recruited ten pupils (most of them with military careers in mind) by February 1798 when they all contributed their pocket money towards the national defence fund against a French invasion, it was hardly enough to keep the establishment going and, perhaps for this reason, it closed abruptly that summer.²⁹ This was always a hazard of private education: the ephemeral nature of too many schools and the disruption caused to pupils' studies. Where then did Florian's abandoned pupils go? One possible refuge, higher up Lansdown hill, would have been Lyde House Seminary [fig. 4], where in 1795 William Drayton was advertising a mixed syllabus of Latin, Greek, French, English, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, geography and history - but, according to an earlier promise on his part, always carefully tailored to the individual pupil's needs.³⁰ Alternatively, Groombridge's Naval, Military and Commercial Academy in St. John's Place might have fitted the bill, though the varied curriculum here lacked any Classical component.³¹ Or Addison's boarding school at Bathampton, which did teach Latin and Greek alongside English, geometry, geography, surveying and navigation, only in this case without French since the other stated subjects were deemed sufficient for boys under fourteen.³²

The question of the most suitable curriculum for boys was echoed in the contemporary debate over the education of girls. Here the role of Classics hardly came into it, since there was no female equivalent of the grammar and public schools, and women were barred anyway from the universities and professions. The few women who did apply themselves to Latin and Greek generally did so at home or with the help of a private tutor. Only radicals like Mary Wollstonecraft and Maria Edgeworth argued that girls were capable of studying any subject whatsoever and were entitled to the same opportunity to improve their minds as boys. In the perhaps more influential opinion of Hannah More it came down to social class. Girls did deserve a mind-stretching education (though certainly not the poorest servant classes who were not even to be taught writing),³³ but the more ornamental subjects were best left to the gentry. By 1799



fig 4: Lyde House, Sion Hill, Bath, c.1850
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

when her *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* appeared, she felt the pursuit of 'accomplishments' had turned into a 'phrenzy' no longer restricted within the usual limits of rank and fortune; the middle orders have caught the contagion, and it rages downward with

increasing violence, from the elegantly dressed but slenderly ported curate's daughter, to the equally fashionable daughter of the little tradesman, and of the more opulent, but not more judicious farmer.

Instead of all that superficial attention to art and fancy work, music and dancing, French and Italian, middle-class girls should first and foremost learn how to be effective wives, mothers, and mistresses of families, with an appropriate 'stock of ideas and principles, and qualifications and habits'. At the same time (while they should certainly study serious things, learn to reason, and undertake some 'dry tough reading') the idea was not to turn them into 'scholastic ladies' either.³⁴

Having managed a successful girls' school with her sisters for thirty years in Bristol, Hannah More knew perfectly well the balance was difficult to achieve, and that many parents were willing to pay good money for the fashionable airs, graces and accomplishments that would stand their daughters in good stead in the marriage market. It was not surprising that the earliest private girls' boarding school at Bath was launched by a dancing master, John Stagg, and his wife. This was around 1720, decidedly early, when Bath's spectacular expansion had hardly begun and the visiting season remained limited to the summer months, still too short to sustain a resident dancing master without another job. In fact the venture, housed in newly built St. John's Court (Kingsmead Street), succeeded remarkably well, prospering for more than twenty years under the Staggs and then passing in 1742 to Mrs. Stagg's niece and long-serving principal assistant, Miss Tomlin(s).³⁵

St. John's Court was then a smart address (occupied among others by Bath's master-of-ceremonies, Richard Nash) and in 1743 Miss Tomlin asserted her independence by removing her school a few doors from John Stagg's house but remaining on the same fashionable site. Here, taking both day pupils and boarders and employing at least one assistant, she must have taught the core subjects of reading and needlework, and certainly appointed visiting masters to provide the usual extras - dancing, music, writing and French. After a teaching career of nearly 45 years Miss (or rather Mrs., as befitting her age) Tomlin retired, now comfortably off to judge from her charitable bequests to the Bath Hospital and the poor.³⁶ The school still enjoyed a solid reputation, and under Mrs. Aldworth (1765-74) and the subsequent partnership of Mrs. Mainwaring and Miss Perks (1774-79) it continued to thrive, though by 1774 'shellwork' had become a core subject of the timetable with geography among the extras.³⁷ Yet it cannot have survived for long after Miss Perks resigned, especially since the once-desirable neighbourhood it stood in was looking rather shabby compared with the handsome upper town which had become a new focus of fashionable schooling.³⁸

Much earlier, another girls' boarding school with a long future had opened around 1736 in St. James's Street, fully in the old town, set up by Anne Emblen from Bratton, Wilts. Evidently popular, in 1745 it moved across the street to fresh premises having the advantage of a garden. The school then had at least two other teachers on the staff, Elizabeth Patillo and Mrs. Pulleine, and later employed a French mistress in addition to the usual supernumerary tutors for writing, dancing and music. Otherwise, needlework seems to have dominated the timetable. Mrs. Emblen herself taught it, as did Elizabeth Patillo (with some English) before she left in 1753 to start her own girls' school in Beauford Square - apparently a short-lived affair since its founder was soon running a millinery shop.³⁹ The other chief assistant, Mrs. Pulleine, became a business partner in 1754 and governess of the school on Mrs. Emblen's death in 1760.

It was she who re-located the school in 1766 to Trim Street where it eventually became a familiar enough sight to figure in the list of sedan-chair fare distances - 'From the [Orchard Street] Playhouse to the Boarding-School in Trim-street - 733 yards' (a shilling ride).⁴⁰

Hardly was Mrs. Pulleine established in her new quarters in spring 1766 than she received a visit from John Penrose, a Cornish clergyman, with his wife, daughter Fanny and a Bath family friend, anxious to discover whether the school would suit a younger daughter, the 13- or 14-year-old Dolly. They took careful note of the entrance fees, charges for boarding and tuition in reading and 'sewing', additional sums for writing, arithmetic and dancing, and all the bills for a silver spoon, sheets, towels and napkins, a Sunday seat in the Abbey Church or Octagon Chapel, the annual ball, vacation fees, and staff presents - the sundries amounting to nearly 40% of the 28 guineas per annum John Penrose would be expected to pay. Writing home to Cornwall, he reported that they had approved the general set-up and been rather taken by Mrs. Pulleine herself.

The Mistress a well-looking Person, and we like her very well. The House is a very handsome one, very near Barton Street. All Bills to be paid every Half-year. Great care will be taken to instruct Ladies in the English Grammar. If Dolly comes here, she will soon become acquainted with Apostrophes and all the Niceties of Spelling.

And no doubt the niceties of fine needlework too - except that in the end Dolly did not enrol with Mrs. Pulleine. Instead, the following spring, April 1767, the Penroses returned to Bath, vetted the rival establishment of Mrs. Aldworth in St. John's Court, liked what they saw, and here entered Dolly as a boarder without delay. She made an unhappy start, finding the transition from family to school hard, but Mrs. Aldworth consoled her with a trip to the Theatre Royal and presumably she adjusted in time, as Bath's many boarding pupils generally had to.⁴¹ Kindliness paid off, and boarding school mistresses saw mothering their young wards as part of the job, some even declaring as much. Opening a boarding school in 1770, Mrs. Burdett, announced she would particularly welcome girls who had lost their mothers, as she indeed had just lost hers, promising to treat them as parlour boarders and 'be their friend'.⁴² Another school similarly offered to accommodate six orphaned girls, who would live intimately with the mistress as parlour boarders.⁴³

Mrs. Burdett's advertisement also emphasised her school's 'most healthy' location on Lansdown, in the recently built terrace of Montpellier on the rural edge of Bath. The earlier girls' schools were sited near the city centre, and some continued to be established there - Mary Delafons's in Cheap Street and then near the Cross Bath, for example, or Mrs. Leslie's French boarding school in St. James's Street and Abbey Green. When, however, the latter removed in 1756 to Borough Walls the more open, airy location was already regarded as a selling point in its favour,⁴⁴ and the rapid spread of smart streets and terraces on Lansdown hill from then on was an invitation for boarding schools to follow, nowhere better illustrated than in the case of the Rosco school.

Originally an embroidress, Anna Barbara Rosco had run a boarding school in Bristol, on St. Michael's Hill, for over twenty years before her decisive move to Bath. At Bristol she first had the help of her husband, James Rosco, who - as a retired actor from the London and Bristol stage - taught reading and elocution. On his death in 1761, the eldest daughter, Ann Rosco, stepped in, giving up her own theatrical career (mainly as a singer) to do so. Embroidery was inevitably

allotted a high place in the curriculum and several samplers executed by girls attending the school have survived as testimony. What exactly spurred their move to Bath in autumn 1770 is not obvious unless it was simply the attraction of the Royal Crescent, then under construction and offering a splendid opportunity. Here the Roscos, mother and daughter, ambitiously leased No. 2, the second house from the east, before it was even ready for occupation, obliging them to launch the school in premises just round the corner in Brock Street where it spent its first year. Besides needlework they offered English, French, writing and accounts, with the chance of extra classes in geography, drawing, Italian, music, and dancing - the latter given special prominence by the fortnightly public dancing days held once the school had settled into the more spacious environment of the Crescent. Yet there were further moves to come. Six months after Mrs. Rosco's sudden death in May 1774, her daughter Ann took the school away from the prestigious Crescent setting to far more modest accommodation in Barton Court near Queen Square. She remained there nearly eight years, enlarging her premises twice to make more room for boarders and day girls, with enough space, it seems, to hold public readings from English literature showing off her pupils' talents. Then came a final move. Still lured by the elegance of the upper town, in 1782 she leased a large house in Lansdown Road, engaged the three nieces she had trained as assistants, and opened a French-speaking school with a resident French mistress. It

turned out a venture too far. Within six months the school closed in the face of mounting debts and the bankrupt Ann Rosco quitted the scene for good.⁴⁵

Perhaps she underestimated the competition. Although Mrs. Burdett's school in nearby Montpellier had recently closed,⁴⁶ there were at least half-a-dozen rival establishments already scattered about the city, three of them on Lansdown alone. Mrs. Stone's had arrived in Rivers Street from Margaret Buildings in 1780. Jane Arden and her sisters established theirs in nearby Catharine Place in March 1781 (listing astronomy among the extracurricular subjects - probably taught by their science-lecturer father, John Arden) and when they left after two years, a successor, Miss Bird, immediately took their place.⁴⁷ A serious competitor to Ann Rosco's short-lived French school existed even nearer to hand at No. 7 Belmont, the thriving boarding school run by the Lee sisters - one of whom, Charlotte, had in fact trained as a teacher under Ann Rosco and then gone on to found her own girls' day school at the foot of Lansdown Road in 1780.⁴⁸



MISS LEE.

Author of the Receipts Chapter of Accidents &c &c.

fig 5: Miss Sophia Lee, author of *The Chapter of Accidents*, 1797

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

Charlotte, Sophia, Harriet and Ann were the daughters of John Lee, an actor-manager well known in the theatres of London, Dublin, Edinburgh and Bath. It was Charlotte's prior experience of teaching, coupled with the profits from Sophia's play, *The Chapter of Accidents*, just staged in London, that probably induced the sisters to open a school in December 1780 - initially in Vineyards but transferring to smarter Belmont in 1782 thanks to the continuing success of Sophia's play [fig. 5]. By August they had all but one of their complement of 24 boarders. And while the curriculum of needlework, English, French, writing and arithmetic seems orthodox enough, exposure to the sisters' bright conversation must have been an education in itself. Sophia and Harriet continued to produce novels, stories and plays, and in 1786 or 1787 the school migrated further up Lansdown Road to roomy Belvedere House [fig. 6] where it eventually housed some 72 girls aged 8 to 19 - two parlour boarders, fifty ordinary boarders, and about twenty day pupils - and even so had a waiting list. One pupil there in the 1790s, Susan Mein, later recorded her memories of a firm but benign regime under its three governesses (Charlotte Lee having then married and left) and three assistant teachers. She shared a bedroom with the French mistress and two other girls, but at least one other room slept eight. The large schoolroom filled with desks and forms lay at the back, with a dining room below and a paved terrace that served as a play area overlooking the garden. The day started at six and on most days tutors from Bath arrived to give lessons in arithmetic and writing, drawing, music (the school had three fortepianos), and dancing - a major preoccupation involving frequent public displays at the

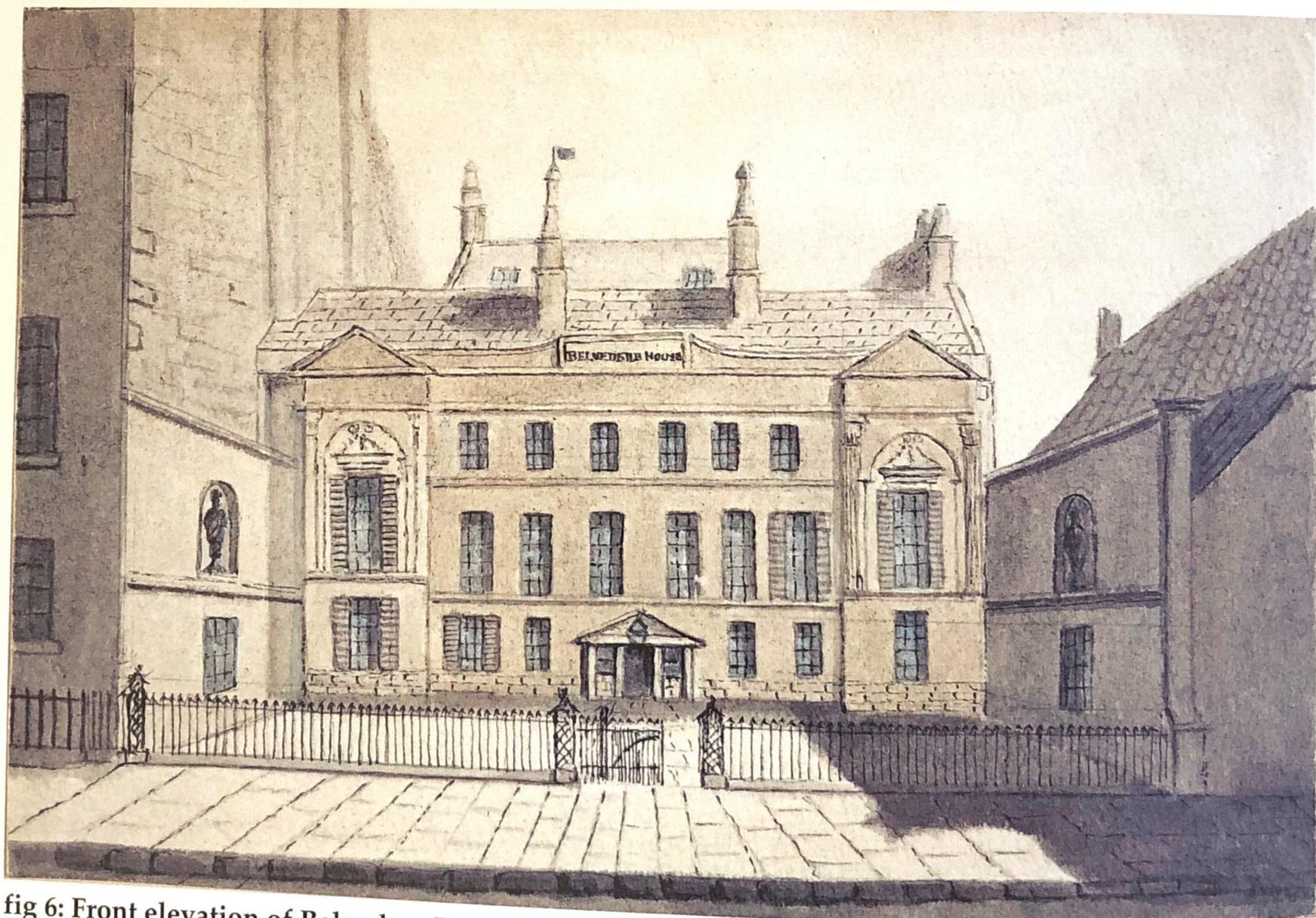


fig 6: Front elevation of Belvedere House, Miss Lee's School, pre 1860
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

school and every three years a prestigious scholars' ball at the Assembly Rooms. French was generally spoken in school hours. There were twice-daily prayers, good meals (taken with milk, small beer or even port wine), pocket money, treats, country walks, white frocks on Sundays and, after church, sometimes visits to friends. Sanctions ranged from a breakfast of thin gruel to the rare scandal of expulsion, but corporal punishment was in theory banned.⁴⁹ Our informant, the one-time Susan Mein, makes no mention, however, of the Lee pupils being made to wear back braces to improve their posture - devices that were nevertheless actively recommended to Bath boarding schools at the time.⁵⁰

The 'Leevites' made a pretence of rivalry with the 'Colbournites', the 20-30 girls attending the Misses Colbournes' (or Coobans') boarding school - originally Anne Wignall's - higher up the hill at 10 Lansdown Crescent.⁵¹ This was just one of at least thirty new girls' schools that sprang up in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. Some of these, as in the Wignall/Colbourn example, colonised fresh areas on the growing outskirts of Bath, such as: Miss Milgrove's French-speaking seminary in Marlborough Buildings, or Mrs. Voysey's and Mrs. Matthews' schools in Grosvenor Place. Others appeared in the new suburb of Bathwick - the Misses Kiddell's and Mrs. Thane's - and one further out at Devonshire House on the Warminster Road. The latter survived for four years as a girls' boarding school run by a Miss Eames, then in 1795 became an academy for 5-12-year-old boys under the headship of Edward Guest, a rather unusual succession. Batheaston produced several girls' schools including Mrs. Vereyt's academy for English, French and Italian. There were others at Kelston and Twerton.⁵²

Nearer the city centre a former governess, Miss Lawrence, set up a successful day school at 8 Bridge Street, and Mrs. Evans a similar institution in Pierrepont Street, having once kept a boarding school at Frenchay. Another experienced school mistress, Mrs. Bennett from Maidstone, admitted both boarders and day girls at 3 Walcot Terrace, and the somewhat less experienced Elizabeth Lefanu - after a trial run in Upper Charles Street - at No. 3 Edgar Buildings. Sister of the playwright R.B. Sheridan, Mrs. Lefanu at least had family antecedents in her grandfather, a notable Dublin school-master, and her father, Thomas Sheridan, actor, elocutionist and educational theorist, whose English teaching method she followed in the school. French lessons she left to the Abbé Denais, an *émigré* teacher from Anjou.⁵³

Being speculative ventures, private schools experienced mixed fortunes. Some of those advertising their presence in the Bath newspapers soon fell by the wayside while others survived and even thrived. The staying power of the Emblen/Pulleine school, dating from c.1736 and housed in Trim Street from 1766, has already been mentioned. Mrs. Pulleine's own career with the school had spanned nearly forty years when in 1786 she finally handed over to Miss Wagstaff. In 1790 it passed to one of Wagstaff's assistants, Caroline Habersham, and a year later to the Ewing family who were still going strong in 1805 - as indeed was Mrs. Habersham, who, after an interlude in Queen Square, had established a well-respected school in Catharine Place.⁵⁴ There were other cases too of long continuity over a half century or more, among them the Lee sisters' famous school, which prospered for some 24 years (1780-c.1804) under their own stewardship and a further 30 or so years under their successors, Thomas and Frances Broadhurst.

Almost as many boys' as girls' schools came into being at this period, though relatively fewer of these catered for boarders. Boarding schools were normally single-sex institutions, as were most day schools with the exception of dame schools for the youngest children which no doubt had a mixed intake. Only a few schools catering to older children, including one run by

John Fowler and his wife for maybe twenty years,⁵⁵ accepted both girls and boys. A handful of teachers, including Fowler himself, held evening classes of various sorts for both children and adults. John Comber, for example, coached adults in small groups of four, promising keen students they would learn to write a good business hand in forty hours and acquire good skills in reading and spelling within two months. A language master, Paul Guedelle, claimed his small evening class of eight pupils had made tremendous progress after only three months' work.⁵⁶ But there were of course no objective standards or examinations by which progress might be monitored. Only in the case of occasional public displays of pupils' oratorical or dancing skills was there some benign outside scrutiny, and school reputations were otherwise mostly built by word of mouth.

In their promotions and prospectuses schools naturally emphasised any special advantages they offered. It might be their location or premises. John Pullman's large, lofty school in Vineyards had been so built, he said, for the sake of his pupils' health - 'which the Closeness of the Generality of Schools in Town is apt to hurt'. William Drayton's academy on Sion Hill (also unusual in being purpose-built) enjoyed 'the salubrious Lansdown air'. Miss Desmoulins' in New King Street had a long terrace with a flower garden in front, Edward Guest's a large playground adjacent, and Mrs. Vereyt's at Batheaston a spacious garden entirely at her pupils' disposal.⁵⁷

Alternatively it might be the syllabus, teaching style, general ethos, or the personal attributes of its staff that gave a school its competitive edge. Several prioritised learning French and made it, as one of them put it 'the common dialect' of the school.⁵⁸ One or two made a virtue of training their scholars in public speaking and reading prose and poetry aloud, with the 'theory of reading, cadence, climax, etc', especially useful for boys 'designed for the pulpit'.⁵⁹ Some offered hands-on practice in book-keeping, mensuration and surveying. At least two taught some astronomy. Smith & Wingrove's day school for boys concentrated on those 'useful and polite branches of Education, which, in the present refined age, are indisputably requisite for those who wish to move in the genteel circles of life, viz. *Drawing, Music, French, Writing, and Arithmetic*'.⁶⁰ And while all girls' schools paid much attention to plain sewing skills, a number were at pains to specify the different sorts of ornamental work and embroidery (e.g. Dresden whitework, tambour work, samplers) that were actually covered in the syllabus. If religious instruction was seldom listed among curriculum subjects, a Christian ethos was expected all the same - with prayers and Sunday church attendance the normal thing at boarding schools. There was, nonetheless, a certain nervousness about the employment of Catholics to teach foreign languages, and even over Protestant sects, so that an otherwise well-respected teacher like Ann Rosco who personally attended the Countess of Huntington's Chapel felt the need to offer her boarders an alternative, more orthodox Anglican place of worship.⁶¹ [fig. 7]

Where the resident teaching staff lacked subject expertise, they could always call on the services of visiting tutors. The Lee sisters' Belvedere school in the 1790s, for instance, had a resident French mistress on the spot, but relied on auxiliary teachers for drawing, writing and arithmetic, music and dancing. Drawing was taught twice a week by Ferdinand Becker, a landscape artist good enough to hold one-man exhibitions. The writing-cum-arithmetic master, William Perks, who had run a school himself as well as a stationery business, attended on Mondays, and often rewarded his pupils with sugar plums and gingerbread. Mrs. Oaks came three times a week to give music lessons - probably in both singing and keyboard. And a violinist

retard than forward them: they learn fast when they learn well.

It is a great abuse introduced in most schools to force beginners to talk nothing but French to one another; they must either speak wrong, or condemn themselves to silence. The masters, on the other hand, being at a loss to satisfy the expectations of the parents, presently begin by making them learn words and phrases, and labour hard to beat into their heads as many common sentences as they can, pretty near after the same manner as parrots are instructed. Those parents who are unacquainted with the language, are charmed with the supposed improvement of their children, and think them great proficient. They recommend the school as one of the best for learning; and thus the master gets his end, but in truth the children know nothing, and the parents are deceived and imposed upon, without considering that, though the terms of a guinea a quarter appeared to them a trifling sum, yet they really spent for many years more money than if they had had a good master at home who would have instructed them completely in a few months.

One may daily see in schools (particularly those for the education of Young Ladies, where

where a woman teaches the French, though the grammatical knowledge has never been a business for women) pupils who have learnt the French for five or six years, and who pass with some for good scholars, on account of the readiness with which they express themselves; but they observe no concord at all, cannot so much as make one part of speech agree with another, and are utterly incapable of writing four lines, or even to make sense of half a page of a common French book: In short, they know no more than the words and phrases of their own books.

I conclude with my answer to the question frequently put to a French master, *How long a scholar ought to learn?* that it depends upon the capacity and application of the learner, who, possessing these advantages, and choosing a good master, may acquire a perfect knowledge of the language in a very short time.



CON-

fig 7: Extract from *The Parisian Master or A New and Easy Method for Acquiring Perfect Knowledge of the French Language in a Short Time*, 1789

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

turned up every Wednesday to accompany the dancing lessons, when the school room and dining room were both cleared and the formidable Anna Fleming, Bath's leading dancing mistress, demonstrated minuets and figure dances while her assistant focused on the basic positions and steps. Anna Fleming taught for many years too at the boarding school in Trim Street and from time to time organised grand Assembly Rooms balls to showcase her various school pupils' accomplishments.⁶²

In choosing a school the deciding factor for many parents must often have been cost. Day school fees ranged from 2 guineas to, more typically, 4 guineas a year, plus a half-guinea enrolment charge and a further sum for any meals taken at the school. Basic boarding fees were much more variable, running from 12 to 30 or more guineas a year, or even to an exceptional 60 guineas in the case of Florian's academy in 1797 - especially high considering its short teaching year of 41 weeks. On the other hand his fee did include 'all Articles, [such] as Pens, Paper, Ink, and the long List of etceteras, which usually swell the Bills of all Schools'.⁶³ This was a telling point, for as we saw with Mrs. Pulleine's boarding school, the etceteras (including

visiting tutors) could easily put a further 40% or so on the bill. Another expensive school, Rev.J. Gerrard's at Batheaston, still charged additional sums for books, instruments, and visiting teachers from Bath. The sensitivity of the fees question is evident in Mrs. Burdett's defence of complaints in 1770 that her 28 guineas per annum seemed excessive. Unlike the practice at many other schools, she pointed out, at hers there were no entrance fees or presents allowed to individual teachers, no tipping of servants, and no charges for tea or laundry. Another schoolmistress, Mrs. Stone, stated much the same - no gratuities to teachers or servants, no expense on silver spoons, bureaus, etc. The Roscos likewise granted items such as tea, laundry and mending, but their basic fees were otherwise quite steep at £30 a year in 1770 and as much as £35 by 1775, which may be compared with the Lee sisters' quotation of £25 in 1782. The Roscos also required an unusually high enrolment fee of 5 guineas rather than the more usual 1-3 guineas, and like all boarding schools charged a higher price to parlour boarders for the privilege of living *en famille*.⁶⁴ Fees tended to increase over time and especially in the late-eighteenth century in line with inflation.

In the end, if it was to survive, a school had to be profitable. Setting one up was not in itself expensive. A day school could manage with one large room and minimal equipment, though a boarding establishment was necessarily more elaborate. What mattered more was the simple equation of annual running costs set against the annual income from fees multiplied by the number of pupils on the books. Staff costs could be reduced by giving the core teaching roles to family members (spouses, offspring, siblings) or by sharing in partnerships, though a successful large school would employ regular paid staff besides, especially to teach specialist subjects like French and Classics, not to mention the need for reliable domestic servants. Nothing is known about the financial deals with visiting tutors, but the typical 4 guineas (plus entrance fee) that they charged per pupil may well have allowed a cut for the school.

How many teachers made a living in eighteenth-century Bath is impossible to estimate. Some are now quite obscure figures - even the schoolmaster Daniel Milsom, whose name is perpetuated in a famous local street, is known not for his educational profession but solely as owner of the land on which the street was built. We catch the merest glimpses of Henry Smith, 'an eminent schoolmaster' who died of gout in 1759; of Mrs. Etwell, 'a respected Bath schoolmistress' for nearly fifty years; of Mrs. E. Bartley whose school in Orange Court shared premises with her husband's umbrella workshop; or the unfortunate Maria Bally, shot dead by her lover in front of her class of young schoolchildren in 1795.⁶⁵ It is clear that opportunities for teachers at all levels vastly increased, and indeed offered women - a point Susan Skedd has emphasised⁶⁶ - an entirely new career as more and more girls' schools produced more and more potential teachers in something akin to the familiar apprenticeship system. Teaching was nevertheless not an easy option. A school might, like Rev.J. Gerrard's, require proof of any new entrant's 'moral, amiable disposition' or, like Mr. Addison's, reserve the right to return 'unpleasant' pupils to their parents,⁶⁷ but it still had the unremitting, sometimes anxious task of educating, enthusing, parenting, and disciplining a mixed bag of children and adolescents while at the same time satisfying its paymasters (the parents and guardians) and somehow keeping a varied business enterprise afloat. Yet there was job satisfaction to be had as well. Far better to be an independent schoolmistress than a governess tied to a family, Mary Wollstonecraft advised the Arden sisters when they were contemplating launching their Bath school in 1780.

Your employm[en]t tho a troublesome one, is very necessary, and you have the opportunity of doing much good, by instilling good principles into the young and the ignorant, and at the close of life you'll have the pleasure to think that you have not lived in vain, and, believe me, this reflection is worth a life of care...⁶⁸

Notes

BC: *Bath Chronicle*, BJ: *Bath Journal*

1. BC Oct. 20th 1785.
2. Trevor Fawcett, 'Bath Scientific Societies and Institutions' in *Innovation and Discovery*, ed. P.Wallis (Bath, 2008), p.157.
3. Nathanael Morgan, *Grammaticae Quaestiones* (Bath, 1783), preface.
4. BC Nov. 8th and 15th 1785.
5. *Gloucester Journal* Jan. 9th. 1732/3.
6. The main source for Graves' school is Clarence Tracy, *A Portrait of Richard Graves* (Toronto, 1987), pp.100-3.
7. Robert Dodsley, *The Correspondence... 1733-1764*, ed. J.E.Tierney (Cambridge, 1988), Graves to Dodsley, Apr 25th 1763.
8. John Wroughton, *King Edward's School at Bath, 1552-1982* (Bath, 1982), pp.62-5.
9. William Drayton's school - BC Sep. 30th 1784.
10. Addison's Bathampton school - BC Jul. 20th 1797.
11. J.B.Florian's academy - BC Apr. 20th 1797; Fenner's school - BC Dec. 14th 1780.
12. John Pullman's writing and book-keeping school in Harlequin Row - BC Jan. 11th 1770.
13. R.Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), pp.84-6.
14. *Gloucester Journal* Jan. 9th. 1732/3; BJ Jul. 8th 1745.
15. BC Jul. 11th 1771.
16. BC Apr. 9th 1767.
17. BC Jan. 2nd 1794.
18. BJ Apr. 29th 1751.
19. BJ Dec. 25th 1752.
20. J.Hamblin's school - BC Feb. 3rd 1791.
21. BC Jul. 21st 1774, Jan. 4th 1776, Sep. 10th 1778, Dec. 30th 1779, Oct. 5th 1780, Oct. 18th 1781, Feb. 14th 1782, Jan.23rd 1783, Jul. 8th 1784.
22. BC Sep. 23rd and 30th 1784, Jul. 30th 1789, Jul. 12th 1792, Sep. 19th 1793, Jun. 23rd 1796, Oct. 26th. and Nov. 2nd 1797; *Bath Herald* Jan. 6th 1798.
23. BC Jul. 20th 1797.
24. BC Nov. 28th 1799.
25. BC Aug. 16th 1798.
26. BC Apr. 20th 1797.
27. Florian school prospectus (2-page copy held by the author), partly reprinted in BC Jun. 28th 1798.
28. Florian school prospectus.
29. *Bath Herald* Feb. 24th 1798.
30. BC May 14th 1795 and Sep. 23rd 1784.
31. *Bath Herald* Jan. 6th 1798.

32. BC Jul, 20th 1797.
33. Hannah More, *The Letters*, ed. R.Brimley Johnson (London, 1925), p.183, à propos her Mendip schools.
34. Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, 2nd ed., 2 v. (London, 1799), v.1, pp.68-71, 107, 167, 180. Skills in domestic crafts such as fine sewing and shellwork were nevertheless highly regarded in Georgian culture. Amanda Vickery has recently argued that centrality in *Behind Closed Doors: at Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009), ch.9.
35. *Gloucester Journal* Dec. 27th 1737 and Jun. 15th 1742. The Staggs faced some competition in the 1720s but nothing more is known of Mrs. Dutton's boarding school before it removed to Stroud in 1728 - *Gloucester Journal* Feb. 6th 1727/8.
36. *Gloucester Journal* Oct. 4th and Nov. 15th 1743; BJ Apr. 27th 1752; *Bath Advertiser* Nov. 6th 1756; BC Dec. 19th 1765 and Feb. 15th 1770.
37. BC Dec. 19th 1765, Jan. 6th 1774, Sep. 19th 1776 and Apr. 15th 1779.
38. Philip Thicknesse, *The New Prose Bath Guide for...1778* (Bath, 1778), p.81. Nevertheless another girls' boarding school, run by Chilcot and Harwood, operated in St. John's Court until 1783 - BJ Apr. 14th 1783.
39. *The Diaries of Jeffery Whitaker, Schoolmaster of Bratton, 1739-41*, ed. M.Reeves and J.Morrison (Trowbridge, 1989), pp.39 and 87; BJ Sep. 2nd 1745, Mar. 12th and 19th 1753, Jul. 8th 1754 and Jan. 9th 1758; BC Oct. 23rd 1760; will of Ann Emblen, Wilts Record Office 929.1 - which tried to instate her niece, Mary Whitaker, as Pulleine's partner.
40. BC Oct. 23rd 1760 and Apr. 3rd 1766; *New Bath Guide* (Bath, Cruttwell, 1785), p.52.
41. John Penrose, *Letters from Bath, 1766-1767, by the Rev. John Penrose*, ed. B.Mitchell and H.Penrose (Gloucester, 1983) pp.146, 167, 171, 176, and 195.
42. BC Mar. 1st. 1770.
43. Ann Rosco's school - BC Aug. 26th 1779.
44. BJ Oct. 22nd 1753 and Jan. 7th 1754; BC Sep. 18th 1766 (Delafons). BJ 10th and 17th 1754, May 19th 1755, Sep. 27th 1756 (Creed & Leslie; Leslie).
45. For the Roscos see BJ Dec.16th 1749 and May 7th 1759; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* Dec. 12th and 19th 1761 and Jan. 7th 1764; BC Oct. 11th 1770, Oct. 3rd 1771, May 12th and 19th 1774, Jun. 16th and Dec. 1st 1774, Jan. 12th 1775, Aug. 26th 1779, Jan. 18th and Mar. 15th 1781, Aug. 8th 1782, Jan. 30th, Feb. 20th and Mar. 13th 1783. Samplers worked by Rosco pupils can be seen at the Royal Crescent Hotel in Bath, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Exemplary Collection in Dearbarn (Mich.), and the Benjamin Ginsburg Collection in New York (information from Mrs A.E.Rideout).
46. BC Aug. 15th and Sep. 16th 1782.
47. BC Feb. 29th 1776, Jan. 20th 1780, Mar. 22nd 1781, and Feb. 20th 1783.
48. BC Jul. 6th 1780.
49. BC Dec. 7th and 14th 1780, Feb. 22nd and Jul. 12th 1781, Jan. 17th and Aug. 8th 1782, Nov. 17th and 13 Dec. 13th 1787; Walcot Poor Rate 1781, 1786; Susan Sibbald, *The Memoirs of Susan Sibbald [née Mein]*, ed. F.Paget Hett (London, 1926), pp.32-83 passim.
50. Advertised by P.Brickman, a Bath staymaker, in BC May 1st 1794.
51. Susan Sibbald, pp.33-4, 58; BC Aug. 10th 1797. This was originally Anne Wignall's school, which re-located here from Weymouth House in 1790 and passed to the Colbournes in 1797 - BC Jan. 21st 1790.
52. Milgrove - BC Apr. 15th and Jul. 22nd 1790, Jan. 6th 1791, Jul. 26th 1792, and Jan. 3rd 1799; Voysey - BC Jul. 9th 1795 and Jul. 14th 1796; Matthews - BC May 22nd 1794 and Jun. 27th 1799;

- Kiddell - BC Jun. 27th 1793 and Oct. 8th 1795; Thane - BC Aug. 1st 1799 and Jan. 16th 1800; Eames - BC Jul. 30th 1789, Feb. 25th 1790 and Nov. 7th 1793; Guest - BC May 7th 1795, Jan. 12th 1797 and Jul. 5th 1798; Vereyt - BC Jul. 19th 1787, Feb. 26th, Jul. 16th and Oct. 8th 1789, Jul 19th 1792.
53. Lawrence - BC Dec. 15th 1791, Jan. 12th 1792 and Jul. 7th 1796; Evans - BC Mar. 17th 1796 and Jan. 12th 1797; Bennett - BC Mar. 8th 1798; Lefanu - BC Sep. 27th 1798, Jul. 4th 1799, Jan. 2nd and Nov. 27th 1800.
 54. Wagstaff - BC Sep. 21st 1786, Jul. 30th 1789 and May 13th 1790; Habersham - BC May 13th 1790; Habersham and Second - BC Jul. 8th 1790, Mar. 31st 1791 and Jul. 10th 1794; Ewing - BC May 5th 1791.
 55. BC Jul. 1st 1779, Sep. 25th 1788, Jul. 24th 1794.
 56. Comber - BC May 1st 1781; Guedelle - BC Mar. 26th 1778.
 57. Pullman - Jan. 11th 1770; Drayton - BC May 14th 1795; Desmoulins - BC Dec. 13th 1784; Guest - BC May 7th 1795; Vereyt - BC Oct. 8th 1789.
 58. Mrs Chilcot - BC Nov. 28th 1776.
 59. John and Mrs Fowler - BC Jul. 15th 1790 and Jun. 16th 1796.
 60. BC Oct. 7th 1770.
 61. Rosco - BC Jan. 12th 1775. Advertising a female French teaching post, one Bath school stipulated that any applicant must be Protestant - BC May 3rd 1781. On Catholic and Methodist teachers see Charles Dibdin, *Observations on a Tour*, 2v (London, 1801) v.1, pp.358-9.
 62. Susan Sibbald, pp.44-5, 58-64; Trevor Fawcett, 'Dance and teachers of dance in eighteenth-century Bath', *Bath History* vol. 2, 1988, pp.27-48.
 63. Florian school prospectus.
 64. Gerrard - BC Aug. 14th 1788; Burdett - BC Jun. 28th 1770; Stone - Feb. 29th 1776; Rosco - BC Oct. 11th 1770 and Jan. 12th 1775; Lee - BC Jan. 17th 1782.
 65. Smith - *Bath Advertiser* Apr. 14th 1759; Etwell - BC Feb. 13th 1794; Bartley - BC Mar. 10th 1791 and Jan. 5th 1792; Bally - Jun. 11th 1795.
 66. Susan Skedd, 'Women teachers and the expansion of girls' schooling in England, c.1760-1820' in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. H.Barker and E.Chalus (London, 1997), pp.101-25.
 67. Gerrard - BC Aug. 14th 1788; Addison - BC Jul. 20th 1797.
 68. Cited in Susan Skedd, p.116.