

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

HISTORY OF BATH RESEARCH GROUP



No: 9	2020-21
MEETING REPORTS	2
THE FUTURE OF BATH ARCHIVES.....	2
TWERTON GAOL: LIVES OF THE PRISONERS.	5
18 TH CENTURY PLEASURE GARDENS IN BATH	32
ANNE STREET: AN 18 TH CENTURY BATH ACTRESS.....	37
SAVING OUR HOSPITAL: BATH'S ROYAL UNITED'S BOX SCHEME.....	41
THE OLD QUARRY , NEWBRIDGE ROAD AND SURROUNDING AREA.....	57
BOOK REVIEWS:	64
LATEST WEBSITE PUBLICATIONS (historyofbath.org) :	67

EDITORIAL

As the Pandemic of 2020-1 hopefully recedes into history, the current years 'Proceedings' appear as a bumper issue of 68 pages.

The wide-ranging list of subjects listed above, the meetings for which were all delivered 'On-line' were all well attended and are still available to view on our website.

Our website has therefore grown, and together with these recorded talks, there are links to our 'Directories' and the above listed 'Website Publications,' well worth the visit.

As there is so much to read, your Editor will not gabble on, but leave you with a picture of a well-known landmark that, as you will see below, courtesy of the 'Bath Chronicle' was bequeathed to us all 100 years ago this year. Although possible with some unanswered questions for today's readers:

"A Gift to the City"

"Announcement that Sham Castle has been purchased by two gentlemen for presentation to the City...
Though the castle can hardly be classified as an ancient or historic monument, its prominent position and massive design makes it an object of exceptional interest.....

The generous action of the purchasers, who prefer that their identity should not be disclosed, makes certain its preservation as a notable landmark of Bath, and they have the consciousness of thereby earning the gratitude of all those loyal to and concerned in the associations and amenities of their city. Mr Candy, who purchased from the descendants of the builder of the castle is also to be thanked for giving them preferential terms in carrying out their laudable object."



The Bath Chronicle, Saturday July 7, 1921

MEETING REPORTS

THE FUTURE OF BATH ARCHIVES

Monday 12th October 2020

Meeting held on-line.

Speaker

Richard Meunier, B&NES Head Archivist

Summary by

Nigel Pollard



The holding of this meeting 'on-line' obviously indicated to all that we were still in the continuing Covid19 pandemic of 2020-21 and that currently the Bath Record Office was closed for visiting.

However, as Richard was to tell us, much was still going on and he started by informing us of the arrangements being put in place once they were permitted to reopen.

These, hoped for temporary arrangements were for having to book in advance, together with a limit of eight people/day. However, for permanently they were also introducing a form of Membership Card that for those of us who use the Archives regularly, I imagine, will take away the need to fill in a form whenever we visit.



However, the main message was that the future would be 'DIGITAL':

Digital preservation

Digital access

Digital engagement and the start was well underway.

Digital preservation

A formal endeavor to ensure that digital information of continuing value remains accessible and usable.

The goal of digital preservation is the accurate rendering of authenticated content over time.



With regard to 'Preservation', the lock down had allowed for a concerted effort to better classify and record the Collections and where appropriate digitalise them. It has accelerated much of what they had wanted to do, but never had the time. The emptiness of the building has also permitted the grand ballroom to be used for the laying out and rationalisation of the extensive map collection!

Digital Access

- User expectation
- Business continuity within the Council
- But physical access to records will always be required

AncestryLibrary™
Home | Search the archive | British Newspaper Archive
<https://www.bathonline.co.uk/>
[Know Your Place](#)



With regard to 'Access', much of the above digitalised material had now been put up on the Website, in 2021 a very much "user expectation" when linked to sites such as *AncestryLibrary™* or the *British Newspaper Archive*.

Closer to home, there was also more to be done with refining the *Bath in Time* website and *Know your Place*.

Digital engagement

- Social media <https://twitter.com/bathnesBRO>
- Online talks like this one!
- Co-curation and community archives
- Learning resources <https://www.batharchives.co.uk/learning>
- Online exhibitions



And with regard to 'Engagement', it was the opportunities available through social media and all the other online possibilities that would allow for a whole new way to widening participation and build up relationships. With the wealth of other local, and indeed national and international, likeminded groups now opened up to us, we should be able to identify those Community-based archives that would maybe help fill some gaps in our own collections.

Some long-time partnerships already being forged are with:

- South-West Heritage Trust
- Somerset Archives Catalogue – Epexio
- Archives South-West
- South-West & Wales Doctoral Training Partnership

And of course our own Universities, and research groups such as the HBRG.

Conservation and Storage

While the future would be in many respects ‘Digital’ as outlined above, the needs of real-life factors such as the conservation and storage of documents is always going to be of great importance.



As noted initially, the enforced lockdown had allowed a great deal to be done ‘behind the scenes’ and improved storage has been one of them.

As well as new storage facilities, the opportunity has also been taken to embark on a repackaging programme.



All the above works have also played their part in helping to stabilise and control the environment as well as monitor for pests!



Based on such works and building on the Record Offices past reputation and the commitment to continue these above works, it was deemed appropriate to apply for the *National Archives*’:

‘Archive Service Accreditation’.

.....which was duly awarded in March 2021. (ed)



One exciting development, coming out of the current Pandemic, has been a project to research and conserve all we have on Bath's unique history as a spa, entitled:

‘Building a Healthier City ‘



Grant funded by the **Wellcome Trust**, it has allowed us to construct our own conservation studio, as well as pay for a permanent conservator to run it.



Finally, a look/aspiration for the future of the BRO at the Guildhall, while very convenient for some, not an ideal location for either the collection, or its future growth. With the Bath Fashion Museum now searching for a new home, it is interesting to look around at how other authorities in the south-west have been moving ahead with composite, out of centre locations for their collections, although hopefully B&NES would not follow with any move which would not have a sustainable transport link!



At the end of Richard's most thoughtful and stimulating presentation his conclusions were succinctly stated as to:

- ❖ **Realise the potential of the collections.**
- ❖ **Provide new and innovative ways of access.**
- ❖ **Widen participation and attract diverse audiences.**

TWERTON GAOL: LIVES OF THE PRISONERS.

Monday 9th November 2020 **Meeting held on-line.**

Speaker **Richard Williams**

Abstract **Richard Williams**

Introduction

In my previous talk (See HBRG Proceedings 2019-20, No.8, page 6) I looked at the reasons why the Georgian Bathwick Gaol was closed in 1842 and replaced by a state of the art ‘separate system’ prison. Using the hundreds of records found in the Bath City Archives and prison inspectors reports from the period, I recreated the prison, using my own drawings of the gaol. I also explored the staffing of the prison and completed the talk with a look at the reasons why central government closed this and other local gaols.



However, what I only touched on in my first talk were the prisoners themselves.

In the first part of this, my second talk, I return to the prison inspector’s reports for 1845 and 1848, examining the figures given concerning the type of sentences, prisoners ages and sex, the duration of the sentences and evidence of recidivism.

The second part if concerned with the lives of a selection of prisoners. Largely using the three censuses 1851 to 1871 which enumerate the prisoners resident in the gaol on those dates, with supplement-ary evidence from a range of sources, I have attempted to reconstruct at least parts of some prisoners lives.

Twerton Gaol - Lives of the Prisoners: Part 1

Summary of the Prison Inspectors Reports from 1845 and 1848

The Inspectors Reports were used extensively in my first talk on this subject. What follows is additional information gathered from the reports to further explore the types of prisoner incarcerated in the gaol.

The Prisoner's Day

The table on page 38 of the 1845 Report of the Prison Inspectors¹ gives the total hours worked by prisoners as 9¼ hours in total. This appears short by the standards of the day but the complexities of a separate system gaol, which would have necessitated prisoners being fed separately, whether in their cells or outside at their workplaces. Movement each day to and from workplaces in the yard, to and from the chapel, and also to and from the cells designed as classrooms for those prisoners requiring instruction, with minimal contact from other prisoners, talking strictly forbidden, would have required a complexity of planning and movement which must have eaten in the length of the work day.

Time.	Labour.	Cessation.	Cause of Cessation.
From 6 to 8½	2½	..	..
„ 8½ to 9	..	½	Breakfast.
„ 9 to 11½	2½	..	..
„ 11½ to 1	..	1½	Chapel.
„ 1 to 2	..	1	Dinner.
„ 2 to 6	4	..	..
„ 6 to 7	..	1	Supper.
„ 7 to 8	..	1	Lock-up.
	9¼	4½	

1845 Inspector of Prisons Report 4 Feb - 9 Aug 1845 - Vol XXIV - Bath City Gaol, p. 88

Modes of Confinement

The 1848 Report of the Prison Inspector's², table 13 refers to Modes of Confinement :

No. 13.—Mode in which Criminal Prisoners confined in this Prison in the course of the Year have been Employed.

—	Prisoners of 17 Years of Age and upwards.		Prisoners under 17 Years of Age.		Total Adult and Juvenile.		Grand Total of both Sexes.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Hard Labour	87	66	79	8	166	74	240
Employment not being Hard Labour	133	24	25	3	158	27	185
Not Employed	52	25	22	1	74	26	100
Total	272	115	126	12	398	127	525

1848 Inspector of Prisons Report 18 Nov 1847 - 5 Sept 1848 - Vol XXXVI - Bath City Gaol, p. 203

About half of prisoners would have been under a had labour regime, specified by the courts, the rest were still required to work but not under a hard labour regime. About of fifth of prisoners were not employed, these would include those who were sick or deemed unable to work, but also those who were awaiting trial, who might spend weeks or even months in a cell without any work.

Prison Employment

The next table is from page 39 of the 1845 inspector's report. I also used this in my previous talk.

The convicted prisoners were thus employed :—

MALES.	
Breaking stones	12
Working pump	1
Carpenter's work	1
Mason's work	1
Picking oakum	11
Assisting in the kitchen	1
Cleaning	3
	— 30
FEMALES.	
Picking oakum	10
Washing	3
Mending stockings	1
	— 14
Unemployed	1
	— 1
Total	15

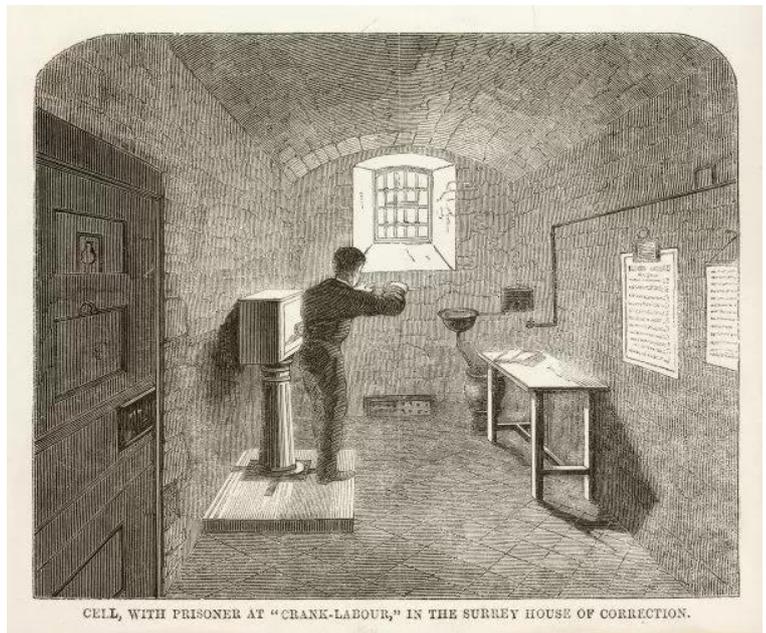
The six untried prisoners were without occupation. Two, a male and a female, were in the respective infirmaries. The former, being subject to fits, had two other prisoners placed with him, and these were convicted felons.

1845 Inspector of Prisons Report 4 Feb - 9 Aug 1845 - Vol XXIV - Bath City Gaol, p. 39

The majority of prisoners worked on breaking stone and picking oakum¹, with stone breaking a male only task. Those with specific skills, e.g. carpenters and masons, might be employed in those tasks when available. Plus, there were a variety of other tasks at which prisoners might be employed.

A Prisoner's Cell

The image opposite is from the Surrey House of Correction, not Twerton Gaol. However it shows a fairly typical separate system cell of this period. Behind the table is a toilet (water closet) and above that a bowl for washing (which in Twerton Gaol was described as a trough). On the wall is a gas light so that the prisoner could read 'good works' in his or her cell. Twerton Gaol did not have gas lighting installed initially which therefore would have meant that prisoners must have gone to bed early in the winter time.



Crank Labour

The image also shows a crank which the prisoner would be required to turn a measured amount each day. This counted as a hard labour task² and paid for by central government, more detail of this can be found in my previous talk. Although cranks did exist at Twerton Gaol, there is no indication where they were to be found. However, it is likely that they were placed in some of the cells - there is no evidence of them being anywhere else in the prison.

Total Prisoners over the Year 1847

Total prisoners in the gaol over this period was 564³. Prisoners **awaiting trial** formed just under a quarter of the prison population - 121 prisoners, 82 male, 39 female.

The majority of prisoners were **under summary conviction**⁴ - 265 male, 69 female.

Finally, 92 (59 male, 33 female), had been **tried by higher courts**, quarter sessions or assizes, and **returned to the local gaol to serve their sentence**.

¹ Picking oakum was widespread in both prisons and workhouses, as was breaking stone. Broken stones went to repair roads, while oakum (often old ships ropes) was untwisted and then teased apart by hand until the individual fibres were left, these were then used for packing between the planks on ships decks or sealing joints in plumbing. Pickers hands suffered greatly from the task and it was not uncommon for pickers to hide the unpicked rope. The heating distribution flues in the new gaol often clogged up with oakum put there by the prisoners and the inspector suggested that the staff weigh the oakum in order to spot any that went missing. Both stone breaking and oakum picking were done to earn the institution some money. The 1841 inspectors report shows that Bathwick prison bought £16 of oakum from Bristol docks and, once picked, sold it back at £22, with carriage 'hither and back' less than £1. The £5 profit equates to approximately £500 in today's money.

² Cranked labour was usually measured by an indicator on the machine, to make the work harder (or easier) a screw would be adjusted by prison staff - this is thought to be the origin of the slang 'screw' for prison warder..

³ 1848 Report of the Prison Inspectors, Tables No 1 and 2, Pages 100 and 101

⁴ Sentenced at local magistrate courts, local justices of the peace often referred to as police courts, for the lesser offences.

Those with longer sentences would have gone to a convict prison, Shepton Mallet and Bristol were the nearest, or would wait in Bath City Gaol before being removed elsewhere – see the entry on Sentenced to Transportation, below.

Juvenile males (under 17s) could be sentenced to a prison term and a **private whipping**. The public whipping of juveniles was ended in the 1820s and replaced by a private whipping. The whipping of females ended in the 1820s, the last recorded case was in London in 1831. Sentences of whipping occur in the documented prisoners lives in section 2.

Eight prisoners that year (one under 17) were **sentenced to transportation**, the length of these began at 7 years and went up to life. With this sentence prisoners usually served a period in the local gaol before the Home Secretary called them to London. Millbank and Pentonville Prisons, the National Penitentiaries, served as places where prisoners would be assessed. Those considered not redeemable might be transported to Australia or other colonies. Others would serve time in hulks on the Thames or might be sent to hulks in other naval dockyards. There are cases of transportation documented in section 2.

Forty one prisoners (34 male and 7 female) were arrested, imprisoned awaiting trial and then **released** after examination by the magistrates. This might involve quite a wait as evidence was being gathered and witnesses examined.

Debtors had separate sections in the prison, one for male and one female, as documented on my previous talk. Debtor numbers fell across the period with 35 males and 4 females in 1847 but considerably less later on. The system was scrapped in 1869. I have not covered debtors in section 2, Prisoners Lives, as there is no evidence of them on the census and other documents used.

Terms of Imprisonment (Duration)

Most prisoners **awaiting trial** fall between a few days and six months in prison. One is waiting for over a year.

Of those under **summary conviction** most range from a few days to 2 months, a handful over 6 months and one prisoner had a sentence of more than 6 months.

Those returning for imprisonment in Twerton Gaol with a sentence from a higher court, a couple served less than 14 days, most were in the range 14 days to 1 year. Two were serving sentences of more than a year and one between 2 and 3 years duration.

Ages of Prisoners

Under 17s were more boys than girls, sentences ranged from a few days to a year. One was sentenced to 10 years transportation.

Older Male and Female Prisoners were largely in their late teens and twenties, but about half of prisoners over 30s were female. This high proportion of female prisoners in the older age group is probably largely the result of the large number of older prisoners who were serving fairly short sentences under the Vagrancy Act. An example is given in part 2 of a female prisoner who became a widow and then had multiple sentences for begging after her husband's death.

Prisoner's Literacy

30% of male and 38% of female prisoners were unable to read or write. 22% of males and 32% of females could read only, and 46% of males and 29% of females could read or write but imperfectly. Only 1% of each sex were able to read and write well.

One of the key features of prison regimes in this period was the inclusion of some level of teaching of literacy. In the first couple of years in the new Bath City Gaol this fell to the prison chaplain William Osborne. He complained to the magistrates and city council that he was being asked to carry out two jobs in the gaol and two teachers were appointed, the married couple Thomas and Frances Pike⁵. Due to the strict separation of male and female prisoners segregated classes were held for each sex.

Previous Convictions

Table 12 from the 1848 Report of the Prison Inspectors shows the numbers of prisoners who had previous convictions:

No. 12.—The Number of Prisoners (except Debtors) confined in this Prison in the course of the Year who have been previously Committed.

	Prisoners of 17 Years of Age and upwards.		Prisoners under 17 Years of Age.		Total Adult and Juvenile.		Grand Total of both Sexes.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Once	31	15	19	9	50	24	74
Twice	18	12	11	4	29	16	45
Thrice	14	8	2	..	16	8	24
Four Times or more	20	15	3	..	23	15	38
Total	83	50	35	13	118	63	181

1848 Inspector of Prisons Report 18 Nov 1847 - 5 Sept 1848 - Vol XXXVI - Bath City Gaol, p. 203

What is not clear from this table is just how many were re-offending over the longer period, for instance, how many of those who are in for their first offence returned subsequently. With the changes in prison regimes from the 1820s and particularly with the building of separate system gaols, the authorities hoped that the re-offending rate would fall. With strict rules on prisoners not mixing, tough work regimes, education being provided to help make prisoners literate, the moral presence of the chaplain and governor to guide the inmates, it was hoped that many prisoners would not return. However, by the 1860s this had proven not to be the case, and there was a return to a more punitive prison system in the UK.

Twerton Gaol - Lives of the Prisoners: Part 2

Prisoners Lives

[Largely based on the 241 prisoners in the gaol for the 1851, 1861 and 1871 Censuses but with additions from other sources]

⁵ Thomas and Francis Pike shared the surname of the prison Governor John Pike. Although I have not been able to establish a family link, the name Pike was rare enough in Bath to suppose that they were related.

No. 2.—Prisoners under Summary Conviction in the course of the Year.

	Prisoners of 17 Years of Age and upwards.		Prisoners under 17 Years of Age.		Total Adult and Juvenile.		Grand Total of both Sexes.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Prisoners under Summary Conviction in Prison at the commencement of the Year . . .	8	2	2	..	10	2	12
Under the Bastardy Laws	1	..	..	..	1	..	1
Under the Vagrant Act	35	34	32	4	67	38	105
Under the Malicious Trespass Act	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
Under the Larceny Act	16	3	23	..	39	3	42
Under the Metropolitan, or Local Police Acts	4	1	..	..	4	1	5
For Assaults	51	8	5	1	56	9	65
For want of Sureties	34	7	5	1	39	8	47
Other Summary Convictions not included in the preceding Classes	42	8	15	1	57	9	66
Total	185	61	80	7	265	68	333

1848 Inspector of Prisons Report 18 Nov 1847 - 5 Sept 1848 - Vol XXXVI - Bath City Gaol, table 2 p. 201

Imprisoned Under the Bastardy Laws

In 1847 there is one prisoner who has been convicted under the Bastardy Laws. These laws date back to the Middle Ages and were originally under the church courts who could fine couples who had children outside wedlock. However, by the Nineteenth Century they appear to have been largely used to impose maintenance on the fathers of ‘bastard’ children. Father’s required to pay maintenance did not usually wind up in the local gaol, however, by failing to pay they were breaching a court order and therefore could wind up with a court sentence.

Henry Bristow - journeyman carpenter, Bath Police Court - December 1847

Henry Bristow had been ordered to pay Ann Marks 2 shillings a week for the maintenance of her child. He had only paid 17 shillings so the court ordered him to pay the arrears or to face imprisonment for one month. It is quite likely that he did not pay and therefore was imprisonment⁶.

Henry Bristow, a journeyman carpenter, was brought up on a warrant for having neglected to obey an order of the magistrates for the maintenance of a bastard child. The order was made on proof of his paternity by the mother, Ann Marks, two years ago, at 2s. a week; only 17s. of which had been paid. The defendant pleaded his inability to continue the payments from want of employment. He was ordered to pay the arrears and costs, or be imprisoned for one month.

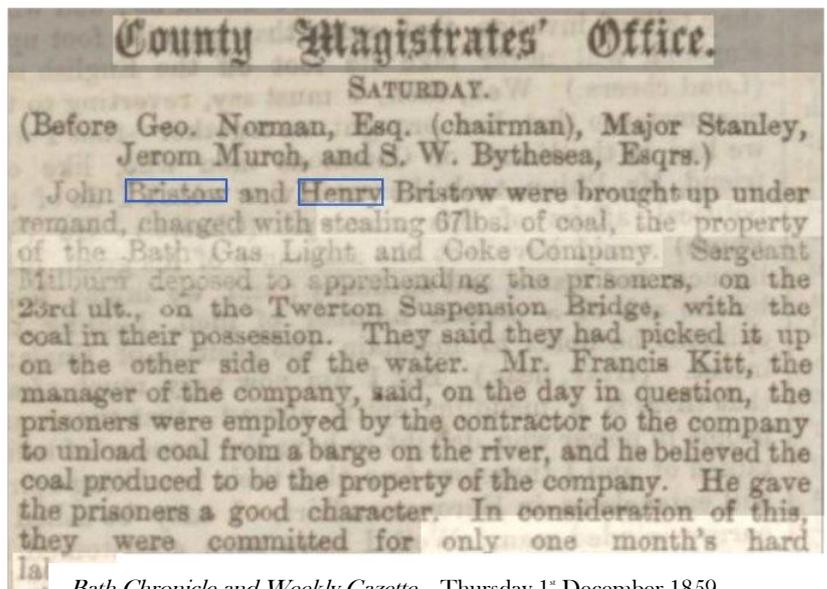
Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 16th December 1847

⁶ The single conviction shown in the inspectors report may well be that of Henry although it is always possible that it refers to another person and no names are given in the report.

There is another case involving a Henry Bristow⁷:

He appears with a John Bristow accused of stealing coal from the Bath Gas Light and Coke Company. They are given a 'good character' by the company manager and therefore a relatively light sentence of one month each.

Apart from these two newspaper reports Henry does not appear in any other documents apart from the census for 1851 which shows him as a 23 year old carpenter living at 4 Cross Lane, Trinity, Bath.



Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 1st December 1859

4 Cross Lane	Charles Bristow	23	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851
"	John Bristow	23	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851
"	Henry Bristow	23	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851
"	John Bristow	23	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851
"	John Bristow	23	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851
"	John Bristow	23	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851	1851

1851 Census for England and Wales - 4 Cross Lane, Trinity, Bath

⁷ There is a Henry Bristow in Bath on the 1841 census, he is the son of a coal merchant and shown as a carpenter's apprentice which agrees with this Henry Bristow's occupation in the 1847 newspaper report. This may be the Henry Bristow under discussion although there is the only John Bristow of a similar age on the census in 1851 is born in London, which fits neither Henry, one born in Kent, one in Bath. In 1851 there are two Henry Bristow's in Bath of a similar age. One is the carpenter, shown above, the other a gardener. The gardener continues appearing, married to a Julia until his death in 1870. There is the possibility that the Henry Bristow convicted of stealing coal is this one who is shown as a gardener, his father's occupation as a coal merchant might suggest that this is the case, and not the Henry who is a carpenter, but without further evidence there is no clear confirmation one way or another.

Imprisoned Under the Bastardy Laws

Benjamin Niblett - mason's labourer, Bath Police Court - October 1851

Benjamin Niblett is called to caught by Ann Deverell because he has had his child, he has promised marriage but deserted her for another. Benjamin, earning 12 shillings a week, presumably less than Henry Bristow, is therefore ordered to pay 1 shilling and 3 pence per week for the maintenance of the child. I have found no further court cases involving Benjamin after this date, so presume that Benjamin was paying Ann Deverell⁸, however, I have documented an earlier case, shown below.

Benjamin Niblett a mason's labourer, earning 12s. a-week, was summoned by Ann Deverell to show cause why an order of affiliation should not be made upon him for her male bastard child, to which she gave birth in the month of July last. The defendant did not appear, and the case was proceeded with in his absence. The complainant stated that the defendant commenced his intimacy with her in October last, and visited her at the house of her mother, in the character of a lover; but after having effected her ruin, under a promise of marriage, he deserted her for another, whom he had since married. Before the marriage, however, she informed the young woman, now defendant's wife, of the situation to which she (complainant) was brought by the defendant's conduct; when the bride in prospective told her she would marry him in spite of her admonition. The evidence of the complainant having been corroborated in some material points, the defendant was adjudged to pay the complainant 1s. 3d. per week towards the maintenance of the child.

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 16th December 1847

The 1851 Census shows Ann Deverell (she appears as Anna) with her daughter Sarah, who we can presume is probably the child in the court case. She gives her marital status as married⁹ on the census, but this is unlikely to be the case.

<i>Barrys Court</i>	<i>Anna Deverell</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>Middle Woman</i>	<i>South Stoke S^r</i>
	<i>Sarah D^r</i>	<i>Daughter</i>	<i>✓</i>	<i>Infant</i>	<i>Bath S^r</i>

1851 Census for England and Wales - Barrys Court, Bathwick

Although Benjamin Niblett does not appear in court again for child maintenance, he does appear in the 1851 Census in Bath City Gaol:

<i>Bath Gaol</i>	<i>William West</i>	<i>Prisoner</i>	<i>Mar</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>Bread Baker</i>	<i>Somerset Wells</i>
	<i>Robert Boyler</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>S^r Bathwick</i>
	<i>Edward Smith</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>D^r Bath</i>
	<i>George Stone</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>Wants, Portsmouth</i>
	<i>John Worthy</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>Mar</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>Somerset Bath</i>
	<i>Thomas Hughes</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>Wants, Manchester</i>
	<i>Joseph Chapman</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>Somerset Bath</i>
	<i>Joseph Pritchard</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>D^r D^r</i>
	<i>Benjamin Niblett</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>Mar</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>D^r</i>	<i>Wants, Bathwick</i>

1851 Census for England and Wales - Bath City Gaol - Benjamin Niblett is at the bottom

⁸ An Ann Deverell dies in 1852 in Bath, could this be the same person? An Ann Deverell possibly marries a John Rawlings, an agricultural labourer, in 1851, the 1861 census shows that she has a daughter Sarah, but this Sarah was born in 1859 and not 1850, however, it was not uncommon, when children died young, for parents to give the same name to a subsequent child. Ann Deverell in 1851 gives her birthplace as Southstoke, Ann Rawlings, as Ireland, however, places of birth were often misreported, quite often quoting the place that they had just come from and not their actual birthplace, and the name Deverell is likely to have come from Ireland originally. It is just possible that this is the same Ann but without further evidence there can be nothing conclusive

⁹ Single mother's at this time and up until quite recent times, would often style themselves as married to avoid social stigma.

I have found no court cases for Benjamin Niblett that would explain this sentence, however, in 1845 he appears in the Millbank Prison Registers¹⁰, arrested for stealing a brass boiler from Darlington Court, sentenced to 10 years transportation:

1845 Millbank Prison Registers



This shows Benjamin Niblett, convicted of stealing a brass boiler, sentenced to 10 years transportation. In the final column it refers to his move to Warrior, a prison hulk at Woolwich on the Thames, and his final destination, Bermuda¹¹.

Later on, in March 1849 he is in Portland Convict Prison, presumably towards the end of his sentence. He is back in Bath again in 1849 to receive the court order for the maintenance of Ann Deverell's child, which would mean he only served 5 years of his original 10 year sentence¹². He was then gaoled again, see previous page, but no report of a sentence has been found. It is, of course, possible that he had not paid maintenance to Ann and therefore was imprisoned for non-payment, as was Henry Bristow.

Imprisoned Under the Vagrancy Act

Vagrancy Act of 1824

The 1824 Act¹³ made it an offence to sleep rough or to beg. Of those aged 17 and under, males made up the majority of vagrants but over that age women were imprisoned in equal numbers¹⁴. Due to the nature of vagrants, they are extremely difficult to trace at this distance in time. They often appear briefly in a newspaper account and then vanish.

No. 2.—Prisoners under Summary Conviction in the course of the Year.

	Prisoners of 17 Years of Age and upwards.		Prisoners under 17 Years of Age.		Total Adult and Juvenile.		Grand Total of both Sexes.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Prisoners under Summary Conviction in Prison at the commencement of the Year	8	2	2	..	10	2	12
Under the Bastardy Laws	1	..	..	..	1	..	1
Under the Vagrant Act	35	34	32	4	67	38	105
Under the Malicious Trespass Act	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
Under the Larceny Act	16	3	23	..	39	3	42
Under the Metropolitan, or Local Police Acts	4	1	..	..	4	1	5
For Assaults	51	8	5	1	56	9	65
For want of Sureties	34	7	5	1	39	8	47
Other Summary Convictions not included in the preceding Classes	42	8	15	1	57	9	66
Total	185	61	80	7	265	68	333

¹⁰ Millbank Prison, the first National Penitentiary, was used as an assessment centre by the Home Office. The conduct of prisoners sentenced to transportation would be monitored there, a decision made based on their behaviour as to their final destination. This could mean transportation to Australia (a case resulting in this is given below, however, it would often result in transfer to a prison hulk, and then on to other convict prisons.

¹¹ Bermuda had a substantial Royal Navy base and convict labour was sent there in this period. There is another case later of a prisoner from Bath being sent to Bermuda, not just once but twice. Various records from the Bermuda convict prisons have been preserved - Home Office: Convict Hulks, Convict Prisons and Criminal Lunatic Asylums: Quarterly Returns of Prisoners. Benjamin Niblett's name appears several times.

¹² Those imprisoned in convict prisons continually had their conduct noted. It would appear that sentences could be reduced, sometimes quite substantially, through good behaviour.

¹³ The Act, although modified over almost two centuries, is still in force.

¹⁴ One factor was women's vulnerability when their husbands died, particularly if they had young children, leaving them to fend for themselves or to fall back on the workhouse, an option that many tried to avoid.

Jemima Cripps

Although I have partial life histories of several vagrants, the most complete is that of Jemima Cripps (also known as Crisp). I first came across her on the 1871 Census for the Gaol:

The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the <i>Parish of Gweston</i> [Page 25]									
* Civil Parish (or Township) of	City or Municipal Borough of	Municipal Ward of	Parliamentary Borough of	Town of	Village or Hamlet, &c., of	Local Board, or (Improvements Commissioners) District of	Ecclesiastical District of		
No. of Schedule	ROAD, STREET, &c., and No. of NAME of HOUSE	HOUSES Inhabited (B.)	NAME and Surname of each Person	RELATION to Head of Family	CON-DITION	AGE of Males Females	Rank, Profession, or OCCUPATION	WHERE BORN	Whether 1. Deaf and Dumb 2. Blind 3. Imbecile or Idiot 4. Lame
	<i>Bath Prison</i>		<i>Jemima Cripps</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Wid.</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>Domestic Servant</i>	<i>Worcester, Bridgewater</i>	<i>Cripple</i>
			<i>Frederick Cooper</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>Butcher's Labourer</i>	<i>Do., Bath</i>	
			<i>George Pygme</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>Worcester, Cheltenham</i>	
			<i>Jemima Crisp</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>Wales, Glamorgan</i>	
			<i>Ellen Cripps</i>	<i>Daughter</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>Domestic Servant</i>	<i>Worcester, Bristol</i>	
			<i>George Cripps</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>Cartier</i>	<i>Worcester, Bristol</i>	
			<i>Matthias Cripps</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>Allyed Wright</i>	<i>Do.</i>	
			<i>Ellen Cripps</i>	<i>Daughter</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>Domestic Servant</i>	<i>Do., Strutton</i>	
			<i>John Hall</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>Woolley Business</i>	<i>Do., Hartington</i>	
			<i>Jemima Crisp</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>Washwoman</i>	<i>Do., Bath</i>	
			<i>Jemima Green</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>Green</i>	<i>Do., Hartington</i>	
			<i>Thomas Crisp</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>Worcester, Bristol</i>	
			<i>Matthew Crisp</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>Soldier</i>	<i>Worcester, London</i>	
			<i>Mary Ann Crisp</i>	<i>Daughter</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>Laundress</i>	<i>Worcester</i>	
			<i>John Crisp</i>	<i>Daughter</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>Domestic Servant</i>	<i>Worcester, Churchwell</i>	
			<i>Patrick Sullivan</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>Soldier</i>	<i>Worcester, Cardiff</i>	
			<i>James Clark</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>Cartier</i>	<i>Worcester, Bath</i>	
			<i>George King</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>Local Weaver</i>	<i>Do., Bushy Park</i>	
			<i>Eliza Townsend</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>Woolly Woman</i>	<i>Do., Bath</i>	
			<i>Caroline Crisp</i>	<i>Daughter</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>Do., Do.</i>	
			<i>John Crisp</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>Woolly Weaver</i>	<i>Do., Do.</i>	
			<i>John Crisp</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>Cartier</i>	<i>Do., Do.</i>	
			<i>William Scoble</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>Do., Do.</i>	
Total of Houses..			Total of Males and Females..		<i>17</i>	<i>8</i>			

She is shown as 54, a domestic servant and a cripple, from Bridgewater.

The reason for her incarceration in the gaol becomes evident from this newspaper clipping from the Bath Chronicle, 9th March 1871, which states that she is 'charged with begging' in the Circus, a 'frequent offender', here she appears as Crisp, but I am fairly certain¹⁵ that this is the same person. She is given one month:

MONDAY.

Before the Mayor, Captain Phayre, R.N., Messrs. Hammond, Vigne, and Barter.

Jemima Crisp was charged with begging in the Circus on Saturday. Prisoner was stated to be a frequent offender in this respect, and the Bench sentenced her to a month's imprisonment.

A report on the 1st of April 1869, shows her charged with begging in the Bennet Street, again she is Jemima Crisp, this time given 21 days with hard labour:

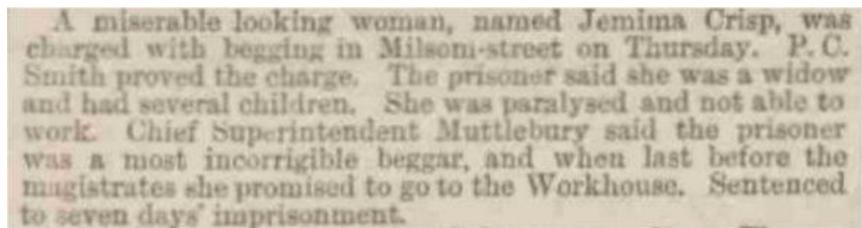
MONDAY.

Before the Mayor, Messrs. Vigne and J. S. Bartrum.

Jemima Crisp, an incorrigible vagrant, was charged with placing herself in a begging attitude in Bennet-street on Saturday. Detective Smith proved the charge. She was sent to gaol for 21 days' hard labour.

¹⁵ Fairly certain the Jemima Cripps and Jemima Crisp are the same person, both names are unusual in this area and a number of documents, newspaper reports, two censuses and marriage and death records can be found with Jemima Cripps on them. I have not found the name Jemima Crisp appearing anywhere other than in newspaper reports.

In 17th December 1868¹⁶ she reported as being given 7 days, and described as a 'miserable looking women', 'a widow and had several children', 'she was paralysed and not able to work'. It also states that 'when last before the magistrates she promised to go to the Workhouse':



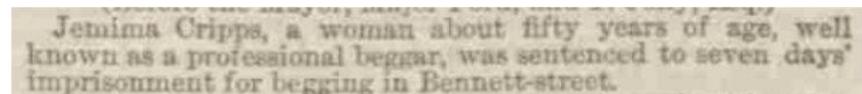
A miserable looking woman, named Jemima Crisp, was charged with begging in Milson-street on Thursday. P. C. Smith proved the charge. The prisoner said she was a widow and had several children. She was paralysed and not able to work. Chief Superintendent Muttlebury said the prisoner was a most incorrigible beggar, and when last before the magistrates she promised to go to the Workhouse. Sentenced to seven days' imprisonment.

In July 1866, under the name Jemima Cripps, she is shown as begging in Brock Street and given 3 weeks:



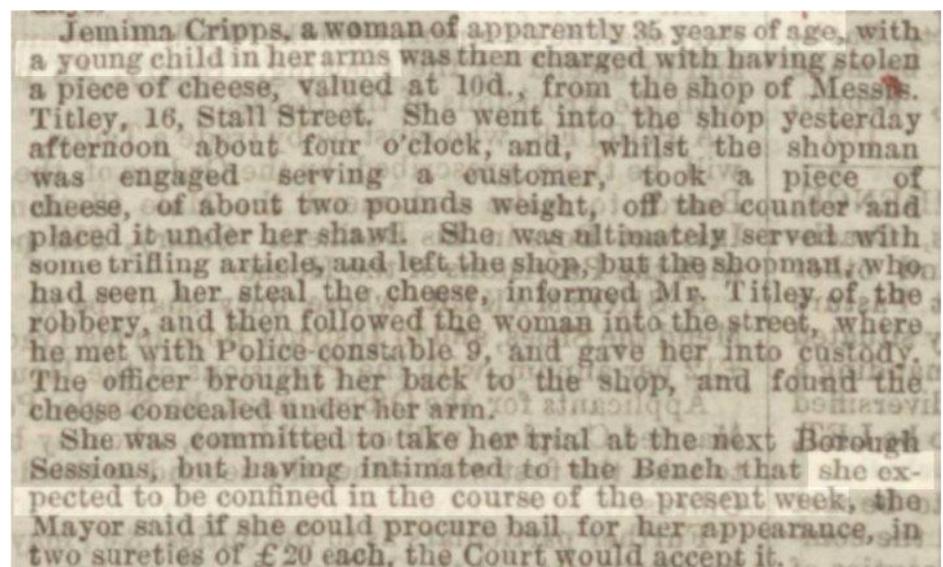
WEDNESDAY.
(Before Captain Phayre, T. Jolly, and R. N. Stone, Esqrs.)
An old woman, named Jemima Cripps, was charged with begging in Brock-street on Tuesday afternoon, and, it not being her first offence, she was sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment.

This earliest that I have found Jemima Cripps (or Crisp) charged with begging is in July 1865, also called Jemima Cripps, she is shown as begging in Bennett Street and given 3 weeks:



Jemima Cripps, a woman about fifty years of age, well known as a professional beggar, was sentenced to seven days' imprisonment for begging in Bennett-street.

However, in 1850 she is indicted for stealing cheese. This reveals that she has a young child and is pregnant with another due that week. The magistrate (the Mayor), offers her bail of £40 in two sureties, which would have been a huge sum of money for someone who is possibly very poor, given the type of theft:



Jemima Cripps, a woman of apparently 35 years of age, with a young child in her arms was then charged with having stolen a piece of cheese, valued at 10d., from the shop of Messrs. Titley, 16, Stall Street. She went into the shop yesterday afternoon about four o'clock, and, whilst the shopman was engaged serving a customer, took a piece of cheese, of about two pounds weight, off the counter and placed it under her shawl. She was ultimately served with some trifling article, and left the shop, but the shopman, who had seen her steal the cheese, informed Mr. Titley of the robbery, and then followed the woman into the street, where he met with Police-constable 9, and gave her into custody. The officer brought her back to the shop, and found the cheese concealed under her arm.

She was committed to take her trial at the next Borough Sessions, but having intimated to the Bench that she expected to be confined in the course of the present week, the Mayor said if she could procure bail for her appearance, in two sureties of £20 each, the Court would accept it.

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 13th June 1850

She then appears for trial at the Bath Michaelmas Sessions in October 1850. Here we learn that she is the wife of a Richard Cripps. She is convicted of the theft but, due to her being imprisoned for five weeks, the Recorder decides that she has already 'suffered a great deal', he therefore gives her only one day's imprisonment and she is therefore discharged:

¹⁶ This was not included in the presentation for my talk, there are many of these reports for Jemima and I had missed this one. I've included it here because it reveals something additional about her life. More of her past life follows.

Jemima Cripps, 33, wife of Richard Cripps, was indicted for stealing, on the 10th day of June, a piece of cheese, value 10d., the property of Messrs. Titley. The prisoner, who is a respectable-looking woman, appeared in the dock with a child in her arms, which was born in the Bath Gaol on the morning of the last Sessions, in consequence of which the prisoner could not then take her trial, and she had been bailed out until the present occasion. The evidence was clear that, on the 10th of June, the prisoner went into Messrs. Titleys' shop, and, availing herself of the opportunity, took from the counter a piece of cheese, which she concealed under her shawl. Previous to this offence she had maintained a good character. The jury returned a verdict of guilty, but strongly recommended the prisoner to mercy. The learned Recorder, taking into consideration the fact that the prisoner was five weeks in gaol before her confinement, and that she must have already suffered a great deal, sentenced her to one day's imprisonment, which enabled her to be at once discharged.

The 1851 Census shows Jemima (36, née Shattock, daughter of a blacksmith) with her husband Richard, living at 1 Camden Buildings, they married in 1845 and had 3 daughters:

1851	Camden Buildings	Richard Cripps	Head	Mar	36	Mar	Bath	30
		Jemima	Wife	Mar	36	Wife	Bath	30
		Emma	Daughter		8		Bath	30
		Ann	Daughter		7		Bath	30
		Maria	Daughter		4		Bath	30

Richard Cripps died in 1865 which might explain why Jemima then appeared begging on the streets of Bath. In March 1878 a last newspaper report showing Jemima Crisp being charged with begging in Milsom Street, she is given 3 months this time.

There is a slight problem with the 1871 census which shows Jemima Cripps, living at 1 Avon Street when she is also in Bath City Gaol (see the 1851 Census record shown at the beginning of this section). Her age 51 as opposed to 54 and 'no occupation' compared to 'domestic servant' are at odds, however her place of birth, Bridgewater, does agree. There is the possibility that someone picked up for vagrancy is using Jemima's name, which would also explain the Jemima Crisp that appears in some newspaper reports, however, I feel that there is probably only one person, and that the census entry is at fault, and that she does live at this address normally but is away in gaol¹⁷.

1	Avon St.	Joseph Navy	Head	Mar	64	Shoemaker	Somerset Bath
		Mary	Wife	Mar	60	Shoemaker Binder	Somerset Bristol
		Isaac	Head	Mar	48	No Occupation	Somerset Bath
		Elizabeth	Daughter	Mar	35	Freemason	Bath
		Matilda	Grandchild		11	Scholar	Bath
		Jemima Cripps	Head	Mar	51	No Occupation	Somerset Bridgewater
		Henry	Son		4	Woodcutter	Bath
		William	Son		13	Out of Employment	Bath

18	11 Ave	Jemima	Wife	Mar	51	Domestic Servant	Somerset Bath
19	Ann	Ann	Wife	Mar	66	Domestic Servant	Somerset Bath
20	Jemima	Jemima	Wife	Mar	65	Domestic Servant	Somerset Bridgewater
21	Mary	Mary	Wife	Mar	75	Domestic Servant	Somerset Bath

Jemima Cripps then appears on the 1881 census in Bath Union Workhouse, her place of birth is the same, but her age varies again (it could read 63 or possibly 65)¹⁸:

In 1895 Jemima Cripps dies in Bath with a birth year of 1820.

¹⁷ I have found a number of cases of people being recorded twice on censuses. From the strict legal point of view it is an offence to record someone at an address who is absent on the census day, or in the case of someone travelling, is not at that address the following day, however, the person filling in the census form may be ignorant of the duplication. In this case, it is possible that someone was trying to protect Jemima's reputation by saying that she was living there, particularly as her two sons were present at her lodgings.

¹⁸ Note that she is not shown as a cripple, many inmates do have afflictions recorded by their name, so possibly her entry in 1871 is being used by Jemima to get around the prison/gaol authorities, particularly if given a hard labour sentence.

In September 1859, when Arthur was only 11, he was taken to court for stealing 20 shillings from a box in Borough Walls. The prosecutor fails to turn up to court therefore Arthur is discharged. However, later that year, in November, he is found stealing money from the till of the Bear Inn in Bear Flat. He is sentenced to two months hard labour and to be whipped. In August 1860 he is found stealing apples in Pulteney Road, he is discharged with a caution.

Having found a so many cases for Arthur, I wondered whether there were family circumstances leading to his behaviour but the evidence presented below suggests otherwise, and none of his siblings appear in police or court records. On the 1851 census he appears with his family living in Middle Lane, Lyncombe, his father was a railway porter, a fairly respectable occupation:

49	Middle Lane	Thomas J. Johnson	Head	Mar	34	Railway Porter	Wills Waydon
		Mary A.	Wife	do	30		at Bradford
		William A.	Son		5	Scholar	Somerset Wash
		Arthur J.	do		3	Scholar	do do
		William H.	do		1		do do
		Matilda Mead	Lodger	W	24	Servant	do Winton
		Mary Richard	do	W	24	do	do Wash

In 1861²⁰ his parents and siblings are living in Moorfields Place, also in Lyncombe, his father is a draper's porter and a grocer, so appears to be running a business on the side selling groceries, his older brother is a cabinet makers apprentice:

14	58	1	Thomas E. Johnson	Head	Mar	34	Draper Porter & Grocer	William Winton
			Mary E. J.	Wife	do	30	young wife	at Bradford
			Edward J.	Son	15	Cabinet Makers (Apprentice)	Somerset Wash	
			William J.	Son	11	Grand boy	do do	
			Arthur J.	Son	9	Scholar	do do	
			William J.	Son	10	do	do do	

Again in Moorfields place in 1871 his father and two of Arthur's siblings who are still living at home, Thomas is recorded as a porter, his mother probably died in 1862:

5	do	1	Thomas E. Johnson	Head	Mar	42	Porter	Wills Winton
			Emily Ann do	Wife	do	20	Housekeeper	Wash Winton
			Charles do	Son	10	Stationer	do	

So, where is Arthur?

In July 1862, aged 14, Arthur is convicted of stealing a pocket knife at the Cross Baths and given 6 Months. In February 1863, charged with stealing part of a tree worth 2 shillings, given one month. In March 1865, he is charged with stealing a quantity of lead but discharged through lack of evidence. However, it is just after the previous charge, in April 1865, that he is caught breaking into stables occupied by an Edwin Smith and stealing a saw and two fowls that leads him to be convicted at the Somerset Summer Assizes and sentenced to 7 years penal servitude, noting that 'there were several previous convictions recorded against him:

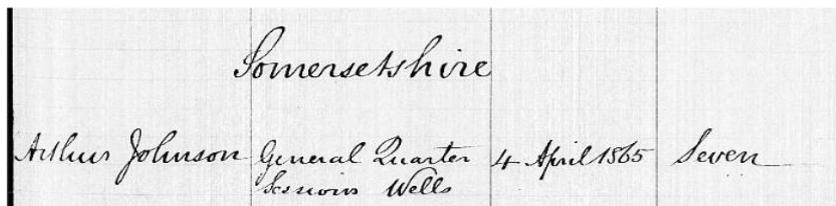
His sentence results in him being transported to Western Australia.

HOBBERY AT BATHAMPTON.
 Arthur Johnson, 19, labourer, was indicted for breaking into a stable in the occupation of Edwin Smith, and stealing a saw and two fowls, value 6s 6d, at Bathampton, on the 28th of March. The prisoner was found guilty, and, as there were several previous convictions recorded against him, he was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude.

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 9th August 1866

²⁰ Of course, Arthur is in Bath City Gaol at the time and therefore not on the census

The following is from the 1867 Transportation Registers of the convict ship 'Norwood'²¹:



A Brief History of Transportation to Australia:



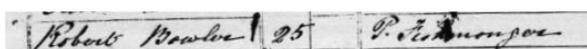
Unattributed painting of the Norwood¹

- 1788 - Transportation to Australia begins, replacing the American colonies
- 1853 - Original Australian Colonies say 'No' to further convicts and no more women sent
- 1857 - Transportation to original Eastern Australian colonies ends, but Western Australia continues as a convict destination
- 1868 - All transportation to Australia ends

The Norwood was the penultimate transport (36th of the 37 transports) to Australia, carrying 254 prisoners, which means that Arthur Johnson was in the last few hundreds of convicts from Britain to that continent. Unfortunately, Arthur Johnson is a very common name in Western Australia at this time so he disappears.

Robert Bowler

On the 1841 Census for Bathwick Gaol²² there is Robert Bowler, 25, born in Bath, a fishmonger:



I have found no record of a sentence for this imprisonment, however, there are various cases involving Robert Bowler:

July 1835, stealing mutton from a Samuel Salford, 1 week in solitary²³.

²¹ The Norwood was built in Sunderland in 1854, an 849 ton three-masted ship with two decks. On this, its second voyage to Australia, it carried 254 convicts, thirty pensioner guards (pensioned soldiers who were moving to the colony, some with their families), 18 wives, 29 children and 4 warders, the ships crew, a Royal Navy Surgeon, a Staff Surgeon and a religious instructor on a voyage that took 3 months. The prisoners' conduct was generally described as good with only a few punishments and there was only 1 death, a convict with a 'debilitated constitution' - *Perth Gazette* 19 Jul 1867.

²² This was a year before Bathwick Gaol closed and Bath's City Gaol moved to Twerton.

²³ Solitary - Bathwick Gaol was a typical Georgian Gaol with prisoners sharing cells. In the new Twerton Gaol separation was a feature of their design, although special 'dark' cells could be found in the basement which were used as an additional punishment for breaking gaol rules.

March 1842, with 2 others, stealing wearing apparel and other goods. Discharged through want of evidence

May 1842, assaulting Mary B², a woman with whom he had cohabited for several years. The newspaper report states that ‘Robert Bowler, fishmonger's journeyman, whose excitable temper has brought him many times before the magistrates for assaults...’

October 1842, stealing a coat and waistcoat, value 40s, seven years transportation:

This leads, not to Australia, as was seen with Arthur Johnson, but to the prison bulk ‘Trinidad’ in Bermuda. From the records of the ‘Trinidad’ in September 1847 we see that Robert Bowler’s (bottom of list) offence is stealing a coat. The final columns are interesting because they record that his behaviour was general good, but that he had one insubordinate and one very bad²⁴:

Robert Bowler was indicted for stealing, on the 1st of October, a coat and waistcoat, value 40s., the property of John Wm. Bradley; and Joseph Burchell was charged, in the same indictment, with having feloniously received the same. Mr. Graves was counsel for the prosecution, and Mr. Phinn defended Bowler. The prosecutor is clerk at Mr. Butcher's, grocer, in Barton-street, and at about seven o'clock in the evening, on the day in question, had sent the stolen articles in Mr. Butcher's cart to his house in the Vineyards. During the transit they were taken from the cart. The evidence against the prisoners partly rested on their own admissions to the constables, Burchell having admitted that Bowler gave him the property to pawn for him, and Bowler that he picked it up in Broad-street. The counsel for the latter called a witness to prove that he was at a beer-house, in the Dolemeads, at the time.—Both what they knew of Bowler's character. They said they could not speak at all in his favour, as he had frequently been in custody. Two respectable witnesses gave Burchell a good character. Bowler was sentenced to seven years' transportation, Burchell to four months' hard labour.

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 9th August 1866

Having served his sentence he is back in Bath and has further brushes with the law:

November 1849 - charge with stealing 3 ducks from William Ascot, found not guilty.

No. on S. B.	Name	Age	Offence	Committed		Sentence	Surgeon's Report	Behaviour during the Quarter	No. of preceding Masters					
				Where	When				Vt.	G.	In.	B.	VB.	
313	John Wip	35	Stealing a Peril	Nellis	3 Oct. 1848	10	good	Good	11					
321	Saml. Chamberlain	42	" Bacon	Exeter	22 July 1842	7	"	"	11					
322	Robert Carr	20	" Apparel	"	12 Oct. "	7	"	"	11					
323	Thos. Hardy	20	" Cheese	Bridwater	21 "	7	"	"	11					
324	Thos. Griffiths	39	" from Prison	Wilsa	17 "	7	"	"	11					1
325	Robert Bowler	30	" a coat.	Bath	22 "	7	"	"	11					1

August 1850, Bowler, a hawker of shrimps, creating a disturbance at the Brass Knocker public house, fined 40s and costs or 21 days.

February 1851, charged with entering premises in Pickwick Mews, given 3 weeks hard labour.

²⁴ These records appear in all of the convict prison records and appear to be used to judge a prisoners suitability for an early release, as we will see later.

April 1851 at the Bath Quarter Sessions, stealing one hundredweight of lead from the Tepid Baths in Bath Street, transportation for life:

SATURDAY.—Robert Bowler, 37, and William Collins, 25, were indicted for stealing one cwt. of lead, value 25s., the property of the Corporation of Bath.

The lead was taken from the Tepid Baths, Bath Street. P.C. Berry, on the night of the 26th Feb., observed the prisoner Collins running down Avon Street with a quantity of lead on his shoulder. Suspecting he had stolen it, he took him into custody, when Bowler came up, took the lead away, & rescued Collins. Bowler endeavoured to convey the lead into a house, but P.C. Bendall coming up, he was prevented from doing so, and was subsequently apprehended at his lodgings. By other evidence, the prisoners were proved to have been previously in company together the same night, carrying lead. Both guilty. A former conviction (with a sentence of transportation) was proved against Bowler, who was then sentenced to transportation for life, and Collins for seven years.

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 3rd April 1851

In 1859 he appears on the Prison Registers for Boaz Island, Bermuda²⁵:

A RETURN, specifying the Name, Age, Offence of which Convicted, and time of Conviction, Sentence, Bodily Health, and Behaviour confined *Boaz Island Prison* at *Bermuda* during the Quarter ending *10th* day of *June* 18*59* as 5 Geo. IV, Chap. 84, Sec. 14.

No. on S. B.	Name.	Age.	Offence.	When	Sentence	Surgeon's Report	Behaviour during the Quarter.	No. of Preceding Murders.						
								V.G.	G.	Io.	B.	V.B.		
65	Richard Singly	21	Murder	November 1849	Life			16	20	2				
91	William Miller	21	Unnatural crime with a woman	January 1850	Life			22	11					
102	Matthew Lehan	27	Swindler	October 1850	Life	Healthy	Good	16	16					
103	William Crawford	20	Rape	December 1850	Life			21	11					
115	Ornis Gillow	31	Unnatural crime with a woman	January 1849	Life			24	8					
127	George Smith	38	Housebreaking	Christmas 1850	Life		Very Good	22	7					
138	Samuel Chimes	21	Culpably intent to Murder	24 March 1851	Life	Healthy	do	22	7					
142	Frederick Prosser	30	Robbery with Violence	January 1851	Life		do	24	5					
158	John Johnson	20	Murder of fellow prisoner	August 1849	Life			13	25					
181	Murtagh Collins	32	Robbery of arms	October 1851	Life			25	13					
229	Robert Bowler	38	Stealing Lead from a Building	10th March 1851	Life		Very Good	23	6					

²⁵ The Royal Navy had a very large base in Bermuda, much of it built by convict labour. Convicts were housed in the Clarence Barracks and Robert Bowler may well have been involved in its building during his earlier sentence of transportation.

By the 1860s Robert Bowler was back in Bath again²⁶. On the 1871 Census he is still recorded as a fishmonger, married to a Mary Ann²⁷ (this is unlikely to be the Mary that he assaulted earlier as she would have been too young), they have 3 children and live at No. 8, Grove Street:

168	No 8. Do		Robert Bowler	Head	Mar	54	Fishmonger
			Mary Ann Do	Wife	Mar	45	Servants
			Edward Do	Son		8	Scholar
			Thomas Do	Son		5	Scholar
			Maria Do	Son		2	

8, Grove Street is only about a dozen houses from the Police Barracks that occupied the building that was Bathwick Gaol:



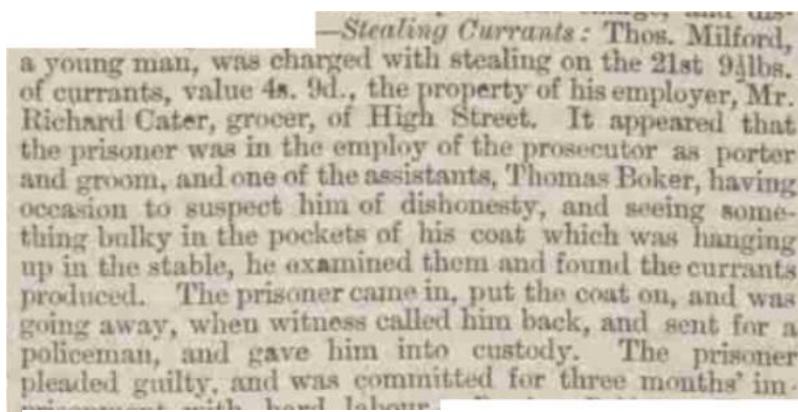
Ordnance Survey Map - 1883

Robert Bowler died in 1883, aged 68.

Thomas Milford

In January 1861 Thomas Milford, 30, appears in court having been accused of stealing 9 ½ pounds of currants from his employer the grocer Mr Cater²⁸:

Why the sentence is so harsh over the theft of a few pounds of currants remains a mystery. Thomas Milford's name appears in no other convictions, this is therefore, presumably a first offence, and there is no commentary in the newspapers to suggest any other issues. Possibly the magistrates wanted to make an example of someone who was an employee, or perhaps Richard Cater had influence with the magistrates.



Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 24th January 1861

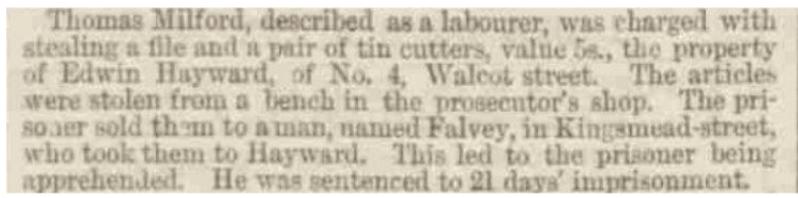
²⁶ In 1871 the oldest of his children was 8, which means that it is likely that he was back by 1862. Therefore his life sentence in 1841 would therefore be about 10 years. Looking at other life sentences of this period, they involve far more serious crimes than stealing lead. Robert Bowlers record in Bermuda puts him as a 'very good' prisoner and it may well have been this that caused the prison authorities to release him so early.

²⁷ It seems possible that Mary Ann was actually married to a Charles Bowler who died in 1851. There are no records to say what relation to Robert Charles was, cousin or brother? By this time in Britain widows marrying brothers in law was technically illegal.

²⁸ This was Richard Cater, family grocer of 27 High Street. The Cater business grew over the century with Cater acquiring premises at 29 and 30 Upper Borough selling wine, spirits, ale and port, becoming Cater and Co. in the 1880s and part of Cater, Stoffell and Fortt Ltd. with businesses in Bath and Bristol.

Since carrying out my original talk, I have come across a second conviction for Thomas Milford. This occurred in 1865:

This contrasts with the previous conviction. 3 months for currents of value 4 shillings and 9 pence, 21 days for a pair of tin cutters value 5 shillings, obviously the first was from an employer, this was an article left on a bench. This is probably the same Thomas Milford²⁹, as the name is quite rare in Bath.



Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 1st June 1865

In 1861 Thomas Milford's wife³⁰ appears on the census, a confectioner at 1 Monmouth Places, which would suggest that this was how she was able to earn money for herself and her daughter while Thomas was in Bath City Gaol:

1 B-	1	"	Amye Milford	Wife	Man	21	Confectioner	Wille Wellbury
			Amye A Do	Daughter		7/6		Somerset Bath
			George W Bandle	Visitor		7		Wille Bradford

The 1871 Census has Thomas and Amey living with their 4 children living in Myrtle Place, Thomas is now shown as a newsagent, Amey a Cook:

6 Myrtle Place	1	Thomas Milford	Head	Man	36	News Agent	Wille Wellbury
5 0		Amey Do	Wife	Woman	36	Cook	Wille Wellbury
2 0		Amelia Do	Daughter	Girl	11	Scholar	Wille Wellbury
2 0		Alice Do	Daughter	Girl	8		Wille Wellbury
2 0		George Do	Son	Boy	4		Wille Wellbury
9 0		Charlotte Do	Daughter	Girl	4		Wille Wellbury

In 1881 and 1891 Thomas still appears as a newsagent. The 1891 Census has them living at 36 Dorset Street:

36 Dorset St	1	Thomas Milford	Head	Man	60	Newsagent	Wille Wellbury
		Amye Do	Wife	Woman	60		Wille Wellbury
		Alice H Do	Daughter	Girl	24	Assistant Newsagent	Wille Wellbury
		George T Do	Son	Man	24	Printer	Wille Wellbury
		Charlotte Do	Daughter	Girl	24	Printer	Wille Wellbury

²⁹ The official records (birth and census) only show one Thomas Milford born in Bath in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, that is in 1828. The Thomas Milford in the first case he is described as a young man, this Thomas Milford would have been 30/31, so not so young, however, the 1861 Census has a Thomas Milford, 30, born in Bath, and serving a sentence in Bath City Gaol. This fits a sentence in January of 3 months, with his release a couple of weeks after the 7th April.

³⁰ There is a marriage of Thomas Milford and an Enye Daniels in 1859. The Enye is probably a mistake, the name on the 1861 Census is Amye, later censuses have her as Annie, Amey and Amy, their daughter is Amelia which perhaps suggest her mother's given name.

The 1895 Post Office Directory has Thomas Milford, newsagent, living at 14 Stuart Place, both of these final addresses are within sight of the old Twerton Gaol.

Twerton Gaol
Cell Block

14 Stuart Place

36 Dorset
Street



Imprisoned For Assault

No. 2.—Prisoners under Summary Conviction in the course of the Year.

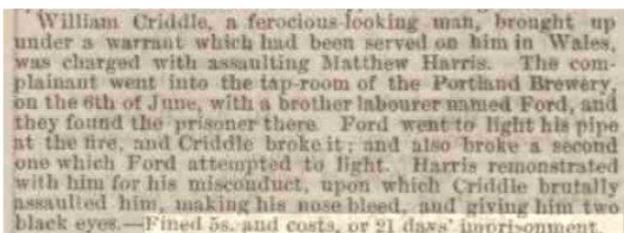
	Prisoners of 17 Years of Age and upwards.		Prisoners under 17 Years of Age.		Total Adult and Juvenile.		Grand Total of both Sexes.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Prisoners under Summary Conviction in Prison at the commencement of the Year	8	2	2	..	10	2	12
Under the Bastardy Laws	1	..	..	..	1	..	1
Under the Vagrant Act	35	34	32	4	67	38	105
Under the Malicious Trespass Act	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
Under the Larceny Act	16	3	23	..	39	3	42
Under the Metropolitan, or Local Police Acts	4	1	..	..	4	1	5
For Assaults	51	8	5	1	56	9	66
For want of Sureties	34	7	5	1	39	8	47
Other Summary Convictions not included in the preceding Classes	42	8	15	1	57	9	66
Total	185	61	80	7	265	68	333

Assault

Those imprisoned for assault formed the majority of summary convictions. Female prisoners charged with assault are relatively rare, those that I've found tend to be known to the police, from the very poor districts, brawling with one another or battling with men. However, the vast majority of convictions are of men, often for relatively short sentences, frequently caused by drink.

William Criddle

In Bath City Gaol, for the 1851 census, a labourer, aged 29, no record of conviction found, however in June 1850, he appears in front of the magistrates, described as a 'ferocious-looking man', for assaulting a William Harris at the tap-room of the Portland Brewery:



William Criddle, a ferocious-looking man, brought up under a warrant which had been served on him in Wales, was charged with assaulting Matthew Harris. The complainant went into the tap-room of the Portland Brewery, on the 6th of June, with a brother labourer named Ford, and they found the prisoner there. Ford went to light his pipe at the fire, and Criddle broke it; and also broke a second one which Ford attempted to light. Harris remonstrated with him for his misconduct, upon which Criddle brutally assaulted him, making his nose bleed, and giving him two black eyes.—Fined 5s. and costs, or 21 days' imprisonment.

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 1st June 1865

Almost a decade earlier, in 1841, he is convicted of larceny at the Somerset Assizes. This is with a Stephen Andrews, they are found stealing a sack. Because Andrews had been found guilty of burglary before, he is sentenced to 11 years transportation, William Criddle is given 2 months.³¹

In April 1845, he assaulted Mrs. Osborne at the Star Public House, Vineyards, 5s and costs.

In November 1848 - With Henry and Robert Primmer assaulting a George Prout of Avon Street, 7 days.

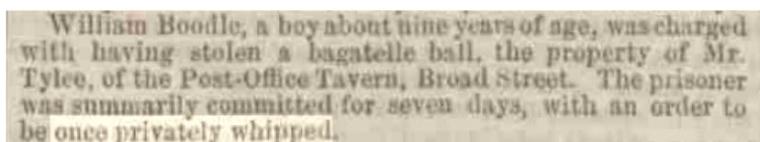
In July 1852, William Criddle and Ambrose Dupe, assaulting Thomas Brown at his own door in Lampard's Buildings, case dismissed - the complainant was drunk and had falsely accused Criddle and Dupe.

Like so many of the prisoners in the gaol, William Criddle leaves little trace. There are a surprising number of men with this name in the West Country, from Somerset down to Cornwall, however, the 1851 census has him born in Bath in about 1822. The only other record is a William Criddle that dies in Bath in 1860.

William Boodle

I had more success tracing William Boodle. In April 1861 he is with a group of men, obstructing the path in Manvers Street and assaulting a police officer, Edmund Witchet. He is given 7 days, earning him a place on the census return for that year in Twerton Gaol.

In January 1850, only 9 years old, he is convicted of stealing a bagatelle ball. he is given seven days and ordered to be privately whipped:



William Boodle, a boy about nine years of age, was charged with having stolen a bagatelle ball, the property of Mr. Tylee, of the Post-Office Tavern, Broad Street. The prisoner was summarily committed for seven days, with an order to be once privately whipped.

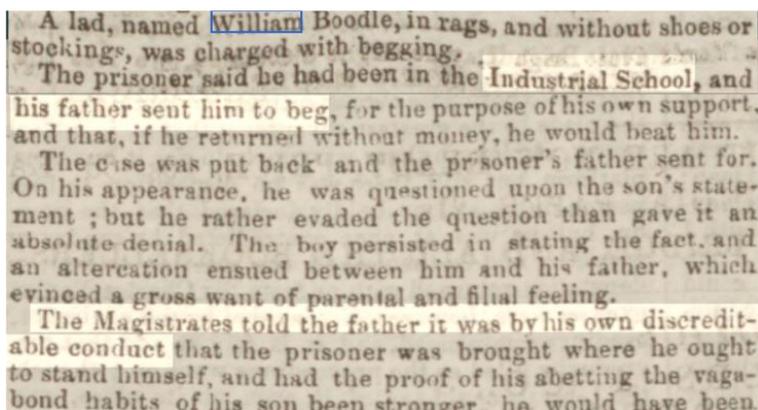
Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 24th January 1850



Bagatelle table, showing a bagatelle ball (presumably ivory)

³¹ It seems that stealing sacks was a common offence, as we saw with Arthur Johnson earlier on, that sentences were so tough to a modern audience for such a seemingly trivial object does perhaps indicate just how much our perceptions have changed - would someone get a 2 month gaol sentence for nicking a supermarket trolley?

In May 1855, William Boodle is convicted of begging and given one month:



A lad, named William Boodle, in rags, and without shoes or stockings, was charged with begging. The prisoner said he had been in the Industrial School, and his father sent him to beg, for the purpose of his own support, and that, if he returned without money, he would beat him. The case was put back and the prisoner's father sent for. On his appearance, he was questioned upon the son's statement; but he rather evaded the question than gave it an absolute denial. The boy persisted in stating the fact, and an altercation ensued between him and his father, which evinced a gross want of parental and filial feeling. The Magistrates told the father it was by his own discreditable conduct that the prisoner was brought where he ought to stand himself, and had the proof of his abetting the vagabond habits of his son been stronger, he would have been.

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 31st May 1855

This reveals that his father appears to have sent him out the beg rather than going to the Industrial School³², the magistrates blamed the father and the sentence of one month was 'more to a with a view of his reformation than [than?] punishment'.

William Boodle's indictments mount up over the following years:

In February 1857, William Boodle and William Rogers, obstructing the footway by playing pitch and toss near the Railway Station, required to find bail each for one month (no mention of the cost of bail)

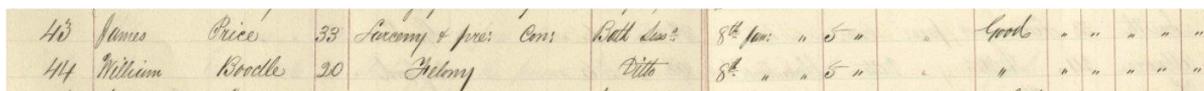
September 1859, William Boodle and Samuel Sumner, fighting and being riotous on Pulteney Bridge, since they had been locked up since four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, discharged.

June 1860, damaging plants in Ham Gardens, 7 days

January 1862, with Ann Boodle stealing a purse with 17s 6d from a labouring man James Curtis - dismissed, prosecutor did not appear

December 1862, stealing a purse with £5 7s which had been dropped by a Miss Sharp from Clifton near the Abbey Churchyard, 6 months

In January 1864, with Ann Duckworth, he is caught stealing a silver watch value 30s from the property of Samuel Dummett, this time he is given 5 years. The following is a record from Bristol Convict Prison:



43	James	Price	33	Larceny & pro: Cons	Both dis: 8 th Jan: " 5 "	Good	"	"	"	"
44	William	Boodle	20	Felony	Both dis: 8 th " " 5 "	"	"	"	"	"

October 1867, William Boodle and Joyce Powell, interfering with a constable in the execution of his duty, 14 days hard labour.

In January 1870, William Boodle, accused of stealing a purse and money, value £2 10s. However, he convinced the court that he had only received the purse from real the thief. Recorder stated that, although prisoner had already been convicted 10 times, once of 5 years for a felony, he will be lenient and only send Boodle for imprisoned for 18 months. In Bath City Gaol for 1871 Census.

³² Industrial Schools were set up to educate poor and destitute children in a trade. The industrial school mentioned was probably the Sutcliffe Industrial School in Walcot Buildings on the London Road, formerly the Walcot Parish Workhouse.

The following is the court record which shows 10 offences so far:

No.	NAME.	Age.	TRADE.	Place of Birth.	Name and Address of Committing Magistrate.	Date of Warrant.	When received into Custody.	Offence.
1	William Boodle	32	Labourer	Imp.	T. W. Gibbs, Esq., Mayor	1860. 22nd Dec.	1860. 22nd Dec.	Stealing a p 10s., the Bath, on

Seven times summarily convicted, and three times convicted of felony.
Also, Sum. Con. 30th May, 1853, Begging, 1st C. Month
also, Sum. Con. 20th Feb. 1857, Breach of Peace, 1st Month
also, Sum. Con. 3rd June 1860, Wight's damage, 7 days
also, Sum. Con. 2nd April 1861, Assault, 14 days
also, Con. at Bath April Sessions 1862, Receiving a purse & money taken 7/6, 6 C. Months
also, Con. at Bath Jan. Sessions 1863, Stealing a purse containing £5, 7.0. - 6 C. Months & L
also, Con. at Bath Jan. Sessions 1864, Receiving a stolen Watch - 5 years Term & 5 years Supervision
also, Sum. Con. 2nd Oct. 1869, Assault, 14 days & L

The final column reveals that he is to be supervised by the police for two years after his release. Presumably this required that he reports to the police on a regular basis.

When Tried.	Before whom Tried.	Verdict of Jury.	Order of the Court.
1870. 3rd Jan.	T. W. Saunders, Esq., Recorder	Guilty of lar- ceny from the person, after former convic- tion for felony	Eighteen calendar months' hard labour, and two years' supervision of Police.

James Crook

James Crook, a fishdealer with a stall in the market and later a shop, appears time and time again in the courts, both as prosecuted and also prosecuting. I have shown only a small number of the total cases involving Crook.

In Bath City Gaol, 1871, aged 52, fishdealer, assaulting John Salter, 21 days:

This appears to be a grudge of some sort between the two men as Crook attacks Salter from behind because Salter 'had been slandering his character'.

In September 1859 - Assaulting Henry Hinge at the market, who he alleged was causing a nuisance opposite his shop, fined 2s 6d.

August 1861 - fined for illegally wheeling his trucks containing fish on the footpath from Orange Grove to New Market Row, fined 2s 6d.

SATURDAY.
Before Major Baker, Colonel Ford, Messrs. Hammond and Marshall.

James Crook, fishdealer, was summoned by John Salter, commercial traveller, for assaulting him on the 15th instant. Complainant said that he was walking in the Market on Wednesday evening, having with him a bulldog. When he left the market and got near the Castle hotel he lost sight of the dog, and thinking it had gone in the Castle yard, he went under the archway and whistled for it. While he was doing this, defendant came up behind him and severely struck him with his fist in the mouth, cutting open his lips and "knocking him nearly silly." He also injured his thumb and damaged a ring which he was wearing on his finger. This evidence was corroborated by a cab-driver named Marsh, but defendant denied that he struck the complainant, who had been slandering his character, and with whom he was only expostulating on this account. The defendant was committed for **twenty-one days.**

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 23rd March 1871

March 1874 - using abusive behaviour and insulting language to Thomas Clarke, £20 and bound over to keep the peace for 2 months.

March 1882 - Prosecuting Henry Wiltshire for stealing 50 head of broccoli from his stall in the market, trial referred to Quarter Sessions, verdict, not guilty

Official records are fairly complete for James Crook. He is shown to have married an Eliza Lovell in 1838. The 1861 census reveals quite a lot about James Crook:

19	1	James Crook	Head	Mar	44	Greenwich Pensioner	68	68
		Eliza do	Wife	Mar	30		68	Bristol
		James P. do	Son		2		68	Bath
		Elizabeth do	Daughter		6		68	Bath

This has he and Eliza with their two children living at 19 Moorfields Place. He is a Greenwich Pensioner³³.

As he married Eliza in 1838, and his elder child is only 2, it suggests that after their marriage he joined the Royal Navy, only returning to Bath in his 40s. Perhaps it was his life in the navy that gave him such a, shall we say, forceful character.

In 1881 he and his wife are living at 13 Cleveland Place, his occupation is the one that occurs throughout his time in Bath, a fishmonger, although one court case has him a butcher:

13	do	1	James Crook	Head	Mar	62	Fishmonger	do	Bath
			Eliza do	Wife	Mar	62		do	Comptrolmer
			Thomas do	Son	23	Butcher	do	do	Bath

Finally, the 1891 census has him, at the age of 74, again, as a naval pensioner.

21	do	1	James Crook	Head	Mar	74	Naval Pensioner		Walter, Bath
			Eliza do	Wife	Mar	74			Walter
			Elizabeth do	Son	42	Pen Pensioner's Assistant	X		Walter, Bath

He probably died in 1897.

³³ The naval equivalent of the armies Chelsea Pensioner. They paid naval pensions from 1804.

Summary So Far

The cases so far covered have ranged over the various types of conviction to be found under summary convictions. It has also shown some of the more serious cases which went on to higher courts for trial. Hopefully, given the time constraints of the talk, it gives a flavour of the types of prisoner appearing in the gaol over its lifetime.

No. 2.—Prisoners under Summary Conviction in the course of the Year.

	Prisoners of 17 Years of Age and upwards.		Prisoners under 17 Years of Age.		Total Adult and Juvenile.		Grand Total of both Sexes.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Prisoners under Summary Conviction in Prison at the commencement of the Year	8	2	2	..	10	2	12
Under the Bastardy Laws	1	..	..	..	1	..	1
Under the Vagrant Act	35	34	32	4	67	38	105
Under the Malicious Trespass Act	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
Under the Larceny Act	16	3	23	..	39	3	42
Under the Metropolitan, or Local Police Acts	4	1	..	..	4	1	5
For Assaults	51	8	5	1	56	9	65
For want of Sureties	34	7	5	1	39	8	47
Other Summary Convictions not included in the preceding Classes	42	8	15	1	57	9	66
Total	185	61	80	7	265	68	333

However, there is one type of prisoner that appears in the gaol that is outside the remit of the civilian court system.

Military Prisoners

None reported on 1848 Prison Inspectors Report for Bath although Bristol Gaol several recorded that year. However, as the century progressed, increasing number of military prisoners were housed in the gaol. By 1872 there were 24 soldiers waiting to be discharged from the service³⁴ in Twerton Gaol. In that year central government were paying 4 pence a day³⁵ to gaols for housing these prisoners.

³⁴ Although little has been said in the literature about this type of prisoner, I think that they are probably young men who have joined up, found the army life not to their liking, and absconded resulting in their dismissal from the service. The army had their own prisons for the punishment of military crimes but there were issues with the space in these prisoners, so a final term in a local prison before discharge may have suited the military authorities.

³⁵ Given the abolition of debtors prisons in 1869 this income may have helped make up for some of the lost revenue from this source, although I have no firm evidence for this.

Edward Smith

November 1874, Edward Smith, from Bath, deserter from the Royal Artillery:

This report had some interesting features in it. Firstly, it shows an escape from the gaol³⁶. Last seen in Englishcombe he was apprehended 3 weeks later. He probably then received an additional civil sentence as he assaulted the arresting police officer.

What really intrigues me is that Major Preston, the second and final prison governor at this gaol, had a photographic studio build in the prison. I can only presume that this was for taking prisoners photographs, however, nobody appears to have come across these images which would have been so useful in illustrating this talk.

The reference in the last sentence of the newspaper report has Edward Smith a resident of Milk Street, the 1871 Census shows him at 1 Milk Street with his parents and siblings there (note his father is a painter):

In 1881 he is with his wife Mary, they are living at 3 Ambury in Bath:

1 Milk St

James Smith	Head	24	Appt	do	do
Ann	Wife	20	Appt	do	do
Edward	son	7	Appt	do	do
James	son	4	Appt	do	do
William	son	2	Appt	do	do
Elizabeth	daughter	1	Appt	do	do
John	son	1	Appt	do	do

Unfortunately, he then disappears, his name is not particularly common in Bath, however, if he did move outside of the city, the rest of Britain has more than enough James Smiths to make him almost impossible to trace.

3 Ambury

Edward Smith	Head	25	Wine	do
Mary	Wife	21	Wine	do

ESCAPE OF A PRISONER FROM BATH GAOL.—On Saturday afternoon, about twenty minutes past four, a deserter from the Royal Artillery, named Edward Smith, effected his escape from the city gaol at Twerton, where he had been detained since Friday week. Being by trade a painter the governor of the prison (Major Preston) made use of his services to paint the exterior of the photographic studio in the debtor's yard, at the north end of the building.

This act did not occupy him more than two minutes, but when he looked out the prisoner was not there, and the ladder by which he ascended and descended the roof was placed against the prison wall, about fifteen yards from the studio. The wall is 22 feet high and the ladder only 17 feet in length, so that the prisoner had to exercise his agility in getting on to the top of the wall. An examination of the spot showed that he must have jumped and not dropped down; he alighted in Major Preston's garden.

The man was tracked so far as Englishcombe, three miles from Bath, when all traces of him were lost, and up to last night he had not been recaptured. He is 19 years of age, has brown hair, grey eyes, round features, and his nose is slightly turned up. His complexion is pale and he has arched eyebrows. He weighs 9st. 10½lbs. and is 5ft. 6in. in height. At the time of his escape he was wearing a white smock, light grey trousers and waistcoat belonging to himself, and had on besides a prison shirt, prison cap and socks, marked with the stamp of the gaol. He bears several tattoo marks, on his right forearm a ship, anchor and female, on his wrist a bracelet, on his right upper arm a Highlander, on his left arm flags, on his left thigh a cannon, anchor, bird and ship, and on the opposite thigh a figure, on the fingers of his left hand rings. He has

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette - Thursday 19th November 1874

RESIDENT OF THIS CITY.

³⁶ The position of the photographic shed 'in the debtor's yard, at the north end of the building' is a bit difficult to reconcile with my drawings used in my previous talk. The height of the wall at 22 feet is also strange as the inspector has the wall around the gaol at 17 feet, unless Smith scaled the wall of the admin block. However, another report in the Bristol Mercury has the wall as 17 feet (newspaper reports are not always the most reliable source of reference).

Conclusion

The prison population over the three censuses amounted to 241 prisoners. In my research I have attempted to trace the lives of all of these people but in most cases have only found fragments or nothing at all. The poor, and most prisoners come from this class, are, by their very nature, not always represented individually in official documents. Vagrants³⁷, who form the lowest category of the poor, often simply fail to make an appearance but for the single census entry on a prison roll.

Of those prisoners that I have traced, I have selected a sample that attempts to reflect the diversity within the prison population, bringing the few to life to reflect the lives of the many. There are gaps, the presence of so many middle aged women in the prison population but only one in represented in the talk, largely vagrants, who, as I have already said, by their very nature impossible to trace. Women also changed their names more easily than men, marriage required it and women often appear in newspaper reports have various aliases given, suggesting a life in which given names conferred little to the individual.

What surprised me most when researching individuals was their ability to undergo a sentence of transportation and yet to come back. I remember early on, finding an individual, sentenced to transportation, appearing to return to live with his mum in Wiltshire. At first I did not believe this to be the case but, as I have illustrated with Robert Bowler, it was not only possible to return from transportation, but to return more than once and, in his last, return from a life sentence.

Local gaols like this largely dealt with those committing petty crimes, who served short sentences. Bath in the mid-Nineteenth Century had substantial slums³⁸, filled with the poor, and inevitably, some of these people wound up breaking the law, actually or allegedly, and would face a prison sentence in the local gaol at some time in their life. For many, perhaps, the experience of some peace and quiet in a warm cell with food delivered to the door might have been a positive experience. However, hard labour regimes were designed to break the spirit and certainly, in many cases, broke the body³⁹. And the absence of human contact, embedded in the separate and silent system of prisons such as Twerton Gaol, drove at least some to insanity.

Possibly the lack of evidence of people's lives beyond their prison sentence may, in itself, be an indicator that they didn't go far. For this class, life was often very short and very hard, a trip to the local gaol was just part of life.

³⁷ Vagrants – Professor Nicholas Crowson of Birmingham University spoke to the Historical Association last year on the subject of vagrants - 'Tramps' Tales: Discovering the history of homelessness in Britain'. He has successfully traced the lives of many vagrants, however, although he has done some work in the Nineteenth Century, most of his work in the Twentieth and, perhaps, records in the last century are more complete than they were in the century before.

³⁸ Professor Graham Davis has done a considerable amount of work on Bath's urban poor in this period. I had a brief foray into looking at the numbers and occupations of inhabitants of the slum area Avon Street, Milk Street, Corn Street, etc., using the 1851 census. This small area of Bath, with many properties built to house middle class tenants, wound up with a population of over three and a half thousand. These were largely the poor and the very poor, in trades that represent this class. It is unsurprising just how many of the occupants of Twerton Gaol had home addresses in this and the other slum areas just across the river or along Walcot Street.

³⁹ There are many reports from the period on the effects of picking oakum on the hands, of stone breaking on the arms and back, on the treadmill on the legs. Work outside prison could be very tough, work inside was deliberately designed to be tougher.

18TH CENTURY PLEASURE GARDENS IN BATH

Monday 11TH January 2021

Meeting held on-line

Speaker

Kirsten Elliot

Abstract

Nigel Pollard

(All images taken from “No Swinging on Sundays” by Kirsten Elliott – © Akeman Press Archive)

Bath's pleasure gardens are gone beyond recall. Yet in their heyday they were as central to the city's social life as its assembly rooms, pump room or parades. Far from being genteel retreats for the horticulturally minded, they were where well-heeled visitors came to party. With lamplit groves and labyrinths, grottoes and supper boxes, and a seemingly never-ending round of concerts and circus acts, balloon ascents and firework displays, they were loud and lively.

Although dedicated to the pursuit of pleasure, there was often little joy for those who ran them. Ruthless rivals and fickle fashions, grand galas washed out by rain and spectacular firework displays ending in disaster meant their ventures often ended in failure and bankruptcy.

Against all the odds, the grandest of them all, Sydney Gardens, opened in 1795, survives as a public park. Shorn of its attractions and cut in two by a railway line, it takes imagination to conjure up the shades of revellers treading its gravelled paths in search of excitement and exercise – though no swinging was tolerated on Sundays. In 2018, however, Heritage Lottery Funding was secured for the restoration of these historic gardens. To mark their reinvention as a pleasure garden for 21st century Bath, over half the book is devoted to their extraordinary story.

This ‘virtual’ talk by the well-known Bath historian Kirsten Elliot was based on her recent book (reviewed in *Proceeding No:7*) detailing the story of Bath’s lost Pleasure Gardens, of which there were many, as indicated on the map below:



Some succeeded while others did not, and this talk was mainly concentrated on the three most important – Spring Gardens, Grosvenor Gardens and Sydney Gardens.

By the mid 1600's while Bath was well known as a spa, a place to bathe and take the waters, there was little other outdoor leisure pursuits to do other than walking the streets. This was noted as late as 1668 when Samuel Pepys paid a visit and reported that he had had to go "to the fields a little and walked, and then home". However, elsewhere, as the fashionable people of London were becoming aware with their own Vauxhall Gardens, things had moved on. The continental town of Spa, from which Bath had taken its secondary name, had built 'tree-lined walks' and down in Kent, Tunbridge Wells had done likewise, so Bath needed to catch up.

It started with Orange Grove, which while originally private, was later opened up to paying guests, while the first true 'Walks' were opened by Thomas Harrison which covered what is now known as Terrace Walk as well as Parade Gardens.

While these gardens were eyed by John Wood as a possible addition to his development of the Parades, and while this plan was never realised, it had of course opened up views of the river and the meadows beyond.



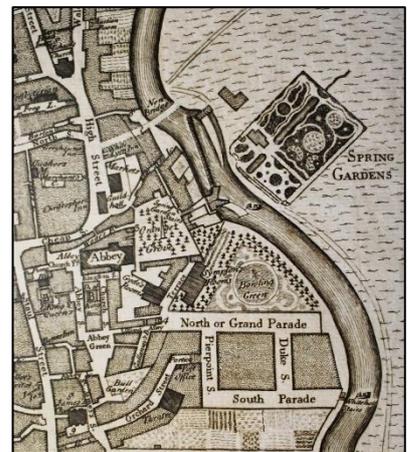
Part of a panorama of Bath in 1735 by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck

This, as yet undeveloped land was owned by William Pulteney who in 1737 let a parcel of land opposite the ferry crossing to a gardener called William Hill who set about landscaping the area into what became known as the 'Spring Gardens.'

Spring Gardens in turn led to an interest in other 'out of town' gardens that were referred to, including Prior Park and Lyncombe Spa which can be read in more detail in the book.

However, it was the development Spring Gardens that is of more interest to this talk.

Run as a simple landscaped flower garden by one Francis Edmondson from 1748 to 1759, the lease was then taken over by a William Purdie whose lodging house and wine merchant's in Orange Grove overlooked the gardens. Purdie was obviously a true entrepreneur and noting the success for the more imaginative 'Pleasure Gardens' elsewhere such as London's Vauxhall and Ranelagh Gardens, he developed them into a leading attraction. Initially improving the ferry access across the river, he had built a large Room in which Breakfast became fashionable and, in the afternoons, and evenings became known for its games and dances.



Map of Bath 1775 showing Spring Gardens



The Gardens also became famous for firework displays.

With the opening of the Pulteney Bridge in 1773, the speaker elaborated how growing competition from another of the 'out of town' gardens - Bathwick Villa' became quite underhand with the poaching of both musicians and firework promoters from each other's venues.

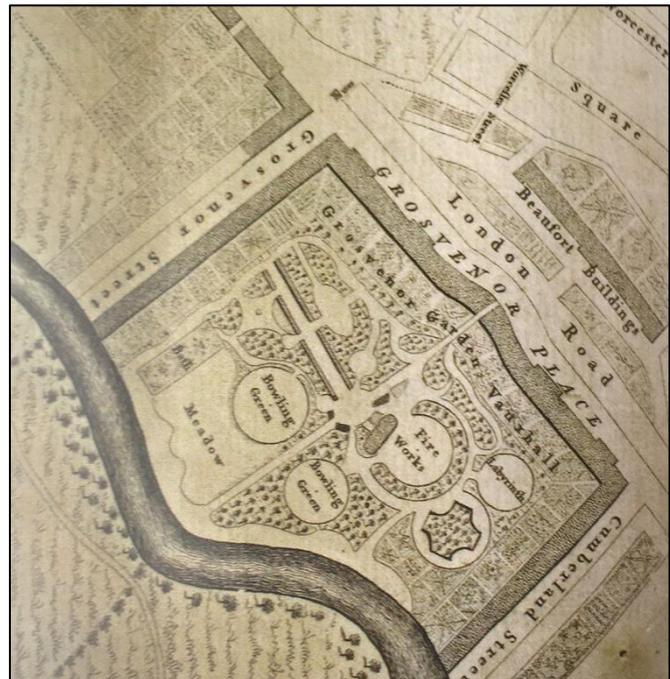
While eventually the threat from Bathwick Villas subsided, due mainly to the route there becoming a building site during the development of the Pulteney Estate, its eventful fate was down to two more serious rivals that were being planned further east, and would both open in the 1790s.

The first was further up the river at Lambridge - The Grosvenor Gardens, Vauxhall and the later, the Pulteney Estates own development - Sydney Gardens at the far end of Great Pulteney Street.

Unfortunately both of these enterprises eventually ran into trouble themselves, but due more due to world events in the form of the Napoleonic Wars and a run on the Banks than the local competition.

The Grosvenor Gardens were the idea of the Bath architect and developer John Eveleigh and opened in 1792. They were originally going to be surrounded on the three sides facing the river by several terraces of fine buildings of which only those facing the London Road with its centrally sited Saloon/Hotel were ever built.

However, the Gardens, while changing hands a number of times, did introduce a number of innovations which brought it a number of successful seasons that are all detailed in the book, up to its closure in 1803.



Grosvenor Gardens 1793
Talyor and Meyler



GROSVENOR
Gardens Vauxhall.

On TUESDAY Evening next, August the 1st, 1797,
THESE GARDENS WILL BE OPENED
WITH A
Brilliant Illumination,
AND A
CONCERT
OF
VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC
PRINCIPAL VOCAL PERFORMERS,
Messrs. Brown, Stanton, and Miss Bloomfield.

ACT I.	ACT II.
O P E R T U R E.	O P E R T U R E.
SONG, (<i>What Night and Day upon my Guard</i>) MR. STANTON.	SONG, M. STANTON.
TRAVELER SONG, MISS BLOOMFIELD.	COMIC SONG, M. BROWN.
COMIC SONG, M. BROWN.	SONG, MISS BLOOMFIELD.
SCOTCH SONG, MISS BLOOMFIELD.	COMIC SONG, (<i>the Tinker</i>) M. BROWN.
SONG, M. BROWN.	O P E R T U R E—FINALE.
O P E R T U R E.	

THE CONCERT TO BEGIN AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.
Tickets ONE SHILLING each,
To be had at the Bar of the Garden, which carries the Barre in Six-pence in Liquid.
FIELD HEN, TONGUE, &c. IN SMALL QUANTITIES.
BY The Labyrinth with Char: Song in good Order.—A. BEN MORRIS in every Part of the
the Party in the Garden (1797).
Clye, Printer and Bookbinder, Market-Place, Bath.

The Sydney Gardens were officially opened in 1795, although they were not fully developed until 1799. However, unlike the Grosvenor and Spring Gardens, they are still with us today and have had to adapt to not only changing social habits but to major infrastructure challenges in the form of a canal and later a railway, cutting right through it.

The adjacent plan from 1793 shows how it was originally intended as a symmetrical garden surrounded by elegant terraces of which only the two wings of Sydney Place were built between 1792 and 1808.



Sydney Gardens 1793
Talyor and Meyler



While the wars and bankruptcies put paid to much of the speculative house building, both at Grosvenor and Sydney Gardens, the later was helped to some extent by the building of the Sydney Hotel at the apex with Great Pulteney Street, which we know of today as the Holburne Museum.

This became the entrance, and backdrop to the many events held in the gardens. The adjacent image c.1800 showing the dinning boxes and orchestra in full flow.

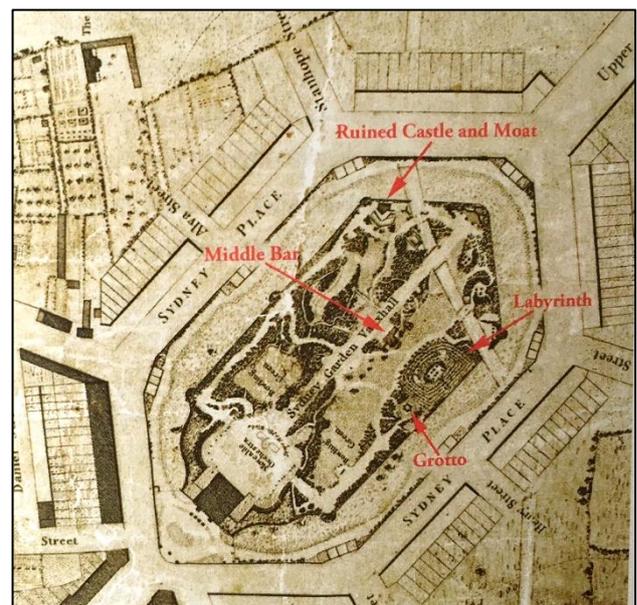
between 1796 and 1839 during which time the Kennet & Avon Canal made its initially unwanted, but nevertheless later regarded as elegant entrance into the gardens.

However, by the late 1830s the Gardens were suffering, and the compensation offered by the Great Western Railway to cross the Gardens was seen both financially and as an attraction to be well worth taking. Its route however led to the inevitable re-landscaping of the grounds, although the speaker/author believes with good reason that the long thought demolitions of which the original Labyrinth, Ruined Castle and Moat were NOT lost at this time - only the Middle Bar.

The Railway opened in 1841 and while the above-mentioned structures were later lost, the Grotto was in fact bought and moved to an adjacent villa, now the Bath Spa Hotel.

As the end of the nineteenth century drew near, the gardens were become more and unkempt and with wild ideas for a grand hotel and the outer perimeter to be sold off for the building of more villas, its days seemed numbered.

Eventually, the hotel was sold off as an educational establishment and the gardens themselves taken into public ownership by the City Council.



Sydney Gardens - Original plans by Harcourt Masters showing the locations of the various structures.

While the last official firework display appears to have been back in 1956, the twenty-first century has brought a modern twist in 'Illumination' courtesy of the lighting artist Bruce Munro and the Holburne museum with his 2012 Christmas installation - 'Field of Light'.



'Field of Light' by Bruce Munro

Holburne Museum 2012

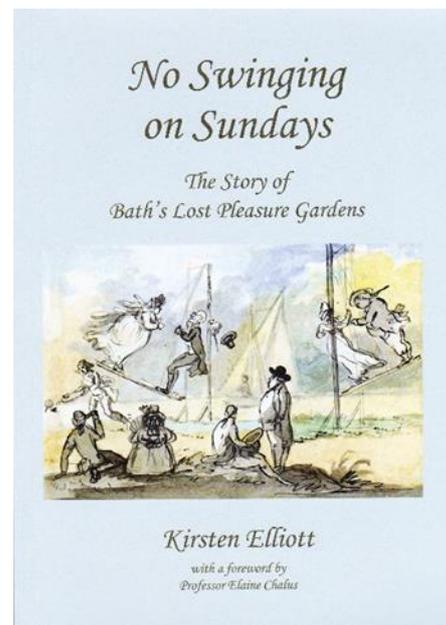
NO SWINGING ON SUNDAYS

Kirsten Elliott

Akeman Press 2019

ISBN: 978-0-9933988-2-7

£ 19.99



ANNE STREET: AN 18TH CENTURY BATH ACTRESS

Monday 8TH February 2021

Meeting held on-line

Speaker

David Crellin

Abstract

Davis Crellin/Nigel Pollard

Anne Street, was the daughter of an apothecary, James Street and was baptised on the 8th April 1733 at Bath Abbey. From a well to do and eminent Bath family, her brother William (who continued the family business) became Mayor in 1785.

Anne became engaged at the age of 17 to a wealthy gentleman but he left her and to help her forget him, she was sent to stay with relatives in York where she became an actress.

By early 1752 she was playing the role of Cordelia in York and in 1754, on 17th March as soon as she was 21 (perhaps even on her birthday) she married her first husband, a fellow actor, William Dancer by licence in Bedminster, a noted location for clandestine marriages in a private ceremony of which the family did not approve.

An advertisement in the Bath Journal stated

“Whereas it has been wickedly and maliciously reported, that Mr Richard Stephens and his wife were privy and accessory to our late private wedding: In justice therefore, we think it our indispensable duty to certify their innocence, they being in no way concern'd or acquainted with it.”

Anyway, Dancer may not have been a wise choice as after his death in 1777 Town and Country Magazine described him as “one of the most disagreeable men, as to person, that ever existed”!



Anne is known to have acted in Bath in 1754, but when her mother died the year after in 1755, she left Anne a small annuity on condition that she give up acting. However, despite this, she continued acting, appearing again in Bath in 1758 and because the alternate beneficiary didn't claim, she continued to receive the annuity.



Despite the comment from Charles Macklin that she “would never make an actress”, calling her voice shrill and dissonant, Mrs Dancer became a local favourite back in York and was named the “York Heroine”. She developed an extensive range of roles including Lady Macbeth, Rosalind (As You Like It) and Hippolito in The Tempest.

In 1758-9 she and her husband were engaged by Spranger Barry to play at his new Crow Theatre in Dublin. Her debut was on the 8th November 1758 and while her first season was no great success, by all accounts Spranger instructed her on how to act.

However, that was not all, as the marriage to William Dancer appears to be suffering and Anne became smitten with Spranger.

Furthermore, on 27th December 1759 William died, so leaving Anne able to take up openly with Spranger.



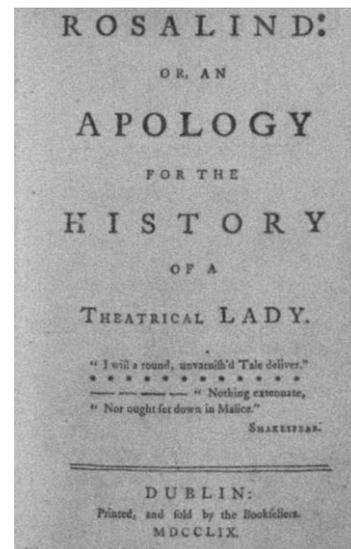
Anne Street - Working with Spranger Barry in Dublin >

In the same year 1759 an anonymous biography of her early life appeared published in Dublin.

It is from this book that we learn much of her life to date although unlike a modern biography it is written in a florid long winded and third party style.

Can it be anyone other than Anne herself speaking?

Anne Street - A Biography? >



Anne Street - Her star rises.

For the next five years and under the direction of Spranger Anne became well known for "some of the finest notes of the tender and pathetic" and "a young actress who looks tenderness and distress better than anybody, and acts them passing well" on the Dublin stage even though she could easily have moved to the London stage.

That happened when she and Spranger moved to the King's Theatre, Haymarket where she was acclaimed as the new Mrs Cibber. Not all critics were so complimentary however, noting that she did not yet enjoy "that full applause".

Specialising in tragic roles she was still able to succeed as Poly Peacham singing in The Beggar's Opera.



In 1767 they joined Garrick in Drury Lane on a combined income was between £1300 and 1500 where she remained for seven years. However she gave Garrick problems settling on plays and performances due to her temperament and illnesses!

Spranger had first married Elizabeth Fletcher (a widow) in 1741 and presumably she had died because in 1748 Spranger and Anne Barry had a son who was baptised in London. Previous researchers had assumed this first Anne had died but ...!

Whatever happened to his first and second wives Spranger and Anne Dancer were married openly by licence at St Giles in the Fields, Holborn, London on the 25 May 1768 just under ten years after the death of her first husband.

While Ann's career was now developing successfully with her taking on a huge range of roles, her relationship with Garrick became difficult and so the Barrys moved on to Covent Garden for the 1774-5 season.



In 1775 however Garrick came back to try and offer her a three year contract but a salary could not be agreed indicating the demand there was for her acting talents.

Sadly for her, her beloved Spranger died on 10th January 1777. He left her all of his property (such as the Crow St Theatre in Dublin) in his will which made her a wealthy woman. In the same year she was paid three hundred and seventy pounds for her benefit as Viola in Twelfth Night.

Despite her independent wealth Anne was not long to be without a husband. Somewhere around 1778 she must have married Thomas Crawford who was 17 years her junior, an Irish barrister who later turned to acting.

From now on she was known as Anne Crawford.

In a letter to Garrick Hannah More wrote

“Her new husband is handsome, volatile and noisy, a dozen years (sic) younger than herself, and by his own account not worth a penny but in debt. He is most desperately in love with his new wife, and in mourning for his old one... Poor man! I believe he thinks her an angel;-pity those fine delusions cannot last.”

Anne Street – Rival with Sarah Siddons

One of the best known actresses of her day she was regularly compared with Sarah Siddons.

Today Sarah Siddons is still well known but Anne Street has disappeared from view.

Sarah was 22 years younger than Anne and so it was not till towards the end of Anne's career that they were on the stage at the same time. Despite this, comparisons with Sarah were not definitively in favour of the more famous lady.

One reviewer who saw her in 1785 gave her a pre-eminence over the Lady Randolph of Mrs Siddons”



Towards the end of her life she spent much of her time in Bath as well as her apartments in London. She outlived yet another husband when he died in 1794.

In 1788 she attended the benefit of a less well known and successful actress Maria Anna Riedford at the Theatre Royal.

Maria Anna was a niece and daughter of William Street and Elizabeth Wood.

In 1801 she died and was buried next to her beloved husband Spranger in Westminster Abbey showing the high regard in which she was held.

Anne Street – Children?

The question of children is an intrigue. She may have had a son with her first husband who became an actor and he played in Norwich in 1770. However, in her will she mentions no children and instead left her estate to her nephew Thomas Street (son of William and Elizabeth) and her nieces who were children of her sister Edith



Anne Street - A final intrigue

In researching this paper a most intriguing entry in the *Reading Mercury* and elsewhere as come to light:-

It records the death in 1798 of an 'Anne Barry', widow (at a very advanced age) of the eminent actor Spranger Barry!

Reading Mercury - Monday 14 May 1798

< Page 3 of 4 >

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was generous and active; as a magistrate, he was upright and independent; and as a man, he was liberal and humane. The inhabitants of this town, whose interests he took every occasion to promote, will long remember his virtues, and revere his memory.

Lately died, at Colney, near St. Alban's, in a very advanced age, and in extreme poverty, Mrs. **Anne Barry**, widow of the late celebrated actor Spranger **Barry**.—She has left an only daughter utterly destitute.

SAVING OUR HOSPITAL: BATH'S ROYAL UNITED'S BOX SCHEME

Monday 8th March 2021

Meeting held on-line

Speaker

John Daniels

Abstract

John Daniels

The Covid 19 pandemic of 2020 has forced the world to return to ancient methods of quarantine and confronted us with the limits of modern medicine. It has brought the issues of public health provision to our attention - and the role of the state in providing and funding it. Most of all it has led to world-wide acclaim for the health professionals who deliver national health services like the NHS.

But what happened before the NHS? This essay looks at national trends from the perspective of the financing of health services in Bath in the early twentieth century with regard to philanthropy, mutuality and voluntarism, and the Bath Hospital Box Scheme's many supporters.



My interest in this stems from the fact that I was born and bred in Bath - but more especially because my maternal grandfather Frank Pine had much to do with these issues in the 1920s and 1930s. For most of this period he was President of the local branch of the Hearts of Oak Friendly Society.

From 1922, for 10 years or more, he was Chairman of the Bath Council of Friendly Societies and Chairman of the contributory Box Scheme that had the slogan of 'Saving Our Hospital' and the objective of rescuing the Royal United Hospital (RUH) Bath from debt and the risk of closure. This facilitated its removal in December 1932 from a cramped hospital in the centre of Bath to new premises at Combe Park, Bath. Also, during this period, Frank Pine was Chairman of the local council on Combe Down whilst working as an accountant with two local companies - Bath and Somerset (Norton) Dairies and Spear Brothers and Clark. From March 1934 until his death in April 1942, he was a member of the RUH Management Board.

BATH'S CHARITABLE (VOLUNTARY) HOSPITALS

Early hospitals in Bath (St John's dating from the twelfth century, St Catherine's founded in 1522 and Bellott's Hospital founded in 1608) provided some medical and nursing care but were essentially almshouses for the elderly and impoverished. Before the growth of Bath (through wealthy visitors from the mid eighteenth century) the population of about 2,000 was too small to support a hospital.

The Bath General Infirmary was founded in 1737 and incorporated in 1739. It was also known as **The Mineral Water Hospital**. Queen Victoria conferred on it the 'Royal' title in 1888. In 1935 it became the **Royal National Hospital for Rheumatic Disease (RNHRD)**. As a national specialist hospital taking patients from far and wide it did not find it easy to raise funds locally - but in 1948 it was taken over by the NHS with a substantial dowry of investments.

From the mid-eighteenth century a number of voluntary hospitals were founded by rich benefactors to provide medical assistance for the poor. However, initially the Royal Mineral Water Hospital was only open to visitors from outside the city.



In 1747 the Bath Pauper Trust was founded to raise money for local people needing medical advice and assistance. This led to the establishment of the **Bath City Infirmary and Dispensary**. The scale of Bath's building boom created a heavy demand for an accident and emergency service, and in 1788 a new casualty hospital opened in Kingsmead Street.

In 1826 a new building was built to accommodate a merger of the two hospitals to be called the '**Bath United Hospital**'. In 1864 new wards were built and named after the Queen and her late consort. She bestowed the 'Royal' title on the hospital. The purposes of the **Royal United Hospital (RUH)**, as they remained into the 1930s, were to provide "For the relief of the poor of the city and neighbourhood and for giving immediate assistance in all accidents". *The RUH is pictured here in 1910 at its increasingly cramped Beau Street premises.*



Other voluntary hospitals in Bath were the **Bath Eye Infirmary** that was established in 1811 and the **Bath Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital** that was established in 1837. Hospitals, whether they were a workhouse infirmary or a leading voluntary hospital, were founded and funded by the middle and upper classes. The aim was to serve the needs of the working-class population without charge.

Dispensaries for the poor also offered some medical advice and medicines. Bath had 4 main dispensaries - **The City, Southern, Western and Eastern dispensaries**.

WHAT WAS A VOLUNTARY HOSPITAL?

Voluntary hospitals were based on charitable donations by wealthy subscribers. They were for the benefit of the poor - whom doctors treated for free (but subscribers could issue tickets of entitlement). Until 1905 the RUH issued subscribers tickets. It then was decided that only doctors should approve admissions. Until the NHS the RUH was still, in principle, for the benefit of the poor.

Voluntary hospitals had a teaching role and focussed on acute cases. In a sense doctors could practice on the poor before attending to their paying patients! Chronic cases often ended in the workhouses, although by the Great War the stigma of workhouses was being reduced. Florence Nightingale's pressure for proper workhouse nursing had had some effect. Indeed Bath workhouse became a training establishment for nurses.

WHAT OTHER HOSPITALS WERE THERE IN BATH?

The voluntary hospitals had no monopoly on care, and before the NHS both local government and the Poor Law also provided hospitals that were in principal free to use. Asylums for psychiatric patients were overseen by the county councils.

Following the 1866 Sanitary Act, municipal and district councils established many isolation hospitals - such as the **Bath Statutory Hospital for Infectious Diseases, Claverton**, which opened in 1876.

The Workhouse Infirmary on Combe Down was rate funded under the Poor Law. After 1914 it was known as Frome Road House and the Workhouse sign was taken down. Florence Nightingale did a great deal to ensure professional nursing in workhouse infirmaries (and published a book on the subject). In 1914, in order to recruit and retain trained nurses (by registering as a training establishment) the Infirmary recruited a full time medical officer. Frome Road Infirmary evolved into the **Municipal Hospital of St Martins** that, like the RUH, was absorbed into the NHS.



Private hospitals for paying middle class patients evolved in the 1920s - the RUH Private Hospital that opened in 1924 was soon named the **Forbes Fraser Private Hospital** (after a recently deceased and celebrated RUH surgeon). Pictured here, it became the country's second largest private hospital. Its aim was to provide treatment for middle class people who could afford to pay - but who could not afford expensive nursing home fees. Forbes Fraser died before he could pursue his vision for the RUH as a hub of local cottage hospitals.

Other hospitals established at Combe Park were the **War Hospital/Ministry of Pensions Hospital** built during the Great War (that in due course served as a nurses home), and the **Orthopaedic Hospital** that opened in 1924 (along with the Forbes Fraser Private Hospital - both were built on one level with scope for expansion), and the Second World War American Hospital that became the **Manor Hospital**.

THE GROWING DEMAND FOR HOSPITAL TREATMENTS AFTER 1850

In the early Victorian period, a hospital was a place that those who could afford private medical treatment at home or at a nursing home would seek to avoid like the plague (*or whatever diseases they harboured there*)! But that was before Florence Nightingale made nursing a profession from the 1860s onwards (with a new breed of matrons as hospital managers). Surgery became safer through the use of anaesthetics from the late 1840s, and the development of anti-septic and aseptic techniques in the 1870s and 1880s. As standards of hygiene, treatment and care steadily improved in hospitals and workhouse infirmaries (and their numbers increased), people who were not paupers started to use their facilities.

PHILANTHROPY AND VOLUNTARISM

The philanthropic basis of the funding of the voluntary hospital system was not exactly altruistic. As was the common practice with most voluntary hospitals, every year the wealthy subscribers to the RUH were allocated 'tickets of relief' according to how much they had contributed, and they would in turn hand these out to those they considered most in need of treatment - or wished to patronise! This ticket system lasted until 1905 when the RUH management decided that admission should be authorised by doctors instead. From the 1890s onwards some hospitals appointed lady almoners to see if patients could afford to pay for treatment. An almoner was not appointed at the RUH until 1913 (when a Mr Humphries was appointed). These almoners soon developed a social welfare role.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES & MUTUALITY

In the 19th century the Friendly Societies had a major role - from Freemasonry to Mutuality and to the establishment of trade and craft unions. Friendly society branches in Bath were key players in the story of the Bath Hospital Box Scheme.

At the turn of the 19th century friendly societies were having a great deal of success in recruiting new members with a range of benefits in the event of ill health, death or unemployment. By the 1890s many skilled workers had joined friendly societies for such schemes. The society branches combined this mutuality with a strong social side for their (male) members. Before the Great War these branches hosted many male middle class dinners and excursions - albeit with the odd talk on benefits. That ethos disappeared after the Great War - especially with women more active on health issues.

With a range of health and unemployment benefits the societies feared state intervention could threaten their mutuality. **In 1899 the Bath Council of Friendly Societies was formed** from the ten local branches of the nationwide societies. This was to co-ordinate local responses to government initiatives that might intrude on what the friendly societies saw as their role - issues such as workmen's compensation for injuries, pensions and national insurance.

The **National Insurance Act 1911** also impacted on the societies' role. Although it did not extend to hospital care or to wives and children, it was a major step in healthcare. In roping in the Friendly Societies to collect payments and pay benefits under the Act, Lloyd George thought he was doing them a favour. In fact getting involved in government regulation was the undoing of the friendly society movement.

VOLUNTARY HOSPITALS FACE FUNDING ISSUES

Towards the end of the 19th century, voluntary hospitals like the RUH were finding it hard to make ends meet (with subscriptions from wealthy donors drying up). Contributions were therefore sought from working men through company schemes like Stothert & Pitts or Saturday or Sunday Clubs (paying a Saturday's pay once a month to a hospital or contributing to collections at Church). In 1907 the Mayor of Bath Sydney Bush mounted a successful campaign, aided by a League of Help, to wipe out the hospital's accumulated debt. But that was short lived, the League of Help folded (thinking its job had been done) and deficits soon arose to create new debt.

The following table shows - from 1911 to 1916 - static charitable income from the wealthy and rising costs leading to a large cumulative deficit.

Year	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Annual subscriptions	£1508	£1469	£1437	£1504	£1502	£1508
Donations	£354	£532	£632	£435	£541	£563
Collecting boxes	£136	£147	£118	£101	£80	
Church collections	£410	£368	£366	£337	£332	
Workers contributions	£719	£650	£543	£651	£621	£621
Patients' payments			£132	£177	£515	
Total ordinary income	£5554	£5436	£5290	£5628	£5753	£5839
Legacies	£1570	£642	£385			
Total Income	£7124					
Total expenditure	£7120	£7419	£7818	£7741	£8016	£8823
Balance	£4	-£19833	-£25283	-£2113	-£2283	-£2984
Cumulative Balance						-£10,000

HOPES FOR A NEW APPROACH TO HEALTHCARE DASHED

The **Ministry of Health Act 1918** established the **Ministry of Health in 1919** (at the peak of the Flu Pandemic in which Bath suffered badly). Its role was to 'take all such steps as may be desirable to secure the preparation, effective carrying out and co-ordination of measures conducive to the health of the people'.

Expectations were raised of greater state funding of hospitals and health services and the expansion of National Insurance to cover hospitals and dependant wives and families. The head of the new ministry looked to more pro-active public health & preventative measures. Some might have dared to hope something like NHS might arise.

Although Government payments during and after the war up to 1921 (mainly for war wounded) had helped hospital finances, these dried up in 1922 as a result of the **Geddes Axe** (government expenditure cuts – the first time the term was used). This ushered in an era of austerity and dashed the hopes placed on the new ministry.

THE NEED FOR A NEW APPROACH

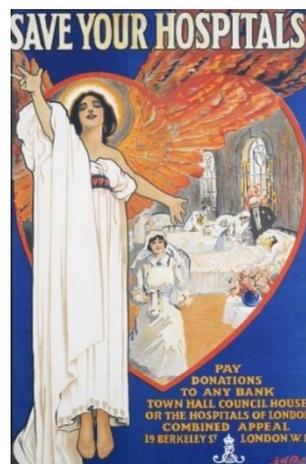
At the end of 1922 the RUH had an annual deficit of nearly £4,000 making a total cumulative deficiency of £10,313. So, by the early 1920s a new approach was needed as it became clear that the hospital would not last long if it had to resort to selling its investments and other capital assets bequeathed by past benefactors.

This is where the Bath and District Contributory Scheme (the Box Scheme) came in. It was promoted by the **Bath Council of Friendly Societies** chaired by my grandfather, **Frank Pine**. They are pictured here in 1923. Frank Pine is middle row, fourth from the left. Key players in the Box Scheme included:



HC Lavington, W Amesbury, WH Chorley, HF Fiddes, AS Gunstone, G Haverfield, GS Hodges, WA King and F Knight .

After Geddes 'Save Our Hospital' became the clarion call of Contributory Schemes for Voluntary Hospitals throughout the country. It was certainly the theme for the Bath scheme which was based on a successful scheme in Canterbury. *This poster concerns a London Scheme.*



The range of political philosophy involved in terms of hospital funding was:

1. Support for Voluntarism, Philanthropy and Mutuality and 'the human touch' that would be lost with bureaucratic control.
2. Hospitals on the rates: developing Municipal Hospitals (to encompass voluntary hospitals) as was favoured by the Labour Party. Over half hospital beds were former Workhouse Infirmarys that became Municipal Hospitals
3. State funded hospitals as in Germany – a cause espoused by the Liberal Party at its conference in Bath in 1938.

A 1920 proposal in Bristol for the amalgamation of the medical charities of Bristol, including the six major voluntary hospitals of the city ultimately failed. Bristol did not fully embrace local contributory schemes until the 1940s (see *"Co-operate! Co-ordinate! Unify!"* by Prof George Gosling).

RUH INCOME SOURCES BEFORE THE BOX SCHEME

Income (not all listed)	1920	1921
Legacies	£1,062	£307
Subscriptions	£1,581	£1,709
Donations	£1,777	£1,017
Workmen's Contributions (30 Schemes)	£1,742	£1,919
Collecting Boxes (in shops etc.)	£356	£282
Church collections	£1,508	£1,439
Patient's Payments	£1,048	£2,018
Total Income	£11,765	£13,013
Total Expenditure	£18,526	£17,060
Funding Gap	£6,761	£4,047

I don't have full figures for 1923 but the above table shows the varying contributions of charity to RUH funds. These figures indicate the funding gap that the Box Scheme sought to address. **Workmens' contributions from 30 schemes** rose to over £2,000 in 1924 and 1925 but fell to £1,800 in 1926 and 1927. Of these contributions, the 10% received from the Somerset Miners disappeared completely after the 1926 General Strike. In due course these workplace schemes were brought into the Box Scheme arrangements. Patients Payments rose to around £4,000 in 1924, 1925 and in 1926 rising again to £4,800.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE BOX SCHEME

The objectives of the Box Scheme seemingly accorded with the Friendly Societies' approach in providing society benefits and in administering contributions and benefits under the 1911 National Insurance Act. It was hoped that raising £5,000 per annum (about £300,000 now) would enable the hospital to pay its way if boxes were put in 12,000 homes for weekly donations of 2d a week.

In 1929 many people began to increase their contributions to the box scheme from 2 pence to 3 pence a week because this allowed them to be relieved of questions as to means by the almoners. By 1943 everyone was encouraged to pay 4 pence a week.

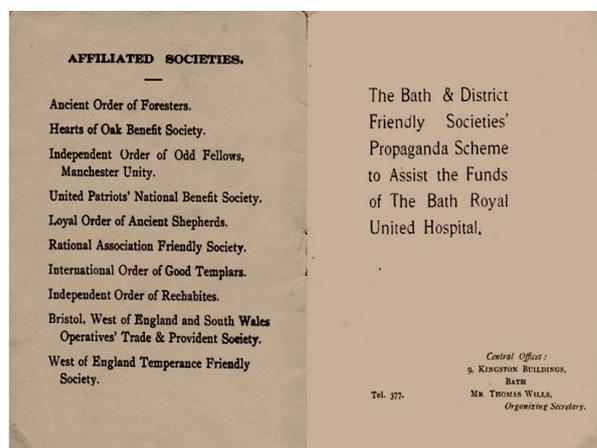
By the end of 1922 some 2,500 boxes were already in use. By 1938 there were 16,000 subscribers to the Box Scheme. So working men contributed to a scheme to fund a hospital that should have been free to them - but that was because they feared that the alternative was that there would be no hospital when they needed it!

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE BOX SCHEME

The Box Scheme was, in the end, highly successful - but a promising start in 1923 was affected by the impact of the 1927 recession. The scheme was officially called the **Bath & District Friendly Societies' Propaganda Scheme to assist the Funds of the Bath Royal United Hospital**.

According to its original rules of 1923 the scheme aimed at collecting annually for the Hospital, the sum of £5,000 (significantly more than its current annual deficit of £4,000).

In its implementation the scheme would be known as **The Bath and District Friendly Societies' Household Collecting Box Scheme**. Whilst the bulk of its payments went to the RUH, other local cottage hospitals soon became part of the scheme (although in 1932 Chippenham withdrew from the scheme, considering its payments stingy). Payments, on behalf of scheme members, were also made to hospitals in Bristol and other UK hospitals (including several in London). By July 1938, given its coverage of treatment at other hospitals, it was officially known as **The Bath Region Hospital Contributory Scheme**.



The management of the scheme was to be firmly in the hands of the Bath and District Friendly Societies' Council whose members were nominated by the ten affiliated friendly society branches. So there was a bit of a democratic deficit. The Council was to set up and to work the scheme independently of the Hospital Managing Board, having its own Offices and Administration. It would be the Central Body to receive reports, to consider and resolve on all matters connected with the scheme, and for this purpose it might co-opt one representative to be nominated by each District Committee.

In the original rules, only the Friendly Societies Council could appoint a paid organiser and staff for the scheme. However, the rules required that, at least once every quarter, the Council would be obliged to submit to the Hospital Managing Board a report of the results of the collections and general working of the scheme. So, the Hospital Managing Board had some oversight of the scheme.

PROMOTING THE SCHEME

The rules provided that a Central Executive was to be set up, and consist of five members appointed by the Council, together with the Hon. Treasurer, the Hon. Secretary, and the Chairman of the Hospital Managing Board. The Executive was to act on behalf of the Council in calling Public Meetings at the centre or in the Districts to explain the Scheme.

With the help of the Mayor of Bath, and local mayors and councillors, District Committees were eventually set up in 21 Bath wards, and 35 districts in Somerset and 31 localities in Wiltshire - in the hinterland of the hospital. Each district had a chairman, secretary and treasurer and a fair number of voluntary stewards. Collecting boxes were distributed to houses in each area by the stewards who would return and empty them and account for their contents each quarter. In 1927 there were over 1,200 stewards and in 1933 the initial print run of 'Our Hospital' magazine for distribution to the stewards was for 5,000 copies. Bringing employers' schemes in under the banner of this main scheme began in the 1930s and by 1939 about 80 employers were covered.

IMPORTANCE OF CEDRIC CHIVERS, MAYOR OF BATH

Here I would like to pay tribute to one of the great Mayors of Bath whose part in promoting and setting up the Box Scheme was crucial. He was 6 times Mayor of Bath in the 1920s. A bookbinder, he championed women designers. He established and endowed Bath public library. He supported the Bath Cabinet Makers workers co-operative. A Liberal - he joined with the Trades Unions in forming Bath Trades Council. A Widower: he chose the Suffragist author Madame Sarah Grand as Mayoress. *They are pictured here.*



Chivers and Grand jointly gave great support to the Box Scheme (attending ward meetings and hosting annual Guildhall or Pump Room Receptions for the unpaid officials of the scheme). He argued that those who contributed a substantial sum to the hospital ought to have a larger voice in its management. By June 1928 the Hospital Box Scheme had 6 representatives on the RUH Management Board. He established a fund for a New RUH in Combe Park.

He died in office 1929 - and George Bernard Shaw sent a tribute. His successor Aubrey Bateman (another great Mayor) described Chivers as the greatest Bathonian in living memory.

MEETINGS AND FOOT SLOGGING

The scheme imposed a considerable burden on the friendly societies to recruit people in Bath and the surrounding towns and villages of north Somerset and west Wiltshire that used the hospital (something like 200,000 inhabitants).

Representatives of the friendly societies had to make frequent visits in the area to encourage the setting up and enthusiastic running of local committees, and recruiting stewards to collect money from the boxes.

My grandfather Frank Pine spent much of his spare time visiting towns and villages promoting the scheme. On Sundays he often showed recruits or potential recruits to the scheme around the RUH. He also was a leading speaker in support of the scheme at a number of major meetings.

As noted above, stewards and other unpaid officials of the scheme were rewarded by invitations to an annual reception, hosted by the Mayor of Bath at the Guildhall or the Pump Room - with speeches, food, drink, music and dancing. Other entertainments might include visits to the Roman Baths.

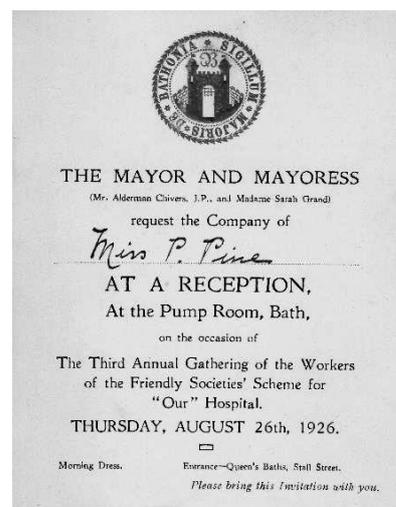
In May 1925 some 850 invitations went out and 700 attended. In 1927 the invitations numbered 1,400.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The Box Scheme extended to whole families so it had a great appeal to women as only a few women were covered by National Insurance.

In 1905 when the RUH ended the need for Subscribers tickets and sought increased workplace contributions, and also to endorse the role of women fund-raisers, 3 working men and 3 women were elected to the RUH Management Board.

One of the 3 women elected to the RUH Board in 1905 was Mrs Latter Parsons. Widowed in 1901 She became a City Councillor in 1921 (she was chairman of the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee from 1926). She served on the RUH Board until well into the 1930s. She died on 3 February 1944.



In 1928 The Box Scheme was asked to appoint 6 members to the RUH Management Board. One of the two women appointed was the Hon Mrs Shaw-Mellor. She was a Vice-Chairman of the RUH Board from 1932-7 and RUH Chairman for 3 years from 1937-1941. Married to a GP with two daughters she lived at Box House, Box, Wiltshire!

FUND RAISING BY THE BOX SCHEME: THE FIRST 10 YEARS

In May 1925 it was reported that the friendly societies had raised £4,900 in the preceding year. This was a little short of the target of £5,000 but it was an encouraging start: the hospital was able to show its first credit balance for a great many years. The cost of working the scheme was 5% of receipts (in 1934 this peaked at 9% before falling back to 7% in the late 1930s).

The 1927 annual report recorded that during the year £6,563 had been collected (compared with £5,985 in the previous year) with £4,800 paid over to the RUH and £1,031 to the cottage hospitals and other institutions. However, this still amounted to over 22% of the Royal United Hospital's income.

YEAR	RUH ORD INCOME	RUH DEFICIT/ SURPLUS	BOX SCHEME RUH RECEIVES	BOX SCHEME OTHER HOSPITALS RECEIVE	BOX SCHEME INCOME TOTAL
1921	£13,013	-£4,047			
1922	£16,131	-£3,916			
1923	£13,691	-£2,545			
1924	£18,178	£859	£4,900		£4,900
1925	£17,715	-£319	£5,100		£5,100
1926	£18,086	-£1,403	£5,100	£549	£5,895
1927	£20,384	-£1,081	£4,800	£1,031	£6,563
1928	£18,934	-£705	£4,300	£979	£5,821
1929	£19,767	-£616	£4,000	£658	£4,922
1930	£17,386	-£3,807	£3,900	£547	£5,028
1931	£23,669	-£1,082	£4,000	£773	£5,099
1932	£22,873	-£1,745	£3,900	£803	£5,069
1933	£28,516	£171	£4,000	£624	£5,636
1934	£29,075	£179	£5,300	£713	£7,000

The economic recession caused receipts to fall back to £5,821 in 1928 and to £4,922 in 1929. For the years 1930-32 receipts were just over £5,000. But they started rising after 1932. Helped by funds raised for the new RUH, the figures for 1933 and 1934 indicated hope for the future. So a promising start – RUH finances would have been in a poor state without the Box Scheme.

The opening of the new RUH at Combe Park in December 1932 pointed to likely increased running costs. As the contributory scheme it had become, payments were made to other hospitals. Consequently, until 1934 (when it received £5,300), the RUH only got about £4,000 a year from the scheme.

Non RUH Payments 1934	<i>This is illustrative - a far greater range was covered over subsequent years.</i>
Almondsbury Memorial Hospital	London Hospital
Bath Ear Nose and Throat Hospital	Paulton Memorial Hospital
Bath Education Authority	Freshford Cottage Hospital
Bath Eye Infirmary	Somerset County Council
Bath Mineral Water Hospital	St Mary's Hospital
Bristol General Hospital	Wilts County Council
Chippenham & District Hospital	Victoria Hospital Frome
Forbes Fraser patients	Additional Benefits

FUND RAISING FOR THE NEW RUH

Cedric Chivers plans to raise funds for a new hospital at Combe Park began with £8,000 from donated Red Cross and St John's funds left over from the war which could not be used for existing running costs. In January 1930, Aubrey Bateman (who had succeeded Chivers as Mayor) sought to raise £100,000 (about £6.7m today) for a new hospital at Combe Park. By May 1930 £51,603 had been raised. In November 1931 the Bath Council agreed to purchase the existing town centre premises for £30,000 to become a Technical College. Much of the balance came from Stanley Wills of the tobacco company. The new hospital opened December 1932.



AUBREY BATEMAN

From 1905 the Presidency of the RUH was always held by the incumbent Mayor of Bath. But in 1931 there was a rule change and **Aubrey Bateman** remained (by election of the Board) President, whether or not he was Mayor. Bateman remained President until 1946. This reflected his role as fund-raiser which the existing mayor was happy to cede. As a result of Aubrey Bateman's fund-raising efforts the new hospital was able to open debt-free in December 1932. *Today this portrait of him still hangs in the old entrance of the RUH.*



To my mind Bateman was one of Bath's great mayors - on a par with Chivers. Born in 1875, and like Chivers, he was 5 (but not 6) times Mayor - in 1929, 1934, 1940, 1941 and 1942. He came to Bath from Devon in 1923 and became a Bath Councillor in 1925. Late 1945 he retired to Devon (nominally President of the RUH until 1946). He was a man of independent means. In 1955 he left a large endowment to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in memory of his wife who died 19 years before because "it was as a member of this college I met my wife to whom all my happiness in life is due".

1933-4 THE SCHEME'S TURNING POINT



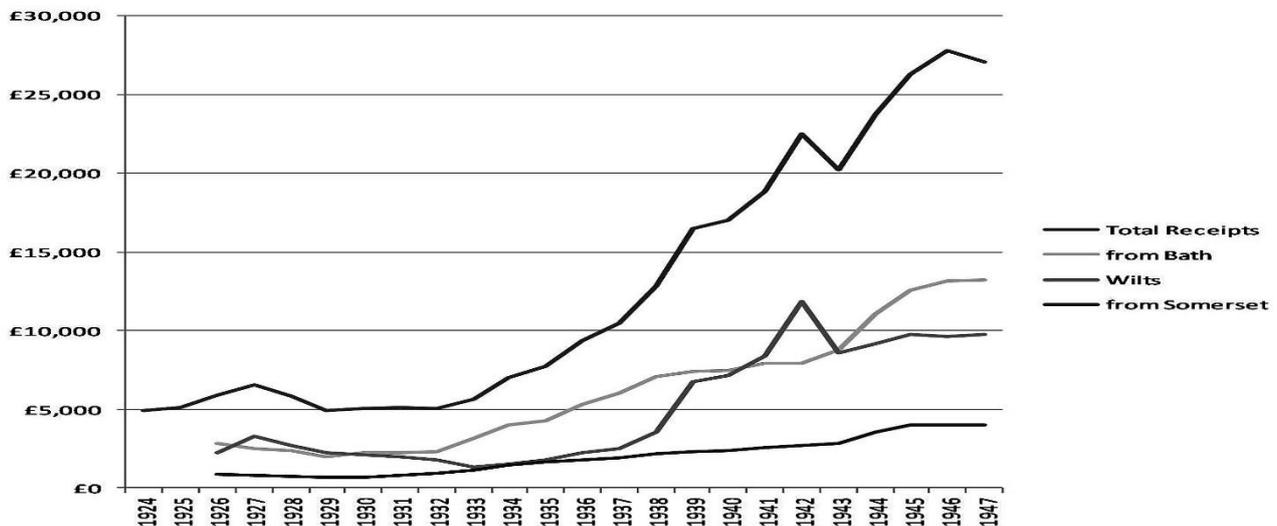
In January 1933 a new full-time scheme organiser, Mr Wilfred J Jenkins, was appointed to work at its new offices at Shepherds Hall, Princes Street, Queen Square. In 1933 Free hospital treatment was extended to include outpatients, and additional benefits included assistance towards dental treatment and dentures, convalescent homes, surgical appliances, glasses and ambulance.

In February 1933 Frank Pine stepped down as Chairman, but he remained very active as Vice-Chairman and, from 1934, as an RUH Board member. Mr FG Hamilton, who was Chairman of the RUH Management Committee (1930-2, 1934-6 and 1942-5) took over as Scheme Chairman. This close link between the scheme and the hospital was reflected in the annual 120-page books of RUH hospital accounts published in the 1930s that contained the box scheme accounts at the back. *A new scheme quarterly magazine was published in 1934 (they only have a 1938 copy in the RUH library archives).*

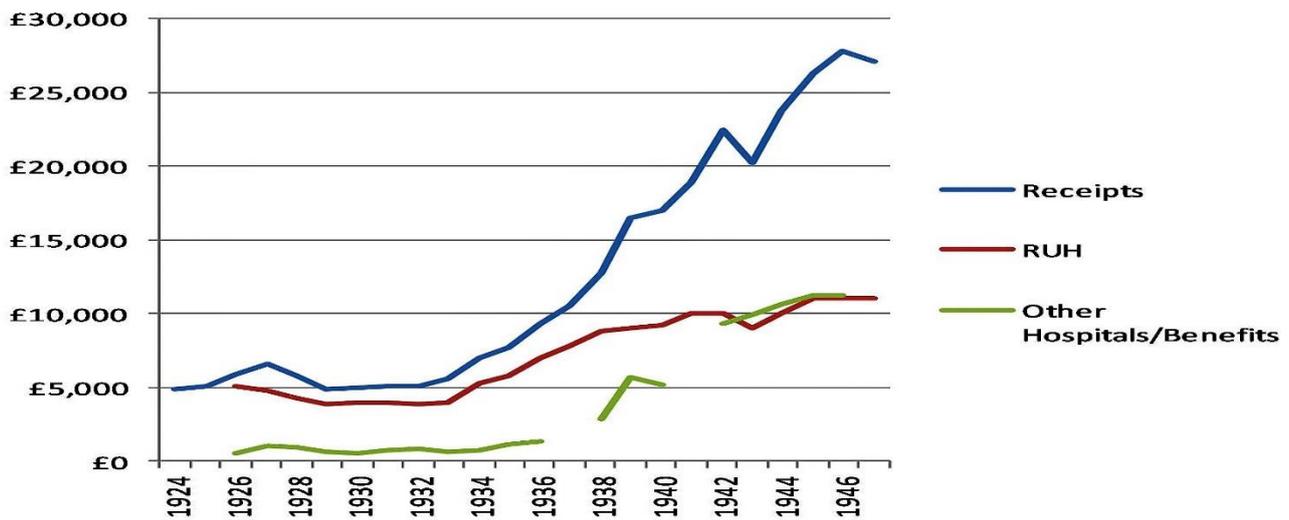
THE GOLDEN YEARS OF THE BOX SCHEME

The new full-time organiser, Wilfred Jenkins and his small full-time team in offices in Broad Street, Bath, encouraged a very substantial expansion in scheme revenues. As a result, there was a fairly rapid rise in income from £5,636 in 1933 to £7,000 in 1934, to £10,489 in 1936, to £17,032 in 1940, to £23,724 in 1944, peaking at £27,791 in 1946.

As it can be seen from the graph below income from Wiltshire was close to that received from Bath



Payments to the RUH rose from £5,800 in 1935, to £7,000 in 1936, to around £9,000 in 1938-40 to £10,000 in 1941/2/4 (£9,000 in 1943), and to £11,000 in 1946. However, scheme benefits had also changed to include outpatient's treatments (probably to the chagrin of local GPs), dentistry, and optical and other appliances. The sums paid to other hospitals, or for other benefits to scheme members, also rose from £713 in 1934, to £1,360 in 1936, to £5,229 in 1940, and to between £9,373 and £11,293 in 1942-46. So, in 1943-1947, payments to other hospitals (and for benefits) exceeded payments to the RUH. *The data I have below misses out a couple of years for 'Other'.*



In terms of its overall finances, *despite surpluses of income over expenditure for the period 1933-1936*, the RUH found that from 1937 its operating deficits began to re-emerge. By 1943-1945 they exceeded the scheme's payments to the hospital. Of course, the impact of the war meant that there were considerably increased expenditures that were only partly off-set by inadequate government subventions. It must also be noted that the income mix of the hospital changed after the 1920s (when the only contributory schemes available before the Box Scheme were workplace schemes). Other contributory schemes (like the HSA) also made payments to the RUH.

At its inception the Box Scheme accounted for 27% of the hospital's income. This dropped to as low as 19% in 1927 and in 1928, and subsequently it was around 22% until it was back at 27% in 1936 and 1937. Then in 1938-1942 it accounted for 30-33% of ordinary hospital income, dropping back in the late 1940s when income from other schemes matched that contributed by the Box Scheme.

The sums raised by the Box Scheme continued to rise during the war. However, wartime resulted in an influx of people - servicemen and refugees from bombed areas. This challenged the idea of a locally based scheme focussing on local voluntary hospitals. In 1946 the RUH faced a deficit of £52,401 to pass on to the NHS even though the Box Scheme had raised £11,000 for the hospital. Nevertheless, the NHS was bequeathed a substantial dowry of investments by the RUH that more than covered these final deficits.

THE BATH SCHEME & THE HOSPITAL SAVING ASSOCIATION (HSA)

In March 1932 Chippenham Cottage Hospital and Freshford Nursing Home left the Box Scheme to set up their own scheme, but by 1933 they were part of the London-based Hospital Saving Association. I should note that the HSA was initially about saving Hospitals (not savings for its contributors).

Founded in 1923, the HSA grew to having over 2 million members in 14,000 local branches. However, in 1938 the HSA withdrew to its London base, so Freshford rejoined the Box Scheme. Some 9 other areas also came into association with the Box Scheme. These included districts in Wiltshire (including Chippenham), Gloucester and Devon.

The main Box Scheme was renamed '**Bath Region Hospital Contributory Scheme**' and the association with the other schemes would be called '**The Hospital Service Scheme**' and would be administered from the office of the Bath Scheme.

THE BOX SCHEME AND THE PAYING PATIENTS SCHEME

The Box Scheme had an income limit of £6 a week for family subscribers, so the meant that many, more affluent, middle-class people were excluded from the Box Scheme. The £6 a week limit was a fairly generous limit as it is about £690 a week (or £36,000 a year) now. In 1924, to circumvent the RUH charter (to provide treatment free of charge for the poor), a separate RUH Hospital the Forbes Fraser had been built on the Combe Park site to house paying patients who could not afford nursing home fees. (*However, in due course, the Voluntary Hospitals (Paying Patients) Act 1936 allowed voluntary hospitals to have pay beds.*)

In September 1934 the Box Scheme office set out details of what was described as the **Forbes Fraser Scheme**. This was seen by the Bath Chronicle and Herald as a 'Boon for the Middle Classes'. A Guinea a year would provide for Forbes Fraser Hospital Treatment and would cover a whole family with no income limit. Broadly its terms were:

Contributions: A guinea a year, extra 7s 6d for junior 16-21.

Income Limit: None.

Age limit: 60 to join

Benefits: 3 guineas a week nursing for 4 weeks in any 12 months at any other approved hospital.

Qualifications: No payment for doctors or for maternity or mental illness, accident cases covered by compensation, contagious or infectious diseases.

THE BOX SCHEME: PART OF A GREAT NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Contributory Schemes like the Bath Scheme and the HSA were part of a vast and growing national movement. Its representative body, the **British Hospital Contributory Schemes Association** was formed in 1930.

On 29 September 1934 The Bath Chronicle reported on the AGM of the British Hospital Contributory Schemes Association at Bristol University. Some 94 schemes were affiliated with approximately 4 million members (including the RUH Bath Scheme). The widespread rapid growth of British hospital contributory schemes was a significant feature of the inter-war years - with over 400 schemes and nearly 11 million members by the late 1930s.

The BHCSA covered a disparate membership with a variety of individual schemes as varied as its membership. Ultimately the association was unable to find a coherent role for its members in a tax funded - free to use for all - NHS. (*It would be interesting to see some research on the BHCSA - its membership and their schemes.*)

It is not surprising that the officials charged with creating the NHS decided that there was no scope for bringing the diverse contributory schemes that had arisen across the country in the 1920s and 1930s, with their different benefits and objectives, into the funding and management of the new system. In 1930s Bath the differentiation between the working-class scheme and the middle-class scheme for paying patients was contrary to the philosophical concept of the NHS. Furthermore, whilst the better off could afford nursing home treatment, the very poor still used the former workhouse infirmaries - especially for childbirth. Local charity had also led to the founding of an excessive number of Cottage Hospitals by the late 1930s - some of which didn't need saving by the NHS!

MUNICIPAL HOSPITALS

Neville Chamberlain's Local Government Act of 1929 promoted a major reform of public medicine by transferring the Poor Law administration of the workhouses to the county and county boroughs, such as Bath.

This intentionally gave a great incentive to the local authorities with Workhouses to transform those Workhouse Infirmaries into Municipal Hospitals. These accounted for around half of the country's hospital beds.

Frome Road House Infirmary (having dropped the stigmatic name Workhouse in 1914) was a municipal hospital in all but name. But the war transformed it into St Martin's a fully fledged municipal general hospital. In the late 1930s a number of Bath councillors thought it could be a basis of a municipal hospital service embracing the RUH. But for many the independent voluntary hospital ethos was still valued.

In the war the government insisted patients should treat Municipal or Voluntary hospitals alike. So, Box Scheme members could be obliged to go to St Martins (where two of Frank Pine's daughters, my aunts, did war work).

1940s RECORD BOX SCHEME PAYMENTS TO RUH

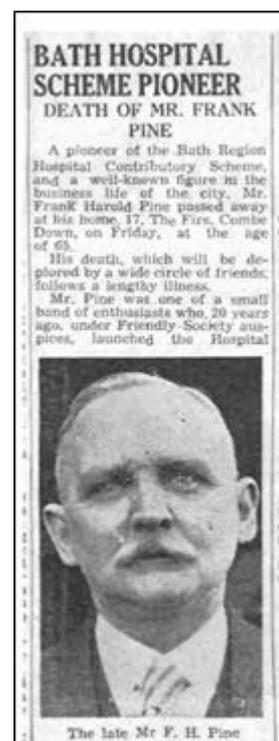
Despite the war the enthusiasm of Box Scheme workers was undimmed. In the 1940s there were record Box Scheme payments to the RUH (and to other hospitals). But the RUH faced increased costs due to the war (despite significant government payments - and Aubrey Bateman pleaded for more). Cumulative Deficits were by 1947 £52,401 (despite the sale of £35,000 of the investments valued at £363,331 in 1943). Remaining liquid investments were now £86,308, but with land, buildings, furnishings re-valued at £242,020 a substantial dowry was passed to the NHS.

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
RUH Income (incl Govt)	£57,857	£53,493	£56,199	£55,059	£67,820	£70,170
Expenditure	£59,786	£57,606	£58,120	£64,648	£84,069	£84,403
Deficit	£1,929	£4,113	£1,921	£9,859	£16,249	£14,233
Box Scheme to RUH	£9,200	£10,000	£10,000	£9,000	£10,000	£11,000
Box Scheme to Others	£5,229	c£8,000	£9,972	£10,639	c£11,200	£11,293

THE IMPACT OF ANOTHER WAR: THE NHS

The impact of War with refugees from bombed areas and admiralty and service personnel in Bath, also increased medical costs, meant that the local funding approach to hospitals made less sense. The NHS absorbed both Municipal and Voluntary Hospitals (the latter with big dowries in investments). It also spelt the end of most Contributory Schemes like the Box Scheme. Changes to National Insurance diminished the role of the Friendly Societies. However, the NHS took over one of the best hospital services in the world.

Even so, the idealism that inspired those institutions should not be ignored. My grandfather's friendly society membership and his work on the scheme were inspired by his belief in The Brotherhood of Man. Many in the Bath Friendly Societies Council of 1923 didn't live to see the NHS and its impact on their philosophies. That included my grandfather (FHP). He died on the eve of the Bath Blitz on 24 April 1942.



OVERVIEW

In one of the final issues of 'Our Hospital' Wilfred Jenkins (Organising Secretary of the Box Scheme) reflected, in a note on the history of the Scheme:

“For the Committee and the many voluntary workers there was sadness in the knowledge that the Scheme must end but no sense of failure. On the contrary, progress had been maintained throughout and the annual income was now larger than ever before. In the Bath Hospital Scheme the income had risen to nearly £27,000 a year and in addition the Hospital Service Scheme was producing more than £15,000 and the Paying Patients' Scheme an annual income of nearly £3,000, so that altogether the Central Office was receiving some £45,000 a year for hospital purposes. It was a great achievement and worthy of the enthusiasm and effort which had begun and sustained the work through a quarter of a century.” (£45,000 equates to over £2 million now).

Professor Martin Gorsky, who has kindly endorsed my book on the Bath Hospital Box Scheme, has commented on contributory schemes in 'Mutualism and Health Care' saying that: “It is surprising that there are relatively few references to the extent of these schemes in accounts of the development of health care in Britain.”

So did the Box Scheme save RUH?

Yes, I would say it did - *noting that it has since absorbed 7 other hospitals:*

the Forbes Fraser, the Orthopaedic and the Manor Hospitals (on the Combe Park site), followed by the Ear Nose and Throat Hospital, the Bath Eye Infirmary, most of St Martin's general facilities and the Mineral Water Hospital!

[But as Dr Michael Rowe (Chairman of History of Bath Research Group) has pointed out, it has saved itself from being taken over by Bristol hospitals!]

SOURCES

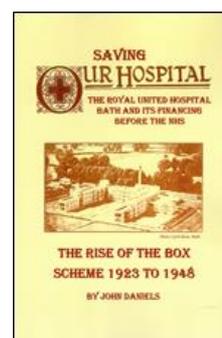
This article is based on my book 'Saving Our Hospital - The Royal United Hospital Bath and its Financing before the NHS - The Rise of the Box Scheme 1923 to 1948' (2020). Its short title is 'Saving Our Hospital: Bath's Royal United's Box Scheme'. I am grateful to Professor of History, Martin Gorsky, Centre for History in Public Health, Faculty of Public Health and Policy, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine for his support for my project.

It reflects a range of sources used in my book notably:

335 newspaper articles from the weekly edition of the Bath Chronicle and Herald for 1900-1948 (often containing very detailed accounts);

Statements and Annual Reports for the Bath Royal United Hospital for 1899-1945 from the RUH Academy Library (there are gaps in this collection);

The Voluntary Hospital database based upon a secondary source 'Burdett's Hospitals and Charities: The Year book of Philanthropy and Hospital Annual'.



Other sources include

1. Local History

David Beswick Lloyd: *The Family Doctors in Newbridge 1900-2000* (Self Published 2007)

Kate Clarke: *The Royal United Hospital 1747-1947* (Mushroom Publishing, Bath, 2001)

George Campbell Gosling: *The Patient Contract in Bristol's Voluntary Hospitals, c.1918-1929* (University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History, Volume 11, 2007)

George Campbell Gosling: *Co-operate Co-ordinate Unify The 1920 plan for Bristol Medical Charities* (Southern History Society 'A Review of the History of Southern England' Volume 29, 2007)

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C Coath-Wilson: *A History of the Mayors of Bath* (Charter Trustees of the City of Bath, 2006)

Roger Rolls: *The Hospital of the Nation - The Story of Medicine and the Mineral Water Hospital Bath* (BIRD Publications 1988)

The Bath Post Office Directory 1932

Materials from the RUH Academy Library archive. Materials from the Bath Record Office archive.

2. National History

Brian Abel-Smith: *The Hospitals 1800-1948* (Heinemann 1964)

George Campbell Gosling: *Payment and Philanthropy in British Healthcare 1919-1948* (Manchester University Press 2017)

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Martin Gorsky: *Local Government Health Services in Interwar England: Problems of Quantification and Interpretation* (Article in Bulletin of the History of Medicine · October 2011)

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Alysa Levine, Martin Powell and John Stewart: *The Development of Municipal Hospitals in the English county Boroughs in the 1930s* (Cambridge Journal for the History of Medicine January 2006)

Noel Whiteside: 'Social protection in Britain 1900-1950 and welfare state development: the case of health insurance' (University of Warwick, UK. 2009)

3. On-line sources including:

Forever Friends Appeal for the RUH and 'Help Us Give Support' to the RUH (accessed March 2019) see: <https://www.foreverfriendsappeal.co.uk/>

Wikipedia 'Private Hospitals' (accessed March 2019) see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Private_hospitals_in_the_United_Kingdom

Elite Hospital List (accessed March 2019)

see: <https://www.freedomhealthinsurance.co.uk/downloads/elite/hospital-list>

Friendly Societies History (<http://www.friendlysocieties.co.uk/history.htm>)

The voluntary hospitals in history (<http://www.hospitalsdatabase.lshtm.ac.uk/the-voluntary-hospitals-in-history.php>)

'From welfare state to welfare society' 27 December 2012, Barry Knight (<http://www.fabians.org.uk/from-welfare-state-to-welfare-society>)

THE OLD QUARRY , NEWBRIDGE ROAD AND SURROUNDING AREA

Monday 19th April 2021

Meeting held on-line

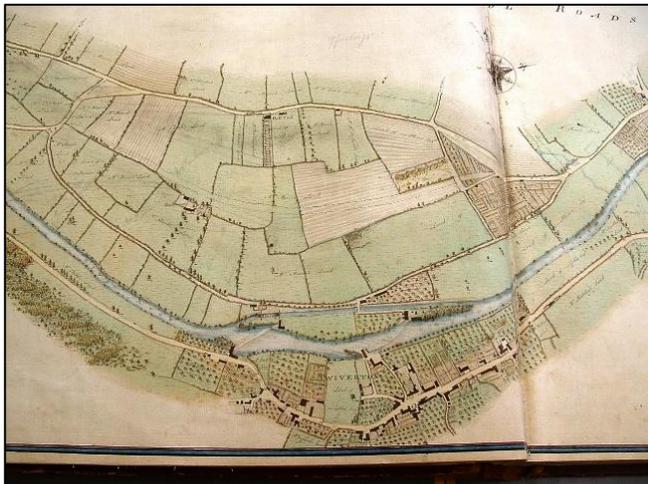
Speaker

John Ennor

Abstract

John Ennor

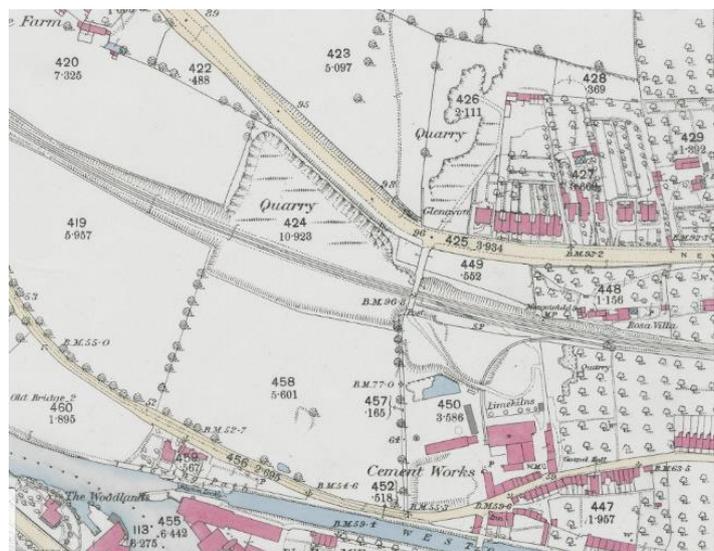
This extract from the 6" Ordnance Survey map dated 1932 shows an area in Newbridge with a large building and a quarry and a railway line running between them. The railway is crossed by a road bridge known as the Osborne Road bridge.>



The first map showing detail of the site is the Thomas Thorpe map surveyed in 1742 but Harcourt Masters on his turnpike map of 1786 named the open fields as Mr Macie's land. The line of what we now know as Newbridge Road can be seen faintly marked on the Harcourt Masters map shown here.

(Reproduced with kind permission of the South West Heritage Trust. Ref SHC D/T/ba/24)

In the 1700's the Macie family were "sugar bakers" or refiners of cane sugar in Bristol who also owned large areas of land in the Weston area of Bath. By the 1800's and due to a lack of direct male heirs in the Macie family their Weston estates passed via cousins and marriage to the Leir family from Ditchat in Somerset. The Macie family had a connection via an illegitimate son named James Smithson whose father was Hugh Smithson later to become Duke of Northumberland. It was James Smithson who endowed the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.



At the time of the Tithe Map of 1846 the landowners were unmarried sisters Jane Ann and Helen Leir. Our fields were occupied by a John Millard as pasture land and were known as Boyce's Hill and Kaynton Meadow. The Tithe payable in 1849 in respect of Boyce's Hill was £2.18.6 and for Kaynton Mead was £2.16.6 each worth about £3000 today.

The railway line shown on the previous map was part of the Mangotsfield and Bath branch line which had been opened by the Midland Railway to passenger traffic on 4th August 1869 following an Act of Parliament in July 1864. The quarry (number 424 on the map) which is clearly shown on the 1884 Ordnance Survey map was almost certainly dug by the Midland Railway Company when they were building the railway line.

The map shows the railway and that there was a short private siding which had been opened in 1871 on the eastern side of the Osborne Road bridge. This was used to deliver to a cement works and later to J Long's timber yard with timber imported through Sharpness and Avonmouth docks. This siding was eventually removed in February 1962 although the extension to the cement works had been removed earlier.

On the 1902 revision of the Ordnance Survey map the Bath Brewery has appeared and had a short siding off the main line which opened in 1896 and which finally closed in 1968. Locomotives were not allowed into this siding but if it were a long train the wagons could be shunted into the siding without the locomotives needing to enter. If it were a short train a rope would be attached to the wagons and they would be drawn in by attaching the rope to an electrically powered capstan. Originally this had been donkey powered. The incoming wagons - between 6 and 12 each day - were box vans each containing 12 tons in sacks of grain.

By the 1932 map, the Bath Brewery building has become known as the Weston Maltings but the quarry is still undeveloped.

It is only by the early 1950's map that there is any development at all in the quarry and we know from planning records that these were all small constructions such as small garages or workshops which were subject to regular planning reviews. As an example, one of the planning applications refers to a small garage built of corrugated iron on a timber frame.

An aerial view taken in 1948 shows the quarry from the air with some of these buildings. It also shows the very substantial Maltings Buildings and their entrance from Osborne Road.

-Historic England Archive RAF Photograph-
(RAF/CPE/UK/2476/FV/7012)

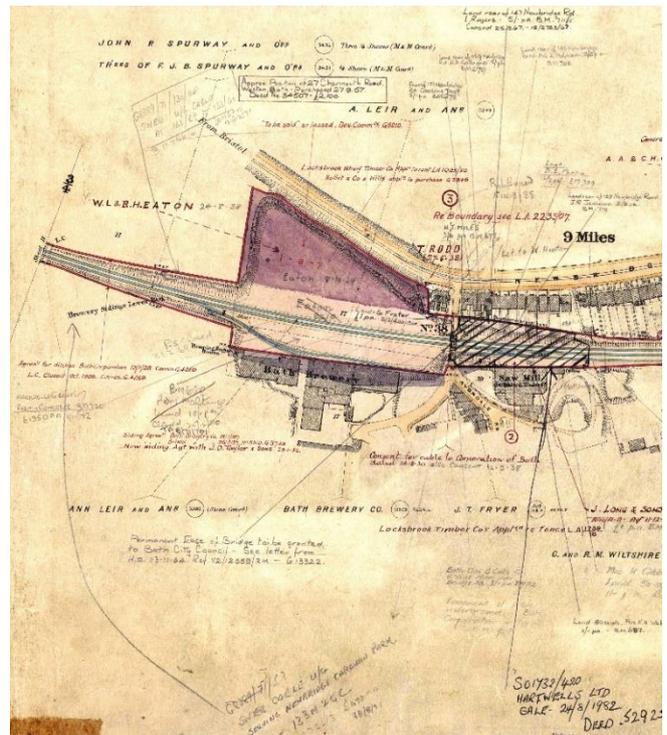


A very detailed map produced and maintained by the Midland Railway and subsequently by British Railways gives us a great deal of information about the owners and occupiers of the various parts of the land is shown on the next page.

This map confirms that the quarry area had remained in the ownership of the Leir family. The owners who sold the land to the railway are Ann Leir and another unnamed Leir.

By the mid 1960's we can see that the structures in the quarry had become largely derelict.

-Midland Railway Study Centre-
(Ref 1997-5/466.9-13)



Viewing the quarry from the Osborne Road railway bridge we see the buildings and the entrance ramp from Newbridge road on to the site and also the two track Midland Railway line.

The report called "The Reshaping of British Railways", which became known as the Beeching Axe, had earmarked the line for closure and the final passenger train ran on 7 March 1966. Coal deliveries to Bath gas works of over 3000 tons per week continued along the line which had by then had reduced to a single track up until 1971 when the gas works closed.

This photograph was taken not long after passenger trains had ceased but before any of the track was lifted.



Hartwell's Development

An Oxford based company, Hartwells, had taken over the long established Bath Austin car dealers S & A Fuller Ltd. in the late 1960's. Fullers had a car showroom in London Street where the present T R Hayes furniture showroom is now and they also had a workshop and body repair shop in Circus Place.

These premises were completely unsuitable for an expanding motor dealer and Hartwells wanted to build a modern facility. They were looking for a suitable site in Bath when they realised that another Oxford company who they already knew well occupied part of the quarry site at Newbridge Road and who were considering building a concrete batching plant. This company, the Amey Group Ltd had made a successful planning application for this batching plant in 1965, but it appears that it was not built. It made sense for the two companies to get together and so plans were made for a joint development after Hartwells purchased the site in August 1969.

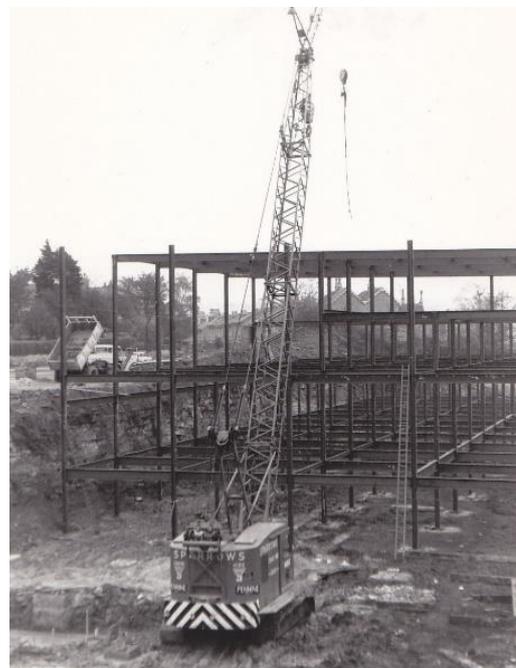
Not everybody was happy with these proposals. The residents in the area set up a campaign to oppose the development as they believed it to be unsuitable for a residential area and a main road. They obtained the support of the local councillors and the Bath MP and lobbied the Council when the plans were to be discussed but in the end the Council approved the development.



Prior to the development of the site there was no view into the site from Newbridge Road, just a high rather untidy hedge with the narrow almost invisible entrance to the quarry.

The new building had four floors but they were partly hidden in the quarry. The ground floor was a car body repair workshop and parts storage area. At the Newbridge end of the building and hidden completely from the road was the concrete mixing plant. This took up two floor levels under the car display area at road level. The middle floor in the Hartwell's building was the mechanical car repair workshop and further parts storage. The car showroom was at road level with a mezzanine floor for offices at the back.

Looking towards Newbridge Road through the mass of steelwork gives a good view of the face of the quarry.



Bath Brewery/Maltings Building

A new building for Bath Brewery Ltd at Lower Weston was opened in 1898 and had been built on land purchased from the Midland railway. The Midland Railway map shows that the agreement with Bath Brewery Ltd was replaced with one with the Bristol Brewery Ltd in 1927. This agreement was taken over by ABM Maltings and this ceased in 1970.



At the end of the 1970's, Hartwells found that the building was available for development and purchased it as an investment with plans to replace it with purpose built industrial units. Initial planning approval for demolition of the existing buildings was given in June 1981 and approval for the industrial units was given in July 1983.

The rear of the building faced Hartwells and the demolition provided entertainment for Hartwell's staff for several months while the work took place between August 1983 and January 1984.



It was not long before the steelwork for the first phase of the Industrial units started to appear and in November 1984 the Bath Chronicle reported that eight of the units had been completed.



Hartwells Closed

Hartwells continued through many years with many peaks and troughs in the comparative success of the business. This branch sold new and used cars to both retail customers and to large fleet owners. The large car maintenance and repair workshop and body repair department were always busy. The parts department served the company's own workshop as well as a very large wholesale area including Bristol and the surrounding counties and South Wales. They opened as Austin and Triumph dealers soon coming under the badge of the part nationalised British Leyland in 1978 but then suffering from the poor labour relations and the various changes in ownership of the manufacturer. When the Rover business faltered the company took on the Citroen franchise in addition to Rover and this proved to be very successful for several years. Rover as a manufacturer failed in April 2005 and Hartwells were left with just the Citroen business. The building had been built to cater for a much larger volume of business and was also needing an expensive upgrade and could no longer be justified and the business was closed on 28th February 2019.

Aerial View of the site



A Google earth view shows the current Hartwell site including the main building and bodyshop and the parking area on the opposite side of the Osborne Road bridge and also the Maltings industrial units.

Proposed development

The Company are planning alternative uses for the site and the local authority would like to see residential properties being built. The Council Placemaking Plan allocates the site for residential development quoting a figure of around 80-100 homes. However, the site is not suitable for normal houses due to the steep seven metre drop from road level. The Company are therefore planning multistorey buildings in several separate blocks to include private rented properties and some student accommodation, but many people believe that Bath already has too much student accommodation. The plan allows for 105 one and two bedroom residential apartments and 186 student bed spaces in a mixture of shared flats and single bed studios. The cement plant is to remain in operation and also the Council are very keen to route an extension to the Bristol to Bath Cycle Path along the former Railway Line and through the site. There were also plans at one stage for a Bus Rapid Transit route along the old railway line to enable park and ride buses to avoid some of the congestion on the main roads but this has not been carried forward. A further restriction is that a main sewer runs along the southern part of the site along a similar alignment to the former railtrack bed and this has an easement on either side which restricts development of that part of the site. This restriction extends to any tree planting which might affect the sewer.

Final Summary

When the Company applied for planning permission to redevelop the site there were protests once again from the neighbours almost replicating those which took place when the building was first proposed back in 1969. At the Council Planning Meeting in March 2020 in spite of being approved by Council officers the plans were turned down by the full Council. The Company have taken their proposals to an appeal before an independent inspector to be held in the early part of 2021 and in the meantime there were further protests in October 2020, the final date for submissions to the Appeal Consultation.

The Company have been accused of being profiteering developers by some neighbours, but they are faced with a site which is proving to be very difficult to develop satisfactorily at a reasonable cost and which would also meet all planning requirements.

It probably seemed very straightforward in 1968 when the Hartwell and Amey directors met to agree on the new building.

Finally to bring the story right up to date the planning appeal inspector Nick Fagan published his decision on 22nd March 2021 following the formal Inquiry and a site visit held in February. He allowed the appeal and granted outline planning permission for the proposed development at the former Hartwells Garage site.

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BOOK REVIEWS:

SAVING OUR HOSPITAL

The Royal United Hospital Bath and its financing before the NHS.

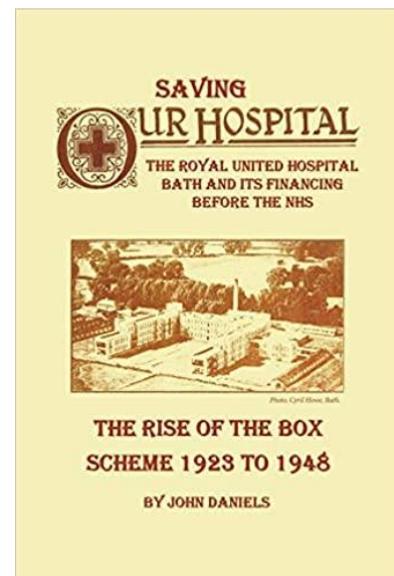
The rise of the Box Scheme 1923 -1948.

John Daniels

Spiderwise 2020

ISBN: 152-7271293

£ 14.99



Financing health care has always been a problem. We are familiar with the RUH overrunning its budget but John Daniel's book reminds us that this was a problem long before the NHS. In its early days, the RUH was financed by subscriptions from the better off members of society. By the 20th century and the effect of two world wars and a serious economic depression between them, generosity of the upper classes was running thin and the ever-spiralling costs of treating patients became a serious threat to the continued viability of the institution.

Closure was prevented by a patients' contribution scheme known as the *Friendly Societies Hospital Propaganda Scheme* or simply "*The Box Scheme*". Working men volunteered to pay a small weekly amount from their wages and would be treated free if they needed hospital treatment. Numbers of contributors increased annually and the Box Scheme was hailed a success in keeping the hospital afloat. Non-contributors were expected to pay according to their means. National Insurance did not cover treatment in voluntary hospitals like the RUH.

Daniels has assembled some fascinating insights into the way this worked by referring to reports published in the local newspaper. His passion for the subject arose because of his late grandfather's involvement with the scheme.

His book opens with a concise history of the hospitals in Bath during the Victorian period, but from there becomes rather over-detailed with seemingly inexhaustible reports of committee meetings and of the members present. While some text is repeated in different locations and some endnotes difficult to locate, those with a particular interest in hospital finance will find out much useful information from this publication.

Roger Rolls

BATH QUAYS WATERSIDE

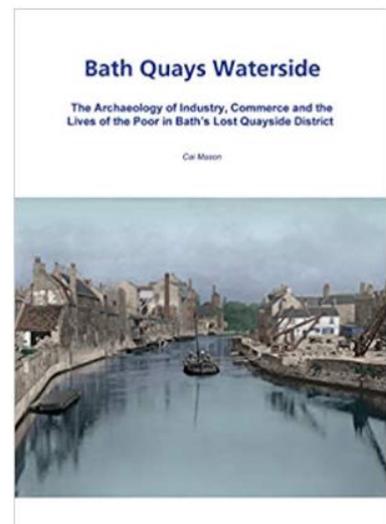
The Archaeology of Industry, Commerce and the Lives of the Poor in Bath's Lost Quayside District.

Cai Mason

Wessex Archaeology Occasional paper, 2020

ISBN: 978-1-911137-16-0

£ 15



Cai Mason, *Bath Quays Waterside, The Archaeology of Industry, Commerce and the Lives of the Poor in Bath's Lost Quayside District* (Wessex Archaeology Occasional Paper, 2020), A4 paperback, 121pp, 68 figs., 90 plates. Price £15 or online from www.wessexarch.co.uk. ISBN 978-1-911137-16-0. Here at last is a thorough description of a part of Bath by the River Avon which has hitherto been ignored and now almost totally destroyed – an area which can now be seen to have played an important rôle in the development of the city. Fortunately this study was prompted by the archaeological investigations required ahead of the Bath Quays development in the City of Bath World Heritage Site, thereby providing an opportunity to excavate a strip through the heart of what was formerly known as the Avon Street Area. The archaeological work, coupled with extensive documentary research not only allowed the physical remains and artefacts to be linked to the area's industrial and commercial activities but also to some of its colourful and diverse inhabitants. Each chapter follows the chronological development of the area, preceded by an historical outline before reviewing the archaeological remains. Naturally, the first chapter deals with the earliest periods, when this area merely consisted of meadows and a hot water outfall below the city walls, but the story really starts in the next chapter when the Avon Navigation to Bath was completed in 1729. From hereon the city became an 'inland port' with the ability to import the heavy materials required for building the new Georgian developments. For this purpose Broad Quay was constructed, where timber, roof-tiles, ironwork, &c, could be landed. At about the same time Avon Street was also laid out leading from the city, initially intended to provide well-built town houses for wealthy visitors. However, this was soon superseded by the more fashionable developments further uphill, and the street became better known as a red-light district. At the same time the entire area began to take on the character of a typical 'dockland', progressively filled with a mixture of cramped artisan housing and commercial premises including warehouses, stoneyards, slaughterhouses and light leather and parchment manufacturers. By the 19th century it had already become the home to a large number of the city's poorest inhabitants notorious for crime, disease and poor sanitary conditions - much of it vulnerable to inundation during the river floods. However, from the 1840s onwards new industrial businesses also began to appear, including clay tobacco pipe manufacturers, a pottery, dye works, sawmills and several innovative foundries and engineering works. Measures were also taken to improve the sanitary and living conditions of the poor of the city, and a most notable find was the remains of a public wash-house in Milk Street, installed in 1846-47 - the earliest well-preserved example of this type of institution to have been archaeologically excavated. Nevertheless, by the early 20th century, water-borne trade had virtually ceased, and the opportunity arose to demolish the whole area. Much clearance was carried out in the 1930s, but any further development was halted by the outbreak of WWII, and it is only now that the Bath Quays development can complete the original plans to turn the area into a riverside park. All this has been thoroughly and accurately compiled (despite the inclusion of the old myth that the Avon was navigable in the Middle Ages - in its natural state this river was completely impassable) whilst being well laid out and very readable. Good use has been made of a large number of old maps, prints and photographs together with the views of the archaeological remains. This book is not only a valuable contribution to the history of Bath and the study of social and industrial history but also excellent value for the general reader.

Mike Chapman

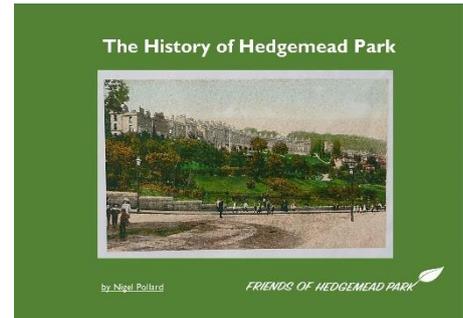
THE HISTORY OF HEDGEMEAD PARK

Nigel Pollard

Friends of Hedgemead Park, 2021

ISBN: 978-1-5272-8498-2

£ 15.99



Nigel Pollard's History of Hedgemead Park is a detailed history of a well-defined and relatively recent feature of Bath, which traces from sources in Bath City Archives and reports in the Bath Chronicle the stages by which an area liable to landslide turned into a well-laid out and planted Park. The factual account of the instability of the area, with significant movement causing concern to the Council from the 1870s until the serious land slip in 1881, lays to rest the various flamboyant myths about the Hedgemead landslips. The Council made the visionary decision to turn the unstable land into a park. Thomas Silcock, a local architect and surveyor, was appointed to design the Park. The excellent and imaginative solution to a difficult problem is there for us to enjoy - especially the 'Battlement Tower' built to buttress the massive retaining wall and the Band Stand. The source of the ironwork in the Park is also traced, together with cost, from the Coalbrookdale gate pillars on London Road, to the Glasgow firms who made the eagle fountain (Saracen Foundry) and the Band Stand (Sun Foundry). The Superintendent of Work was Theophilus Riddle who oversaw the planting of the Park. The magnificent trees are witness to his expertise.

The development of the Park was in three stages, the final eastward extension not completed until 1904. The Park had its own gardener, the Foreman Albert Powell, who supervised the greenhouses which grew plants and flowers for the important public buildings in Bath.

Nigel Pollard explains the various structures still visible: the stone portal on London Street and the structure now in part an electricity sub-station, on Upper Hedgemead Road, are all that remain of public conveniences provided for the Park. He records the long struggle to provide children's play area and the local objections.

The final section concerns 'The Tree Register' of the magnificent trees in the Park, and the slightly faltering establishment of Vegmead Community Group garden. The last part is an account of the party in 2019 to celebrate 130 years of Hedgemead Park.

The book, of sixty pages, is attractively produced with many enlightening photographs, and the whole thing is a great tribute to Nigel Pollard's painstaking research and devotion to the Park: well worth buying!

Louise Pavey

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Editor: Nigel Pollard - nigel.e.pollard@zen.co.uk

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