The Cultural Life of Bristol 1640-1775 Abstract

Historians have become increasingly concerned with changes in urban provincial culture between the Civil War and the late eighteenth century, particularly as it has become clear that urban industrialization in the provinces depended heavily on a preceding period in which both the mentality and the trading infrastructure of 'consumer society' were created. Renewed interest in extra-Parliamentary politics has also focused attention on the urban electorate and public opinion. Most of the research in these fields has, however, been carried out on a national scale, examining particular features of urban cultural life. The aim of this thesis is to test the assumptions and conclusions of recent historical work through a detailed analysis of one major city, emphasizing the inter-connections between cultural changes and their local significance.

The approach adopted is essentially that of social rather than intellectual history, concentrating on the social circumstances which affected involvement in, and attitudes towards, cultural activity, rather than analysis of the changing styles and content of particular cultural practices. The first half of the thesis is concerned with the background to artistic and scientific activity, namely educational provision, the place of the printed word, and the nature of leisure and sociability, while the final chapter looks at the values associated with urban life, and their impact on political and religious behaviour. Therefore, although it concentrates on the 'culture' of literature, painting, music, drama, and intellectual research, the thesis attempts to ask broad questions in the social

scientific tradition about their context and meaning.

In doing so, this study is intended to redress the imbalance in current historiography. Recent work has mostly looked at urban life from outside, evaluating the economic or political 'impact of towns' on national affairs. To the general dangers of 'Whiggishness' have been added specific assumptions which have encouraged the tendency to ignore the nature and impact of cultural change within the town. It has been assumed that a growing divergence of elite and popular culture, and the spread of metropolitan cultural practices and standards left the respectable inhabitants of provincial towns with little option but to follow the cultural changes pioneered by the landed and professional classes. Often the towns benefited economically by acting as regional entrepots for leisure and cultural activity by the gentry and pseudo-gentry, but they were subordinate both to their London suppliers and their genteel customers. The gradual re-establishment of political stability is thought to have followed the same pattern. Only with the establishment of an independent industrial base did a distinct urban provincial consciousness emerge, complete with new middle-class political aims and practices.

Although this account offers the urban historian a convenient explanation for the apparent growth in certain kinds of cultural activity, giving his local work a national context, it ignores too many important issues to offer a satisfactory explanation of local cultural change. It encourages selectivity in the description of cultural activity, ignoring the continuation of older cultural forms in favour of certain, well-publicised new developments, and neglecting to consider the changing forms of evidence available and the ways in which they bias our picture of urban life. Although social and

political pressures towards exclusiveness and gentility have been explored, other elements in the motivation of townspeople engaging in culture have been neglected. Most important, no attention has been paid to how cultural change fitted the self-image of the urban community. A fundamental difference between this study and most previous work is the contention that Bristolians were far more concerned with how their cultural activity affected and was viewed by their fellow-citizens, than with its national impact, or how they were judged by outsiders.

These themes, explored in the introduction, have shaped the approach of the subsequent chapters, each concerned with one major theme in Bristol's cultural life. Although inevitably concerned to ask 'what kind' of cultural activity was going on, and 'how much', the thesis chiefly aims to establish the kinds of people affected by different kinds of cultural provision, and to question whether that experience deepened divisions with the community, and if so whether on social or politico-religious lines. As well as considering new forms of cultural activity, in particular commercial provision and the growth of polite society, the thesis lays great stress on uncovering the role of work, the home, public life and political or religious pressures. More attention than is customary is paid to the recurring problems and uncertainties surrounding cultural activity.

The study of education and literacy shows the breadth of educational provision at a basic level, but suggests that secondary education may not have offered a secure foundation for individual cultural advancement or clear social distinctions in cultural attainment. Most male Bristolians, at least, would not have been wholly dependent on oral culture, but the nature of primary education militated against any homogeneous form of literacy. Reading, utilitarian writing skills and a grasp of the world of books

were three very different goals, not integrated into any coherent pattern of schooling. Efforts were made to bring greater coherence by entrepreneurial and idealistic teachers, offering an English-based education to the prosperous which sought to combine the humanistic qualities of traditional grammar education with the utilitarian advantages of the writing-masters. These new schools probably sound more revolutionary than they were. Problems of numbers, conditions and training, due to financial constraints, limited their ability to foster new standards, while parents had achieved somewhat of the same mixture before by moving children between schools. Above all, parents and society still looked to education chiefly for utilitarian skills and moral or religious moulding, while the humanistic side of schooling focused on preparing the child for public life and current affairs rather than the arts and sciences. There was thus less difference than might be expected between the schooling of the prosperous and charity schools for the poor. Efforts to use the latter to reform manners were persistent, but undermined by religious and political disagreements and lack of coercive power over the poor. This encouraged such schools to offer utilitarian skills and apprenticeship entry, so approximating closely to the private education of ordinary Bristolians.

Chapter Three considers the impact of print, examining the changing scale of trade in printed matter, the social factors affecting access to reading-matter, its changing content, and the impact on civic affairs. Although print played an ever larger part, it was only after 1740 that the book-trade grew rapidly and the use of print became integral to all forms of public life. This reflected the sophistication of earlier forms of information-sharing locally, and their advantages over print in reaching a wide audience and carrying authority. Although print was soon an important weapon in ideological

strife, this led to legal harassment as well as subtler restraints on employing print caused by fears of civic disunity. Much of the marketing and content of books was still aimed at the traditional reading groups, especially the professions, but the growth in serial publication, circulating libraries and the like, and the shift in content towards belles lettres and current affairs stimulated the growth of a broader reading public. Their desire for diversion and information was now catered for outside the traditional popular culture of ballads, broadsheets and storytelling. Any contrast of popular and elite culture was blurred, however, by commercial pressures to exploit the mass market as well as the more exclusive. The propaganda use of print also involved appeal to a wide public. The printed word came in a growing variety of forms to cater to Bristolians whose access to and ability to use it varied greatly in sophistication. The most successful products, such as newspapers, could be appreciated at many different levels, often in a public rather than a private setting.

Chapter Four considers the changing timetable and location of leisure, and the character of associations. The growth in commercialised leisure, polite society and voluntary association is traced, and shown to have traded on social exclusiveness, based in part in divergences in the timetable and settings of the leisure of the prosperous and the ordinary citizen. However, the changes that occurred were as much caused by urban growth, and religious and political divisions. The latter not only engendered their own associations, but also others designed to overcome disunity. Most forms of leisure still followed calendars based on the seasons or civic and religious holidays, which affected all classes. It was difficult to exclude the public from leisure locations often still closely bound with the everyday world of work and neighbourhood.

Commercial interests played on common motives such as gambling and curiosity to attract a broad market. Activities which wished to benefit from the prestige associated with public settings and occasions could not avoid less welcome implications, such as popular participation or partisan efforts at exploitation.

Very similar conclusions are reached in Chapter Five, which considers the arts. Although often the most socially exclusive forms of leisure, these were similarly affected by the tension between market forces and social distinction, and by efforts to control or exploit the arts to support religious or political ends. Probate material is used to check the impression of a new dawn around 1700 in cultural activity, largely based upto now on newspaper evidence. There was a general decline in both personal investment and public patronage in the arts in the late seventeenth century, although the arts continued to play a major if inconspicuous role in sociability, rites of passage and the working life of the city. This decline, rather than the subsequent revival in public performances and commercial production, appears to be the oddity most requiring explanation. The effects of religious and political turmoil, and a shift in personal consumption towards other consumer goods appear significant factors. As with leisure generally, the greatest impact of cultural change after 1700 was probably on the participation of women and the young, and much of the anxiety generated was specifically concerned with these groups.

Chapter Six explores the changing cultural impact of science and medicine, looking at the motivations of those active in these fields, the public presentation of both and their likely impact on the cosmology of ordinary Bristolians. Although scientific collecting and lecturing, support of Infirmary medicine and Hotwells regimen formed an increasingly prominent part of polite culture, interest in science

and medicine was often more utilitarian. Much of the interest in science of both the public and activists was based on the rarities and wonders of Nature, arousing the curiosity of all and, like illness, subject to many interpretations, often still of a providential or magical kind. Dislike of public controversy over the significance of science and medicine encouraged the emergence of a public face, where participants stressed the uncontentious principles of natural theology, and the decline of claims to identify the purpose of God, the stars or the Devil in particular events. Nevertheless the private cosmologies of many Bristolians, including many active in science, were still deeply affected by religious concerns which left considerable room for supernatural explanations.

Chapter Seven seeks to identify the constituents of civic consciousness, on which previous chapters laid considerable stress. The commercial image is shown to have been enriched by assumptions about the role of city government, the urban environment, the honourable character of civic institutions, and the importance of charity, morality and religion. These conclusions are drawn from civic ceremony, historical writings and contemporary comments about Bristol. The second half of the chapter shows that these ideas affected a wide spectrum of Bristol's population. Their appeal is clear from their exploitation by rival political and religious groups.

The stress on civic community and local autonomy might be taken to imply that Bristol was an introverted community, and likely to be atypical in its cultural history. Chapter Seven suggests that Bristolians saw so many parallels between local and national identity that their civic concerns reinforced rather than blunted national interests; the conclusion argues that Bristol's experience was indeed derived from factors common to provincial towns, and therefore

likely to be repeated elsewhere. Although the search for social distinction through cultural activity is recognised as important, the greatest factor in cultural change is identified as political and religious division within a civic community still unable to accept disunity. While historians have often suggested that the trauma of Civil War prompted the ruling class to turn to 'augustan' values, they have failed to see the importance of conflicts lower down in society in promoting similar compromises. New cultural activities, with their codes of gentility and respectability, appealed to a broad social spectrum as a means to restore civil society. On the other hand, locally as nationally, attempts to restore unity were bedevilled by continuing ideological rifts, extending right through society. The violence of these made public cultural activity very difficult in the late seventeenth century. More manageable antagonisms after 1700 permitted some public rapprochement, but certain topics were unresolvable and so generally not broached publicly, while continuing partisanship constantly threatened to surface. The civic culture, which placed so much premium on unity and harmony, also fed the flames of conflict through the issues of church and government which it generated.

Many of the conclusions reached in individual chapters of this thesis are not dependent on this overall interpretation, although they serve to cast doubt on the sufficiency of other general accounts of cultural change. The stress placed throughout on the vitality of traditional cultural forms, and the problems and reservations associated with change, make an explanation of the changes that <u>did</u> occur all the more requisite. The most likely explanation would appear to be that, faced with the cultural crisis precipitated by Civil War and its extended aftermath, new cultural forms, often adopted from the metropolis, appeared to offer solutions to the

continuing need to express sociability and other civic values in cultural activity. The complex histories of cultural change within each area studied find a common factor in the contradictory requirements of a divided civic culture, and this overriding issue offers the key to the apparently very disparate experiences of late-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century Bristol. It would have been easier to demonstrate this had Bristol yielded richer records for the transitional period from 1688 to 1725. As it is, most of the argument rests on uncovering from the evidence post-1725 the features of urban life widely recognised in earlier periods but not generally associated with the Georgian town. If this study is convincing, then the case will have been made for similar reconstruction of other towns and a re-assessment of the place of provincial towns as active agents, not just passive carriers, in cultural change between the Civil War and the American Revolution.

The Cultural Life of Bristol 1640-1775 Brief abstract

Renewed interest in the cultural role of England's provincial towns before the Industrial Revolution has generated little detailed research on particular towns, partly on the assumption that they were passive intermediaries in the spread of elite and metropolitan culture. This study seeks to redress this imbalance by examining the course and impact of cultural change in one community.

The approach adopted is that of social rather than intellectual history, concentrating on the circumstances which affected involvement in, and attitudes towards, cultural activity, rather than analysis of the changing styles and content of particular cultural practices. The first three chapters consider the background to artistic and scientific activity provided by educational provision, the impact of print and the patterns of leisure and sociability. The final chapter examines the values associated with civic life and their impact on political and religious behaviour. Therefore, although the thesis focuses on the 'culture' of literature, painting, music, drama and intellectual and scientific research, which are discussed directly in the central chapters, it attempts to ask broad questions about their context and meaning. The main sources employed are probate inventories, civic and religious records, personal material and above all the printed publications produced in Bristol, especially the newspapers.

The thesis emphasizes the continued vitality of civic culture, and questions whether the gradual growth of 'polite society' and commercialized leisure are best explained by imitation of London, and whether they served to increase the polarization of elite and popular culture. Bristol's middling orders formed a tempting consumer market for entrepreneurs, while their support was courted by Bristol's

leaders, bitterly divided by politics and religion. Ideological conflict before 1688 severely damaged cultural life. This encouraged the emergence of new cultural practices to promote harmonious sociability, but to gain local prestige their organizers had to exploit civic associations which engendered political and religious controversy.

THE CULTURAL LIFE OF BRISTOL 1640-1775

by

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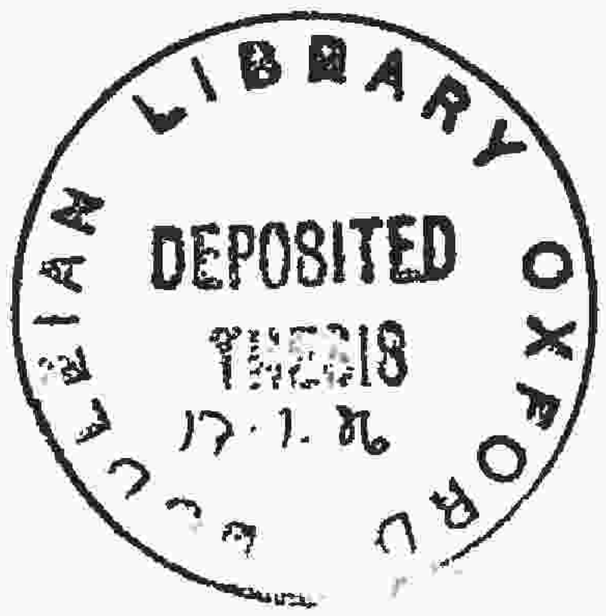

To Geoffrey and James,

with thanks.

CONTENTS

		page
Acknowledgements		ii
Abbreviations		iv
Chapter One:	Introduction	1
Chapter Two:	Education	27
Chapter Three:	The Impact of the Printed Word	69
Chapter Four:	Leisure and Sociability	129
Chapter Five:	The Arts in a Commercial City	183
Chapter Six:	Science, Medicine and Magic	246
Chapter Seven:	The Civic Community	300
Conclusion		339
A List of Figures, Maps and Tables, with Sources		345
Figures, Maps and Tables		347
Bibliography		365

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ABBREVIATIONS

All standard abbreviations (including those used for historical journals) are derived from *The Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors* (Oxford, 1981). Manuscript sources are cited by repository and call-number (e.g. Bevan-Naish 1227). Full details can be found in the bibliography.

Add.	Additional
Angus	Angus Library, Regents Park College, Oxford
App.	Apprentice Books (see Bibliography B.A.O. for full details)
Arm. Mag.	*Arminian Magazine*
B.A.O.	Bristol Archives Office
B.B.H.A.	Bristol Branch of the Historical Association
B.B.S.J.	*Bristol, Bath and Somerset Journal*
B.C.	*Bristol Chronicle*
B.C.L.	Bristol Collection, Bristol Central Library Reference Division.
B.C.M.	Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery
Bevan-Naish	Bevan-Naish Collection, Woodbridge College, Selly Oak, Brimingham
B.G.	*Bristol Gazette*
B.G.A.S. Rec. Sec.	Bristol and Glos. Archaeological Society Record Section
B.G.S.	Bristol City Grammar School
B.I.A.S.	*Bristol Industrial Archaeology Society Journal*

B.I.B.M.	Richard Smith's Bristol Infirmary Biographical Memoirs in MS (see Bibliography B.A.O.)
B.J.	Bristol Journal
B.L.	British Library
B.M.	Bristol Mercury
B.M.B.J.	Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal
B.M.C.J.	Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal
B.O.	Bristol Oracle
B.O.C.A.	Bristol Oracle and Country Advertiser
B.O.C.I.	Bristol Oracle and Country Intelligencer
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
B.P.B.	Bristol Post-Boy
B.R.S.	Bristol Record Society
Burgess	Burgess Books (see Bibliography B.A.O. for full details)
B.W.I.	Bristol Weekly Intelligencer
B.W.M.	Bristol Weekly Mercury
C.A.	Country Advertiser
C.C.P.	Common Council Proceedings (see Bibliography B.A.O. for full details)
Chatterton (1803)	Works of Thomas Chatterton ed. R. Southey and J. Cottle (3 vols, 1803)
Complete Chatterton	Complete Works of Thomas Chatterton ed. D.S. Taylor with B.B. Hoover (2 vols, Oxford, 1971)
C.S.P.D.	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
C.V.	Corporation Vouchers (see Bibliography B.A.O.)
C.W.A.	Churchwardens Accounts (see below under P/)
D.C.	Dean and Chapter Records of Bristol Cathedral (see Bibliography B.A.O. for full details)
Directory	Sketchley's Bristol Directory (Bristol, 1775)

Educ.	Education
E.P.	Episcopal Records of Bristol Diocese (see Bibliography B.A.O. for full details)
F.B.N.	Farley's Bristol Newspaper
F.F.B.J.	Felix Farley's Bristol Journal
G.J.	Grand Jury
Glos. Soc.	Records of the Gloucestershire Society, Bristol (see Bibliography)
Inv.	Probate Inventory (see Bibliography B.A.O.)
Latimer, 18C	J. Latimer, Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century (n.p., 1893)
Latimer, 17C	J. Latimer, Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century (n.p., 1900)
Latimer, 16C	J. Latimer, Annals of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century (n.p., 1908)
McGrath, Bristol	Bristol in the Eighteenth Century ed. P.V. McGrath (B.B.H.A. Pamphlets, reprinted Newton Abbot, 1972)
MacInnes, Bristol	Bristol and Its Adjoining Counties ed. C.M. MacInnes and W.F. Whittard (new ed. Wakefield, 1973)
O.C.A.	Oracle and Country Advertiser
Oracle	Oracle or Bristol Weekly Miscellany
P/	Parish Records (see Bibliography B.A.O. and St. Mary Redcliffe for full details and list of parish abbreviations)
P.B.N.S.	Proceedings of Bristol Naturalists' Society
P.C.A.C.	Proceedings of Clifton Antiquarian Club
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, Chancery Lane
Q.E.H.	Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, Bristol

Q.S.	Quarter Sessions Records (see Bibliography B.A.O. for full details)
S.A.N.H.S.	Proceedings of Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society
S.F.B.N.	Sam Farley's Bristol Newspaper
S.F.B.P.	Sam Farley's Bristol Postman
S.M.V. Hallbook	Hallbook of Proceedings of Society of Merchant Venturers, Bristol (Microfilm in B.C.L.)
T.B.G.A.S.	Transactions of the Bristol and Glos. Archaeological Society
T.C.M.	Town and Country Magazine
V.Bk.	Vestry Book (see above under P/)
Wellcome	Library of the Wellcome Institute, London

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

This thesis offers a case-study in provincial urban culture in the period between the English and the American revolutions. This introduction aims to establish the current state of scholarship on this subject, and to outline the approach adopted. A summary is also given of the kinds of sources used and of current Bristol historiography.

The purpose of the thesis is not so much to describe the cultural life of Bristol as to analyse its social context, and its meaning to those involved. First, it is necessary to establish the socio-economic background to the production and consumption of culture, setting these in the context of patterns of work and leisure, of surplus wealth and of social differentiation. It is particularly important to consider the occupational position of those providing cultural activity commercially, and to relate this to amateur provision of cultural life. Second, one must consider the relationship of cultural life in general, and each specific activity, to the values and attitudes of the individual and community. Why should Bristolians wish to engage in a certain form of cultural activity, and not in another? How did their cultural life fit into their broader self-image and suit their social position?

Only in the early nineteenth century did a new concept of 'culture',[1] and the related notion of 'the arts', establish certain areas of expressive culture as uniquely creative and significant, so that their relationship to 'society' could be debated as a single

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1. R. Williams, Culture and Society (2nd edn, 1973); idem, Culture (1981); N. Elias, The Civilising Process (Oxford, 1978).

theme.[1] Before then the place in society of individual elements, such as drama, was discussed, but the wider subject was subsumed within broader debates centred around such concepts as 'manners', 'civility' or 'civilisation', or such pejorative terms as 'luxury' or 'corruption'. The same can be said of the closely related concept of 'leisure'.[2] Contemporaries did not conceive of culture or leisure as problematic areas on their own, but viewed them in a context which incorporated many subjects now excluded from a humanistic sense of culture, such as politics, morality or crime.

This offers both a challenge and an opportunity to the historian. It forces us to blur our own neat distinctions between culture and non-culture in order to avoid imposing anachronistic divisions. But it also means that the material for a discussion of the social and ideological significance of expressive culture is readily to hand. Whereas we see culture primarily as a subject outside the areas of religion, politics and class, the place of expressive culture in relation to these three areas was then fully recognized and debated.

A vestige of that debate survives in the connotations of the word 'puritan', although even here a simple dichotomy between religion and culture tends to be implied, through the nineteenth-century identification of puritanism with philistinism. In our period the puritan tradition exemplified in the strongest form the tendency to examine all activities, including expressive culture, for their religious significance, and to criticize those whose effects were harmful, or even neutral, from the standpoint of religion and

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1. Though L. Lowenthal, Literature, Popular Culture and Society (Palo Alto, 1968), reconstructs an eighteenth-century debate over 'culture'.
2. K.V. Thomas et al., 'Work and Leisure in Pre-Industrial Society', Past and Present, 29 (1964), 50-66; M.R. Marrus (ed.), The Emergence of Leisure (New York, 1974).

morality. Although the institutional impact of the Church, as a patron of, and location for, cultural activity is generally considered to have declined, nevertheless religious motivation remained central in the practice and reception of culture. The secularization of cultural life and the emergence of 'culture' as an alternative repository of values previously associated with religion, can only be understood through a detailed analysis of the impact of religion on cultural activity. This is made more difficult by the lack of historical research on the religion of this period, in particular the Anglican church and its relations with nonconformity. The importance of religious pluralism itself cannot be overestimated.[1]

Historians have paid more attention to the issue of corruption, that is the fear that social changes, many of them manifest in cultural life, threatened to undermine the liberties and balance of the English constitution. The close association of many cultural changes with the court and foreign influences caused tension. But the problem of luxury could be seen as more deep-seated, resulting inevitably from the growth of commerce and the division of labour.[2] The general response was one of uncertainty, welcoming advances in the arts and sciences arising from greater wealth, but distrusting the moral and social impact. The place of a commercial city in such a debate was highly complex.

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1. For positive accounts of religion's contribution to culture see D. Davie, A Gathered Church (1978), and G.H. Jenkins, Literature, Religion and Society in Wales 1660-1730 (Cardiff, 1978).
2. P.W. Thomas, 'Two Cultures? Court and Country under Charles I' in C. Russell (ed.), Origins of the English Civil War (1973), pp.168-93; J. Appleby, Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England (Princeton, 1978); J.G.A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment (Princeton, 1975); J. Sekora, Luxury (1977); T. Horne, The Social Thought of Bernard Mandeville (1978); W.A. Speck, 'Bernard Mandeville and the Middlesex Grand Jury', Eighteenth-Century Studies, XI (1978), 362-74; R. Williams, The Country and the City (1973).

This debate, inherently political in nature, was sometimes carried on in explicitly political language. The conflicts of court and country were often articulated in terms of cultural issues; attitudes to cultural life were therefore influenced by political standpoints. While distrust of London fashions has commonly been called a 'country tradition' it would be more accurately labelled 'provincial'. The towns, with their large middle classes and strong nonconformist presence, played as great a role as any rural group.

The debate over cultural change must also be placed in the context of the movement for the reformation of manners.[1] Many of the terms then used which come closest to our sense of culture, such as 'civility', 'manners' and 'refinement', originate in the notion that behaviour, in all spheres of life, defines cultural identity. Throughout this period there was much concern, particularly in the towns, to ensure certain outward standards of behaviour and the inculcation of certain values, both by education and social discipline. These attempts centred on the reformation of the culture of the poor, which threatened economic and social order; and in some respects the values imposed were seen as class-specific. It was normally accepted that the different classes had their own ways of life; it was a feature of English society that a man's status was defined indirectly by his life-style, not determined by birth, occupation or wealth, although these were not easily distinguished. But the values imposed on the poor were also seen as of general value to all, mirroring closely the ethics of a religious and trading

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1. A.E. Dobb, Education and Social Movements 1700-1850 (1919); R.W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850 (Cambridge, 1973); D.W.R. Bahlmann, The Moral Revolution of 1688 (New Haven, 1968); T.C. Curtis and W.A. Speck, 'Societies for the Reformation of Manners', Literature and History, III (1976), 46-51.

nation. They could therefore offer a standard by which to judge the behaviour of all. The importance of cultural factors as determinants of social status rendered cultural change a vital element in social mobility or stability. Changes in production and consumption in cultural life were therefore seen as directly affecting the social system.

It is important to set what follows within this framework, since most studies of the cultural life of the period have ignored it. This reflects a comparative neglect by historians, until recently, of cultural life in what is anyway a much neglected period.[1] The field has been left to internalist scholars of each form of cultural practice. When they have considered these general matters, it has been chiefly in the context of a few major literary figures.[2] Recently historians have paid more attention to the issues of urban and provincial culture, and have succeeded in establishing its importance, but they have generally approached the subject from a different perspective.

Much of the work on provincial urban culture has taken place in the field of urban history, subordinating the question of the social meaning of such activity to its function in the economy and national ranking of the towns. To such historians the cultural role of the towns forms one aspect of the town's economy, affecting its impact on the wider society. Within this framework the current interpretation

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1. An interesting early survey is G.D.H. Cole, 'Town Life in the Provinces', in A.S. Turberville (ed.), Johnson's England (Oxford, 1933), pp.197-224.
2. M. Shinagel, Daniel Defoe and Middle-Class Gentility (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); E.A. and L.D. Bloom, Joseph Addison's Sociable Animal (Providence, 1971). The most helpful studies have been: J. Barrell, English Literature in History 1730-1780 (1983); J. Loftis, Comedy and Society from Congreve to Fielding (Stanford, 1959); R. Paulson, Popular and Polite Art in the Age of Hogarth and Fielding (1979); P. Rogers, Grub Street (1972); idem, The Augustan Vision (1974); I. Watt, The Rise of the Novel (1957).

is optimistic, at least concerning the period after 1660. Clark and Slack suggest that the provincial towns were at a nadir of influence by 1660. The traditional pillars of civic culture, such as religious life, civic ceremonial and public building, as well as the towns' educational role, were all weakened. The subsequent period was one of recovery, based on a different cultural role. This 'urban renaissance' has been most fully analysed by Peter Borsay, who claims that the towns established a new urban identity, and an ever-increasing role in cultural life. A spate of studies of country towns, spas and leisure resorts in this period has reinforced this interpretation, which seems to be hardening into an orthodoxy. Such accounts have tended to focus on the role of the country gentry and the rentier class, or pseudo-gentry, as stimulants to the urban economy, rather than considering the demand generated by the town's more typical inhabitants, although Holmes has recently championed the towns' professional groups.[1]

Not all historians have accepted that such cultural factors were the main factor behind urban growth. Chalklin and Corfield have both emphasized that the fastest growing towns, in population at least, owed their expansion mostly to commerce and industry. This

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1. A. Everitt (ed.), Perspectives in English Urban History (1973); C.W. Chalklin, The Provincial Towns of Georgian England (1974); P.J. Corfield, 'A Provincial Capital in the late Seventeenth Century: Norwich', in P. Clark (ed.), The Early Modern Town (1976), pp.233-72; idem, The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1982); P. Clark and P. Slack, English Towns in Transition 1500-1700 (Oxford, 1976); P. Clark, 'Cultural Function of the Traditional Town', and 'Cultural Role of Towns in the late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Units 7 and 8 of English Urban History 1500-1780 (Open University Course A 322, 1977); idem (ed.), The English County Town (Leicester, 1982); idem (ed.), The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800 (1984); P. Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance', Soc.Hist., V (1977), 581-603; idem, 'The English Urban Renaissance' (Lancaster Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1981); A. MacInnes, The English Town 1660-1760 (1980); G. Holmes, 'Professions and Social Change', Proc. Brit. Acad., LXV (1979), 313-54; idem, Augustan England (1982).

qualification is less important for those historians who view urban culture and its significance in more sociological terms. Increased interest in changes in the patterns of production and consumption, particularly within the home market, has placed the towns at the centre of an argument concerning the growth of a capitalist mentality, the decline of the leisure preference, and the rise of a fashion-based consumer market. The growth in towns, in particular the rise in per capita investment in the infrastructure of transport, marketing and finance, provided a necessary condition for later industrial growth. The establishment of such cultural facilities as theatres, squares and assembly rooms has been placed in the wider context of urban investment in street improvement, lighting, drainage and public building.[1] The main danger in this approach is its Whiggish focus on those elements foreshadowing modernity and urbanization.

Recent interest in 'the birth of a consumer society' has encouraged attempts to analyse the growth in cultural consumption and leisure. The increase in surplus wealth available after 1660 has been seen as leading to the commercialization of leisure and appearance of many forms of cultural activity and leisure pursuits before either unknown or restricted to a tiny elite.[2] Such work has so far been

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1. P. Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (eds), Towns in Societies (Cambridge, 1978); M.E. Falkus and E.L. Jones, 'Urban Improvement and the English Economy', Researches in Economic History, IV (1979), 193-233; E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism', Past and Present, 37 (1967), 56-97; C.W. Chalklin, 'Capital Expenditure on Building for Cultural Purposes', Business History, XXII (1980), 51-70.
2. N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society (1982); J.H.Plumb, Georgian Delights (1980); idem, 'Popular Literature and the Arts', in P. Fritz and D. Williams (eds), The Triumph of Culture (Toronto, 1972), pp.27-48; R.M. Wiles, 'Provincial Culture in early Georgian England' in ibid., pp.49-68; idem, 'Crowd-pleasing Spectacles in Eighteenth-Century England', Jour.Pop.Culture, I (1967), 90-105; P. Borsay, 'Culture, Status and English Urban Landscape', History, LXVII, no. 219 (1982), 1-12.

largely descriptive, chronicling the growth of such facilities and their economic impact, and has tended to play down the more difficult question of motivation. The idea of a 'pursuit of happiness' takes it as self-evident that certain forms of consumption will be pursued once means allow. We surely need to establish why such funds were channelled into cultural areas, and the motivation behind choices between different possible forms of culture and leisure.

The explanation offered for the choice of cultural consumption is generally that wealth could thus be converted into social status. As manners and cultural possessions established social position, particularly in the open world of the towns, so social emulation was pursued by such methods. The seal of social approval was set on these activities by their association with the upper class, and they involved the imitation of fashions set by the elite in London. The metropolitan basis of the trends involved is very strongly emphasized by historians. The success of the provincial towns is attributed to their role as regional entrepots for metropolitan products and ideas. London was still the only English city able to foster the demand for a concentration of specialized facilities for cultural production and consumption, and attract a specific intelligentsia of the arts and sciences. The dominance of the landed aristocracy has recently been reasserted by Cannon and Stone, both of whom suggest that the middle and business classes accepted patrician supremacy not, as sometimes suggested, because of easy social mobility into aristocratic ranks, but because they did not question the cultural and ideological underpinnings of patrician rule.[1]

1. E.A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance', in Abrams and Wrigley, Towns, pp.215-44; L. Stone, 'Residential Development in the West End of London', in B.C. Malament (ed.), After the Reformation (Manchester, 1980), pp.167-212; idem, An Open Elite? England 1540-1880 (Oxford, 1984); J. Cannon, The Aristocratic Century (Camb., 1984); R. Grassby, 'Social Mobility and Business Enterprise in Seventeenth-Century England', in D. Pennington and K.V. Thomas (eds), Puritans and Revolutionaries (Oxford, 1978), pp.355-81; N. Rogers, 'Money, Land, Lineage and the Big Bourgeoisie of Hanoverian London', Soc.Hist., IV (1977), 437-54.

There are several problems with the linked concepts of middle-class and provincial imitation of elite and metropolitan habits. It cannot be taken for granted that all the middling and provincials wished to imitate, and that such imitation was compatible with their own local position and self-image. It is also unwise to assume that the imitation of cultural forms implies the exact reproduction of their significance. Cultural transmission is highly complex; what is accepted is often assimilated into pre-existing cultural patterns. Only the close analysis of the actual significance of local cultural practice, neglected in most of the descriptive work so far, can settle these issues.

Most of the work on this transmission of culture in the English-speaking world has been on the provinces in the chief contemporary sense, namely Scotland and the American colonies.[1] Historians in these areas do not see dependence on London for cultural forms and concepts as leading to simple subservience to metropolitan ideals. Nicholas Phillipson has suggested that we go behind the surface of cultural imitation and ask whether cultural change led to the weakening of local ties and increased reliance on a national centre, or whether it strengthened the sense of local identity and provided the community with cultural resources of its own. In both Scotland and the colonies the latter seems to have occurred. Clearly the towns of provincial England, both smaller and far less remote from

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1. For America see the excellent bibliographies and surveys in J.P. Greene and J.R. Pole (eds), Colonial British America (Baltimore, 1984). For Scotland: N.T. Phillipson, 'Culture and Society in the Eighteenth-Century Province' in L. Stone (ed.), Universities in Society (2 vols, Princeton, 1975), ii. 407-48; idem, 'The Scottish Enlightenment' in R. Porter and M. Teich (eds), The Enlightenment in National Context (Cambridge, 1981), pp.19-40. R. Emerson, 'The Enlightenment and Social Structures' in P. Fritz and D. Williams (eds), City and Society in the Eighteenth Century (Toronto, 1973), pp.99-124, offers a useful comparative typology.

London, did not have the same opportunities to develop their own ideologies, nor the same challenges of regional self-government, but the provincial self-consciousness so clearly identified in the years after 1775 surely has a pre-history.[1]

Indeed, Alan Everitt has suggested that this period saw an increase in regional self-consciousness.[2] The growth of a national economy promoted increasing regional specialization and enabled the towns to act as centres of skill in crafts and marketing, which encouraged the development of regional traditions. Although London had dominated the creation of a national domestic market, and its overseas links, our period saw the strengthening of direct links between different provincial economies, and between the outports and overseas.

Crude notions of metropolitan dominance depend on the restriction of the definition of cultural life to those activities associated with upper-class life, together with commercial provision by professionals. Whilst London certainly dominated the book trade, scientific lecturing, theatrical life and music, it was less important in areas of expressive culture which were more firmly rooted locally, such as education, civic ritual or many leisure pastimes. Many activities remained the preserve of amateurs, or those with occupations which only overlapped with 'cultural' activity. Nor was the traffic with London all one way. Many of the intelligentsia were provincials in origin, drawn by London's opportunities but not necessarily expressing a Londoner's view. The notion of a London view is rendered even more

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1. D. Read, The English Provinces (1964); I. Inkster and J. Morrell (eds), Metropolis and Province (1983); J. Money, Experience and Identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands 1760-1800 (Manchester, 1972).
2. A. Everitt, 'Country, County and Town', Trans.R.H.S., 5th XXIX (1979), 79-108.

problematic by the ambiguous position of the actual City, and even more the suburbs, of London, since these parts of the capital were in many respects no less culturally provincial than other towns.[1]

The tradition of historiography criticized above gains much of its strength from its link to the other dominant tradition in the interpretation of the cultural history of this period, namely the idea of the dissociation of elite and popular, or patrician and plebeian culture.[2] This concept, which has appealed to historians of many differing persuasions, has offered a very useful analytic tool for organizing the study of social and cultural change. It has now gained added prestige as a basic notion by which to explain the relative political stability of England between the Civil War and the late eighteenth century. A ruling class shocked by the social and intellectual upheavals of the Civil War turned to a culture of order and stability, based on property and propriety, to which it was able to co-opt the middle class, living in uneasy coexistence with an alternative plebeian culture, through a judicious mixture of power, patronage and paternalism, aided by prosperity. Although the

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1. M.D. George, London Life in the Eighteenth Century (new edn., 1966); J. Summerson, Georgian London (1945); A.J. Weitzman, 'Eighteenth-Century London: Urban Paradise or Fallen City', Jour. Hist. Ideas, XXXVI (1975), 469-80; J. Stevenson (ed.), London in the Age of Reform (Oxford, 1977); V. Pearl, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London', London Jour., V (1979), 3-34.
2. P. Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (1978); R. Muchembled, Culture Populaire et Culture des Elites (Paris, 1978); H.C. Payne, 'Elite versus Popular Mentality in the Eighteenth Century', Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, VIII (1979), 3-32; B. Reay (ed.), Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England (1985); R.L. Bushman, 'American Highstyle and Vernacular Cultures' in Greene and Pole, Colonial British America, pp.345-83; E. and S. Yeo (eds), Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914 (Hassocks, 1981). For critiques of 'popular culture' see H. Medick, 'Plebeian Culture in the Transition to Capitalism' in R. Samuel and G.S. Jones (eds), Culture, Ideology and Politics (1982), pp.84-113; S. Clark, 'French Historians and Early Modern Popular Culture', Past and Present, 100 (1983), 62-99.

religious and political strife of the years to 1688 or 1715 is seen as delaying the settlement of this pattern, in the eighteenth century a united elite shared the cultural and social heritage of the English Enlightenment, distanced from the culture of the lower classes. The very dissociation is seen as the essential element in the solution of religious and political differences, since the polite culture was one of negatives, of moderation, designed to prevent the twin threats of absolutism and anarchy, of popery or enthusiasm, and to block any alliance of the disaffected elite with the lower orders. The moral and magical economy of popular life was rejected as vulgar and unrefined in favour of Augustan values whose essence was their distance from the local and the popular. To achieve this end the elite accepted, though not without doubts, the secularization of much of the world, and the commercialization of leisure. The upper class created a society which could only be entered through status and wealth, and invited the middle class to compete to enter, by rejecting popular traditions of community participation.[1]

This interpretation offers valuable insight into the cultural change of this period, but it poses two major problems to the historian of provincial urban culture. First there is the danger that these changes will be interpreted as quick and easy. However clear the process may be in hindsight, the cultural scene was then littered with the relics of an older world, and riven by struggles over change,

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1. As well as the Borsay, Clark and Holmes references on p.6 see R. Porter, 'The Enlightenment in England', in Porter and Teich, Enlightenment, pp.1-18; G. Holmes, 'The Achievement of Stability', in J. Cannon (ed.), The Whig Ascendancy (1981), pp.1-23; E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Jour.Soc.Hist., VII (1974) 382-405; K. Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680 (1982); M. Heyd, 'The Reaction to Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth Century', Jour.Mod.Hist., LIII (1981), 258-80; M. MacDonald, 'Religion, Social Change and Psychological Healing', in W.J. Sheils (ed.), The Church and Healing (Studies in Church History XX, Oxford, 1982), pp.101-26.

within the elite as well as without. For both religious and political reasons many powerful groups within the elite, as well as many of the middle classes, held a vested interest in resisting such changes. Developments in the market economy, which in some areas appear to have sapped popular culture, could revive and foster it in other aspects. In short, while it is important to chart the factors leading 'culture' to emerge as high culture, with popular culture as a distinct entity, associated with specific classes and residual practices, it is better to view this position as a result of our period, rather than the reality throughout it.

Second, it is difficult to make sense of urban history in terms of patrician and plebeian culture. To do so we must accept either that the middle classes identified with all the values of patrician society, or, less plausibly, that patrician society had already absorbed middle-class values. Alternatively we have to say that the towns form an exception to the general pattern of cultural change, even though much of that cultural change occurred as a result of their intermediate action. It seems more likely that historians, faced with the wealth of evidence for the elite, and the brilliant reconstructions of the nature of popular culture, have not devoted the necessary effort to uncover the nature and nuances of the cultural position of those in-between.

There are signs that this gap is beginning to be filled, from the perhaps unexpected direction of political history. Just as some historians are providing an explanation of political stability, others are beginning to question that characterization, and to emphasize the continued importance of public opinion. Since the middling classes of the towns dominated the electorate, and played a major part in the

political debates, historians are coming to realise that we need to understand the values of this group.[1]

It is appropriate that political history should be the avenue for the study of provincial autonomy. The provincial towns were largely self-governing and lacked any strong police force. They therefore depended for the maintenance of authority on cultural intervention, by education and moral discipline, as well as other forms of legitimation, for example civic ritual. The elite of England also had to appeal to the public by such methods, for example in the theatre of the law, whilst the disaffected of the elite looked to other classes for allies. Distrust of central authority led them to champion, at vital moments if not consistently, the freedom of the press and political debate, which led to an expanding national consciousness of politics, and allowed connections to be seen between local and national events. All these effects were felt most in the towns. Meanwhile the weakness of government, and its failure to adapt to new circumstances, encouraged the growth of voluntary bodies which often had their origin in religious and political issues, but later formed the seed-bed for many cultural changes.

The importance of voluntary action in the cultural life of this period offers a further explanation of its relative neglect. The historian comes to this period, looking for a cultural map with a coherent range of subjects, each associated with certain institutions, and with specific professional groups. Such a bias is encouraged by

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1. J. Brewer, Party Ideology and Popular Politics (Cambridge, 1976); idem, 'Commercialization and Politics' in McKendrick et al., Consumer Society, pp.197-262; L. Colley, 'Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism before Wilkes', Trans.R.H.S., 5th, XXXI (1981), 1-20; idem, In Defiance of Oligarchy (Cambridge, 1982); M.C. and J.R. Jacob (eds), The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism (1984), especially N. Rogers, 'Urban Opposition to Whig Oligarchy' (pp.132-48). Rogers' work generally plays down middling autonomy.

the historical visibility of such institutions and professions. However the characteristics of the period fit such an approach very badly. The traditional association of cultural activity with corporate or ecclesiastical patronage was increasingly weakened; modern reliance on the twin bases of market production and institutional support was not yet fully established. Both of these frameworks played an important part, but a major role in many areas was taken by voluntary associations, more or less informal, organized around the social life of the town, in particular its coffee-houses and taverns. Such organization has been portrayed as a compromise or halfway-house, standing, like subscription publishing, between patronage and market relations, and likewise as an intermediary step in the specialization of cultural production, whose full flowering lay in the establishment of special buildings, institutions and professions. However, it distorts the understanding of this period to deny the impact of its characteristic form on the way in which culture was organized. Cultural life is not necessarily more important to a society when institutionalized or specialized.

The absence of an institutional basis for the arts, however, deprives us of much of the evidence for cultural life. Historical records focus naturally on legal, economic and administrative affairs, and only cultural institutions which generate such records tend to leave much evidence. Cultural life in the period up to 1640 revolved around the church, the corporation and the gilds, all bodies which have left records. In our period these institutions play a lesser role, though still an important one, but they continue to provide a disproportionate quantity of the available evidence. In contrast very few of the voluntary associations involved in cultural activity have left records. They were usually informal groups, with no charters or

minutes, and were often ephemeral, tied to particular individuals or locations. Only at the very end of the period did corporate associations become fashionable, mostly when extensive fund-raising and permanent buildings were needed.

Apart from the particular evidential problems involved in the shift in bases for cultural life, the historian of provincial culture faces other, more basic problems. It is very difficult to reconstruct cultural activity from sources not intended to record such information, but the historian will soon become aware of biases and weaknesses in each source. His problems become more acute when the nature of the records available, and their reliability, changes over time. There is a general deterioration in the quality of the evidence on social life which can be adduced from the various courts, both lay and ecclesiastical, from a high point in the decades just after the Restoration. New sources of evidence emerge in the eighteenth century, notably provincial publication, in particular of newspapers, but also of local tracts and books. These offer a new kind of information, particularly illuminating on the motives of those engaged in cultural life. It is all too easy either to read back into the earlier period conclusions drawn from the later, or to mistake the increased historical visibility of cultural life for real increase. Before claiming that a first appearance, or even increased sightings, of a cultural phenomenon indicate a new trend, one must always consider which earlier sources might have documented such a fact.

Certain sources persist throughout all or most of our period, so offering a valuable check on changes suggested by other evidence. Particularly valuable here are the records of the Corporation, especially its accounts, and probate material. The entry books of burgesses and apprentices are another vital source. However, these

sources also change in extent and significance. Local probate material is fullest before 1700 and almost non-existent after 1740. The burgess lists increasingly reflect the political advantages of the freemen's vote in parliamentary elections, not economic or civic involvement in town life. From the mid-eighteenth century formal apprenticeships become less common for the better-off, though still used to offer the disadvantaged a good start.

Efforts to go beyond impressionistic remarks on the level of cultural activity to quantitative analysis have been made wherever possible, for example in studying literacy and the ownership of cultural materials revealed in probate inventories. The changing significance even of figures derived from single sources like these causes severe problems. Much more difficult is to establish the significance of head-counts of the numbers involved in cultural production, for example teachers, booksellers or painters. Apart from the varying quality of the evidence available over time, there is the problem of occupational pluralism. Often we can only say how a man described his occupation at the start of his career, but many people changed occupation, or worked at several different occupations.[1] Even those stably associated with a given trade often combined activities which straddle our neat boundaries of commercial and professional or artistic and utilitarian. In order to establish the exact cultural significance of each case we need to go beyond mere head-counting to a close analysis of the circumstances of each such mixed occupation. Yet we know little about most members of such trades except their name and a few career details, particularly before the additional evidence of newspaper advertisements is available.

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1. J. Patten, 'Urban Occupations in the Pre-Industrial Town', Trans.Inst.Brit.Geog., N.S., II (1977), 296-313.

The personal records of the producers and consumers of culture would be very helpful in making such judgements. Unfortunately very little such material has survived from Bristol producers, whose account books or letters would be so illuminating. We know most about teachers, from autobiographical material and publications, mostly from the second half of the period. Similar personal material left by the general public would enable us to see how important a role cultural activity played in their experience, how they used the services provided, and what view they had of it. But here again Bristol has only a little surviving material, mostly coming from the end of the period, and from the upper end of the social scale. The historian is left to infer a great deal, attempting to relate the crude evidence of the numbers involved in each trade, and the different sorts of societies and events reported, to the context of social life.

Invaluable help in doing this is given by contemporary discussion in sermons and from the 1740s in newspaper essays, which are often surprisingly explicit in their social interpretation, for reasons outlined above. Further evidence can be drawn from the publicity efforts of the cultural producers in their tracts and advertisements. Again the evidence is best at the end of the period, and for the opinions of the upper groups in society, and those appealing to them. Otherwise the historian is reliant on general hypotheses, and the conclusions of other studies, to suggest plausible patterns.

Unfortunately no comparable study has been made of other English towns, although Norwich has been the subject of several valuable articles.[1] Though both Scotland and the American colonies have

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1. T. Fawcett, 'Provincial Dancing Masters', Norfolk Archaeol., XXXV (1970-1), 135-41, 193-9; idem, 'Eighteenth-Century Norfolk Booksellers', Trans.Camb.Bibliog.Soc., VI (1972), 1-18; idem, Music in Eighteenth-Century Norwich and Norfolk (Norwich, 1979); D. Stoker, 'The Establishment of Printing in Norwich', Trans.Camb.Bibliog.Soc., VII (1977), 94-112.

attracted historians of similar interests, only the Bridenbaughs' study of Philadelphia focuses on a single town in the same way. Similarly the French, whose tradition of provincial and cultural history is much stronger, have tended to the comparative approach.[1] Despite the difficulties of international comparisons, many insights have been gained from these writers. The other main intellectual debt is to those historians who have borrowed the tools of the anthropologist and social scientist so fruitfully to reconstruct the meaning of popular culture from a similarly fragmentary evidential base. In the last three years a number of excellent studies of urban ritual and mentality have appeared as historians have widened their focus from popular culture to urban culture in general.[2]

The problems of source material, and the need to combine many diverse sources and approaches, prevent this study from offering rigorous proofs. The more important the question, the more difficult it is to establish more than an impressionistic answer. By eschewing concentration on specific activities and institutions in favour of a reconstruction of their context, the thesis enters much uncharted ground. Furthermore many of the basic facts about people, subjects and events have also had to be brought together. Since the aim is analytic rather than descriptive, much of the fine detail in these cases has had to be sacrificed to more general conclusions. The scattered nature of the sources renders detailed documentation of the

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1. J. Queniart, Culture et Société Urbaine dans la France de l'Ouest au XVIIIe Siècle (Paris, 1978); D. Roche, Le Siècle de Lumières en Province (Paris, 1978).
2. P. Burke, 'Urban History and Urban Anthropology', in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds), The Pursuit of Urban History (1983), pp.69-82; P. Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community', in ibid., pp.105-24; C. Phythian-Adams, 'Milk and Soot', in ibid., pp.83-104; D.M. Palliser, 'Civic Mentality and the Environment in Tudor York', Northern Hist., XVIII (1982), 78-115; P. Borsay, '"All the Town's a Stage"', in Clark (ed.), Transformation, pp.228-58.

background evidence unusually difficult, but the provision of detailed examples, and of general discussions of particular kinds of evidence, should make the nature of the proof for each point clear.

There has been constant interest in Bristol's history during this 'golden age', and many descriptive studies have been published on particular aspects. I have drawn on valuable studies of educational and other charities, of newspapers and printing, of associations such as gilds, freemasonry and the Library Society, of particular arts, notably architecture and the theatre, and of industrial and medical organization. Generally these studies, noted under the relevant chapters, have not attempted to set Bristol in a comparative framework, or even to consider the place of their particular theme in Bristol society. No modern general study of Bristol has appeared to replace the narrative accounts of MacInnes and Little.[1] Many of the most interesting comments on Bristol culture have been made by scholars studying famous Bristolians.[2] The great advantage of these studies is that they expose the interconnections between Bristol and wider cultural trends; the difficulty lies in the inevitable exceptionality of their subjects. The same might be said of the

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1. C.M. MacInnes, Bristol: A Gateway of Empire (new edn, Newton Abbot, 1968); B. Little, The City and County of Bristol (1954). For a thematic approach see the essays in MacInnes, Bristol and McGrath, Bristol.
2. See ch.5 for Thomas Chatterton and Hannah More, ch.6 for William Cole and Alexander Catcott and ch.7 for John Cary and Josiah Tucker. For Edmund Burke see p.21 n.2.

excellent studies of eighteenth-century Methodism[1] and the politics of the period of the American Revolution.[2] Although much valuable material has been uncovered concerning religious and political affiliations, we are still very ignorant on basic questions concerning the strengths and varying motivations for membership of the many religious groups or the nature of local politics except on questions of trade and American affairs.

Nobody has yet succeeded in producing a socio-economic study of Bristol in succession to David Sacks' monumental study of 1500-1640, although J.R. Holman has published a number of articles from his unfinished research.[3] Elizabeth Baigent's newly completed Oxford thesis on the social geography of Bristol in 1774-5 will illuminate a cross-section of Bristol society; meanwhile the mercantile community

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1. W.A. Goss, 'Early Methodism in Bristol' (Bristol Univ. M.A. thesis, 1932); idem, 'Early Methodism in Bristol', Proc.Wesley Hist.Soc., XIX (1933-4), passim; J.W. Raimo, 'Spiritual Harvest' (Wisconsin Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1974); 'Wesleyan Membership in Bristol 1783', ed. J. Kent in An Ecclesiastical Miscellany (B.G.A.S. Rec. Section XI, 1976, pp.105-22). The best guides to sources and writings on other Bristol churches are The Minute Books of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol, ed. R.S. Mortimer (B.R.S., XXVI, 1971 and XXX, 1977); The Records of Church of Christ in Bristol 1640-1687, ed. R. Hayden (B.R.S. XXVII, 1974); 'Bishop Secker's Diocese Book', ed. E. Ralph, in A Bristol Miscellany (B.R.S., XXXVII, 1985), pp.21-69.
2. See the bibliographies in Politics and the Port of Bristol, ed. W.E. Minchinton (B.R.S., XXIII, 1963); P. Marshall, Bristol and the War of American Independence (B.B.H.A., 1977); P. Underdown, 'Bristol and Burke', in McGrath, Bristol, pp.41-62 and idem, 'Parliamentary History of the City of Bristol 1750-90' (Bristol Univ. M.A. thesis, 1948); W.R. Savadge, 'The West Country and the American Mainland Colonies 1763-83' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1973); R.H. Quilici, 'Turmoil in a City and an Empire' (New Hampshire Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1976).
3. D. Sacks, 'Trade, Society and Politics in Bristol 1500-1640' (Harvard Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1977); J.R. Holman, 'Orphans in Pre-Industrial Towns', Local Pop.Studies, XV (1975), 40-4; idem, 'Some Aspects of Higher Education in Bristol and Gloucestershire 1650-1750', T.B.G.A.S., XCV (1977), 86-97; idem, 'Apprenticeship as a Factor in Migration: Bristol 1675-1726', ibid, XCVII (1979), 85-92.

is uniquely well-studied.[1] Important implications for the social and intellectual life of Bristol during this period can be drawn from the studies of local science, medicine and technology by Michael Neve and Hugh Torrens, of leisure and association by Helen Meller and of popular politics by Mark Harrison, but their late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century researches, although asking many of the same questions as this study, reveal a city much altered.[2]

The nearest precursor of this work is Georges Lamoine's massive study of the literary life of Bath and Bristol 1750-1800.[3] Although Lamoine's work contains valuable background material on education, the book trade and the theatre he did not explore these areas in depth. The strength of his study, which cannot be emulated here for reasons of space as well as literary knowledge, lies in a detailed account of individual texts and careers. In that respect his study complements this, while both share the conviction that Bristol's cultural life was active and interesting, centred on a strong sense of civic identity. In this respect we differ from the interpretations of eighteenth-century Bristol society offered by R.I. James and Peter

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1. See the bibliographies in P.V. McGrath, The Merchant Venturers of Bristol (Bristol, 1975); W.E. Minchinton, 'The Port of Bristol', in McGrath, Bristol, pp.127-60; K.J. Morgan, 'Bristol Merchants and the Colonial Trades' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1983); E. Baigent, 'Bristol Society in the Later Eighteenth Century' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1985).
2. M. Neve, 'Natural Philosophy, Medicine and the Culture of Science in Provincial England' (London Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1984); H. Torrens, 'Geological Communications in the Bath area in the Last Half of the Eighteenth Century', in L. Jordanova and R. Porter (eds), Images of the Earth (Chalfont St. Giles, 1979), pp.215-47; H.E. Meller, Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914 (1976); M. Harrison, '"To Raise and Dare Resentment": Bristol Bridge Riots of 1793', Hist.Jour., XXVI (1983), 557-86.
3. G. Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire de Bath et de Bristol 1750-1800 (2 vols, Lille, 1978).

Marcy.[1] Although Marcy collected some useful socio-economic data and made full use of contemporary reports, his superficial research into primary sources does not inspire confidence in his dismissive judgement on the cultural life of 'the Bristol hogs'.

Both Marcy and James depended heavily on the work of John Latimer.[2] Unfortunately, although Latimer's reading and research in Bristol's history was encyclopaedic, and his judgement in details almost unerring, he is least reliable on cultural history. His comments show a Whiggish antipathy to many characteristic features of Bristol culture, and a tendency to pick up and stress an untypical detail to underline the 'otherness' of the past. In many ways this study will support Latimer's conviction that Stuart and Hanoverian Bristol was still closely tied to its medieval roots, but it does not follow that these were cultural 'dark ages'.

The continued reliance of Bristol historians on Latimer reflects the high quality of Victorian and Edwardian scholarship. I am heavily indebted to such work, enshrined both in the pages of the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, and in the Bristol collection of Bristol Central Library. These have formed an essential complement to the official and family archives in the Bristol Archives Office. The basic starting-point for the study of Bristol's cultural life is the bibliography of the Bristol collection, together with the Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire

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1. R.I. James, 'Bristol Society', in MacInnes, Bristol, pp.231-42; P.T. Marcy, 'A Chapter in the History of the "Bristol Hogs": The Social and Economic History of Bristol 1740-80' (Claremont Grad. School and Univ. Centre Ph.D. thesis, 1965); idem, 'Bristol Roads and Communications 1740-80', T.B.G.A.S., LXXXVI (1968), 149-72; idem, 'Eighteenth-Century Views of Bristol and Bristolians', in McGrath, Bristol, pp.11-40.
2. Latimer, 16C; Latimer, 17C; Latimer, 18C.

Literature, all published by 1916.[1] These guides are only now being outdated by the information generated on provincial printing by the various Short Title Catalogue projects and other computer-based bibliographies.[2]

Relevant information about Bristol's political, religious or economic history has been included where most appropriate in the argument. The following brief sketch is only intended to indicate how far Bristol resembled, or differed from, other provincial towns. Its internal government rested by charter with a self-selecting Corporation of forty-three councillors, the twelve most senior of whom, as Aldermen, exercised J.P.s' jurisdiction and held an Assize independent of the neighbouring counties. Bristol's trade gilds were firmly under corporate jursidiction, except the Society of Merchant Venturers, whose members predominated in the Corporation itself, reflecting the mercantile basis of Bristol's resurgent prosperity. The other significant power-bases were the parishes, run, like London, by closed vestries. In 1696 they lost their poor-relief functions to a city-wide Corporation of the Poor. Its Court of Guardians, elected by rate-payers, became a significant third force in local politics.[3] The freemen of Bristol, who filled minor offices but had little direct say except when chosen as Grand or Petty Jurymen, established their

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1. E.R. Norris Mathews, Bristol Bibliography (Bristol, 1916); F.A. Hyett and W. Bazeley, Bibliographers' Manual of Gloucestershire Literature (3 vols Gloucester, 1897); F.A. Hyett and R. Austin, Supplement to Bibliographers' Manual of Gloucestershire Literature (Gloucester, 1915). Recent secondary work can be found in J.S. Moore (ed.) Avon Local History Handbook (Chichester, 1979).
2. E.A. Clough, A Short-Title Catalogue arranged Geographically ... up to and including 1700 (1969); F.J.G. and J.M. Robinson and C. Wadham (eds), Eighteenth-Century British Books: An Index to Foreign and Provincial Imprints (Newcastle, 1982).
3. See p.174 for the Corporation, vestries and other organizations, and pp.322-3 for the merchants' position.

parliamentary franchise during the seventeenth century. Bristol had one of the largest electorates, as freedom was conferred by patrimony, apprenticeship, marriage to a freeman's widow or daughter, or by fine paid to the Corporation. As Bristol's population rose slowly from 13,000 to 20,000 by 1700, the proportion of freemen reached a very high level, with over 3,000 voters. Thereafter, although the electorate expanded to over 5,000, their relative numbers fell as population grew to 50,000 by 1775 and more non-resident freemen voted.[1] Nevertheless this aspect of Bristol's politics remained an open battle.

One reason for this was the divided allegiance of the city's leadership. The merchant community were specialised by commodity and region, while there were many prosperous industrial, retailing and professional men, providing more potential leaders than city government could absorb. Bristol was also a strong centre of nonconformity, numbering upto a quarter of the population, while Anglican loyalties were also well-established. Most of the denominations included men of influence, particularly the Presbyterians and Quakers. Although alliances constantly shifted, there was an underlying conflict, both for local power and Parliamentary representation, between high Anglican Tories and Dissenting Whigs, who had low church allies.[2] This persisted until the 1760s, the most important shift coming in the 1690s when the Whigs gained a precarious hold over the Corporation (Tory since the Restoration), only fully consolidated in the 1730s. In the 1760s American affairs further confused a complicated pattern as the

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1. Population figures are given in Table I, and the evidence for these and urban growth discussed in pp.146-7. See also pp.316-7.
2. See pp.176-7 and esp. pp.328-337.

traditional divisions dissolved, but by the 1780s a new conservative alliance dominated the Corporation, Merchant Venturers and vestries, leaving radical groups more estranged than ever before from any civic power. By then the most numerous nonconformist groups were Methodists, Baptists and the like, while the narrowing Presbyterian and Quaker congregations were increasingly close culturally to their Anglican social equals.

Bristol shared in the two major factors promoting urban growth in this period, namely commercial and industrial expansion and the provision of facilities for the prosperous. The Bristol Hotwells were a major national resort, although Bristol was not the focus of 'county' society, being neither a centre of county government nor, due to the curious yoking of Bristol with Dorset in an impoverished bishopric, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Apart from its immediate hinterland, Bristol's ties depended on economic links, visible at its two Fairs and in the constant flow of immigrants it attracted from its region.[1] Its size and position, therefore, continued to underpin Bristol's proud independence from the neighbouring gentry. There are few signs, however, of this leading to any urban-rural antagonism, because Bristol lay at the heart of the industrial counties of England and Wales, fulfilling a vital role for them as a regional entrepot.

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1. See pp.249-50 and p.301 for Bristol's regional economic role and p.316 for immigration.

CHAPTER TWO EDUCATION

Much has been written about individual grammar and charity schools and efforts to provide elementary education for the poor in Bristol. This chapter aims not to re-cover this ground, but to examine the implications of educational provision for Bristol's cultural life.[1] A similar approach has prompted recent work in national educational history, setting it in the wider context of childhood, social control and cultural change. Most attention has focused on the 'educational revolution' before 1660, particularly examining the impact of literacy, and the growth in grammar and university education. Wrightson has recently suggested that both developments be seen as underlining a growing social polarity between the respectable and the poor by giving this a specific cultural dimension. Less work has been done on the implications of literacy between the Civil War and industrialization, but there has been considerable interest in the changing secondary curriculum. Historians have identified first dissenting schools, then private schools, as pioneers in new subjects, including science, fashionable accomplishments and literature, replacing the classical emphasis of traditional elite education. While the 'decline of the grammar school' is now seen in the context of the changing requirements of polite culture, the rise of the charity schools is viewed as part of a broader concern for the reformation of popular culture.[2]

These issues provide the main topics in this summary account of Bristol education. The first section outlines the amount of education

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1. References will not be given for facts concerning particular schools easily discovered in specific studies.
2. Wrightson, English Society, pp.183-224. For summaries of current work see R. O'Day, Education and Society (1982).

available in Bristol at the various levels of learning, and to whom it was available. The next section examines the changing content of education, to see whether one can discern a growing distinction between the education of the poor and that of the respectable, and the balance established between the demands of religion, vocation, and preparation for leisure. The final section considers the likely effectiveness of schooling in establishing cultural patterns, looking at the pressures on schooling of contradictory public demands and market forces, as they affected the character and efficiency of teaching. Although the concentration throughout will be on the likely effects of education, much can also be learned about Bristol's culture from consideration of the relative importance of formal schooling compared with other means of socialization, and the priorities established within education.

Three main sources of evidence have been used. The records of public and charitable schools illustrate the aims of their supporters and school conditions throughout the period. Information on the extent and nature of private schools has been brought together to compile a list of teachers (often based merely on stray references). The most valuable sources are the advertisements and pamphlets produced by a minority of entrepreneurs from the 1720s, although these raise issues of reliability, typicality and relation to earlier teaching practice. Finally, school registers and lists of signatures suggest levels of attainment, while autobiographies, diaries and accounts illuminate the child's experience of school. Such records, especially personal reminiscences, become more frequent at the end of our period. Although the following account attempts to indicate both what remained stable and what changed, the bulk of the evidence on which general statements are based is almost always from the mid-eighteenth century.

The Availability of Education

Although I shall attempt to indicate the typical school experience of children from different social classes, any account must stress the absence of a fixed school system, and the range and flexibility of the teaching available and its use by Bristolians. The majority of children were educated privately, usually at schools run by a single teacher, many of whom catered for children of all ages and also offered lessons to adults. Grammar and charity schools were run by one or two masters, who also gave private lessons and, despite rules about admissions and curricula, often catered for children of mixed ages. Parents tended to move their children in and out of these schools, like private ones, as best suited their child's needs and their own purse. The duration of schooling was very uncertain, depending on parental demand for child labour, and almost the only fixed point was departure for apprenticeship in the mid-teens. By this time boys, at least, were expected to have finished education in the 3Rs and grammar, but girls were still promised education in reading and sometimes writing, as well as housewifery, while in service.[1] Just as girls appear to have participated in formal education later, and probably on a more part-time basis, than boys, so poorer children appear to have started schooling on average a year or two later than better-off children.

Two major assumptions of this section require comment. The number of teachers is assumed to reflect demand, rather than supply, since anyone was free to open a school. I have identified about 500 teachers operating in Bristol at some stage between 1640 and 1775, of whom about 27% are recorded before 1700. The sources vary so much in

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1. See bonds for girl apprentices at end of App., 1636-1699.

quality that they do not bear much closer analysis, especially as many of the teachers were part-time, or gave up teaching for other occupations. The only time when a reasonable cross-section can be gained is in 1775, when the listing of 64 teachers in Sketchley's Directory, together with other names from miscellaneous sources, suggest that at least 100 teachers were practising in a city of some 50,000 people. If, as demographic calculations indicate, about 20 % of the population were 5-14, this would indicate a ratio of one teacher to a hundred children. Evidence on class size suggests that teachers could expect to cater for at least fifty children, implying that up to half the children were receiving no formal schooling. In fact the sources almost certainly under-represent the number of humbler reading teachers and dame schools.[1] Allowance must also be made for the many country schools nearby which catered to better-off Bristol children,[2] while an elite group were sent to Winchester, London or Bath schools,[3] though against this must be set the children attracted in to the best Bristol schools.[4] All the evidence suggests that Bristol was as well provided with schools as other comparable towns, and that numbers kept pace with population growth, and probably grew faster.

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1. For class sizes see p.63. Fifteen otherwise untraced schoolmistresses and two schoolmasters appear in Kent (ed.), 'Wesleyan Membership'.
2. D.N.B., John Lewis (1675-1747); B.A.O. 14581 HA/W/14; B.A.O. AC/JS/29/22; E. Collins, Miscellanies in Prose and Verse (Bristol, 1762), pp.46-7. Cheap Yorkshire schools: B.I.B.M., II: 718, 740; F.F.B.J. 9 June 1759.
3. Winchester: B.C.L. 26063 20 Dec. 1738; B.C.L. 14799, fo.146; F.F.B.J. 16 Sept. 1775. London: B.C.L. 18871, 7 July 1758; M. Robinson, Memoirs (2 vols, 1803), I:24. Bath: F.F.B.J. 28 Sept. 1771; B.J. 29 Jan. 1774.
4. More's school: Robinson, Memoirs I:17; W. Roberts, Memoirs of ... Mrs. Hannah More (4 vols, 1834), I:31-2. Jones' Academy: J. Taylor, A Book about Bristol (Bristol, 1872), p.371; p.42, n.2.

The second assumption is that the chief factors in access to education were parental resources and career possibilities. These determined the kind of education that could be afforded, and even more crucially the duration of schooling. Unfortunately it is very difficult to establish the real costs to parents of different types of school, since much depended on such items as the value of child labour foregone, clothing and equipment, extra charges for heating, entrance fees, etc., which are rarely recorded. Free tuition in itself was only a minor element in making a school generally accessible, as is clear both from the exclusive character of the City Grammar School and the need of the charity schools to subsidize the clothing and maintenance of poor children, and often to offer the children the chance to earn money by working at school.[1] These non-academic elements in school funding tended to overshadow the costs of providing teachers. Because teaching fees as such were often only a small item in the costs of educating most children,[2] however, affluent parents could fairly easily expand the range of subjects they provided for their offspring.

We know least about the earlier stages. Mothers were generally expected to manage education before the age of six or seven, supplemented by nurses and dame school mistresses.[3] Almost all the evidence on the latter's activities comes from the hostile comments of other teachers who criticized their inefficiency in teaching reading,

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1. See below pp. 35, 61. An Account of the Hospitals, Almshouses, and Public Schools in Bristol (Bristol, 1775) listed perquisites available to parents.
2. See below pp.44-6, 62.
3. See p.6, nn.4-5; Bevan-Naish 1227, fos.1-2, 50, 122; B.I.B.M., I:118; S. Told, An Account of my Life (1786), pp.3-4; Chatterton (1803), III:459. Orphans might go very early to school: B.C.L. 14799 fos.4-5; Letters of R. Reynolds, ed. H.M. Rathbone (1852), p.5. See also p.36.

and their tendency either to pamper children or to abuse them, often physically but also mentally, with terrifying stories and vulgar superstitions.[1] Dame schools offered a cheap child-minding service, costing only 2d-3d a week,[2] and it was probably only in prosperous families that mothers could afford to devote themselves to the child's early education, taking advantage of the growing but expensive range of toys and books sold locally by the mid-eighteenth century.[3] Children with these advantages were usually able to read by five or six, and were then considered ready for entrance to grammar or writing schools.[4] Poorer children were probably less advanced; John Bryant was not sent to an old woman to learn to read until about seven.[5] Nevertheless even poor children usually picked up some reading skills in their early years. Of the 58 poor boys entering Temple charity school 1709-14, mostly aged 7-10, only five had no reading skill, five knew letters, twenty could spell, thirteen could read indifferently or ordinarily, and fifteen read or read well. At this school the average child took about two years to learn to read well.[6]

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1. W. Cadogan, An Essay on Nursing (1748); S. Butler, An Essay upon Education (1750), pp.14-15, 45-6; F.F.B.J. 2 July 1768 (letter by 'Z'); B.J. 14 Aug. 1773 (Jones) (a name in brackets after a newspaper entry refers to an advertisement by that person); Life and Correspondence of R. Southey, ed. C. Southey (6 vols., 1849), I:25-6.
2. P/Redcl. C.W.A., 1653-4; J. Cottle, Early Recollections (2 vols, Bristol, 1837), I:257.
3. Books: p.68. Toys: B.J. 29 Feb. 1772 (Woodward).
4. Records of a Church of Christ, ed. E.B. Underhill (1847), p.58; J. Jones, Steps Towards an English Education (2nd edn, Bristol, 1740), pp.28-9; A.S. Catcott, Exercises Performed at a Visitation (Bristol, 1737), pp.vii-viii; Butler, Essay, pp.11,42; Robinson, Memoirs, p.14; Roberts, Memoirs of More, p.11; Reynolds-Rathbone Diaries and Letters, ed. E. Grey (n.p., 1905), p.186.
5. J.F. Bryant, Verses (1787), p.iii.
6. P/Tem Ka 1(1) (applicants) and Ka 3 (register of attainment). Learning 'letters' before reading: J. Hippisley, Journey to Bristol (1731), p.28; Proposals for ... Charity School for ... Poor Girls ... Temple (Bristol, 1779), p.16.

The next stage of education was in many ways the most complex and critical for the child's future education, and the area where the most changes appear to have occurred. In the seventeenth century, once a boy had mastered reading, the choice lay between sending him to classical or writing masters. In both cases the child would probably continue some reading in the Bible and other religious texts, but the grammar boy would spend most of his time mastering the classics, with perhaps a little writing practice,[1] while the writing masters concentrated on teaching business hands and arithmetic.[2] Children, particularly girls, who merely required more reading lessons were usually taught by women, who might also teach sewing and housewifery, probably for between 4d and 8d a week.[3]

Two developments, largely after 1700, offered the prospect of a more unified elementary education. The first was the growth in charity schooling. In 1640 the only institutions providing for the poor were two orphan schools, catering for about forty boys and girls respectively,[4] although parishes occasionally paid for teachers to take on children,[5] and the Merchant Venturers subsidized a master to teach about forty poor sailors' children.[6] In 1654 and 1670 two trusts were established to pay for teaching the poor, which may have combined as one small school, although by the 1720s the 1670 school

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1. See below, p.55.
2. See below, pp.43-4.
3. P/Redcl. C.W.A., 1671-2; F.F.B.J. 19 May 1764 (Elliott); B.J. 9 June 1770 (Lodge).
4. W.A. Sampson, A History of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital (Bristol, 1910); F.W.E. Bowen Queen Elizabeth's Hospital (1971); W.A. Sampson, A History of Red Maids' School (Bristol, 1908); H. Larcombe, 'Progress of Education in Bristol' (Bristol Univ. M.A. thesis 1924).
5. P/Redcl. C.W.A. 1653-72; P/St. Tho. C.W.A. 1666-9; Bristol Corporation of the Poor, ed. E.E. Butcher (B.R.S., III, 1932), p.54.
6. D.J. Eames, 'The Contribution made by the S.M.V. to the Development of Education in Bristol' (Bristol Univ. M.A. thesis, 1966); McGrath, Merchant Venturers, pp.84-5, 215.

emerged as a writing-school with private pupils as well.[1] The city workhouse, established in 1697, trained its children in reading as well as work skills, but after the first decade its educational role declined.[2] The economic problems of the war period 1690-1713 stimulated other efforts to help educate the poor. Edward Colston offered to enlarge the boys' orphan school to 100 places, and when this was refused arranged for the Merchant Venturers to oversee the new Colston's Hospital, teaching 100 boys the 3Rs.[3] Between 1700 and 1702 the Society for the Reformation of Manners organized subsidies in the poorer parishes for teaching, reaching 250 children at its peak,[4] and after this scheme collapsed Colston put up money to encourage parishes to subscribe to charity schools. Schools for both boys and girls were set up in Temple parish, and a boys' school was run jointly by St Michael and St Augustine parishes.[5] Schools may have existed briefly in the other poorer parishes, but the only one to become firmly established was the Pile Street school for boys in Redcliffe from the 1730s.[6] In the same decade a donation from

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1. C.C.P. Sept. 1654; Bodl. MS CCC.C 390/1, fo. 140; E.P./V/3, 1684-5 (St. James), 1685 (St. Leonards); P.R.O. C/93/43/22; Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2 app., fo.106; F.B.N. 11 Oct. 1729 (Symes); T.J. Manchee, Bristol Charities (2 vols Bristol, 1831), I:192 and II:32-4.
2. Butcher (ed.), Corporation, esp. pp.17-18; J. Cary, An Account of the Proceedings (1700); Some Considerations Offered ... Corporation of the Poor (n.p., 1711); P/Tem. Ka 3, fo.1.
3. Eames, 'Contribution'; McGrath, Merchant Venturers, pp.209-14; Latimer, 18C, pp.46-8, 83-4.
4. B.C.L. 10162 from 13 Aug. 1700; E. McClure, A Chapter in English Church History (1888), esp. p.335.
5. D.G. Cooke, The Story of Temple Colston School (Bristol, 1947); P/Tem. Ka 1 (1-2), 4 and 7; B.A.O. 09701 (1-24); Account of Hospitals, pp.38-40; Proposals for Charity School Temple; Manchee, Charities, I:179-80 and II:389-91. Shortlived schools: ibid., II:197-9, 254, 297. St. Augustine's: ibid., I:355, 379-80 and II: 104, 107, 140, 143; W. Barrett, The History and Antiquities ... of Bristol (Bristol, 1789), p.437; P/St. Aug. C.W.A., 1733-75.
6. P/Redcl. school records incl. Rules (Bristol, 1764); S.M.V. Hall-Book, 24 Mar. 1735-6; Account of Hospitals, p.33; Manchee, Charities, II:51.

John Elbridge established a girls' school in St Michael's.[1] Generally the impetus for new schools lapsed after the early decades of the century until the economic disruptions after 1776, although a girls' spinning school ran for a few years in the mid-1750s.[2] Some basic education was also provided by the Quakers in their workhouse school set up around 1700,[3] and by the Presbyterians at the Stokes Croft charity school which opened in 1724.[4]

Elementary charity schooling had expanded considerably, catering for some four or five hundred children by the 1730s, compared with just over a hundred in 1640. This early expansion outstripped population growth, but the failure to establish new schools after 1730 left a growing problem, until the Sunday schools of the 1780s. This reflected difficulties in funding and demand. Schools with fixed endowments were relatively secure, but tended not to seek expansion, while schools dependent on subscription funds found it hard enough to maintain support after initial enthusiasm. Much of their funding was spent on the extra items needed to attract poor parents to keep their children at school, and even then they faced continual problems of absenteeism.[5] Providing manual work at school offered a solution, but one much easier for girls, who could spin and run the school itself, than with boys.[6] The boys' schools stood the best chance

1. B.A.O. 28049 (25); Account of Hospitals, p.20; Barrett, History, p.427; Manchee, Charities, II:225.
2. The State of the Ladies' Charity School (Bristol, 1756); B.C.L. 4532, fo.229; B.W.I. 11 Jan. 1755; F.F.B.J. 1 Jan and 30 Aug. 1755, 16 May 1758; B.J. 29 Jan. 1774. Charity schools were still praised e.g. F.F.B.J. 21 Apr. 1764.
3. Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1977), p.xxx; B.A.O. SF/F4/1 and SF/A9/1.
4. B.A.O. 6688 (1-2); F.F.B.J. 12 Oct. 1765; Account of Hospitals, p.36; Manchee, Charities, I:202-3; J. Murch, A History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches (1835), p.112.
5. Accounts of Pile Street (n.28), Stokes Croft (B.A.O. 30999 (3-4)) and calculations in B.A.O. 09701(7). Absenteeism: e.g. B.C.L. 4532, fo.229; P/Tem. Ka 1(1), Oct.1712.
6. For repeated failures at work-schemes see Latimer, 17C, pp.249, 394,479,488; idem, 18C, pp.34-5; Butcher (ed.) Corporation, pp.7-8; Some Considerations. Josiah Tucker considered the problem in A Sermon ... at Christ Church, London (1766), p.11 and Hospitals and Infirmaries Considered as Schools (1746).

of success if they could offer a good grounding in the 3Rs and a reasonable apprenticeship on departure. They therefore attracted the children of the more respectable poor, who could afford such a long-term view.[1] Non-compulsory charitable education could never attract the people it most wanted to reform.

The prime motive for charity schools was to take children off the streets and give them a religious education, based on reading. In practice the strategy required to attract pupils encouraged the vocational side of education, including writing and arithmetic for boys. Charity schools therefore acted as a kind of primary school. Their development was paralleled in the private sector by increased concern among writing-masters to establish control over reading after 1700. Their prime aim was probably to attract children into their schools at the earliest possible age, but this was justified by propaganda urging parents to take a basic English education more seriously, so that children might be correctly grounded in spelling, pronunciation and grammar. For fees starting at 6d-8d a week (occasionally as little as 4d) or 6s-8s a quarter they offered more professional reading lessons, leading by graded stages towards an English education in writing, arithmetic, history and geography, and thence to further subjects.[2] The humble girls' day-schools,

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1. T. Butler, A Sermon Preached ... at Christ Church in London (1745); Tucker, Sermon (1766), p.23; Mortimer (ed.) Minutes (1977), pp.168, 218-9. The occupations of some fathers and eventual masters can be traced in B.A.O. 6688(1-2) and P/Tem. Ka 1(1), 3 and 7. The prevention of downward mobility through orphanhood was important for these schools, as for QEH and Red Maids.
2. W. Baker, Rules for True Spelling and Writing English (Bristol, 1724); Jones, Steps; W. Foot, An Essay on Education (Bristol, 1747); Butler, Essay; J. Gough, A Practical Grammar of the English Tongue (Dublin, 1754); D. Farroe, The Royal Golden Instructor (Bristol, 1775); F.F.B.J. 7 Apr. 1759 (spelling book by W. Williams); B.J. 4 Feb. 1775 (The English Orthographist by J. Jones). Costs: e.g. F.F.B.J. 26 June 1767 and 23 Sept. 1769 (Morrish); B.J. 8 Apr. and 24 June 1775 and B.G. 8 and 15 May 1775 (all Farroe). Some offered to take children from 5 years e.g. F.F.B.J. 29 Mar. 1775 (Gingell); ibid, 15 Jan. 1774 (Jones).

specializing in reading and needle-work, were now complemented by more genteel boarding and day-schools stressing French and fashionable accomplishments, and offering writing and arithmetic together with elements of an English education.[1]

It is unclear how far these changes undermined the traditional division between reading and writing or arithmetic. Writing was traditionally a vocational skill, taught by men alongside other mercantile skills, and not usually undertaken until children could read well. City Grammar schoolboys had to be able to read on entry, but learnt writing during the lower school, until they were eleven or so. Some children learning the classics did not begin to write letters until their teens,[2] while the pipemaker's son John Bryant began to copy letters with his father when 12.[3] Writing was usually considered a difficult art, best taught by a specialist. Of the 58 boys entering Temple school 1709-14, 45 could not write at all, five had 'started letters', four were 'indifferent good' and only three older boys had good writing hands. At charity schools writing was not taught until children could read well, and arithmetic only when writing was fluent.[4] Most girls at charity schools were not taught to write, and when the Elbridge school included writing a male teacher was employed for this aspect, just as male masters were brought in to

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1. See below, p.47.
2. C.P. Hill, A History of Bristol Grammar School (1951), pp.28-9; Bodl. MS Topog. Oxon F.31, fos.xliii-iv, 9, 326.
3. Bryant, Verses, p.vi.
4. P/Tem. Ka 3. Late learning of arithmetic: e.g. Bodl. MS Topog. Oxon F.31, fos. xliii, 8-9; B.A.O. 6783 for 1736; Bryant, Verses, p.xv; B. Donn, Mathematical Essays (2nd edn, 1764), preface.

private girls' schools to teaching writing and arithmetic, which remained optional extras.[1] Reading and writing were still not taught simultaneously, and writing remained a technical, vocational accomplishment, valued primarily for its use in running a business or household. Although the teaching of both skills within one single school must have lessened the tendency to end education after reading, writing remained a separate art acquired later, and hence vulnerable to other calls on the older child's time and labour.

The separation of reading and writing has vital implications for the standard test of literacy, namely the ability to sign.[2] Many children may have acquired some reading ability but left school too soon to learn to write, or, especially in the case of girls, not been thought to need writing. On the other hand the relatively advanced character of writing suggests that those able to sign, however crudely, were probably reasonably fluent readers. Although we cannot relate the ability to sign to any absolute levels of reading and writing, we can compare results over time and between occupations, assuming there was no decisive shift in the balance between reading and writing.

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1. Elbridge: B.A.O. 28049(25). One Red Maid's teacher was illiterate (C.V. 1697-8). Cf. Letters of J. Wesley, ed. F. Baker (2 vols, Oxford, 1980-2), II:14, and Butcher (ed.), Corporation, pp.75, 94. Anne Yearsley was taught to write by her brother (Poems on Several Occasions (1785), preface); B.C.L. 20095, 9 Dec. 1773 shows a seventeen-year-old girl learning to write. Male masters: e.g. B.J. 6 Apr. 1765 (Steel) and 21 Mar. 1772 (Donn) and p.47. Some girls' schools did teach all 3 Rs automatically, e.g. F.F.B.J. 23 Sept. 1769 (Morrish), B.G. 9 Jan 1772 (Stitch).
2. See O'Day, Education; W.B. Stephens, 'Illiteracy and Schooling in Provincial Towns 1640-1870', in D. Reeder (ed.), Urban Education in the Nineteenth Century (1977), pp.27-48; R.A. Houston, 'The Literacy Myth: Illiteracy in Scotland 1630-1750', Past and Present, 96 (1982), 89-102; idem, 'The Development of Literacy in Northern England 1640-1750', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd, XXV (1982), 199-216.

The figures in Tables I and II show levels of signing ability, first in the marriage registers of nine parishes 1754-60, covering 1,600 weddings, and secondly in the more exclusive marriage licence bonds for four decades between 1660 and 1750. The registers for the 1750s show 71.3% of men and 43% of women able to sign, compared with the 90.6% of men signing the bonds in the same decade. If we adjust the earlier bond figures by the same ratio, and allow for the changing cross-section of occupations in the bonds each decade, the figures suggest that at maximum 65% of men could sign in the 1660s, the percentage rising smoothly but only slightly up to the 71% of the 1750s. Unfortunately the bonds do not record female signatures, but court and apprentice records indicate that even middling and upper-class women in the seventeenth century were only 20-30% literate, implying considerable improvement in the next century.[1]

There is a clear correlation between the nature of men's occupations and their ability to sign. Professional, official and skilled service occupations were almost all 100% literate from the start; the retail and distributive trades were highly literate, much more so than the productive groups in the same trades. Gild records show exactly the same pattern.[2] The lowest literacy occurs among outdoor craftsmen, labourers, carriers and the like, although these groups are least well represented in the sources. The most variable figures were provided by the sailors, by far the largest group. Their

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1. B.A.O. 04417(2-3), 04434(1-3), 04435(1-2), Invs, App. 1636-1699; B.C.L. 6587. Women's eighteenth-century figures improve in sailors' inventories 1730-5, and some other lists, e.g. B.A.O. 6687(1), 13 Jan 1774 or P.R.O. C/108/128 (1779 list), but not in others, e.g. E.P./J/2/1, depositions or servants indentured to America listed in T.B.G.A.S., XCIX (1981), 127-40.
2. B.C.L. 4939 (Mercers) and 6529 (Taylors); B.A.O. 04370 (Soapmakers), 08155 (Bakers), 08156 (1-2) (Feltmakers), 4954 (3) (Taylors); B.L. Add. MS 28100 (Tylers).

poor showing in the 1690s and the 1750s, perhaps reflecting the impressment of less qualified men in war decades, contradicts the general pattern of improvement. Otherwise there is a trend towards complete literacy in many occupations, which is even clearer in the gild records. Indeed gild records and vestry books, both biased towards more respectable citizens, suggest an almost complete disappearance of illiteracy between 1640 and 1700.[1] The parish registers of the 1750s also indicate social stratification. The large, semi-industrial, semi-rural parish of St Philip, with only 65.5% male and 35.5% female literacy, was the least literate, while in the fashionable parish of St Augustine's 82% of men and no less than 62% of women could sign.

Generally the variation between occupations is more striking than changes in literacy over time, given the high initial standard of literacy in the city, where most of the artisan crafts were at least 80% literate. Bristolians took for granted higher urban literacy based on occupational needs. Parents were clearly prepared to pay for their sons, at least, to learn to write, and charity trustees assumed that any apprentice would need to know the 3Rs.[2] The occupational stratification of signing reflects this, but for that very reason it cannot establish definitively whether the same kind of pattern was true of reading skills. It seems likely that the vast majority of

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1. P/C.W.A. and V. Bks. The findings are corroborated by the sources listed in n.43 and by B.A.O. 8029 (11) (Artillery Company Minutes); B.A.O. 6687 (1) (Presbyterian minutes). Much lower literacy levels persist after 1700 in Q.S. Doggetts and for indentured servants.
2. P/Tem. Ka, 4 Sept. 1712; Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1977), pp.218-9; McGrath, Merchant Venturers, p.209; Butler, Sermon; Butler, Essay, p.7; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.11-13; rules of Q.E.H., Temple Colston and Pile Street. Teaching such skills was sometimes specified in sixteenth-century apprenticeship indentures, but I have found no examples after 1640.

Bristolians had gained some level of reading ability. The motive for this may have been less vocational than cultural or religious, although the charity school experience shows how religious motivations could stimulate more vocational training.

In tracing changes in secondary education we have no quantifiable test of attainment such as signatures, but we can perhaps put more reliance on the figures obtainable for schools and teachers. About 70 classical masters are recorded, over 60% of them from before 1700, but most of these men were clergymen teaching for only a few years at the public grammar schools. The City Grammar School, with two masters, was by far the most prestigious school, catering for between twenty and a hundred boys,[1] while the Cathedral Grammar School[2] and the Queen Elizabeth Free Grammar and Writing School at Redcliffe[3] both offered inadequate stipends, even for a single master, but probably catered for another fifty boys or so. After 1662 many nonconformist clergymen supported themselves by classical teaching, sometimes with premises and support from their congregations, while the Quakers organized a similar provision from a series of distinguished masters who often doubled as clerks to the Men's Meeting.[4] Henbury Grammar School was only three miles away,[5]

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1. Hill, B.G.S.; W.A. Sampson, A History of Bristol Grammar School (Bristol, 1912); C.C.P., July 1717, Nov. 1723; B.I.B.M., IV: 64-66.
2. E.T. Morgan, A History of Bristol Cathedral School (Bristol, 1913); C.S.P.D. 1689-90, p.541; F.F.B.J. 8 Nov. 1746.
3. P/Redcl. C.W.A. and V. Bks and school records; F.F.B.J. 12 May 1764; Barrett, History, p.597, Manchee, Charities, I:44 and II:45-51.
4. Hayden (ed.), Records, p.252; A. Gordon, Freedom after Ejection (Manchester, 1917), pp.91, 207, 367; Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1971), pp.xvii et seq.; J. Gough, Memoirs of the Life of James Gough (Dublin, 1781); Murch, Presbyterian Churches, p.48; F.F.B.J. 20 Sept. 1766 (Griffiths) and 1 Feb. 1772 (Lewis).
5. Bodl. MS CCC.C 390/1, fo.140; B.A.O. AC/WO/13 and AC/AC/44/2-3; F.F.B.J. 23 May 1761, 18 Mar. 1769; B.J. 16 May 1767; T.B.G.A.S., XXXVIII (1915), 169.

and private classical schools operated nearby.[1] In the eighteenth century 19 general masters are recorded running prestigious boarding and day schools which offered the classics, either taught by the headmaster, sometimes himself a clergyman, or by part-time clerical tutors.[2] Although these schools eclipsed the minor grammar schools, and forced the City Grammar to widen its curriculum and promote itself vigorously, it remained prosperous, and Latin as a subject was probably being taught as widely as ever in 1775.[3]

The attractions of the classics were two-fold. For a minority intending their children for the professions they provided a necessary vocational training, and a route to university, aided by arrangements for City Grammar boys to get scholarships at Oxford. The numbers going on to university (almost all to Oxford) or Inns of Court from Bristol were small, reaching a peak, for the years 1650-1750, in the decades 1660-80 when about 27 boys went to Oxford each decade, and falling to 15 to 20 thereafter, while attendance at Inns followed a similar pattern. Nearly all the university attenders went on to a career in the church or law.[4] Dissenting churches sponsored

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1. In Bristol: Bodl. MS CCC.C 390/1, fo.129; E.P./V/3 St., Aug. 1670, St. James 1685. Outside: Bodl. MS Topog. Oxon F 31 (N. Freind at Westersleigh).
2. E.g. E. Collins: B.B.S.J. 4 June 1743; B.J. 28 Dec. 1751, 29 Mar. 1766; F.F.B.J. 22 Apr. 1758, 29 Mar. 1766. Or J. Jones: F.F.B.J. 9 May 1752, 14 Apr. 1753; B.W.I. 1 Oct. 1757; B.J. 29 Mar. 1766, 20 June 1767, 16 Jan. 1768, 26 Aug. 1769, 6 Jan. 1770, 12 Jan. 1771, 16 Jan. and 19 June 1773, 15 Jan. 1774.
3. W. Goldwin, A Poetical Description of Bristol (1712), preface; Catcott, Exercises; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.37-42; Some Thoughts on ... Education in Public Schools (Bristol, 1750); F.F.B.J. 16 Mar. 1754; C.C.P. Sept. 1766; B.I.B.M., I:124-6, IV:64-66,88; D. Defoe, A Tour through Whole Island of Great Britain (2 vols, 1778 edn), II:249. Some contemporaries thought the classics unpopular, e.g. Some Thoughts, pp.5-6; Foot, Essay, p.3; Southey, Life, I:77, but others disagreed, e.g. Butler, Essay, pp.41, 78-84; Complete Chatterton, I:417; and see p.57.
4. Catcott, Exercises, pp.48-50; An Apology for the Clergy of ... Bristol (1712); B.A.O. 26226, 11 Feb. 1772; B.I.B.M., passim, e.g. I:93, 128, 135, 142; European Mag., LIII (1808), p.323 (on T. Goodall); Barrett, History, p.127; Holman, 'Higher Education'.

similar ministerial training by their clergy, or sent boys to academies elsewhere.[1] Only the Baptists established an academy within Bristol, most of whose students were Welsh,[2] but by 1770 nearby Kingswood was training Methodist preachers as well as younger boys.[3] The great majority of grammar school boys left for apprenticeships, including the eldest sons of the elite,[4] so for them the classics were not vocationally but culturally important, part of the heritage of the future governors of the city. The Corporation maintained close ties with the City Grammar School, involving it in civic ceremony and providing reasonably generous funding.[5] Neither the civic nor vocational attractions of Latin applied to girls, and the only girls taught Latin were exceptional scholars tutored by fathers or clergymen.[6]

During this period the classical curriculum came under fierce attack from other secondary teachers, mostly writing-masters and mathematicians. Twenty-seven writing-masters and seven mathematicians were recorded before 1700, and 106 and 19 respectively thereafter. The burgess and apprentice records suggest an especially strong increase in their numbers in the early eighteenth century.

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1. J. Reynolds, Memoirs of the Life (1735), pp.23-6; J. Jarvis, A Sermon at the death of M. Pope (1788), p.26; B.A.O. 6687(1), 20 Jan 1692 and 6687(3); B.I.B.M., II:640; B.J. 10 Aug. 1771 (Warrington); and see p.41.
2. N.S. Moon, Education for the Ministry (Bristol, 1979).
3. A.H.L. Hastling et al., History of Kingswood School (1898); A.G. Ives, Kingswood School (1970).
4. C.C.P. July 1717.
5. B.A.O. 04417(1), 30 May and 14 June 1657; Q.S. Minutes 1653-71, G.J. Presentment, Oct. 1670; B.A.O. B.M.C. 2/2-6; T.B.G.A.S., LXI (1939), 250-1, 260; Catcott, Exercises; Bodl. G.A. Glos B4a, nos.328-34, 519-26; F.F.B.J. 9 May 1752, 31 May 1760, 21 Mar. 1761, 28 Jan 1764, 13 May 1769; B.J. 22 Oct. 1768; Latimer, 18C, p.396.
6. H.M.C. 63 Egmont, II:105; J. Leech, Brief Romances from Bristol History (Bristol 1884), p.253-5; H. Thompson, Life of Hannah More (1838), p.8.

Charity school foundations, together with several legacies for navigational teaching at that period, explain part of the growth, but such masters were mainly in the private sector, and even those working for charities depended heavily on private teaching.[1] The typical master concentrated on writing, arithmetic, merchants' accounts and simple navigation, while the mathematicians concentrated on more advanced areas of practical mathematics. Many of these men also practised the trades of scrivening, accountancy, instrument-making, surveying or navigating which they taught, and probably more practitioners of these trades than we are aware of acted as teachers. The fees charged by such masters varied according to the specialism involved, but basic writing and mathematics might cost between £1 and £2 a year.[2] Girls who required such education were taught by these masters, sometimes part-time but often in the same schools as the boys.[3]

During the eighteenth century an important group among these masters sought to widen their appeal, justifying longer teaching and higher fees, by expanding their curriculum. Some of them sought greater prestige for their vocational subjects by associating them with scientific advance, offering a massive list of skills taught by experiment, models and Newtonian principles.[4] Others looked to an

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1. Eames, 'Contribution', pp.147-9; below, p.61, for mixed private and charity. Mathematicians: e.g. W. Thomas, B.J. 28 Feb. 1767, 8 July 1775; F.F.B.J. 25 June 1768, 30 June 1774; or H. Jones, F.F.B.J. 19 Oct. 1771. Writing master: e.g. F.F.B.J. 7 Jan 1775 (Tilladams).
2. B.C.L. 20095, Jan. 1752; B.A.O. AC/JS/15/21-3 and 6783 for 1736; B.C.L. 7959, fo.122; F.F.B.J. 1 Jan 1757 (Rice); ibid., 1 Jan. 1774 and B.J. 28 May 1774 (Sawyer).
3. Bodl. MS Topog. Oxon F. 31, fos. xxx-xxxv, 55, 196, 344; B.A.O. 33288 (60), fos. 4, 8-9, AC/JS/29/22 for 1723; Bristol Memorialist (1823), 24; Baker, Rules, p.iv; Jones, Steps, pp.5, 10, 17, 21; B. Donn, An Epitome of Natural and Experimental Philosophy (Bristol, 1769), p.xi; F.B.N. 12 Aug. 1727; B.C. 31 Jan. 1761 (Cope); B.J. 13 Oct. 1770 and 9 Jan. 1771 (Cook), 5 June 1773 (Watts).
4. See pp.55-6.

expanded English education, criticizing both the reading teachers and the subjection of boys to a useless classical grindstone. They offered to teach children to write and converse correctly in English and stock their conversation with historical and geographical knowledge and polite literature, both English belles-lettres and translated classics.[1] Some masters sought to improve their social standing by running boarding as well as day schools. Boarders normally paid a little more for each subject studied, while many extra costs accumulated.[2] Nevertheless the boarding schools were not expensive, some going as low as £10 a year, which can only just have covered reasonable maintenance, with an average of £12-14.[3] Exclusive Bristol schools might charge £15-20, but this was still far less than the great public schools.[4]

The competition among these teachers encouraged vigorous self-advertisement, but it is hard to judge how novel their educational offerings were. The chief impact on the pupils may have been to lessen the tendency to mobility from one specialist master to another, and the growth in private schools of slightly larger size and stability, producing more of the school tradition previously

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1. Baker, Rules, pp.v, x; Jones, Steps, pp.20-8; Foot, Essay, pp.9-14; Butler, Essay, pp.33-50; Gough, Practical Grammar, p.viii; Farroe, Royal, dedication; F.F.B.J. 30 Dec. 1752 (Rouquet), 23 Jan. 1768 (poem to Williams); B.J. 20 June 1767 (Jones); 29 May 1773 (Donn).
2. Wesley, Letters, II:470; B.J. 29 Dec. 1764 (Newland school), 10 Dec. 1768 and 18 Mar. 1769 (Symons), 21 Mar. 1772 (Donn); F.F.B.J. 3 June 1770 (Bath school).
3. Cheapest: F.F.B.J. 16 Apr. 1763 (Chepstow girls'), B.J. 30 Mar. 1765 (Chew Stoke boys' and Newlands girls'). Average: B.J. 18 Mar. 1769 (Clifton girls'), 31 Dec. 1768 (Cope boys'). 'Tabling' alone might cost £12-14, e.g. B.A.O. AC/WO/9/21, and even charity school boarders cost £7-10 p.a. to maintain.
4. B.A.O. 26226 19 Apr. 1772 and 28048 F.13 (1773-7) (both Foot's); B.J. 21 Sept. 1770 (Lewis), 12 Jan. 1771 (Jones), 18 Dec. 1773 (Goodall). Eton and Charterhouse: B.A.O. AC/AS/8/5-9 and B.C.L. 14799, fos.5, 130, 141.

associated only with grammar and charity schools.[1] But the vast majority of these schools were still one-man ventures, using part-time tutors to expand the curricula.

Among the most important of these were the teachers of accomplishments. Sixty-four of these are recorded, of whom only two, both fencing masters, are mentioned before 1700. The majority of them taught languages (23), dancing (21), or music (11). In 1775 there were at least four language masters in Bristol, as well as two Huguenot ministers who taught French, several music masters, a dancing master, and masters of riding and fencing.[2] They attended schools, usually charging 10s 6d a quarter, but also held group classes in public rooms, and offered home tuition (at double the cost).[3]

Although all male, these teachers were particularly active in the education of girls. They attended the girls' boarding and day schools which grew rapidly in prominence from the 1730s. Most of the 26 women teachers recorded before 1700 were involved in the girls' orphan school, but the 76 women recorded after 1700 include a growing number running their own schools, some of considerable renown. By 1775 the Directory listed ten girls' boarding schools, and two more were run by the wives of the French ministers.[4] The basic curriculum of

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1. For uniforms, games, reunions, school rivalries, etc., see e.g. B.A.O. 26226, 1 July 1771; Southey, Life, I:75, 98, 113; Murch, Presbyterian Churches p.127. Bluett Jones (B.A.O. AC/JS/15/21-3) and Sarah Thurlby (B.A.O. AC/JS/29/22) were both receiving in the 1720s from specialist teachers the mixture of accomplishments little advertised until the 1740s.
2. Fencing: App. 12 Oct. 1638 (son of R. Phillips fencer); Inv. E. Cooke 1687 (debt to Mr. Hawley fencer); F.F.B.J. 26 Sept. 1775 (fencing acad.). Languages: B.J. 21 Mar. 1772 (Deneuil), 28 Aug. 1773 (Sastres); F. Sastres, An Introduction to Italian Grammar (Bristol, 1775). Dancing: B.A.O. 26226, 1 July 1771; F.F.B.J. 21 Mar. 1761 (Allen); B.O.C.A. 24 Mar. 1744, O.C.A. 9 Nov. 1745, B.W.I. 29 Sept. 1750, B.J. 31 Jan, 14 Feb., 7 Mar. and 13 June 1767 (all Castiglione). Riding: F.F.B.J. 2 Apr. 1764 (Linfield).
3. See pp.62-3 for costs.
4. Glos. Jour. 30 Apr. and 7 May 1734 (Lewis) is the earliest girls' boarding-school recorded, run by a dancing-master and his wife. More's school: Roberts, Memoirs of More, and M.G. Jones, Hannah More (Cambridge, 1952). Cf. the Roscoes, an acting family: B.W.I. 16 Dec. 1749; F.F.B.J. 19 Dec. 1761, 7 Jan. 1764, 28 Sept. 1771; B.J. 28 May 1768.

reading and needlework and/or French would cost 10s 6d to 12s 6d a quarter, with writing, arithmetic and the accomplishments as extras.[1] It seems likely that middling and elite Bristolians were spending more on their daughters' educations than before, and that women were getting a wider education.[2] Offsetting this was the growing emphasis on gentility in female education to the exclusion of practical subjects. By the 1760s writing-masters who had run co-educational schools increasingly segregated the sexes.[3]

Education and Cultural Change

The evidence on the availability and attainment of primary education does not support the notion of a clear divide between popular and literate culture. Basic, functional literacy was very widely shared in Bristol by all above the labouring classes, and reading ability probably more widespread. There are, however, indications that secondary masters were taking an increased interest in the more advanced aspects of literacy and that this development, together with an expansion in secondary schooling and its curricula, may have strengthened the gap between popular and polite culture. To examine this properly we need to consider closely the content and quality of education. This section will concentrate on the different aims for education, while the final section considers how far these reflected practical realities.

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1. R.B. Powell, The English Child in the Eighteenth Century (1939), pp.122-4; B.C.L. 14799; B.J. 31 Jan. 1753 (Harris), 10 Dec. 1768 (Bonny), 2 May 1772 (Day), 28 May 1774 (Sawyer).
2. See below, p.58.
3. F.F.B.J. 28 Mar. 1760 (Williams), 7 Feb. 1762 (Roscoe), 7 Oct. 1779 (Bolster). For co-education see p.44, and for a late example B.J. 25 Mar. 1775 (Farroe).

Historians have suggested a 'new world' for children after 1660, involving a relaxation of discipline and a 'liberal' attitude to their development, both in school and outside. They have also noted that this development only assisted the children of the better off, both because it required greater resources and because only they could hope to benefit from it in later life. Sensitivity to the need to suit education to life might promote a less 'enlightened' attitude to the education of the poor, limited to an effort to reform their manners and habituate them to work.

There are certainly echoes of these developments in the discussions about education in Bristol at the time. The debate on charity schools was firmly based on the need for 'social control',[1] and the curricula of these schools continued to involve rote learning of religious texts, unrelieved by new schoolbooks, while the discipline remained harsh.[2] Meanwhile the proponents of the new English education were arguing for radical changes in order to attract children to learning and stimulate their interest in the world of books and culture, ready for their adult life. They attacked the rote learning of words, substituting the study of things, graded to suit the child's age and introduced with the aid of toys and experiments. As soon as possible they sought to introduce children to the principles behind each subject, so that they could accept rationally what they were taught not merely believe it slavishly.[3] This

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1. See statements of intent, sermons and letters in F.F.B.J. 27 Oct. 1753 and 6 June 1767.
2. The most detailed curriculum is given in P/Tem. Ka 1(1), May 1710 and Ka 3. Examples of severe correction (e.g. B.A.O. 04418(1), 11 Feb. 1752, 8 Jan. 1774) must be set against rules referring to 'gentle and seasonable' correction (e.g. B.A.O. 28049 (25), 04418 (1), 3 July 1758).
3. See pp.36, 44-5; Some Thoughts, p.8; Donn, Essays, preface; idem, The Accountant and Geometrician (1765), p.iii; idem, An Essay on Mechanical Geometry (Bristol, 1796), p.ix; Southey, Life, I:48, 92-3; J. Fuller, The Rise and Progress of Dissent (Bristol, 1840), p.238.

stimulated a vogue for 'grammatical' approaches to language, together with Newtonian methods in practical mathematics.[1] The emphasis in discipline shifted to winning the child's trust, and stimulating endeavour by prizes rather than punishing failure. Otherwise the child would associate knowledge with pain rather than pleasure.[2] Finally, great attention was to be paid to the genius of each child. He was to be educated according to his abilities and his future social station, not fitted into the square hole of either a full classical education or a vocational training.[3] The emphasis was on a general education, encouraging the individual to develop his own interests, both in school and afterwards.

These ideas appealed to those who could afford private education in Bristol, and the grammar school masters adjusted their methods along the same lines.[4] Much of the attraction lay in the social implications of the different approaches, the one associated with public education of the poor and the other with the private tutoring of the rich, here rendered accessible to the middle classes.[5] Nevertheless the distinction should not be overdrawn. As we have

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1. For mathematics see p.56, n.1. Grammar: Gough, Practical Grammar; Sastres, Italian Grammar; F.F.B.J. 3 Nov. 1753 (poem), 14 Apr. 1753 (Jones), 5 July 1766 (Davies); B.J. 29 Oct. 1768 (Withers), 21 Mar. 1772 (Deneuil).
2. Foot, Essay, pp.1-10, 25; Butler, Essay, pp.81-4; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.37-42; B.W.I. 16 Dec. 1749 (Roscoe); B.J. 17 Mar. 1764 (Baynes), 13 Jan. and 9 June 1770. Prizes were used earlier, e.g. Bodl. MS Topog. Oxon F.31, fos.4-8; p.43, n.5, for B.G.S. competitions.
3. Foot, Essay, p.17; Butler, Essay, pp.52-3; F.F.B.J. 15 Aug. 1767, 2 July 1768 (essays); B.J. 6 Jan. and 14 Apr. 1770 (Hathway). Again, earlier examples exist, e.g. Bodl. MS Topog Oxon F.31, fos.174-5, 248; Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1977), p.168.
4. See above, p.42; A.S. Catcott, An Answer to the Observations (Bristol, 1737), p.57; F.F.B.J. 22 Apr. 1758 (Collins and Cocking); S. Seyer, Essays on Important Truths Contained in Holy Scriptures (1761), pp.73, 78-9.
5. J.H. Bettey, The Rise of a Gentry Family (Bristol, 1978), pp.19-20 (lenient Smyth family tutor c.1640). High cost of intensive tuition: B.J. 18 Apr. 1772 (Harwood) and 20 June 1772 (Davis).

seen, the poor could not be coerced into school, and the ideals of charity education were often more rigorous than the practice. There also remained important limits on the notion of a 'liberal education' for the prosperous.

In all their discussions of educational purpose Bristolians agreed that the chief aim was to train children into habits of virtue and industry. Children were 'tender plants' or waxen moulds, requiring firm management if they were to be prevented from going to the bad, either from innate vice or the harmful impressions of city life. Schooling and apprenticeship were valued as much for removing children from temptation and putting them to work as for any precise curriculum.[1] Though educationists condemned excessive discipline, they also accused parents of neglect and spoiling of children.[2] While parents were attracted by the pedagogical schemes proposed by reformers, they also wanted their children to be educated by masters who had a proven grasp of the practice of the subjects they taught, rather than a professional training as teachers, and they remained obstinately attached to the external symbols of achievement, such as a smattering of the classics, or a fashionable accomplishment, to the regret of those masters who wanted them to concentrate on the cultivation of the all-round man.[3] The City Grammar School was

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1. J. Brown, The Merchants' Avizo (1607); R. Purnell, A Little Cabinet Richly Stored (1657), pp.386-7; S. Crossman, The Young Man's Monitor (1664), p.9; H. Waterman, A Sermon ... Before ... Guardians of Poor (Bristol, 1699), p.13; C. Brent, Persuasions to a Publick Spirit (1704), pp.21-2; J. Harcourt, A Sermon ... upon Death of Colston (1721), pp.13-17; W. Davies, Sermons on Religious and Moral Subjects (Bristol, 1754), pp.209-44; B.C.L. 24651, 7 June 1758; B.W.I. 24 July 1750 (essay); F.F.B.J. 2 and 9 Sept. 1764, 6 June 1767, 15-29 Aug. 1767, 2 July 1768 (essays).
2. B. Coole, Miscellanies (1712), pp.1-5; Epistle of Friendly Advice (Men's Meeting of Quakers, Bristol 1719), p.23; Foot, Essay, p.18; Butler, Essay, pp.24-9, 81-4; J. Freame, Scripture Instruction Digested (3rd edn, Bristol, 1769), pp.xiv-xvi; F.F.B.J. 9 June 1764 (poem), 25 May 1765 (Grand Jury presentment); Bristol and Bath Mag., 189, 268.
3. Butler, Essay, pp. 41, 78-80; pp.59, 62.

able to play on its image as a centre of these old-fashioned virtues (the master with cane at high desk, the diet of hard subjects and the traditions of public oration and versifying) at the same time as adjusting to the new ideas.[1]

The preservation of traditional priorities is clear in the continued stress on religious and moral education. Although mostly discussed in relation to the poor, this was considered vital for all social groups, and in a face-to-face society it was assumed that the example of the better-off would be the chief influence on the behaviour of the lower classes anyway.[2] Religion appeared the only adequate insurance of virtue; the different denominations agreed on the moral and social values education should promote, except in minor details of accommodation to worldly conversation.[3] Teachers were held responsible for children's behaviour and religious practice. Religious worship was often included in the school timetable.[4] Religious texts, particularly the Bible, were central in the process of learning to read for all classes, and the new children's books at the end of the period retained a strong moralistic bias. Although secondary schooling was less immediately of religious relevance,

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1. See p.42, n.3.
2. The 2nd edn. of Crossman, Monitor, called The Young Man's Calling (1675) added a collection of exemplary lives; J. Chetwind, A Memorial for Magistrates (1682), p.31; Serious Admonition and Tender Advice (Men's Meeting of Quakers, Bristol, 1706), p.5; W. Goldwin, The Light of an Exemplary Life (1734); B.J. 28 Mar. 1766.
3. See above, p.50, and also Epistle, pp.20 et seq.; Butler, Essay, p.8; Some Thoughts, p.18; Bevan-Naish 2752 (Meeting letters for 1750-2); Arm. Mag., XV (1792), 51-2, 264-72; F.F.B.J. 18 Feb. 1775 (Mercator).
4. Hill, B.G.S., pp.28-9; B.A.O. 04417(1) Jan. 1657, 04417(3), 21 Oct. 1667, QS minutes, Jan. 1672-3; E.P./V/3 1684; Told, Account, pp.4-5,73; Southey, Life, I:57; Rules of Pile Street; Farroe, Royal, p.139; B.J. 23 Sept. 1769 (Lewis). Advertisements for masters stressed his character, e.g., F.F.B.J. 25 Oct. 1766; B.J. 8 Aug. 1767.

exponents of every subject felt it important to explain the importance of their topic, either to natural theology or to understanding of the Bible, while history and the classics were valued primarily for their moral wisdom.[1] Tension between the classical and the Christian inheritance provoked a continuing debate over grammar school teaching, and the City Grammar school masters of the eighteenth century took considerable pains to stress the importance they placed on religious education.[2] These masters were of course all clergymen, as were many other teachers.

The religious divisions in Bristol after 1660 led to complex changes, rather than a simple decline, in the place of religion in schools. Despite occasional attacks on nonconformist education, chiefly in the 1680s, prosperous parents were left to decide their children's education, and were often swayed by religious affiliation.[3] In many respects pluralism encouraged attention to religious training, as each denomination, particularly the minority groups who made least concessions to worldly practice like the Quakers and Methodists, saw education as imperative to their survival and

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1. Bodl. MS Topog. Oxon F 31, fos.97-8; S. Sturmy, The Mariner's Magazine (1669), 'Friendly Advertisement'; J. Chetwind, Anthologia Historica (1674); L. Steel, Shorthand Begun by Nature (1678), preface; Baker, Rules, preface and p.106; Jones, Steps, pp.4-5; Foot, Essay, pp.14, 17-26; Butler, Essay, pp. 7-18; Donn, Epitome, pp. 5, 119, 184; J. N., Select Lessons in Prose and Verse (Bristol 1755); H. More, Essays on Various Subjects (1777), p.165.
2. P/Tem. Ka 4, 3 Jan. 1711; Goldwin, Description, preface; idem, Light; Catcott, Answer, p.86; Some Thoughts, pp.14-18; Seyer, Essays.
3. After 10 licences granted in the 1660s and 4 in the 1670s, very few are granted, almost all for the major public schools (E.P./A/10/1/4 and 7 and A/35). E.P./V/3 presentments rarely mention teachers except in 1684-5. Hostility to a sectarian teacher: B. Blaugdone, Account of Travels (1691), pp.5-6, but contrast E. Calamy, Historical Account (2 vols, 1829), I:316.

prosperity.[1] But public disputes only broke out over the character of religious education in public institutions. Between 1690 and 1715 religious rivalries stimulated efforts to proselytise the poor through schools and ensured bitter opposition to schools identified too closely with one party. The Tories denounced the City Workhouse as a Whig ploy,[2] while Colston's various schemes, which were all intended to revive Anglicanism, alienated other groups sympathetic to the wider aim of reformation of manners through education. The Society for the Reformation of Manners' educational scheme sought to avoid trouble by sponsoring masters rather than establishing schools, but still foundered on Whig-Tory jealousies. As rival denominations opened their own schools, so the education of the poor suffered, both because distrust limited the success of school projects and because charity education became more narrowly denominational.

On the other hand, religious pluralism encouraged an ecumenical approach to religious teaching for the prosperous. Private masters could not afford to alienate clients from any religious group, and so concentrated on the uncontentious areas of social morality and inner virtue, rather than creeds. The City Grammar School, established on firm Anglican lines in 1660, gradually relaxed its rules after the Whigs gained control of the Corporation, and the rules of 1745 merely

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1. Methodists: p.43; A.H. Body, John Wesley and Education (1936); George Whitefield's Journals, ed. W. Wale (1905), pp.233-5; Wesley, Letters, II:14, 58, 64-5. Quakers: p.35; Men's Meeting letters and works by Steel, Coole, Freame, cited pp.50-51; D. Dole, A Salutation to Children (1683); Primitive Testimony (Men's Meeting of Quakers, Bristol, 1732), esp. pp.35-6; A. Purver, Counsel to Friends' Children (n.p., n.d.); J. Fry, An Essay on Conduct (3rd edn, Bristol, 1776).
2. See above, pp.34-5, esp. McClure, Chapter, pp.279, 300; P/Tem Ka 1(1), May 1712 and Ka, 4 Feb. 1711; Some Considerations. See also Latimer, 18C, pp.80, 108; W.K. Lowther Clark, A History of the SPCK (1959), p.53; Harcourt, Sermon upon Colston, p.32; SMV Hallbook, 18 Feb. and 3 July 1718; B.L. 291 b.24 (annotated pollbook noting children in schools); Bodl. MS Willis 43, fos.113-4.

insisted that all boys attend some religious service.[1] Although religious controversy provided a good reason for all groups to value a thorough training for their ministers, so that many of the best schools grew out of concern to give the best and widest preparation for future clergymen, it also brought doctrinal emphasis into disrepute, reinforcing the tendency to concentrate on morality, natural theology or an inner spirituality not teachable by rote. This may have fostered a 'liberal' approach to religious teaching for the better off, in contrast to the 'evangelical' training of the poor.[2]

If undue attention to 'liberal' aspects of secondary education can obscure continuing religious and moral priorities, it also ignores the continuing centrality of vocational training. Even parents who wished their sons to learn Latin did not want them to ignore more practical subjects.[3] The City Grammar School increased its quota

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1. Sampson, B.G.S., pp.89-96, 119; Foot, Essay, pp.20-25; Butler, Essay, p.30; Some Thoughts, pp.14-18; Glos. Jour. 3 Jan. 1763 (James). For an exception: F.F.B.J. 9 Jan. 1762 (Williams); Southey, Life, I:69.
2. Nonconformist schools: p.43. The Civil War debate over human learning raged between Presbyterians (e.g. R. Farmer, Satan Inthron'd (1657), p.60; W. Thomas, Rayling Rebuked (1656), p.41) and Quakers or Baptists (T. Speed, Christ's Innocency Pleaded (1656), p.24; R. Purnell et al., The Church of Christ in Bristol (1657), pp.55, 62-4). See Moon, Education, for changing Baptist attitudes, summarised in the annual sermons to the Bristol Education Society, e.g., H. Evans, The Able Minister (Bristol, 1773). For natural theology: B.W.I. 21 Apr. and 16 June 1750; B.J. 7 June 1750. Inner spirituality: e.g. Baker, Rules, p.106, and F.F.B.J. 18 Jan 1766 (Penny). Critiques of catechistical teaching: Foot, Essay, pp.14-27; Butler, Essay, pp.7-18; Davies, Sermons, p.212; F.F.B.J. 2 July 1768; Arm. Mag., VI (1783), 380-3, but cf. continued Baptist interest, e.g. Angus 18 c 13e, fos.34-36; B. Beddome, A Scriptural Exposition of the Baptist Catechism (Bristol, 1776). Anglican ministers catechised regularly around Lent (see Ralph (ed.), 'Secker's Diocese Book'). Masters with nonconformist backgrounds often opened private schools, e.g. R. Henderson: C. Atmore, The Methodist Memorial (Bristol, 1801), pp.183-5; B.G. 13 Jan. and 2 June 1774, 11 June 1775, 13 June 1776.
3. B.C.L. 24651, 7 June and 21 Aug. 1758. Cf. B.A.O. 26226, 1 July 1771, 19 Apr. 1772, 14 and 28 Jan. and 26 June 1773, 18 Feb. and 18 Mar. 1775 (relative advantages of vocational training or Foot's school).

of writing lessons, while the Redcliffe Grammar and Writing School and the Quaker school offered both classical and vocational lessons.[1] As both kinds of masters complained, parents often moved their children between writing and classical schools - particularly perhaps before the growth of general schools.[2] The writing masters who pioneered a broader English education remained primarily teachers of useful subjects, and in their attacks on the classics they combined assertions that English was culturally equal to Latin with shrewder appeals to the greater commercial utility of a mastery of the English language, mathematics and world affairs.[3] Although the more pretentious of them might also offer the classics and fashionable accomplishments as optional extras, the core curriculum consisted of the 3Rs, history, geography, accounts and some practical mathematics, while the modest list of social accomplishments taught was dwarfed by the range of abstruse, but technically useful, scientific skills they could impart, from altimetry to trigonometry.[4]

Two developments helped to blur the contrast between the vocational and the polite. The first was the growing cultural prestige of science and technology. By the mid-eighteenth century the leading Bristol mathematical teachers, such as William Ramsay and Benjamin Donn, and visiting scientific lecturers, could present Newtonian experimental science as a natural aspect of polite learning,

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1. Hill, B.G.S., pp.27-30; Mortimer (ed), Minutes (1977), pp.95, 118, 167; and for Redcliffe: B.I.B.M., III:85-90; B.C.L. 14799, fo.121; F.F.B.J. 30 Dec. 1758, 12 Aug. 1769; p.41, n.3.
2. B.I.B.M., I:118; B.A.O. 11109 (19), fo.1; B.C.L. 14799, fos.121, 130; Catcott, Exercises, pp.vi-viii.
3. See p.45, n.1.
4. E.g. the changing advertisements of two writingmasters: N. Cope (F.F.B.J. 5 June 1756, 16 May and 25 July 1761, 10 July 1762; B.J. 28 Mar. 1767, 31 Dec. 1768, 5 Jan. 1771, 14 Jan. 1775) and R. Lewis (B.J. 26 Aug. and 23 Sept. 1769, 13 Jan. 1770, 1 and 22 Sept. 1770). Lewis' last advertisements still offered education geared to specific occupations.

both for adults and children. This was not entirely new; for example the Bristol mathematician Samuel Sturmy in his Mariner's Magazine of 1668 had urged the genteel to master the navigational arts, while trying to teach practical mariners the theories behind their habits, but Donn could assume the genteel acceptance which Sturmy craved.[1] The second change was the growing complexity of the vocational skills required in the city. Expanding occupations such as accountancy, land surveying and mechanized industry required new standards of training, while the growing number of manuals and guides to the practice of different occupations were lessening the significance of traditional training and increasing the demand for a flexible, literate response to changing economic circumstances. It made sound vocational sense to equip more children in a complex range of relevant subjects earlier mastered only by merchants, who had relied chiefly on practical experience as factors overseas.[2]

The distinction between the polite and the vocational is further complicated when we consider more closely the main accomplishments valued in a liberal education. It is easy to be impressed either by the growing importance of fashionable accomplishments, preparing the child for the world of plays, concerts and assemblies, or by the increased importance of the belles-lettres, suggesting a growing concern to develop the cultural potential of each child. These were

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1. Sturmy, Mariner's Magazine, 'Epistle to King' and preface to 1st Book; Oracle 18 June 1742 (Ramsay); B.O. 17 Sept. 1748, 8 July 1749 (Jones); F.F.B.J. 1 Jan. 1757 (Rice); ibid. 30 Jan. 1768, B.J. 6 Jan. and 14 Apr. 1770 (Hathaway); Donn, Essays, pp.xxvi-xxxvi; idem, Accountant, p.111; B.J. 29 May 1773 (Donn) and letters supporting Donn in F.F.B.J. and B.J. 13 Feb. 1773 and B.G. 6 May 1773.
2. The few guides produced locally include J. Vicary, The Young Shopkeeper's, Steward's and Factor's Companion (1768), and J. Southcote, The Seamen's Journal Book (Bristol, 1774). For merchants see Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol, ed. P.V. McGrath (B.R.S., XIX, 1955).

not the primary interests of the advocates of educational change. Their chief concern was to fit children for the public life of the city, by giving them access to what was revealingly summed up as 'the art of conversation'. The ideal product was not a connoisseur or literary man, but a public man able to carry himself well among his equals, at coffeehouse, tavern, exchange or club, discussing current affairs.[1] In this context it was not enough to be able to read well; elocution and oration were vital skills taught both by Bristol masters and visiting lecturers.[2] The literature preferred was of this public kind, while history and geography were the ideal subjects, both relevant and improving.[3]

Such an education could be wide-ranging and demanding, but lent itself easily to cut-price versions, in which the advantages of good reading and writing, together with a grasp of world affairs and pronunciation sufficient to avoid solecism, could launch the upwardly mobile into city life. Some of the humbler English masters appealed precisely to this market,[4] while the grammar school supporters defended their tradition by portraying all their rivals as being of this kind, and deriding the superficiality of the 'coffee-house wits' it produced.[5] The strongest adherents of the ancients versus the

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1. Jones, Steps, pp.1-4; Butler, Essay, pp.3-4, 58-62, 93; Some Thoughts, p.8; B.J. 6 Jan. 1770 (Jones), 5 Jan. 1771 (Cope) and 15-29 Aug. 1767 (letters). Foot, Essay, pp.4 and 15, however, stresses preparation for private leisure.
2. B.O. 9 Jan. 1748 (Foot); B.W.I. 16 Dec. 1749, B.J. 28 May 1768 (Roscoe); F.F.B.J. 17 Apr. to 19 June 1756 and B.J. 29 May 1756 ('Bristol Oratory'); F.F.B.J. 12 Nov. 1763, 7 Nov. 1767, B.J. 6 Jan. 1770, 14 Aug. and 6-27 Nov. 1773 (Jones). Visiting orators included Angier (B.W.I. 16 Mar. 1751) and Sheridan (F.F.B.J. 13 Aug. 1763).
3. Jones, Steps, 2-5; Foot, Essay, p.14; Butler, Essay, pp.73-4, 91-4; Some Thoughts, p.10.
4. Jones, Steps, pp.1-3, 19-22 and even Butler, Essay, pp.60-2, 81.
5. Catcott, Exercises, pp.vi-viii; F.F.B.J. 31 May and 26 June 1760 (Alcestis), 20 Sept. 1760 (Civis), 13 Aug. 1763 ('Noddle'); pp.42 n.3, 43 n.5.

moderns, however, were members of the older professions, to whom the classical inheritance was vocationally central as well as culturally satisfying.

The choice between vocational and cultural priorities seemed clearest in female education. The growth in female secondary education led to fears that girls were shunning the necessary skills of sewing and housewifery for the pursuit of trifling accomplishments. Such girls would either fail to win a good husband, or ruin him by extravagant habits.[1] But, if marriage was the key to female social mobility, then courtship tactics were well worth studying, while more women were finding employment in service industries requiring knowledge of fashion. In practice more women were probably acquiring the literacy and business skills they needed for city trading as well, which may help to explain male anxiety.

The Limitations of Schooling

This section considers the practical restraints on educational change in Bristol, ending with a brief consideration of the relative significance of formal schooling in cultural formation. We have already seen how many varying priorities parents and teachers sought to combine in education, often with contradictory effects. Unlike today, however, the choices were left largely to the individual, and the results governed by the open market.[2] Public provision was confined to the poorest classes and operated uneasily even there. The nature, quality and resources of schooling depended on the individual teachers attracted to the occupation, and the level and nature of

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1. Bevan-Naish 1227, fo.65; Robinson, Memoirs, pp.22-4; More, Essays, pp.123-57; idem, Search after Happiness (Bristol, 1773); F.F.B.J. 16 July 1763, 24-31 Oct. 1767, ('S.G.'); B.J. 28 May 1768 (poem to Roscoe), 10 Dec. 1768 ('G.K.'), 31 Mar. 1770 ('C.E.'), Bristol and Bath Mag., 209.
2. To the regret of Butler, Essay, pp.24-5; and cf. Foot, Essay, p.3.

public demand. In a competitive market teachers were responsive and flexible in catering to different needs, but competition jeopardized the quality of education and the scope for major change.

The nature of the occupation did not encourage a high standard of professionalism in teaching. Even those who thought education vital did not accord teachers high social status.[1] It was widely viewed as an occupation for young men waiting for a better position, particularly clergymen, or for those active in a field close to an aspect of teaching, who could supplement their income, or turn to teaching in hard times.[2] Few schools could offer a permanent career to a master, except grammar and charity schools, where the old age, even of once able masters, posed dangers as unpensioned teachers hung on while schools deteriorated.[3] Normally teachers could find greater security and income elsewhere, while parents might prefer masters with vocational experience to dedicated teachers.[4]

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1. On professionalism see O'Day, Education, pp.165-78 and Holmes, Augustan England, pp.43-80. B.J. 17 Aug. 1761 refers to the 'humble status' of Stokes Croft master Edy, although teachers were praised (e.g. F.F.B.J. 28 Jan. 1764 (Seyer) and 23 Jan. 1768 (Williams)) and many felt pride in their work, e.g. Catcott, Answer to Observations p.86; F.F.B.J. 30 Oct. 1762 (James).
2. Young teachers were distrusted (e.g. QS 1653-71 minutes, Oct. 1670 G.J. presentment; Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1977), p.91; Pile Street Rules) but often used, (e.g. J. Cottle, Poems (Bristol, 1795), pp.109-110; B.J. 21 Sept. 1775). Teaching as a fall-back: Bodl. MS Topog. Oxon F 31, fos.174-5; F.F.B.J. 17 June 1758 (Scotch minister earning 15d a day teaching); B.C.L. 20095, 10 Nov. 1753; O.C.A. 20 Dec. 1746 (tutor, clerk or steward); B.J. 28 Jan. 1769 (widow as housekeeper or tutoress). Teaching combined with other careers: B.J. 22 Dec. 1770 (Donn); F.F.B.J. 22 Oct. 1763 (Vranken); B.J. 4 Sept. 1773 (Roork). Many applicants to charity school positions were not teachers, e.g. C.C.P. Sept. 1753 (QEH).
3. B.G.S. faced this problem with the usher in 1681 and with the late eighteenth-century headmaster.
4. Vocational experience: e.g. F.F.B.J. 4 Dec. 1756 (Ashcroft); B.J. 14 May 1763 (White); B.G. 17 Oct. 1771 (Nutson). Later clerical careers: e.g. B.I.B.M., II:910; F.F.B.J. 29 May 1756 (Gagg).

In the eighteenth century there are signs of a more stable profession emerging, with less rapid turnover in grammar-school posts, the growth of charity-school positions and the growing scale of other secondary schools. However, schools remained intensely personal, strongly affected by the particular specialist skill of the leading master, and often ephemeral. Teachers specializing in new subjects could sustain a living by teaching at several schools, but it was a precarious existence. The ambitious master found security in the upper end of the market, by risking opening a boarding school, and employing other young hopefuls as assistants.[1] The struggle to be noticed, and the rivalry between the various kinds of school, encouraged many of Bristol's masters to publicize their educational schemes. These testify to their calibre and aspirations, despite the absence of professional training, but also indicate an over-stocked market and the absence of a professional ethos.

A frequent theme of the teachers was public unwillingness to pay a realistic price for education.[2] The evidence generally supports this contention, with significant exceptions. The stipends officially paid to public masters varied from the £40, rising to £80, of the City Grammar School headmasters down to the £2 paid annually to the master of the Merchant Venturers' school for most of the period. Most public teachers earned between £10 and £25 a year, with women generally earning less than men, and many of the stipends remained unchanged

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1. See the careers of James (p.42, n.2), Lewis and Cope (p.55, n.4), or Williams (F.F.B.J. 7 Apr. 1759, 12 Jan. and 29 Mar. 1760, 6 June 1761, 23 Jan. 1768; B.J. 18 Apr. 1772; B.I.B.M., II:910; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.46-7; Southey, Life, I:68-9, 77-9, 92-8, 110-113). More chequered careers include J. White (Oracle 5 Oct. 1745, F.B.J. 6 Feb. 1748, F.F.B.J. 2 Sept. 1758; B.J. 30 Mar. 1765; B.C.L. 5199) or C. Sawyer (F.F.B.J. 1 Jan. 1774; B.J. 11 June 1773, 28 May and 17 Dec. 1774, 11 Feb. and 24 June 1775).
2. Foot, Essay, p.26; Butler, Essay, pp.20-3, 111; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.11-13; Southey, Life, I:93.

between 1640 and 1775.[1] This reflected the unchanging endowments of many schools, whose trustees paid less attention to masters' salaries than to the more pressing costs of maintenance, food, clothing and other extras. Teachers sometimes benefited when the trustees contracted these other costs out to the teacher in return for a lump sum per child, but this required careful profiteering at the children's expense, and left the teacher vulnerable to sudden rises in food or other prices.[2] On the other hand, the teacher often received benefits in kind as well as a stipend, notably a house or schoolroom. The Redcliffe Writing and Grammar School master only received £14 p.a., but his house was valued at £8 p.a.[3] Teachers often charged entry fees; even the orphan schools cost £2 to enter until 1716.[4] Above all, most teachers viewed a public post as a secure basis on which to start a general school including private pupils, and trustees were usually content to limit the number of extra pupils to between 10 and 20.[5] The City Grammar School charged day-boy fee payers £2 p.a., and boarders twice as much for tuition and £18 18s for boarding. The City Grammar School headship was reckoned

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1. See salaries in Account of Hospitals; Gough, Memoirs, p.17 (£20 as usher), and advertisements for ushers in F.F.B.J. 7 Jan. 1769 and B.J. 1 Feb. 1772.
2. See above, p.31. Fixed maintenance: McGrath, Merchant Venturers, pp.209-10; C.C.P. Jan. 1700; B.A.O. 04418(1), 30 May 1767.
3. P/Redcl. school records, 1762; E.P./J/2/1/14. SMV Hallbook, 17 Feb. 1723 (SMV schoolhouse worth £6 10s p.a. when the salary was £2 p.a.).
4. C.C.P. Dec. 1716 (QEH entry fee); T.J. Manchee, The Present State of the Free Grammar School (Bristol, 1827); p.62 n.1.
5. Hill, B.G.S., pp.25-6; Pile Street Rules. Edy was limited to five extra boys by the Stokes Croft Trustees, but also offered shorthand lessons and acted as a bank cashier (J.F. Nicholls and J. Taylor, Bristol Past and Present (3 vols, Bristol, 1881-2), III:190); F.F.B.J. 1 June 1745, 12 Oct. 1765). See also Symes, p.34, n.1, and Thomas, p.44, n.1, both St. Leonards masters, or Bowden of Stokes Croft, B.J. 29 Oct. 1768. Grammar Schools: e.g. B.J. 21 Mar. 1767 (Henbury) and 27 Jan. 1770 (Redcliffe).

worth £200 p.a. in 1700, and the Quaker mastership valued at £150 in 1763, although this proved an overestimate.[1]

Turning to the private teachers, we find even less evidence. The writing-masters who appear in the freeman and apprentice records generally came from middling trades such as tailoring, chandlering or shipwrighting, and their sons or sons-in-law were in similar occupations. Some died with considerable wealth, for example the mathematician William Whipp, who left £600 in legacies, or the Baptist elder and writing master Edward Terrill.[2] Masters died with inventory values ranging from £206 (a Quaker writing-master in 1695) to £2 9s 4d (the otherwise unrecorded Francis Ecroyde in 1668).[3] The wealthier teachers were generally involved in commercial transactions as well as teaching, so that we cannot be sure what contribution schooling made to their wealth. Certainly, as we have seen, tutorial fees were not high. Terrill charged only 17s for a year's schooling of a girl whose maintenance cost £10 p.a.[4] No wonder private masters sought to attract boarding pupils, although their charges remained low and the costs of renting suitable property quite high. The teachers of accomplishments, whom other masters believed were grossly overpaid, and whose rates per hour were certainly well above other teachers', faced the extra costs of

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1. B.G.S.: F.B. Tolles, James Logan (Boston, 1957), p.11; B.C.L. 20095, 19 Sept. 1757, 14799, fo.130; Bodl. G.A. Glos B4a, nos.377-378a. Quakers: B.C.L. 20095, 8 Jan. 1760; Gough, Memoirs, pp.109-11.
2. Terrill: P.R.O. Prob. 11/379/49; Whipp: Will, 6 Apr. 1734. Cf. Will, G. Symes, 2 Dec. 1735 (over £100 in legacies).
3. Invs: H. Marston (1643) (£32), F. Ecroyde (1668), T. Heathcote (1683) (£90), S. Bennett (1695).
4. Underhill (ed.), Record, pp.58-67; Bristol Memorialist (1823), 24. A similar disparity between schooling and tabling appears in Inv. W. Jenkins (1677).

constant travel and generally taught much smaller classes.[1]

The chief effect of low fees was to encourage masters to teach more children at once, and to work long hours. Judging from advertisements, private teachers supplemented their regular schooling with private lessons at lunchtime and after school, and evening classes for adults.[2] Grammar and charity school masters did the same, or held other jobs as ministers, lecturers or accountants.[3] Easier access to teaching was offset by a lower quality and intensity of schooling. The average teacher could probably expect a class of between 30 and 50 children, the latter being seen as a full-time occupation, although writing-masters with over 60 pupils are recorded.[4] Masters must have used the older children to teach the younger, and sometimes apprenticed a promising boy as a future assistant.[5] The pressure of teaching was reduced by relying heavily on routine copying and memorization. This may have offset the apparently severe length of the school day at this period. Public school rules often laid down a day of six to eight hours starting shortly after dawn, and day-school masters frequently mention a school

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1. Jones, Steps, p.11; Butler, Essay, pp.22-4, 30-1; B.A.O. AC/JS/29/22 for 1722; F.F.B.J. 18 Apr. 1761 (Allen), B.J. 4 Dec. 1773 (Gervasio), 29 June 1775 (fencing); F.F.B.J. 25 Apr. 1767 (Castiglione); B.J. 25 Apr. 1772 and P/St. Aug. C.W.A. 1772 (Edwards).
2. B.J. 30 Sept. 1769 (Cassin).
3. Hill, B.G.S. pp.36-7; Ralph (ed.), 'Secker's Diocese Book', pp.33, 35, 40, 42; C. Evans, The Faithful Servant (Bristol 1790), p.22. See also p.61, n.5.
4. F.B.N. 12 Aug. 1727; S.M.V. Hallbook, 6 Feb. 1746, 20 Sept. 1764; P/Tem Ka (1), Feb. 1711; B.A.O. 09701(7); Southey, Life, I:93; B.J. 8 Apr. 1769 (master with 60 pupils wants partner).
5. Monitors: B.A.O. 08819(25) (1722 Red Maids' Rules); Told, Account, p.73; E.H.W. Meyerstein, Life of Chatterton (1930), pp.49-50; Southey, Life, I:50. Apprentices: Wills, G. Symes, 2 Dec. 1735, A. Arscott, 24 Oct. 1737; Gough, Memoirs, p.17.

day from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.[1] Many children and masters probably spent a considerable part of each day moving from class to class around the city, while girls often only attended school for a few hours around lunchtime.[2] Public school holidays were limited to five or six weeks of the year at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, together with Saturday afternoons, and many schools took all their pupils to church on Sunday, as well as holding daily worship. Longer holidays were introduced at the fashionable schools, including the City Grammar, at the end of our period.[3]

These tendencies were compounded by the physical conditions of schooling. Despite exceptions where thousands of pounds were spent on school buildings,[4] most schools were held in rented rooms, public halls or in the front room and garden of the teacher's house.[5] Day pupils had to attend school near to home, going home for lunch, which encouraged the wide distribution of schools across the city indicated in the 1775 Directory. Writing-masters still clustered in the commercial heart of the city, where space was at a premium.

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1. Typical charity school hours: P/Tem Ka 1(1) start; B.A.O. 04418(1), 3 July 1758. For private school hours: F.F.B.J. 25 June 1768 (Thomas) or B.J. 23 Sept. 1769 (Lewis), both 8-5; B.J. 13 Jan. 1770 (Lewis) or 5 Dec. 1772 (Grimes), both 6 or 7 a.m. starts; or part-time schools such as F.F.B.J. 1 Jan. 1757 (Rice) or B.J. 11 Jan. 1772 (Cook). Several masters ran a boys' school 8-5 and taught girls 11-1, e.g. B.J. 19 Sept. 1772 (Cook).
2. B.J. 13 Jan. and 13 Oct. 1770 (Cook).
3. B.C.L. 14799, fos.137, 151; B.A.O. 26226, 14 Jan., 19 Apr. 23 July and 29 Nov. 1772. For the traditional B.G.S. holidays see Hill, B.G.S., p.26; B.C.L. 26063, 10 Mar., 23 June and 20 July 1734. Boarding schools often offered to keep pupils over holidays, e.g. B.J. 13 Jan. 1770 (Lewis), and several criticised long holidays, e.g. F.F.B.J. 6 June 1761 (Williams), B.J. 14 June 1764 (Baynes), 4 Jan. 1772 (Jones).
4. See B.C.L. 6523, fo.142 (subscriptions to rebuild QEH for £2471 in 1705). Pile Street only cost £121 and this was only spent when rent on the warehouse previously used was raised from £3 p.a.
5. Invs. H. Marston (1643), G. Langdon (1727); Bodl. MS Gough Som. 8, fo.5; E.P./J/2/1/7 (Pile Street) and 14 (Redcliffe G.S.). Public halls: see p.42, n.2 (Castiglione).

Although the rooms used were often described as 'commodious', 'airy' or 'light', they appear to have lacked special equipment beyond some benches or desks.[1] Even the City Grammar School was simply divided into two classes, upper and lower, with the master of each at a high desk which the boys approached in turn.[2] These arrangements prevented any simple division of boys according to their progress in the curriculum.

Large classes of mixed ability accorded more easily with the older methods of strict discipline, oral recitation and memorization than with the liberal ideals of the reformers. The cheaper new utilitarian schemes adapted to these realities, while several idealistic masters found such teaching a frustrating drudgery.[3] The most advanced plans came from men like Butler and Foot who wanted to concentrate on a few children. Butler's boarding school, which charged the high fees of £14 for board alone, 10s 6d a quarter for reading, the same for writing and arithmetic, £1 1s for English, classics or French and £2 2s entrance fee, only lasted three years. Foot established a successful school, but a large one, and in the process apparently sacrificed his liberal principles on discipline.[4] Reformed curricula also often required more school

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1. Proximity: Bevan-Naish 1227, fo.125; Southey, Life, I:90-1; B.J. 24 Feb. 1750 (Jones); B.M.B.J. 13 May 1775 (West). Hence successive masters used an established room, e.g. that in St. Thomas Church Lane (F.F.B.J. 5 June 1756, 16 May 1761, 28 May and 1 Oct. 1768; B.J. 2 Jan. and 29 Sept. 1768). 'Commodious' etc.: B.J. 7 Oct. 1769 (Comber), 22 Dec. 1770 (Hathaway), 19 Sept. 1772 (Cook), 10 Oct. 1772 (Grimes).
2. F.A. Neale, 'Inventory of B.G.S. 1658', T.B.G.A.S., C (1982), 254-7; Catcott, Exercises, pp.51-9; Bodl. G.A. Glos B4a, nos.377-378a.
3. Jones, Steps, pp.7-8, 17-18, 20, 24-8; B.J. 13 Apr. 1751 (Jones), 24 June 1775 (Farroe); Southey, Life, I:48, 115; B.I.B.M., II:1150.
4. Butler: Essay, pp.20-3, 115; F.F.B.J. 4 Jan. 1755, 30 Dec. 1758. Foot: Essay, pp.25-6; Southey, Life, I:45; J. Corry and J. Evans, History of Bristol (2 vols, Bristol, 1816), II:328; B.C.L. 24651, 15 May 1758; B.I.B.M., II:720, III:200; B.A.O. 26226; O.C.A. 14 Mar. 1747, B.O. 9 Jan. and 15 Oct. 1748, 24 June 1749; B.M. 20 Oct. 1748; B.W.I. 20 Aug. 1757. Some teachers advertised the maximum number they would take: B.G. 13 Jan. 1774 (Henderson), B.J. 19 June 1773 (Jones).

books. Books and stationery were expensive burdens on charity schools, while the City Grammar School library expanded little during our period after early donations.[1] Private masters always expected parents to pay for books, which often cost as much as an extra subject.[2] Occasionally masters offered to hire books out, while those introducing literature to their courses charged children separately for library access.[3] Despite the growing provision of cheap new textbooks by publishers, children were still assigned to copying out texts in full.[4]

The main pressures to improve school conditions were social and moral rather than pedagogical, although linked to the image of the master as 'tutor'. There was a growing demand for boarding places, either in a boarding school or by lodging a few boys with a master who would receive extra attention - at much higher cost. The main emphasis was on personal attention to the children as gentlemen or ladies, moral supervision, and the provision of leisure facilities.[5] Schools began to cluster in the salubrious suburbs, such as Castle Green or St Michael's Hill. Others opened in the villages nearby, stressing open space and healthy surroundings, with

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1. P/Tem Ka 2 (1) I-III, Cashbooks show c.£2.60 p.a. spent over 37 years. For B.G.S.: B.A.O. 04417(1), 30 Sept. 1659; B.M.C. 2/2, fos.34,52. For new textbooks required see Butler, Essay, pp.105-6; Hastling, Kingswood, pp.29-33; pp.36, n.2, 56, n.2.
2. B.A.O. AC/JS/15/21-3 (expenditure of c.£1 p.a. on books). In B.J. 4 Sept. 1773 Roork offered to include books in the cost of teaching.
3. B.A.O. BD/Ch/2/1, 1773-5; F.F.B.J. 6 June 1761 (Williams); B.J. 20 Aug. 1769 (Jones), 5 Jan. 1771 (Cope, who also hired books to the public; see F.F.B.J. 28 Dec. 1765). B. Donn hired out schoolbooks (B.J. 21 Mar. 1772) and sold his own and other texts (F.F.B.J. 11 Nov. 1766; B.J. 16 July 1768).
4. Southey, Life. I:69.
5. See p.65, n.4, and F.F.B.J. 20 Feb. 1762 (Fox); B.J. 12 Jan. 1771 (Cook), 20 June 1772 (Davies), 27 Mar. and 29 May 1773 (Donn).

secluded relaxation in moral and physical safety.[1] Wesley's Kingswood school, with a low staff ratio and no holidays or contact with the evil city was an eccentric example of this tendency, mostly associated with the education of the elite, who could afford the higher fees charged by such 'academies'.[2] Concern for the moral safety of children was hardly novel, but the new academies looked forward to the nineteenth-century remedy of a separate community, organized in work and play, and strictly segregated from the world of work or the family.

To detect such signs in the academies of the end of our period, however, is not to suggest that schooling had yet established the grip over bourgeois childhood which it later attained. Family, apprenticeship and books offered important alternatives. Apprenticeship still ended most children's education in the early or mid-teens, and was generally considered as important, morally and socially, as formal schooling.[3] Indeed it was easier to attract charity to support apprenticeship than schools until the 1760s at least. Among the less prosperous the need for the child's income often led to absenteeism or early departure from school, and the less cyclical character of the city economy probably left smaller chance than existed in rural areas to alternate school and work, although

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1. B.J. 21 May 1763, 21 May 1774 (Flower), 21 Dec. 1771 (Derecourt), 24 Feb. 1750, 25 Mar. and 20 Aug. 1769, 16 Jan. 1773 (Jones), 31 Dec. 1768 (Cope); F.F.B.J. 26 July 1766, 1 June 1768 (Foot), 22 Apr. 1769 (Cantle). In F.B.N. 11 Oct. 1729 Symes stressed that his St. Leonard's school, though central, was 'pleasant and safe'.
2. Hastling, Kingswood p.34; Cennick letter to Wesley in Proc. Wesley Hist. Soc., XXXVIII (1952), 149-50. Cf. B.J. 4 Jan. 1772 (Jones).
3. A. Yarborough, 'Apprentices as Adolescents in Sixteenth-Century Bristol' Jour. Soc. Hist., XIII (1979), 67-82; Holman, 'Apprenticeship'; Butcher (ed.) Corporation, pp.59-62; F.F.B.J. 25 May 1765 (G.J. presentment); Account of Hospitals; and see pp.172, 179-81, 316-9.

teachers did offer lessons out of work hours.[1]

The roles of family and books may have expanded together, when new children's books proffered themselves as 'companions' or aids to home instruction. They played on parental fondness and fears of the corrupting effects of school to encourage parents to be their own tutors.[2] This may have had an impact on girls' education, but it probably remained cheaper and more convenient to educate most boys outside the family. The impact of print was less to replace schooling than to alter its significance - encouraging the image of school as a preparatory stage for a later, largely public, world of reading both for pleasure and profit.

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1. B.J. 14 Aug. 1773 (Jones); B.M.B.J. 1 Apr. 1775 (Grimes).
2. Parents teaching: pp.31, 43; G.Penn, Memorials of Sir W. Penn (2 vols, 1833), I:1; Bryant, Verses, p.vi; Bevan-Naish 1227, fo.20. Books: Southey, Life, I:26, 37; Oracle 24 Apr. 1742 (Historical Companion); O.C.A. 9 Nov. 1745 (Gentlewoman's Companion and Circle of Sciences); B.W.I. 28 Aug. 1750 (Children's New Year's Gift).

CHAPTER 3 THE IMPACT OF THE PRINTED WORD

Educational evidence has shown that most Bristolians had some ability to read. However, educational priorities did not usually include a broad introduction to reading. After 1740 there are signs of a growing interest in literary education, shifting from religious and classical studies to wider concerns, but mostly in order to promote facility in conversation and knowledge of current affairs, not private intellectual improvement. The chronology and social selectivity of these developments is hard to gauge from educational sources. This chapter will take up the same themes, seeking to confirm the suggested changes in reading habits, and establish the impact of print on different groups. The first section examines the changing scale of the trade in print, including newspapers and ephemeral publications. The second section considers the social factors affecting access to reading-matter, including the ownership of books, borrowing and public reading. The third discusses the changing content of publications, and how this was viewed. The fourth section examines the changing role of print in the community, focusing on its political and religious implications, and considers how far these communal issues modified the use of print, so limiting the social divisions created by a print-based culture.

The Scale of the Trade in Print

The Book Trade

Figure I and Table III show the number of book traders in business in Bristol in each half-decade from 1635, compared with the estimated population. The book-trade numbers are based on a listing compiled from all the available sources, but are inevitably

incomplete, particularly before 1725. Those classified as 'booksellers' are known to have sold books in addition to selling stationery, bookbinding and printing; those only known to have engaged in these allied trades are added separately. Wholesale stationers, only recorded after 1720, are excluded.[1]

Both absolute and relative figures show the same general pattern, namely a gradual increase at first, peaking in the 1670s but followed by a decline until 1700. After 1700 there is an absolute increase, but a less clear relative one until the 1740s, from which point there is a steep rise, especially if printers are included, sharpest after 1760. A mid-seventeenth-century ratio of booksellers of 1:3000 or more had fallen to less than 1:2400 by 1755 and under 1:2000 by 1775, while the ratios for all book-traders had fallen even more sharply from 1:2750 in 1655 to 1:1250 in 1775.

These changes seem too substantial to be explained merely by better sources, although the growth of local printing, particularly of newspapers, certainly made the trade more visible. The early peak in the 1670s is less trustworthy, as the figures are small and population estimates particularly difficult. Unfortunately the only sources which run throughout, the burgess and apprentice records, are an unreliable control group. Most of the leading seventeenth-century book-traders were freemen, but many of their successors were not, as there was no gild to enforce membership. Only 9 of the 28 traders in the 1775 Directory were freemen or their widows. The timing of taking the freedom was increasingly regulated by elections or by the desire to bind apprentices. A decreasing proportion of freemen were former apprentices. Apprentice numbers were swollen by such chance

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1. F.J.H. Harris, 'Paper and Board Mills', T.B.G.A.S., XCIV (1976), 124-35.

occurrences as the need of the blind printer Bonny for no less than ten apprentices 1696-1715, and the sponsorship of charity apprentices by Bristol societies. The figures in Table IV, with their suggestion of a modest growth to 1700, then decline before a moderate rise after 1740, should not therefore be taken as a serious corrective to the broader pattern.

A more reliable guide to the size of the book trade is provided by the location of bookshops. The seventeenth-century trade was highly concentrated, with three long-established bookshops near the High Cross[1] and other book-traders in Wine Street close to the leather and parchment crafts. After 1700 printers and booktraders also settled elsewhere, although numbers in the central streets increased too. Printers gathered at the Castle end of Wine Street and in Small Street; there were several bookshops in the mercantile areas of St Stephen and St Nicholas and more around St John's Gate and St James Back.[2] Businesses outside the central streets were less stable, but from the 1720s the book trade was becoming a more noticeable presence.

Numbers of traders and shops are not necessarily very significant, unless we can establish the changing profitability and scale of the trade. An influx of London-trained printers and booksellers after 1700 may tell us more about competition in London than the Bristol prospects;[3] business failures were quite frequent, with a particular spate in the late 1740s.[4] An open market meant intense competition, as new figures sought to compete with a number of

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1. See pp.72 n.2, 73, 117 nn.1-2.
2. See p.91.
3. J. Dunton, The Life and Errors (1705), p.329.
4. Lond. Gaz. 12 Jan. 1748 (Cossley), 23 Jan. 1748 (Plomer); B.W.I. 12 May 1750 (Darbyshire).

long-established firms, based on a family connection, a chain of apprenticeships or succession in a particular shop.

The Bristol book trade could not generate large fortunes, and wealthy Bristolians preferred to place their sons in the London trade.[1] The great majority of Bristol's book-traders came from artisan or small shopkeeper backgrounds (about half) or from the book trade itself (a quarter), and there was no major change in this pattern. The fines charged to those purchasing the freedom increased in line with fines in general at levels typical of middling traders. Most apprentice premiums recorded after 1711 are similarly modest, with no significant increase. Within this pattern, however, there was a clear distinction between an elite group and the rest. A minority of apprentices, often from leading retail, manufacturing or gentle families, were apprenticed to the leading booksellers at relatively high premiums. It was usually from this group that the next generation of traders were recruited.[2] In the seventeenth century the leading booksellers only registered such apprentices; later they also began to take 'charity' apprentices at low premiums, who never opened their own shops.

By the eighteenth century, and probably earlier, the leading booksellers were employing journeymen and humble apprentices to bind

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1. D.F. McKenzie (ed.), Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641-1700 (Oxf. Bibliog. Soc., N.S., XVII, 1974); idem (ed.), Stationers' Company Apprentices 1700-1800 (Oxf. Bibliog. Soc., N.S., XIX, 1978).
2. W. Cossley, apprenticed to Gravett for £105 (App. 4 Apr. 1717), took over his shop (P/All Sts. C.W.A. 1725) around 1725, though not freed until 1734 (Burgess 24 July). He took 5 apprentices 1741-5 but only the fourth, G. Teast, paid a significant premium (£126) (App. 25 Oct. 1744). Teast was freed 1751 (Burgess 28 Feb.) and became an 'eminent bookseller' in a central shop (B.W.I. 6 Apr. 1751, F.F.B.J. 14 Mar., B.J. 2 May 1767). Cossley was a Common Councillor; at his bankruptcy he became civic swordbearer (O.C.A. 21 May 1748, B.W.I. 30 June 1750).

books or help in the shop,[1] but nevertheless firms remained family affairs. References to assistants and partners, which suggest a growing scale of enterprise, turn out to reflect merely the particular needs of a blind trader or partnerships of widows with former apprentices.[2] By the 1740s there are regular references to stock numbered in thousands, but we lack the evidence to compare this with earlier traders of similar rank.[3] We only have inventories with stock valuation for Joseph Sweet (d. 1690), who had £5 worth of books, and the printer William Bonny (d. 1719), who had a hundred new and second-hand books worth 25s, together with three reams and a parcel of 'ballads and small histories'. These sound like small-scale operations, but Bonny was primarily a printer and Sweet had just succeeded Thomas Thomas, who had concentrated on bookbinding and stationery.[4]

Excluding printers, there is a clear correlation between socially 'esteemed' booksellers and the location and nature of their business. The two oldest shops, near the High Cross, and others in Corn and Wine Street, were run by the 'establishment' of the trade, who took the freedom, established family or apprentice dynasties, held lesser public offices and acted as booksellers to the Corporation and other public bodies.[5] The chief exceptions were the Thomas and Lewis families, of lower status and wealth who ran a shop in Broad Street

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1. C.V. 1738-9 (Gratwicke signs for Mrs. Penn); B.J. 4 Dec. 1773 (Edwards and Mills).
2. B.O.C.A. 21 May 1743, F.F.B.J. 24 Aug. 1745, F.B.A. 9 Aug. 1746, B.J. 7 Apr. 1750 (help for blind P. Brown); F.F.B.J. 31 May 1766 (Palmer).
3. O.C.A. 2 Jan. 1748 (Cossley); F.B.A. 26 July 1746 (Wilson); B.J. 22 Oct. 1748 (Foster), 17 Jan. 1767 (Smart); F.F.B.J. 28 Jan. 1769 (Green), 19 Dec. 1772 (Becket).
4. P.R.O. Prob. 3/18/93 (W. Bonny); Inv. J. Sweete (1690); Will, T. Thomas 16 Jan. 1689.
5. See B.J. 25 Nov. and 2 Dec. 1775 (Roberts) (profitability of Tolzey shop, which only a Bristol freeman could run).

near the High Cross. Like others who stressed bookbinding their ties were with the artisan leather trades.[1] The leading booksellers were associated with retailers or skilled craftsmen such as goldsmiths.[2]

The picture is rendered more complex after 1700, partly by the success of a few of the booktraders with shops in other areas, and partly by the rapid growth in printing. Although some leading booksellers and a number of amateurs entered the printing business, presumably employing printing journeymen,[3] the bulk of Bristol printing was done by independent, properly trained printers. Printing required more space than bookselling or binding, and so operated off the main streets, though still mostly in the commercial district. The printers who became important locally were those who started newspapers; by mid-century such businesses had a considerable staff of typesetters, clerks, and newsmen. But apart from the pioneer, Bonny, these printers did not become freemen, while a shadowier group of jobbing printers operated in smaller premises, striving to undercut the established figures.[4]

Despite the above attempts to distinguish booksellers, bookbinders and printers, most Bristolian book-traders carried out several or all of these functions, following the standard provincial pattern of basing their business either on stationery wares or bookbinding. Most burgesses or apprentices were described as

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1. See p.73; Will, T. Thomas, 28 Oct. 1624; Burgess, 2 June 1630; P/St. E.V.Bk; Latimer, 17C, pp.323-4 (Thomas). Inv. T. Jefferies (1694); Burgess, 26 Sept. 1691, 20 Apr. 1751; App. 23 July 1716; Will, G. Lewis, 5 Aug. 1710; B.J. 4 Feb. 1769 (Lewis).
2. E.g. Cossley and Wall. The Walls doubled as bankers (Dunton, Life, p.316; B.C. 16 May 1761).
3. E.g. Cossley, Hickey and Hooke. For the latter, e.g. B.O.C.I. 18 Aug. 1744; B.O. 20 Apr. 1745.
4. Ibid.; B.W.I. 15 Dec. 1750, 1 Jan. 1757 (Ward); B.C. 17 Jan. and 6 June 1761 (Pine). Farleys: p.82; jobbing printers: p.88-9.

stationers or bookbinders, not as booksellers, as Table IV reveals. The eighteenth-century trend towards specialization was confined largely to printing, engraving and the wholesale paper trade. In the 1775 Directory, there are six 'printers', two 'booksellers', two 'stationers', a 'bookbinder', but 17 book-traders with more complex descriptions. Traders were given different labels on different occasions. Growth in the Bristol book trade probably depended largely on increased demand for stationery goods, account books, official documents and utilitarian printed matter, rather than the sale of books.[1]

Bristol book-traders also sold many other items not directly related to books, but associated with books and stationery because of common marketing methods based on London production and distribution. They stocked candles, snuff, cards, prints, music, musical and scientific instruments, lottery tickets, and, above all, patent medicines; some specialized in one or more of these items.[2] By offering such a range of goods bookshops attracted diverse customers; they also acted as places to exchange information, or as distribution points for tickets and subscriptions.[3] Consequently we cannot be sure how much of their profit depended on the book trade proper, but the pressure to diversify is apparent.

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1. J. Feather, 'Cross-Channel Currents', Library, 6th II (1980), 1-15; Stoker, 'Establishment of Printing' and idem, 'History of Norwich Book Trades 1560-1760' (Library Assoc. thesis, 1975). For typical wares see F.F.B.J. 13 May 1758 (Palmer). The printer Bonny broke his promise when freed not to retail as well as print (C.C.P., Apr. 1695, B.P.B. 10 Sept. 1708). Utilitarian bias: B.O.C.I. 19 Mar. 1743 (Hickey); B.C.L. 20095, 3 Feb. 1769 on Lewis.
2. Prints and music: pp.216-8; scientific instruments: pp.257-9. Candles: C.V. 1745 (Cossley). Snuff: B.J. 25 Jan. 1766 (Cadell). Cards: B.A.O. 6783 (Wall). Lottery: F.B.N. 10 Sept. 1726 (Farley), B.J. 17 Dec. 1768 (Grabham). Medicines: B.O.C.A. 30 July 1743 (Brown).
3. Hooke established the first 'intelligence office' (B.O.C.I. 6 Apr. 1745).

Bristolians could also obtain books from sources other than local bookshops. The great majority of books came from London, usually unbound. Booksellers usually held only a small stock, ordering other items at customers' request.[1] Many Bristolians therefore ordered books direct from London or Oxford, or bought when on visits there,[2] while the London booksellers cut out the middleman by advertising locally and by visiting Bristol's fairs, running stalls and evening book-auctions.[3] The best-selling genres, such as primers, schoolbooks, chapbooks and ballads, were also sold by chapmen and general shopkeepers,[4] while the authors and promoters of other literature, in particular the nonconformist churches, sold their own publications.[5]

On the other hand, the Bristol trade catered to more than Bristol demand. Bristol acted as a wholesale centre in both books and stationery for South Wales, Ireland and the colonies, as well as the immediate hinterland.[6] Country chapmen were supplied, and Bristol traders took stalls at the fairs to cater to rural visitors.[7] But Bristol was never the undisputed centre of regional distribution, as Oxford, Gloucester and Bath were all important and booksellers were settling in small country towns by 1750.

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1. Bodl. MS Wood D.4, 9 July 1691, 16 Mar. 1692, N. Friend to Wood; P/Tem. Ka 2(1), 1709-14 (Wall); F.B.N. 27 Jan. 1728, 31 May 1729 (Sendall); B.J. 6 Feb. 1773 (Pine).
2. Bodl. MS Topog. Oxon F.31, fos.65, 130, 153, 161, 169, 224; C.S.P.D. 1661-2, p.449; B.C.L. 26063, 23 Apr. 1752; B.C.L. 20095, 14 May 1773.
3. B.J. 15 Oct. 1768 (Donaldson); Dunton, Life, p.316; F.B.N. 21 Jan. 1727 (Oswald); see p.92.
4. Invs. J. Bittfield (1624), T. Brewer (1664); B.O. 17 Sept. 1748 (Hickey). See p.66 for schoolmasters selling books.
5. See p.116, n.5 (Quakers), and p.87, n.3 (Methodists). Moravians: B.J. 24 Jan. 1767. Authors and editors: B.L. Add. MS 5540, fo.66; B.C.L. 26063, 16 May 1761; B.J. 26 July 1766 (Pipping).
6. McGrath (ed.), Merchants and Merchandise, p.269; B.J. 19 July 1763 (Howldy); Savadge, 'West Country', App. C.ii; B.G. 22 July 1773 (Pine).
7. Palmer advertisement at end of Poems on Several Subjects (Bristol, 1751). Bristol traders at Temple Fairs (see P/Tem C.W.A., B.A.O. 04026) included Ballard (1646), Thomas (1647-57), S. Farley (1727-36), Greep (1726-34), Lewis (1726-35), Sendall (1730-1).

The Press

An important development in the provincial book-trade was the growth of provincial publishing, although London continued to dominate. Bristol was the first non-University town to get a printer after 1695. The index of provincial publications in the Author Union Catalogue for 1700-80 shows Bristol fourth after Oxford (2656), Cambridge (1388) and Newcastle (836), with 775 imprints.[1] Bristol's high ranking depends largely on the decades 1740-70, as it was earlier exceeded by Norwich, Exeter and Shrewsbury, and after 1775 by Bath and the northern cities. Many titles are missed by the Author Union Catalogue, but my own reconstruction of Bristol printing, summarised in Table V, shows the same rise after 1740, after an erratic early record. The chief cause of growth was Methodist publication, providing over half the total output, including almost two-thirds of the longer publications. By the 1760s the non-Methodist output, which had risen less spectacularly from the 1740s, increased rapidly, and by the 1770s only 37% of publications were Methodist. The increase in titles published gains added significance from the rising percentage of more substantial publications recorded, although the relative proportion of books to shorter items is bound to be exaggerated by greater survival and publicity.

Although Table V appears to explain the rising number of printers, it excludes altogether the shortest publications, under four pages, which probably provided their staple work, particularly for the jobbing printers, who produced very few of the items tabulated. The

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1. Robinsons and Wadham (eds), Eighteenth-Century British Books. Stoker, 'Norwich Book Trades', pp.326-7, places Bristol (39) third after York (72) and Norwich (43) from references to provincial booksellers in Wing imprints 1660-1700.

high proportion of shorter pieces printed in the early decades suggests that the impact of print in Bristol may have been first felt in ephemeral publication. The importance of print in spreading information and servicing immediate business and social needs must be considered further, and an approximate chronology established.

Before 1696 the use of printed material was severely limited by the absence of local printers. Standard forms, such as burgess oaths and certificates, were printed; the Gloucestershire Society used printed tickets for their annual dinner 1658-63, but it then dropped the practice until the 1750s.[1] Printed matter was used in religious and political controversy when national issues were involved, as during the Exclusion crisis, but rarely for purely local issues.[2] When Bonny arrived his first commissions for the Corporation were to print parchments for the Association Oath of 1696, but also, more significantly, to produce 1200 advertisements regarding the Bristol Corporation of the Poor. Access to local printers did not, however, instantly change established methods. As Tables VI and VII show, the Corporation was slow to utilize the services of printing and newspaper advertisements. Its expenditure only increased decisively 1730-1760, with greater use and larger print-runs, rising from 200-500 before the 1730s to 500-1000 thereafter, with the largest orders between 2000 and 4500.[3]

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1. B.A.O. 04026, 1666-7 (bills of mortality); B.L. 816 m 16 (26) (Burgess certificate); Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1971), p.124 (Quaker burial certificates); Gloucestershire Soc. Minutes 1658-63, 13 Oct. 1752.
2. See below, p.117.
3. B.A.O. 04026, 1696-7. Cf. B.A.O. 04217, fos.1-36, 59, 259; B.C.L. 7950 and 7952 passim (official notices). Advertising costs rose with Stamp Duty, from 18d before 1712 to 3s-3s 6d and then 4s in 1725 for standard notices, but then fell with competition, to 2s 6d-3s.

Evidence from vestry books, society accounts and private sources suggests that the Corporation was typical in its slow utilization of print. Tickets and summons, handbills, trade cards, lists of fees, orders and advertisements start to be mentioned at dates ranging from 1720 to 1750, but only from the 1750s were printing bills a standard part of any organization's expenses.[1] Printed propaganda for particular causes increased, if anything, more rapidly than commercial and administrative use. In 1702 the Society for the Reformation of Manners had a thousand copies of two broadsides on Lord's Day observance and household worship printed and delivered to 'most of the housekeepers in the city'.[2] In the 1720s the Mercers twice printed trade propaganda. Print was also used in labour disputes. The journeymen weavers attacked a hated master in print in 1732, and in 1768-70 the master taylors and journeymen carried on their quarrels by handbills and newspaper advertisements.[3] Individuals in trade quarrels also began to print defences, while charitable societies, led by the Infirmary, had their accounts printed and published in the papers.[4] By the time of the Bristol Bridge controversy of 1759-63 the use of print was standard in disputes.[5]

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1. E.g. S.M.V. expenditure, judging by Hallbooks, began 16 Feb. 1715 for commercial purposes, although there was a printed rate for landing goods by 1699 (H.M.C. 73 Exeter, p.426). Cf. J.J. McCusker, 'European Bills of Entry', Harvard Lib. Bull., XXXI (1983), 246-9.
2. B.C.L. 10162, 1 Oct. 1700, 26 Aug. 1701, 15 Aug. and 13 Oct. 1702; C.V. 1702.
3. B.C.L. 4939, 8 Apr. 1718, 6 and 23 Aug. 1720, 1 Dec. 1725; B.A.O. 08156(2), 1757, 1761; Bodl. Gough Som. 2, app., fos.149-51; F.F.B.J. 27 Oct. 1753 (Bakers), 13 Dec. 1765, B.J. 8 Dec. 1770 (Taylors).
4. Disputes: B.C.L. 7950, fo.51; B.C.L. 20095, 5 Dec. 1757; F.F.B.J. 28 Apr. 1753 (tidesman's pamphlet). Societies: e.g. B.I.B.M., I:142; Glos. Soc. minutes, 25 Aug. 1748, 7 Sept. 1758.
5. Mathews, Bristol Bibliography pp.354-5.

This reflected the increased advantages of multiple copying as the city grew larger; it was paralleled by the establishment of 'intelligence offices'.[1] Print's slow development indicates the success of earlier means of information exchange. Official notices were proclaimed by the bellman, who could also be hired by citizens.[2] Major political and religious events, national and local, were announced through civic ritual, such as proclamations and assizes, or by church bells, bonfires and processions through the city.[3] Certain points in the town, such as crosses, pumps and gates, were recognized centres of information; of these the most important were the High Cross, the adjoining Tolzey and (from 1742) the Exchange. Official civil and church notices were read out and posted here, and private citizens also made announcements, left notices or paid to display advertisements.[4] Whether spoken, written or printed, announcements made here carried the weight of public authority, and the mercantile and corporate life of the city brought people together daily to discuss the information so conveyed. It was much more convenient than printing handbills which then had to be delivered by hand to householders.[5]

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1. e.g. B.J. 23 Nov. 1771 (Wateridge).
2. B.A.O. 04026 and C.V., esp. after 1742 for summaries of notices proclaimed; P/C.W.A., e.g. Redcl. 1672-3, St. James 1726-7; N.C., Bristol Drollery (1674), p.91; F.B.N. 27 Nov. 1728; B.O. 8 Mar. 1746; B.A.O. AC/JS/17/24/g; E. Keate, Unfortunate Wife (1779) p.40.
3. See pp.306-7; B.C.L. 10166 (1), 1659-60, 4502, 1666, 10166(2), 1698; B.A.O. Q.S. Minutes, Aug. 1666, Oct. 1669; Two State Martyrs (Bristol, 1643), p.8; C.S.P.D. 1667, pp.427-488, 1681(1), p.141; Manchee, Charities, I:142-6.
4. J. Besse, Collection of Sufferings (2 vols, 1753), I:41; J. Whiting, Persecution Expos'd (1715), p.59; Latimer, 17C, p.253; idem, 18C p.293; P.R.O. Prob 28/106 Dec. 1693; E.P./J/2/1/18 and 19; P/St. James C.W.A., 1761-2; B.A.O. 35684 (15), 1750-1; Gent's Mag., LIII (1783), 1039-40; H. Huth, (ed.), The Narrative of a Journey (1869), pp.144, 149; F.F.B.J. 11 Sept. 1754; B.M.B.J. 11 Mar. 1775.
5. B.J. 14 May 1774.

Local newspapers were an easier way of spreading news, and the Corporation quickly expanded its use of these, once committed to using print. It was only after 1750, however, that the advertising columns in the local papers began to grow rapidly; until then, the papers depended largely on sales, not advertising, and so on public demand for news.[1] Before Bonny's weekly Bristol Post-Boy started in 1702, the thirst for news was quenched by public announcements or by public and private letters, either direct from the place involved, often in merchants' letters, or via London.[2] By 1700 London-based information was coming less from private sources and more from the printed press, but colonial news, of great significance to Bristol traders, and to everyone during the American troubles, still came predominantly from private sources.[3] The local papers had no special news services or journalists, but relied on the post and the private and public letters it carried.[4] The establishment of local

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1. Few advertisements appear before 1720, rising to 1-2 columns weekly in F.B.N.. By 1745 3 papers carried 8-10 columns, falling to 7 in the late 1740s. Numbers rose to 15 columns in 1765, 20 in 1770 and 30 in 1775. Bristol's newspapers: D.F. Gallop, 'Chapters in the History of the Provincial Newspaper Press 1700-1855' (Bristol Univ. M.A. thesis, 1954); G.A. Cranfield, The Provincial Newspaper (Oxford, 1962); R.M. Wiles, Freshest Advices (Ohio, 1965).
2. C.S.P.D. passim, e.g. 1660-1, p.542, 1666-7, p.236; 1667, p.198; 1679-80 p.604; 1683(1) p.341; 1683-4 p.97; H.M.C. 5, p.323; H.M.C. 51, pp.142-5; Mather Letters (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4th, VIII, 1868), pp.328-36; B.C.L. 11154, 10 June 1690; Q.S. Minutes 1672-81 (end of volume, letters 31 May 1679, 17 June 1691); P. Fraser, The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State (Cambridge, 1956) p.140; J. Williamson, Letters, ed. W.D. Christie (Camden Soc., N.S., VIII-IX, 1874), II:161-4; and below, p.89, n.4.
3. G.H. Guttridge (ed.), The American Correspondence of a Bristol Merchant (Berkeley, 1934); B.P.B. 10 Dec. 1715; F.F.B.J. 25 Nov. 1768; B.G. 15 and 22 June 1775, 4 Jan. 1776.
4. Papers had correspondents in colonies (F.B.N. 1 Nov. 1725, O.C.A. 2 Jan. 1748) and other ports (B.O. 5 Apr. 1746 (Plymouth)) but often bewailed inaccurate private reports, e.g. F.B.N. 11 Dec. 1725, 10 June 1727, 23 Nov. 1728. Hooke tried to escape presenting news by posts (Oracle 17 Apr. to 12 June 1742); Pine boasted an express service bringing news to his Thursday paper before the Thursday post (B.G. 24 Dec. 1767).

papers did not mark a decisive change in the way Bristolians received the news; once again we see a slow penetration rather than a sudden impact.

From 1702 to 1713 Bonny's paper was apparently unchallenged, but before 1716 both Sam Farley I and Henry Greep began papers, both of which possibly outlasted Bonny's paper, which ended before or at his death in 1719.[1] Greep carried on some kind of paper, possibly unstamped, until 1727, when Farley's Bristol Newspaper emerged as the only Bristol publication. Sam Farley II took over the paper in 1730, and by 1739 was in partnership with his brother Felix.[2] In 1742-3 their monopoly was challenged by Andrew Hooke's Oracle and Richard Winpenny's Bristol, Bath and Somerset Journal. When the latter failed, in 1747, Edward Ward produced a cheap single-sheet paper, the Bristol Mercury, but this soon collapsed. When Hooke's paper also ended, in September 1749, Ward tried again with the Bristol Weekly Intelligencer, which lasted until 1760. In 1752 a Farley quarrel led to the establishment of two rival papers, so until 1760 three Saturday papers were published. Shortly before Ward's paper ended a fourth paper appeared, the Bristol Chronicle, run by John Grabham and then William Pine. This only lasted about eighteen months, and the two Farley papers were again unchallenged until 1767 when Pine began a Thursday paper, the Bristol Gazette. In 1774 a quarrel between Hester Farley, who inherited Sam Farley II's Bristol Journal from his niece Sarah, and the paper's clerk and foreman Bonner and Middleton, led them to start Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal, while Felix

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1. P.R.O. Prob. 3/18/93. Sources of press history are only given if not covered in Gallop, 'Chapters'.
2. Greep: P.R.O. C/11/1440, nos.6,9; C.V. 1720-2 (Penn); F.B.N. 11 Dec. 1725, 9 Apr. 1726, 18 Mar. 1727. Farley's death: B.A.O. Xerox 52/2, 18 Aug. 1730.

Farley's Bristol Journal had passed via his widow Elizabeth to Thomas Cocking. The same three Saturday papers and one Thursday paper dominated the Bristol scene until 1789.[1]

Comparing Bristol's newspaper history with that of other major provincial centres, it appears that Bristol attracted an unusual number of early printers, but a permanent second paper was slow to emerge. In the 1740s, Bristol caught up its rivals, and in 1755 only Bristol and Newcastle had three weekly papers, while only Bristol supported four in 1775. As elsewhere, increasing numbers of titles were matched by rising circulation, from Bonny's print-run in 1712 of only 300.[2] In the 1740s and 1770s there was much talk of large circulation and extra impressions, with the Farley papers probably operating on the largest scale.[3]

It is difficult to evaluate the impact of the Bristol press, however, without considering the sale in Bristol of London and other provincial papers. Both the Corporation and private individuals subscribed to London papers, several of which had local agents.[4] A greater threat, given the variety and expense of the London papers, was the Gloucester Journal, which covered Bristol news and had a regular Bristol agency.[5] By the 1740s the various Bath newspapers were also available in Bristol.[6] Neither Newcastle or Norwich

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1. See also pp.119-21.
2. H.L. Snyder, 'Circulation of Newspapers in reign of Queen Anne', Library, 5th, XXIII (1969), 206-35.
3. F.F.B.J. 18 May 1745; F.B.A. 5 Oct. 1745; B.G. 15 June 1775.
4. B.A.O. 37541 1756-62; F.B.N. 8 Dec. 1727; F.F.B.J. 8 Apr. 1758; B.J. 28 Oct., 1769; R.M. Wiles, Serial Publication in England before 1750 (Cambridge, 1957), p.226.
5. B.A.O. 37541, 4 Feb. 1752; B.A.O. AC/WH/19(3); B.O. 16 Sept. 1749; F.F.B.J. 20 May 1769; B.J. 4 Nov. 1775 (Brown).
6. Complete Chatterton, I:669; B.J. 25 Apr. 1767; B.G. 11 July 1771. Bath and Gloucester papers carried Bristol news and advertisements.

faced such stiff local competition, which may explain why they could sustain a second paper earlier.

The Bristol papers also sought an extensive regional circulation. Saturday publication coincided with market day.[1] The Bristol papers employed their own delivery men, and established networks of country agents, often booksellers. Initial concentration on the immediate hinterland, especially the Bath road,[2] gave way by the 1740s to broader circulation in South Gloucestershire, Somerset and West Wiltshire.[3] Hooke even sought a national circulation in major ports of his trade-centred newspaper.[4] When this failed he pioneered the exploitation of South Wales, which both Felix Farley and Pine then developed.[5] Both news and advertisements came in from Bristol's broad hinterland of the South West, South Wales and the Severn Valley, though particularly from the more immediate hinterland and West Country ports. But the Bristol papers remained predominantly Bristolian in focus and content, unlike a truly regional paper such as the Gloucester Journal. Broader sales supported the Bristol press, but did not prevent it discussing many issues of specifically Bristolian concern.[6]

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1. F.B.N. 18-31 Dec. 1725; B.M. 20 Oct. 1748; Oracle 24 July 1742.
2. S.F.B.P 15 July 1713; B.W.M. 1 Dec. 1716; F.B.N. 26 Feb. 1726.
3. B.B.S.J. 4 June 1743; B.J. 26 Mar. 1748.
4. B.O.C.I. 14 May, 6 Aug. 1743, 9 Mar. 1745; B.O.C.A. 14 Jan. 1744; C.A. 27 Apr. 1745.
5. B.J. 19 May 1755; F.F.B.J., 20 June 1761; B.C. 27 Dec. 1760; B.G. 24 Dec. 1767. Country readers: e.g. B.W.I. 20 Jan. 1750; A.H. John, Industrial Development of South Wales (Cardiff, 1950), p.15.
6. Although Pine ended coverage of one city dispute as 'vastly disagreeable to many hundreds of our country readers' (B.G. 11 Apr. 1775).

Access to Print

Both printing and book selling increased in Bristol, chiefly after 1725. In order to establish whether this affected all Bristolians, this section considers how education, leisure and wealth affected access to reading matter, and how the marketing of books responded to these challenges. Evidence concerning the ownership of books is complemented by consideration of other means of reading, such as borrowing or reading in public.

Access

Even if most Bristolians were literate, many probably shared the feelings of John Bryant, who 'had not at school conceived any great affection for reading, my lessons there being such as were no wise calculated to give entertainment'. His taste for reading arose from an abridged scripture his mother gave him, which he followed up with secular wonder-stories of giants and heroes, then classical myths from books 'adapted to the capacity of children'.[1] Proponents of a new English education warned that unless children were guided in reading beyond the standard texts they would turn in ignorance to such popular literature, or worse.[2] James Lackington and his friends, eager to read, were 'so ignorant' they neither 'knew what books were fit for our perusal nor what to enquire for as we had scarce seen any title pages except a few of the religious sort'.[3] When they acquired books, such readers were trained to regard them as difficult but authoritative,, to be memorized and recited, not read critically nor simply enjoyed, as cheap popular literature might be.[4]

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1. Bryant, Verses, preface and pp. iv-v.
2. See pp.36, 45.
3. J. Lackington, Memoirs (2nd edn, 1792) p.160.
4. Bryant, Verses, p.vi; Lackington, Memoirs, pp.159, 162; V. Purdy, Poetical Miscellanies (Bristol, 1825), p.vii; Angus 6e 27(2), 22 and 25 June 1744.

Poor artisans like Bryant and Lackington also lacked leisure. Bryant's father forbad him to read as he minded his shop, limiting him to Sunday when he read to a blind family friend.[1] Lackington's group read aloud to each other in turns at work, and slept only a few hours, but candlelight was expensive.[2] Reading at work meant frequent interruptions, encouraging reliance on short tracts with simple language.[3] Sundays and holidays offered more time; hence religious groups laid great stress on household and private reading of pious works on such days and the proscription of alternative pastimes.[4] Reading was also common in alehouses and coffeehouses,[5] while the streets were the setting for balladsingers[6] and all kinds of information-sharing.[7] Only for the leisured classes, or those whose occupation required the use of books, would reading have been primarily associated with private study of book-length publications.

In 1773 Stonhouse's Explication of the Sacraments was advertised as 'principally designed to be given away by well-disposed persons to common people who cannot afford to buy books nor spare much time to read them'.[8] Cost reinforced the case for brevity. Lackington limited his diet to bread and tea to save money for second-hand books; the collier lay-preacher Purdy could not afford an extensive library, so memorized or noted books and then resold them.[9] Books were very

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1. Bryant, Verses, pp.viii-ix; W. Lewis, Memoirs of the Life (1853 edn.), p.2.
2. Lackington, Memoirs, pp.172-3.
3. T. Hardcastle, Christian Geography and Arithmetick (1674), pp.95-6; R. Grove, Every Christian's Capacity (Bristol, 1711), preface; B.C.L. 26063, 26 Mar. 1737; B.J. 14 May 1768.
4. A. Bedford, Serious Reflections (Bristol, 1705), p.41; B.C.L. 20095, 26 Apr. 1768, 20095, 31 Dec. 1762; B.J. 11 Nov. 1775 (chapbooks for holidays).
5. See pp.100-2.
6. See p.88.
7. See p.80.
8. B.J. 18 Dec. 1773.
9. Lackington, Memoirs, pp.178-9; Purdy, Miscellanies, p.viii.

costly. Even a short item, such as a sermon of 24 to 72 pages, cost at least 3 or 4d, rising to 6d by 1750 (the cost of three pounds of meat or cheese). Prices varied greatly according to the binding, but Sam Farley I's 1728 edition of Cervantes, 344 pages long, was unusually cheap at 2s 6d in sheepskin or 3s in calf. Local publishers did not enter the expensive field of folio publications, while poetry and fine art were associated with fine paper and quarto. A shilling might buy a hundred pages of duodecimo, a short book or substantial tract in octavo, or a much shorter poem.[1]

Those with propaganda aims realized that such formats and prices were beyond popular reach. Moral and religious reformers sponsored short tracts, costing less than 3d, and encouraged the better-off to buy items in bulk at reduced price to give away.[2] The Methodists were the greatest exponents; the Bristol printers Felix Farley and Pine produced many items, including An Exhortation against Swearing in 1752, sold at 1s a hundred, of which 200,000 were printed. Many of these were no doubt foisted on an uninterested populace, but enemies accused the Wesleys of growing rich from such publications.[3]

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1. F.B.N. 29 Apr. 1727. Cf. B.J. 19 Mar. 1768 (St. Nicholas Sermons); Poems ... in Memory of A.R. Hawksworth (Bristol, 1769), editor's note; Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire, II:695-8; H.W. Hamilton, Dr. Syntax (1969), p.35.
2. See p.86 n.8 and B.J. 16 Dec. 1769; F.F.B.J. 18 Feb. 1772; J. Tucker, Earnest and Affectionate Address ... concerning Shrove Tuesday (n.p., n.d. (c.1752)) (2s 6d per 100 to give away); B.C.L. 20095, 4 May 1775, 20096, 19 Apr. 1762. The Corporation, Infirmary and Corporation of the Poor all gave away Bibles and other tracts to the poor, apprentices or the sick (Manchee, Charities, I:99-101, 275; B.I.B.M., II:976; B.L. 816 m 16(27); B.A.O. 04418(1) 19 Aug. and 13 Nov. 1747).
3. F.F.B.J. 18 Nov. 1752. For cheap Methodist tracts see the lists in J. Wesley, Journal for 1738-9 (Bristol, 1748) and idem, Sermons on several Occasions (Bristol, 1760); Glos. Jour. 2 Aug. 1737 (Wilson); B.J. 10 Sept. 1774 (Mills); G.M. Roberts, Selected Trevecca Letters (Caernarvon, 1956), p.37; Whitefield, Journal, p.237; Wesley Letters, I:650, II:18, 20, 347, 379; J. Wesley's Journal, ed. N. Curnock (8 vols, 1909-16), III:167; G. Eayrs, Wesley and Kingswood (Bristol, 1911), p.79. Anti-Methodists

The book trade could not afford to ignore the popular market. Ballad singers and hawkers of chapbooks must have been a common sight throughout the period, although most references to them come around 1775. For poor women, the blind and other unfortunates it was a way to scrape a living.[1] For booksellers and printers street sales were an important addition to shop sales. The Bristol printers were quick to enter the market. Bonny may have printed the 'ballads and small histories' recorded in his inventory.[2] In the 1720s Sam Farley I denounced 'the parcel of Grub Street papers which my old friend Mr. Gripe [i.e. Henry Greep] and the rest of the shuffling orthodox ballad printers continue to poison the country with'.[3] Few such items survive, but the staple products were apparently reports of crimes, trials and executions, sensational accidents, and contentious ballads on social, political and religious issues.[4] Many of these could be considered unstamped news, and the proprietors

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3.(cont'd) followed suit: Wesley, Letters, II:11-12; W.D., Errors in Part Discovered (Bristol 1746), and idem, A Second Answer to Rev. J. Wesley (1775) (6d or 5s per dozen and 2d or 1s 6d per dozen respectively).

1. Butcher (ed.), Corporation, p.57; Wesley Letters, II:141-2; P/Tem. E5(6); W. Barker, The Unfortunate Shipwright (2nd part, 1766); W. Combe, The Philosopher in Bristol (2 parts Bristol, 1775) I:10-11, 14-15, 19, 23; B.J. 9 Apr. 1774; B.M.B.J. 23 Dec. 1775.
2. Lackington, Memoirs, p.159; P.R.O. Prob. 3/18/93.
3. See p.82, n.2.
4. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, App. fos.149-53, 168-72; B.A.O. Town Clerk's Boxes 1748, nos. 11/10, 18/4; F.F.B.J. 15 Sept. 1759; B.J. 14 May 1774 (Cocking); The French King's Catechism (Bristol, n.d. (c.1745)), 'to be sold at the Blue Bell in Broadmead' . R. Evans published the ballad Whittington's Advancement. John Wilson published The Most Excellent History of Argalus and Parthenia, The Life and Actions of Tom Thumb: Third Part, The History of Sir Richard Whittington (all 20 pp. prose, the last with a 2 pp. ballad) and four 'garlands' which have survived. Six such 'garlands' printed by Sam Nayler survive and four by Michael Nayler with M. Viner (proprietor of the King of Prussia Tavern in Directory ?). Complaints against Naylers: B.A.O. 04435(5), 20 Nov. 1751, B.W.I. 23 Nov. 1751; The Genuine Trial of Grant Cottle (Bristol, 1771), p.9. Ordinary booksales by Naylers: F.F.B.J. 26 Apr. 1755; B.W.I. 1 Apr. 1758.

of the regular papers backed sporadic official efforts to arrest the hawkers of 'spurious halfpenny papers called runs'.[1] The vendors were more easily caught than the publishers, but the respectable printers sought to discredit these by claiming that their cheap productions were unreliable.[2]

Despite distinguishing themselves from the producers of Grub Street counterfeits, the regular printers often entered the same market. They too published chapbooks and accounts of crimes, often at slightly greater cost and length.[3] The chief selling-point of their local papers was that they offered an abstract which saved the reader the time and expense of studying the numerous and costly London papers,[4] and they struggled to keep prices down. Bonny sold his original paper for 1d, but Stamp Duties forced the price to 1-1/2d after 1712, 2d after 1725 and 2-1/2d after 1757. Slightly cheaper yearly or quarterly subscriptions were available.[5] Greep published a Halfpenny Post in 1724, and penny papers were issued by Ward in 1748 and Sketchley in 1777.[6] Both Hooke and the Farleys sought to evade advertising duty in the 1740s, but Hooke's attempt to publish an

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1. See Snyder, 'Circulation' for unstamped papers in 1717; P.R.O. C/11/1440 (6) and (9); Q.S. Convictions, 2 July 1743, 2 Feb. 1747, 29 Mar., 11 July 1748, 2 Aug. 1749; B.O.C.I. 28 Apr. 1744; O.C.A. 23 May, 4 July 1747; F.F.B.J. 4 Oct. 1755, 1 Feb. 1764.
2. F.B.N. 15 Oct. 1726; F.F.B.J. 2 May 1752; B.C. 7 Nov. 1761; B.J. 9 May 1767.
3. F.B.N. 13 Aug., 17 Dec. 1726; A Most Deplorable and Astonishing Relation (Bristol, 1724); A Short Account of John Barry (Bristol, 1746); Genuine Trial.
4. See pp. 81, 83; Latimer, 17C, p.410; J.G. Muddiman, The King's Journalist (1923), pp.294-8; B.A.O. AC/JS/36/2/y/ii, xx, AA, FF; B.A.O. 32955(104); B.A.O. 26226, 30 Jan., 24 May 1772, 2 and 6 Oct. 1774; B.J. 8 Oct. 1774. Walker's cheap London papers (see Wiles, Serial Publications) were taken by Wharton for 1s a quarter 1733-45 (B.A.O. 6783).
5. B.P.B. 12 Aug. 1704, 14 Mar. 1713; B.W.M. 1 Dec. 1716; Oracle 10 Apr., 24 July 1742; O.C.A. 22 Nov. 1746; B.W.I. 25 Jan. 1750; F.F.B.J. 2 July 1757; B.J. 2 Nov. 1765; C.V.
6. P.R.O. C/11/1440(9); B.M. 20 Oct. 1748; S.J. Fenton, 'James Sketchley', Ars Quatuor Coronatorum, L (1940), at p.96.

unstamped account of Dettingen for popular consumption was foiled by Farley's vigilance.[1] Price increases were generally accompanied by increased page size and smaller print, but the space taken by advertising also grew to a third or so of the four folio pages. The advertising and content of the papers suggest that the main customers were the mercantile, retailing and prosperous classes, but the clamorous street cries of the newsmen,[2] selling a recognizable commodity of low absolute price, must have widened the market.

The increased sale of the eighteenth-century trade probably reflected growth in two distinct markets, exploited by different sectors. The leading booksellers, based close to the Council House and merchants' meeting-places, were surrounded by shops and offices dealing in property and fashionable goods, and advertised heavily in the papers alongside the vendors of such wares. Their bookshops acted as meeting-places for those in the know to discuss the news and the latest publications.[3] The pressure on space and limited demand meant that they held small stocks, at least on display. Lackington noted 'as we could not tell what to ask for we were ashamed to go into the booksellers' shops'.[4] Rather than cater to popular tastes, such businesses relied on the rising demands, both for books and stationery items, of the commercial classes.

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1. Latimer, 18C, p.52; B.O.C.A. 16 July 1743; Q.S. Convictions, 2-4 July 1743.
2. Oracle 3 July 1742; B.J. 23 Feb. 1771; B.G. 1 June 1775; B.I.B.M., I:42.
3. B.C.L. 20096, e.g. 19 and 22 July, at Palmer's; Angus 6e 27 (3), 11 Feb. 1745 and (4), 2, 7 and 22 Mar., 26 and 27 Apr. 1745; J. Thislethwaite, The Tories in the Dumps (Bristol, 1775), on 10 a.m. when 'Cits who nothing but their time would lose/ To Cadell's stroll to stare and read the news'.
4. Lackington, Memoirs, p.160; B.J. 8 Oct. 1768 (Smart's warehouse in Tower Lane).

The bookshops established on the periphery of the commercial area in the eighteenth century, among humbler artisans and shopkeepers, were less stable. Their owners are shadowy figures, but some, such as Peter and Abraham Brown, the Evans and West families and John Wilson, apparently prospered. Either they or the jobbing printers produced the garlands and chapbooks published in Bristol, and they became heavily involved in selling periodicals.[1] They advertised in the papers less often than the main booksellers, and concentrated on the cheaper books, periodicals, serial publications and patent medicines. The blind Peter Brown rose 'by his own industry' in hawking and bookselling from 'obscurity' to a 'handsome fortune'. A 1732 advertisement pictures him walking the streets selling London newspapers and magazines, serial publications and patent medicines.[2]

The silence of earlier records hardly proves that such men had no predecessors, but their prosperity coincides interestingly with the growth in periodicals and serial publications. The early success of the Gentleman's and London Magazine, sold at 6d monthly in the 1730s, encouraged many imitators, with prices falling to 3d or 2d.[3] In the same decade books began to appear serially, so lowering their cost at each instalment, and making them marketable on the lines of other popular literature.[4] By the 1760s John Amos and Samuel Sellick

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1. Browns: see n.2; F.B.N. 27 Nov. 1725; B.J. 17 Aug. 1765, 16 Apr. 1768; P/St. John's V.Bks; Wills, P. Brown, 19 June 1753, A. Brown, 22 Apr. 1786; see also pp.73 n.2, 119 n.3. Evans: Will, R. Evans, 2 May 1747 and Evans will in E.P./J/2/1 (8). West: Will, M. West, 13 Feb. 1769; F.F.B.J. 27 Jan. 1770. Wilson: Glos. Jour. 27 May 1735, B.O. 19 Oct. 1745; F.B.A. 26 July 1746; B.J. 16 Dec. 1749; F.F.B.J. 5 May 1753, 2 Sept. 1758. See above, p.88, n.4.
2. B.W.I. 30 Dec. 1752; F.B.N. 27 Jan. 1733.
3. Glos. Jour. 11 May 1731; S.F.B.N. 12 Feb. 1737; B.J. 26 Dec. 1767, 7 May 1774. Hooke proposed a Bristol Magazine (B.O. 3 Oct 1747, O.C.A. 2 Jan. 1748). A Bath and Bristol Magazine appeared in 1776, and Bristol and Bath Magazine in 1782.
4. See Wiles, Serial Publications; S.F.B.N. 10 Oct. 1735; n.2.

were specializing in this, visiting householders with samples. In 1775 Sellick sold an illustrated Bible in 2½d weekly numbers, and delivered all the weekly and monthly periodicals.[1]

Bargain and second-hand books also lowered reading costs. Lackington became an eager customer of old bookshops and stalls.[2] By 1775 there were two 'old bookshops' in St James Back, where the annual St James Fair was held.[3] This may indicate a link with the bargains available from London wholesalers at fair stalls and evening auctions, when cheap editions, possibly pirated, were sold.[4] Bargains were also available at household sales or from brokers' warehouses, and intricate ties developed between auctioneers and the book trade. Occasionally booksellers sold off surplus stock.[5]

Considerable attention has been paid to book auctions, but one must distinguish between the transactions described above and the auctions organized by the leading local booksellers. Most booksellers dealt in old as well as new books;[6] by the early eighteenth century they were offering for auction large collections from private libraries. Usually held in a tavern or coffeehouse on successive evenings, with printed catalogues, such sales grew steadily larger, culminating in one of twenty thousand volumes.[7] The main appeal in these regular auctions was to the book-lover and collector, interested

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1. B.J. 16 and 30 Dec. 1769 (Amos); F.F.B.J. 9 Feb. 1771, 26 Aug. 1775 (Sellick).
2. Lackington, Memoirs, pp.161, 170, 175.
3. Directory under 'Crowe' and 'Thomas Davis'. Fairs: pp.7-8.
4. F.B.N. 5 Feb. 1726; F.B.A. 26 July 1746 (Wilson); B.C. 26 Jan. 1760 (Hopwood); F.F.B.J. 2 Feb. 1765 (protest vs. interlopers); B.C.L. 20096 9-13 Jan. 1762, 8 and 14 Dec. 1762.
5. F.B.N. 11 Dec. 1725 (Greep); F.F.B.J. 24 Nov. 1767, 27 Aug. 1763, 2 Feb. 1765; B.J. 9 May 1767 (Williams). Sales: see p.73, n.3; B.J. 2 May 1767 (Teast); B.W.I. 4 Jan. 1752 (West), F.F.B.J. 19 May 1753 (Hickey).
6. B.C.L. 7952, fo.3 (Greep); B.O. 10 Aug. 1745 (Cadell).
7. B.P.B. 25 Apr. and 2 May 1713 (Appleford); O.C.A. 19 Nov. 1748 (Hooke); B.J. 20 Feb. 1768 (23rd day).

in the 'curiosity' of both content and binding, more than the bargain-hunter.[1] Similarly, when these booksellers dealt, as they certainly did, with periodical and serial publication, they concentrated, in advertising at least, on the higher-quality products.[2]

Ownership

The obvious sources for book ownership are the probate inventories. Table VIII summarizes the findings from the inventories in the local archives, divided by decade and according to the total value of the inventory. The wealthiest Bristolians generally had their probates proved centrally, and some of these inventories have been examined for the eighteenth century, when there are few inventories in the local archive.[3] Books are mentioned in 24.4% of inventories, or 26.6% if the decades are averaged, with a substantial change from 34.6% ownership before 1660 to 21.8% 1660-1700, recovering slightly to 25.4% thereafter. The change is partly caused by the changing proportion of different wealth ranges; the low of 19½% in the 1700s coincides with a peak in low-value inventories. In general, however, the same chronology can be discerned within each valuation range. The level of book ownership varied greatly with wealth. Only 11½% of the poorest owned books, but

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1. F.B.N. 2 Oct. 1725 (Sendall), 3 Dec. 1726 (Cossley); B.O. 17 Oct. 1747 (Hickey).
2. E.g. Cadell in F.F.B.J. 7 Mar. 1747, 18 Apr. 1761, 9 Mar. 1766; B.J. 9 June 1750.
3. P.R.O. Prob. 3 and 31. Cf. P.Clark, 'The Ownership of Books in England 1540-1640', in L. Stone (ed.), Schooling and Society (1976), pp.95-114; J.A. Johnston, 'Worcestershire Probate Inventories 1696-1716', Midland History, IV (1978), 199-211. Both discover similar social/occupational stratification, with the professions outstanding, many Bibles and other religious works, and few references to cheaper literature.

53% of the wealthiest. Of probates examined in the central courts, 55% included books. Book-owners had twice the median value of all inventory-leavers. The modest eighteenth-century improvement, reflected in the central sample as well, appears not to have affected the poorest, although the ranges are too small to permit confident generalization.

These results do not fit the picture of a growing book trade, although there is insufficient evidence on trends after 1740, when the greatest growth occurred. The late-seventeenth-century decline seems too steep, and the subsequent recovery too modest. One possible explanation is a change in the nature of reading matter owned towards smaller and ephemeral literature, not worthy of probate valuation.[1] Size, binding and condition of books played a major part in valuation, and the mean value recorded, at just over 1s, with a 6d median, seems high for old books. The value of books mentioned by name or genre was considerably higher, usually between 2s 6d and 5s. A shift in reading tastes towards periodicals, newspapers and shorter, smaller volumes would appear as a decrease in ownership, and the poorer classes were always more likely to own such books.

Unusually large collections can usually be explained by wealth, and books formed a tiny part of most people's wealth. The only occupations to stand out as book-owners are the legal, medical[2] and above all clerical professions. The clergy devoted an unprecedented proportion of their wealth to books, two owning £60

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1. Only 3 inventories mention pamphlets: G. Flower (1646), A. Homead (1669), G. Hellier (1692).
2. Law: G. Hellier (1692), J. Rowell (P.R.O. Prob. 31/68/350 and 3/28/91). Medical: B. Turner (1639), R. Bruce (1642), H. Paul (1670), G. Hearte (1671), W. Davis (1681), W. Nicklus (1708), cf. Deposition Books 1650-4, ed. E. Ralph (B.R.S., XIII, 1948), pp. 52-4.

worth; and they led the way in devoting rooms and shelves to books.[1] Other evidence supports the conclusion that private libraries were a professional prerogative. The first Bristol collection known to have been auctioned was that of Thomas Palmer, vicar of St Werburgh's, in 1694; the other Bristolian's auction for which a catalogue survives is that of Dr John Cooke, a medical man, in 1722.[2] Of the 47 cases where auction notices include the occupation of the collector, no less than 20 were clergymen, 7 lawyers and 6 medical, together with a mathematician, 6 gentlemen (one medically qualified), a merchant, an MP, an esquire and two plain 'Mr's. The clergy produced most of the literature published in Bristol or with Bristol links, and they and the medical men were most active in local controversies.[3]

Nevertheless other groups probably owned reasonable numbers of books, though fewer of the weighty folios and quartos which attracted probate and auction attention.[4] Unfortunately book lists and personal material only survive from the eighteenth century, but it would be rash to assume that it was only then that non-professional men became interested. Earlier merchants' inventories suggest considerable collections.[5] The woollen-draper Alexander Kerswell died in 1644 leaving some chivalrous romances as well as books of history and piety.[110] Lists of 50-100 books have survived for the

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1. T. Palmer (1639), G. Williamson (1685), H. Brent (1675), R. Pritchard (1663), W. Wanning (1702), R. Blinman (1681), R. Knight (1629) and J. Read (1675) in descending value, but all above £1. Cf. B.C.L. 6485, poem 'Clergyman's Wish'; Angus 6e 27(1) and 6e 15; J. Rippon (ed.), Baptist Annual Register (4 vols, 1790-1802), I:253.
2. Catalogue of the Library of Dr. John Cooke (Bristol, 1721) (Bodl. Mus. Bibliog. III/8/2(2)); Bibliotheca Palmeriana (1694) (in B.L.).
3. Glos. Jour. 15 Nov. 1737 (vicars); Oracle 17 Apr. 1742 (lawyer, Hall); B.C. 9 Feb. 1760 (surgeon Pye).
4. See p.104.
5. McGrath (ed.), Merchants and Merchandise, pp.71-89, 92-100.
6. Inv. A. Kerswell (1644).

customs collector John Elbridge, E.P. Chamberlain of Wine Street, Joseph Cole and Thomas Bolt the sexton of St Augustine's.[1] The merchants Paul Fisher and John Heylyn left 130 titles and 1400 volumes respectively to the City Library in the 1760s, and in 1774 the M.P. and draper Matthew Brickdale gave the Library Society 425 volumes.[2] The gentry of the neighbourhood had large collections.[3] Books are occasionally mentioned in wills: in 1763 William Jones bequeathed two volumes of Hervey's Meditations, seven volumes of Nature Delineated, a volume of 'Travels', the World Unmasked, Seneca's Morals and a work on book-keeping. His will mentions gifts and loans of books between friends who were invited to choose items from his library.[4]

Borrowing and public reading

Borrowing was important when books were scarce and expensive. Authors acknowledged loans;[5] publishers of a charity pamphlet in 1759 requested the public not to 'hurt the sale' by lending it.[6] The printers complained that hawkers were lending the newspapers out for a small fee.[7] The eighteenth century saw this extended

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1. B.A.O. AC/WO/10/18-19, AC/WH/18(19); B.I.B.M., I:94; E.P./J/2/1/18 (Bolt).
2. B.C.L. 23274, 29739; Catalogue of the Books of the Library Society (Bristol, 1774).
3. B.A.O. AC/F8/6 (Sir H. Smyth 1680); B.L. Add.MS 36550, fo.40 (Edwards of Redland, 1717).
4. Will, W. Jones, 18 June 1763. (Cf. Wills: G. Woodcock (22 Mar. 1638); P. Staynred (22 Oct. 1644); J. Davis (12 Apr. 1710); M. Fry (14 June 1755) and Haynes in B.A.O. 14581 HA/W/10. These all mention women receiving or owning books. Only 4% of local subscribers to books were women, mostly to Mary Deverell, Sermons on the Following Subjects (Bristol, 1774).
5. Bryant, Verses, pp.33-5; E. Harwood, A New Introduction (1767), p.vii; B.C.L. 26063 passim, e.g. 27 Sept. 1746; B.C.L. 20095, 21 July 1762, 28 Mar. 1771, 20096, 20 Mar., 5 Apr., 17 June 1762; Gent's Mag., LIX (1789), 287-9; T. Stedman (ed.), Letters of Orton and Stonhouse (2 vols, Shrewsbury, 1800), II:4; Chatterton (1803), III:523; Roberts, Memoirs of More, I:29.
6. F.F.B.J. 24 Mar. 1759.
7. F.F.B.J. 2 July 1757.

commercially through the circulating library. The first Bristol example was apparently Thomas Sendall's 1728 scheme, described as 'a method of furnishing the curious and lovers of reading with great variety of books to read by the year at a very easy rate'.[1] Such an arrangement probably arose from booksellers lending books on approval to valued customers.[2] At first the schemes were quite expensive. Sendall charged 10s a year, and only the prosperous could afford such a lump sum payment. By the 1740s many leading booksellers were lending books from catalogues, either of their general stock or a particular lending section.[3] The first shop opened at the Hotwells in 1744; by 1775 two Bristol perfumers also had circulating libraries. These consisted largely of novels and other fashionable works.[4] The miniaturist and bookseller Shiercliff opened a library in 1767 in genteel St. Augustine's, although his stock was much wider-ranging.[5]

If such libraries appealed to the existing reading public and the fashionable, the idea was also adapted to a wider market. Yearly subscription gave way to quarterly, monthly, weekly and per volume rates.[6] The development of circulating libraries reinforced the effect of auctions and second-hand sales in increasing booksellers' stock and its immediate accessibility. Some peripheral bookshops, holding large stocks of old books, offered the customer the chance to

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1. F.B.N. 30 Mar. and 18 May 1728, 31 May 1729.
2. Bodl. MS Ashmole 1814, fo.313; B.C.L. 11153, Mar. 1688 (Gravett to Southwell), 20096, 22 July 1762; F.F.B.J. 4 July 1767 (Green); Angus 6e 27 (3), 11 Feb. 1745.
3. B.O.C.I. 9 June 1744 (Hickey); O.C.A. 2 Jan. 1748 (Cossley); B.W.I. 15 Aug. 1752 (Crofts).
4. B.O.C.I. 9 June 1744 (Goadby); F.F.B.J. 7 Oct. 1775 (Jackson); B.J. 8 May 1773 (Thompson). Novels: B.J. 26 Nov. 1768 (Gant); Southey, Life, I:83; Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Lady (Bristol, 1790), p.9.
5. B.J. 29 Aug. 1767, 9 Nov. 1771; B.I.B.M., I:34.
6. B.C. 17 Sept. 1760 (Jones); F.F.B.J. 2 Jan. 1768 (Green).

browse, rather than choose by catalogue, and then borrow or purchase as his purse allowed. Chatterton gained much of his knowledge in one such shop.[1]

Such commercial borrowing mattered more to Bristolians than public libraries. No parochial libraries are recorded, although most churches had the prescribed copies of Foxe, Erasmus and the Homilies, and other books were occasionally donated.[2] Generally churches only had a few service books, expecting congregations to bring their own, or follow services from memory.[3] The parish clergy may have used the Cathedral library, although this was probably inoperative until 1756, when the Chapter House was fitted out and a new lending collection started.[4]

The clergy were probably the chief beneficiaries from the City Library started in 1613, although an early bequest referred to a 'library of sound divinity and other learning for the use of aldermen and shopkeepers'.[5] The bulk of 500 or so books, mostly donated in the early seventeenth century, were theological; the collection, for reference only, was overseen by the vicar of St Leonard's. The library was apparently little used, and it was almost inaccessible from 1691 to 1738, when the Corporation decided to rebuild the premises, spending over £1300. Despite this largesse, no more books

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1. See F.F.B.J. 29 Dec. 1765 (Cherry) and B.J. 30 Dec. 1769 (Amos). Specialists: B.W.I. 25 July 1752, Will, 15 Dec. 1761 (Fisher); F.F.B.J. 20 Mar. 1762, 4 July 1767, 2 Jan. 1768, 28 Jan. 1769 (Green). Meyerstein, Chatterton, pp.37, 46-8.
2. P/C.W.A. and V.Bks; B.A.O. BD/M1/2, 19 Nov. 1771 (volumes for Baptist church).
3. See pp.239-40.
4. R.J. Fletcher, A History of Bristol Cathedral (1932), pp.31, 94-5. The Baptist Education Society started a library in 1772 and by 1776 had spent £456 (An Account of Bristol Education Society (Bristol, 1776)).
5. C. Tovey, Bristol City Library (Bristol, 1853).

were purchased and no rules established to run the library.[1] In the early 1760s various schemes were aired to render the collection more relevant and access easier, while the Fisher and Heylyn donations widened its scope considerably.[2] In 1772 the Corporation passed the responsibility to the Bristol Library Society, handing them the refurbished building and increasing the librarian's salary from £2 p.a. to £12 10s p.a. The Society's aim was 'to put it in the power of the citizens of Bristol to have access to a well-chosen library at easy annual expense'. The existing city collection was largely ignored as the Society rapidly built up a sizeable lending library, accessible two mornings and three evenings a week.

Membership in the Society cost a guinea annually, plus an entrance fee of one guinea, soon raised to two. Of the 132 members in 1774, 89 can be identified in the 1775 Directory, including 31 merchants, 16 clergymen, 14 medical, 9 major manufacturers, 4 lawyers and 4 town officials. In addition to 4 aldermen, 18 others were called 'esquires'. Only five can be identified as mere shopkeepers, although more of the unidentified probably came from this class. The founders and active committee members of the Society were from the same clerical, medical and mercantile group. There were three female members in 1774, although women were apparently excluded later.[3] The Society certainly did not facilitate popular borrowing, but the

1. C.C.P. Apr. 1657; R.T. Gunther (ed.), Early Science in Oxford (14 vols, Oxford, 1923-45), XII:306; Complete History of Somerset, p.33; Barrett, History, p.508; B.C.L. 5199, fos.6-11.
2. B.A.O. 01397 (1-3c); F.B.A. 26 July 1746 (Waterman bequest unfulfilled); F.F.B.J. 3 May 1760 (Urbicola); see p.96.
3. B.A.O. 32079 (153, 154, 160); Catalogue of Books; B.J. 5 and 19 Dec. 1772, 23 Jan. and 26 June 1773, 12 Feb. 1774; C.C.P. Mar., Aug. and Dec. 1773; C.V. 1773-4; K. Hopgood, 'Library Practice in Bristol Library Society 1772-1830', Library History, V (1981), 145-53.

wealthy obviously wanted access to a broader range of serious literature than any individual could easily afford.

A clue to a more important area of public access to reading is given by the Library Society rule that no coffee-house, tavern or lodging-house proprietor should be able to join.[1] Some of these places held stocks of books and pamphlets, to encourage the conversation and exchange of information on which they built their reputation.[2] They concentrated chiefly on the newspapers. In 1676 the coffee-house-keeper Edward Stevens took out a large bond not to offer seditious news or pamphlets to be 'read, perused or divulged' on his premises, and to report all 'false, scandalous reports' uttered by customers.[3] The Exclusion crisis led to repeated complaints about false news and 'lying and seditious pamphlets'.[4] The association remained indelible, as proprietors vied to provide the most complete range of London and local papers, apparently considering these their chief attraction,[5] although they also acted as meeting places for business and conversation offering spirits, food, cards, billiards and

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1. B.A.O. 32079 (153), 21 Mar. 1785. See P. Kaufman, 'Coffeehouses as reading centres' in his Libraries and their Users (1969).
2. See p.88, n.4; B.W.I. 30 Dec. 1749 (Don Quixote in Miniature sold 'at all taverns and coffee-houses'); Complete Chatterton, I:380-2, 499, 540; B.J. 12 May 1770, 13 Jan. 1771 (T. Lawrence); B.J. 7 Dec. 1771 (Theft from victualler).
3. B.A.O. 04434(1), 17 Feb. 1676. Other early reports: Oldenburg Correspondence, ed. R. & M. B. Hall (Madison, 1965 on), VI:443-4, 455-7; B.C.L. 11153, 29 Mar. 1679; Latimer, 17C, p.240; B.L. Add. MS 18598, 31 May 1690.
4. P.R.O. SP/29/420/1, 7; Q.S. Minutes 1672-81, letter, 2 July 1679; G.J. Presentment, July 1682; E.P./V/3 SS P and J. 1674, St. E. 1680-1, All Sts. 1684; Invs. J. Kimber (1681), A. Payne (1687); Hayden (ed.), Records, pp.204, 252, 297; H.M.C. 27, p.89.
5. Oracle 12 June, 14 Aug. 1742 (St. Michael's); F.F.B.J. 28 Feb. 1756 (Castle); B.J. 8 Oct 1774 (Castle Green); refs to news discussed, e.g. Collins, Miscellanies, p.4; J. Tucker, Instructions for Travellers (1757), p.9; F.F.B.J. 6 Feb. 1773 contains an imaginary coffee-house scene.

music.[1] The number of coffee-houses rose from the 1730s, extending from the central streets to cover the city, although numbers stabilised after 1750.[2] In the 1770s, however, taverns, often with coffee rooms, absorbed or replaced coffee-houses, except in the central streets or at the leisure resorts where female company was most important.[3]

It is difficult to establish how broad a clientele these places attracted. Both coffee and tavern wine were relatively expensive; their locations suggest that they aimed chiefly at the commercial and fashionable classes, with few in the poorer areas. The coffee-houses around the Tolzey were always the largest; from 1742 the Exchange Coffee-house was so pre-eminent as to be considered 'the coffee-house'. John Wood designed it in grand style as part of the Exchange, considering it 'the only place of general resort in the city for gentry'.[4] An annual subscription of a guinea was charged there by 1769, and other establishments also had subscriptions, which may have controlled access to the non-drinking facilities.[5] The different houses became associated with particular interest-groups, including lawyers, revenue officers and branches of trade, while the dilettantes preferred the Assembly Coffee-house.[6] It is unlikely that ordinary Bristolians felt at home in these settings, but the

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1. F.F.B.J. 15 Feb. 1755 (spirits and billiards); B.J. 3 June 1769 (food); F.F.B.J. 3 Nov. 1764 (cards), 10 May 1755 (music).
2. See A. Ellis, Penny Universities (1957), pp.207-13, largely based on B.C.L. 22709.
3. B.O.C.I. 22 Jan. 1743; B.J. 12 Mar. 1768, 18 Apr. 1772.
4. J. Wood, A Description of the Exchange (Bath, 1743), p.18; C.V. (Exchange Coffee-house rent £120 1756, £140 1757, £120 1758-65, £100 1765-7, £80 1768-75; cf. Assembly Room Coffeehouse at £5 p.a.); F.F.B.J. 28 May 1757; B.W.I. 27 July 1752.
5. B.A.O. 28048 f.13, 1769, AC/WH/19/3, 30 Sept. 1773; B.J. 16 Jan. 1768; F.F.B.J. 30 Dec. 1775.
6. B.C.L. 22709; B.I.B.M., I:19; Savadge, 'West Country', pp.10-11, 380, 403; B.O.C.I. 21 July 1744; B.W.I. 30 Sept. 1752; F.F.B.J. 4 June 1757, 1 Mar. 1766.

lesser coffee-houses may have been different. There are occasional references to newspaper reading in alehouses, associated with a lower-class clientele.[1]

Changing Tastes

One cannot examine the changing public for reading-matter without considering its changing content. Booksellers appealed to specific groups, distinguishing the needs of child and adult, professional and leisured, religion and business. Nevertheless, using evidence from the book trade, lists of books owned and sold, comments on reading and the content of Bristol publications, it is possible to suggest broad patterns of change in taste. An early distinction between ephemeral popular literature and serious literature based on religious, moral and professional demands was blurred by the growth of belles-lettres, guides and newspapers. But though these threatened the traditional dominance of religious and classical publications amongst polite literature, they also catered for the thirst for the curious and novel amongst the well-off, so rendering more complete the break with popular street literature.

Booksellers' advertisements constantly stressed their stocks of Bibles, Prayer Books, Testaments, Psalters, and primers, as well as schoolbooks for primary and grammar education. In a 1752 classification of his stock, Ward put 'Divinity' first, with Greek and Latin classics in the seventh category.[2] The Bible was the earliest and remained the commonest shop-sign used by booksellers.[3] The professions of 'law, divinity and physic'

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1. Oracle 28 May 1742; F.F.B.J. 8 Nov. 1766 (Harwood letter); B.J. 28 Mar. 1772.
2. B.W.I. 22 Aug. 1752. Cf. stock lists in pp.73 n.3, 92 n.5 and B.P.B. 10 Sept. 1709 (Bonny); F.F.B.J. 28 Oct. 1752 (Brown). Schools: see p.76. Children's books B.W.I. 7 Dec. 1751 (Ward).
3. Used by Ballard, Greep, Wilson, Brown and Cadell, at least.

demanded religious and classical texts, and were the greatest personal customers.[1] Humbler readers such as the Brislington yeoman Joshua Wharton or the accountant William Dyer bought few books except religious works, for themselves, their servants, young relatives or the poor.[2] Poor artisans like Bryant and Lackington were attracted to Bible stories and classical myths.[3] Bibles, prayer books and commentaries were best-sellers, most heavily advertised for serial publication.[4] They recur constantly in lists and probate inventories, with the Bible itself predominant. Auctions and sales of household goods usually begin with a references to books in 'divinity'.[5] Table IX shows that religious titles were those most often mentioned in auction sales, with about 25% of titles listed. Another 6.6% were classical and 5% ecclesiastical history. Almost a quarter of Dr John Cooke's books were theological, while theology naturally dominated Thomas Palmer's 1694 collection, providing over half the titles.[6] Bristol's own publishing output consisted largely of religious works, as Table X reveals. Even if Methodist publications are excluded, more than 40% of titles had a predominantly religious content. Two-thirds of works printed in London in which Bristol booksellers were involved were religious (see

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1. See pp.94-5. Legal and medical books are also mentioned in laymen's inventories, e.g. T. Brewer (1664) and T. Ivey (1707), Statute books and individual acts were regularly purchased by Corporation and gilds e.g. B.A.O. 08155 for 1635, 1657, 1676, 1683, 1700.
2. B.A.O. 6783; B.C.L. 20095-6. Cf. S. Young, Some Particulars Relating to ... R. Scudamore (Bristol, 1790), pp.11, 24-5, 76.
3. Bryant, Verses, pp.iv-v; Lackington, Memoirs, pp. 159-61, 170-2, 175.
4. See pp.91-2.
5. Invs.: S. Northall (1650) and J. Young (1658) (books of martyrs), J. Hayes (1681) (books 'both divine and moral'), C. Foxell (1739); W. Bond (P.R.O. Prob. 3/41/87); F.B.N. 3 Dec. 1726 (auction).
6. See p.95 n.2.

Table XI), and most of the Bristol authors published in London wrote on religious or moral subjects. Although the editors generally sought to avoid contentious religious issues, religion formed the most common topic in letters and disputes in the local papers.[1]

Two important qualifications must be considered. Many religious works were produced to be given away; they were not necessarily welcomed. Southey's account of his childhood reading only mentions one pious work, given to him by an old lady, although he was attracted to the classics.[2] Many items produced in a religious genre might derive their chief interest from their non-religious elements. Bryant admitted loving the Bible as a set of wonder-stories, while many local religious publications stemmed from local events and meetings.[3] Secondly, theological works were often published in large format, attracting undue attention. Book lists invariably show a religious predominance among folios. Such works were naturally stressed in newspaper puffs. At one Bristol auction in 1740 36% of the titles were religious, but annotations marking the items sold show that only 27.5% of theology books and 37% of ecclesiastical history had sold, well below the average of 43%. The folios had sold least, but religious works were selling badly in all sizes.[4]

The importance of religious works may have been declining in the late seventeenth century, judging by the figures in Table XII, showing references to Bibles and other religious works in the probate inventories. The number of service books mentioned fell first, but

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1. E.g. Unitarian dispute in F.F.B.J. and B.J. late 1765 and early 1766. Letters: B.C.L. 20096, 23 Feb., 6 Mar., 8 May, 19 Nov. 1762; Stedman (ed.), Letters, II:61, 159.
2. Southey, Life, I:69-76, 85-6, 117-8.
3. Bryant, Verses, pp.iv-v. For societies see Chapter Four.
4. Catalogue of the Library of Dr. Archer etc. (Bristol, 1740), Bodl. Vet A 4 e 1778(3).

the number of Bibles declined from about 1670, steeply after 1700. This may just reflect a shift in format to smaller, less valuable sizes, but possibly the S.P.C.K. and other evangelical groups were justified in their campaigns after 1688 to put religious works back into homes. Throughout the period the pious complained that religious works, the Bible in particular, were being neglected. Most blamed a flood of profane literature,[1] although some criticised excessive denominational publishing, or commercial efforts to exploit religious demand with countless Bible commentaries.[2] Declining interest is clear in the purchasing and borrowing of the Library Society. Of the 320 titles bought or donated by 1774, only 24 were religious and 20 classical, and several of the religious were donated. Of 13,497 loans in the first ten years, only 606 were of theology and ecclesiastical history, and only medical and mathematical books were in less demand. There was little call for the classics, even in translation.[3]

History and geography books, by contrast, were borrowed 6122 times, forming the most popular category, with six of the ten most popular titles.[4] History, geography and travel books formed Ward's second category of works, and throughout the period they were enormously popular.[5] They appealed as sources of moral instruction and practical knowledge, the latter interest shading into the commercial needs for maps, navigational aides and trade

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1. Chetwind, Memorial, pp.3-6; P/Tem. Ka 4, fo.106; B.C.L. 20095, 23 Apr. 1759; B.C.L. 6492, fo.80; B.Bayly, Fourteen Sermons (2 vols, 1721), II:105; R. Hart, The Importance of the Word of God (Bristol, 1766), p.1; Stedman (ed.), Letters, II:11.
2. W. Grigge, The Quaker's Jesus (1658), pp.36-8; E. Harwood, A Liberal Translation (1767), preface; Thistlethwaite, Tories, p.5.
3. P. Kaufman, Borrowings from the Bristol Library Society 1773-84 (Bibliog. Soc. of Univ. of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1960).
4. Ibid.
5. See p.102, n.2.

manuals.[1] Both in probate inventories and advertisements of book sales there are frequent references to books of 'divinity and history', 'divine and moral', 'history, geography and travels' in general and to specific titles. Almost a quarter of the auction books listed were of history and geography;[2] the multi-volume histories of Rapin, Smollett, etc., were often mentioned, and also chosen for serial publication.[3] In the 1740 auction all the geography books had been sold and an above average number of the histories.[4] Both categories feature prominently in many of the smaller collections, and history predominated in the Edwards collection at Redland Court in 1717. Admittedly, history and travels were usually published in larger format, thereby attracting disproportionate attention. But this also helps to explain why few works on these subjects were published locally.[5]

It was easier to publish locally the smaller utilitarian items which would assist commerce and city life, although the publication of maps was still risky.[6] The booksellers emphasised sea books, charts and trade manuals;[7] Bristol printers published lists of

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1. Invs.: W. Haskins (1639), R. Morgan (1639), T. Batten (1678) F. Gregory (1684) and O. Rogers (P.R.O. Prob. 3/29/141) for mariners' books and see n.7.
2. See Table IX; Invs: N. Meredith (1639) ('history and divinity'), W. Hayter (1639), M. Davies (1646) and A. Noble (1679) (chronicles), A. Lewis (1734) ('Mole's Geography') and R. Gravett (P.R.O. Prob. 3/38/1); F.F.B.J. 27 Aug. 1763 (Jones); Chatterton (1803), p.x.
3. In F.F.B.J. 16 June 1759 'Probus' recommended a serial edition of Smollett's History.
4. See p.104 n.4.
5. See p.96 n.3 and Table X.
6. See Table X and for maps J.E. Pritchard, 'Millerd's Plan of Bristol', T.B.G.A.S., XLIV (1922), 203-20; idem, 'Old Plans and Views of Bristol', ibid., XLVIII (1926), 325-53; An Alphabetical List of Subscribers (Bristol, 1769). Hickey's publication of Rocque's survey (Oracle 3 June 1742) supported by Corporation and S.M.V. donations, apparently caused his later financial problems (Complete Chatterton, I:516).
7. Penn advertisement in M. Pope, Merciful Discovery (Bristol, 1716); B.W.I. 27 June 1752 (Ward); B.J. 25 Nov. and 2 Dec. 1775 (Roberts).

fairs, seamen's journals, and from 1764, a Bristol Memorandum Book and a diary for householders.[1] Both advertisements and book lists suggest a growing range of practical manuals, often set out as dictionaries and epitomes, while encyclopaedias were also popular. The periodicals were miscellanies of potted knowledge, and the local newspapers appealed to the same tastes. The 1760 manifesto of the Bristol Chronicle offered readers 'as perfect and copious a view as can possibly be procured of all foreign affairs' 'so exactly noted as to form a kind of weekly history'. By including comments on towns and kingdoms and occasional historical remarks the paper would offer a 'geographical history'. Shipping reports and London and country intelligences would cover 'every extraordinary event, remarkable casualty or things striking and novel', while there would be regular lists of births, marriages, deaths, preferments, stock prices, bankruptcies and the like.[2]

Popular demand for news, particularly of wars, diplomacy and trade, was not new in the eighteenth century. Critics deplored the popular thirst for news from the Restoration onwards;[3] Josiah Tucker's despairing conclusion that 'this country is as much news-mad and news-ridden as ever it was popery-mad and priest-ridden' was shared by alarmed authorities throughout.[4] Southey claimed his father read nothing but Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, while teachers

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1. F.B.N. 7 May 1726, 8 Apr. and 6 May 1727 (Farley); F.F.B.J. 19 Nov. and 24 Dec. 1763 (Pine); Bristol and Country New Memorandum Book for 1768 (Bristol, 1767); Southcote, Seaman's Journal.
2. B.C. 5 Jan. 1760. Local papers were kept for reference, e.g. B.O.C.A. 23 Apr. 1743. An annual index was proposed for B.C.
3. C.S.P.D. 1666-7, p.273; 1679-80, pp.440-1; J. Holloway, Free and Voluntary Confession (1684), pp.11-12; Gunther (ed.), Early Science, XII:297; T. Newton, Works (3 vols, 1782), II:683-7; below, p.33.
4. J. Tucker, Four Tracts (Gloucester, 1774), pp.89-90; p.100.

thought it important that children learn how to read the news properly.[1] Much of the interest grew out of political and religious allegiances, together with patriotism and a thirst for war and excitement. New papers started in periods of political crisis, and the return of peace posed a threat to circulation figures.[2]

Knowledge of war and foreign affairs was also of vital commercial importance. The newspapers discussed trade,[3] and the Merchant Venturers' efforts to improve their shipping and trade news indicate their financial value, confirmed in private letters.[4] The early local press, which carried little else but the bare facts of war, diplomacy and trade events, probably catered mostly for trading interests already well-informed about the world. From the 1740s the editors helped a wider audience by offering geographical and historical footnotes and occasional essays.[5] Andrew Hooke, who started this trend locally, was a keen geographer, historian and political arithmetician who wanted to convert the 'superior class of mankind' to his own Whig views.[6] His rivals probably hoped to reach a wider public, increasingly aware that their well-being was tied to foreign affairs through taxation and credit. The American

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1. Southey, Life, I:83; Jones, Steps, pp.2-4; Butler, Essay, p.94. See also Combe, Philosopher, II:70-71 and press extracts in B.A.O. 6783 and 37541; Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2.
2. B.O.C.I. 18 Aug. 1744; B.J. 18 Jan. 1763; B.G. 17 Nov. and 22 Dec. 1774; B.A.O. 26226 20 Oct. 1770; see p.110 n.3.
3. B.O. 15 Oct. 1748; F.F.B.J. 22 Aug. 1747; B.W.I. 23 June 1750 (Mercator letter).
4. McGrath, Merchant Ventures, pp.266-7; Goldwin, Description, pp.11-12; B.C.L. 11157 13 Feb. 1742; B.A.O. AC/MU/1/10.
5. F.B.N. 14 Jan. 1727; F.B.A. 9 Aug. 1746; B.J. 17 June 1749; F.F.B.J. 4 Oct. 1758.
6. Oracle 24 July, 18 Sept. 1742; B.O.C.A. 14 Jan. 1744, 5 Jan. 1745; 15-29 July 1749; C.A. 27 April 1745; B.O. 25 Jan. 1746. See also p.91 n.3. Hooke's paper depended on a seven-year subscription by 'the Society' (Oracle 22 May, 10-17 July 1742), possibly the 'Philosophical Society' mentioned in 1747 (see p.254).

troubles, which had such direct repercussions for Bristol, merely underlined the importance of news.[1]

Newspapers and periodicals not only popularized history and current affairs. From the 1740s they also published an expanding range of literary and scientific material, while encouraging local contributions of essays and poems.[2] The second part of the Bristol Chronicle's plan was to be 'no less entertaining as it will contain stroaks [sic] of literature, sudden flights of fancy, occasionally interspersed with select pieces of poetry so that there will be scarce any celebrated performance, remarkable occurrence, extraordinary phenomenon, curious invention or new discovery in nature or science of which the most judicious reader will not have some tolerable view'. It invited a correspondence from 'the learned, the witty, the curious, the candid, of both sexes'.[3] Such tastes were particularly associated with fashionable and female readers.[4]

The crucial decade in this development was apparently the 1740s. The Bristol press before 1730 carried practically no material of this kind. Too few papers survive from the 1730s to be certain when the pattern began to change. The Bristol, Bath and Somerset Journal of 4 June 1743 included a satire on female gossip, a report on Methodism, a poem and an episode from the memoirs of Baron Munchausen. Hooke's paper carried more intellectual essays and poems, while Ward's Bristol Weekly Intelligencer included many literary pieces, including enigmas

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1. Brewer in McKendrick et al., Consumer Society, pp.215-7.
2. See Wiles, 'Provincial Culture'; idem, 'The Relish for Reading', in P.J. Korshin (ed.), The Widening Circle (Philadelphia, 1976), pp.85-116; idem, 'Middle-Class Literacy', Studies in Eighteenth Century, I (1968), 49-66.
3. B.C. 5 Jan. 1760.
4. B.O.C.I. 16 Apr. 1743; B.W.I. 23 Sept. 1749.

and anecdotes.[1] These papers probably strayed too far from the core of news, to which the Farley papers remained more constant, but even in the latter poems, letters and anecdotes became common.[2] This development may have owed less to Bristol taste than the availability from the 1730s of numerous London periodicals containing just such material. Many of the Bristol items were certainly borrowed from these. Contemporaries suspected that they were mere space-fillers when the news was unexciting.[3] Nevertheless the 1740s did not lack for stirring news; some readers preferred the new kind of news, and contributed their own output.[4]

Literary and scientific writings were coming to play a larger part in reading generally. Table X shows the rising share of publications in belles-lettres and the sciences after 1750, and especially after 1765. The belles-lettres category formed a quarter of the borrowing from the Library Society in its early years, although the more 'popular' novelists were not stocked.[5] Literary titles rose as a proportion of auction titles from under 10% before 1750 to over 30%, partly owing to auctions by itinerants with cheap literary editions. All sides of the book trade were taking a new interest in literature and advertising plays, novels and 'celebrated

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1. Ibid.; B.W.I. 18 Nov. 1749, 8 May 1750. B.W.I. reprinted the Rambler the same week it first appeared. Book reviews were also promised (B.O.C.I. 27 July 1744; B.G. 24 Dec. 1767).
2. B.O. 28 May 1748; B.J. 26 Mar. 1748; F.F.B.J. 18 Dec. 1762, 4 Feb. 1764, 24 Aug. 1770.
3. Oracle 10 Apr., 2 Oct. 1742; B.W.I. 30 Sept. 1749 (A.Y. poem); F.F.B.J. 12 Nov. 1763.
4. B.O. 20 Sept. 1746; B.W.I. 22 June 1751; F.F.B.J. 10 Mar. 1753, 20 Jan. 1770. Before 1770 B.J. devoted occasional extra sheets to political affairs, but therefore these were much more diverse (e.g. B.J. 13 Feb. 1773).
5. Kaufman, Borrowings.

authors'.[1] Starting with the 'Bible and Locke's Head' in 1728, bookshops were named after Shakespeare, Milton, Pope and Homer.[2] Novels were singled out as the leading commodity in circulating libraries.[3] Literary and philosophical works sold well at the 1740 sale.[4]

Contemporaries were well aware of this development, associating it with the growth of luxury and with youthful and female reading. Several Bristolians looked back on a youth misspent on romantic novels which made other reading seem 'dry and tasteless'.[5] It was feared that such literature would distract the impressionable from worthier reading, and that it taught lessons either of immorality or of such unrealistic sentimentality as to mislead readers.[6] Although 'instruction and amusement' were seen as important companions, there was still much resistance to the idea of reading for amusement alone. Despite the alarm, most publications remained highly instructive and moralistic. The most popular literary titles were Tatlers, Spectators and Guardians.[7] Such tastes may not have been totally new. Although references to such works increase in eighteenth-century

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1. See Table IX. Plays: F.B.N. 27 Jan. 1728 (Sendall), S.F.B.N. 3 July 1736 (Brown). 'Modern books': B.C. 19 July 1760 (Jones), F.F.B.J. 19 July 1766 (Palmer and Becket). Auctions: B.J. 14 Jan. 1769, 14 Nov. 1772. Household sales: F.F.B.J. 18 Oct. 1755 (Shipway), 9 Feb. 1765 (Owen).
2. F.B.N. 30 Mar. 1728 (Sendall); F.B.A. 31 Mar. 1743 (Farley); B.J. 6 July 1771 (Norton); B.W.I. 4 Jan. 1752 (West); F.F.B.J. 15 Feb. 1755 (Palmer).
3. See above, p.97, n.4.
4. See p.104, n.4.
5. Lewis, Memoirs, p.2; Bevan-Naish 1227, fos.9,17; Memoirs of Unfortunate Young Lady, preface, pp.8-12; T.C.M., III (1771), 31; A. Harford, Annals of the Harford Family (1909), p.39; Roberts, Memoirs of More, I:15, 22, 29, 169; Southey, Life, I:69-76, 117-22.
6. More, Search; Epistle, pp.38-9; Bevan-Naish 2752, May 1751 letter; Bath and Bristol Mag., 17-18.
7. The 200 volumes of the tobacconist Elliott sold in F.F.B.J. 24 Apr. 1756 included sets of these as well as Rapin's History, two dictionaries, a System of Geography, and five Bible commentaries or paraphrases.

probate inventories, and other book lists of the mid-century, we cannot be sure that such titles, usually published in smaller formats, were not common earlier without attracting probate attention. The only full seventeenth-century book list, for the vicar Thomas Palmer, includes a large number and range of literary and miscellaneous works in the smaller sizes, including several works by Quarles, guides to rhetoric, satirical and jest books, fictional histories, the Accomplished Ladies Delight and Venise (i.e. Venus) in the Cloister.[1]

The relative increase in such publications, however, aroused anxiety in those 'ancients' who distrusted the easy routes to knowledge and the superficial wit and grasp of current affairs of 'modern politeness'. To such critics genuine love of books was also being undermined by those who treated books like other consumer items, caring more for their bindings and bookcases than the contents.[2] Inventory material and household sales suggest that more was being spent on elaborate furniture for books, displayed in parlours and public rooms. However the hall had been a common place to keep books when it was the main public room, and the kitchen remained a common setting for books throughout. The binding and gilding of books was certainly an important part of the local trade, but this was nothing new, and its role possibly lessened as serial and periodical sales increased.

The most intractable question concerns the impact of these developments on the market for traditional popular literature. Chapbooks and ballads appealed to the desire for novelty, excitement,

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1. Invs: E. Lawrence (1752), D. Pyrke (P.R.O. Prob. 3/25/113), C. Schoppens (Prob. 31/73/730); lists in p.96, nn.1-3; Bibliotheca Palmeriana.
2. B.W.I. 28 July 1750; F.F.B.J. 20 and 27 Oct. 1753, 26 July 1760, 6 and 13 Dec. 1766; Complete Chatterton, I:60, 523; Combe, Philosopher, II:70-71.

amusement, blood and sex; the eighteenth-century Bristol productions, such as 'Joyful News for England', the 'Tars of old England's Garland', and 'The Life and Actions of Tom Thumb' continued to satisfy such interests.[1] But melodrama and amusement were also available now in the polite genres of fiction and newspapers. One bookseller summarized the plot of novels as 'true bliss succeeding scenes distressing', and an essay on 'modern romances' considered their pleasure to lie solely in 'exciting and gratifying curiosity'.[2] 'Novelty' and 'curiosity' were key ingredients in the appeal of newspapers.[3] War and scandal dominated press reporting, and crime stories, a staple of cheap printing, were also central to the local papers, particularly Farley's Bristol Newspaper of the late 1720s.[4] In 1775 William Combe portrayed the 'typical' Bristol tradesman 'Timothy Plodman', criticizing his book of sentimental essays as all lies, while he 'seldom read anything but the papers and accounts of ghosts and murders or news from America or histories of cruel barbarous and bloody murders and last dying speeches and confessions with the birth, parentage and education of those who make them'.[5] The respectable printers catered to these interests with their own tracts and chapbooks, overlaid with moral and religious gloss, enabling the reader to satisfy his curiosity while showing concern for the reformation of manners.[6]

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1. See above, p.88.
2. I. James poem advertising his Circulating Library c.1790 in B.C.L.; Bath and Bristol Mag., 17-19.
3. E.g. B.A.O. AC/AC/85/16; T.C.M., III (1771), 316; Oracle 10 Apr. 1742; B.O.C.I. 14 May 1743.
4. F.B.N. 5 Oct. 1728. Cf. E. Collins, Saints Backsliding (Bristol, n.d.), p.2.
5. Combe, Philosopher, II:70-1.
6. F.B.N. 22 Jan. 1726; F.B.A. 29 Sept. 1744; B.J. 25 Apr. 1750; F.F.B.J. 30 Sept. 1752; B.C. 27 June 1761; see pp. 88-9.

If the respectable reading public retained many of the interests of popular culture, they may have been less inclined to read the humbler literature which had once had the monopoly of satisfying such tastes. Reading the old romances and stories was increasingly associated with childhood among the respectable. Even there the expansion of books specifically for children after 1750 offered respectable, moralistic versions of the old fairy tales, in the 'gilt volumes' of Newbery which Southey recalled with delight.[1] On the other hand, many of these new products were sold alongside the older popular genres by the same booksellers and hawkers.[2] Both commercial and evangelical producers for the mass market had to suit their literature to the limited time and education of the general reader.[3] The abstracts and anecdotes in the newspapers or Wesley's tracts might offer humble readers a manageable path to wider reading, or simply be absorbed into the story-telling of oral culture.[4] The most popular and profitable genres, such as the almanacs, were precisely those which could appeal at many different levels. Book trade advertisements and private accounts suggest that almanacs were the most common book purchases throughout.[5] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries a number based on Bristol and the West Country were produced.[6] Prices varied from cheap

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1. Southey, Life, I:36-7, 121-2; Bryant, Verses, editor's preface; T.C.M., IV (1772), 150. See V. Neuburg, Popular Literature (Harmondsworth 1977); M. Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy', Soc. Hist., IV (1979), 407-37; idem, Small Books and Pleasant Histories (1981); B. Capp, 'Popular Literature' in Reay (ed.), Popular Culture, pp.198-243.
2. Brown, Wilson and Evans (see pp.88 n.4, 91) were also leading vendors of Methodist literature, magazines, and serial publications as well as chapbooks. See p.119, n.3.
3. See above, pp.85-6.
4. E.g. B.J. 2 Apr. 1774 (extracts from a Tucker pamphlet led a reader to purchase it).
5. F.B.N. 27 Nov. 1725 (Farley and Brown); B.W.I. 7 Dec. 1751 (Ward); B.A.O. 9728 (1).
6. B. Capp, Astrology and The Popular Press (1979), p.379; P.R.O. C/11 1409(47), 1440(49, 61), 1454(47), 2286(19).

memorandum almanacs to the elaborate Oxford sheet almanac, just as the balance of amusement and utility varied.

The Community and Print

Although it is unclear whether the growth in print reinforced or blurred social divisions, the printed word certainly played a major role in Bristol's political and religious divisions. The religious, historical and geographical focus of serious reading reflected and reinforced such splits, and local publication was largely devoted to these subjects. Excluding the Methodist publications, religious works and topical items each formed about 40% of local publishing; many of these works concerned local events and organizations, attracting particular local groupings. The strength of Bristol nonconformity is indicated by the fact that almost half the religious works were by nonconformists, despite Anglican domination of the important genre of occasional sermons. The Quakers were particularly active before 1735, but by the 1760s the Unitarians and Baptists were very involved.[1] Before 1696 Bristol political and religious tracts were published in London, but few topical or controversial items were then published there until the 1760s, when the American war gave Bristol authors and issues renewed national significance.[2] From the 1730s Bristol booktraders made increasing reference to pamphlets; in 1780 Hannah More complained that they were only interested in political pamphlets, not literature.[2] Political interest was always reckoned the chief motive for newspaper-reading. The Bristol printers knew the importance of providing full reports of court and parliamentary

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1. See Tables X and XI.
2. See Table XI.
3. O.C.A. 13 Sept. 1746 (Darbyshire); F.F.B.J. 19 May 1753 (Hickey), 17 May 1766 (Grabham); Roberts, Memoirs of More, I:179; p.91, n.2.

affairs and election results, taking risks with official censorship to report these.[1]

Political and religious issues were already important in the seventeenth century. In 1637 the Bristol bookseller Francis Harvey sponsored a publication by the radical William Erbery which he reckoned would sell 600 copies in Cardiff alone. Then, as later, booksellers with no apparent party motive handled controversial works because they sold well.[2] Some booksellers, however, were closely associated with particular allegiances. The Baptist Richard Moone and his widow Susanna got into trouble for selling radical works after the Restoration,[3] and the flight of John Jones, their successor, around 1684 may be connected with the Tory reaction.[4] After Moone's death the Quakers were forced to organize their own book distribution through a member's shop.[5] Fluctuations in book-trade

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1. H.M.C. 29 Portland, IV:294; Cranfield, Provincial Newspaper, p.60; P.R.O. C/11 178(5), 1440(6,9) 1425 (4,7,8); F.B.N. 21-28 Jan. and 11 Feb. 1727. For evasion of rules see e.g. ibid., 4 Nov. 1727, 13 Apr. 1728; B.O.C.A. 21 May 1743; F.F.B.J. 19 Mar. 1768.
2. P. Morgan, 'Letters relating to the Oxford Book Trade', in Studies in the Book Trade (Oxf. Bibliog. Soc., 1975), at pp.81-3. Cf. P.R.O. SP/29/209/75.
3. For Moone's Baptist father and Quaker brother see Hayden (ed.), Records, p.299, Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1977), p.253. London publishing: Wing and L. Rostenberg, Literary ... Publishing, Printing and Bookselling (N.Y., 1965), pp.203-36. In Bristol: B.A.O. 04417(1), 10 Feb. 1659, 17 Oct. 1663; P.R.O. SP/29/38/56, 29/81/73, 29/209/75.
4. Q.S. Minutes, Jan. 1686. Jones, never freed, also worked in Wine Street (T.B.G.A.S., LXI (1939), 182; E.P./J/3/1, 1 Oct. 1665) and witnessed the marriage licence of a Susanna Moone (E.P./J/3/1, 17 July 1683).
5. See Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1971), pp.88, 111, 125, 146, 266; idem, Minutes (1977), pp.65-7, 173-4, 202; R. Farmer, Great Mysteries (1655), and Grigge, Quaker's Jesus, p.62, both criticised Quaker hawking of books. By the 1690s the leaders carefully controlled publication but certain enthusiastic literature still appeared (e.g. M. Beer, A Collection of Prophetical Warnings (Bristol, 1709); R. Bury, A Collection of Sundry Messages (new edn., Bristol, 1728). See R.S. Mortimer, 'Warnings and Prophecies', Jour. Friends' Hist. Soc., XLIV (1952), 13-20. Tracts and pamphlets for members were regularly sent out by the Men's Meeting (see Bibliography) and a stock was held (B.A.O. SF Cat 1 and SF/F4/1 for expenditure).

numbers and book ownership may be related to the growing difficulties of selling books after 1660, and in particular after 1681. The Whig Anglican or Presbyterian Thomas Wall, who published and sold works from that camp, was abused and investigated by the Tories, and lost his place as Corporation bookseller and stationer between 1682 and 1687[1] to his trade rival Charles Allen, a stout Tory Anglican who published pro-Tory sermons and addresses. Allen died in 1688, but his apprentice Richard Gravett, later a Tory Common Councillor, continued to publish similar works,[2] as did his apprentice William Cossley.[3]

During the 1650s the dissenting groups used print to proselytize and state their case, often in quarrels with each other.[4] Despite censorship after 1660 they continued to publish complaints about their persecution, and some evangelical pieces. They were also believed to be behind much of the news transmitted to Bristol.[5] By 1676 coffeehouse reading was alarming the authorities, and during the Exclusion Crisis the Tories denounced the coffeehouse run by the Kimbers, who had Baptist connections, and finally had it closed.[6] These years saw the publication of local sermons and Grand Jury addresses and of the first election broadsheet, by the Whigs.[7]

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1. C.V.; P/St. E. V.Bk, 1676-98; E.P./V/3 St. E, 1674; P.R.O. SP 44/56/410-11, Prob. 11/452, fo.152; T.B.G.A.S., II (1877-8), p.109; Bodl. MS Topog. Glos F.3, fo.182; B.A.O. 6687(1), 20 Jan. 1692 list; Dunton, Life, p.316; E. Phileroy, A Satyrical Vision (1684), pp.10-11; Muddiman, King's Journalist, p.286. Even in 1683 the radical Benjamin Harris found Bristol safer than London (ibid., pp. 214, 244).
2. Allen: C.V. 1677-87; Underhill (ed.), Records, p.423; B.C.L. 26064, fo.175. Gravett: P/Tem. E, 4 Mar. 1712; The Bristol Riot (1714), p.18; Barrett, History, pp.425, 522; F.F.B.J. 13 Oct. 1770.
3. See p.72, n.2.
4. See Hayden (ed.), Records, introduction.
5. ibid.; Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1971). E.g. G. Bishop, A Looking-Glass for the Times (1668); Hardcastle, Christian Geography. News: C.S.P.D. 1667, p.389.
6. See p.100.
7. Reasons for Chusing ... Atkins and ... Knight (1680).

The use of print to appeal to public opinion was therefore not dependent on local printing. Even in the eighteenth century few examples survive, but Corporation accounts and minutes show that subversive leaflets were frequently thrown under doors or displayed in public places at times of crisis after 1688,[1] while the authorities responded by distributing thousands of leaflets.[2] Elections attracted the greatest efforts. By 1713 the printing bill just for one side was £27,[3] although no examples of election literature survive before the 1734 and 1739 elections.[4] The election broadsheets of 1754 and 1774 were re-issued afterwards in separate publications.[5] Style and content varied from the subtle reasoning of Josiah Tucker, chief Whig propagandist in 1754, to scurrilous anti-Catholic broadsides and songs, or a 'Receipt to make a stiff-rumped Presbyterian'.[6]

After 1700 political and religious divisions are clearer among printers than booksellers. This may reflect the increased sale of less controversial works, such as literature, itself perhaps linked to a desire by respectable society to avoid contentious subjects. One can still detect a bias in publishing and sales among leading

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1. C.S.P.D. 1697, p.315, 1700-2, p.490; Q.S. Minutes, 30 Apr. 1686, 27 May 1693, 17 Aug. 1697, Doggetts, Aug. 1716, Apr. 1748; C.V., 21 Jan. 1716, 1730-1, 1745-6; B.P.B. 10 Dec. 1715.
2. C.V.; B.A.O. 04418(1), 13 Nov. 1743, 19 July 1746, 29 Sept. 1753; G. Shelton, Dean Tucker (1981), p.37; B.O. 21 Sept. 1745; F.F.B.J. 20 July 1771.
3. Barrett, History, p.148.
4. Case of Bristol Election (Bristol? 1735); Case of Thomas Coster (Bristol? 1735?); Two Petitions lodged against Thomas Coster (Bristol? 1735); B.C.L. 11156, e.g. 17 Oct. 1739. Pollbooks were published from 1715, and by 1734 rival editions (see Bibliography). For leafletting and newspaper notices between elections: e.g. B.C.L. 11157, 6 Feb. 1741, 18 Feb. 1742, 11161, 13 June 1747.
5. 1754: B.C.L. 10944-73, 7952, f.13; Bristol Contest (Bristol, 1754). 1774: B.M.B.J. 12 Nov. 1774; B.G. 26 Jan. 1775.
6. Shelton, Tucker, pp.140-4; O.C.A. 9 May 1747.

booksellers, such as the Presbyterian Whig Thomas Cadell,[1] or the more evangelically inclined Palmers,[2] but they dealt in works of many different persuasions. The lesser booksellers tended to vote first Tory and then radical, and to sponsor works associated such positions.[3] Sometimes personal commitment was important, for example in the publishing of evangelical and mystical tracts by the pietist Thomas Mills,[4] but one cannot be sure whether contemporaries recognized such allegiances.

The position of the printers was more public, particularly if they produced a newspaper. When he was the only printer Bonny printed pieces for every grouping, and Joseph Penn and Sam Farley I at first followed a similar course. Farley was a committed Tory, however, and in Farley's Bristol Newspaper after 1725 there is a detectable opposition bias, sharpened by competition with the Whig Gloucester Journal.[5]

The divisions became acute by the 1740s. Felix Farley had already alienated the Corporation in 1734-6 by printing items for the Tory MP Coster, and then bringing out an edition of the City Charters, available in 6d weekly numbers to enable ordinary freemen to judge in

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1. Pollbooks 1739, 1754, 1774; B.A.O. 6687(4), 1756-9; H.M.C. J.P. 26, no.473.
2. Pollbooks 1754, 1774; B.C.L. 20096 passim and 20095 30 Oct. 1765; F.F.B.J. 2 Nov. 1765; S. Norman, The Great Apostle Unmasked (Bristol, 1788), p.23.
3. Wilson: Pollbooks 1739, 1754; Bristol: City Charters (Bristol, 1736); B.C.L. 26063, 2 May 1747; S.F.B.J. 16 Jan. 1748. Browns: Manchee, Charities, II:23; C. Wesley's Journal, ed. T. Jackson (2 vols, 1849), II:403; Pollbooks 1754, 1774. West: Pollbooks, 1734-9. In 1774 no resident Bristol booktrader voted for the establishment ticket of Clare and/or Brickdale.
4. J. Smith, Supplement to a Catalogue of Friends' Books (1893), p.250; C. Walton, Notes and Materials towards a Biography of William Law (1854), pp.141, 595-6n; B.C.L. 20095, e.g. 17 Dec. 1774, 5 Mar. 1775; B.J. 4 Dec. 1773, 20 May 1775; B.M.B.J. 18 Nov. 1775; Account of Hospitals, preface.
5. For Farley politics see Cranfield, Provincial Newspaper, pp.57-61; F.B.N. 23 and 30 July 1727.

a dispute over town dues.[1] The Corporation retaliated by printing and distributing free a copy of the latest charter.[2] The Corporation avoided using the Farleys for its printing, preferring the booksellers Cossley and Hickey, and in 1742 two Corporation-supported amateurs, Winpenny and Hooke, established papers to break the Farley monopoly.[3] Felix Farley was now a leading Methodist, and the others attacked Methodism in general and Felix in particular, also accusing him of Jacobitism.[4] Farley replied in kind, claiming, justifiably, that his papers were the most popular with the Bristol public.[5] In Bristol as elsewhere opposition newspapers flourished most, partly because they had the best London copy. Whigs like Hooke had to work very hard to establish and defend a pro-ministerial version of the news.[6]

The 1752 quarrel between Felix and his Quaker brother Sam, both of whom soon died, left two Farley papers, run by the Quaker Sarah and the Methodist Elizabeth.[7] Sarah's Bristol Journal moved to the centre politically. By the 1760s the paper was taken over by the

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1. S.F.B.N. 3 May and 10 Oct. 1735; A List of Freeholders (Bristol, 1734), 'done from Mr. Coster's original pollbook'; Bristol: City Charters; Glos. Jour. 15 Jan. 1740.
2. C.C.P., Jan. 1736; Bristol Charter of 1710 (Bristol?, 1736?) in Bodl. Gough Som.1.
3. In Lond. Mag. (1739), 341 Tucker complained of unfair treatment in the Farley press. Winpenny: C.V. 1740-4, 1748-9; F.F.B.J. 2 and 16 June 1744; O.C.A. 9 May 1747. Hooke: C.V. 1747 (printed memorial by Hooke); B.A.O. 04217, fo.21; C.C.P. Aug. 1749; B.O.C.I. 22 Jan. 1743; B.O. 16 Sept. 1749; F.F.B.J. 3 Feb. 1753; p.108.
4. Oracle 21 Aug. 1742; B.B.S.J. 4 June 1743; B.O.C.A. 12 Mar., 4 June, 16 July 1743; B.O.C.I. 16 Apr., 14 May, 1743; B.O. 14 Nov. 1747, 4 Mar., 16 Sept. 1749; O.C.A. 20 May 1749; B.W.I. 28 Oct. 1749. Farley was prosecuted for a libellous reply to an attack on Wesley (B.A.O. 04435(4) 12 Apr. 1743) and by the Corporation for a 'scandalous advertisement' on the magistrates and Petty Jury (C.C.P. Mar. 1748).
5. F.F.B.J. 2 and 16 June 1744, 2 May 1747; F.B.A. 9 June 1744.
6. See p.108.
7. See Gallop, 'Chapters', p.32.

Corporation (which used her as a printer) and became associated with the establishment, although it continued to print opposition items, such as Wilkes and Junius.[1] An increasingly bitter rivalry developed between the other two papers in the 1750s. Ward, another amateur backed by the Corporation, replaced Hooke as the Whig spokesman,[2] while Elizabeth Farley went further than her husband in supporting the Tory opposition locally, particularly during the two elections of 1754-6. The Corporation prosecuted her paper for libel after its comments on corruption in 1756 but the Grand Jury dismissed the case.[3]

As Tory and Whig elites moved hesitatingly together after 1760, a radical opposition emerged of mixed Tory and radical Whig ancestry, championed in print by the young William Pine, a Methodist with close ties to Calvinist evangelicals. Although all the papers were sympathetic to the Americans, only Pine's paper remained steadfast as war loomed, though Wesley tried to stop Pine from printing radical ideas by threat of expulsion.[4] The quarrel was temporarily settled, but thereafter far fewer Methodist works were published in Bristol.[5]

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1. Ibid., p.75; B.A.O. 26226, 18 Mar. 1775; J. Thistlethwaite, Corruption (1780), p.67.
2. B.J. 13 July 1765 (Ward made Clerk of Market). Ward took over an apprentice of Winpenny's (App. 19 June 1744) and started B.W.I. immediately Hooke stopped publication, stressing the need for two papers (23 Sept. 1749). F.F.B.J. attacked Ward repeatedly (28 Dec. 1754, 11 Jan., 22 Mar., 24 May 1755, 17 June 1756).
3. F.F.B.J. 16-30 Mar., 25 May 1754, 30 Aug. 1755, 21 Feb., 27 Mar. 1756, 27 Aug. 1757; B.C.L. 6950, fos.25-8.
4. Goss, 'Early Methodism' article, pp.133, 167; W. Shirley, A Narrative of the Principal Circumstances (Bath, 1771), p.19; Baptist publications, e.g. Caleb Evans, A Letter to ... Wesley (Bristol, 1775); J. Wesley's Letters, ed. J. Telford (8 vols, 1931), VI:170, 189; B.J. 17 Dec. 1774, 16 Dec. 1775.
5. R. Green, Works of John and Charles Wesley (2nd edn., 1906).

The Farley papers had regularly criticized the management of local affairs, calling for moral reformation and attacking political corruption.[1] In the 1760s Pine's papers took up the theme more energetically, sounding a Wilkite note in urging 'gentlemen of abilities' to 'contribute their mite towards the detection, exposing and reforming whatever they find to be wrong either in the trade or manners of the city'. As in London, press activity would lead to reform, vital if 'the spirit of government and freedom should revive amongst us'. Though 'some individuals might not be pleased yet the general good should ever be considered before private emolument'.[2] Starting with the Bristol Bridge controversy such matters as the watch, street and market improvement, corn provisions, theatre licensing and moral reform were discussed.[3]

The way print encouraged popular involvement in religious and political issues aroused fear and hostility. In April 1681 the Grand Jury considered that 'the minds of the inhabitants and of such as resort hither for the sake of commerce are quite taken off from their business and too much of the time that hath been better employed in their calling is spent in debating state matters and hearing news which often proves false and yet is glibly swallowed by the credulous and which we present as being of great detriment to our trade as well as destructive of the peace and tending to the impoverishment of the city'.[4] In 1712 Goldwin deplored coffeehouse material which 'kindling stuff for party hands supply'.[5] In 1768 the clergyman

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1. E.g. taking one year F.F.B.J. 22 Mar., 26 Apr., 10 and 24 May, 6 and 20 Nov., 6 and 27 Dec. 1755.
2. B.C. 15 and 29 Mar., 27 Sept. 1760; B.G. 17 Oct., 12 Dec. 1771.
3. Most historians suggest that the provincial press had little local content or significance before c.1780: e.g. G.A. Cranfield, The Press and Society (1978), pp.180, 186-7; Feather, 'Cross-Channel Currents', pp.11-13.
4. C.S.P.D. 1680-1, p.250.
5. Goldwin, Description, pp.11-12.

Alexander Catcott noted sarcastically that 'every man in this Enlightened age (having been fully instructed by those genteel and easy conveyances of knowledge, newspapers and magazines)' thought he had 'the liberty of making a philosophy (and I might add indeed a religion) for himself'.[1] Those who associated the printed word with authority, political and religious, denounced the use of print to convey falsehood and sedition; yet in doing so they became involved in printed controversies that underlined the co-existence of diverse opinions. Writers frequently apologized for adding their voice to the babble, justifying their appearance in print by the need to respond to another.[2] Authors were accused of putting personal vanity before public good in seeking publication, and of dragging into public sensitive issues too serious to be debated in print.[3] In defence writers claimed a desire to serve the public good by spreading their argument through print,[4] but still insisted that they published reluctantly, either to correct false reports of what they had said or written which were spreading by word or in manuscript,[5] or because

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1. A. Catcott, A Treatise on the Deluge (2nd edn, Bristol, 1768), p.vi. Cf. F.F.B.J. 31 July 1762; B.J. 25 Mar. 1773; Piety Promoted, ed. J. Tomkins (4 vols, 1789 edn), IV:115.
2. Purnell et al., Church, pp.61-2; Rabshekah's Outrage (1658), pp.7-8, 10; E. Harwood, A Letter to ... Evans (Bristol, 1766), p.5; 'Bystander', An Affectionate and Candid Letter (Bristol, 1767), p.36; F.F.B.J. 8 and 15 Nov. 1766; B.J. 10 Aug. 1765, 18 Jan., 1 Feb. 1766, 14 and 28 Mar. 1767.
3. See the last-mentioned newspaper exchange, passim; Farmer, Great Mysteries epistle to reader; Rabshekah's Outrage, p.11; S. Penny, Letters on the Fall and Restoration of Mankind (Bristol, 1765), preface.
4. R. Towgood, The Almighty His Gracious Token (1676), preface; S. Crossman, The Last Testimony (1684), preface; G. Keith, Narrative of Proceedings (1700), p.12; Bedford, Serious Reflections, p.36.
5. W. Goldwin, God's Judgement (Bristol, 1721?), preface; B. Bayly, The True Nature of Moderation, dedication; A.S. Catcott, The Superior and Inferior Elohim (1736), preface and idem, Answer, pp.2, 23; More, Search, advertisement.

friends or societies had urged them to publish.[1]

Despite such fears, the divisive role of print within the community was actually limited. Print often expressed existing divisions in society, and was not the major way by which they were articulated. Many items published were sermons or public addresses, whose primary impact was oral, heard direct or spread by report, as well as taken down in shorthand and shared in manuscript. Print was still expensive enough to make copying and extract-taking habitual, which also avoided censorship.[2] The most important events were always reported through public ceremony, taking advantage of the pomp of regalia, bells, music and so on, both to spread news and to offer an authoritative interpretation of its significance. During the Exclusion Crisis both parties struggled to control those official organs of public opinion, the Assize speeches and Grand Jury Addresses. One contemporary noted that these carried a weight of authority not conveyed by print, or by word of mouth.[3] In 1682 and 1733 printed libels were publicly burnt at the High Cross.[4]Everybody knew that printed news came not from impartial news agencies but through interested individuals, whose authority and credibility were therefore of critical importance.[5]

The public settings in which news and other publications were generally read, or heard, matter greatly in this context. Print often

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1. R. Kingston, Vivat Rex (1683) preface; C. Brent, An Essay concerning Lying (1702), preface; J. Cary, A Discourse on Trade (1745), preface; J. Needham, National Deliverances (Bristol, 1753); Collins, Miscellanies, preface; B.J. 19 Mar. 1768 (sermons).
2. E.g. B.C.L. 932, 6526; Wellcome MSS 3110, 3576. Shorthand was primarily to record sermons: Steel, Shorthand, preface.
3. See pp.80-1, 100, 117; H.M.C. 26 p.77; H.M.C. 71 Finch, II:57.
4. G.J. Presentment, 29 Apr. 1682; Q.S. Minutes, Mar. 1684; Q.S. Doggetts, May 1733.
5. H.M.C. 26, pp.76-7, 81.

served merely to confirm the converted in their views, whether meeting in churches or political clubs. Even if information was published without editorial guidance, perhaps to avoid censorship, its significance would be established in discussion.[1] In seeking to convert the uncommitted print was a minor weapon. Religious and moral groups put greater stress on speeches, meetings, education and government action. The growth in press comment on local affairs was over-shadowed by public demonstrations and new techniques of petitioning and public meetings. The £27 spent on printing at the 1713 election must be compared with a total bill of £2257, including £78 18s on 'knots', i.e. party favours.[2] Moreover the need to win over popular opinion, whether it be thousands of freemen in parliamentary elections, or the ignorant souls that the evangelicals tried to reach, compelled those using print to adopt the styles of oral culture. The election literature was full of bold, simple language, crude slogans, songs and war-cries.

It was also redolent with the rhetoric of the public good, and this was characteristic of printed material at all levels of sophistication. When individuals published, or arranged for insertions in the papers, they concealed their own interests, often using pseudonyms claiming to speak for a moral standard, such as 'Benevolus' or 'Amicus Veritatis', or for the whole community such as 'Mercator' or 'Bristoliensis'.[3] It was agreed that it was 'a printer's business to print any book', and newspapers were expected to

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1. Occasional editorial comments: B.O.C.A. 7 May 1743; O.C.A. 3 June 1749; B.M.B.J. 1 Oct. 1774. The papers passed moral judgements freely.
2. Barrett, History, p.148.
3. Pseudonyms: B.W.I. 16 June 1750; B.J. and F.F.B.J. 1765-66 passim; B.G. 12 Mar. 1772.

include contributions from any viewpoint.[1] Although contemporaries were aware of the partialities of the paper-owners, every newspaper had to lay claim to impartiality, and to accept, however grudgingly, the right of reply.[2] Historians baffled by the lack of overt partisanship or editorial lead in the provincial papers must allow for this deep-rooted anti-party prejudice, as well as the pressures on proprietors not to alienate potential customers or local authorities. There are certainly shared assumptions in the Bristol papers, such as anti-Catholicism, fear of luxury and moral corruption, hatred of France and devotion to the British constitution, British liberty, and the extension of trade. Despite slurs to the contrary, the Farley papers were also firmly anti-Jacobite.[3] But these common attitudes concealed differing priorities and notions of how to achieve these goals, associated with divergent religious and political stances.

The potential divisiveness of print was therefore restrained by a general distrust of disagreement, and by concerns about the destructive capacity of print, which threatened to undermine traditional ties in a face-to-face society. The possible use of print to ruin reputation or credit terrified Bristolians. Hooke declared his paper confined to 'such subjects and animadversions which tend to promote public and private virtue, without meanly descending to

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1. W. Pine, An Answer to a Narrative of Facts (Bristol, 1775); Oracle 31 Oct., 13 Nov. 1742; F.F.B.J. 22 Mar., 22 July, 30 Dec. 1769; B.J. 12 Aug. 1774; B.G. 30 Sept. 1775. Pine was particularly criticized for partiality, e.g. B.G. 11 and 25 Mar. 1769, F.F.B.J. 3 Dec. 1775.
2. Claims to impartiality: S.F.B.P. 31 Dec. 1715; B.W.I. 23 Sept. 1749; F.F.B.J. 11 Jan. 1755; B.J. 30 July 1774; B.G. 24 Dec. 1767. Printing unfavourable items: B.W.I. 11 Nov. 1749; F.F.B.J. 16 June 1753, 25 Oct. 1773; B.C. 15-29 Nov. 1760; B.G. 21 May 1772; B.M.B.J. 22 Oct. 1774; B.J. 30 Sept. 1775.
3. Morality: see p.113 for Farley papers, and B.M. 20 Oct. 1748; B.W.I. 28 Apr. 1750 for scarcer moral items in Whig papers. Jacobitism: F.B.A. 5 Oct. 1745; F.F.B.J. 12 Oct. 1745, 4 Oct., 1746.

ill-natured railing, cruel sarcasms or insolent triumphs'.[1] The preferred idiom was therefore the satire or moral fable, which appeared to utter only general truths but referred to specific incidents well-known to contemporaries, if not to us! Writers were alarmed at the prospect of public exposure and criticism. In 1751 William Pritchard declined to have his Infirmary sermon printed, as giving 'the ill-natured part of the world a chance of sitting as critics on that discourse which they [the subscribers] with candour and attention heard as Christians'.[2] As the threat of government censorship or prosecution declined, concern at the hostility of public opinion, including verbal and physical attacks in the street, increased.[3]

As Bristol grew larger, the use of print became ever more necessary to reach the entire community. The second quarter of the eighteenth century was apparently the crucial period, although lack of evidence for the previous half-century makes this a very approximate dating. By 1750 print was regularly used in all parts of the city's life, unlike a century before. Bristolians were also beginning to discuss the advantages of a 'free press'. A writer in 1754 saw it supporting useful knowledge, kindling genius, detecting falsity in religion, politics or medicine, and unmasking faults, particularly in political actions and systems, showing the causes of oppression and promoting remedies. In 1768 a reader noted that 'there was no method by which the public can be so effectively informed on the matters of any nature as through the means of the press.[4] Even those who

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1. Oracle 12 May 1742. Cf. ibid., 17-24 July 1742; B.W.I. 18 Nov. 1749; F.F.B.J. 24 Nov. 1770.
2. B.I.B.M., II:768. Cf. author's defensive comments, e.g. L. Steel, Jacob the Plain Man (1677); Sturmy, Mariner's Magazine, 'to the courteous reader'.
3. Shelton, Tucker, pp.88-9; Harwood, New Introduction, p.xviii.
4. F.F.B.J. 2 Nov. 1754, 11 Jan. 1755, 25 June, 29 Oct. 1768, 4 Aug. 1770; B.J. 11 Aug. 1770, 29 Oct. 1774; B.G. 26 Mar. 1772.

regretted the unloosing of diverse opinions tended to see the answer not in censorship but in stating their own case more effectively.[1] In 1771 the bookseller Becket acknowledged public concern about 'corrupting' and 'insignificant' books, which he promised not to stock. Like Nature, a bookshop contained both good and bad, but by trying to exclude the bad the shop might 'be considered not only as a repository of rational amusement but as a Museum from whence may be drawn materials capable of forming the minds of readers to solid virtues, true politeness, noblest actions and purest benevolence'. To Becket the bookshop was a natural part of city life, now that 'the shades of ignorance and superstition' were 'dispelled by the rays of the sun which rose with the happy invention of printing'.[2] Bristol's printers, manning a float at the coronation in 1761, took an equally grandiose view of print's all-embracing blessings, nurturing the 'arts and sciences', 'manners', 'truth', 'business', 'wealth', 'power', 'wisdom', 'order', 'cities', 'laws'. The last two verses praised the role of printing in defending British liberty against 'corruption's flood' by detecting 'those sycophants that would reject Great Britain's Liberty'.[3] Here we find neatly summarized the tendency of print both to appeal to communal consensus and to feed on factional struggle.

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1. Bath and Bristol Mag. 17-19.
2. B.J. 13 July 1771. In Glos. Jour. 29 June 1740 the Farleys called printing 'so useful an art, in its infancy esteemed by the learned of divine institution'.
3. The Art and Mystery of Printing, (Bristol, 1761) (B.C.L. 7958, fo.155).

CHAPTER 4 LEISURE AND SOCIABILITY

Any attempt to establish the significance of leisure and sociability to Bristolians faces considerable problems of evidence. The paucity of personal material makes it extremely difficult to establish how leisure and work interrelated, or the relative significance of public associations or leisure pursuits compared with informal or domestic leisure and sociability. Societies with a civic, economic or religious role, which owned property or sought publicity, have generated records, but many informal societies are known only from passing references.[1] Account books and inventories, like maps and property records, draw our attention to activities costing money and requiring specific buildings and investment, not leisure improvised from existing resources. The richest seventeenth-century evidence comes from authorities concerned with public order and morality, while eighteenth-century newspapers largely illuminate fashionable leisure and sports sufficiently commercialized to find advertising worthwhile.

The current historiography reflects the changing character of the sources.[2] Pre-occupation with 'the reformation of manners' in seventeenth-century studies gives way to 'the commercialization of leisure' as an organizing theme. Only Malcolmson has explored eighteenth-century 'popular recreations', and his writings focus on rural England. Nobody has pursued the themes raised by Thomas and Thompson concerning the changing relationship between work and leisure, ascribed and voluntary association, pre-industrial and

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1. E.g. C. Macklin's passing reference to a Bristol Fives Club (Memoirs, ed. J.T. Kirkman (2 vols, 1799), I:65-6) is the only record.
2. See pp.4 n.1, 6 n.1, 7 nn.1-2.

industrial notions of time, except nineteenth-century historians sketching out a background for their work.[1] Social historians have concentrated on the growth of voluntary association and commercialized leisure, and their expanding significance to urban economies. Largely descriptive, this work has left the exact social significance of the changes unclear. Clark and Borsay, for example, portray the motivation for involvement as social emulation, emphasizing its socially exclusive character. Plumb's account, however, portrays an expanding leisure industry reaching far down into English society. The organization of polite leisure, in particular voluntary philanthropic association, has also been seen as an important element in the re-establishment of elite cohesion and dominance after the religious and political strife of the mid- and late-seventeenth century.[2]

This chapter concentrates on the social significance of changing patterns of leisure and sociability, especially their social inclusiveness or exclusiveness, and the impact of political and religious pluralism. I have not described in detail the growth of leisure facilities or the associated service industries. The surviving evidence suggests that Bristol followed the general chronology established by Plumb and Borsay, but the counting of numbers and 'first sightings' is too dependent on changing sources to make this a satisfactory basis for social analysis. I have therefore examined the issues indirectly through consideration of the changing timing and location of leisure and sociability, and the relative

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1. See p.2, n.2; H. Cunningham, Leisure and Industrial Revolution (1980); R.D. Storch (ed.), Popular Culture and Customs (1982); D.A. Reid, 'Decline of Saint Monday', Past and Present, 71 (1976), 76-101. But see George, London Life, pp.296-312; P. Mathias, Transformation of England (1978), pp.148-170; p.163, n.3.
2. See p.12, n.1.

importance of different forms of association. The arts are discussed in Chapter 5, and the characteristic values of civic life incorporated in leisure and sociability in Chapter 7.

Time-tables of Leisure

It is generally agreed that the distinction now drawn between the 'working day' and periods of leisure was less well-established in pre-industrial England. Hours of work varied with daylight, including every day except Sunday. Time and work were measured by daylight and by tasks completed, not by precise chronology. The heavy cost and primitive character of lighting encouraged recreation mixed with work during daytime. Status, especially gentility, was measured in large part by freedom from daily work, but the preponderant role of manual labour, rather than capital-intensive technology, in production encouraged a more flexible and intermittent pattern of working than in industrial society.[1]

Hours of work in Bristol changed according to daylight, as did the opening hours of public houses, although the distinction was generally simplified to one between two halves of the year bounded by Lady Day and Michaelmas.[2] The city was busy in summer by 5 or 6 a.m., slightly later in winter, while the curfew bells rang at 9 in winter, 10 in summer.[3] During the period of 'candlelight',[4]

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1. Thomas, 'Work and Leisure'; Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline etc.'; M.E. Falkus, 'Lighting in Dark Ages', in D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (eds), Trade, Government and Economy (1976), pp.248-73.
2. See school hours on pp.63-4; Butcher (ed.), Corporation, p.71; B.A.O. 05062(3), Alehouse rules.
3. Early start: B.C.L. 20095, 5 Dec. 1751, 10 and 24 Feb. 1752; F.F.B.J. 22 Aug. 1752 (Gardens open 6 a.m.); B.W.I. 23 Apr. 1757 (Dominicetti); Barrett, History, p.557; J. Leech, The Rural Rides (reprinted Gloucester, 1982), p.61; Latimer, 18C, p.16. Long working day: Glos. Jour. 10 May 1737 (Hickey). Curfew: Bodl. MS Gough Som. 3, fo.20.
4. P.R.O. Prob. 28/221.

public lighting was limited, before 1700, to lanterns outside richer households during the dark hours between 6 p.m. and the curfew. After 1700 lights were to burn until midnight in winter, but no lighting was considered necessary in the summer.[1] Candles and torches were inefficient, dangerous, and relatively expensive.[2] This, together with the demands of work, encouraged early bedtimes. Late nights were the prerogative of the leisured and extravagant.[3] The reckless burning of candles was a potent symbol of public rejoicing;[4] only 'gay bucks' disturbed the customary quietness of the night-time streets.[5] Most Bristolians still judged time by daylight, or by the public sundials and bells.[6] In 1696 a Great Sundial was a central feature of the Broad Quay; in 1770 a candlebell was rung on the quay to indicate the latest hour that vessels could have lighted candles.[7] Church bells were rung at set hours, including the 'bowbell' of St Nicholas which sounded the winter curfew, while the night bellmen accompanying the Watch were supposed to regulate the passage of the night.[8]

Important changes occurred both in lighting and measurement of time, particularly after 1700. Lanterns were gradually replaced by

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1. E. Ralph, The Streets of Bristol (B.B.H.A., 1981), pp.16-17.
2. B.C.L. 11204; B.A.O. 35481 PT/F/1,1765; Manchee, Charities, II:110, 383; F.F.B.J. 13 May 1758, 20 May 1775.
3. Hippisley, Journey, p.7; A Full and Impartial Account (1714), p.15; S. Johnson, Lives of the Poets ed. G.B. Hill (2 vols, Oxford 1905), II:414-8.
4. See p.320. Cf. Complete Chatterton, I:516 (candles at assemblies).
5. G.J. Presentment, Apr. 1686; Q.S. Minutes, Jan. 1700; F.F.B.J. 20 Dec. 1766; Combe, Philosopher, I:81; The Squire in his Chariot (1775), pp.52-3.
6. Sundials: P/C.W.A., e.g. St. John's 1704; C.V., 1729-30 (at Back Hall).
7. Latimer, 17C, p.486; idem, 18C, p.394.
8. See p.131 n.3 and bells: B.A.O. 04026 passim and Barrett, History, p.495 (St. Nicholas); P/C.W.A. e.g. St. James, 1682-3, 1758-9; F.F.B.J. 30 Nov. 1754. Watch: Latimer, 17C pp.77, 263, 366; F.F.B.J. 12 Mar. 1768; B.G. 17 Oct. 1771; T.C.M., IV (1772), 323.

more efficient oil-lamps, sub-contracted to specialists paid by parish rate. In 1749 the Corporation gained the power to fix the number of lights in each parish, and extended the hours of lighting to run from sunset to sunrise, except for a summer period, which was added in 1766.[1] Sundials and hour-glasses gradually gave way to mechanical time-keeping. The Cathedral and seven parish churches, at least, had clocks by 1640.[2] The most important was the Christchurch clock at the city centre, with its complex mechanism of chimes ringing at 1, 6, and 11, and two figures to strike each quarter.[3] Despite the considerable expense of buying and maintaining clocks, they became increasingly common on public buildings, and their quality was improved, so that chiming the hour or the quarters became less unusual.[4] The freedom and apprentice records indicate a sustained growth in the numbers of clock and watchmakers in the city. None are recorded 1600-1640, about 5 per decade 1640-1700, 11 per decade 1700-50 and 31 per decade 1750-75. Thirty clock or watchmakers appear in the 1775 Directory, although some also produced other luxury metal items.[5] These men were not producing solely for Bristol demand, but probate material, summarized in Table XIII, reveals a spectacular increase in the private ownership of timepieces. The figures increase steadily from almost nothing to about 5 per cent for both clocks and watches by 1700, and by the 1740s a third of inventories contained a clock and over a quarter a watch.

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1. See p.132, n.1.
2. St. Mary Redcliffe, St. Thomas, St. Nicholas, St. Philip, St. James, St. John and Christchurch.
3. E.g. P/C.W.A. XCh. passim and V.Bks XCh. 1673, 1714, 1779; B.C.L. 26064, fos. 35-43 under 2 Jan. 1663; B.I.B.M., I:142; F.F.B.J. 17 Nov. 1753.
4. Chimes: Fletcher, Bristol Cathedral, pp.28-30; Barrett, History, pp.383, 387; F.F.B.J. 10 Dec. 1757; P/C.W.A., e.g. Redcl. 1699-1700, 1716-17, 1728; p.135, n.1.
5. See F. Buckley, 'Clock and Watchmakers', T.B.G.A.S., LI (1929), 305-19; H.E. Nott and C.R. Hudleston, 'An Eighteenth-Century Clock', ibid., LVII (1935), 176-91.

The social implications of these changes are complicated. The provision of lighting was always better in wealthier districts, both when householders were responsible and under parish rating, and the wealthy were more likely to be able to stay up late and enjoy extended leisure. The activities with the latest hours were those appealing to the fashionable, such as balls, concerts and waxwork shows.[1] These could afford good candles, but their customers were always concerned about a safe journey home.[2] The ownership of watches and clocks was socially selective, because of their considerable cost, which in turn reflected their fashionable character, the value lying in the gold and silver cases or expensive frames and ornate faces, not in the working mechanism. Fine watches cost £1-5 and clocks between £1 10s and £5, the price rising as eight-day clocks replaced thirty-hour ones in prosperous homes.[3]

On the other hand all classes benefited from better lighting in the main streets, and the less prosperous had been less able to afford torch-bearers or escorts before. The expansion in ownership of timepieces occurred at every level of wealth, and more cheap and second-hand items became available. Only one timepiece occurs in an inventory under £10 before 1690, and only four before 1720, but six more occur in the small sample thereafter. By the 1740s over 40 per cent of those in the middle wealth ranges had clocks. The increase in public clocks was also important. In 1772 a correspondent urged the vestries of St Philip and Redcliffe to match the great chiming bells

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1. Balls: An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence, ed. L. Dickins and M. Stanton (1910), pp.20-1; F.F.B.J. 17 Nov. 1764, 2 Aug. 1766. Waxworks: F.B.N. 16 Nov. 1728. Concerts: see pp. 186-7.
2. See p.132; p.189, n.3, on theatre.
3. In B.J. 15 Dec. 1764 a show for an audience of 'distinction and education' intended to start punctually, but shows of all kinds advertised exact starts, e.g. B.J. 25 Dec. 1773. Showmen stressed 'no loss of time' to busy Bristolians would be involved in attending.

of St James and St Stephen to provide a 'constant monitor of time' to all inhabitants.[1]

It would be wrong to exaggerate the changes between 1640 and 1775. There were constant complaints that chimes and clocks were defective, and that public lighting was allowed to go out, or was obscured by the proliferation of street signs, only cleared away in 1770.[2] Leisure-time activities continued to finish early. Most evening activities began between 4 and 7, and auctions and shows generally closed between 8 and 9. Clubs and societies usually ended at 9 in winter or 10 in summer, which remained the official closing hours of public houses. The theatres gradually moved from a 6 or 6.30 p.m. start in the 1740s to 7 p.m. by the 1760s, but in 1768 the opening time at the King Street theatre was moved back to 6.30 because of objections that plays were going on too late.[3] Even the fashionable Vauxhall Gardens near the Hotwells closed at 10 p.m. during the summer and an hour earlier in September.[4] Both the fashionable and the common people exploited the long summer evenings as far as possible.[5]

By the eighteenth century at least, most leisure activity was concentrated, as today, in the evenings, except on Sundays and holidays. Nevertheless there was no routine timetable of working hours applicable to all groups, and many events were held during the day. Sometimes this was intended to catch particular groups: 'ladies' were thought more likely to attend morning than evening lectures.[6]

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1. B.G. 16 Jan. 1772.
2. F.F.B.J. 17 Dec. 1768, and p.132, n.8, newspaper references.
3. B.J. 9 July 1768, 10 Sept. 1774.
4. See p.169.
5. C. Fiennes, Journeys, intro. J. Hillaby (1983), pp.266-7; F.F.B.J. 30 Nov. 1754, 13 Dec. 1760; Reynolds, Letters, p.14; B.C.L. 20095 10 July 1772; Combe, Philosopher, II: 12, 89-91; B.J. 18 May 1765, 4 June 1774 (sports lasting till sunset).
6. B.W.I. 17 Aug. 1751. Some morning lectures shifted to evening, e.g. B.J. 7 and 21 May 1774.

Corporate and society processions and meetings usually commenced mid-morning and led on to a grand dinner at 2 p.m.[1] By mid-morning early risers had already worked four or five hours, and some popular events such as sword- or cock-fights generally started at 10 or 11 a.m.,[2] although other outdoor events, such as races, did not start until 2 or 3 p.m.[3] Some shows hoped to attract people during their dinner hour by opening between 11 and 2.[4]

There are no explicit references to a 'Saint Monday' tradition in Bristol, although popular sporting activities occurred most often on Mondays. Both the daytime and evening activities of societies, clubs and committees spread throughout the week, though Saturday afternoon, an important market time, was avoided, although children often had a half-holiday.[5] Evening events were held on Saturday despite Sabbatarian disapproval.[6] Sunday was the distinctive day, and many Bristolians were concerned to preserve its sacred character. Although corporate vigilance over Sabbath-breaking gradually slackened, vigilante groups continued to act and to urge civic control,[7] and Bristol retained a reputation for Sunday sobriety and church attendance.[8]

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1. See pp.171-2, 178ff.
2. E.g. F.F.B.J. 14 July 1759, 30 May 1767; B.J. 2 Sept. 1769; B.G. 2 May 1771.
3. E.g. F.B.N. 9 Oct 1725; F.F.B.J. 14 July 1759.
4. E.g. F.F.B.J. 13 July 1764; B.J. 25 Dec. 1773.
5. B.J. 6 Nov. 1773 (Anchor).
6. B.C.L. 4531, fo.259.
7. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 3, fos.43, 88-91; B.A.O. 04417(1), 5 Oct. 1657, 8 Oct. 1659; C.C.P. Mar. 1666; G.J. Presentments, Jan. 1693, Oct. 1694; Latimer, 17C, p.337; Primitive Testimony, p.21; A.S. Catcott, Sermons (Bristol, 1752), 'Antiquity of Observation of Sabbath Day'; Shelton, Tucker, p.66; B.A.O. 6687 (1), 3 Mar. 1761; B.A.O. BD/M1/2, 6 Jan. 1775; W.B. Whitaker, The Eighteenth-Century English Sunday (1949), pp.152, 171, 195; F.F.B.J. 19 Jan. 1754, 21 May 1759, 3 May 1760; B.C. 27 June 1761; B.J. 26 Apr. 1766, 31 July 1773.
8. Dickins and Stanton (eds), Correspondence, p.21; The Complete English Traveller (1771), p.46; Diary and Letters of T. Hutchinson, ed. P.O. Hutchinson (2 vols, 1883-6), II:148.

Complaints about behaviour on Sunday show that Bristolians made the most of their freedom from work. The only organized leisure activities permitted were the public houses, and even they were closed during service-times. The fashionable used the day to visit each other and to parade their Sunday finery. Others probably did the same, hanging about the main meeting-places of the city, invading the Hotwells, College Green and other pleasure-haunts of the leisured, and escaping into the countryside.[1] In 1675 Bristol's dissenters justified public conventicles on the grounds that the less pious would use the pretence of private worship to be idle at home, walk in the fields, cast up shopbooks, meet to talk vanity or worldly business, or engage in much worse behaviour.[2] Despite the concern of dissenters about Sabbath-breaking (shared of course by many Anglicans), religious pluralism and toleration made Sunday observance hard to enforce. Critics of ensuing laxness denounced both the upper and lower classes, particularly blaming the rich for setting a bad example and employing others to service their luxury.[3]

Calendars of Leisure

The post-Reformation emphasis on Sunday has often been associated with an attack on more elaborate religious or civil calendars.[4] The growth of commercialized leisure could also threaten common calendars of leisure, by offering the prosperous all-year-round alternatives to

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1. See p.136, n.7; B.A.O. 04417(1), 27 Nov. 1657, 14 June 1658, 12 Apr. 1659; Q.S. Minutes, Sept. 1655, Jan. 1656, Oct. 1657, Jan. and Apr. 1658, Apr. 1674; G.J. Presentment, Aug. 1680; H.M.C. 4, pp.141-4; E. Owen, Observations on Earths ... about Bristol (1754), p.126; Register of Folly (1773), pp.77-8; Combe, Philosopher, I:80; Barrett, History, p.89; F.F.B.J. 26 Apr. 1755, 13 Dec. 1760, 14 Sept. 1771; see p.151.
2. Some Reasons briefly Suggested (1675), p.3.
3. F.F.B.J. 17 Oct. 1753; B.J. 4-11 July 1767; p.136, n.6.
4. For the Reformation locally J.H. Bettey, Bristol Parish Churches during the Reformation (B.B.H.A., 1979).

traditional holidays, including the growth of spas and holiday travel. Bristol might be expected to demonstrate both tendencies, since it was an important centre of puritanism and dissent, but also developed as a major spa resort by the eighteenth century.

There are certainly examples of both tendencies. During the Interregnum, for example, Christmas festivities were discouraged, and in 1668 a royalist commented that the day was celebrated in 'the late but here usual custom'.[1] The nonconformist sects disliked the period of feasting around Christmas, and the Quakers defied popular hostility to open their shops on Christmas Day.[2] On the other hand in 1769 Chatterton lamented the passing of traditional Christmas hospitality, partly because 'our modern playthings of fortune...make the whole year a revolution of dissipation and joyless festivity' and so they could not 'distinguish this season'.[3] During the summer, traditionally a quiet period in the civic and religious calendar, the wealthy were increasingly able to escape the hot and smelly city, mingling instead with the leisured at the Hotwells, travelling elsewhere, or retreating to country villas or 'summer houses' in the countryside.[4] While schools for poor children maintained the traditional school holidays at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, schools

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1. Latimer, 17C, p.256; C.S.P.D. 1668-9, p.122.
2. Besse, Collection of Sufferings, I:43; Q.S. Minutes, Oct. 1679, July 1680; S. Hume, A Caution to Such as Observe Days (4th edn., Bristol, 1778), pp.20-1; B.J. 16 Dec. 1769 advertising Thoughts on the Approach of Christmas.
3. Complete Chatterton, I:409-12.
4. Holidays: B.C.L. 18871, 1746, Oct. 1754, Aug. 1755; B.C.L. 24651, 21 Aug. 1758; B.C.L. 20095, July 1752 (8 trips to London between then and 1775); B.I.B.M., 3:200; B.A.O. 28048 JI/1-3 and F13; Bevan-Naish 1227 passim; P.R.O. C/104/139-140; F.F.B.J. 17 May 1766; B.J. 24 Mar. 1770. Summer houses: Inv. R. Jordan 1677; P.R.O. Prob. 11/452, fo.152 (T. Wall); B.C.L. 26063, 27 July 1733; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.93-8; Robinson, Memoirs, pp.23-4; Bevan-Naish 1227, fo.41 and passim; B.J. 3 June 1749 (Lawrence Hill house), 4 June 1774 (Sunday visits to Stokes Croft house), 25 Nov. 1775 (Frenchay house).

for the prosperous began to provide summer holidays from the mid-eighteenth century.[1]

In neither case, however, is the position so straightforward. Despite Chatterton's polemical contrast between modern luxury and medieval hospitality, great continuity is observable in Bristolian Christmas traditions. The Christmas period was associated throughout with leisure and hospitality. Efforts were made to make this a comfortable time for the needy through bequests to the poor on St Thomas Day or Christmas.[2] Journeymen collected Christmas boxes from customers and the city musicians and other employees visited all householders for gratuities.[3] The period was certainly exploited by commercial interests, attracting showmen, fairs and special Christmas catering by inn-keepers, but their interest lay in stressing the special quality of the season.[4] The civic authorities, themselves involved in intense church-going to celebrate the season, did nothing to purify the observances, and magistrates shared popular anger at Quaker attitudes.[5] The contrast between summer leisure for the wealthy and sweat for the poor was undoubtedly marked, but the extended light of the summer evenings was a boon to all classes.[6] Sporting spectacles outdoors, commonly lasting till sunset, were most common then. Races on the Downs, wrestling, or backsword matches

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1. See p.64.
2. References to gifts to the poor and gift sermons are derived from Barrett, History. Nineteen gifts to the poor are recorded on St. Thomas Day, 2 on Christmas Eve and 31 on Christmas Day. New Year was still associated with present-giving: Towgood, Almighty, pp.2, 20; Angus F.P.C. D.21 (sermon 1 Jan. 1705). Eighteen gift sermons took place between 21 Dec. and 1 Jan.
3. Latimer, 17C, p.26; F.F.B.J. 2 Jan. 1768; B.J. 28 Jan. 1775; R.J. Thorn, Christmas (Bristol, 1795).
4. F.B.N. 17 Dec. 1726 (puppet shows); B.W.I. 30 Dec. 1749 (advertising Merry Andrew's Farce and Xmas Gambols); Lewis, Memoirs, pp.2-3; Chatterton (1803), III:464.
5. See p.138, n.2.
6. See p.135 and T.C.M. II (1770), 159, III (1771), 270; F.F.B.J. 5 May 1753, 2 Feb. 1754; B.J. 2 Oct. 1769 (poems).

attracted large crowds.[1] In the summer city societies held their annual meetings and processions,[2] while late August or early September saw the annual Assizes.[3] Both involved many citizens and attracted crowds of spectators, who also flocked to any executions that followed the trials.[4] Bristol's most important fair took place at the end of July, offering a week of entertainment in the heart of the city.[5]

Several points emerge from a consideration of the pattern of leisure throughout the year. The first is the interrelationship between different calendars of leisure (civic, religious, seasonal etc.), which often balance each other. Second is the persistence of traditional holiday periods, civic and religious, fairtime and seasonal, as the common core of the leisure activities of all Bristolians. Rather than lapsing into archaic alternatives to new, continuous leisure facilities, these provided opportunities for commercial developments. The intense but intermittent quality of such leisure contrasts with the persistent importance of the public house, at various levels of sophistication, as a centre for general relaxation as well as a vast range of other business and social needs.

The civic calendar, already considerable in 1640, became steadily busier as more political anniversaries were celebrated, while the frequent wars produced constant public proclamations, fasts, rejoicings and thanksgivings. Most Bristolians were mere spectators at such events, which were generally in the evenings, but popular participation was encouraged through drink, bonfires, lighting and

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1. See pp.155-7; B.J. 4 July 1774; F.F.B.J. 18 June 1774.
2. See pp.171-2, 178ff.
3. See p.304; e.g. B.O. 1 Oct. 1748.
4. S. Foote, Genuine Memoirs of ... Goodere (1741), p.36; B.C.L. 20096, 24 Aug. 1762.
5. See pp.143-5.

music.[1] Public holidays were given for major fasts and celebrations, and members of many trades participated in the processions.[2] Gunpowder Day, and, from 1660, Restoration Day were public holidays, and popular enthusiasm for their characteristic activities (fireworks, bonfires and the display of oaken vegetation) could not easily be curbed.[3] The election of civic officers at Michaelmas was not an important public festival, but many gilds marched to the Guildhall to present their officers at this time; the mayoral year was still an important alternative system of dating.[4] Civic and political occasions offered an excellent excuse to justify leisure and sociability at all levels of society. Public balls were held on the royal birthdays after 1750, while Tucker noted that any gain in working-time from the end of Catholic festivals was more than outweighed by popular participation in mobbing and electioneering.[5]

Although the religious calendar had been reduced at the Reformation, the major festivals had survived as foci of leisure, while other saints' days and festivals were still recalled when people left gifts to the poor or money for sermons, and in gild and society annual meetings.[6] Both religious and secular events crowded in at

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1. See p.320.
2. See pp.164, 320.
3. See p.331.
4. Gilds: B.A.O. 04369 (1); B.A.O. 08156 13 Oct. 1729. Civic events: Barrett, History, pp.119-21 and p.304. Nine gifts to the poor and two sermons made Michaelmas the second most significant date.
5. Balls: e.g. B.J. 11 Jan., 31 May and 29 Nov. 1766. Tucker: Brief Essay (1750), pp.31, 36, 53. Cf. F.F.B.J. 26 May 1753 (letter).
6. C.H. Cave, History of Banking in Bristol (Bristol, 1899), p.13 (public holidays in 1788). T. James, Strange and Dangerous Voyage (1633), pp.50, 67, 71, 76, 78, 83, celebrated all the major festivals, and also Mayday, Midsummer and royal anniversaries. E. Goldney, An Epistle to Deists (1759), dated his prefaces on the major holidays, Holy Thursday, 25 July and 1st Aug. For other festivals see: Yearsley, Poems, pp.23-7; F.F.B.J. 10 Feb. 1753 (St. Valentine's Day); F.F.B.J. 1 Mar. 1755, 7 Mar. 1772; B.J. 10 Feb. 1770; p.179, n.8 (St. David's

Christmas, Easter and Whitsun. The vestry calendar usually began at Easter. Easter Sunday to Tuesday was a period of popular sporting events, including illegal bowling in St James' churchyard.[1] The only significant parish wake was the Whitsun one at Redcliffe, although the Corporation's attendance for a sermon suggests a sober affair.[2] Whit Monday and Tuesday were often chosen for sporting events, and apprentice fights occurred then in 1780.[3] Such disturbances traditionally occurred on Shrove Tuesday which, despite magisterial opposition, remained a holiday characterized both by rival marches of apprentices and journeymen,[4] and by rough sports, including football and cock-squaling (throwing stones at tied-up cocks).[5] Young people also celebrated May Day with flowers, dancing and drink,[6] while children were instructed in parochial boundaries by perambulations on Holy Thursday, with cakes as inducements.[7]

(6 continued) day); P/C.W.A. St. Tho, gift sermons, p.175 (St. George's day); 5 gift sermons, 5 gifts to the poor, p.171, nn.4-5 and B.J. 16 June 1770 for Masonic meetings (St. John Baptist's day); 5 gifts to the poor and 2 gift sermons (All Saints' day); 4 gifts to the poor (Candlemas); 2 gift sermons, p.179 (St. Andrew's day).

1. P/C.W.A. and V.Bks esp. St. James C.W.A. 1726-7, 1764-5; C.V. 1762-4 (bellman's notices); B.C.L. 10162, 26 Mar. 1700; B.J. 6 Apr. 1765, 4 Mar. 1769, 27 Feb. 1773. In 1774 a sporting event was cancelled as untimely (B.G. 31 Mar. 1774; F.F.B.J. 2 Apr. 1774).
2. P/C.W.A. Redcl.; E. Shiercliff, Bristol and Hotwell Guide (Bristol, 1789), p.33; F.F.B.J. 10 May 1755, 6 June 1761, 30 May 1767, 2 June 1770. Other parishes rang bells on their saints' days e.g. P/C.W.A. St. St, St. Tho., St. John's, St. Werb; F.F.B.J. 18 Nov. 1752; B.C., 22 Nov. 1760 (All Saints).
3. Latimer, 18C, p.138.
4. See below, p.165, n.1.
5. B.C.L. 10166(1), 1659-60; Tucker, Earnest Address; C.V. 1746-7 onwards (bellman's notices); B.O.C.I. 23 Feb. 1745; B.W.I. 24 Feb. 1750, 16 Feb. 1751; F.F.B.J. 21 Feb. 1756, 20 Feb. 1762, 13 Feb. 1768.
6. Latimer, 17C, p.101; B.A.O. 04417(1), 14 May 1660; C.V. 1751 (bellman's notices); Combe, Philosopher, I:55; B.O.C.A. 7 May 1743; B.W.I. 5 May 1750; F.F.B.J. 25 Apr. 1767.
7. P/C.W.A. and V.Bks; B.A.O. 37541, end-pages; B.C.L. 6494, fo.113; Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, fos.173-4; Latimer, 18C, p.243; B.J. 27 May 1775.

There was certainly criticism of the mixture of sacred and profane involved in these occasions, particularly from nonconformists and evangelicals;[1] civic pressure against popish and pagan abuses grew quite strong during the Interregnum.[2] Continued distrust of 'Popish' festivals produced a general neglect of Lent and Good Friday, despite eighteenth-century efforts, mostly from High Anglicans, to reverse this trend.[3] But civic and parochial exploitation of the major religious holidays as part of their ritual and administrative calendar helped to sustain these days as public holidays.

Bristol's two annual fairs, each scheduled to last eight days, but often extending to a fortnight, also survived religious and moral criticism. Until 1770 they retained their traditional dates on St Paul's and St James' days, while the churches of Temple and St James received shares of the profits. The larger St James Fair centred on the churchyard itself.[4] The local residents and the Corporation also profited from the influx of business,[5] as the fairs attracted custom from the West Country, Wales and even Ireland.[6] The fairs' major economic importance outweighed any problems they posed to

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1. J. Toulmin, The Observation of Festivals (Bristol, 1771); Hume, Caution; Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1977), p.197; Underhill, Records, p.66. See ibid., pp.371, 389, for Baptist observance of a public holiday by fasting and prayer.
2. E.g. for Shrove Tuesday see B.A.O. 04417(1), 26 Feb. 1655, 12 Jan. 1657, 6 Mar. 1660.
3. Latimer 18C, p.463; Bayly, Fourteen Sermons (Lent sermons established by Colston, which lapsed by c.1730). But (B.C.L. 20096, 9 Apr. 1762) Dyer complained at superstitious observance of Good Friday.
4. Churchyard: B.J. 29 July 1769, 22 Aug. 1772. For shift of dates in 1770 to 1st Mar. and 1st Sept. see C.C.P., Dec. 1752, Dec. 1768; F.F.B.J. 6 Aug. 1768. Possibly this reflected the desire to avoid town during high summer.
5. Latimer, 17C, pp.83, 193, 287, 381-2, 462; Manchee, Charities, II:419, 423; Butcher (ed.), Corporation, pp.26, 87; H.M.C. 7 Webb, p.692.
6. Latimer, 17C, pp.110-11, 137-8, 333-4, 341, 349; W.E. Minchinton, 'Bristol as Metropolis of West' in Clark (ed.), Early Modern Town, pp.297-313 at pp.303-4; H.M.C. 49 (Sackville), I:174; T.C.M., V (1773), 285-6; John, Industrial Development, pp.10, 14.

particular groups, whether it was the gilds monitoring illegal marketing, the Overseers of the Poor apprehending vagrants, or moralists worried about licentiousness and extravagance.[1] Not until 1837 were the fairs finally suppressed, when their leisure function, always important, had totally eclipsed their economic role.

But the lack of sustained public criticism before 1775 cannot simply reflect the strength of vested interests. The Corporation responded to pressure to control particular nuisances, notably stage-players,[2] but most respectable Bristolians apparently accepted an unruly element as inevitable. In 1780 the Quaker Sarah Fox took her nephews and nieces to the Temple Fair, noting that 'this evening the town was generally illuminated' and that 'the mob was very riotous and did much mischief'.[3] The showmen who flocked to Bristol at fairtime appealed to all classes. Many of the cheaper shows probably cost only a penny or two,[4] but those which advertised in the newspapers tended to charge 6d or 1s, sometimes more, though with lower prices for children and servants, in the back seats, or at the end of their stay.[5] Snobbish advertising and high prices may have

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1. Butcher (ed.), Corporation, p.29; B.C.L. 4939 (Mercers records), passim; F.F.B.J. 6 Aug. 1768 ('Mercator' letter).
2. The Mercator letter is the only protest I have discovered. Players: p.185.
3. Bevan-Naish 1227, fo.145.
4. 'Penny shows': Bodl. MS Ashmole 1815, fo.200; R. Southey, Letters from England (3 vols, 1807), III:43-8.
5. Oracle 17 July 1742; B.W.I. 7 and 25 July 1752 (Conjuror Dean moves to Fair); F.F.B.J. 28 July, 4 Aug. and 25 Aug. 1764 (tight-rope-walker Saunders at Fair, admired in letter, then at old Assembly Room); B.J. 27 July 1765 (Saunders' prices at Fair, 6d to 1s 6d). The fire-eater Powell was seen by the Corporation (B.A.O. 04026 1753), and at the Raven Tavern (F.F.B.J. 27 Jan. to 23 Feb. 1753) before returning to the Fair at only 6d (ibid., 7 July 1753). For similar events at Temple Fair, e.g.: B.O.C.A. 19 Jan. 1745; B.C. 24 Jan. 1760; B.J. 24 Jan. 1767, 27 Feb. 1773; F.F.B.J. 24 Feb. 1770. Shows at other times also appealed to the 'curious of all ranks' (B.O.C.I. 10 Dec. 1743). The Chronoscope in 1772 cost 1s or 6d for 'tradespeople', and by its last night, when prices fell to 6d, claimed to have been 'seen by thousands' (B.J. 3 Oct. and 7 Nov. 1772).

attracted ordinary people eager to live high during a week of extravagance, but 'respectable' Bristolians also attended fairtime events.[1] Although, by the 1770s, itinerant shows were visiting Bristol all year round, the peaks remained at fairtime. Continued dependence on itinerants, who stressed the brevity of their stay, must have encouraged all classes to associate leisure with the unusual and the urgent, and so retain sympathy with the fairtime ethos.[2]

A strong seasonal effect also persisted. During the winter months the rich moved back into the city, and leisure and sociability were largely a matter of good cheer and warmth indoors.[3] Shows offering glamour and spectacle were popular;[4] canary-birds were sold to sing and look bright through long candle-lit evenings.[5] Assemblies and concerts were mostly winter affairs.[6] Although Bristolians liked to hunt and shoot game in the countryside in winter, outdoor sports and country rambles were mostly summer activities.[7] The Whitsun, May Day and Restoration Day festivities all symbolized the penetration of the city in summer by rural pleasures. Despite their growing social facilities, the Hotwells remained primarily a centre for outdoor excursions and to Bristolians the spa attractions, like the nearby theatre, were temporary summer opportunities for enjoyment.[8]

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1. B.C.L. 6495, fo.118 (A. Catcott); B.C.L. 20095, 5 Mar. 1773 (Dyer); Phil. Trans., XLVII (1751), 278-81 and LIII (1763), pp.170-2. The B.G.S. still had a holiday for Fairtime (B.C.L. 26063, 20 July 1734).
2. E.g. F.B.N. 16 Nov. 1728 (Sargent).
3. Bevan-Naish 1227, fos.15, 70, 79, 91, 106, 120; F.F.B.J. 24 Nov. 1753 (books as 'winter evening's entertainment'), 28 Oct. 1769, B.J. 16 Jan. 1773 (poems).
4. F.B.N. 8 Oct. 1726, 16 Nov. 1728; B.O.C.A. 8 Oct. 1743; F.F.B.J. 9 Dec. 1769.
5. B.J. 8 Dec. 1766; p.155.
6. See pp.167-8, 199.
7. See pp.135 n.5, 139-40, 156-9.
8. See pp.168, 193.

Settings for Leisure

Historians of nineteenth-century leisure have chronicled the impact of urban growth in destroying access to open spaces for popular leisure, while suburban development and travel offered socially exclusive settings for respectable leisure. The public house and the street became associated more exclusively with popular recreation. We cannot tell yet whether this was a temporary result of the extraordinary urbanization after 1780, or a more general feature of English urban growth. Accounts of urban growth in our period have concentrated on the changing pattern of superior housing, and the remodelling of space within towns to create congenial surroundings for polite leisure.[1]

Both approaches demonstrate the need to consider the cultural implications and motivations of urban growth, but the changing demands of population were primary.[2] Bristol in 1640 only housed the same population of 15,000 it had attained at its medieval peak, and although the centre, within the old walls, was almost all developed, there was still much open space, often used for private and nursery gardens, in the parishes by the quays and south of the river, and especially in the northern and western suburbs. Only two-fifths of the city as defined in 1673 were built on. An increase in population over threefold by 1775 meant the development of most of the inner city, and steady extension of housing along the riversides and up the

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1. See p.130, n.1, and Borsay articles in pp.7 n.2, 19 n.2.
2. Population changes: Sacks, 'Trade, Society and Politics', pp.205 ff., 253-4, 486-93; Quilici, 'Turmoil in a City', pp.18-20, 62, 64, 71; Savadge, 'West Country', App. F. Contemporary sources: Latimer, 17C, pp.300-1, 362, 467; 'Hearth Tax Returns 1662-5', in List and Index Soc., CLIII (1979), pp.331-3; Inhabitants of Bristol in 1696, ed. E. Ralph and M. Williams (B.R.S., XXV, 1968); Ralph (ed.), 'Secker's Diocese Book'; B.L. Add. MS 5811, fos. 87-91; Gent's Mag., XXIV (1754), 315; B.C.L. 6494, fo.37; Directory; Barrett, History, pp.88-102, 399, 405, 417, 478, 480, 522, 527, 539.

hills around, while nearby villages became centres of market gardening, and by 1775 began to act as dormitory villages, linked to Bristol by coach services.[1]

Social distinctions were evident by 1640 between artisan, mercantile and cloth-working districts, but these were in close proximity. The sharpest differences were probably between houses fronting the streets and cramped apartments in courts behind. New building extended these distinctions.[2] In-filling and division of houses in the parishes south of the bridge made them similar socially to the cheap new housing of St Philip's along the Avon and outside Lawford's Gate. Better-quality building began in the Castle and Marsh areas at either end of the inner city, but after 1710 it was necessary to look further afield. New streets and squares with gardens were laid out on the higher ground in an arc from St Augustine's to St James and the Frome, and also above Redcliffe church. Gradually the richer citizens began to desert the inner city parishes for these new areas, but the city centre was not converted into cheaper housing, but redeveloped with wider streets and classical architecture for business and public purposes.

The creation of socially exclusive settings for leisure during

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1. Coaches: B.C.L. 10163(3), 1771; B.J. 16 Mar. 1765, 15 Mar. 1766, 26 Mar. 1768, 1 Apr. 1769, 31 Mar. 1770; Latimer, 18C, pp.130, 324, 456; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:239; P.R.O. C104/139-40; B.O. 18 Feb. 1749; B.W.I. 27 June 1752. Clifton: J. Latimer, 'Clifton in 1746', T.B.G.A.S., XXIII (1900), 312-22; J.S. Moore (ed.), Clifton and Westbury Probate Inventories (Bristol Univ. Extra-Mural Studies, 1981), pp.iii-xxxviii. Gardens: B.J. 16 May 1767 (Redcliffe Hill); F.F.B.J. 19 Oct. 1754 (Barton Hill), 30 Apr. 1763 (Lawrence Hill).
2. See p.146, n.2; P. Slack, 'The Local Incidence of Epidemic Disease', in idem (ed.), The Plague Reconsidered (Local Pop. Studies Suppl., Matlock, 1977), pp.49-61; J.R. Ward, 'Speculative Building at Bristol and Clifton', Business History, XX (1978), 3-18; A. Gomme, M. Jenner and B. Little, Bristol: An Architectural History (1979). The changes are clearest on the maps by Millerd (1673, edns to 1730) Rocque (1742) and Donn (1773).

urban development is clearest for the area from Queen Square to College Green. Open areas used for walking, games and mundane activities by Bristolians during the seventeenth century[1] were used for high-class housing, overlooking large expanses of grass and trees whose maintenance and use for polite parading became an important priority for the Corporation and Cathedral authorities.[2] While the Square was chiefly occupied by wealthier Bristolians, the College Green also provided lodging for Hotwells visitors until new housing developed near the Wells.[3] This area not only offered fashionable promenades but also housed the first purpose-built assembly-rooms and theatres, the rebuilt Library House, and two grand new halls, built for the Merchant Venturers and Coopers' companies but widely used for entertainments.[4]

Such amenities could not be matched by the squares which sprang up in the other suburbs, offering 'a retired situation' or, as Somerset Square in Redcliffe was characterized,

> A laughing lawn in Floria's flowery gown,
>
> So distant from and yet so near the town.[5]

As space for private gardens became rarer, public yet exclusive squares proved one solution; others turned to the city outskirts or

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1. Marsh: Corry and Evans, History, II:414-7; Fiennes, Journeys, pp.266-7; G.J. presentments, Jan. 1678, Jan. 1685; p.149. Green: H.M.C. 4, pp.142-4; D.C./A/8/1 1674.
2. Queen Square: W. Ison, Georgian Buildings of Bristol (1952), p.146; Goldwin, Description, p.16; C.V. Green: D.C./A/8/1, 27 Apr. 1744, 21 Feb. 1749, and 8/2, 2 Dec. 1757, 25 June 1771, and 9/2/1, 1704 on; S.M.V. Hallbooks, 24 Mar. 1757; B.C.L. 4946, 30 Aug. 1763; F.F.B.J. 3 Apr., 22 Aug. 1762, 27 Aug. 1768. Both: Celebrated Beauties (Bristol, 1720), pp.3-8; Huth (ed.), Narrative, pp.143, 148; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:246; Register of Folly, p.78; Barrett, History, pp.85-7, 89, 294.
3. See p.168.
4. See p.99 (Library) and pp.188-9 (theatres) and pp.162, 167.
5. Shiercliff, Guide, p.47; H. Jones, Clifton (Bristol, 1767), p.34. See also Gomme et al., Bristol, pp.99-106, 199, 207, 209, 213; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:240, 246.

villages around where more space was available. The social aspirations involved in this were satirized bitterly in 1760 by a correspondent attacking the new building on Kingsdown:

> Each petty tradesman here must have his seat,
> And vainly thinks his height will make him great...
> Come hither pedlars, quit your dirty stalls,
> Here build your seats and raise your garden walls,
> And when you build it o'er, call't what you will,
> 'Twill not be Kingsdown then but Pedlar's Hill.

The writer brought out the loss of amenities to other Bristolians involved in the use of such public land for private houses and gardens.[1]

One should not mistake aspirations for realities, however; the pace and thoroughness with which social exclusivity was achieved varied. The Marsh, on which Queen Square was built, had been the subject of corporate concern and improvement throughout the seventeenth century.[2] One section was used by Bristol's gentlemen as a bowling-green, and then by the prestigious Artillery Company.[3] Efforts to keep ordinary Bristolians off the Square or College Green were never entirely successful. Apprentices and workmen used both areas in the evenings and on Sunday when 'all the town rabble, Possess its [College Green's] fine walks and obscenities gabble'.[4] The cost of repairing trees damaged by 'rude people' taxed the Corporation,

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1. F.F.B.J. 13 Dec. 1760 and 24 Jan. 1761 (poem). Cf. Oracle 16 June 1742; B.W.I. 11 Apr. and 6 June 1752; F.F.B.J. 29 May 1762, 27 June 1767; Barrett, History, p.84; Leech, Rural Rides, pp.100-1.
2. C.C.P. June 1663; B.A.O. 04026, 1682 (gardener), 04417(1), 14 June 1658; Q.S. Minutes, 2 Mar. 1680.
3. Latimer, 17C, pp.42, 272, 396, 490; Inv. R. Sillcocke 1672; Memorials of J. Ray, ed. E. Lankester (1846), pp.254-5; p.175.
4. Register of Folly p.78; Reynolds, Letters, p.4; B.W.I. 30 Apr. 1757; Chatterton (1803), III:464; Shiercliff, Guide, p.47.

while residents of the Green had to goad the Chapter into building fences and maintaining grass and walks.[1] As late as 1748 a boxing match was held on the Green.[2] Both places remained settings for civic festivities, bringing huge crowds together to watch bonfires and fireworks and hear speeches on Queen Square, or to participate or watch as the Corporation and gilds marched to the Cathedral or St Mark's Chapel off the Green.[3] Other squares, though less prestigious, may have been quieter and more easily policed.

The public also had access to other open spaces. By 1640 the only churchyards left were in the outer parishes, the largest being St James'. As these were built around, vestries tried to improve their amenities with trees and walks, and some succeeded. St James was more difficult to beautify, because it was littered with footpaths. It was hard to prevent its use for sports when it was the scene of the summer fair.[4] Housing and industrial development were gradually eroding public access to the riverside areas where Millerd in his 1673 map noted that 'each man's pleasure draws him, young or old alike' to walk, fish, swim, meditate or court his lover.[5] But most of these meadows were still untouched in 1775. Their attractions were exploited by public houses such as 'Mother Day's' in Earlsmead, which

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1. C.V. 1708-9, 1720-2 (damaged by 'rude people'), 1712-13 (trees insured), 1732-3 (damaged by bonfires), 1746-7 (goat); B.C.L. 16605.
2. B.J. 22 Oct. 1748.
3. See p.308.
4. P/C.W.A. Tem., SS. P. and J., Redcl., St. James; E.P./J/2/1 (15) (Redcliffe Churchyard); Barrett, History, pp.294, 386, 406, 527, 588; Latimer, 17C, p.382; idem, 18C, p.489.
5. Celebrated Beauties, p.10; F.B.N. 16 Mar. 1728; British Mag., II (1747), pp.320-1; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.118-9; Reynolds, Letters, p.14; Bevan-Naish 1227, fos.53, 114; F.F.B.J. 30 Nov. 1754, 17 Dec. 1763; B.J. 29 May 1775; Gent's Mag., LVII (1787), 1039; J. Bryant, 'Ropewalks and Ropemakers', B.I.A.S., X (1977), 12-17.

offered refreshments and additional entertainments.[1]

Slightly further away, but still within an easy walk on Sunday or summer evenings, were the Downs and the Avon gorge. The defender of Kingsdown in 1760 noted that 'Bristol can boast as many pleasant walks and rides for airing in its environs as almost any city...happy it is for such a populous place to have such pleasant hills and downs in its neighbourhood. Here the industrious tradesman after breathing the impure air of a close street may sometimes retire with little loss of time and sniff the fragrant gale...here the labouring mechanic accompanied by his faithful wife and little prattlers take their Sunday walk or summer's evening excursion.'[2] Despite the sentimental exaggeration, the surviving evidence confirms this picture. The pastoral blessings of pure cool air, views, the sight and smell of flowers and the song of birds were contrasted with city bustle and danger, material and moral, and most people had some opportunities to indulge such pleasures.[3] The market this offered was exploited by a ring of public houses around the city and in nearby beauty spots, offering special 'ordinaries' on Sundays, as well as arranging sports.[4] The gardens of the great houses around were also open, and boating trips were available down the Avon.[5]

Although these facilities were partly developed for the Hotwells

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1. T.B.G.A.S. VII (1882-3), 317; F.F.B.J. 16 and 30 May 1752, 24 Nov. 1753; n.4.
2. See p.149 n.1.
3. Verse in F.B.N. 29 Oct. 1726; O.C.A. 20 May 1749; B.W.I. 16 May 1752; F.F.B.J. 2 Mar. 1754, 20 June 1767; B.J. 26 Sept. 1767; B.M.B.J. 8 July 1775; B.C.L. 394; Gent's Mag., XIII (1743), 607. Cf. J. Dolman, Contemplations amongst Vincent's Rocks (Bristol, 1755), pp.21, 25, 36-8; B.C.L. 20096, 3 Sept. 1762; items quoted in pp.135 n.5, 139 n.6, 148 n.5. Bristol delftware was decorated mainly with floral and countryside scenes.
4. B.C. 2 Aug. 1760; F.F.B.J. 7 and 14 May 1763, 29 Apr. 1769; B.J. 26 Sept. 1772, 9 Sept. 1775. For sports see pp.156-7.
5. Keate, Unfortunate Wife, pp.15-16; B.C. 7 Mar. 1761; B.J. 11 Aug. 1770, 2 Mar. 1771; B.C.L. 20095, 15 June 1770. For boating see p.158.

trade, Bristolian demand probably predominated. When the Corporation gave £50 in 1721 to help the Merchant Venturers level the downs, they referred to 'the convenience of the citizens taking the air there', although the Merchants were probably hoping to boost trade at the Hotwell House which they owned.[1] Not all Bristolians, of course, could use the facilities equally. The accountant Dyer often went for country walks, but it was a definite treat when his wife rode out on the Downs for air.[2] Apprentices and young children had more free time to roam than other boys; once placed in his father's shop John Bryant had to abandon rural jaunts.[3] While the wealthy could afford country houses for the summer and weekends, or even commute from nearby villages,[4] the merely prosperous might aspire to a suburban garden, or at least to retirement in suburbia. In 1712 Goldwin praised St Michael's Hill where 'wealthy cits discharged from worldly cares...Conclude the downward race of fallen years' while Clifton was 'by all admired, That know the sweets of life retired'. William Combe's 'Tim Plodman' longed to retire to the end of Stokes Croft or Redcliffe Street to raise cucumbers, feed a few pigs and only shave twice a week.[5]

An expanding gardening industry benefited from such pastoral dreams. By 1775 26 gardeners and 8 seedsmen were listed in the Directory, and in 1737 the best-established firm left off kitchen

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1. C.C.P. Oct. 1721. Hotwells excursions: Owen, Observations, pp.123-8; Bristol Wells (Bristol, 1749), p.5; Combe, Philosopher, I:51.
2. B.C.L. 20096, e.g. 24 Apr., 25 Sept., 6 Oct. 1762; 20095 18 Jan. 1771 and 21 Mar. 1773 (wife).
3. Meyerstein, Chatterton, pp.64-5; Reynolds, Letters, pp.14-15; Southey, Life, I:44; Bryant, Verses, pp.iv, xxvii.
4. See pp.138, 147.
5. Goldwin, Description, pp.2-3; B.C.L. 6485 ('Clifton Hill'); Combe, Philosopher, II:74; F.B.N. 29 Oct. 1726; B.O.C.I. 30 Apr. 1743; O.C.A. 20 May 1749; F.F.B.J. 3 Apr. 1762, 30 Apr. 1763, 13 Aug. 1768; R.J. Thorn, Retirement (Bristol, 1793).

gardening to concentrate on nursery gardening, offering shrubs, flowers and trees.[1] Gardeners advertised their services full or part-time,[2] house advertisements included details of views and garden facilities,[3] poets and commentators noted the most famous gardens and the widespread enthusiasm for the hobby.[4] Competitions were held, for auriculas and polyanthuses in early May, ranunculi in June and carnations in high summer. The earliest show is recorded in 1726; several floral societies co-existed by mid-century.[5]

Gardening was fashionable, and highly affected by changing styles and snobbish associations, which those who advertised their services sought to exploit.[6] While Bristolians flocked to the grand gardens of nearby gentry, they also admired the local marvels of Redland, Oldbury, Arno's Vale, the Royal Fort and, especially, Goldney's grotto and garden at Clifton, on which their owners lavished time and money.[7] Gardening was an ideal social investment for Quakers like Goldney who spurned conventional forms of extravagance, particularly as the pastoral theme carried many spiritual resonances of innocence and divine inspiration.[8] The 'gentlemen' florists competed for prizes of silver plate at shows accompanied by genteel dinners, and

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1. For the Adams/Cheney/Oxley firm see C.V.; F.B.N. 22 Apr. 1727, 21 Oct. 1730; Glos. Jour. 15 Jan. 1736; Oracle 18 Sept. 1742; Directory.
2. E.g. F.F.B.J. 11 Nov. 1752, 28 July 1753, 29 June 1754; B.J. 30 Apr. 1768.
3. E.g. B.O. 15 Nov. and 27 Dec. 1746, 4 Feb. 1749; O.C.A. 14 Feb. 1747.
4. F.F.B.J. 30 Dec. 1752, 30 Nov. 1754; Jones, Clifton, pp.4-7; Bristol and Bath Mag., 186.
5. F.B.N. 2-9 July 1726; S.F.B.N. 3 July 1736; B.J. 25 Apr. 1767, 8-15 Aug. 1767, 20 June 1772.
6. E.g. F.F.B.J. 29 June 1754; B.C. 16 Aug. 1760.
7. Jones, Clifton, pp.18, 22, 28; Combe, Philosopher, II:99; idem, Clifton, p.6; F.F.B.J. 29 June 1765, 3 Sept. 1774; B.J. 16 Nov. 1765; G. Parker 'Fort Royal and Tyndal's Park', T.B.G.A.S., LI (1929), 123-142; A.K. Stembridge, Goldney (Bristol, 1969).
8. C. Marshall, Sion's Travellers Comforted (1704), 'Testimony to Audland and Camm'; Purver, Counsel; B.O. 16 Dec. 1749.

often named their prize exhibits after aristocrats or national heroes.[1]

It is difficult to establish how new or how exclusive such interests were. Gardens were relatively common in Stuart Bristol, though we cannot tell how far they were used for display or for utility.[2] By 1712 the 'Great Garden' in Temple offered a wide range of flowers, shrubs and trees. Goldwin's description of it concluded

What furnitures in one plantation lye,
A thousand other gardens spring from thee.[3]

Advertisements suggest that gardens were becoming less common except in the fashionable suburbs by 1750, but areas such as Castle Street, St Thomas Street and Temple still had small gardens.[4] Citizens used much ingenuity to create an effect in small spaces, even if it was only by putting out flower-pots,[5] or creating a miniature geometrical garden with walks, trees and shaped hedges.[6] The gardening boom brought heavy competition and low prices; flower-sellers walked the city streets.[7] The infinite care required of the prize florist attracted not only professional gardeners but men such as a painter, an instrument-maker, a twine-spinner and an excise-officer.[8]

The desire to evoke nature within an urban setting may also

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1. See p.153, n.5; F.F.B.J. 5 May 1753, 23 Apr. 1757.
2. For Stuart gardens see Latimer, 17C, pp.351, 367; Gomme et al., Bristol, pp.77, 90, 140-1; Fiennes, Journeys, pp.266-7; and leases, e.g. B.A.O. BMC/2/1.
3. Goldwin, Description, p.15. Later building there: B.J. 29 Aug. 1767.
4. B.W.I. 25 Nov. 1749; F.F.B.J. 4 July 1761, 8 Nov. 1760.
5. F.F.B.J. 4 July 1767; B.J. 3 June, 5 Aug. 1775.
6. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 8, fos.18, 28, 103; Combe, Philosopher, II:90; Southey, Life, I:58-67, 87.
7. F.F.B.J. 17 Oct. 1747, 8 Aug. 1767 (prices); C.V. 1740 onwards (flowers for Corporation offices). Vases and flower-bricks were made in Bristol delft.
8. See p.153, n.5; F.F.B.J. 11 July 1772 (Walkley obituary); B.C.L. 20095, 10 July 1772; B.J. 30 Apr. 1768.

explain the growing vogue for pet-keeping. Inventories record a growing number of dog-collars and birdcages, sometimes for parrots[1] but most often for canaries, imported from Germany and sold each autumn.[2] Bristolians were also fascinated by exotic and performing animals.[3] While cats and dogs fulfilled many functions, they were valued by many as companions. Satirists associated this with the decadent rich, and notices about lost animals show that some were highly valued, but their rich owners are not necessarily typical.[4]

The increased pressure on inner-city land gradually squeezed sports needing extensive facilities out of their seventeenth-century locations. Bowling-greens,[5] tennis-courts[6] and cockpits[7] were

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1. On urban interest in gardening and pets see K.V. Thomas, Man and the Natural World (1983), pp.110, 234-6. Parrots: Invs. e.g. J. Barnes 1717; B.I.B.M., I:849-50; B.W.I. 1 Apr. 1758 (Tepson). Cages: O.C.A. 3 Dec. 1748 and B.J. 3 Sept. 1774; Invs. T. Righton 1729 and S. Noade 1742 (lark's cages): B.C.L. 20095, 8 June 1770 (pigeon-shop).
2. F.B.N. 23 Nov. 1728; Oracle 25 Sept. 1742; B.C. 29 Nov. 1760; Inv. J. Evans 1698. Local pottery showed farmhouse and wild birds, parrots, peacocks and other exotics.
3. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, app. fo.148; B.W.I. 13 July 1751; B.J. 17 Aug. and 7 Sept. 1771 (poem on this).
4. Dogs: Proc. Huguenot Soc. of Lond., III (1890), 362; B.W.I. 14 Oct. 1752; Wellcome MS 3631, fos.26, 58; rewards of 5s or 10s 6d for lost dogs, with names like Minx, Lion and Drunkard, e.g. F.F.B.J. 24 Dec. 1768, 2 Oct. 1773 (both by distillers). Attacks on dog-keeping: F.F.B.J. 28 Feb. 1747, B.W.I. 27 Oct. 1750; B.G. 27 Aug. 1772; J. Gough, Britannia (1767), p.31. Cats: N.C., Drollery, p.102; Jones, Clifton, p.4; C. Wesley's Journal, II:265; B.I.B.M., I:849-50; F.F.B.J. 27 Dec. 1766.
5. Early central greens: T.B.G.A.S., LV (1933), 158; B.C.L. 7947, fo.7; p.149 for Marsh; Inv. R. Bromhall, 1681; P/C.W.A. All Sts, St. John's, and V.Bks All Sts, G.J. Presentments, Jan. 1690, Whitefield, Journal, pp.233, 295; B.W.I. 21 Apr. 1750 (Pithay); F.F.B.J. 31 May 1759, 25 Apr. and 18 Aug. 1761, 11 May 1765, B.J. 8 Mar. 1766, 22 July 1769 (St. James). Later greens: B.O. 16 Sept. 1749; F.F.B.J. 26 Apr. 1746, 10 Nov. 1759, 15 May 1773.
6. Inner: Latimer 17C, p.72; idem, 18C, p.25; H.M.C. 4, p.144. Barton: Oracle 1 May 1742; B.O.C.I. 25 June 1743; B.J. 29 Sept. 1770. Redcliffe Hill: P/Redcl. C.W.A. 1679-80, 1698-9; B.J. 14 Mar. 1767, 22 Jan. 1774. Others: O.C.A. 10 Sept. 1748; B.W.I. 11 May 1751; B.J. 4 July 1767, 15 May 1773; Directory under Dabbs, Coleman and Gamblin.
7. The Pithay green (n.5) doubled as a cock-pit. Others: Latimer, 18C, pp.21, 140, 179, 294, 369; B.J. 21 May 1768; F.F.B.J. 2 June 1770; B.G. 2 May 1771.

built over, and other sports such as boxing,[1] wrestling and backsword[2] also moved out of town. Some were reestablished in special sites on the outskirts, but most were incorporated into the facilities of public houses around the city or in nearby villages, or were staged on public spaces such as the Downs. Major events such as race-meetings would attract other sports as sideshows.[3] Movement outside the city jurisdiction may sometimes have helped to avoid corporate disapproval. The only bear- or bull-baiting within the city reported after 1700 took place at Point's Pool, outside the city jurisdiction but within the St Philip's suburb, where a New Year's fair was also held.[4] A bull-baiting in the Marsh, sponsored by the Mayor in 1696, is sometimes cited as proof of magisterial approval of such sports, but it was a unique case, probably explicable as a gesture of cultural defiance by a Mayor who was single-handedly blocking the plan to establish a Corporation of the Poor to reform manners.[5]

Sports which appealed to the prosperous, such as bowling and shooting,[6] were no more able to keep their central location than less respectable pastimes, especially after the Castle and Marsh were developed. Bristolians able to afford entrance money of several

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1. F.B.N. 31 May 1729 (women's bout); B.J. 27 June 1772; F.F.B.J. 1 Mar. 1755, 9 Aug. 1760.
2. F.B.N. 20 Aug. and 30 Sept. 1726, 17 June 1727; S.F.B.N. 17 Mar. 1735.
3. B.W.I. 27 Jan. 1750 (attack on young tradesmen for wasting their time and money on trips to country villages for sporting events). Side-shows: O.C.A. 20 May 1749; B.J. 15 June 1771.
4. S.F.B.N. 17 Mar. 1735 and F.F.B.J. 26 June 1773 (Hooke's Mill and Failand's Inn). Points Pool: F.F.B.J. 1 Oct. 1763; F.B.N. 21 Dec. 1728.; Arrowsmith's Dictionary, p.22.
5. Latimer, 17C, pp.485-6.
6. Bowling: see p.155. Shooting: P. Mundy's Travels, ed. R.C. Temple (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd, LV, 1925), IV:9; Latimer, 17C, p.62; p.157.

shillings continued to compete for prizes in the new settings.[1] 'Gentlemen' were often present to act as umpires at prize fights and races, on which they gambled heavily.[2] In 1752 eleven Bristol gentlemen played eleven of London at cricket on the Downs for twenty guineas.[3] Horse-racing became quite common there in late summer and early autumn,[4] although the Bristol races were overshadowed by those near Bath, which Bristolians attended.[5] Inns like the Full Moon, Stokes Croft, offered grazing and stud facilities,[6] and in 1761 Circular Stables were opened nearby close to a stretch of land previously called 'Meer Furlong'.[7] In 1755 a hunting pack called the Royal Rangers met at the Boars Head on College Green,[8] but shooting and coursing with sporting dogs was probably a more common pursuit among prosperous Bristolians.[9]

While patronized by the wealthy, many of these sports also

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1. B.O.C.I. 3 Sept. 1743 (shooting); B.O. 16 Sept. 1749 (Ninepins); B.J. 3 May 1766 (bowling for 10s 6d summer subscription).
2. F.F.B.J. 21 Oct. 1752 (races), 21 June 1755 and B.J. 2 Sept. 1769 (fights).
3. F.F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1752.
4. Latimer, 17C, p.74; F.B.N. 9 Oct. 1725; F.F.B.J. 27 Oct. 1752, 17 May and 16 Aug. 1755.
5. Glos. Jour. 26 Oct. 1731; F.F.B.J. 14 Sept. 1765, 9 Aug. and 6 Sept. 1766.
6. F.B.N. 16 and 30 Mar. 1728.
7. Latimer, 18C, p.344; B.J. 16 Feb. 1771; Directory under J. Harris and R. Winfield. Displays of horsemanship were held there (F.F.B.J. 1 Oct. 1768), or on the Downs (F.F.B.J. 15-28 July 1758).
8. F.F.B.J. 28 June 1755; Cf. ibid., 5 May 1753, 23 Feb. 1754, 17 June 1758; Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. A. Clark (2 vols, Oxf., 1898), II:298; C.S.P.D. 1683-4, pp.259-60; B.A.O. AC/C/114, 29 Feb. 1768 and 115, nos. 5-6.
9. James, Voyage, pp.43, 76-7, 93; N.C., Drollery, p.65; B.C.L. 26063, 20 July 1734; Collins, Miscellanies, p.4; Keate, Unfortunate Wife, p.50; B.I.B.M., I:903, III:174; J. Brown, Odes, Elegies and Songs (Bristol 1786), pp.19, 29, 34, 38.

appealed to ordinary Bristolians.[1] Children went birds-nesting[2] and snaring, and there were frequent shooting accidents, corroborating the inventory evidence for a wide distribution of ownership of fowling-pieces.[3] The publican entrepreneurs wanted the largest possible audience for their sporting spectacles, and great crowds are reported.[4]

Water-sports also involved all classes. Despite the constant fascination of port activities, and huge crowds at launches,[5] there is no evidence of sailing for pleasure before 1754, except a brief experiment with a civic barge for the regular perambulation of the city's water-boundaries, abandoned in 1670 as too costly.[6] In 1754 a miniature West-Indiaman was built for some Bristol gentlemen; three years later a 'pleasure boat' was auctioned off.[7] Boat trips were becoming more popular, and in 1771 14 young lads, mostly apprentices, were drowned. By the 1780s there was a Bristol Sailing Society.[8]

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1. Prize-fighting attracted genteel support (e.g. B.I.B.M., III:198; T.C.M., III (1771), 70-2), as a manly British sport (B.W.I. 27 Jan. 1750; J. Slack, An Address (1762), p.13), associated with genteel fencing (e.g. F.B.N. 17 June and 30 Sept. 1727; Collins, Miscellanies, p.88). Tennis: played in schools (Bodl. G.A. Glos B4a, no.523) and by gentlemen (B.J. 14 Mar. 1767) but also by others (Collins, Miscellanies, p.108; T.C.M. II (1771), p.692). Genteel support of cockfighting: ibid.,pp.70-2; Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls., 7th, IX (1954), 166-7; G.M. Smith, A History of Bristol Royal Infirmary (Bristol, 1917), pp.96, 222; Glos. Jour. 9 Nov. 1731 ('Gentlemen of Bristol' play those of Bath). Cf. Smith, Infirmary, p.223 (defence of bull-baiting by a clergyman in the 1780s).
2. F.F.B.J. 29 Apr. 1769; B.J. 30 Apr. 1768; B.M.B.J. 8 Apr. 1775; Bodl. G.A. Glos B4a, no.94.
3. Accidents: Annual Reg. (1761), p.169; F.F.B.J. 7 Jan. 1764. To children, Glos. Jour. 8 Jan. 1740; B.J. 18 Nov. 1775.
4. See p.140, n.1; F.F.B.J. 11 Feb. 1755; B.J. 4 July 1772 (banning of a boxing match at harvest time because it would attract thousands of useful hands from many miles round Bristol).
5. C.S.P.D. 1667-8, p.511; T. Godwyn, Phanatical Tenderness (1684), p.6; Angus 6e 27(4), 23 Mar. 1745.
6. Latimer, 17C, p.282. Perambulations F.B.N. 27 May 1727.
7. F.F.B.J. 8 June 1754, 10 Dec. 1757.
8. B.J. 14 Sept. 1771. Sailing Society: Bryant, Verses, pp.29-32.

Fishing accidents were reported from all parts of the river,[1] while landowners repeatedly attempted to control fishing in the rivers above the city.[2] Swimming in the rivers was also ubiquitous, and often dangerous.[3] Former mill-ponds were favourite spots, where enterprising publicans offered drinking and dressing-facilities.[4] The popularity of bathing for health led to the opening of hot and cold baths in the city or at springs nearby. The cold bath at Castle Ditch offered gravel walks and flowery turf surroundings for 6d a visit or subscriptions for a quarter, the summer or the whole year (a guinea).[5] The most successful was Rennison's Grand Pleasure Bath at Territt's Mills in Stokes Croft. This sought a genteel clientele with 15s subscriptions, which included winter skating rights, or 6d admission each time. Rennison stressed the safety and purity of the baths, their healing powers and pleasant setting, the refreshments available, and the attractive country walk on the way.[6] Thus a pursuit of the young was commercialized and made genteel, but there remained many free places to swim.

Public houses within the city dominated indoor sports and other regular leisure activity as much as the rural public houses did outdoor sport. Drink was the inevitable accompaniment of

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1. F.B.N. 1 Oct. 1726. Cf. B.J. 16 July 1774; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:238; British Mag., II (1747), 320-1.
2. F.B.N. 9 Sept. 1727; B.J. 8 June 1765. For similar efforts to stop poaching e.g. O.C.A. 6 July 1745, 15 Aug. 1747.
3. Accidents: e.g. Told, Account, pp.75-6; Oracle 26 June 1742; F.F.B.J. 17 and 24 June, 1 July 1758. A swimming girdle was first demonstrated at Bristol (F. Cruys, Ars Nova Natandi (Bristol, 1698)).
4. B.J. 30 May 1767, 27 June 1772.
5. B.C.L. 20095, 1 Feb. 1756, 15 July 1758, 18 July 1764; B.C.L. 20096, 7 and 16 June 1762; Directory under J. Hitchcock; B.J. 8 Apr. 1769, 12 May 1770, 20 Apr. 1771; B.M.B.J. 14 Jan. 1775.
6. Latimer, 18C, pp.269-70; B.C.L. 20095, 18 May 1757; F.F.B.J. 22 Sept. 1764 (Baths alone bringing in £30-40 p.a.); B.J. 23 Apr. 1763, 18 May 1765, 17 May and 14 June 1766.

recreation,[1] and publicans were constantly being prosecuted for running 'kittle-alleys' or allowing gambling at cards, dice, shuffleboard or billiards.[2] In 1771, after a victualler was fined £10 for allowing unlawful games, the Bristol Gazette noted that the magistrates were determined to prevent alehouse gaming by refusing offenders licences for three years.[3] In 1754 a correspondent urged the magistrates to suppress skittles because they led 'the inferior class of people' to waste days in idleness.[4] The judge in a 1739 case, where a butcher won £30 from a baker at 'Hussel and Cap' stressed 'the pernicious consequences of gaming to all tradesmen'.[5] All classes might become involved, however. In 1682 the Grand Jury claimed that 'the suffering of billiard tables in several public houses within the city' was 'of evil and pernicious consequences, for that...they are much frequented and played at by great numbers of the youth of the city being the children and servants of merchants, tradesmen and others' whose losses endangered 'the estates of those wherewith they are interested'.[6] Billiards may have been a particularly fashionable game; by the 1740s it was advertised openly in the leading coffee-houses, while both billiards and cards were played in the Assembly Rooms and at the Hotwells. Card tables and

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1. See p.162; F.F.B.J. 22 Oct. 1768.
2. B.A.O. 05062 (1 and 3), rules for alehouses, 1654 and 1666; 04434(1), 1 July 1681; 04435 (2), 9 Aug. 1727; and (5) 24 Dec. 1750; G.J. Presentments, Apr. 1640, Oct. 1657, Oct. 1664, Apr. 1685, Oct. 1696; B.J. 14 Nov. 1772 (letter by 'Rational').
3. B.G. 11 Apr. 1771.
4. F.F.B.J. 7 Dec. 1754.
5. Latimer, 18C, p.223.
6. G.J. Presentment, July 1682. Cf. ibid., Jan. 1690 (servants play to prejudice of masters); concern about lotteries in Q.S. Minutes, Jan. 1669, and C.S.P.D. 1663-4, pp.433-82 and 1668-9, p.167. State lotteries were later accepted, but unofficial ones were prosecuted, e.g. B.A.O. 04435(5), 30 Oct. 1752; F.F.B.J. 18 Feb. 1758.

backgammon sets also proliferated in prosperous homes after 1700.[1] There may have been a growing disparity between attitudes to gambling by rich and poor, although moralists were quick to denounce both.[2] It is unlikely, however, that popular gambling was ever effectively curbed.[3]

Despite official concern the numbers of licensed public houses increased steadily to a maximum of 625 in 1764, from 154 in 1656, while at least 10% more were probably unlicensed. Proportional to population, the peak was reached about 1700 with an alehouse per 56 inhabitants, falling to one per 90 people by 1763. The 1775 Directory listed 425 victuallers, 13 innholders and 6 coffee-house-keepers, as well as 99 maltsters, distillers and wine-traders.[4] Most alehouses probably had few facilities for entertainment. Clark has suggested that the relative decline in numbers after 1700 was accompanied by a qualitative shift towards respectability and greater sophistication. It has not been possible to test this generalization for the humbler establishments, but innkeepers' inventories show that the leading establishments always boasted large numbers of well-decorated rooms.[5] Although the growth in coffee-houses and taverns extended the range of sophisticated drinking-places, shows, lectures, meetings

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1. B.O.C.A. 16 Feb. 1745; T.C.M., III (1771), 692; J. Thistlethwaite, Consultation (Bristol, 1774), p.22; Squire, p.35. Though shuffleboards and 'playing tables' are mentioned earlier, the first billiard table is Inv., J. Jones 1677, the first card table 1729.
2. Life of Nicholas Mooney, (Bristol, 1752), p.33; Combe, Philosopher, II:96-7; B.J. 30 Jan. 1768, 22 June 1771.
3. Slack, Address, believed that 'manly exercises' were being destroyed by 'arbitrary magistracy' leaving only skittles, billiards, draughts and cards.
4. P. Clark, English Alehouse (1983), pp.52-3, 56, 261; B.S. Smith (ed.), Notes on Bristol History, no.9 (Bristol Univ. Extra-Mural Studies, 1971), pp.25-42 (licences in 1760).
5. Invs., T. Collier 1647, G. Pearce 1650, T. Fisher 1661, T. Gunther 1683, T. Hopper 1717; J.F. Nicholls, 'Old Hostelries of Bristol', T.B.G.A.S., VII (1882-3), 307-17; C.F.W. Dening, The Old Inns of Bristol (Bristol, 1943).

and clubs were still held mainly in the major inns and coffee-houses in the four central streets, such as the Plume of Feathers, the Three Tuns or the Exchange Coffee-house. Business and retailing centred on these streets too, and many transactions were settled in these public houses.[1] The humbler alehouse served as house of call for journeymen, so for all classes drinking lubricated both work and leisure.[2] Commentators recognized the fine balance between the advantages of drink as a promoter of social ties and the threat it offered to industry and morality.[3]

The boundaries of work and leisure were also blurred in other aspects of city life. Apart from the public houses, the preferred locations for shows and meetings were the gildhalls, and the large room adjoining the civic Guildhall.[4] Gradually the minor gildhalls were converted to other uses, often to house small nonconformist congregations, while the largest halls were rebuilt to house public events more elegantly between 1720 and 1750, but they continued to perform a complex mixture of functions.[5] The central streets, particularly around the High Cross and covered Tolsey, attracted crowds for leisure as well as business, while the other crosses, pumps and conduits performed the same role in the parishes.[6] Traffic pressures led to the removal of many of these, but only at the very

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1. B.W.I. 7 July 1750.
2. See p.165.
3. T. Thompson, Diet for a Drunkard (1612); Poems on Several Subjects, pp.19, 24; B.A.O. 04417(1), 16 Mar. 1656; Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1977), pp.41-2, 57; F.F.B.J. 26 May 1753, 27 Dec. 1760, 17 Apr. 1762; pp.171, 177.
4. B.A.O. 35684 (15) (receipts from Taylor's Hall). B.W.I. 13 July 1751, 24 Feb. 1753 (Guildhall room); B.J. 5 Mar. 1774 (opening of an auction room as public halls always full).
5. Converted: Barrett, History, pp.400, 555-6; Ralph (ed.), 'Secker's Diocese Book', p. 49. Rebuilt: Ison, Buildings, pp.92-8, 105, 127; Barrett, History, pp.493, 505.
6. J. Leech, Pipes, Pumps and Conduits (Bristol, 1853); Ralph, Streets, pp.8-10. See p.80.

end of our period, and the widening of the streets may have compensated. Bristol's merchants were notoriously slow to abandon trading in the street and use their grand new Exchange, but then it became a place to parade and spread news as well as do business.[1] A spoof advertisement of 1744 caught the mood of city life when it recommended the 'most beautiful moving landskip' on show daily on the Exchange between 11 and 4 when 'a great variety of figures' would perform 'all the different proper motions in the most surprising manner'.[2]

Association

Many historians have commented on the importance of voluntary association, or 'clubbing', during our period. Sociability based on common leisure pursuits or interests overshadowed association ascribed by occupation, religion or political position. Most attention has been paid to the replacement of gilds by workers' combinations, and to gentlemen's clubs and fashionable society, but some historians have begun to examine the sociability of the middling.[3] This section will consider the social implications of changes in association, while the next will examine how far 'voluntary' societies were moulded by civic, political and religious traditions.

The changes in sociability certainly appear striking if one contrasts the decline of the gilds with the rise in fashionable society. Both occurred largely in the early eighteenth century. A resurgence in gild formation in the mid-seventeenth century meant that some 20 to 25 companies were active around 1700, most with 30-50

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1. Wood, Description, p.18; Complete History of Somerset, pp.28-9; Huth (ed.), Narrative, pp.144, 149.
2. B.O.C.I. 21 July 1744.
3. J. Brewer in McKendrick et al., Consumer Society, pp.217-229; J. Rule, The Experience of Labour (1982) pp.147-71, 194-216.

members and several with over 100.[1] The numbers and activity began to falter in the next half-century, although the fall in numbers to an untenable position often only occurred after 1750.[2] Even then the gilds retained an occasional existence for participation in civic ceremony,[3] while the Merchant Venturers and a few others still had charitable and property concerns.[4] Generally retailing guilds preserved more economic significance and social vitality during the early eighteenth century. In the artisan trades growing conflicts led to workers' combinations and disputes, but also to public displays of trade solidarity in marches through the city, organized by the

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1. Sacks, 'Trade, Society and Politics', pp.123-61, and F.H. Rogers, 'Bristol Craft Gilds' (Bristol Univ. M.A. thesis, 1949), provide an excellent background, although Rogers assumes a rapid decline after 1660. See also McGrath, Merchant Venturers; J. Latimer, 'The Mercers and Linen-Drapers Company', T.B.G.A.S., XXVI (1903), 288-92; G. Parker, 'Early Bristol Medical Institutions', ibid., XLIV (1922), 155-78; F.F. Fox, Some Account of the Merchant Taylors (Bristol, 1880); idem and J. Taylor, Some Account of the Guild of Weavers (Bristol, 1889). For sources see Bibliography, B.A.O., B.C.L. and B.L., esp. B.A.O. 04369(1) (register of ordinances). Lists of companies, not always consistent, can be found in C.C.P., Nov. 1668; B.C.L. 7946, fo.33, and 7950, fo.128 (1717 and 1719); Wood, Description; P. Russell, England Displayed (1769), p.49; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn.), II:239; Arrowsmith's Dictionary, p.88. Groups such as seamen, glassworkers, woolcombers and printers also took part in civic events, and several sought incorporation without success before 1700: C.C.P., 1670-2; C.S.P.D. 1660-85 Addenda, p.487, 1693, pp.334, 347, 353.
2. E.g. Bakers (B.A.O. 08155): 194 in 1679, 168 1689, 134 1700, 147 1709, 55 1722, 33 1728; Mercers (B.C.L. 4939) 30 in 1663, 31 1691, 34 1713, 23 1724, 34 1729; Taylors (B.C.L. 4765-6) c.60 in 1700, c.40 1740s, 30 1750s, 25 1760s, 26 1771; Feltmakers (B.A.O. 4954(3)) c.50 1700, c.20 1737, 37 1741, c.10-20 1770s; Wiredrawers (B.C.L. 5030) 44 in 1635, 18 1735, c.7 1750s.
3. See p.320, and printed lists by minor gilds, e.g. B.C.L. 7950, fo.130 (Coopers) and B.C.L. 11398 (Joiners).
4. McGrath, Merchant Venturers; Fox, Some Account; Manchee, Charities, I:205-25.

apprentices and journeymen.[1] The numerous public houses called the Coopers', Weavers', Painters' and Tailors' Arms doubtless acted both as houses of call and clubs for such working groups.[2]

Tensions between capital and labour within gilds were nothing new; the seventeenth-century gilds were generally dominated by the bigger employers, themselves firmly under Corporation control.[3] There is little direct evidence to suggest why the masters began to find gild activity less worthwhile. The legal support for their economic functions was not decisively eroded until the 1760s and 1770s, and this was as much a consequence of their growing unrepresentativeness as a cause of decline.[4] The levying of high entry fees was blamed at the time, but again this may have partly been due to falling numbers.[5] Gild expenditure certainly indicates a growing exclusivity, with fewer company dinners and more spent on elegant furnishing and plate, on committee meetings, and on country outings for members and wives, but it is difficult to distinguish

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1. Disputes: F.F.B.J. 29 Mar. 1746 (sailors); F.F.B.J. 29 Mar. 1766 (carpenters); F.F.B.J. 26 Jan. 1765 (sailcloth weavers); F.F.B.J. 1 and 15 Oct. 1763, 9 Mar. 1765 (taylors); Fox and Taylor, Some Account, pp.62-4 (weavers). Marches: Brown, Odes, p.52; Glos. Jour. 4 Mar, 1723; B.W.I. 15 Feb. 1752; F.F.B.J. 9 Nov. 1754, 26 Feb. 1757, 2 and 9 Jan. 1768; B.J. 25 Feb. 1775; B.C. 9 Feb. 1760; C.S.P.D. 1669-70, p.76, 1671 p.127; Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, fo.99; B.A.O. 04435 (2), 15 and 23 Feb. 1727.
2. See p.161, n.4.
3. The Corporation were asked in the late seventeenth century to lessen the role of lesser members in elections, e.g. the 1693 Carpenters' amendment (B.A.O. 04369 (1), no.17). Gilds were preoccupied with controlling wage-rates and practices of journeymen and apprentices e.g. B.C.L. 4788, but masters also controlled numbers of apprentices (e.g. Carpenters 1730 amendment) and quality of work (e.g. F.B.N. 3 Dec. 1726; F.F.B.J. 25 Dec. 1775).
4. Latimer, 'Mercers'; B.J. 17 Feb. 1773; Latimer, 18C, pp.116, 176, 197, 214, 260, 313, 327, 372, 356, 384. Decline: ibid., p.401; F.F.B.J. 1 Sept. 1770; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:329.
5. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 3, fo.79; Manchee, Charities, I:205; Latimer, 18C, pp.181, 268.

exclusivity here from changing fashions in sociability.[1] Exactly the same shift in spending occurred in the Society of Merchant Venturers, always an exclusive body.[2] Maybe many gild members had preferred the old ways. Alternatively, the gilds were squeezed out by increased competition for leisure time by other societies. Having invited wives to their annual dinner in 1720, the Merchant Venturers replaced this with a ball and supper from 1744 to 1748, but thereafter all such arrangements lapsed, and individual merchants organized events instead as part of the Bristol Assembly.[3]

The growth of fashionable society in Bristol can be seen in domestic sociability, the emergence of assemblies, and the developments at the Hotwells. Inventory evidence suggests that around 1700 house design and furniture altered to suit the requirements of 'visiting', with the emergence of the parlour, in place of the hall or kitchen, as the main public room, and a shift in household investment away from furnishings and plate towards tables and chairs, tea and coffee equipment. Coffee gradually established itself from the 1680s, but only in the early eighteenth century did tea prices become comparable.[4] Thereafter falling prices were matched by rising ownership of the requisite equipment and the opening of specialist retail outlets to supplement grocers and confectioners.[5] Bristol's Quakers pioneered chocolate production; the new drinks were welcome alternatives to alcohol for pietist groups.[6] Although rapidly

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1. See B.C.L. 4939, 5030; B.A.O. 08019, 08156, 35684(15). See also p.228.
2. McGrath, Merchant Venturers, pp.46, 110-12.
3. Ibid., p.112.
4. Invs. M. and E. Watts 1682, J. Stevens 1685, S. Ware 1712; Harford, Annals, p.37. Price: Inv. A. Payne 1687; Latimer, 18C, pp.82, 391.
5. B.P.B. 19 June 1714 (Noblett), F.F.B.J. 23 Dec. 1752 (Willett), 24 Jan. 1756 (Carpenter).
6. F.B.N. 21 Aug. 1731 (Churchman); B.C.L. 20095-6, passim, e.g. 20096, 3 Aug. 1762.

spreading down the social scale, these beverages remained too expensive to be a regular part of popular diet. They were quintessential symbols of modern luxury and polite society.[1]

Before 1740 the only references to public balls are on coronation days and royal visits. No ball is mentioned for Queen Anne's coronation or subsequent visit to Bristol, but in 1714 riots marred a ball at the Customs House attended by those of 'the best fortunes'.[2] Assemblies were then held in gildhalls and theatres until in the early 1740s the theatre on St Augustine's Back was converted into an assembly room.[3] In 1753 a committee of rich Bristolians, probably already involved in organizing winter assembly seasons, proposed a grand new Assembly Room in Princes Street, and quickly raised the money by a tontine subscription of 120 £30 shares.[4] The adjacent Assembly Coffee-house and Tavern provided refreshments.[5] In addition to special balls, the regular winter season from September to May offered fortnightly balls, of minuets followed by country dances, together with a ball to recompense the Master of Ceremonies. This ball cost 5s; Bristolians could only attend the other balls if they subscribed 2 guineas for the whole series. Visitors and army officers were admitted at 5s per ball. Each subscriber also received two

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1. Bristol Fratricide (1741), p.19; Tucker, Brief Essay, p.29; Collins, Miscellanies, p.47; Squire, p.31; B.B.S.J. 4 June 1743; B.J. 2 July 1768; F.F.B.J. 1 Feb. 1772. Inv. T. Bolt in E.P./J/2/1/18 includes £1 owing to servants for not drinking tea.
2. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, fo.79; Bristol Riot, pp.15, 22; F.B.N. 4 Oct. 1727.
3. Ison, Buildings, p.108; Defoe, Tour (1742 edn), II:271; Dickins and Stanton (eds), Correspondence, pp.20-1; O.C.A. 8 Nov. 1747. Other venues: B.O. 10 Jan. and 5 Sept. 1747.
4. B.C.L. 7947, fo.127; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:245; F.F.B.J. 30 March 1754.
5. B.W.I. 23 July 1757; F.F.B.J. 4 June 1757.

tickets for ladies.[1] Those who could afford the lump sum subscription were only paying about 3s for three tickets to each ball, compared to the 2s 6d or 3s charged by dancing masters and others for other balls held publicly,[2] although the costs of dress, equipage and extras were considerable. The fashion for dancing undoubtedly spread, and private balls or 'routs' became a feature of Bristol social life.[3] Satirists commented on the social pretensions of such assemblies.[4] In the 1770s 25 people who hired coaches to attend balls included silversmiths, sea captains, and other retailers and manufacturers as well as three merchants, but this source excludes those too rich to need, or too poor to afford, to hire a coach.[5]

With the building of the Long Room in 1722, a summer season of balls and public breakfasts started at the Hotwells, originally with only one ball and one breakfast a week, but from 1757 with two balls weekly.[6] A second Long Room opened in 1768, but though the two Rooms offered refreshments and cards nightly, they agreed to host balls and breakfasts on alternative weeks. By 1770 each charged a guinea for a season's subscription.[7] Other social attractions included music daily at the Pumproom, a covered walk and refreshments, including a tavern and tearoom.[8] In 1751 a Vauxhall Garden opened

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1. Shiercliff, Guide, p.39; B.C.L. 12999, fos.22-3; F.F.B.J. 11 Sept. and 30 Oct. 1762, 17 Sept. 1763, 17 Nov. 1764, 13 Dec. 1766; B.J. 11 June 1768; B.A.O. AC/C/111 (21) and 115 (5); B.A.O. AC/WH/19(3).
2. E.g. B.O. 7 Mar. 1747 (Castiglione); F.F.B.J. 24 Sept. 1757 (Sullivan).
3. F.F.B.J. 12 Mar. 1763; Robinson, Memoirs, pp.22, 93.
4. Complete Chatterton, I:382, 516; p.170, n.2.
5. P.R.O. C/104/139-40.
6. V. Waite, 'Bristol Hotwell', in McGrath, Bristol, pp.109-26; Defoe, Tour (1725 edn), II:56-7; B.O.C.I. 14 May, 11 June 1743; F.F.B.J. 28 May 1757.
7. Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:250-2; Shiercliff, Guide, p.58; F.F.B.J. 19 Mar. and 11 June 1768, 2 June 1770; B.J. 12 May and 23 June 1770.
8. F.F.B.J. 11 May 1754, 19 June and 24 July 1756; B.J. 3 Dec. 1768.

nearby, with illuminations, fireworks and music every evening but Sunday for a season's subscription of one guinea for two, or 1s per night's admittance. Public breakfasts were held twice weekly at 2s.[1] The Garden never succeeded, partly because subscribers lent out their tickets for 2s or 6d, so allowing 'mean people' in. After a final season in 1757 with reduced opening, the land was sold for building.[2] Another Vauxhall Garden in Redcliffe, much nearer Bristol, attracted 2000 people at its opening in 1776, but closed the next year.[3]

The social impact of fashionable society on Bristolians is hard to gauge. Contemporary comment centred on the moral dangers posed by luxury, both to the rich and to their servants,[4] although many welcomed politeness and conversation as an improvement on boorishness and drinking.[5] Almost all the comment comes after 1740, but it would be unwise to assume that traditional life-styles were only then affected by unprecedented developments. In 1712 Goldwin considered that Bristol was 'newly polite', while in 1674 'N.C.' satirized visits to the Hotwells by Bristol 'cits' and their wives.[6] Bristol's merchants had long enjoyed the trappings of wealth, engaging in gentlemanly sports, lavish hospitality and extravagant retinues. For them the adoption of new fashions was more a change of style than a

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1. Huth (ed.), Narrative, p.148; B.W.I. 1 and 29 June, 20 July, 17 and 31 Aug. 1751.
2. B.W.I. 3 May 1757; F.F.B.J. 30 June 1753, 31 Oct. 1761.
3. B.C.L. 20095 8 Aug. 1776; Latimer, 18C, p.423.
4. Primitive Testimony, pp.21, 31; Dolman, Contemplations, pp.11-15; J. Brandon, Sermons on Different Subjects (Bristol, 1763), pp.17, 168, 184-91; B. Francis, The Conflagration (Bristol, 1770); J. Flower, The Prodigal Son (Bath, 1771), p.15; Young, Some Particulars, pp.5-6, 14-15; M. Wells, The Triumph of Faith (Bristol, 1787), p.49; Piety Promoted, 11th Part (1829), p.302; F.F.B.J. 16 Dec. 1752, 17 June 1758, 13 Aug. 1768, 7 Oct. 1767; B.J. 1 Apr. 1749, 21 June 1766, 29 Jan. 1774; B.G. 25 Apr. 1771.
5. O.C.A. 31 Aug. 1745; F.F.B.J. 19 July 1767 ('Urbanicus'). Others were ambivalent, e.g. F.F.B.J. 6 Dec. 1766.
6. Goldwin, Description, p.1; N.C., Drollery, pp.40-44. The Baptist minister Gifford attacked the passion for new fashion, 16 Aug. 1706 and 16 Jan. 1709 (Angus F.P.C. D.21).

new departure.

The chief impact was probably on their wives and children. Women had only a marginal role in gild life, the business world or the public house, but they were seen as the main movers in domestic sociability and fashion. This aroused considerable anxiety from those uncertain how compatible such interests were with the duties of wife and mother.[1] The organization of courtship around polite pursuits appeared to create a fantasy world, in which young women would neglect solid virtues for trivial accomplishments, and young men would grow contemptuous of business and domestic values.[2] No doubt most Bristolians finally settled to marriage and work, only returning to the world of fashion when wealthy enough to use their leisure or retirement to establish their social status.

It is unlikely that fashionable society can explain the decline in gild activity, however, as the active businessman was more likely to seek less demanding forms of sociability, such as societies with occasional dinners or evening gatherings.[3] Many new societies were established over our period which offered opportunities of this kind, which appealed to exactly the middling who had dominated the gilds. Only when power, property or cultural prestige were involved, as for example in the militias, the Infirmary or the Library Society, did merchants play a major role; similarly the Merchant Venturers had never really involved their members socially as much as other

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1. Young, Some Particulars, pp.20, 30, 33; B.B.S.J. 4 June 1743; p.58.
2. Oracle 25 Sept. 1742; B.W.I. 27 Jan. 1750; F.F.B.J. 30 Mar. and 28 Sept. 1754, 18 Oct. 1760, 2 May 1761; B.C. 6 June 1761; Register of Folly, pp.78-80; Complete Chatterton, II:759.
3. Glos.Jour. 3 July 1733 noted how well suited 'clubbing' was to trading towns. Club life: B.W.I. 29 Dec. 1750, F.F.B.J. 20 Dec. 1766; B.J. 19 Dec. 1774. Dining clubs: B.C.L. 6485, 'Description of Clifton'; B.A.O. AC/C/115, 5 Feb. 1760, 28048 F.13. (Almondsbury, Frenchay etc.); see p.177, n.6.

gilds.[1] Instead it was the retailers, manufacturers, skilled craftsmen and professional men who were active in running the county societies, Colston Societies, Freemasons' lodges, benefit societies and the host of other informal clubs and societies.[2]

Many similarities of organization and purpose can be seen between gilds and the societies which supplanted them.[3] They combined a basic democracy and equality of members ('on the level' in Freemason's terms) with an insistence on hierarchy, both in respect to the elected presidents/masters and wardens, and in the extra powers given to past officials. Elaborate procedures at ordinary meetings were matched by elaborate processions on feast days.[4] Some of the new societies only involved most members on these public occasions; routine business was conducted by committees. Others had regular weekly or monthly gatherings, mostly in the evenings, with food and drink to aid sociability, but strict rules and penalties prohibited excessive drinking or other antisocial behaviour.[5] Like gilds these societies sought to promote harmony between 'brethren' with common interests, and to advance the group, by sharing business, and by attracting public esteem through collective action beyond the individual's capacity. Enormous effort went into exhorting friendship and

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1. See p.99 (Library Soc.); pp.175, 178.
2. Based on those listed as officers in county and Colston societies, and the Freemasons in B.I.B.M., I:42, II:918, IV: 158; W. Calcott, A Candid Disquisition (1769), subscription list. The poor could not have afforded masonic entrance fees and charges: A.C. Powell and J. Littleton, A History of Freemasonry in Bristol (Bristol, 1910), pp.34, 38, 74, 90.
3. See ibid., pp.10, 32, 38, 55, 63, 74, 88, 90 for lodge rules; Glos. Society Minutes, fo.1, rules; H.T. Ellacombe, The Church Bells of Gloucestershire (Exeter, 1881), pp.88-91 (bell-ringing society); B.C.L. 7952, fo.7, and Rules and Articles ... of Union Society (1755) (benefit societies).
4. County societies: Glos. Jour. 23 Aug. 1737; O.C.A. 12 Sept. 1747; F.F.B.J. 2 Mar. 1754. Mason: B.O.C.I. 28 Apr. 1744; F.F.B.J. 2 July 1768; B.C.L. 20095 7 Jan. 1773.
5. Cf. F.F.B.J. 27 Oct. 1753 (account of Masonic dinner).

fraternity, whether it was based on a common background, such as county or school, or more voluntary associations.[1] Quarrels were to be arbitrated by the society, while anti-social characters might be excluded.[2] Maintenance of a high reputation was important to ensure public approval. The chief purpose of most societies was to introduce greater security and order into a dangerous world by clubbing together for mutual support, but also by financing forms of charity which would offer protection to widows and orphans, or the sick, and keep them from burdening society.[3] Sponsorship of apprentices, who would be brought into city life through work, was as important to many voluntary societies as to gilds.[4]

The 'Sons of the Clergy', for example, established in 1691, had apprenticed about 100 boys into respectable trades by 1752, hoping thereby to remove the social stigma created by clerical poverty, and give non-clerical descendants of the clergy a sense of pride and

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1. Masonic aims: J. Price, The Advantages of Unity Considered (Bristol, 1748); A. Sheddon,'Charge', in Calcott, Disquisition, pp.171-5; Brown, Odes, pp.1-9, 57, 89, 96; F.F.B.J. 24 Jan. 1767, 20 Aug. 1768; B.J. 18 Apr. 1767, 16 June 1770. County societies: sermons to Wiltshire Society by J. Horler, Works of Charity Recommended (Sarum, 1729); Of Cloathing the Naked (Bristol, 1739); The Blessedness of Giving (Bristol, 1750); Dorcas her Good Works (Bristol, 1753); E. Davies, Zaccheus (Bristol, 1770), to Welsh. Colston societies: W. Hawkins, The Nature, Extent and Excellency of Christian Charity (Bristol, 1755); J. Rouquet, Christian Strife (Bristol, 1768); S. Love, A Sermon (Bristol, 1771).
2. Glos. Soc. Minutes, 2 Sept. 1757; B.C.L. 20095, 11 Oct. 1756; Powell and Littleton, Freemasonry, pp.58, 90.
3. Masons, e.g., B.J. 16 June 1770. For benefit societies: B.J. 4 May 1765 (Widows); Davies, Sermons, pp.156-69 (Useful Soc.); B.C.L. 20095 passim from 6 Nov. 1751, e.g., 25 Dec. 1752 (Helpful Soc.); F.F.B.J. 11 Nov. 1752 (Plushweavers); B.J. 27 Feb. 1768 ('Silkers'); F.F.B.J. 24 July 1773 (Ancient Britons Benefit); B.O. 30 Apr. 1748, B.J. 16 Sept. 1769, 9 July 1774 (Masters of Ships); O.C.A. 11 Mar. 1749 (Mariners). None of these trade groups had an active gild.
4. F.F.B.J. 31 Oct. 1761; pp.179-81.

solidarity.[1] Ironically, as gilds declined, solidarity in the legal, clerical and medical occupations was enhanced. From 1661 to 1670 Bristol's civil and common lawyers joined in a 'fraternity' meeting at the Rose Garden Tavern, with the full panoply of gild organization and rules, but it apparently collapsed when all the members had served once as 'prior'.[2] A century later a new 'Law Society' formed, which again sought to unite the different legal groups and to arbitrate disputes.[3] The Barber-Surgeons' gild dissolved around 1740 as differences of interest between the humbler barbers and the leading surgeons grew too marked,[4] but the surgeons and physicians increasingly co-operated at the hospitals, although no formal medical societies emerged until the 1790s.[5]

The Politics of Association

Despite the continuity between gild and voluntary sociability, there was an important difference between the civic position of the gilds, firmly subordinated to the Corporation, and the more independent role of later groupings. The proliferation of societies was partly due to the collapse of political unity, permitting and encouraging new associations to express particular viewpoints, but many groupings sought to rise above political and religious faction. Both partisan and neutralist ambitions, however, were hard to achieve in the face of powerful traditions of civic involvement.

Relying on unpaid service by leading citizens, Bristol's

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1. J.E. Jackson, A Sermon ... at the Cathedral (Bristol, 1846), appendix; S.F.B.P. 10 Sept. 1715; An Exact and True Account since 1692 (n.p. 1724); B.W.I. 1 Sept. 1750, 8 Aug. 1752.
2. B.C.L. 26064, fos.35-43.
3. B.A.O. Xeroxes 2(A-B).
4. Parker, 'Early Medical Institutions'.
5. Smith, Infirmary; idem, 'Notes on Some Bristol Medical Societies', B.C.M.J., XXXII (1914), p.268.

administration depended on their leisure, and its machinery was oiled by sociability and ritual. Although the 40-50 members of the Corporation faced the heaviest burden of meetings, dinners and public processions, the 10-20 vestrymen in each of the seventeen parishes also had frequent evening gatherings, parish feasts and occasional public perambulations.[1] Vestry membership was still valued by nonconformists after 1660. In 1696 vestry management of poor relief was removed and given to the Corporation of the Poor, under an elected Court of Guardians. Seen initially as a Whig ploy to undermine Tory vestry power, this evolved into a Tory stronghold supporting the parishes against the encroaching powers of the Whig Corporation.[2] Meanwhile many leading citizens were involved in running the nonconformist churches. Some of these, notably the Presbyterian, had an elite of trustees similar to vestrymen. Even in the Baptist and Quaker churches, which developed an intense congregational life cut off from other social organization, the richest members tended to dominate.[3]

Because of their power and institutional continuity, these governmental and religious societies, together with the gilds, traditionally controlled the educational and other philanthropic activities which might have generated independent associations. They continued to do so well into the eighteenth century, as bequests to

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1. See p.142; P/C.W.A. and V.Bks; Manchee, Charities, II:242, 423-7, 461, 471; Complete Chatterton, I:399-400; F.F.B.J. 20-27 Dec. 1760, 13 Apr. 1765; B.O.C.A. 5 May 1744; B.O. 20 Apr. 1745.
2. Butcher (ed.), Corporation; J. Johnson, Transactions of the Corporation of Poor (Bristol, 1826).
3. O.M. Griffiths, 'Records of Lewin's Mead Chapel', Trans. Unitarian Hist. Soc., VI (1935-8), 116-29; Hayden (ed.), Records; Mortimer (ed.), Minutes; Fuller, Rise and Progress; M. Caston, Independency in Bristol (Bristol, 1860).

independent trustees or subscription societies proved insecure.[1] The charity schools, for example, often failed to secure continued financial and administrative commitment, and many ended up managed by church bodies or the Merchant Venturers.[2] The Society for the Reformation of Manners, which was only active from 1700 to 1705, largely confined itself to putting pressure on civic and parish authorities. The inability of different religious and political factions to work together encouraged such instability.[3]

A traditional feature of Bristol association, military training, was destroyed by the same pressures. After reorganization in 1626 three bands of foot met fortnightly. Leading merchants acted as officers, and noble patrons attended the annual feast and sermon.[4] During the Civil War the militia was often remodelled, ending up in radical hands, but it lapsed into informality in 1660 until 1677.[5] It was then revived with Corporation support as the Artillery Company, comprising 100 members, including merchants and leading retailers, with an annual St George's Day sermon and dinner, patronized by the Beaufort family.[6] By 1683 a junior branch of 'Loyal Young Men and Apprentices' had been formed.[7] Despite the pretence of tradition and civic unity, however, these societies were blatantly Tory in sympathy. With James' apostasy from Toryism the Company collapsed,

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1. Manchee, Charities, e.g. I:414 (vestry), and I:199, 202, 275 ff. (nonconformist funds); Account of Hospitals.
2. See pp.34-5, 53.
3. B.C.L. 10162; P/Tem. Ka. 4, fos.102-3.
4. T. Palmer, Bristoll's Military Garden (1635); Taylor, Book, p.110; Latimer, 17C, pp.93, 115, 126; B.C.L. 22606, fos.3, 10.
5. Latimer, 17C, pp.261, 285, 316, 358, 364.
6. B.A.O. 8029 (11) (minutes); B.C.L. 26064, fo. 175 (printed list); C.C.P. Sept. 1677, Feb. 1678; B.C.L. 9169, 23 Apr. 1680; 10162 (2), 13 Jan., 23 Apr. 1682, 23 Apr. 1683.
7. R. Roberts, A Sermon ... before Society of Loyal Young Men (1685); The Brave Boys of Bristol (c. 1681-5?).

and with it the use of the militia as a force for social cohesion.[1]

The Exclusion Crisis prompted the establishment of Whig and Tory electioneering clubs but these were shadowy and short-lived; the main social centres of political allegiance remained the churches.[2] The next political organization recorded is the Loyal Society, established in 1710 by the Tories to further their local revival led by the philanthropist Edward Colston. As well as organizing at elections and sending political addresses to the Crown, they held a dinner on Colston's birthday.[3] The Society disappeared in 1715-16 after allegations of involvement in riots in 1714, and the arrest of leading members as suspected Jacobites.[4] In 1717 a rival Hanoverian Society met on George's accession day.[5] Most political organization occurred at parish level, where the Tories established 'Independent Societies', but in 1737 leading Tories founded the Steadfast Society to co-ordinate such groups and support them against pressures from the Whig Corporation.[6] The Whigs responded with their Union Club, whose great triumph was Nugent's election in 1754.[7] To cement this victory Whig voters in London formed a benefit society called the

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1. M. de L. Landon, 'Bristol Artillery Company', Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., CXIV (1970), 155-61.
2. Clubs: C.S.P.D. 1682, pp.336, 348, 352, 1683(2), pp.165, 221, 250, 263-6, 277, 303, 1683-4, pp.238, 372; Holloway, Confession, p.14; I. Chauncy, Innocence Vindicated (1684). Tory suspicion of churches: The Bristol Address (1681); Kingston, Vivat Rex, p.42; Phileroy, Vision; T. Speed, Reason Against Rage (1691), pp.1, 13.
3. B.C.L. 10163 (2), 1710-11; An Occasional Poem upon the Meeting of the Loyal Society (n.p., 1711); A Few Short and True Reasons why a Late Member was Expelled (Bristol, 1714); B.P.B. 27 Nov. 1714.
4. Bristol Riot, pp.4-7; J. Oldmixon, A History of England (1735), pp.611-12; A Letter to an MP from a Gentleman in Bristol (2nd edn, 1715).
5. A. Bedford, A Sermon Preached ... at St Mary Redcliff Church (Bristol, 1717).
6. Colley, In Defiance, pp.139, 166-7, 280; Rogers, 'Urban Opposition', pp.138-9, 144; F.F.B.J. 21 July 1753, 30 Aug. 1755, 3 Sept. 1757, 2 Sept. 1758.
7. C. Nugent, Memoirs of Robert, Earl Nugent (1898); Brown, Odes, pp.48, 79; O.C.A. 9 Nov. 1745.

Union Society of Bristol Freemen which met monthly and celebrated the anniversary of Nugent's victory.[1] After 1755 the Steadfast and Union clubs lost popularity with extreme supporters for promoting an electoral truce, and lesser political clubs were active. The Wilkes affair prompted a 'Society for the Friends of Freedom'.[2] All these groupings built their appeal on private sociability in taverns together with public dinners and processions on significant anniversaries.[3] The Steadfast was widely known as 'the White-Lion Club' after the inn where it met.[4]

Not everybody was interested in politics. Chatterton's father belonged to a club at The Pineapple whose drinking song claimed that while

> Zealots and fools with their factions do grapple,
> They taste not the joys that are at the Pineapple.[5]

The Freemasons and Hiccobites, like other drinking and debating societies, promised to restore social harmony through conviviality and fraternity.[6] The same ecumenical stand was taken by philanthropic

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1. Rules of Union Society.
2. Shelton, Tucker, p.150; B.J. 4-11 Jan. 1772; B.G. 29 Sept. 1774. See Underdown, 'Parliamentary History 1750-90'. Gild decline may reflect political division. See Minchinton (ed.), Politics and Port, for the divided merchant community, and for Merchant Taylors: F.F.B.J. 24 Aug. 1754 (gild freedom to Tory Beckfords) and B.J. 24 June 1769 (45 merchant taylors dine in honour of Wilkes). B.C.L. 4766 shows an unprecedentedly close election in 1771.
3. When Earle was expelled from the Loyal Society one reason was his meanness as president at the annual feast (Few Short and True Reasons).
4. Bristol Watch Bill (Bristol, 1755), pp.3, 6; Thistlethwaite, Corruption, dedication; B.O. 27 July 1745; F.F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1752.
5. Meyerstein, Chatterton, p.8.
6. Hiccobites: F.F.B.J. 10 Feb. 1753, B.C.L. 6523, fo.132. Convivial: Brown, Odes; Bryant, Verses, pp.xxv-xxvii, xxx, 24-32. Masons: see pp.171-2. Bear's Cub: B.I.B.M., II:920, 938, 954. Several of these societies were high Tory, e.g. Half-Pint and Nag's Head clubs (B.I.B.M., I:174, 182; II:1130; III:198).

bodies, epitomized in the Infirmary's motto of 'Charity Universal'.[1] More and more societies were established in the eighteenth century, run by subscribers from across the political and religious spectrum, to assist poor children, the sick, debtors, 'persons apparently drowned', lying-in women and others. They promised not to exploit such patronage for religious or political advantage.[2] Like fashionable leisure, charity offered a neutral meeting-ground for different groups.

Tensions persisted, however, as testified by the reiterated protests of neutrality. Sometimes these were at best half-truths. The 'Society for the Relief of Poor Persons when ill' of 1775 claimed to be 'free of all sect and party' contrary to 'insinuations', but was dominated by members of the Whitefield Methodist Tabernacle.[3] After Colston's death many Bristolians commemorated his birthday by attending sermons and dinners, led by a Redcliffe society known eventually as the Colston Society, but occasionally as the Loyal Society, suggesting a continuity with the earlier Tory society of that name, corroborated by its membership.[4] In 1749 the charitable associations of the day were enhanced when the Tory physician Woodward founded the Dolphin Society, with a collection to relieve poor housekeepers and others. Membership rose rapidly to 83 in 1755, then

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1. See Smith, Infirmary; sermons at annual dinner (Mathews, Bristol Bibliography, p.214); below, p.276.
2. Debtors: F.F.B.J. 11 Apr. 1767; B.J. 1 Jan., 19 Feb., 30 Apr. 1774, 22 Apr. 1775. Rescue of Drowned: B.C.L. 20095, 2-6 and 26 June, 18 July 1775; B.J. 1 and 29 July 1775; B.C.L. 04217, fo.35.
3. B.M.B.J. 18 Nov., 30 Dec. 1775; B.I.B.M., I:72, II:682-90, 876, III:7-9, 13, 55, XIV:226; Plan of Friend in Need (Bristol, 1791). B.J. 10 Dec. 1774 an Anglican expressed distrust of such humane societies.
4. E.G. Clarke, The Life of Edward Colston (Bristol, 1895), pp.23-5; A.B. Beaven, Bristol Lists (Bristol, 1899), pp.148-52; B.C.L. 11156, 2 Nov. 1739; B.A.O. AC/JS/12/4; F.B.N. 4 Nov. 1726; F.F.B.J. 3 Nov. 1744, 18 Nov. 1752, 17 Nov. 1753, 16 Nov. 1754.

fell to 50-60 until after 1775.[1] William Fry then started a Grateful Society in 1759, which grew even faster and attracted donations from other Colston dinners to apprentice boys, and assist lying-in women.[2] In 1769 an Anchor Society started, concentrating its efforts on females in need.[3] All three societies claimed neutrality, but the Dolphin and Anchor were basically Tory and Whig groupings.[4]

Similar ambiguity surrounds the politics of the county societies, composed of Bristolians with roots in particular counties who met for an annual feast. Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire and Bristol-born feasts began in 1657-8,[5] and although the Bristol Feast died out some time after 1705,[6] Hereford, Shropshire and Dorset societies were established later,[7] as well as a Welsh 'Society of Ancient Britons' and by 1767 Scotsmen were meeting on St Andrew's Day.[8] Royalist origins seem likely for the Gloucestershire Society, which is the best documented.[9] Like the other societies its annual

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1. Beaven, Lists, pp.138-41; Latimer, 18C, p.280; B.C.L. 7958, fo.130; B.I.B.M., I:130; B.J. 23 Dec. 1775.
2. Beaven, Lists, pp.144-7; F.F.B.J. 20 Oct. 1759; B.C. 25 Oct., 15 Nov. 1760; B.J. 24 Oct. 1767.
3. Clarke, Colston, p.33; Beaven, Lists, pp.142-4; B.J. 18 Nov. 1769.
4. F.F.B.J. 20 Nov. 1762; B.J. 2 Nov. 1771.
5. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, fo.79; Q.S. Minutes, July 1665.
6. S. Chapman, A Sermon ... before Freeborn Citizens of Bristol (Oxford, 1703); F.F.B.J. 31 Oct. 1761. Somerset: S.F.B.N. 7 Aug. 1736; O.C.A. 12 Sept. 1747. Wiltshire: B.C.L. 7952, fo.96, 20852, 21402, 21511; F.B.N. 20 Aug. 1726.
7. Hereford: F.B.N. 24 Sept. 1726; F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1741; F.F.B.J. 12 July 1766. Dorset: B.O. 19 Sept. 1747. Shropshire: F.F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1747. The last two, only mentioned in 1747, may have been linked to elections, like the Worcester societies (F.F.B.J. 6 Dec. 1760, B.J. 30 Oct. to 13 Nov. 1773).
8. Welsh (Ancient Britons): Glos. Jour. 30 Jan. 1733; F.F.B.J. 9 Feb., 2 Mar. 1754, 14 Feb. 1756; J. Price, The Antiquity of the Festival of St. David (Bristol, 1754). Scottish: B.J. 21 Nov. 1767; F.F.B.J. 3 Dec. 1768; B.I.B.M., II:1134.
9. Beaven, Lists, pp.160-5; B.C.L. 7955, fo.28; George Ridler's Oven (Gloucestershire Society, 1899); Minutes, e.g. fo.7 (no toasts except to King in 1663).

meetings incorporated an Anglican sermon. In 1713 this sermon was strongly Sacheverellite, though this was balanced the next year by an appeal for Protestant anti-papal solidarity.[1] In 1752 the Society ruled that no Anglican child be apprenticed to a dissenting master, though dissenting children could be.[2] There was apparently a Tory bias in the local gentry attracted to such occasions.[3] However Bristol politicians of all parties were keen to attend, and many of the sentiments were 'country' or patriotic rather than simply Tory. In 1769 a correspondent denounced Seyer's sermon to the Gloucestershire as a 'ministerialist' piece unworthy of the public spirit of the 'independent' gentlemen of Gloucestershire.[4] The importance placed by societies on public processions, sermons and dinners made it difficult for them to avoid involvement in contentious political and religious issues associated with civic life.

The county societies were the earliest and most successful of the 'voluntary' associations established in Bristol, and by the mid-eighteenth century they were collecting significant sums, as Table XIV shows. They might seem to be typical cases of the courting of rural patronage by towns after the Restoration, seeking social respectability through rural ancestry. In fact the aims and methods of the Gloucestershire Society suggest the dominance of civic tradition. The money raised to relieve poor immigrants into Bristol was increasingly concentrated on apprenticing boys, first all born in

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1. H. Abbot, Unity, Friendship and Charity (Bristol, 1713); A. Bedford, Unity, Love and Peace Recommended (Bristol 1714).
2. Minutes 13 Oct. 1752. The Somerset song (B.A.O. AC/JS/13/8) also referred, jocularly, to the members not being 'Anabaptists'.
3. Glos. Jour. 2 Aug. 1737 (Coster as Gloucestershire President); F.F.B.J. 10 Aug. 1754 (Beckford at Wilts Soc.).
4. Glos. Jour. 2 Oct. 1733 (Somerset anti-excise); F.F.B.J. 9 Sept. 1758 (Somerset pro-militia and Pitt), 29 Aug. 1761 (new patriotic Gloucestereshire song), 7 Mar. 1772 (new Welsh song); B.J. 30 Sept. 1769 (anti-Seyer).

Bristol but later also the children of Gloucestershire residents, to Bristol masters.[1] Such expenditure suggests a commitment to the values of proper entry into city life. Around 1760 a shift in emphasis occurred, spreading from the Ancient Britons to the other societies, to help lying-in women and others, and to give some of the money to distressed people out in the counties.[2] This change coincides with an influx of country gentry into major roles in the societies, as they were better able than middle-rank Bristolians to afford the largesse in distribution of tickets expected of the annual President.[3] At the same time the focus of attention in the annual procession shifted. The great advantage of choosing to apprentice boys was that they could be incorporated into the procession and dinner as living symbols of successful benevolence, following the long-established practice of the Corporation with their orphan children, imitated also by charity schools.[4] As the local gentry and ladies began to flock to the occasions, however, their presence and patronage became a chief attraction.[5] The growing importance of 'country patronage' after 1750 in these societies may have been offset by the expanding range of other associations, such as the Colston societies, for Bristolians to control.

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1. Glos. Soc. minutes, 7 Sept. 1669, 30 Aug. 1694; Horler, Works; F.F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1747, 23 Aug. 1755 (Glos. Soc.).
2. F.F.B.J. 8 Mar. 1755, 14 Feb. 1756 (Ancient Britons). Cf. Grateful Soc. B.J. 16 Mar. 1771, 5 Nov. 1774.
3. Glos. Soc. minutes, 7 Sept. 1693, 12 Sept. 1751 (rotas of future Presidents); F.F.B.J. 31 Oct. 1761; B.J. 26 Aug. 1775; Complete Chatterton, I:368-9. Gentlemen Presidents: F.F.B.J. 2 Mar., 14 Sept. 1765.
4. Glos. Soc. minutes, 26 Aug. 1675, 24 Aug. 1686; Glos. Jour. 23 Aug. 1737; B.W.I. 15 Aug. 1752; p.317.
5. F.F.B.J. 3 Sept. 1757 (apprentices and 'gentlemen of distinction'); B.C. 30 Aug. 1760; B.J. 25 Sept. 1773.

Conclusion

The leisure and sociability of Bristolians certainly grew in extent and complexity during our period, as the city grew in wealth and size. Opportunities for leisure differed according to social position, and social aspirations were always significant in the evolution of new forms of leisure and association. Whether any decisive change in the social importance of leisure occurred is much less certain. The recreations and associations of seventeenth-century Bristol were highly stratified, whether they were organized commercially by innkeepers, or associated with civic life, such as the militia, gilds or local government. Changes in the style of polite leisure offered new areas of exclusivity, particularly in the arts, but their chief importance may have been to bring wives and youth into the picture.

On the other hand, exclusivity was never totally achieved or desired. Publicans and other entrepreneurs wanted to attract all classes, and the twin motives of curiosity and gambling held a broad appeal. Public events and public spaces were never easily monopolized or controlled by any group, and for some purposes popular participation was a necessary ingredient. All classes were affected by the opportunities and constraints produced by the seasons, the civic and religious calendar, and the changing topography. Many forms of leisure and sociability were still improvized from the regular elements of town life, such as meetings in public houses and public halls or annual feasts centred on public processions, sermons and dinners. While these allowed the expression of social distinctions, and of a growing variety of particular interests and aims, they also limited exclusivity and set every activity in a common civic context.

CHAPTER 5 THE ARTS IN A COMMERCIAL CITY

At the close of the previous chapter I suggested that social distinctions in the use of leisure appeared at their sharpest in the arts. This chapter will explore this issue further, and test the suggestion that the arts came to occupy a much more significant place in provincial culture during the period, and particularly after 1700. The chief explanation proposed for their growth is an increase in the surplus wealth, both of the townspeople and the gentry who visited the towns. Both sought to express their social status through patronage of the arts. The commercial basis for artistic activity ensured, by price alone, that it was distinguished from popular culture, while the content and style of the polite arts reinforced the contrast by adopting metropolitan, even international, styles and themes, and abandoning vernacular traditions.[1]

Three separate, if linked, issues are thus neatly combined. The first is the claim that commercial provision became the most important element in artistic production and consumption. Some historians have explored the origins of this development in the decline in religious, civic or private patronage, or in craft traditions; others have taken it for granted that cultural entrepreneurs were filling a vacuum in provincial society. It is therefore very important to set commercial provision in the context of other settings for artistic activity, and establish whether the latter were indeed in decline, and if so, why.

The second and third issues, the shift away from vernacular styles and the role of 'politeness', are intimately linked, but not identical, as some historians have suggested. Vernacular crafts were capable of reflecting and conveying social distinctions, and major

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1. See pp.5 n.2, 7 n.2.

shifts of style clearly carry many connotations beyond the merely social, even if an important component is implying social distinction and emulation. The notion of the vernacular includes both the idea of local styles, and of local production by artisans, but one must consider the possibility that non-vernacular styles could be adopted by and invigorate local crafts, rather than necessarily implying dependence on metropolitan or imported skills. There is a further tension inherent in the concern of commercial provision to reach the widest market, while the requirements of 'politeness' imply social exclusivity, not only in terms of the audience reached, but also in the conduct and tone of artistic activity. Not only might the elite seek to prevent mass consumption of cultural goods, but there might also be conflicts between their artistic aspirations and other elements in their self-image, such as moral or religious concerns.

This chapter will consider the arts - musical, pictorial, literary and theatrical - together, rather than considering each in turn. Several excellent (mainly descriptive) studies of particular artistic genres in Bristol have appeared, but no account has yet sought to explore the social factors common to all the arts, nor the importance for contemporaries of 'the arts', as a whole, in city life. There were so many interconnections between the arts that precise boundaries cannot be drawn, though there were important differences in the nature and timing of changes in artistic activity.

I shall first outline the Bristol evidence, indicating the growth in commercial provision and its links to changes in style and to the growth of 'polite society'. Next, I will explore the tensions between market forces and notions of politeness and social distinction, before examining the wider context of artistic activity in the settings of the household, work and sociability, and the impact of civic, political and religious factors.

The Growth of Commercial Art

It is easy to understand why historians should view late seventeenth-century provincial towns as artistically barren. Elizabethan and Jacobean Bristol was frequently visited by itinerant acting companies; a playhouse was briefly established in Wine Street,[1] while the city musicians toured other cities and may have performed publicly in Bristol. But from the 1620s a hostile Corporation was paying actors to stay away, while musicians are only recorded as playing on civic occasions and for gild dinners.[2] The only plays and public musical performances recorded after 1640 were at fairtime, where despite occasional corporate action players' booths and 'music-houses' persisted into the eighteenth century.[3] Puppet-shows and pantomimes were the most common elements in such entertainment, mostly held in converted warehouses and public houses, or booths open to the streets.[4] There were no pictorial exhibitions, although the occasional itinerant may have carried pictures or architectural models, such as the one of Audley End exhibited in 1653.[5] There is little evidence of the purchase of literature, and no professional writers were based in the city.[6]

To some degree this picture merely reflects the lack of a local printing-press to produce publicity; even for the next century most of

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1. G.T. Watts, Theatrical Bristol (Bristol, 1915), pp.1-13; M.C. Pilkington, 'The Playhouse in Wine Street, Bristol', Theatre Notebook, XXXVII (1983), 14-21.
2. J.G. Hooper, 'A Survey of Music in Bristol' (typescript, 2 edns, 1962 [B.C.L. 23030] and 1963 [B.C.L. 23031], refs. to latter unless stated), pp.141-52; W.L. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society (Princeton, 1953), p.105; p.224, n.2.
3. B.C.L. 10162, 9 July, 6 Aug. 1700, 23 June 1702; Mather Letters, 329; G.J. Presentment, Oct. 1694; B.A.O. 04026, 1694-5; C.V. 1697-8.
4. See pp.144-5, e.g. B.O.C.A. 15 Jan., 16 and 23 July 1743; B.O.C.I. 23 July, 6 Aug. 1743; P/Tem. C.W.A., 1767-8 on.
5. Inv. J. Roseworm 1675; B.A.O. 04417(1), 5 Aug. 1654.
6. See pp.110-12.

such ephemera have been lost, except for newspaper advertisements. The impression of a new dawn in the early eighteenth century is partly a result of new sources. The earliest public concert uncovered by Hooper was advertised in Farley's Bristol Newspaper in 1726, but a reference the next year to 'the gentlemen of the Musical Society' implies a music-making tradition, and the fragmentary run of Bristol Post-Boys for 1714-15 contains an advertisement for a concert in 1714, not described as if it was a novel phenomenon.[1]

The surviving evidence indicates that concerts became increasingly common after the 1720s, and that individual concerts were supplemented by subscription concerts and winter assemblies.[2] Regular benefit concerts for city musicians were held on St Cecilia's Day, and one- or two-day music festivals were held for charity from 1757 to 1760.[3] As the concerts advertised tend to be those given for charity, or one-off concerts by itinerant musicians,[4] it is more difficult to trace well-established concert series, which did not need so much publicity. We cannot be sure when regular winter concerts began, and what relation they bore to winter assemblies. The latter were certainly held by the 1730s, and balls may have followed concerts (as was often the case at single performances),[5] but the first firm references to subscriptions for winter concerts come in the years 1747-9.[6] Except in 1759, there was no further publicity until 1771, when Linley of Bath sought to revive the subscription idea.[7] We have ample information for the next few years, because musical rivalry and

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1. B.P.B. 20 Nov. 1714; F.B.N. 9 July 1726, 11-18 Nov. 1727.
2. See p.167.
3. St. Cecilia: n.1; B.O.C.A. 19 Nov. 1743. Festivals for Sons of Clergy: F.F.B.J., e.g. 13 Aug. 1757, 9 Aug. 1760.
4. E.g. F.F.B.J. 24 June 1758 (Passerinis).
5. E.g. B.O. 20 Apr. 1745.
6. B.O. 7 Mar. 1747, 15 Oct. 1748, 4 Mar. 1749.
7. F.F.B.J. 8 Sept., 8 Dec. 1759, 9 Nov. 1771.

dissatisfaction with the Linley arrangements prompted a rival set of winter concerts during 1772-4, but when these were abandoned the information in the sources declines once more.[1] Apparently the financial slump of the late 1770s curtailed such commercial entrepreneurship, encouraging the revival of music-making by amateur societies.[2] But between 1750 and 1775 Bristolians were probably offered at least fifteen to twenty concerts a year, as well as balls.

An increase in musical activity is also suggested by the building of a specialized setting for music. Until 1756 concerts and balls were held in the gilds' halls, or (from the 1730s) in the Stokes Croft and St Augustine's Back theatres or at the Hotwells.[3] The grand new setting of the Princes Street Assembly Room attracted almost all the musical events thereafter, and its success in meeting Bristol's needs may explain the demise of the first Vauxhall Gardens after 1757, and the failure of a second attempt in 1776.[4]

While there was clearly a rapid growth in concert life it is hard to establish when this began, although a date around 1700 seems plausible. We can date an upsurge of interest in the theatre more precisely. In 1704 a playhouse was proposed in Tucker Street, on the Temple Fair site, by the 'Duke of Grafton's Servants', an itinerant company with close links to Bath.[5] Given that the Corporation was clamping down on fairtime plays, this was probably a device to avoid prosecution and establish a respectable theatre. After defeat by corporate opposition, the players tried the next year at St

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1. B.J. 17 and 31 Oct. 1772; pp.194, 201-2.
2. Hooper, 'Survey' (1762 edn.) (list of concerts from 1740s); B.I.B.M., I:15-7; Shiercliff, Guide, p.42.
3. See pp.162, 167-9; B.O. 24 Aug. 1745, 4 Mar. 1749.
4. See pp.168-9.
5. Watts, Theatrical, pp.18-25; R. Jenkins, Memoirs of the Bristol Stage (Bristol, 1826); B.C.L. 7976.

Augustine's Back, again in vain.[1] They then shifted to Stokes Croft, beyond the city's jurisdiction, remaining there in relative safety until the 1730s, despite corporate efforts to get the Gloucestershire J.P.s to intervene.[2]

Little is recorded about the theatre between 1709 and 1728, when The Beggar's Opera, performed by the Bath Company, triumphed first at the Hotwells and then, with mayoral permission, in St James',[3] while an itinerant company from Stokes Croft, under Lewis, occupied St Augustine's Back, also used by a visiting London actor in 1726.[4] The Grand Jury complained about the two theatres in 1728 and 1731, and on the latter occasion the Corporation closed down St Augustine's Back, which was later refurbished as assembly rooms.[5]

Lewis's Company, known sometimes as the 'Bristol Company of Comedians', returned to Stokes Croft,[6] until they shifted to a new theatre at Jacob's Well under John Hippisley. Born near Bristol, Hippisley combined a London career with interest in both Bath and Bristol theatre. From 1729 he bought land and raised money to build a theatre outside the city limits, between Bristol and the Hotwells.[7] A theatre opened near Limekiln Lane in 1729, which some take to be Jacob's Well, but was probably a temporary building, and Jacob's Well only opened as Bristol's chief theatre in 1737,[8] after which Stokes Croft was used by itinerant troupes and balls.[9] The contrast between

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1. Latimer, 18C, p.26; C.V. 1705-6; C.C.P. Oct. 1706; Bedford, Reflections, preface, pp.19, 39ff; idem, The Evil and Danger of Stage Plays (Bristol, 1706), preface, pp.11-13.
2. C.C.P., Dec. 1709; P/Tem. Ka 4, fo.84; B.P.B. 2 July 1715.
3. F.B.N. 18 May, 24-31 Aug., 14 Sept. 1728.
4. F.B.N. 6 Aug. 1726, 20 July 1728.
5. C.C.P. Sept. 1728, Feb. and Dec. 1731; B.C.L. 4531, fo.257.
6. Ibid; Glos. Jour. 4 Apr. 1732.
7. Watts, Theatrical, p.41; Latimer, 18C, p.63.
8. B.C.L. 7976 and 13011 (1736 and 1747 agreements); S.F.B.N. 3 July 1736, 7 Aug. 1737.
9. Defoe, Tour (1742 edn.), II:271; B.O.C.A. 21 Mar. 1744.

the two was heightened after 1742, when changes in their summer routine brought an influx of London talent to Jacob's Well.[1] Bath companies paid short visits to the theatre in the spring and autumn, leaving the summer season to the London players.[2]

The Jacob's Well theatre was never entirely satisfactory, and in 1764 a group of about 50 Bristol theatre-lovers subscribed towards shares in a new theatre in King Street, modelled on Drury Lane. The theatre, which cost £5,000, opened in 1766, and Jacob's Well was abandoned.[3] After the first and successful year problems emerged, and when the two favourite actor-managers Powell and Holland both died suddenly, instability ensued which lasted until Palmer of Bath took over in 1778.[4] The Bath group commuted between the two towns throughout the year, whereas the London managers had only used the theatre in summer and discouraged its use at other times lest the market for plays be over-supplied. In the winters of 1772-4 this monopoly was challenged by a company at the Coopers' Hall, gaining prosecution by the Corporation and four £50 fines.[5] The affair raised awkward questions about the legal status of the King Street theatre. In 1773 a royal patent was sought unsuccessfully, but a second effort in 1778 succeeded.[6]

The furore in 1772-4 suggests that the Corporation generally managed to keep out itinerant players, apart from occasional one-man shows, sometimes licensed by a tolerant mayor, and the fairtime

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1. S. Rosenfeld, Strolling Players (Cambridge, 1939), pp.45, 176-7, 201-15, 237.
2. E.g. B.O. 31 Oct. 1747; B.W.I. 28 Mar. 1752.
3. Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire, I:63-78, 189-239, esp. 192-3; K. Barker, 'The Theatre Royal, Bristol', in McGrath, Bristol, pp.63-88.
4. Ibid., pp.68-73.
5. B.J. 24 Oct. 1772, 13 Nov. 1773, 22 Jan. 1774; F.F.B.J. 23 Jan. 1773.
6. See pp.242-3.

pantomimes and puppets.[1] Bristolians may have seen plays in nearly villages which were frequently visited by roving troupes.[2] If the Corporation was hostile, however, we should not expect much publicity from minor companies, although this in itself would depress their audiences.[3]

There is much less evidence to indicate public interest in the pictorial arts after 1700. Bristolians who wished to see collections of paintings had generally to visit London or great houses,[4] or haunt the growing number of household auctions and brokers' warehouses.[5] But Bristol, and the Hotwells in particular, attracted some itinerant artists and print-sellers who displayed their wares publicly[6] and many more entrepreneurs with models of famous buildings and places, or spectacular exhibits incorporating artistic elements.[7] The most important artistic influence probably came from the prints displayed in the windows both of bookshops and, by 1775, of art and print shops.[8] Here investment in domestic art encouraged public display, and the same might be said for architecture. The decades after 1700 saw a major reshaping of Bristol's appearance, as neo-classical housing was built and many old properties given classical facades or

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1. Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:241; p.199.
2. T. Clark, Drama in Gloucestershire (1928); A. Hare, Georgian Theatre in Wessex (1975); Kirkman (ed.), Macklin Memoirs, vol. I: J. Bernard, Retrospections of the Stage (2 vols., Boston, 1832), I:25-31, II:2ff.
3. E.g. C. Clarke, A Narrative of the Life (1755), pp.239-40.
4. B.C.L. 20095, 18 May 1780; Bevan-Naish 1227, fos.81, 102; R.G. Sullivan, Observations made during a Tour (1780), pp.94-5.
5. B.P.B. 25 Apr. 1713 (auction); B.J. 3 Dec. 1774 (Sketchley).
6. B.O. 2 Sept. 1749 (Wilson); B.W.I. 23 Sept. 1752 (McGuire); F.F.B.J. 10 Aug. 1754 (Vispré). (Usually free, but 1s admission for glass paintings, B.J. 27 May 1752).
7. See p.185, n.5; B.O.C.A. 3 Dec. 1743 to 11 Feb. 1744 (Versailles); B.J. 3 Dec. 1774.
8. See p.218.

features.[1] After 1725 architects were attracted to settle in Bristol, and local masons and carvers adopted new techniques from them, and from the many architectural handbooks.[2]

I argued in Chapter 3 that although the establishment of printing locally in 1695 led to a brief flurry of literary activity, it was only after 1750 that production expanded, stimulated by the literary content of newspapers and the opportunity they offered for minor composition. Poetry and fiction played a more prominent part in bookselling and reading tastes thereafter. Literary expansion, moreover, stimulated interest in the other arts, which were a frequent theme of essays and poems;[3] reviews of drama and music were appearing regularly by the 1760s.[4] By then Bristol boasted a literary circle around Hannah More, which had several links with the aspiring literati around Chatterton.[5]

The Polite Arts

The increase in artistic activity was heavily dependent on the emergence of 'polite society'. The coffee-houses were literary centres in the 1760s, when Robert Collins became notorious for 'scribbling' at the Assembly Coffee-house.[6] The adjacent Assembly

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1. Gomme et al., Bristol; Ison, Buildings; C.F.W. Dening, The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bristol (Bristol, 1923); N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol (Harmondsworth, 1959); Ward, 'Speculative Building'.
2. See p.207.
3. See pp.208-9.
4. See pp.208-9; 'Theatrical Remonstrancer' (F.F.B.J. 20 June 1767 on); music in e.g. F.F.B.J., 22 Oct. 1770, 22 Mar. 1771, 23 Jan. and 20 Feb. 1772.
5. Roberts, Memoirs of More; Meyerstein, Chatterton; B.C.L. 1565; B.I.B.M., III:26; T.C.M., II (1770), 105, 552, 664. More's works were constantly praised: F.F.B.J. 15 Mar., 31 May 1766, 15 Aug. 1767, 15-22 May, 23 Oct. 1773, 21 May, 23 July 1774; B.J. 29 May, 10 and 31 July, 2 Oct. 1773; 6-13 Aug. 1774, 22-29 Apr. 1775.
6. F.F.B.J. 12 Oct. 1765 and B.J. 2 Nov. 1765 on. Cf. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, fos.153-8 ('Nokes' composing over coffee fumes).

Room, imposing externally and lavishly decorated inside, offered a suitably elevated setting for balls and concerts, graced, by 1778, with up to a hundred coaches on concert nights.[1] The assemblies gave employment to local musicians, and bred an interest in learning to dance, sing and play music which was met, and further fostered, by a growing number of teachers of fashionable skills. Although such teaching was at first undertaken by local organists,[2] by the 1740s full-time dancing masters were settling locally, and by 1775 there were also two full-time music masters, as well as part-time teachers and itinerants.[3] Their publicity appealed chiefly to young ladies,[4] but the best boys' schools also had dancing masters, and amateur male musicians joined in private balls and music evenings.[5] Catch-singing was popular among the Bristol elite after 1750.[6]

The Hotwells provided a summertime focus. Music was played daily at the Pumproom, and on river boat-parties. Breakfast parties with dances were supplemented by occasional breakfast concerts, and evening balls twice a week. During the 1750s the Vauxhall Gardens offered concerts almost every evening.[7] London and Bath musicians were attracted to play in the regular bands or to offer concerts and teach music,[8] and the same was true of itinerant painters. The countryside

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1. See p.167; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:241.
2. E.g. Nelme Rogers: P/C.W.A. All Sts., 1715 on; Redcl., 1728-73; B.A.O. 04026, 1729-47 (room off Guildhall); B.A.O. AC/JS/15/21-3(1723) and 29/22 (1723-5); C. Wesley's Journal, p.140; B.W.I. 22 Sept. 1750.
3. See p.46; Directory, E. Sharp and W. Attwood; F.F.B.J. 15 Oct. 1768 (Saladin).
4. B.W.I. 10 Dec. 1757 (Combes); F.F.B.J. 6 Sept. 1755 (Putti).
5. B.J. 27 Apr. 1771 (Glendoning); B.I.B.M., I:161; B.G. 28 Nov. 1771, F.F.B.J. 7 Dec. 1771; B.J. 20 Aug. 1774; pp.187, 206 n.3.
6. B.I.B.M. I:165; B.C.L. 21952; R. Broderip, A Collection of Duets (Bristol, 1795).
7. See pp.168-9; Owen, Observations, p.27; F.F.B.J. 18 Aug. 1764.
8. E.g. Merchi: Oracle 17 Apr. 1742, F.F.B.J. 2 Feb. 1757, 1 July 1775; B.J. 15 Aug. 1767.

around the Wells was often painted and engraved, for example by Thomas Smith of Derby, who died at the Hotwells.[1] Above all the spa life attracted literary interest. As at other spas, Hotwells visitors produced introspective, satirical writings, often involving nearby Bath.[2] While much of this work bore little relation to Bristol, some Bristolians took up the subject of fashionable society, for example in the anonymous The Celebrated Beauties of 1720, while the Hotwells audience offered customers and patrons for local writers.[3] Contemporaries believed that the presence of the Hotwells had a major effect in bringing the polite arts to Bristol.[4] The clearest case might seem to be the theatre. From 1704, when the Hotwells was becoming established as a summer resort, the main season for dramatic entertainment was the summer. The St Augustine's Back site was on the road to the Hotwells, and at that stage many Hotwells visitors lodged on nearby College Green. Jacob's Wells perched midway between the town and the spa. The new theatre of 1766 was nearly built near College Green, and when a patent for a theatre was sought in 1773 the first argument listed was the presence of the Hotwells audience.[5] Supporters of the stage claimed that it would teach the young how to conduct themselves fashionably. Trade rivals would mingle sociably and 'polish off the rust acquired by close application to business', a notion mirroring the Assembly Room motto 'Curas Cithara tollit'.[6]

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1. F.F.B.J. 19 Aug. 1758 (Bruckmer), 12 Sept. 1767 (Smith); Bristol Scenery 1714-1858 (Bristol City Museum, 1962).
2. E.g. Clark (ed.), Aubrey's Brief Lives, I:404; Characters at the Hotwell (1724); J. Wynter, Les Badinages de Mons. Wynter (1744); Bristol Wells; Register of Folly.
3. N.C. Drollery, p.40; Celebrated Beauties; Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, fos.150-2; Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire, esp. pp.334-41.
4. Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:241; F.F.B.J. 25 July 1772 on 'mushroom poets' at Hotwells.
5. Jour. House of Commons, XXXIV (1773), pp.90, 178.
6. F.F.B.J. 5 Aug. 1758, 13 Aug. 1763, 7 July 1764; B.J. 1 Aug. 1767; Jones, Clifton, p.41; Combe, Philosopher, I:62-3; Barrett, History, pp.100-1.

In The Squire in his Chariot (1775), the nouveau riche merchant Insolent and his wife ostentatiously support assemblies, concerts and plays to buttress their shaky claim to gentility. The social statement involved in running a coach, to which the title refers, also involved the arts since coaches were lavishly decorated.[1] The social significance of the late hours kept by artistic patrons, and the siting of artistic events, has been discussed above, while Peter Borsay has brought out the social implications behind classical architecture.[2] Bristol literature was heavily influenced by the notion of the writer as a gentleman of leisure, exploring gentlemanly themes, notably the pastoral ideal.[3]

The importance of gentility to those organizing musical events became clear during the row over rival subscription concerts. The Linley camp portrayed themselves as a group of gentlemen, opposed by 'low tradesmen'. When their rivals' oratorio was badly mismanaged they gleefully observed that no more could have been expected of 'a set of tradesmen' unaccustomed to 'transactions of that nature'.[4] Their opponents singled out an attempt to monopolize a leading soloist, claiming this was an act of dishonour unworthy of either supporters or performers in an art such as music.[5] At the centre of the controversy stood the pewterer Henry Burgum, whose pretensions to gentility Chatterton exploited. James Thistlethwaite half-ironically dedicated his satire The Consultation to Burgum, who replied with a pamphlet which he offered gratis, while pointing out that he could

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1. Combe, Philosopher, II:80; B.A.O. E.P./J/2/1/(16), Inv. of E. Crane.
2. See pp.132, 148, 162; Borsay, 'Culture, Status and Landscape'.
3. E.g. N.B., The Royal Conqueress (Bristol, 1704), 'To candid reader'; Combe, Clifton, dedication. See p.151 for pastoral poetry.
4. B.G. 19 Nov. 1772, 25 Nov. 1773; F.F.B.J. 2 Oct., 4 Dec. 1773, 7 May 1774; B.J. 21 Nov. 1772; B.G. 7-14 Apr. 1774.
5. F.F.B.J. 20-27 Nov., 18 Dec. 1773; B.G. 23 Dec. 1773.

only afford to print 500. Burgum was eventually bankrupted by his neglect of business for the arts, and was thereafter supported by benefit concerts on his behalf.[1]

The indelible link between gentility and the arts is evident in the constant discussion of the arts' role in a commercial city. Bristolian satirists, from Nicholas Crutwell in his Bristol Drollery (1674) to Chatterton and beyond, joined aristocratic visitors in pouring scorn on the notion that trading citizens could appreciate the arts. Though some admitted that Bristolians did seek to imitate the artistic involvement of their betters, they saw this as a matter for ridicule.[2] In his Philosopher in Bristol (1775), William Combe employed the notion of 'sentiment' to restate the classical idea of the 'artist' as a detached observer of the world, while the trader saw everything in terms of money and industry. Many ballads and fables set in Bristol centred on the rival claims of interest and sensibility in marriage.[3] Often the discussion merely stereotyped the bourgeois as philistine, but others recognized a tension between the sober virtues needed for business success and the strong attractions of artistic diversion. They also saw the dangers to a society dependent on credit and reputation of the misuse of fiction and satire. Seeing the arts as sensual in their appeal, they feared their power over

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1. Complete Chatterton, I:316; Thistlethwaite, Consultation (1775 edn), p.6; H. Burgum, A Narrative of Facts (Bristol 1775); F.F.B.J. 7-14 Jan., 4-11 Feb. 1775; B.G. 19 Jan. 1775; Meyerstein, Chatterton, pp.147-50.
2. N.C. Drollery, preface, dedication and p.37; A. Pope, Correspondence, ed. G. Sherburn (5 vols., Oxford 1956), IV:204-5; Huth (ed.), Narrative, p.158; Letters of H. Walpole, ed. P. Toynbee (16 vols., Oxford, 1903-5), X:245-7; Complete Chatterton, I:453, 465-6, 524, 540-2.
3. Combe, Philosopher, I:16, 26-7, 49, 94, 103 and II:49, 70; F.F.B.J. 21 Feb. 1767; B.M.B.J. 29 Oct. 1774; B.J. 20 Dec. 1775; T.C.M. I (1769), 409, II (1770), 31, 37, 425, IV (1772), 259, V (1773), 305; Roxburghe Ballads, ed. J.W. Ebsworth (9 vols., Hertford, 1871-99), II:86; III:304, 863; VI:159-61, 429, 441-3, VII:539, VIII:164.

those weak in reason, particularly the young, who lacked the experience to balance industry and recreation.[1] The folly of apprentices and servants could ruin masters and undermine future prosperity. The debate over the theatre centred on these issues, and those who opposed it were able to deploy a powerful battery of social arguments.[2]

Although some, both inside and outside Bristol, questioned the compatibility of commerce and the arts, others stressed their complementary nature. The fullest case appeared in A.S. Catcott's sermon to the Merchant Venturers on the Antiquity and Honourableness of the Practice of Merchandize (1744). He underlined the dependence of all the arts on surplus wealth from commerce. The road to civilization was built by the trading cities. This did not necessarily prove that the merchant could spend his wealth properly, but Catcott argued that his cosmopolitan contacts and time for leisure were at least as conducive to the arts as the lifestyle of landed gentlemen. Wealth could buy education, and the industrious would achieve a healthy balance of work and diversion. Catcott claimed that skilled craftsmen and retailers of expensive goods also developed refined tastes. Each generation in the eighteenth century claimed that Bristolians had at last learnt how 'to unite merchandise with learning',[3] while many critics of the actual behaviour of Bristolians had a mental model of 'good' traders who were aesthetically

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1. F.B.N. 26 Nov. 1726; Oracle 10 July 1742; F.F.B.J. 10-17 Jan. 1756, 23 Mar. 1771, 23 Jan. 1773; A. Bedford, The Great Abuse of Music (1711); idem, The Temple Musick (Bristol, 1706), pp.220-9; T.C.M. IV (1772), 314-5; Combe, Philosopher, II:9, 29, 42-5, 57; Bath and Bristol Mag., iv.
2. A. Bedford, A Serious Remonstrance (1719), p.29; F.F.B.J. 13 Aug. 1763; B.J. 16 Jan. 1773; Bristol Theatre (Bristol, 1766), p.5.
3. Goldwin, Description, p.1; F.F.B.J. 7 July 1764, 19 Sept. 1767, 12 Sept. 1772, 16 Sept. 1775; Jones, Clifton, p.29; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:241; Shiercliff, Guide (4th edn, 1794), p.106.

discerning, whether it was the merchants of contemporary London or Chatterton's William Canynges.[1]

Tension persisted in Bristol consciousness between industrious frugality and the sociability, generosity and rational relaxation, as well as gentility, associated with the arts. Bristolians eagerly exploited the arts to panegyrize the virtuous and to satirize the wicked and avaricious.[2] They appreciated art's ability to transmute commercial success into valued cultural ideals, as the Sheriff's Counsellor noted in his speech at the opening of the Exchange.[3] Debates took place about the innocence or social danger of each particular art-form until a consensus was established.

The perception of the arts was influenced by Bristol's dependence, like that of other provincial towns, on London and the Continent for professional artists and cultural forms. The arts clearly gained prestige from such associations. Artists and musicians emphasized their exotic or aristocratic credentials;[4] the acting companies claimed royal or noble patronage;[5] and excellence in scenery, costumes and acting was associated with the capital.[6] The most prestigious projects were entrusted to non-Bristolians.[7] Comparisons with London or Bath came naturally to commentators.[8]

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1. J. Macky, A Journey through England (3rd edn., 2 vols., 1732), II:146-7; Defoe, Tour (1742 edn), II:268; R. Savage, London and Bristol Delineated (1743); D.S. Taylor, The Art of Thomas Chatterton (Princeton, 1978). Responses to Savage: B.C.L. 26064, fo.178; O.C.A. 31 Aug. 1745.
2. B.O.C.I. 16 Apr. 1743; F.F.B.J. 18 Jan. 1766; T.C.M., II (1770), 581.
3. Gent's Mag., XII (1743), 496-7. Cf. F.F.B.J. 8 Aug. 1767 (poem of 'S').
4. B.J. 7 Sept. 1765 (Italian painter), 7 Dec. 1775 (Prussian musician).
5. B.P.B. 2 July 1715; B.J. 8-15 Mar. 1766.
6. B.O. 2 Sept. 1749; F.F.B.J. 27 Aug. 1757, 28 Sept. 1765; B.J. 11-18 June 1774.
7. E.g. Wood of Bath, the Exchange; Rysbrack: see p.229, n.1; Hogarth: see p.234, n.2.
8. See n.1; Goldwin, Description; Jones, Clifton.

Bristol could not provide an ambitious artist with a successful commercial career, as musicians like violinists Richards and Kingsbury, or writers like Chatterton discovered, and so provincials grew accustomed to associating excellence with outsiders.[1] For this very reason, however, one cannot read into the demand for metropolitan and cosmopolitan art a simple desire to imitate a fashionable elite. William Goldwin's Poetical Description of Bristol of 1712 argued that newly polite Bristol had become a second London (in all but vice), but his poem was intended as proof that Bristol could now produce its own culture, direct from classical sources. The actor Bernard noted that Bristol audiences were proud of their independent judgement,[2] and actors took great care to cultivate local favour.[3] Goldwin's reference to vice offers a muted example of a common distrust of 'luxury', with which much outside art was associated. Essays denounced the corruption of English (particularly aristocratic) taste by the French or Italians, playing on both nationalist and bourgeois prejudices, and several troupes performing in the city advertised that they were from allied Protestant nations.[4]

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1. Richards was a chorister (D.C./A/9/1/9, 1743-51) and instrument-maker (Burgess, 16 May 1753), often playing at concerts (B.W.I. 3 May 1757) but based in Bath by the 1760s, where he died (F.F.B.J. 27 Jan. 1770). Kingsbury: B.J. 14 May 1774; B.M.B.J. 18 Mar. 1775; B.J. 2 Mar. 1775; Hooper, 'Survey', p.108. Painters: e.g. T. Redmond (App. 5 Oct. 1748 to Simmons, in D.N.B.); N. Pocock: W. Minchinton's articles in South Carolina Hist. Mag., LXV (1964), 87-97, and LXIX (1969), 97-103; John Simmons: p.222 n.1. Writers: Complete Chatterton, I:560-3 and Meyerstein, Chatterton, for Fowler, Cary, Thistlethwaite, etc.
2. Bernard, Retrospections, II:9-10.
3. See pp.199, 212.
4. B.W.I. 22 Sept. 1750; Tucker, Brief Essay, pp.145, 155; B.O.C.I. 16 Apr. 1743; O.C.A. 1 Feb. 1746; F.F.B.J. 5 Jan., 28 Sept. 1754; B.J. 26 Apr. 1766; T.C.M., III (1771), 433.

The Bristol Audience

By stressing outside influences, including the role of the Hotwells, it is all too easy to reinforce the contemporary feeling that artistic activity was alien to Bristol. Apart from the questions this assumption begs about forms of art other than commercial performance, it underestimates the active Bristol component in the promotion and consumption of the arts. The Hotwells clientele were important, but many musicians, showmen and actors visited Bristol in the winter,[1] when assemblies and concerts were most common. London actors could only visit in the summer, since this was their off-season, but by the 1770s there was a strong demand for regular winter theatre.[2] Most publicity was aimed at the city audience rather than people further afield. Although some plays were sponsored by Hotwells visitors, more were requested by Bristol merchants or groups such as freemasons.[3] The actors' efforts to persuade Bristolians that the theatre and the city had mutual interests would be inexplicable if Bristolians did not predominate in the audience.[4] Finance for theatres and assembly rooms came entirely from Bristolians such as the cabinet-maker and auctioneer Roger Watts. Their predominant motive appears to have been a desire for better artistic facilities, as a tontine share scheme was used for Princes Street and the chief benefit which the King Street shareholders received (and used assiduously) was

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1. F.F.B.J. 1 Jan. 1763 (Wilkinson); B.J. 10 Feb. 1768 (Stevens); B.O.C.A. 12 Feb. 1743 (Lashly), 19 Nov. 1743 (Knerler).
2. See p.189.
3. Publicity: Kirkman (ed.), Macklin Memoirs, I:57; F.B.N., 26 Nov. 1726; B.O.C.I. 9 July 1743; B.J. 23 July 1772; playbills in B.C.L. 7976-7, 13011; B.C.L. 11204. Hotwells: F.B.N. 9 July 1726, B.W.I. 15 June 1751. Merchants: e.g. B.P.B. 27 Aug. 1715; O.C.A. 17 Aug. 1745. Masons: e.g. O.C.A. 4 July 1747; F.F.B.J. 29 Mar. 1755, 17 Mar. 1770.
4. B.C.L. 7976 (1705 Prologue and Epilogue), 25947; O.C.A. 30 Aug. 1746; W. Meyler (ed.), Poetical Amusements (Bath, 1806), p.36; p.199, n.2. Items with a Bristol appeal, e.g. F.F.B.J. 25 Aug. 1759; B.G. 25 June 1772; B.J. 27 Aug. 1774, 9 Sept. 1775.

free entrance to plays.[1] Many of the most discerning patrons of architecture and the fine arts were Bristolian merchants and manufacturers, not 'pseudogentry', although some, like the Innys/Cossins family at Redland Court, combined Bristol ties with extensive London contacts.[2]

Visiting artists often found Bristolians generous customers and patrons, despite the complaints of Savage, Chatterton and others.[3] At least two actors, Roscoe and Winstone, won such favour with local audiences that they settled in Bristol.[4] Macklin, darling of the Bristol stage in the 1720s and '30s, saw no reason to leave until he could break into the London theatre in 1737, because he received as much money and honour in Bristol as he could expect anywhere but London.[5] Johnson's Life of Savage generally vindicates Bristolians, while Chatterton had placed himself in an impossible position by his Rowley forgeries. Nevertheless, if Bristolians were as generous to the arts as other provincial citizens, it is still possible that their support came from a minority of the elite who were interested in gentility. Unfortunately we can only discover the nature of audiences from stray references and inferential argument about access to and interest in the arts.

Admission prices must have excluded many Bristolians from artistic events, although this element is more important for music and drama than literature and the pictorial arts. Music was most socially

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1. B.C.L. 7947, fo.127; P.R.O. Prob. 3/47/56; Latimer, 18C, p.62; Jenkins, Memoirs, p.70; B.C.L. 7976-77; B.A.O. 8978 (1a) and 8976(15); B.C.L. 6523, fo.133; Barker, 'Theatre Royal', p.70.
2. See K. Eustace (ed.), Michael Rysbrack (Bristol City Museum, 1982).
3. See p.195, n.2; G. Parker, A View of Society (2 vols., 1781), II:260.
4. Roscoe: B.C.L. 11204, 31 Aug. 1747; O.C.A. 17 Aug. 1745, 29 Aug. 1747; F.F.B.J. 17 Apr. 1756. Winstone: B.C.L. 7976; B.J. 30 July 1774; B.M.B.J. 12 Aug. 1774; B.G. 17 Aug. 1775; F.F.B.J. 7 Oct. 1775.
5. Kirkman (ed.), Macklin Memoirs, I:57-71, esp. 70.

exclusive, as tickets to concerts or balls usually cost 2s 6d each, until the late 1760s, when the price rose slightly.[1] Hotwells concerts and oratorios regularly cost 5s.[2] Concerts by itinerant soloists often cost only 2s,[3] but even this was high compared to other shows, and there are no references to cut-price admission.

Subscriptions offered better value. In 1771 the Linley scheme involved 12 concerts fortnightly for only one guinea, and each ticket covered a gentleman and two ladies or a lady with another lady. But the price was almost certainly too low, as only eight concerts were actually given; by 1774 the cost had increased to 2 guineas for eight concerts.[4] Subscription was still cheaper if one attended every event, but an initial outlay of several guineas at once would be impossible for many who might have afforded a single ticket.

Theatre prices were more complicated, as most theatres offered tickets at several prices. Even the puppet shows in 1726 had seat prices from 3d to 1s.[5] The Stokes Croft performance of The Beggar's Opera about 1730 cost 2s in the pits and 1s in the gallery.[6] Thereafter prices ranged from 1s to 1s 6d in the galleries up to 3s or 4s in the box seats.[7] At Jacob's Well servants of those in the boxes were allowed in the upper gallery free, and until 1778 the main theatres allowed half-price entry after three acts of the main play, although this concession was cancelled if the supporting farce or pantomime was particularly attractive.[8] By 1775 subscriptions were

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1. F.F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1767 (rise to 3s).
2. F.B.N. 9 July 1726; F.F.B.J. 28 June, 20 Dec. 1755.
3. E.g. Nowell: B.O. 10 Jan. 1747, F.F.B.J. 25 July 1767.
4. F.F.B.J. 9 Nov. 1771; B.G. 12 Mar. 1772; B.J. 7 Nov. 1772, 30 Oct. 1773, 3 Dec. 1774.
5. F.B.N. 17 Dec. 1726.
6. B.C.L. 4531, fo.257.
7. B.C.L. 11204; F.F.B.J. 29 Mar. 1755, B.J. 13 June 1767, 3 June 1775.
8. Watts, Theatrical, p.42; Barker, 'Theatre Royal', pp.68-72; B.J. 2 July 1768.

available for the first 24 nights of the King Street season, before the benefits, at 2 or 2½ guineas. There was an active market, licit and illicit, in the silver tickets allowing shareholders free entry.[1]

The price differential affected the composition of the audience. In 1768 'Philogelos' assumed that apprentices, servants and lesser manufacturers would occupy the gallery, the inferior order of merchants, shopkeepers, traders and attorneys the pits, and gentlemen of fortune and eminence the boxes.[2] The gallery element was associated with rowdy behaviour. The occasional riots at the theatre[3] contrast with the decorous tradition of concerts, although publicity for both stressed elegance and gentility.[4] Every effort was made to enlarge the superior seating at the theatres. The Jacob's Well theatre had too few box and pit seats - at one average performance there were 72 in the boxes, 46 in the pit and about 150-200 in the galleries. The King Street theatre was much larger and more luxuriously furnished - it may have held 415 box seats, 500 pit seats and about 800 in the galleries when it opened - although all these figures depend on shaky financial estimates.[5] Concert audiences were almost certainly smaller, except for the grand oratorios. 'Upwards of sixty gentlemen' subscribed at once to the Linley series, while discussions of the finances later suggest a total of 170 subscribers.[6] The theatre was less exclusive than music in other respects.

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1. B.C.L. 6523, fo.133; B.J. 23 June 1770, 20 June 1772; B.G. 12 Nov. 1772; F.F.B.J. 20 May 1775.
2. B.C.L. 4531, fo.259.
3. Nicholls and Taylor, Bristol, II:201; p.203 n.4.
4. Concerts: B.G. 28 Nov. 1771, 7 Apr. 1774. Theatre: T. Wilkinson, Memoirs of the Stage (4 vols, York, 1790), III:112-3; O.C.A. 30 Aug. 1746, 29 Aug. 1747.
5. B.C.L. 11204, 24 June 1747; Barker, 'Theatre Royal', pp.67-8; The Consequences of a New Theatre (Bristol, 1765), p.33; B.G. 18 Mar. 1773.
6. F.F.B.J. 9 Nov. 1771, 7 Nov. 1772; B.G. 7 Nov. 1771, 12 Mar. 1772.

Expectations of dress and behaviour must have deterred many from concerts and balls. Jacob's Well was 'open' in several senses. Its isolated position meant that servants had to be admitted free lest they caused mischief outside, and a crowd of spectators on the hill opposite could gaze at the show and the audience freely.[1] The move to King Street solved this problem, but made access easier and quicker. Critics were convinced that the lower classes would rush to the theatre, particularly young apprentices and servants.[2] We know that many apprentices in Chatterton's circle were stage-struck, but not whether their amateur drama supplemented theatre attendance or compensated for inability to attend.[3]

Ordinary tradesmen and craftsmen did attend the theatre. The Coopers' Company were present en masse to expel troublemakers during the Coopers' Hall season, although they had special reason to attend.[4] Annually from the 1740s the freemasons attended in regalia a special performance with masonic songs and verses.[5] Most masons came from middling occupations, and some of the actors' appeals were to this clientele, comparing themselves to shopkeepers offering dramatic wares.[6] Some tradesmen responded acerbically that actors expected ready money, leaving honest tradesmen even less likely to see their customers' money.[7] The only individuals whom we can trace attending plays and concerts are those who took shares or organized

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1. Watts, Bristol, pp.42-4.
2. H. Owen, Two Centuries of Ceramic Art (Gloucester, 1873), p.108; B.J. 21 June and 5 July 1766, 29 Jan. 1774.
3. Meyerstein, Chatterton, pp.100-3.
4. B.J. 16 Jan. 1773. F.F.B.J. 4 Aug. 1764 refers to a benefit filled by 'all ranks of people in the city'.
5. See p.199.
6. E.g. F.F.B.J. 7 June 1766.
7. F.F.B.J. 7 June and 23 Aug. 1766.

performances,[1] occupied box seats at King Street[2] or hired coaches to attend events in the 1770s.[3] Such sources highlight the affluent, and only cover the decades after 1760. The most interesting fact to emerge is that, although the merchant elite were important patrons, they were joined by large numbers of trading and professional men, such as grocers, distillers, drapers, manufacturers, customs and military officers, doctors and lawyers. No doubt these were the most affluent members of these occupations, but the cultural elite was clearly widely spread. Patrons of the pictorial arts came from similar backgrounds, for example the merchant-tailor Fortunatus Hagley,[4] or the four attorneys, two linen drapers, wine merchant and shipwright who sat for the painter Simmons in 1773 at the artificially high price of £10 each.[5] Active literary figures included a number of revenue officers.[6] Both the linen draper John Peach and the distiller Michael Clayfield were noted for their cultivated tastes, although like most commercial men they produced no major literature themselves.[7]

The contrast between support for the arts and active contribution was even more marked in the case of women. Women occupied many of the King Street box seats; Miss Elton was a well-known patroness of the

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1. B.G. 25 Nov. 1773; p.200, n.1.
2. B.I.B.M., I:55, 151-2; Smith, Infirmary, pp.429-39; B.C.L. 7977 (plan for 9 Aug. 1773).
3. P.R.O. C/104/139-40.
4. Bodl. MS Mus D.32, fos.v-vi; B.I.B.M., III:198; F.F.B.J. 4 July 1761.
5. B.C.L. 25813, fo.7.
6. J. Sansom: Congreve Letters, ed. J.C. Hodges (1964), pp.19, 47. J. Burroughs: J. Evans, Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol (Bristol, 1824), p.258. R. Collins: see pp.191, 230 n.2. The poet R. Jenkins was a solicitor, then a customs official: B.C.L. 7976; Bristol Memorialist (1823), p.219; Jenkins, Memoirs, pp.50, 91.
7. Peach (a friend of More): F.F.B.J. 24 Sept. 1774. Clayfield: Complete Chatterton, I:393. Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fos.153-8 is by a clerk called Watkins.

actresses.[1] Musical subscriptions encouraged female attendance, and although shareholders and committee members were all men, the female viewpoint was occasionally expressed.[2] The growing emphasis on genteel female education in the eighteenth century included schoolgirls attending plays and holding recitals.[3] Hannah More emerged from this setting. From the early 1760s the Mores' school was a literary centre, and her first play was for performance at such schools. Aided by her patroness Mrs Gwatkin, and influential male friends, she achieved local renown and then national attention.[4] Her success must have encouraged the literary women she knew in Bristol, who included several Quakers and a circle around Charles Wesley.[5]

Such artistic activity by women attracted considerable criticism. A newspaper article, possibly by Hannah More, satirized both male grumbling at women who left their needles and cooking books, and female gossip about unnatural women who were displaying both undue forwardness and artful wiles in using intellect to make up for want of real femininity.[6] But in her juvenile production The Search after Happiness More herself revealed more serious reservations about female creativity. She stressed the priority of marriage and motherhood and the demands of virtue and Christianity, admitting that women should seek not personal creativity but a polished talent for cultivating and

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1. See p.204, n.2, esp. B.I.B.M., I:151-2.
2. Most subscriptions admitted two ladies per male subscriber. See B.W.I. 14 Oct. 1749; F.F.B.J. 30 Oct. 1762.
3. Powell, English Child, p.123; F.F.B.J. 9 Nov. 1754, 15 Feb. 1755; Robinson, Memoirs, I:16; Bevan-Naish 1227, fo.84; B.J. 28 May 1768.
4. See p.191; Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire, pp.437-90.
5. Bevan-Naish 1227, fos.68, 75, 84-6; R. Young, Mrs. Chapman's Portrait (Bath, 1926), pp.78-90; M. Dudley, Life (Bristol, 1825), pp.6-8. Earlier female 'wits': N.C. Drollery, p.103; Gent's Mag., XV (1745), 495 and XVII (1747), 289; B.W.I. 17 Feb. 1750; F.F.B.J. 21 Dec. 1754, 7 July 1764.
6. B.J. 2 July 1768, responding to such attacks as F.F.B.J. 5 Mar. 1768.

appreciating male literary worth.[1] Female writing is almost all concerned with sentiment or education, except in religion, where Quaker and Methodist women in particular found a voice.[2]

The social groups most active in both supporting and producing artistic activity were the professions. Dr Francis Woodward, a keen lover of both music and literature, was only the most outstanding of a cultivated medical community. Woodward's polished manners won him a Hotwells clientele, but others neglected their practice for their hobbies.[3] Clergymen and schoolmasters were equally active in the arts.[4] This reflected both the continued role of music and literature in their vocations, discussed below, and their education.

Despite the contention in Chapter 2 that the primary purpose of education was not to promote personal taste and intellect, education clearly helped to shape cultural patterns. The Bristol clergyman Arthur Bedford distinguished between music appealing to the uneducated from that which was intended for the literate and musically trained.[5] Literature was still so indebted to classical themes that some knowledge of the ancients was considered necessary before contacting the Muses.[6] Chatterton veered erratically between regret at lacking the classics and proud defiance of literary snobbery.[7] The adoption of 'medievalist verse' may have helped him and others to overcome this

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1. Cf. More, Essays, pp.15-19, 178.
2. See p.205, n.5.
3. Woodward: B.I.B.M., I:125; C. Welsh, A Bookseller of the Last Century (1881), p.142; F.F.B.J. 2 Apr. 1774. Cf. B.I.B.M., I:161-5 (Smith); I:55 (Ford); II:846-7 (Noble) and 1012 (Paul); IV:140 (Goldwyer) and 166 (Cox); and for T. Skone, ibid., II:708-12, B.C.L. 1564, fo.143, 1565; Bodl. G.A. Glos. B4a, no.77; F.F.B.J. 8 Mar. 1766. French: B.C.L. 26064, fo. 182, F.F.B.J. 13 July 1754. Simpson: B.C.L. 956. Barrett: T.C.M., III (1771), 697; B.C.L. 4531, fo.281.
4. See p.235 for clergy and p.207, n.3, schoolmasters.
5. Bedford, Great Abuse, pp.61-5, 132-5, 171-2.
6. Writers were often accused of insufficient learning, e.g. O.C.A. 19 Nov. 1748; F.F.B.J. 5-12 Mar. 1768.
7. Complete Chatterton, I:519-20.

sense of inferiority, although, like Gothicism generally, it only substituted another snobbery.[1] The triumph of classicism over the vernacular compelled the mason and carpenter who wished to be his own master to study the new pattern books, if not Palladian principles. Apprenticeship survived, but was supplemented by theory. Stephen Stringer, an upholsterer's son who began business around 1759 as a carver, gilder and upholsterer, had copied by hand the text and illustrations of Kirby's two volume Method of Perspective between 1754 and 1757.[2]

The grammar school was best equipped to introduce children to the arts, at least in literature and theatre, because of the classical diet and the methods of verse composition and oratory. Both Goldwin and Catcott published poetry before teaching at the City school, and between 1712 and 1743 they encouraged versifying in Greek, Latin and English. Catcott published the visitation verses in 1737, which include poems by young Francis Woodward, and the prolific poet Emmanuel Collins revered Catcott as his mentor.[3] The Corporation banned the school play Catcott organized in 1739, but two plays were staged in 1773-4, and enthusiastically reviewed as ideal training for young men of fortune intended for 'the senate, the pulpit or the bar'.[4] Such education, like that offered by the freelance dancing,

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1. For Gothic see Gomme et al., Bristol, pp.163-80.
2. Books: F.B.N. 4 Apr. 1730 (Bickham); B.J. 20 May 1769 (books of J. Jocham, including Vitruvius); W. Halfpenny, Perspective Made Easy (1731) (including Bristol examples); T. Malton, A Compleat Treatise on Perspective (2nd edn., 1778) (c.50 Bristol subscribers, building craftsmen and prosperous citizens). Stringer: Wellcome MS 3110; B.C. 17 May 1760.
3. A.W. Oxford, William Goldwin (Bristol, 1911); B.C.L. 6485 and 6496; Catcott works cited in D.N.B.; Bodl. MS Eng. Poets e 45, fos.16-21; Catcott, Exercises; Bodl. G.A. Glos. B4a, nos. 328-34, 519-26; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.137-142; F.F.B.J. 3 Aug. 1763; B.M.B.J. 4 Mar. 1775. Collins: p.231, n.4.
4. B.A.O. BMC/2/2, 1687-91; C.V. 1739; B.J. 17 Apr. 1773, 9 Apr. 1774.

music and painting masters, was expensive, and socially exclusive. The young John Bryant, fascinated by perspective, could not develop his talent while minding his father's pipeshop.[1]

It would be misleading to stress the divisive effects of education. Apprenticeship was still the basic means of entry into a career in painting, music or the theatre. Books on the arts divided literate from illiterate, but they offered the humbler literate an opportunity to teach himself, providing short cuts to the classical tradition. The growth in a broad English education lessened the grammar school monopoly, and literature entered the curriculum and the lecture hall as 'elocution'.[2] Both Bryant and Bristol's other 'uneducated poet' (in Southey's phrase), the milkwoman Anne Yearsley, picked up a smattering of the classics from translations and prints.[3] Although they were patronized by those seized with the fashionable vogue for unlettered simplicity, they took every opportunity to educate themselves, both entering the book trade. Few Bristolians outside Hannah More's circle valued 'naive' literature, except in songs and ballads.[4]

This raises the complex issue of the social implications of taste and fashion. In line with the emphasis on 'the polite arts', the key words of taste in eighteenth-century Bristol were 'elegance' and 'curiosity'. In all of the arts there was a remarkable consensus about the best models - almost all contemporary or at least not reaching back before the late seventeenth century (except

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1. See pp.46, 62; Bryant, Verses, pp.vi, xi.
2. See pp.45, 57. Cary attended Jones' elocution classes (T.C.M., III (1771), 353). J. Cottle discovered literature at Henderson's school (Malvern Hills (2 vols., 1829), II:349-65). For the impact of an enthusiastic teacher despite a non-literary curriculum, see Meyerstein, Chatterton, pp.49-51.
3. R. Southey, An Introductory Essay on ... Uneducated Poets (1831); Bryant, Verses, pp.vi, xxxi-xxxv; Yearsley, Poems, preface.
4. Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire, I:152-3, 334-41.

Shakespeare).[1] A naturalistic preference, for a combination of simple realism, stressing art as representation of nature, was combined with a love of ornamentation and richness of materials. In painting this meant a stress on the subject portrayed and the framing, with little sense of artistic styles.[2] In music it meant simple harmonies, but virtuoso playing. Most concerts involved a predictable mixture of vocal and instrumental music, highlighting the solo performance.[3] In the theatre comedy dominated, although melodramatic tragedies with exotic names gained popularity after 1760,[4] and The Beggar's Opera foreshadowed an increased musical component.[5] Shakespeare was already very popular by the 1740s, but his work was often modified.[6] In the theatre as at concerts, serious works were leavened with lighter pieces, such as songs, dancing, farces, pantomimes, or ballad operas.[7] Audiences were wooed on benefit nights by ever more lavish interludes and afterpieces. Although these included elegant dances, arias and scenery, they also involved broad farce, popular songs and 'character

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1. These comments are based on elocution classes and local anthologies, essays and reviews in the papers (see p.191, n.4), descriptions of performances, goods for sale etc. Contemporaries compared styles across the arts, e.g. B.L. Add.MS 4917, fo.113; Complete Chatterton, I:640.
2. See pp.217-8, and paintings for sale, e.g. B.J. 20 Nov. 1756; F.F.B.J. 2 Sept. 1758. Delight in illusion: B.C.L. 20095, 4 July 1782.
3. E.g. Mr. Charles' benefit (B.O.C.I. 24 Dec. 1743) contained pieces for French horns, hautboys, clarionet, violoncello, shalmo and German flute, with overtures by Handel, Geminiani and Kass, the Water Music and the Grand Chorus in Atalanta by Handel, Turkish music and a ball afterwards.
4. The actors were the 'Company of Comedians', e.g. B.O.C.A. 30 July 1743. The popularity of genres has been established from newspaper notices, playbills in B.C.L. 7976-6, 13011; receipts for plays in B.C.L. 11204 (see Table XV). Exotic names: Stedman (ed.), Letters, II:11-12.
5. See p.188; F.F.B.J. 13 Aug. 1761 (Shakespeare with 'original music'), 27 Aug. 1763, B.J. 14 Aug. 1773 (Comus).
6. B.O.C.A. 25 Aug. 1744; B.W.I. 7 July 1750; below, p.244.
7. F.F.B.J. 31 Oct. 1772 a concert subscriber complained of 'counterpoint ballad singing'. Special instruments and child soloists were popular.

dances'.[1] Often the 'curiosity' in such entertainment outweighed the 'elegance'. Consumer demand fostered styles appealing to middle-class, rather than elitist, tastes. Even in literature, where the classical models held greatest sway, the strict conventions, such as the heroic couplet, encouraged ordinary Bristolians to feel that they had the key to poetic composition, seen as a rhetorical gloss on prosaic thoughts.[2] Very ordinary poets were prepared to publish in the local papers, and they had a particular fondness for strict forms such as acrostics. The essay form canonized by the Augustans was also within reach of the modest author.[3]

The transition of an elite fashion into a broadly accessible convention was aided by lowlier forms of entertainment. The 'pure' forms of theatre or concert were the most socially exclusive forms of art. The lighter aspects of these genres formed the core of shows such as rope-dancing or conjuring,[4] while many other shows employed a musician or two.[5] Mechanical models often had a built-in musical mechanism, and exploited tricks of perspective, illusion and rich materials.[6] For both the entrepreneur and the public such multipurpose entertainment offered variety, spreading both the risk and the cost of mounting or attending a specific form of the arts. Such shows were generally cheaper, with easier access and lower

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1. B.O.C.I. 31 Mar. 1744; B.J. 25 July, 18 Aug. 1767, 5 and 19 Aug. 1775.
2. Goldwin, Description, preface, compares poetry to pretty drapery around a picture. Pietists recognised, regretfully, that people liked verse, e.g. Bristol Theatre (Bristol, 1766); Flower Prodigal Son, preface.
3. E.g. former pugilist John Slack, Address; acrostics on 'The Annals of Bristol' in Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, or B.O. 28 Nov. 1747. For earlier delight in wordplay: epitaphs in Barrett, History, e.g. p.546.
4. B.A.O. 04417(3), 1 May 1667, 13 July 1668; F.F.B.J. 9 Dec. 1753 (Maddox); B.W.I. 1 June 1751 (Hornpipe exhibition); B.J. 7 Oct. to 4 Nov. 1775 (Breslaw).
5. Oracle 3 July 1742; F.F.B.J. 22 June 1765.
6. E.g. the Microcosm, shown repeatedly (e.g. B.W.I. 19 Mar. 1757).

expectations in dress and behaviour.[1]

Commerce and Gentility

The threat offered by commercial provision to the gentility of culture helps to explain the role of subscription, dedication, benefit and charity. Although these were means of financing the arts before market forces were strong enough to support public performance, they also modified the social implications of artistic activity which might take on too commercial a cast for public taste.

Many of the recorded concerts and plays were benefit performances, though it is difficult to judge the exact proportion because they were much better publicized than other performances. During the regular summer season at Jacob's Well and King Street, however, almost half the schedule was taken up with benefits. The Jacob's Well accounts 1741-8 show that most of the cast made more on their benefit night than they earned in the whole of the rest of the season, although they might have to bear heavy publicity costs.[2] Not surprisingly benefits became a contentious issue within companies.[3] The effect was to promote dependence on public favour, allowing the public to reward its favourites without destroying the communal traditions of the acting company, or the unsalaried status of the musical leader in a concert series. To sell benefit tickets the performer depended on local supporters, who bought for themselves and used their 'interest' to find other purchasers. Potential patrons expected to be visited, and profuse apologies were printed if such

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1. Mrs. Midnight's Variety 6d to 2s (B.J. 14 Mar. 1767); Adams' pantomime 6d-1s 6d or 2s (B.W.I. 29 Dec. 1750, 18 May 1751).
2. B.C.L. 11204; Rosenfeld, Strolling Players, pp.213-5.
3. B.G. 15 Sept. 1774; B.C.L. 7976 (1764 riot over Winstone benefit).

'personal application' was impossible.[1] Group or civic patronage was engendered by verses or songs praising local benefactors or addressing topical local issues. The manager was expected to do the same for the whole company at the start and close of each season.[2] Hippisley and his daughter cultivated their local ties;[3] in the 1760s William Powell developed an extraordinary rapport with the Bristol audience. His funeral at the Cathedral was a civic event and a fan club recalled his memory.[4] During his years the Bristol papers often carried comments on the running of the theatre.[5] Later managers had to justify their management and choice of plays to a sensitive local audience, who felt that they were the patrons of the stage.[6] Such dependence did not ensure a cordial relationship between actors and public. The actors disdainfully referred to the Bristolians as 'hogs'. When the comedian Saunders had a disappointing benefit night he exploited Bristolian sensitivity to this image by throwing meal and clucking around the streets as if calling pigs. This 'experiment with the pride and generosity' of Bristol worked; his next benefit was packed.[7] But when other actors complained at neglect of their benefit they were tartly reminded that they were the servants of the public, not vice versa.[8]

The literary dedication played a similar role. Application to the Corporation, the Merchant Venturers or another society might

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1. B.C.L. 23802, 29 Mar. 1773 and 20196; B.O.C.A. 10 Mar. 1744; B.M.B.J. 12 Aug. 1775.
2. See p.199; B.J. 21 July, 11 Aug. 1770.
3. Hippisley, Journey, dedication; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.112-3, 120-1; Gent's Mag., XVIII (1748), 92; B.J. 13 Aug. 1768; F.F.B.J. 12 and 19 June 1773.
4. F.F.B.J. 8-15 July 1769, 27 Jan. 1770; B.J. 21 Sept., 16 Nov. 1765, 8-15 July 1769, 26 Oct. 1771, 16 Sept. 1775; Bernard, Retrospections, II:7.
5. E.g. B.J. 8 and 20 June 1765, 20 June 1767.
6. B.J. 6-20 Aug. 1774; F.F.B.J. 23 July 1774; B.M.B.J. 29 July 1775.
7. Bernard, Retrospections, II:9-10; cf. B.J. 20 July 1765.
8. F.F.B.J. 14 and 28 Sept. 1765.

ensure a ready sale, and possibly a donation. This mattered most in expensive and risky ventures such as map publishing. But dedications also supported the frequent claims of authors that they were not publishing for their own profit or glory but only at the request of friends for the public good. When unsolicited such demands for money and protection might amount to blackmail. A system designed for amateurs venturing on a public stage who wished to establish their right to be heard was strained when exploited by professional writers.[1] Itinerant musicians and painters often claimed they had been invited to visit the city, and before their departure thanked those who had honoured them with their custom profusely.[2]

The subscription system also spread the risk of artistic ventures, but subscription lists acted as mass dedications, while the subscriber to a music series gained the social distinction of sharing in the direction of the programme.[3] The disputes over the winter concerts revealed contemporary awareness that pretensions to gentility were important motives for such activity, but one cannot say whether this mattered more or less than the practical advantages of cheaper rates and an assured copy or seat.

Charity also served to establish gentility. Apart from individual benefits for distressed musicians or actors,[4] concerts were held for the Infirmary[5] and for the Sons of the Clergy Feast.[6] Some authors also donated their profits to charity to show that they had no

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1. See pp.123-4, 195 n.1. For attacks on 'hacks', e.g. F.F.B.J. 8-15 Nov. 1766; Complete Chatterton, I:465-6, 515-6, 541-2.
2. F.F.B.J. 16 Oct. 1756 (Vispré), B.J. 7 Dec. 1765 (Ritter).
3. B.O. 15 Oct. 1748; F.F.B.J. 11 Sept. 1762; B.J. 23 Oct. 1773.
4. B.J. 17 Aug. 1765, 14 July 1770, 26 Oct. 1771.
5. B.J. 28 May, 10 Dec. 1774.
6. See p.186 and cf. F.B.N. 14 Sept. 1728; F.F.B.J. 18 Aug. 1764.

pecuniary aims.[1] The Jacob's Well actors also gave charity performances, and the profits from the first night at King Street were ostentatiously donated to the Infirmary.[2] As their opponents were well aware, this legitimized the theatre, placing its supporters in the tradition of both civic and genteel charity. The use of the term 'liberal' to describe these arts carried heavy connotations of benevolence. 'Philogelos' ironically predicted that nobody would inform against the King Street theatre, for fear of displeasing its 'gay, ingenious and liberal patrons'.[3]

The Household Setting

So far I have concentrated on public artistic performances, and on their eighteenth-century growth. To get a comprehensive sense of the role of art in Bristol life one must set this material in a wider context, and establish whether public performance was replacing other kinds of art, or shared in a general growth in artistic production and consumption. The contrast can never be absolute, since, for example, domestic ownership of prints could affect public access through the spread of print-shops and auctions. Any increase in the number of producers of artistic wares will reflect the demands both of public performance and of private consumption. The ledger of the painter Michael Edkins from 1761 shows that he worked as a scene-painter for the theatre, for various manufacturers decorating pottery, glass, etc., and for householders, as both jobbing painter and artist.[4]

Unfortunately there are no comparable business records for other artistic producers, so that private consumption must be studied mainly

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1. A. Steele, Poems (3 vols., Bristol, 1780); E. Davies, Blaise Castle (Bristol, 1783).
2. F.F.B.J. 12 Mar. 1757, 7 June 1766.
3. Bristol Theatre, p.11; B.G. 23 Dec. 1773; B.C.L. 4531, fo.259.
4. B.C.L. 20196.

through probate inventories, supplemented by newspaper advertisements after 1740, and listings of occupations in apprentice and burgess books or court records, which give a rough guide to the numbers in different trades. None of these sources is entirely satisfactory. We cannot establish how many of the goods bought by Bristolians were produced elsewhere, nor how much of the Bristol production was to meet non-Bristolian demand. Many producers of, and dealers in, artistic products were also involved in more utilitarian business. Eighteenth-century probate material has not survived in quantity except for the richest citizens. The cheapest items, such as smaller instruments, ballads and sheet music, cheap prints or ephemeral literature, were under-recorded by comparison with cased instruments like virginals and organs, elaborate pictures or folio volumes. The same bias towards expensive items is found in the wares advertised in the newspapers.

The probate evidence on the ownership of musical instruments is summarized in Table XVI. It suggests that musical instruments were generally rare, and grew rarer. The average ownership rate of 2.25% was exceeded in every decade before 1690 and in only one decade thereafter. The chief factor in this change was the disappearance after 1690 of virginals, which made up two-thirds of the instruments recorded. The trough around 1700 is exaggerated by a rising number of low-value inventories because only 1% of those worth under £10 had instruments compared to almost 9% of the wealthiest. But the decline in ownership appears in all valuation ranges. Few instruments were recorded in the probate records of the richest after 1720.

The impression of a decline in domestic music-making in the later seventeenth century is supported by other sources. Several instrument makers, mostly working on virginals, are recorded before 1660, forming

part of the joiners' gild of 1606.[1] There are then almost no references until 1750, except to the one or two organ-makers attracted to Bristol in each generation.[2] Unlike virginal-makers they probably did not make cheaper instruments as well, but some of the town musicians may have done so instead.[3] By the 1740s, however, instruments were sold by cutlers and toymen,[4] and a number of music stationers and instrument-makers then set up shop in Bristol, making some items and dealing in London goods,[5] which were also sold by London wholesalers who visited the Fairs and advertised locally.[6] By 1775 there were four local instrument-makers, and five other shops with musical stock, several of them hiring out instruments.[7] The advertisements of music teachers, including many itinerants, suggest that genteel domestic music-making was well established once more.[8] The decline in demand around 1690 and recovery by the mid-eighteenth century traced here relates almost exclusively to more expensive forms of domestic music-making. Simpler pastimes, such as fiddle-playing, may have thrived throughout, serviced by humbler musicians and itinerant salesmen.[9]

In Chapter 3 I showed a similar pattern in the ownership of books

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1. B.A.O. 04369(1), no.18; W.L. Goodman, 'Musical Instrument-Makers in Bristol 1536-1643', Galpin Soc. Jour., XXVII (1974), 9-14.
2. See Hooper, 'Survey'. They also made harpsichords, spinnets, etc., e.g. Inv. T. Naish 1690; B.O. 16 Apr. 1748 (Miller); B.J. 16 May 1772 (Seed).
3. B.A.O. 04413, 11 Nov. 1693 (Perry case); Burgess, 18 Dec. 1727, 26 Nov. 1737; B.J. 1 Sept. 1770 (Hughes).
4. F.F.B.J. 25 Mar. 1758 (Crump); B.J. 31 Aug. 1771 (Woodward).
5. B.O. 21 Sept. 1745, O.C.A. 15 Feb. 1746 (Plomer); B.J. 3 Sept. 1774 (Springer); B.J. 24 June 1769, 25 Feb. 1775 (Naish); B.J. 22 Sept. 1770, B.M.B.J. 4 Mar. 1775 (Glendonning).
6. F.B.N. 20 July 1728 (Cross); B.C. 26 Jan. 1760 (Woodward). Cf. auctioneers and brokers, e.g. B.J. 27 Apr. 1765 (Cherry).
7. Apart from above see Directory under Chew; F.F.B.J. 2 Oct. 1773 (Shaul); 1774 pollbook, J. Pearson. Hiring: B.J. 29 July 1769 (Jones).
8. See p.192.
9. See also p.224.

while stressing that the cheaper works, in particular literary ephemera, were unlikely to be recorded. A trough around 1700 was followed by a gradual improvement, while the retail evidence suggested considerable growth after 1740, and an increased concern for belles lettres. Plays were a relatively popular genre.

Table XVII shows that pictures appear in inventories about as often as books, and that here too ownership declined in the late seventeenth century, after a slight rise from 11-12% before 1650 to about 20% in 1650-70, down to only 7% in 1690-9. Unlike that of the other items, however, the eighteenth-century pattern is one of rapid and sustained growth, to 40% ownership 1720-39 and almost 60% of the admittedly small sample 1740-67. There was also a rise in the numbers of pictures recorded in each house after 1710. The rise in ownership is common to all valuation ranges, although the wealthiest class, almost half of whom had pictures, show less sign of either a decline or a subsequent increase. Although the poorest class of inventories includes only 8% with pictures, ownership was widely spread, reflecting the relative cheapness of pictures, and values fell after 1710. Most of these pictures were prints. It is not possible to distinguish these from painted pictures and anyway the chief determinant of value was the framing and glazing. Those described in detail were as often prints as painted pictures, for example engraved portraits of religious or political heroes or sets of Roman Emperors or Christian martyrs.[1] Among the commonest genres mentioned are landscapes, family pictures and pictures of ships, but most subjects are unrecorded, and artists' names are never given.[2]

It is impossible to relate such changes to the number of

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1. P.R.O. Prob. 3/34/144 and 3/27/237; below, pp.228 n.9, 234 nn.5-6.
2. The fullest listings are B.C.L. 147799 and B.A.O. AC/WO/10(18-19). Ships: p.222.

'painters' recorded locally - since most of these engaged in jobbing work - and most prints and pictures came from elsewhere. But more 'limners' or portraitists were based in Bristol after 1700,[1] and regular visits were made by itinerants who also sold prints and pictures.[2] It is not clear if Bristol painters did the same.[3] The main retailers, of prints and maps at least, were booksellers. As this market grew, some specialized in this field, holding very large stocks of prints. In 1748 Grace Foster sold off the book side of her business to open a 'picture shop' and in 1775 a specialist map and print shop opened.[4] From 1769 the miniaturist Edward Shiercliffe sold art materials and prints in his bookshop.[5] The growing numbers and prosperity of carvers, gilders and picture-frame makers suggests a strong demand for prints brought loose from London and prepared according to the owner's taste and purse.[6]

As this emphasis on ornamentation suggests, domestic ownership of the arts needs to be viewed as an aspect of interior decoration. Lavishly carved and gilt mirrors often outshone pictures. In the seventeenth century luxury textiles were the chief objects to be decorated. Many of Bristol's painters specialized in staining

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1. Burgess 21 Aug. 1676 (W. Wilderbury, limner). Other early references: J. Lewis (B.A.O. 04434(1), 1 Sept. 1682); S. Somers (B.A.O. 04435(1), 26 July 1720) and one 'Schnell' (Will, G. Symes, 1735; Notebooks of G. Vertue (Walpole Soc., 6 vols, reprinted 1968) V:82). Simmons: see p.222,n.1. Riemsdyk: J.L. Thornton, Jan Van Riemsdyk (Cambridge, 1982). Foy: B.J. 7 July 1770, 15 July 1775.
2. See p.190; B.O.C.A. 11 Feb. 1744, B.O.C.I. 31 Mar. 1744 (Saunders); B.J. 20 Nov. 1756 (Worrell).
3. See Inv. W. Berrow, 1725; B.W.I. 2 Dec. 1752 (Brown).
4. B.J. 22 Oct. 1748; F.F.B.J. 17 Dec. 1763 (Bonner); B.J. 31 Aug. 1771, 5 Sept. 1772 (Schusler); B.J. 25 Nov., 2 Dec. 1775 (Roberts).
5. See p.97; B.C.L. 9977, fos.51-3.
6. Burgess, Feb. 1709, J. Bryan (frame-maker and gilder). Carvers and gilders charged app. premiums of £30 by the 1760s. For wares, e.g. B.J. 30 Mar. 1771 (Embley), 20 Aug. 1774 (Ellis).

'floor-cloths'.[1] Ornamental needlework was a common female accomplishment and remained much more important than drawing or other fine arts.[2] Tapestries, floor-cloths and other decorated textiles were supplemented increasingly after 1700 by carpets and paper wall-hangings, which allowed a wider use of artistic images, rococo ornamentation and striking colours around houses. Drapers and upholsterers had to be aware of the latest fashions.[3] Many of these textiles were not made locally, but local craftsmen benefited directly from the massive increase in the amount and sophistication of furniture in Bristol houses in the late seventeenth century. The number of cabinet-makers grew rapidly,[4] and they also dealt in small home ornaments, as did cutlers and toymen.[5] Small images, toys, shells, coins and other collectable items proliferated, sometimes exhibited in cabinets, but more often on mantelpieces.[6]

Earthenware, china and glass were also displayed and valued for their decorative features. Bristol was a leading centre for the manufacture of all three products after 1650, producing items of

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1. See Burgess, 12 Sept. 1637, 21 Mar 1705 ('painter-stainers'); B.W.I. 2 Dec. 1752 (Brown). P.R.O. C/105/29, inv. of J. Blackwell, merchant, 1703, includes tapestries worth £6 and £10 (the most valuable picture was £1 5s).
2. See pp.37, 47.
3. Household sales still refer to tapestries (B.J. 7 Apr. 1750, Elton) and floorcloths (B.J. 10 Dec. 1768, Rice). In 1770 S.M.V. replaced tapestries with paper-hangings (Hall-book 4 Apr.). Upholsterers: F.F.B.J. 9 Nov. 1754.
4. E.P./J/3/1 (Jeremiah Slade, cabinet-maker, 1676); P.R.O. Prob. 3/40/27 (Tustin stock); F.F.B.J. 24 Jan. 1756 (Baily and Wastell).
5. See p.216; and for itinerant dealers B.J. 7 Sept. 1765 (Campione).
6. P.R.O. Prob 3/30/20, 3/34/117, 3/27/237; B.J. 2 May 1767 (Stokes), 22 Aug. 1772 (Leary).

increasing sophistication, especially in delft and porcelain.[1] Bristol's role owed more to its industrial advantages than to local consumer demand, but many of the tea and dinner services, ornaments and tiles which increasingly graced eighteenth-century Bristol houses must have been locally produced. By 1750 wholesalers and retailers also dealt in china and earthenware from elsewhere, and brokers and auctioneers traded heavily in second-hand items.[2] These new products tended to eclipse the older metalware such as pewter,[3] but gold and silver plate continued to feature as a major item in many inventories. There was a steady growth in the number of gold and silversmiths, and some specialization in jewellery.[4] It is hard to distinguish the financial form the aesthetic attractions of plate, but the craze for gilt ornamentation suggests that richness and art were closely associated. Even the poorest often owned a single silver spoon.

The eighteenth-century boom in the pictorial arts, and the more modest recovery in literary and musical investment, must be placed in the context of growing investment in consumer goods, many of which offered considerable aesthetic satisfaction. The slump in artistic investment around 1700 might be due to a shifting priority in household expenditure, as Bristolians chose to invest in such items as

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1. A.C. Powell, 'Glass-Making in Bristol', T.B.G.A.S., XLVII (1925), 211-58; F. Buckley, 'Early Glass-houses of Bristol', Trans. Soc. Glass Technology, IX (1925), 36-61; Owen, Two Centuries; A. Ray, English Delftware Pottery (1968), pp.39-68; F.H. Garner and M. Archer, English Delftware (1972), pp.52-7; F. Britton, English Delftware in the Bristol Collection (1982); A.W. Oxford, A Catalogue of Bristol and Plymouth Porcelain (1912); F. Hurlbutt, Bristol Porcelain (1922).
2. F.F.B.J. 22 Sept. 1753 (Smith); B.J. 8 Aug. 1767 (china centrepieces); B.J. 5 Mar. 1774 (Stephens).
3. H.H. Cotterell, Bristol and West Country Pewterers (Bristol, 1918).
4. H.E. Martin and C.R. Hudleston, 'Bristol Gold and Silversmiths', T.B.G.A.S., LX (1938), 191-227.

furniture or crockery. Local artistic talent may also have been diverted into associated crafts and industries but by 1750 all areas of artistic consumption were expanding again. Similarly in architecture, despite minor house modifications earlier, it was only after 1700 that large-scale building on classical lines began, reaching a peak between 1750 and 1775.[1]

The key feature of many of the new products was elegance. They were an integral part of the material culture of 'polite society', furnishing the new parlours and servicing tea-time visiting and dinner parties. Yet once again mass production brought such items within reach of many of middling prosperity, lessening rather than strengthening the monopoly on beauty of the wealthy. There were, moreover, strong elements of continuity in taste. Austere neo-classical elegance lost out to the curious and richly ornamented. Traditional foci of decoration such as the mantelpiece remained central, though richly carved wooden or stone surrounds gave way to plaster mouldings or delft tiles, topped with a clutter of images and crockery, under a gilt mirror or print.[2]

Art at Work

The close ties of art and manufacture have become obvious. Traditional craft skills blurred the distinction between artisan and artist, since the key element was experience in working the material. Mastery of the complex art of preparing paints led painters to a multitude of jobs, from humble painting by the yard to work on signs,

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1. See p.190.
2. For chimney decoration, plastering and panelling, see T.B.G.A.S., Archaeological Notes by J. Pritchard 1900-29, passim. Cf. B.J. 15 Aug. 1767 (India paintings on glass 'for the chimney').

statuary and portraits.[1] When the materials were very valuable in themselves, the customers often wanted sophisticated products, so the artisan could become attuned to the latest fashions. Paradoxically, all the more premium was put on decoration and fashionability in the new industrial products which started with less valuable materials, employing artisans in the later stages of production.[2] A threat was posed to the craft artisan by new processes in painting, where colour-making by chemists who supplied simple jobbing painters, often tilers and plasterers, undermined the traditional position.[3] A similar division was presaged when architects arrived after 1725, but Bristol's masons and carpenters mastered the new fashions well enough to hold off this threat, while the architects themselves were often little more than land surveyors, engineers or model-makers, in training at least.[4]

All these skills were of course in ever greater demand in a rapidly expanding mercantile city. Overseas trade and shipbuilding employed the arts in several ways. Charts and maps were valued,[5] and ships were lovingly painted and gilded.[6] Bristol was famous for the carving of ships' heads.[7] Appearance was particularly valued by privateering craft, many of which were the subjects of paintings.[8] They also carried musicians to encourage the crew and terrify the

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1. E.g. Simmons: Bristol Memorialist (1823), 33-8; F.F.B.J. 8 Oct. 1757, 10 Apr. 1773; B.J. 1 Oct. 1768, 7 Oct. 1775.
2. See pp.196, 220 n.1; F.D. Klingender, Art and the Industrial Revolution (1947).
3. B.O. 22 Aug., 19 Sept., 3 Oct. 1747, O.C.A. 26 Sept. 1747; F.F.B.J. 27 Oct. 1753.
4. See biographies in Ison, Buildings; Gomme et al., Bristol; F.F.B.J. 27 Dec. 1766 (architect D'Vries land-surveying).
5. See p.106; p.198 n.1, for Pocock; A.R. Williams, 'Bristol Port Plans and Improvement Schemes', T.B.G.A.S., LXXXI (1962), 138-88.
6. F.F.B.J. 11 June 1763 (Crean and Browne).
7. B.I.B.M., I:54.
8. J.W. Damer Powell, Bristol Privateers (Bristol, 1930); S.M.V. Hallbook 10 Oct. 1689.

enemy.[1] The arts were important in advertising. Cries and songs, drums and trumpets were used by itinerant salesmen and showmen.[2] All businesses had emblems, used for trading tokens, seals, signposts and printed notices.[3] Until the 1760s Bristol's streets were dominated by signs.[4] A more literate society had less need of such visual emblems, but as soon as printing was established engravers arrived. There were three or more by 1750, and twice as many by 1775.[5] The needs of business and bureaucracy, such as trade cards, supported them, but, as William Milton's sketchbook shows, their styles built on the emblem and heraldic tradition, blending fancy with realistic vignettes of city life. Such polished marketing was eagerly sought by skilled craftsmen and luxury retailers.[6]

Despite changes in techniques, work and art remained closely tied throughout our period, particularly in the pictorial arts, but also in music, where barbers' shops, for example, still had a music-making tradition.[7] The tension between work and the arts arose in the use of leisure, and was felt most acutely in the theatre, a genre of no apparent utility. Richard Champion, a leading opponent of the King Street theatre, strove to produce the finest ceramic art of the age in his porcelain factory.[8]

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1. B.C.L. 4991; B.O. 4 May 1745; B.W.I. 29 Oct. 1757.
2. J. Easterbrook, Bellman's Verses (Bristol, 1761); Broderip, Collection, 'Three Bristol Cries'; B.C.L. 4531, fo.257.
3. A.E. Hudd, 'Bristol Merchants' Marks and Trade Tokens' P.C.A.C., VII (1909-12), 97-194.
4. Latimer, 18C, pp.4-5. Simmons claimed to have lost £500 p.a. by the removal of signs, but B.C.L. 20196 shows Edkins decorating the new wall-mounted signs.
5. E.P./J/3/1 (James Field engraver 1695, John Malcott 1697). Directory: J. Ames, J. Dodrell, E. Linford, H. Laurence, W. Milton, copperplate-printer R. Lane, glass-cutters and engravers Isaac Isaacs and Lazarus Jacobs.
6. B.C.L. 10124. For examples of Milton's work e.g. B.I.B.M., I:82, 108, 140; B.C.L. 6523, fos. 95ff.
7. Phileroy, Vision, p.11; invs. of medical men, e.g. T. Lansdowne 1708.
8. Owen, Two Centuries, p.108 and passim.

Sociability

The role of more sophisticated art in polite society reflected the importance of simpler art forms in common sociability. Public houses attracted customers with music, mostly from fiddlers,[1] and singing played an important part in club life, at gild and society dinners, freemason meetings and gatherings of friends.[2] The delft punchbowl painted by Thomas Flower from an engraving in Bickham's Musical Entertainer, with a scene of drinking and music-making, and the words and music around the edge, epitomizes these close links.[3] Much of the literature written or sold in Bristol promoted sociability, celebrating the link between the Muses and drink or good cheer, from Crutwell's Bristol Drollery to the verses of Bryant and Brown in the 1780s.[4] The passion for clubbing encouraged the growth of musical societies, from the Catch Club of gentlemen and professionals to the young bell-ringers who met for marathon change-ringing sessions, and received hospitality from gratified parishioners.[5] Glee-singing dinners, sometimes with prizes, were organized at country inns.[6] Bedford hoped that parish music societies for youth would help to weaken the hold of the alehouse and reform manners, though choirs were often accused of unruly sociability

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1. E.P./J/2/2(3), Mead vs. Quarles; Bedford, Great Abuse, pp.206-7, 251; S.F.B.N. 12 Feb. 1737; B.J. 21 Apr. 1750; F.F.B.J. 12 Mar. 1757, 7 Feb. 1761.
2. F.B.N. 9 July 1726; B.C.L. 5030 (1639, 1649-66, 1714-15); B.A.O. 36584(15) (1735-6, 1743-4, 1754-5).
3. Britton, Delftware, pp.110-11.
4. See p.177; Merry Miscellany (Bristol, 1775); song collections advertised, e.g. B.O. 30 Nov. 1745 (Universal Harmony or Gentleman and Lady's Social Companion).
5. See p.192; H.E. Roslyn, A History of ... St. Stephen's Ringers (Bristol, 1928); B.W.I. 5 Jan. 1751; F.F.B.J. 9 Feb. 1760, 14 Feb. 1761, 29 Dec. 1764, 1 June 1771.
6. B.J. 12 May, 24 Nov. 1770, 20 May 1775.

themselves.[1] An appreciation of the role of artistic sociability in maintaining a sense of community and innocent recreation was balanced by concern at the danger of excessive indulgence, particularly in drink. Both viewpoints were aired in the debate over the theatre.[2]

The arts also helped to establish the individual's place in the community, marking rites of passage. Bells were pealed at births, and more often at funerals; music and dancing occurred at both weddings and funerals.[3] Weddings and funerals included the giving of rings.[4] Heraldry, which was widely used in domestic decoration in the seventeenth century,[5] was also employed at internments. Several arms- or herald-painters were supported in Bristol until the early eighteenth century.[6] Thereafter heraldry became less common, although still used in engraving, coach-painting and on monuments.[7] Increased references to family pictures and portrait-painters in the city suggest a shift in family loyalty from past to present,[8] but the

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1. Bedford, Great Abuse, pp.230-1, 257; D.C./A/8/2/1, e.g. 25 June 1677, 7 Apr. 1681, 17 Dec. 1682; and 8/2/2, e.g. 1 Dec. 1758, 28 June, 4 Dec. 1766.
2. See pp.193 n.6, 196 n.2.
3. B.W.I. 6 Jan. 1750; B.A.O. AC/WH/19(3) 12 Aug. 1767, Jan. 1769, 18 Jan. 1771; Bodl. MS Gough Som.3, fo.65, and 2, fos.127-8.
4. Invs and wills; B.A.O. AC/JS/50/13; F.F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1762. Delftware also commemorated weddings, e.g. Britton, Delftware, pp.152, 155-60.
5. Escutcheons, e.g. B.C.L. 26067, 1705 funeral of Gore; invs with accounts, e.g. W. Collier, 1678 or E.P./J/2/1/14, J. Milsom. See p.221, n.2, for heraldry on fireplaces; E. Conder and F. Were, 'Heraldry of some Bristol Citizens 1662-82', T.B.G.A.S., XXX (1907), 273-82.
6. John Bevill, Richard Jordan, William Starr, Robert Moore and John Tucker. For Starr and Tucker see A. Wagner and G. Squibb, 'Deputy-Heralds' in F.G. Emmison and R. Stephens (eds), Tribute to an Antiquary (1976), at p.263; Bodl. MS Ashm. 1815, fo.203.
7. See pp.194, 223; I.M. Roper, Monumental Effigies (Gloucester, 1931); Meyerstein, Chatterton, p.70.
8. See p.218, n.1; engravings in B.C.L. 9966-1000, B.I.B.M., and in B.C.M.; family histories, e.g. Harford, Annals, pp.39-40; T. Fry, A Brief Memoir of F. Fry (1887), pp.10-12; R. Ames, Genealogical Memoranda (1887), p.xiii. Cave, Banking, has portraits or silhouettes of most Bristol bankers. Invs mention portraits 3 times before 1730, but four times in the small sample thereafter. Portraits of ordinary Bristolians: Wills, G. Symes, 1735, W. Taylor (innholder), 1762; B.C.L. 20095, 1 Jan. 1754.

evidence is very weak. Birth, marriage and particularly death remained central themes of Bristol literature among all religious groups.[1] Only the wealthy could afford lavish rites of passage, and the artistic elements stressed here were more readily dropped to save expense than other symbols such as correct clothing, ritual and hospitality, although the bells were crucial. Some nonconformists distrusted such symbolism, and ostentatious simplicity was always a variant in the rhetoric of death. Generally, however, there was no 'bourgeois' distrust of enchantment, but rather a concern to establish social identity in a fluid society through complex symbolism.[2]

The arts were particularly important during youth and courtship. Music and dancing accompanied the poor on May Day and the rich at assemblies.[3] Songs and ballads with a Bristol theme mostly concerned the trials and triumphs of young couples, as did the novels and plays to which the young were notoriously attracted.[4] Love poetry, from Platonic pastoral to bawdy satire, was a central literary genre, for example in the Chatterton circle.[5] If this group was typical then the arts offered those in service or apprenticeship a field for expression and rebellion against established society. This met with disapproval,

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1. Countless poems in the papers (e.g. F.F.B.J. 7 Jan. 1764 on Laroche marriage; F.F.B.J. 7 Jan. 1768 on Hawksworth death); Barrett, History, pp.352, 420, 482-3, 546; J. Standen, A Poem on the Death of J. Weekes (Bristol, 1699); M. Yeo, An Elegy on the Death of Rev. Mr. Gifford (?1721); E. Godwin, Death-Bed (Bristol, 1744); Elegiac and Other Poems ... A.R. Hawksworth (Bristol, 1769); An Elegy on the Death of Mr. T. Janes (Bristol, 1775).
2. Mortimer, Minutes (1971), pp.26-28; F.B.N. 4 Apr., 4 May 1728. Latimer, 18C, pp.8-10, stresses the love of ceremony, taking up R. North, Lives of the Norths, ed. A. Jessopp (3 vols, 1890), I:156. For undertakers' wares: F.F.B.J. 16 Oct. 1762, B.J. 26 Dec. 1767.
3. See pp.142, 170.
4. See pp.111, 195 n.3.
5. N.C., Drollery, passim; J. Hewitt, Miscellanies in Prose and Verse (Bristol, 1727); Gent's Mag., XV (1745), 494; B.W.I. 6 Jan. 1750; F.F.B.J. 2 and 9 Feb., 14 Dec. 1754; Complete Chatterton, passim, e.g. I:158-64; T.C.M., passim, e.g. II (1770), 105, 216-7, 552, 664, 711-14.

tempered by a sense that this was a phase people went through, so that society was only really endangered if artistic irresponsibility was carried on into adult years of business and marriage.[1]

Civic Life and Politics

Much evidence has survived on civic and political patronage, but it is hard to gauge its relative importance to artistic life. Literature was probably most affected despite the lack of financial support, while the impact on the theatre was largely negative. The significance probably lay less in the amount of money spent than the public nature of such expenditure, and its effect on public attitudes.

Long-term commitments included the building, decoration and upkeep of civic properties, and expenditure on regular civic ceremonial. There was much continuity with pre-1640 traditions. Four or five musicians were employed as the city waits throughout the period to attend regular civic functions, receiving small salaries and an official livery and chain which identified them when they sought a gratuity from the citizens each Christmas. They were paid extra for serving at occasional celebrations.[2] Drummers and trumpeters were hired for proclamations and assizes.[3] Not all the waits were full-time musicians, and it is not clear how much they contributed to other forms of music-making. Some musicians were attracted to Bristol by civic service, but others were hired specially from other towns.[4]

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1. See p.170.
2. For civic expenditure see C.V.; B.A.O. 04026 and C.C.P, and below, pp.304-7, 320, 334. Comments on waits: J.L. Lightwood, Samuel Wesley, Musician (1937), pp.38-9; Hippisley, Journey, p.16; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:243.
3. C.V., 1707; B.C.L. 9167, 29 Oct. 1739; B.O.C.A. 13 Apr. 1745; B.C.L. 26063, 8 Sept. 1735.
4. Bryant senior, pipemaker, played for waits and assemblies (Bryant, Verses, pp.ix, 33-5; C.V. 1743, 1764-5). Abraham Seward from Wincanton and Nathaniel Tyndale from Dursley both moved into Bristol.

Parish bell-ringers were also kept busy on public holidays.[1]

Painters, carvers and other craftsmen were constantly needed to maintain the High Cross, pumps, Council House, etc. Civic and royal arms and statues had to be carved and painted, and jobbing work done.[2] Regular additions were made to the Corporation's picture gallery of monarchs and benefactors in the Council House, sometimes open to the public.[3] The civic regalia required attention from gold and silversmiths and painters, and was on regular display.[4] The Corporation also supported map-makers and surveyors, and required new building.[5] Gilds required similar services on a much reduced scale.[6] Although civic and gild ceremony depended largely on dress and drapery to provide colour, elaborate visual displays were used on the most important occasions, such as proclamations and coronations.[7]

Pictorial and musical displays were also used by political groups, often in imitation of civic ceremony. The Tory Artillery Company used martial music, as did electoral processions. From 1714 balls were held to celebrate royal anniversaries, often with civic support.[8] The Tories made the greatest use of bell-ringing and of prints, immortalizing their heroes Colston, Coster and Phillips, and delftware was produced to celebrate their 1734 election victory.[9] The Whigs, in control of the eighteenth-century Corporation, used civic

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1. Goldwin, Description, p.16; F.F.B.J. 10 Apr. 1762.
2. For Simmons' constant work at such tasks see C.V., 1750-1775.
3. Evans, Outline, pp.366-8; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:245.
4. M.E. Williams, Civic Treasures of Bristol (Bristol, 1984).
5. See pp.106 n.6, 249.
6. McGrath, Merchant Venturers, p.211; idem (ed), Records Relating to the S.M.V. (B.R.S., XVII 1952), pp.71-2. B.C.L. 4531, fo.226 (picture of Merchant Taylors c.1750?); p.224, n.2.
7. See p.227, n.3; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, app., fo.79; C.V., 1762; F.F.B.J. 2-26 Sept. 1761.
8. See pp.141, 324.
9. Bells: see p.337. Prints: S.F.B.N. 3 May 1735; B.C.L. 9970, fo.563; B.C.L. 14799, fos.94 ff.; E.P./J/2/1(18), Bolt inv., AC/WH/18(19). Delft: Ray, Delftware, pp.132-3.

funds to support such politically contentious projects as the equestrian statue of William III and the new Exchange.[1] But such projects might also seek to bring together the divided elite on common artistic ground. This was apparently the motive of John Elbridge, chief mover in both the statue scheme and the new Infirmary. These grand new civic landmarks were frequently painted and engraved.[2]

Bristol literature was highly public in character. Much of the verse published was concerned with royal visits, days of thanksgiving or heroic victories.[3] Hymns were composed for similar occasions.[4] Political meetings were also recorded in verse, while two verses surviving from 1732 show popular use of the same genre. One, an acrostic, was printed by the weavers to celebrate the bankruptcy and flight of a hated employer, while the other described the pillorying of a sodomite.[5] Verse was considered a weighty means of commenting on civic events, and pseudonyms such as 'Bristoliensis' reinforced its public character.[6] Although much was panegyric, there was a strong satirical element. Chatterton's verse used both styles to analyse Bristol society, while his friend Thistlethwaite's poem, The Consultation, was an overnight sensation locally, provoking several

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1. Eustace (ed.), Rysbrack; Barrett, History, p.86; Hooke's Memorandum in C.V. 1747; Wood, Description.
2. Barrett, History, pp.112-13.
3. J. Froud, Musa Gratulatrix (Bristol, 1703); N.B., Phoenix Moriendi Revixit (2nd edn., Bristol, 1704); idem, Royal Conqueress; Britannia Laetantio Exultatio (Bristol?, 1714); Art and Mystery of Printing with Ode on King's Marriage and Coronation; F.B.N. 9 Dec. 1727; B.C. 18 Mar., 15 Nov. 1760, 6 June 1761.
4. A Hymn for Thanksgiving Day (Bristol, 1715).
5. Occasional Poem; The Loyalist (1713); Glos. Jour. 28 Mar. 1732; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fos.166-70.
6. Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire, I:301. Cf. F.F.B.J. 8 Mar. 1766 (young upstarts seeking an authoritative voice through verse). Poetic comment: e.g. B.O.C.A. 21 Apr., 5 May 1744 (on vestries and court leets); B.C. 22 Mar. 1760 (watch), 17 May 1760 (relief of prisoners), 4 June 1761 (medical dispute).

poetic replies.[1] Much of this literature was undoubtedly composed in the hope of reward and patronage, in some cases successfully, but there was a strong strain of independent comment, since most contributors to literature were amateurs with no expectation of a local literary career.[2]

Two points need to be made about the chronology of such support for the arts. The first is that there are signs here also of a late seventeenth-century hiatus. Although the Civil War and Restoration provided much immediate work for painters and musicians as regimes changed and insignia were altered, there was little large-scale civic expenditure, for example on building, and in the 1680s corporate economies even threatened the waits.[3] After 1700, however, the position changed, with new buildings, such as the Council House and later the Exchange and Bridge, and steadily rising spending on civic events. The influence of new tastes also led to greater pretensions. More of the commissions now went to national artists, while events like balls appealed exclusively to polite society.[4]

The changing level of corporate income was clearly a factor. The Corporation had little to spend on large-scale projects before 1700, unlike its wealthy eighteenth-century successor. Even after 1700 building went in waves in line with civic prosperity. Factionalism in the Corporation until after 1700 must also have discouraged major patronage. Nor should one exaggerate the decline in support. Minor spending carried on largely unaffected, and in some cases was stepped

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1. Taylor, Art of Chatterton; B.C.L. 20095, 7 Jan. 1775; R. Jenkins, The Retaliation (Bristol, 1775); N. Walker, Cursory Remarks (Bristol, 1775).
2. See pp.194-5, 231 n.4 (Thistlethwaite) and p.204 n.6 (Jenkins, given a revenue post). Such dependence was publicly unacceptable, e.g. sneers at Robert Collins' efforts to curry civic favour in F.F.B.J. 12 Oct. to 21 Dec. 1765, esp. 9 Nov. 1765.
3. C.C.P. Sept. 1687.
4. See p.324.

up, for example in the lavish decoration of the High Cross in 1660 and 1697 to encourage 'the awe of monarchy'.[1] The decision, during the Tory reaction, to abandon the waits may imply a political purge or a preference for the martial music of drums and trumpets which the Council still supported.[2]

Political division also gave the arts a stimulus which is clearest in literature. From the Civil War on there was a continuous flow of political literature mostly by royalists before 1700[3] and by Tory and radical critics of the establishment thereafter,[4] but with contributors from all sides eager to use the arts to appeal to public opinion.[5] William Goldwin's effort in his Poetic Description of Bristol (1712) to establish a cultured Addisonian consensus above the din of faction, was inevitably political, reflecting the author's Whig

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1. D.M. Livock, 'Accounts of the Corporation of Bristol', Jour. Accounting Research, III (1965), 86-102; B.A.O. 04026, 1660-1, 1678-9; C.V. 1698-9; Goldwin, Description, p.13.
2. C.V., 1686-8; pp.175-6 on Artillery Company. From 1714 the trumpeters were Hanoverians (B.P.B. 20 Nov. 1714, C.V. 1716-17).
3. Barrett, History, pp.482-3; Matthew Morgan and Thomas Haynes in D.N.B., one probably 'Phileroy' of Vision; N.C., Drollery; Brave Boys of Bristol. For non-Tory verse see T.P. Eben-Ezer (1643); Reply to Bristol Narrative (1675); C.S.P.D. 1683-4, pp.365-6, 375; Standen, Elegy.
4. J. Perkins, Elegia in Obitum ... Henrici Ducis de Beaufort (Bristol, 1701); idem, A Poem ... on Death of Thomas Ken (Bristol, 1711) (and see D.N.B. on Perkins); p.229, n.5, for Loyal Society; Churchill: an Elegy (Bristol, 1765); E. Gardner, Liberty: a Poem (Bristol, 1776); poems for Cruger and Burke advertised in B.G. 27 Oct. 1774, B.M.B.J. 12 Nov. 1774, 25 Feb. 1775. Chatterton and friends were 'Patriots' (see Meyerstein, Chatterton, pp.323, 443n.) and attacked versifiers on the other side, inc. R. Collins and R. Smith, for whom see B.I.B.M., I:162. See Thistlethwaite, Consultation pp.37, 46; idem, Tories; idem, The Prediction of Liberty (1776); Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire, II:782, nn.111-12. The archetypal Tory satirist was E. Collins: see p.42, n.2; B.B.S.J.; B.C.L. 1564-5, 4531, fo.281, 26064, fos.180-2; F.F.B.J. 8 and 29 Mar. 1766; B.J. 30 Nov. 14-21 Dec. 1765, 29 Mar., 5 Apr. 1766; and his Miscellanies, Saint's Backsliding, Lying Detected (Bristol, 1758); Union and Loyalty Recommended (Bristol, 1754), and (almost certainly) Progress of Methodism in Bristol (Bristol, 1743).
5. Collins' opponent Dr. French (see p.206, n.3) wrote for the Whigs in the 1730s. 1750s: Bristol Contest; B.C.L. 10950-74; Bristol Watch Bill.

attitude. Establishment writers like him adopted a panegyric mode, focusing on topography and such abstractions as 'commerce',[1] while the more radical writers tended to satire and comic realism.[2]

The impact of the civic tradition on the stage was less positive. Corporate disapproval passed down from the puritans before 1660 to their Tory successors, though perhaps in more muted form. In the turbulent debate over the Reform of Manners 1695-1710, there was a broad consensus against the stage, although indications of some Tory sympathy which enraged Arthur Bedford. During the more relaxed Whig dominance after 1730 an acceptable compromise appears to have been reached, allowing the theatre to continue just outside the city bounds.[3] The move to King Street revived the issue, bringing a stream of propaganda appealing to civic tradition against the stage. Praise for 'ancestral wisdom' from Quakers suggests that much of this was rhetorical strategy, but the civic theme was evidently considered effective.[4] In fact the Corporation, many of whom individually supported the new theatre, did not oppose its building, but the theatre critics were more successful when a patent was proposed in 1773. They argued convincingly that a licensed theatre would no longer be answerable to the local magistracy, so compounding the danger to local morals and hence to respect for authority.[5] By this time, however, local pressure groups, rather than the Corporation as such, were organizing civic action over the arts.

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1. Goldwin, Description, dedication, preface, pp.2, 10; W. Whitehead, A Hymn to the Nymph of Bristol Spring (1751); Jones, Clifton; W. Tasker, A Poetical Encomium on Trade (1779).
2. See pp.229-30.
3. See pp.187-9, 241-2.
4. F.F.B.J. 8 Dec. 1764, 7 June 1766; B.J. 21 June 1766; Consequences of Theatre, pp.8-9, 37-8.
5. B.A.O. 04217, fo.34; B.J. 16-30 Jan. 1773; F.F.B.J. 20 Feb. 1773; B.G. 4-25 Feb., 18-25 Mar. 1773. W. Burnett, A Second Tale of a Tub (1715), pp.215-6 suggests that public mockery of the Mayor c.1705 ruined the chances of a city theatre then.

Religion

Patronage of artistic production by the churches is less significant than the effect of religious attitudes on amateur producers and consumers of the arts. Nevertheless the churches remained important foci of artistic, particularly musical, life. The parish churches and Cathedral employed organists and choristers, a musical elite who provided most of the music teaching until 1750.[1] Church posts provided both a basic income and an audience of potential patrons. Not until the 1770s did a Bristol organist manage, with difficulty, to gain a living without such a position.[2] The organists arranged many of the early concerts and assemblies, promoting the musical tradition at the Sons of the Clergy meetings and the use of the Cathedral for anthems and oratorios.[3] The organs at the assembly rooms were played by, and may have belonged to, the church organists, and rivalry between organists affected the winter concert disputes of the 1770s, although by then other musicians had a greater role in organizing concert life.[4]

The strong traditions of Cathedral music were influential in the parishes because organists often held parish posts as well, and the lay singers acted as parish clerks and taught music to parish charity schoolchildren.[5] Bristol churches also had excellent bells, many of

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1. See p.192; and for lay singers, e.g. Richard Thomas, chorister 1752-9, clerk of St. Ewin's and music teacher (F.F.B.J. 7 Apr. 1759).
2. W. Bayton/Boyton/Baynton: B.J. 24 Mar., 1 and 22 Dec. 1770; F.F.B.J. 22 Dec. 1770, 21 Oct. 1775; Directory ('nurse and organist'!).
3. N. Priest: F.B.N. 9 July 1726, 28 Oct., 18 Nov. 1727.
4. J. Morley, O.C.A. 8 Nov. 1746; B.W.I. 10 Nov. 1750. E. Broderip: B.W.I. 24 Feb. 1750, 5 Feb. 1757; C.C.P. June 1764; C.V. 1764. See p.241, n.3.
5. Richard Edwards taught music (B.J. 25 Apr., 29 Aug. 1772, F.F.B.J. 1 Jan. 1774), coached Temple and St. Augustine's charity schools, was in the Cathedral choir by 1774, and St. Nicholas parish clerk (Directory). For this tradition earlier see the 1634 visitation in H.M.C. 4, pp.141-3.

them recast in this period to meet the demands of change-ringing, though after the Purdue family of bell-founders ceased business in the 1660s most of the bells were cast by firms in Chew Stoke, Chepstow and Gloucester.[1] The churches employed local painters and craftsmen, decorating royal arms, benefaction tables, texts, monuments, altar pieces and organ cases. Most of this was routine, but several altar paintings were commissioned, by far the most expensive being that by Hogarth at St Mary Redcliffe.[2] The greatest aesthetic impression was probably made by highly ornate church furniture, both in carved wood and wrought iron, by marblework and by silver church plate.[3] After 1688 there was also a steady demand for church building, both from nonconformist groups and the Anglican churches, reaching a peak at mid-century. Such large-scale public projects attracted attention to architectural styles and their effects.[4]

The arts were also stimulated by personal piety. Illustrated bibles were popular, and prints of national religious leaders and local ministers were sold.[5] Many pictures in homes had religious themes, and these were prominent in the wares of continental artists visiting Bristol. Motet's sculpture of the Last Supper was repeatedly exhibited.[6] Writing intended to convey religious truths formed the

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1. Ellacombe, Church Bells; H.B. Walters, 'Gloucestershire Bell Foundries II', ibid, XLI (1918-19), 49-86.
2. M.J.H. Liversidge, William Hogarth's Bristol Altar-Piece (B.B.H.A., 1980).
3. A. Harvey, 'Church Furniture and Decoration', T.B.G.A.S., XXXII (1909), 140-64; B. Little, Church Treasures in Bristol (Bristol, 1979); church interiors illustrated in Bodl. MS Gough Som.8; p.191, n.1.
4. C.W. Chalklin, 'The Financing of Church Building', in Clark (ed.), Transformation, at pp.286-7, 290, 296, 301; B.C.L. 5014, fo.296; p.238, n.5.
5. Inv. C. Foxell, 1739; B.C.L. 9974, fo.89; F.F.B.J. 24 May 1756 (print of Watts). Bibles: B.J. 29 July 1749.
6. P.R.O. Prob. 3/32/117 (Moses in bullrushes); B.C.L. 14799 (Virgin and child); F.F.B.J. 10 June 1758 (prints of Virgin). Motet: O.C.A. 6 Dec. 1746; B.W.I. 12 Jan. 1754; F.F.B.J. 22 June 1765.

largest category of local literature. Local clergymen published their own verse and collected moral and sacred poems to edify children and adults.[1] Religious verse in the newspapers varied from prayers and elegies to long philosophical musings.[2] Several Bristolians undertook verse paraphrases of biblical passages, and two new Bible translations were attempted.[3] The Quakers' tradition of exemplary lives was taken up by the Methodists, who also published edifying fiction.[4] Although ministers were naturally prominent, many eighteenth-century lay men and women also found an important religious outlet in literature.[5]

A major manifestation of this was the popularity of hymns, combining literature and music. Several of Bristol's nonconformist ministers composed hymns, particularly the Methodists, Moravians and Baptists.[6] Anglican ministers, often minor canons of the Cathedral, were vocationally involved in music. Several, including Nathaniel Ingelo, Arthur Bedford and Thomas Broughton, were highly knowledgeable.[7]

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1. R. Standfast, Two Books (1684); Dolman, Contemplations; Francis, Conflagration; J.N. Select Lessons; T. Janes, Beauties of the Poets (1773?, 4th edn, 1792).
2. F.F.B.J. 9 and 23 Apr. 1768 (death of child); B.M.B.J. 23 Dec. 1775 (advent of Christ); B.J. 7-14 May 1748 (published as A Poem to the Praise of God (Bristol, 1748) by A. Purver); B.W.I. 30 Dec. 1749, 30 May 1752. Cf. Bodl. MS Ashm. 1814, fo.321; Repentance and Faith (Bristol, 1774); N. Walker, A Poem on the Blessed Trinity (Bristol, 1774?).
3. B.C.L. 16047; Harwood, Liberal Translation; B.W.I. 2 Dec. 1752; F.F.B.J. 7 and 21 Apr., 18 Aug. 1753, 31 Aug., 9 Nov. 1754, 3 Jan., 28 Feb. 1767, 15 Apr. 1769; Poems on several Subjects, p.16; Complete Chatterton, II:768.
4. See p.87.
5. S. Penny, An Incentive to the Love of God (Bristol, 1769); Flower, Prodigal Son (see B.C.L. 20096, 4 Feb. 1762, on him); A.R. Hawksworth, The Breathings of a Pious Soul (n.p., n.d.); Purdy, Miscellanies.
6. E. Sharpe, 'Bristol Baptist College and the Church's Hymnody', Baptist Quarterly, N.S. XXVIII (1979-80), 7-16; J. Needham, Hymns Devotional and Moral (Bristol, 1768); R. Williamson, A Collection of Humns (Bristol, 1756) (Moravian); E. Godwin, Hymns for Christian Societies (Bristol, 1744).
7. Ingelo: D.N.B.; p.237, n.7. Bedford: D.N.B.; works cited above. Broughton: D.N.B.; W. Dean, Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques (1959), pp.414-33. Minor canons e.g. B.I.B.M., I:174; T. Marsh, An Elegy on T. Newnham (1779), p.3.

Although religious patronage and motivation remained central to artistic activity, there were tensions between religion and the arts, variations in attitude between religious groups, and important changes over time in how these affected artistic life. The basic tensions originated well before 1640 in the clash of Christian and classical, protestant and Catholic traditions. The dependence of the arts on classical models alienated many pietists and encouraged some, like Goldwin, to establish an alternative Christian artistic heritage.[1] Normally pagan and Christian virtues were syncretized in literature as in education. 'Popish' associations were probably more damaging. Images or representational art in churches remained rare in Bristol, and many distrusted the continuing Cathedral tradition of complex organ music and chanting.[2] Fears of popery gained credence from the Catholicism of men such as Elway Bevin (Bristol's only significant composer and Cathedral organist until 1637) and the organ builder Renatus Harris.[3] Even the simple metrical psalms of parish churches were attacked by some nonconformists, although the Bristol Baptists always accepted their scriptural basis.[4] Arthur Bedford strove hard to prove that the Cathedral music was scripturally ordained.[5]

The basic concern was to preserve the primacy of 'the Word' from the distractions of complex imagery or music which might allure the senses and distract the reason. Everyone agreed that only arts which

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1. B.J. 22 Oct. 1748, 14 and 28 June 1766; Consequences of Theatre, p.15; Goldwin, Description, preface.
2. Lambeth Court of Arches, no.4654, G102/90 and D1054 (1731 Clifton case); B.L. Add.MS 5811, fo.95; Barrett, History, p.285. Bedford, Temple Musick, pp.209-29.
3. J.G. Hooper, The Life and Works of Elway Bevin (Bristol, 1971); New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. S. Sadie (1980), for Harris family.
4. T. Whinnel, A Sober Reply to Mr. Robert Steed's Epistle (1691); Purnell, Little Cabinet, pp.247-52; p.240, n.1.
5. See n.2.

reinforced 'the Word' were acceptable,[1] and next to Hogarth's painting at Redcliffe was a Bible open at the relevant passage for the scene portrayed.[2] Most religious groups thought some compromise possible, but Quaker distrust of all sensual arts was taken up by the Whitefield Methodists, though much less by the Wesleys, with their high-church background.[3] Words were as much a threat to 'the Word' as other arts, and many pious writers distrusted poetry, as at best a gloss on prosaic truth, regrettably necessary to attract and hold the attention of the worldly.[4]

The Civil War period saw a renewed challenge to the use of art in religion, following earlier reforms around the 1570s. The use of organs had remained unusually common in Bristol parishes and Laudians tried to increase their use.[5] This provoked the destruction of the city's organs in 1642, mostly by Parliamentary soldiers. In the Interregnum it was planned to use organ funds to improve ministerial stipends.[6] After 1660 nonconformity was associated with distrust of the arts,[7] but Anglicans were slow to return to earlier traditions, amidst the turmoil of religious persecution. Only two parish churches had organs re-installed, both about 1680, while the Cathedral, where

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1. Bedford, Temple Musick, p.222; Purnell, Little Cabinet, pp.251-2; B.C.L. 5254, fos.47-9.
2. Barrett, History, p.575.
3. S. Hume, A Short Appeal to Men and Women (Bristol, 1765); New Grove Dictionary under J. Wesley.
4. R. Purnell, Good Tidings for Sinners (1652), 'to the reader'; Standfast, Caveat, preface; Dolman, Contemplations, preface; Penny, Incentive, preface; Repentance and Faith, preface; p.210, n.2.
5. Hooper, 'Survey', summarises changes in Cathedral (pp.13-47) and parish music (pp.48-73); P. Scholes, The Puritans and Music (Oxf., 1969), p.230; Manchee, Charities, I:338, 341.
6. P/C.W.A. late 1642, for end of organ payments in St. James, St. John, XCh, Redcl. and Tem.; Two State Martyrs, p.10; Latimer, 17C, p.211; B.A.O. 04417(1), 20 Jan. 1657.
7. Ingelo was dismissed by the Baptists for his passion for music (Hayden (ed.), Records, p.102); B.C.L. 10160, fo.239; Phileroy, Vision, poem by Philo-Phileroy; B.C.L. 10163(2), 19 Apr. 1682; B.A.O. 8019(2) (1710 accusation vs. Huguenot minister that had been 'at the Musick').

the musical tradition was restored in 1660, commissioned a new organ costing £850 from Harris in 1682.[1]

Despite these early signs of a Tory resurgence, it was only in the 1700s that a concerted movement began to use the arts to encourage Anglican revival. Edward Colston offered large funds to churches to repair and beautify altars and church furniture and install organs, and others provided legacies and subscriptions.[2] Many church bells were also recast, with strongly Anglican inscriptions.[3] The Cathedral authorities beautified their church and sought to improve the musical standard, while Bedford sought to reintegrate Cathedral and parish church music, envisaging this as a means to improve church attendance, especially by the young.[4] After heavy investment until about 1720 momentum slackened until mid-century, when church-building, in particular, revived. Nevertheless Anglican churches, and chapels like that at Redland, were continuously improved. Redcliffe church, wealthy from property rents, was lavishly provided with a magnificent organ, new bells, and two altar pieces. There were even plans for a new spire.[5]

As in politics, divisions engendered in the seventeenth century,

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1. St. Thomas and St. Nicholas organs date from c.1680. See J. Speller, 'Bristol Organs in 1710' Organ, LVII (1978-9), 85-90. Cathedral: H.W. Hunt, The Bristol Cathedral Organ (Bristol, 1907).
2. See pp.191 n.1, 234 n.3. A pre-1700 All Sts. organ was replaced in 1707, XCh and Tem. built in 1708-9; St. James 1719; Redcl. 1728, Mayor's Chapel 1764, St. Aug. 1771, St. Peter's 1772. New organs were put in St. Tho. 1728 and All Sts. 1739-40.
3. Ellacombe, Church Bells, pp.36-9.
4. B.L.Add.MS 5811, fo.91; Correspondence of J. Swift, ed. H. Williams (5 vols., Oxford, 1963-5), II:305; Huth (ed.), Narrative, p.145; Bedford, Temple Musick; P/Tem.Ka 4, fo.65, and C.W.A. 1708-9; B.C.L. 6494.
5. Redland: Eustace (ed.), Rysbrack, pp.90-3. Redcliffe: Goldwin, Description, p.16; Huth (ed.), Narrative, p.150; F.F.B.J. 4 June 1768; Complete Chatterton, I:640, 666-9; Barrett, History, p.573; prints advertised in B.O. 27 Apr. 1745, F.F.B.J. 7 June 1746. Comments on good order of churches: B.L. Add. MS 5811, fos.57, 64, and 15776, fo.92; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:246-7.

which initially diverted attention from artistic activity, by the eighteenth were encouraging use of the arts to win converts. The weakness of nonconformity, particularly in the upper ranks, after 1720 may reflect the success of this Anglican tactic. When St Peter's new organ opened in 1772 many dissenters, including Quakers, attended the packed service.[1]

From about 1750 similar competition occurred in hymn-singing, probably started by Methodist success in introducing lively congregational singing. Both Anglican and old dissenting churches began to abandon singing by the line and to introduce new versions of the hymns and psalms.[2] Christmas Day 1770 was celebrated in several parishes with hymns on specially printed sheets and renewed attention was paid to training charity schoolchildren in singing.[3] Divine Music, published in 1772, contained 20 Psalm Tunes in 3 parts 'adapted to the new version of the Psalms' by the late Cathedral organist and others, as used at the Cathedral and 'most places of public worship in Bristol'.[4] The emphasis on congregational singing may have been more of a bid for popular support than the earlier revival, but the new hymn-singing presupposed a literate congregation, unlike the older

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1. B.J. 4 Apr. 1772; B.G. 9 Apr. 1772.
2. Bedford suggested more hymn singing in Great Abuse, pp.179-86, 229-31. See P/C.W.A. XCh. 1703-4, All Sts. 1756-7, 1771-3, St. John's 1770-1, SS. P. and J., 1770-5, St. Aug. 1772, Tem. 1772-3, St. S. 1775-6; B.A.O. 6687(1), 3 Jan., 26 Dec. 1758, 26 Dec. 1770 and 6687(2), 1759, 1772-5 (Lewin's Mead); Complete Chatterton, I:447; B.A.O. 35481 PT/F/1a, 1 Jan. 1772, 5 Sept. 1774, 24 July 1775.
3. Bodl. G.A. Glos. B4b, no.1; Hymns for Christmas Day (Bristol, 1770); S.M.V. Hallbook, 6 Nov. 1775; B.A.O. 04418(1), 31 May 1779; p.233, n.5.
4. B.J. 7 Mar. 1772. Cf. books advertised, e.g. O.C.A. 22 Oct. 1748; B.J. 4 Feb. 1769. Hooper, 'Survey', pp.271-80, reprints the prefaces of later works by Langdon and Robert Broderip, the latter discussing the mid-century popularity of metrical psalmody.

method,[1] and there is every sign that all classes supported the new trend. Certainly crowds flocked to the Cathedral oratorios, and anthems and oratorios were part of the concert, even the playhouse, repertoire.[2]

Although I have stressed the competition for converts, fears of a rising tide of disbelief led many Christians to see the arts as a means of uniting the divided sects in general piety. The publishers of hymns and poems stressed their non-denominational appeal,[3] and Handel's oratorios stood in the same middle ground, used both by the Sons of the Clergy and Lady Huntingdon's Connection.[4] Those worried by polite society's rejection of the biblical tradition as unfashionable saw a chance to restore religion and morality to favour by using the latest literary styles.[5] In doing so, however, they were dogged with religious disputes once they ventured beyond the simplest religious tenet, and criticized for venturing on sacred ground with insufficient inspiration.[6]

When religious and artistic activity were combined, moreover, one could ask which was controlling, or exploiting, the other. Bedford believed that church music was being degraded, because organists were using their church positions to bolster their other careers as music

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1. See Lewin's Mead ref. in p.239, n.1. In 1675 the Baptists sang 'by the book' to prevent persecutors identifying a leader (Underhill (ed.), Records, p.242), but by 1766 a clerk 'raised the line' (B.A.O. BD/M1/2, 21 Jan. 1766).
2. F.B.N. 18 Nov. 1727; B.W.I. 3 May 1757; F.F.B.J. 13 June 1761; B.J. 4 Sept. 1773.
3. E.g. Penny, Incentive. Cf. the comment on Phillips' poetry (B.J. 11 Nov. 1769): 'Religion in this flowr'y diction veil'd, Convinced the soul where rigid doctrine fail'd'.
4. F.F.B.J. 12 Aug. 1758, 7 July 1759; B.J. 9 Oct. 1775; B.C.L. 20095, 3 Aug. 1759; J. Wesley's Journal, IV:282.
5. Harwood, Liberal Translation, p.iv; Life of Hannah More (1856), p.26.
6. F.F.B.J. 17 Apr. to 12 June 1756 and B.J. 29 May 1756 ('Bristol oratory'); F.F.B.J. 26 Oct. to 21 Dec. 1765 and 26 Apr. 1766 (R. Collins).

teachers and performers at concerts and plays.[1] Others confirmed his fear that organists were introducing commercial techniques into divine music at the expense of spirituality. The same was said of the choristers.[2] The church could not offer sufficient financial reward so that musicians were forced to look to other areas of patronage, or to pluralism, which again weakened church standards. Yet, for the same reasons, religious music was well established in commercial music-making and the churches had a higher standard of musicians than they could afford alone. Lay support to supplement church funds was vital, whether via benefit concerts for organists, or subscriptions to pay for expensive organs.[3] On the other hand, commercial performances of the arts were legitimated by exploiting religious and moral associations. When the new Assembly Room was opened, or its organ dedicated, Handel's sacred music was used, but, as critics complained, the rest of the year the building was dedicated to secular music, distracting the prosperous from their religious duties.[4]

The balance of advantage, generally so ambiguous, seemed clear in

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1. Bedford, Great Abuse, pp.179-83, 206-16, 235-57; P/Tem. Ka 4, fos.65, 74, 106.
2. 'Clergyman's Wish', B.C.L. 6485; J. Wesley's Journal, V:290; Stedman (ed.), Letters, II:188; Complete Chatterton, I:516-7, 640-1; Hooper, 'Survey' pp.277-8, 281.
3. The S.P.C.K. secretary pointed out the financial issue to Bedford in P/Tem. Ka 4, fo.184. The Cathedral supplemented the salary of its best singers, offering some £40 p.a. (see D.C./A/9/2/1, 1719 on). Cf. parish subscriptions for singers: B.A.O. 6783; AC/WH/19(3). Cathedral organists were also paid above their official salary, but still held parish positions etc., e.g. J. Morley: D.C./A/8/1, 30 Dec. 1734, 9/2/1 1735; P/V.Bk All Sts 1734, C.W.A. All Sts 1735-6 to 1755-6, XCh. 1746-56; F.F.B.J. 24 May, 28 June, 27 Sept. 1755; p.233, n.4. For E. Broderip see ibid; P/Tem. V.Bk 1771 (complaint of neglect through pluralism). Subscription for St. Aug's organ: P/C.W.A. St. Aug. 1771-5; F.F.B.J. 23 Mar. 1771; Barrett, History, p.401.
4. F.F.B.J. 20 Dec. 1756, 5 Feb. 1757, 8 Dec. 1759; B.W.I. 5 Feb. 1757. Comments: F.F.B.J. 10-17 Jan. 1756, 19 Aug. 1758; Collins, Miscellanies, p.46.

the theatre. To Bedford the playhouse was 'Satan's synagogue'.[1] Several writers compared the ease with which the Assembly Rooms and King Street theatre were financed to the slow fund-raising for new churches.[2] The theatre was impious and Sabbath-breaking, and subverted both religion and morality; Christians of all denominations, for example in the Society for Reformation of Manners, could agree.[3] Opposition to the theatre, however, was weakened by religious divisions. In 1710 Bedford was bitter with high-church Tories for supporting the Stokes Croft playhouse, while the dissenters united against it.[4] In 1731 the former Tory M.P. Joseph Earle, admittedly a maverick, opposed the shutting of St Augustine's Back by the Corporation, while the Presbyterians' dying pastor, Samuel Bury, bitterly attacked the theatre in 1730.[5] Thereafter the strongly Presbyterian Corporation apparently accepted the Jacob's Well compromise, and in 1766 did nothing to oppose the new theatre outright, although the Tucker Street elder Edward Garlick led the campaign against a licence in 1773.[6] By the 1760s the chief opponents of the stage were the Methodists and the Quakers. The Quaker clerk, James Gough, and Richard Champion led the 1766 protest and after supporting the 1773 petition they used their influence with Burke to make him oppose a Birmingham theatre licence in 1777. Their failure to oppose the Bristol patent of 1778 probably stemmed from their

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1. Bedford, Remonstrance, p.4. Cf. Dolman, Contemplations, p.94; F.F.B.J. 19 Apr., 31 May, 5 July 1766; Hume, Appeal, p.18 for 'the Devil', satirized in Hippisley, Journey, p.7.
2. F.F.B.J. 10 Jan. 1756, 1 Dec. 1764, 22 Feb. 1766.
3. See p.185, n.3 (first references).
4. P/Tem. Ka 4, fo.84.
5. C.C.P. Feb. 1731; Murch, Presbyterian Churches, p.110.
6. P.T. Underdown, 'Religious Opposition to Licensing Bristol and Birmingham Theatres' Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Jour., VI (1957-8), 149-60; I.V. Hall, 'The Garlicks', T.B.G.A.S., LXXX (1961), 132-59.

disarray during the American war.[1]

The theatre's triumph would appear to signal the predominance of art over religion, and the theatre supporters were accused of accommodating their religion to the mores of polite society.[2] This seems a naive judgement on those like Hannah More, the Rev. Sir James Stonhouse or the Quaker Joseph Harford, all of whom defended a 'rational theatre'. Harford believed that a 'well-regulated exhibition' of Shakespeare and similar drama would 'mend the morals and reform the manners of mankind'.[3] From 1700 the actors claimed to be reformers of manners, whose amusing and practical lessons reached and reformed many who would never listen to a sermon or read an improving book.[4] They repeatedly promised a purified stage, and on important occasions, such as the King Street opening, staged such unexceptionable favourites as Steele's Conscious Lovers or Lillo's George Barnwell, both highly moral and extremely flattering to the trading community.[5] The few amateur performances recorded, by schools and others, were of similar worthy items, and Hannah More's dramas were greeted as model products of the same genre.[6]

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1. Letters of J. Wesley, ed. Telford, IV:279; Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire, II:261 and F.F.B.J. 7 June 1766 (official Quaker protests); ibid, 8 Dec. 1764; Consequences of Theatre; Bristol Theatre. For earlier Quaker opposition: Mortimer (ed.), Minutes (1977), p.153, Speed, Reason, p.27. Cf. the pietist Dyer (B.C.L. 20095, 26 June 1751, 9 Jan. 1766) and the Quaker Sarah Champion (Bevan-Naish 1227, fos.11-12, 17, 71).
2. Most trenchantly in B.C.L. 4531, fo.259. In reply theatre-lovers stigmatised opponents as enthusiasts e.g. F.F.B.J. 15 Aug. 1764; B.J. 24 Feb. 1770.
3. Stedman (ed.), Letters, II:51, 161; B.I.B.M., III:200.
4. See p.199; B.W.I. 17 Feb. 1750; F.F.B.J. 18 Aug. 1764, 7 and 21 June 1766, 28 June 1768, 28 Nov. 1772; B.J. 14 June 1766, 12 June 1773 and cf. p.193 n.6. Chatterton mockingly declared the stage the 'best school of morality' (Complete Chatterton, I:426). Bedford, Reflections, p.21 is heavily sarcastic about such claims.
5. Lamoine, La Vie Littéraire, pp.201, 211-13; O.C.A. 29 Aug. 1747; F.F.B.J. 2 Aug. 1760, 8 Aug. 1767.
6. O.C.A. 20 July 1745; B.O. 2 Nov. 1745; F.F.B.J. 25 Feb. 1769; p.205. Cf. F.F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1761 on Cato. More: p.191 n.5.

William Powell brought to Bristol Garrick's cult of Shakespeare as the playwright of a reformed stage, and under him the plays performed, already shifting from comedy of manners to tragedy and sentiment, became overwhelmingly Shakespearean. In 1764-6 no less than 25 of the recorded performances are of Shakespeare's histories and tragedies, with 21 other tragedies and only 10 comedies. The comment in newspapers and poems focused even more intently on the high-brow.[1] Many potential opponents of the new theatre must have been won over by this approach, which collapsed when Powell died. It was already doubtful how far the Bristol audience supported such taste, and the new managers reverted to comedies and melodrama. By 1773 Harford supported his fellow Quakers in opposing a licence, while newspaper letters and essays called for more Shakespeare.[2] Reddish, the manager in 1775, sought valiantly to meet these demands while also providing music, spectacle and diversion.[3]

Conclusion

In a contest between Shakespeare and pantomime we are already deep in the modern debate over high and low culture. As far back as the 1700s Arthur Bedford was wrestling with the cultural implications of commerce, and whether they were best overcome by censorship, subsidy or education. Over the period as a whole we can discern a decisive shift in the nature and importance of the arts, at its

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1. See p.212; F.F.B.J. 9 June 1764, 29 June 1765, 4-18 July, 15 Aug. 1767, 1 Aug., 28 Nov. 1772; B.J. 22 June 1765, 14 June 1766, 4 Apr. 1767; Complete Chatterton, I:169, 379. Sarah and Richard Champion's opposition (pp.223 n.8, 243 n.1) was largely against low-brow theatre.
2. B.A.O. 28048 F.13, 1773 (Harford's subscription to petition against license). B.G. 23 July 1772, 15 June 1775; F.F.B.J. 16 Sept. 1775.
3. B.J. 16 July 1774, 24 June, 15 July, 16 Sept. 1775. B.J. 26 Aug. 1775 reported the dropping of a popular interlude to please the serious-minded.

clearest in the growth of commercial provision and the establishment in polite culture of artistic activity. Nevertheless, many important artistic activities were pursued outside this context, modified in form by changing styles but still meeting the same social needs as before, in the household, work, sociability, political and religious life. For various reasons, most of these elements in the artistic life of the city faced difficulties and change during the later seventeenth century. This has helped to create the impression that provincial arts emerged ex nihilo around 1700. This is difficult to prove even for commercial performance, and clearly untrue in other respects. The growth of a polite culture based on the marketplace was shaped and constrained by the other aspects of art, in particular the civic, political and religious issues involved. It was also affected by the tensions between the exclusive needs of gentility and the inclusive tendencies of the market in an increasingly prosperous society. By the nineteenth century the complex issues outlined here had resolved themselves into the 'Culture' debate, but in Bristol before 1775 they were still swirling about in complex cross-currents.

CHAPTER 6 SCIENCE, MEDICINE AND MAGIC

In Religion and the Decline of Magic Keith Thomas suggested that 'the decline of magic' after 1660 widened the gap between popular and elite culture, as the poor clung to traditions now dismissed as vulgar superstitions by the educated. Thomas was tentative in explaining this process, noting that 'supernatural theories went out before effective techniques came in', but placed considerable emphasis on the impact of the new philosophy and associated hopes for better control of the world.[1] Subsequent historians have generally endorsed Thomas' account of the growing importance of professional medicine and secular science, while offering more elaborate accounts of the social significance of adherence by the educated to scientific and medical theories. The broad tendency has been to portray the distinction of popular and elite culture as an aim, rather than a result, of new scientific and medical views. Support for established science and medicine offered the polite classes respectability, and symbols of affluence and leisure, based on metropolitan standards and products. Rejection of magic also avoided association with 'enthusiasm', either in healing or philosophy. The 'cultural' roots of the cultivation of science are stressed, rather than the requirements of medical or industrial practice.[2]

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1. K.V. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971), Chapter 22.
2. M. Hunter, Science and Society in Restoration England (Cambridge, 1981); G.S. Rousseau and R. Porter (eds) The Ferment of Knowledge (Cambridge, 1980); MacDonald, 'Religion, Social Change etc'; Heyd, 'Reaction to Enthusiasm'; M.C. and J.R. Jacob, 'The Anglican Origins of Modern Science' ISIS, LXXI (1980), 251-67; R. Porter, 'Science, Provincial Culture and Public Opinion' Brit. Jour. Eighteenth-Century Studies, III (1980), 20-46; idem, 'The "Rage of Party": A Glorious Revolution in English Psychiatry'?' Med. Hist., XXVII (1983), 33-50; idem, 'Was there a Medical Enlightenment?' Brit. Jour. Eighteenth-Century Studies, V (1982), 49-64; below p.287 n.5.

This chapter examines the science and medicine practised in Bristol insofar as they relate to these issues. Although science and medicine are used here to establish broader trends in cultural change, it should be stressed that neither yet occupied a position that made attitudes to them culturally pre-eminent. Little evidence has survived on the cultural impact of science and medicine on Bristolians, except for a few exceptional individuals. We can establish the names and something of the activities of a small number of scientific men, often aware of each other and thus constituting a kind of scientific community, but their interests and beliefs remained highly diverse. There was no formal society or public channel by which their ideas disseminated locally. Scientific education, the market in scientific books and instruments, public reports and exhibitions show the kinds of science being publicised, indicating particular kinds of public demand, but we cannot be sure what relation these activities bore to private practices and beliefs. As an occupation with well-organised institutions, medicine has left more evidence, but its significance for lay people remains highly obscure. The same reservations apply to our choice of beliefs in matters such as astrology, alchemy, spirits, prophecies, judgements and witchcraft, as representative of 'the occult' or 'magic', when they embrace a range of possible interests and social significance. In sketching out a broad framework this account will inevitably blur many of these important distinctions.

Utility

The cultural impact of science is even harder to gauge because, although science was never simply utilitarian, it was very closely tied to industrial, commercial and medical practice, both for an

agenda of topics and for information about Nature. Medical practitioners formed a major proportion of those interested in science throughout the period; no firm distinction was made between medicine and other aspects of natural philosophy. Medical men, and laypeople concerned about health, studied human and animal anatomy and physiology, botany, the chemistry of drugs and medical waters, the effects of electricity, meteorology and pneumatics, and urban demography.[1] The Hotwells were a particular focus of work in geology, chemistry, physiology and botany.[2] The chief commercial use for science was in navigation, prompting continuing interests in improved mapping and instrumentation, issues of geography, longitude and latitude, and the nature of tides.[3] Bristol's long-distance trade was founded on colonial exploration, and although its active participation in this was small after the early 1630s,[4] Bristol remained a landing-place for many exotic objects. Much novel information from the New World was relayed by its merchants and revenue officers, who also had extensive contacts round the English coast.[5] Port requirements also prompted exact measurement, charting

1. E.g. medical bias in botany: J.W. White, Bristol Flora (Bristol, 1912), pp.44-109; M.D. Crane, 'Arthur Broughton', Archives of Nat. Hist., X (1981), 317-30; J. Banks, Journal of an Excursion, ed. S.G. Perceval (1900), p.20.
2. See C.F. Mullett, 'Public Baths and Health' Bull. Hist. Med. Suppl., V (1946).
3. McGrath, Merchant Venturers, pp.200-1, 233-4; Temple Ka4, fo.103; F.B.N. 8 Oct. 1726 (poem); B.W.I. 25 Nov. 1749 (T.D.); B.J. 11 May 1771 (invention by T. Meredith). Cf. p.262.
4. James, Voyage, dedication, pp.111-12. But see W. Rogers, Cruising Voyages round the World (1712).
5. J. Aubrey, Three Prose Works ed. J. Buchanan-Brown (Fontwell 1972), p.338; Oldenburg, Correspondence, III:425 and V:32; Gunther (ed), Early Science, XII: 234-5, 240-2, 244, 284, 295, 297; B.C.L. 1154 (queries for travellers), 30100, fo.112 and Oct. 1750 Percival letter.

work, dock plans and the building of cranes and pumps.[1] The growth of the city and its water-supply involved land-surveyors, architects, engineers and map-makers.[2] The number of men involved in such technological occupations was still tiny, many of the early eighteenth-century projects being the work of the 'ingenious Mr. Padmore', but despite complaints of insufficient encouragement, Bristolians were prompt in employing the latest skills.[3]

Bristol's subsequent eclipse has obscured its leading role in the growth industries after 1660. It quickly became a leading centre of sugar-refinery, soapmaking, glass and pottery manufacture, all exploiting the local coalfields.[4] Intensive explorations of iron and lead supplies from the Forest of Dean to the Mendips, together with Cornish imports, made the area a centre for metal industries, particularly the more sophisticated production of copper, zinc and brass, while Bristolians also invested heavily in similar industries elsewhere.[5] Travellers were impressed by the mills and factories

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1. Port plans: Bodl. MS Topog. Gen. c.25,fo.137; B.L.Add. MS 5540, fo.36; Williams, 'Bristol Port Plans'; W. Champion, An Address to the Citizens of Bristol (Bristol, 1767). Measuring etc: S. Rigaud (ed.), Scientific Correspondence (2 vols Oxford, 1841), I:99-101, II:176; R. Collins, Country Gaugers Vade Mecum (1677). Cranes, pumps: Latimer, 17C, p.125; P.R.O. Prob. 3/26/41 (inv with patent to raise water from ships); n.3.
2. F.C. Jones, Bristol's Water Supply (Bristol, 1946); B.C.L. 1154,6 Nov. 1769 onwards (Temple spring). See pp.106, 222, 228 on maps.
3. M. Walls, 'John Padmore's Crane' B.I.A.S., VIII (1975), 17-19.
4. See pp.219-20 for pottery and glass; I.V. Hall 'Sugar Trade of Bristol' (Bristol Univ. M.A. thesis 1925); R.A. Buchanan and N. Cossons, The Industrial Archaeology of the Bristol Region (Newton Abbot, 1969). Examples of innovation: Aubrey, Three Prose Works, p.325; J.H. Bettey (ed) 'Bristol Glassworks c.1730' in Bristol Miscellany, p.16.
5. M.J.H. Southway, 'Kingswood Coal' B.I.A.S., IV (1971), 15-22, V (1972), 25-31 and IX (1976), 4-6; J.W. Gough, Mines of Mendip (2nd edn Newton Abbot, 1967); J. Day, Bristol Brass (Newton Abbot, 1973); John, Industrial Development, pp.8, 30-2, 166; see p.250 n.4. For Cole on calamine see T. Birch, The History of the Royal Society (4 vols, 1757), IV:495.

around Bristol, which often used sophisticated engines.[1] Eagerness to learn about mines and metals, and the abundance of information from working miners, made the strata and mineral deposits around Bristol the best-studied in the country, though scientific studies rarely helped industrialists to exploit new resources.[2] The use of machines and chemical knowledge in mills and factories was probably more productive. Chocolate was developed by the apothecary Walter Churchman, using the water-lifting machine which he patented and described in the Philosophical Transactions. His successor Joseph Fry not only 'maintained a scientific intercourse with the most skilful of his medical brethren in the city', but had a 'radical knowledge in the principles of chemistry', which led him into such manufactures as china, soap, letter-founding and chemicals, all 'connected by the principles of philosophic ingenuity'.[3]

The motives of those involved in such useful science were often not simply utilitarian. An unusual interest in such work was taken by Quakers, on the one hand, and High-Church Tories on the other.[4]

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1. E.g. J. Evelyn, Diary, ed. E.S. De Beer (1 vol. edn, Oxford, 1959), p.338; B. Martin, The Natural History of England (2 vols, 1759), I:78; A. Young, A Six Weeks Tour (1772), pp.170-4; Banks, Journal, p.16; R. Watson, Chemical Essays (Cambridge, 1786), IV:31, 36-42, 45, 65; P. Wakelin and J. Day 'Joseph Harris in Bristol 1748', B.I.A.S. XV (1982), 8-12.
2. Oldenburg, Correspondence, V:42; Bodl. MS Aubrey 13, fos.6, 73 etc., MS Ashm. 1814, fo.320 and 1830, fos.11, 24-8; Phil. Trans. II (1667), 525-7, III (1668), 767-71, XI (1676), 724-42, XV (1685), 854-5, XXX (1719), 968-73, XXXIII (1725), 395-8, LXIII (1773-4), 241-8; B.C.L. 1154 and 30100 passim; T.C.M., III (1771), 316.
3. Churchman: Phil. Trans., XXXVIII (1734), 402-4. Fry: Gent's Mag., LVII (1787), 385-6.
4. Quakers: see n.3; A. Raistrick, Quakers in Science and Industry (1968 edn); Owen, Two Centuries. Quakers were partnered by High Tories such as the M.P. Coster (Corry and Evans, History, II:141) and Dr. John Lane. See Day, Bristol Brass; R.O. Roberts 'Dr. John Lane' Gower, IV (1951), 18-24; idem (ed), 'Copper Industry of Neath etc.' S. Wales and Monm. Rec. Soc. Publics, IV (1957), 123-162; idem, 'Further Note', Gower, XXII (1971), 18-24 and F.V. Emery, 'Fresh Light', ibid, XX (1969), 8-13.

This may merely reflect their displacement from more conventional professions, but it probably prompted a cultivation of experimental science, with strong claims to social utility, as a cultural programme. In medicine men like the Quaker Charles Marshall or the Methodist preacher John Dolman developed unorthodox remedies based on experience rather than established medical theory.[1] The medical use of electricity by pietists in the mid-eighteenth century had a similar function.[2] Often religious and utilitarian motives were advanced together. The mathematicians Donn and Sturmy both stressed the role of astronomy in leading to God as well as profit, while William Ramsay believed that an observatory would broaden minds as well as help navigation.[3] Less conventionally the mathematician George Renolds combined an account of the use of hydrostatic balances in checking coins with a dissertation on biblical currency, while Christopher Chrysel produced two pamphlets about his improved boiler, the one purely utilitarian, the other outlining his occult theories about air as the vivifying principle of Nature.[4] In some cases the propaganda of utility was probably a public gesture, rather than a deep-felt motive. The customs-officer William Cole, describing his Purpura

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1. J. Marshall, Plain and Candid Relation (1676); idem, Sion's Travellers (wife's testimony on his medical help to poor); Mortimer, Minutes (1977), p.4. Dolman: see p.275.
2. See p.286.
3. Sturmy, Mariner's Magazine, 'Friendly Advertisement'; Ramsay in B.O.C.A. 18 June 1743; Donn, Epitome, p.v 'Poem on Usefulness of Natural Philosophy'.
4. G. Renolds, The State of the Greatest King (Bristol, 1721); C. Chrysel, A Brief Account of a New Invention (Bristol, 1774); idem, An Essay on the Draught of Fire (Bristol, 1774). Such interests often verged on alchemy e.g. C. Webster, The Great Instauration (1975), p.401; B.L. Add. MS 5540, fos.10ff.; Phil. Trans., XVII (1693), 694-5 and XVIII (1694), 257-62 (by J(ohn) C(ary)?; M. Nierenstein, 'A Bristol Alchemist', T.B.G.A.S., LIII (1931), 265-6.

Anglicana, a shellfish giving a purple dye, offered to 'render the discovery useful to answer the vulgar objection of cui bono raised by such persons who own no good but what relates to the body', but his chief purpose was to uncover Nature and Nature's God.[1]

The Scientific Community

No formal society existed in Bristol during this period to bring together those interested in science. The closest approximation came in 1669 when about 'half a score' of Bristolians, including William Cole and a surgeon called Haviland, began to meet weekly to assist in establishing a Somerset Philosophical Correspondence. The wider scheme lasted only eighteen months and nothing is known of the Bristol group beyond the first meeting.[2] Cole continued his scientific activity, calling in interested Bristolians to observe his experiments,[3] and in the mid-1680s he was enlisted to help his friends Andrew Paschall and John Beaumont in their successive efforts to produce a Natural History of Somerset.[4] By the 1690s Cole felt bereft of scientific companionship in Bristol, especially after the physician Dr Griffith died and the young Robert Welstead, later an eminent London physician, left Bristol.[5] Cole had a powerful local

1. W. Cole, Purpura Anglicana (1689), p.5.
2. A.J. Turner, 'A Forgotten Naturalist of the Seventeenth Century', Archives of Nat. Hist., XI (1982), 27-41; 1669-70: Proposals for Carrying on a Philosophical Correspondence (1670); Oldenburg, Correspondence, VI:138-42, 371-4, 443-4; Bodl. MS Aubrey 13, fo.7.
3. E.g. Gunther (ed), Early Science, VIII:204; Bodl. MS Ashm. 1814, fo.322, 1829, fos.141, 146 and 1830, fo.22.
4. Gunther (ed.), Early Science XII: 45, 244, 272-3, 275-8, 285-6; Bodl. MS Aubrey 13, fos.64, 66a, 83.
5. Bodl. MS Ashm. 1814, fo.313. Griffith: B.L. Add. MS 18598, 1 June 1694; B.C.L. 11153, 3 Nov. 1687, 15 Sept. 1688; Bodl. MS Ashm. 1829, fo.63, 1830, fo.22. Welstead: ibid. and 1829, fo.141; D.N.B.; Phil. Trans., XXX (1719), 968.

patron in the Kingsweston magnate Sir Robert Southwell, but Southwell was rarely there, partly because he found most Bristolians more interested in drinking than philosophy.[1] Cole's scientific contacts depended on his correspondence with Southwell, and others in Cambridge, London and especially Oxford, together with visits from those wishing to see his collections. When Cole died in 1701 his complex negotiations with Oxford to take his collections came to grief, and his son-in-law sold them to the physician John Lane for £60, although nobody in Bristol was considered able to value the fossils, shells, stone and natural rarities properly.[2]

The pattern suggested by Cole's career appears to hold true during the next century. The Quaker physician William Logan conducted an extensive scientific correspondence, but we know little of any local impact.[3] The Catcotts, father and son, were both part of the Hutchinsonian scientific circle, based on Oxford ties, and maintained largely by letters and occasional visits.[4] Bristol contained a number of other Hutchinsonians close to the Catcotts, but they never took up Hutchinson's suggestion of starting a local society, partly because they felt on the defensive against local critics of their esoteric natural philosophy.[5] Catcott junior went on geological

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1. Bodl. MS Ashm. 1830, fo.13; B.L. Add. MSS 18598-9. Cf. Petty-Southwell Correspondence ed. Marquis of Lansdowne (1928).
2. Cole: Gunther (ed.), Early Science, XII, passim esp. 286, 298-9; Phil. Trans., XVI (1687), 281. He planned a select national society of naturalists (Wellcome MS 1708, fo.159). For Lane see p.250 n.4.
3. Tolles, Logan, p.200; Raistrick, Quakers, p.263; J. Rutty, Methodical Synopsis of Mineral Waters (1757), p.611.
4. M. Neve and R. Porter, 'Alexander Catcott' Brit. Jour. Hist. Sci., X (1977), 37-60.
5. Hutchinson's suggestion: B.C.L. 26063, 10 Mar. and 4 Sept. 1734. A.S. Catcott's response: 23 Mar. 1734, and letters of 26 Mar. 1737, 17 Apr. 1738, 24 Apr. 1759.

field-trips with other Bristolians[1] and his collections attracted a stream of visitors, but when he bequeathed his collection to the Bristol City Library in 1779, it was not displayed publicly.[2] The Library Society of 1772 never developed into a 'Literary and Philosophical Society'. The only references to a Bristol Philosophical Society before the 1790s comes in a stray remark in 1747, probably referring to the shadowy 'Society' of subscribers to Andrew Hooke's Oracle newspapers, or to his coffee house, where he held courses of 'academical' lectures on philosophical subjects.[3]

Bristol's scientific activity depended on individual interests rather than groups or public patronage; Southwell was unique as an aristocratic patron. Most of those engaging seriously in aspects of science had occupations which involved science or gave them leisure and sufficient wealth to pursue amateur interests. Without criteria such as qualifications or society membership any list of 'scientists' must be arbitrary, but, of the 56 most likely candidates, 21 were medical men (9 physicians, 4 surgeons and 8 apothecaries or chemists), 10 taught or wrote on mathematics or the stars, 8 were clergymen, 4 merchants, 4 booksellers or painters, 2 customs officers and the others a gentleman, a lawyer, a distiller, a surveyor and a collier. Many pursued the experiments and collecting we define as science alongside other intellectual interests. The clerical and medical men were generally also noted for their attainments in belles-lettres,

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31. B.C.L. 1154 and 30100 esp. Mr. Franckombe, (B.C.L. 26063, 3 Oct. 1757, 5 Feb. 1761; Gent's Mag., LXXXII (1812), I:206).
32. Meyerstein, Chatterton, p.308; Pryce, Popular History, p.584.
33. H.M.C. J.P. 26, no.1294. Hooke's lectures: Bodl. G 116 Jur; B.W.I. 2-23 Feb. and 2-9 Mar. 1751, 8 Aug. 1752. For his newspapers see p.108.

classical or biblical studies.[1] Thomas Goldney investigated botany and geology, chiefly to stock his garden and his famous grotto, and a lively local trade in stones and fossils was maintained by such virtuoso demand.[2] The cabinets of local collectors contained coins, medals and artificial rarities alongside natural ones; the interests of John Browning extended from antiquities and demography to electricity.[3] William Cole was unusual in restricting his cabinet to natural rarities, but he gathered more diverse curiosities for his patrons, and massed mocoe-stones to dazzle the 'women and children'.[4] Catcott junior also specialized in natural items, but he visited other more miscellaneous cabinets.[5] Both Cole and Catcott were irritated at dilettantism, stressing the need to use collections to make serious scientific points, but Chatterton acutely questioned the motives of both collectors and visitors.[6]

A similar ambiguity lay at the heart of most scientific work. The bookseller and amateur electrician John Becket, in his Essay on Electricity (1773) strove to maintain a balance between selling electricity as a source of pleasure and surprising entertainment, and

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1. B.I.B.M., I:32 (Thornhill), 52 (Page), 62 (John Ford), 128 (Woodward) and II:208 (Broughton), 640 (Farr). Lhwyd found Cole's collection surprising for a man without a 'liberal education' (Gunther (ed.), Early Science, XIV:104).
2. See pp.153, 219; B.C.L. 30100, fos.38, 129-30; B.J. 21 Oct. 1769 (Tatum), 22 Aug. 1772 (Leary); E.D. Clarke, A Tour of 1791 (1793), p.149; B.J. 18 June 1774 (Sketchley).
3. Browning: H. Harington (ed.), Nugae Antiquae (1769), p.224; F.F.B.J. 20 Oct. 1759; Phil. Trans., XLIV (1747), 373-5, XLVII (1751), 278-81, XLVIII (1753), 217-20. Cf. J. van Rymsdyk, Museum Britannicum (1778), p.v.
4. P.R.O. Prob 5/3523 (Cole's inventory); B.L. Add. MS 18598, fo.42; Gunther (ed.), Early Science, XIV:291 (Lhwyd, as quoted).
5. B.C.L. 30100, fos.112, 129 and 23 July 1754; F.F.B.J. 15 May 1762 (collection Catcott visited sold).
6. Cole: Bodl. MS Lister 35, fo.99-100. Catcott: Treatise, pp.406-7; Complete Chatterton, I:418-9.

its utility and rational significance, condemning 'trifling experiments'.[1] Botanical and geological field-trips were associated with leisure at the Hotwells or the new vogue for travel. Interest in mathematics locally was generally confined to the questions and answers of the periodicals.[2] Scientific interests were inextricably dependent on polite patterns of leisure. Devotees of science could expect interest, encouragement, and limited assistance from a polite audience, but they might also become butts of satire for pursuing their interests to the point of eccentricity.[3]

Science for the Public

Books played an important role in educating medical men, and others active in science. The surgeons Thornhill, Arding and Pye and the physicians Middleton and Randolph all left substantial libraries, and Pye and Randolph were noted for their classical scholarship, as were many medical men.[4] Dr John Cooke's library, sold in 1722, not only contained 453 'libri medici', including works of general science by Boyle and others of the Royal Society, but another 153 philosophical and mathematical titles, ranging from Agrippa to Descartes, Hobbes to Whiston.[5] Prospective ministers were also introduced to scientific reading necessary for natural theology, and

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1. Preface, pp.119-20. Cf. F.F.B.J. 23 Oct. 1773, 26 Mar. 1774 (essays).
2. E.g. B.W.I. 10 Aug. 1751; T.C.M. II (1770) 492, 549, 600. An exception was John Ford, surgeon (E. Henderson, Life of James Ferguson (1867), p.202).
3. Thistlethwaite, Corruption, p.49, on Shiercliff; p.280 n.4.
4. F.F.B.J. 27 Jan. 1759 (Thornhill); B.C.L. 14799, fos.94-101 (Arding); F.F.B.J. 2 Sept. 1760 (Pye) and p.272; Middleton's Sale Catalogue (misplaced in B.L.); F.F.B.J. 6 Oct. 1764, 14 Mar. 1765 (Randolph) and p.281 n.1.
5. Catalogue of ... Dr. John Cooke.

Thomas Palmer's collection sold in 1694 contained about 40 scientific works, several of them Paracelsian and Hermetic, but also including practical textbooks, Bacon, Burton and Ray.[1] The mathematics teacher Ramsay left 'a choice collection chiefly in the mathematical way and many very scarce', while the self-taught collier, William Llewellin, 'laid out £30 ... saved from labour in younger days' to purchase astronomical writings, including Newton, Halley and Keill.[2]

However it seems less likely that books played a major part in spreading scientific awareness to the general public. Some publications, such as Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac Newton's Natural Philosophy (1728), Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall (1757) and Croker's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences (1764), did attract a fair number of Bristol subscribers, but far fewer than volumes of travel or sermons. Scientific titles were not popular with borrowers from the Library Society, except Goldsmith's History of the Earth, which, like Borlase and other folios of natural history and cosmography, may have appealed as books of travel and history.[3] Few books of science and medicine are mentioned in inventories or auction lists, at any stage, and such books did not sell well at the 1740 auction.[4] Bristol's own publication in these areas consisted of 29 titles, just under 6% of non-methodist titles, but only 4 of these appeared before 1755 and 20 after 1766. Almost all were medical.[5]

Scientific instruments and collections may well have played a larger part in the 'public spectacle' of science, which Simon Schaffer

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1. Bibliotheca Palmeriana.
2. B.O. 17 Oct. 1747; B.J. 18 Jan. 1774.
3. Catalogue of Books; Kaufman, Borrowings.
4. Catalogue of Auction. See Table IX.
5. See Table X.

has shown to have been so important in attracting public support.[1] Bristolians were better supplied than most with scientific instruments because of the demands of navigation. The 1633 expedition was equipped with the latest instruments, suggested by 'an ingenious practitioner in the Mathematics', probably Philip Staynred, whose activities included teaching, gauging, mapping the city and, in 1667, assisting Captain Sturmy to take compass and tidal observations for the Royal Society with a 'quadrant of 6 ft radius'.[2] Several other instrument-makers practised in Stuart Bristol, and a number of spectacle-makers were attracted there, doubtless encouraged by the glass industry.[3] Fewer optical or other instrument-makers are recorded between 1700 and 1750, although the mathematician Sam Workman displayed public a giant orrery he had constructed.[4] But after 1750 several instrument-maker's shops were advertised, while booksellers sold London-made instruments.[5] There were also several engine- and pump-makers who could construct machines. Dyer and Symes bought their

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1. S. Schaffer, 'Natural Philosophy and Public Spectacle', Hist. of Sci., XXI (1983), 1-43.
2. James, Voyage, pp.4, 45, 63, 121-6; Sturmy, Mariner's Magazine, 'Compendium of Fortification'; Capp, Astrology, pp.323, 380; Oldenburg, Correspondence, III:228-9, 235-6; IV:424-6; V:83-4, 95-6, 171; Phil. Trans., I (1667), 378-9; III (1668), 726-7, 813-7; XIII (1683), 2-6.
3. Spectacle-makers: H. Dowle (Burgess 1 Jan. 1631); T. Pawlson (App.28 Mar. 1639); J. King (Burgess 6 Dec. 1678), T. Martin (App.12 Nov. 1691). Instrument-makers: e.g. Burgess: 2 June 1662 (J. Willis), 13 July 1678 (T. Wells), 30 Nov. 1718 (T. Plummer); B.A.O. 04434(3) 4 Jan. 1700 (E. Woolfe).
4. F.B.N. 17 Sept., 8 Oct. 1726.
5. F.F.B.J. 20 Mar. 1756, B.W.I. 1 Jan. 1757 (Wright); F.F.B.J. 27 Nov. 1756 (Teast); F.F.B.J. 29 Sept. 1759, B.J. 3 Sept. 1774 (Springer).

first electrical machines from London, but then had copies and adaptations constructed locally.[1]

Bristol's scientific activists knew that the best way to interest and convince the public was through demonstration, by collections or experiments.[2] Even in fields not amenable to simple demonstration, such as cosmology and geology, efforts were made to simulate natural processes. Richard Symes had an electrical planetarium, which conveniently embodied his belief that electricity animated the world-system as well as illustrating heavenly motions.[3] Catcott junior used a glass vessel to show the geomorphic action of the Deluge waters.[4] Both were adherents of highly esoteric natural philosophies based on scriptural exegesis, but in disputes between rationalists and those who also appealed to revelation, sense testimony was the contested ground by which public assent was sought, with the minority groups claiming that established theories failed to account for the experimental evidence. Sometimes different groups pitted alternative kinds of evidence against each other. Astronomy alone tended to support Newtonian mechanical philosophy, while earth history helped Hutchinsonians and others to show the Christian teleology of nature.[5] Rival theorists of the Hotwell waters

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1. B.C.L. 20095, 17 June, 17 Sept. 1760, 27 Sept. 1766; B.J. 31 Jan. 1767 (Hickes); F.F.B.J. 24 Jan. 1756 (Jones).
2. Catcott, Remarks on ... Clogher's Vindication (1756), preface, p.1; B.C.L. 26063, 27 July, 22 Dec. 1733, 10 Mar., 23 June 1734.
3. R. Symes, Fire Analysed (Bristol, 1771), pp.55-8.
4. Catcott, Treatise, pp.219, 295; Complete Chatterton, I:419. Neve and Porter, 'Alexander Catcott' ignore Catcott senior's experimental interests e.g. B.C.L. 30100, fos.15-16, 34-6 and 26063, 29 Oct. 1736.
5. See p.278. However, the Hutchinsonians, Catcott senior and Randolph worked on planetary movements (B.C.L. 26063; A.S. Catcott, Tractatus in quo Tentatur (1738)), while the Priestleyites Bright, Becket and Broughton were interested in geology, pneumatology etc. (see p.286 n.4).

deployed chemical analysis against each other, while a vocal minority questioned the value of chemistry, appealing instead to the simpler testimony of actual cures.[1]

Despite the appeal to public opinion, however, it cannot have been easy for the public to adjudicate such issues. Instruments were expensive, so that telescopes and globes earned special mentions in advertisements of goods for sale.[2] In 1766 a Hotwells shop offered reflecting telescopes for between £2 and £20, and Joseph Harford paid 10s 6d for a hydrostatic scale in 1757 and £1 3s for a camera obscura in 1762.[3] The collier Llewellin learnt to grind his own optical instruments to save money.[4] Plans for a public observatory never matured.[5] In 1771 the bookseller John Becket offered to lessen the cost of access to a set of instruments (globes, planetarium, microscope, solar reflecting telescopes, air pump, electrical machines etc.) by starting a subscription for ladies and gentlemen to use his

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1. E.g. J. Underhill, A Short Account of Bristol Hotwell-Water (Bristol, 1703) pp.4-7, 43; J. Wynter, Cyclus Metasyncritus (1725), pp.17-21, 39-41, 109-113; P. Keir, An Enquiry into ... Medicinal Waters of Bristol (1739); J. Shebbeare, A New Analysis of Bristol Waters (1740); G. Randolph, An Inquiry into the Medicinal Virtues of Bristol-Water (Oxford, 1745 edn), preface, pp.81-5 and (Oxford, 1750 edn), 132 ff esp. 152, 164; Owen, Observations, pp.152-5; A. Sutherland, The Nature and Qualities of Bristol Water (Bristol, 1758), pp.10-12, 22-5, 37, 42-63; Rutty, Synopsis, pp.611-13; F.F.B.J. 15 July 1775 ('Medical Impartialist').
2. O.C.A. 8 Apr. 1749 (Watts); F.F.B.J. 15 Oct. 1763 (Hooper), 14 Apr. 1764 (Smith). B.W.I. 19 Mar. 1757 Tho. Wilkes surveyor sold an electrical machine he demonstrated in 1746 (B.O. 27 Dec. 1746).
3. F.F.B.J. 7 June 1766; B.A.O. 28048 F1 1757, 1762. Cf. B.C.L. 26063, 16 May 1761 W. Jones (good air-pump cost £20 and a small one £6-8).
4. B.J. 18 Jan. 1774.
5. See p.251. An observatory was proposed again in 1766 (F.F.B.J. 25 Oct., 29 Nov.).

collection, partly presumably to recoup his own expenses.[1] Although instrument-makers sometimes advertised their products as means to 'demonstrate curious experiments', their chief customers were merchants and mariners, hence their shops were all close to the Quay.[2] The training offered by Bristol's mathematicians consisted largely of providing the information and techniques necessary to use the practical instruments involved in navigation, gauging, surveying, and other more specialised arts. Until 1740 these men, though highly skilled, provided vocational training, not a wider scientific education. Even Sturmy's Mariner's Magazine, despite its plea for gentlemen to study practical mathematics, was highly technical, and old-fashioned in its astronomy. John Beale was scornful of the scientific breadth of Staynred and another mathematician, Robert Yffe, and although he considered Sturmy a reliable informant for the Royal Society he stressed that he was not worthy of membership.[3]

As Chapter Two indicated, this division between vocational and humanistic education was weakened in the eighteenth century, both by the introduction of practical and scientific subjects into general secondary schools, and by the efforts of specialist mathematicians to project mathematics and astronomy as the underpinnings of the Newtonian achievement, with humanistic value to the young. The leading exponent of this in Bristol was Benjamin Donn, and from his arrival in 1764 he attracted an enthusiastic lobby urging civic and

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1. F.F.B.J. 7 Dec. 1771. Cf. O.C.A. 7 Nov. 1747 for Ramsay's collection, employed in lecturing, or Wilkes p.260 n.2.
2. Experiments: F.F.B.J. 20 Mar., 20 Nov. 1756 (Wright), Quay: B.J. 23 July 1774 (Edgeworth); B.C.L. 7951 (1773 Jury list for St. Stephens).
3. See pp.44, 55-6; Oldenburg, Correspondence, III:425, IV:426; Sturmy, Mariner's Magazine, Book I p.2.

public support for his projects, as a valuable asset to Bristol commerce and culture.[1] However, despite his supporters and an impressive range of publications, Donn was unable to sustain a local career beyond that of an ordinary mathematics teacher, like his colleague Thomas Flower.[2] By 1773 Donn had lost the patronage of the Corporation and Merchant Venturers and, failing to become Librarian of the new Society, had to move his school out of the Library House. After failing to establish an academy in Bristol he moved to Taunton, although continued financial troubles brought him back to Bristol after 1775.[3]

The establishment of scientific lecturing in Bristol must be considered, in part, as a means for teachers such as Donn, Flower and Ramsay to establish a broader scientific reputation and enable them to teach a wider curriculum. Their lectures probably arose from classes given as optional extras to the older pupils, and Donn expected most of his audience to be 'young gentlemen and ladies'.[4] One source of inspiration for Ramsay when he began lecturing, apparently in 1741, may have been the anatomical lectures for aspiring surgeons given at the Barber-Surgeon's Hall. That same year John Page published his epitome of these lectures, which he and James Ford offered again in 1744 and 1746, advertising them to the general public as well.[5] As

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1. E. Robinson, 'Benjamin Donn', Annals of Sci., XIX (1963), 27-36; Complete Chatterton, I:586; B.J. and F.F.B.J. 13 Feb. 1773; B.G. 6 May 1773.
2. F.F.B.J. 22 Jan. 1763, 29 Dec. 1764, 20 Apr. 1765, 1 Dec. 1770, 21 May 1774; B.J. 13 Apr. 1765; Southey, Life, I:48-50.
3. S.M.V. Hallbook, 15 May 1771; B.J. 23 Jan., 17 Apr., 29 May, 28 Aug., 6 Nov. 1773.
4. Donn, Epitome, preface.
5. Page's Compendium Anatomicum (Bristol, 1741), in B.I.B.M., I:50-54 and II:210. Lectures: B.O.C.A. 20 Oct., 3 Nov. 1744, O.C.A. 25 Oct. 1746, B.O. 1 Nov. 1746; B.I.B.M., I:118 (Lowe c.1760).

far as we know the only national lecturer to have visited Bristol previously was Whiston, back in 1724 and 1726, although Martin came in 1743 and Ferguson in 1749, while in 1746 Thomas Bennet lectured with demonstrations on electricity.[1] Until his death in 1745 Ramsay offered regular courses on experimental philosophy and astronomy, using his own apparatus, though in 1743 he proposed a Brandon Hill observatory as a centre for his lectures. Thereafter he gave monthly astronomical lectures to coincide with interesting celestial events.[2] In the 1750s Bristol was visited by itinerant lecturers in most years, and Thomas Flower began to lecture, until silenced by the arrival of Donn. Donn rapidly became locked in competition for audiences with Ferguson and, in particular, James Arden, which produced a peak in the frequency of lectures in 1768-9, when between 80 and 100 lectures were given annually. This obviously exceeded demand and Arden and Ferguson did not return until Donn, after cutting back his own lecturing and going off to lecture elsewhere, finally departed altogether.[3]

Two elements dominated the lectures: astronomy and 'experimental philosophy'. The intellectual core lay in the former, in demonstrations of the Copernican system and expounding of Newtonian ideas. The 'sublime science of astronomy' was carefully emphasized to ensure an uplifting conclusion to courses, leading from Nature to

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1. W. Whiston, Memoirs (2nd edn., 2 vols, 1753), I:272, 283-4; F.B.N. 8-15 Oct. 1726. Martin: B.O.C.I. 6 Aug. 1743. Bennet: O.C.A. 13 Sept. 1746. Ferguson: B.W.I. 21 Oct. 1749.
2. F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1741; Oracle 16 Oct. 1742; B.O.C.A. 18 June, 31 Dec. 1743; O.C.A. 10 Mar. 1744, 16 Feb. 1745.
3. See F.F.B.J. 10 Feb. 1770 and B.J. 6 Jan., 17 Feb. 1770 (Donn vs. Arden). B.J. 22 Sept. 1770 (only one Donn course p.a. so 'not too common'), 20 Feb. 1773; J.R. Millburn, 'London Evening Courses', Annals of Sci., XL (1983), 440 n.10.

Nature's God.[1] The audience, particularly the ladies, were assured that previous knowledge was not necessary, and the appeal was cultural and not utilitarian.[2] Nevertheless, the chief feature of most lectures was the performance of experiments, demonstrating machines and methods which were intended to be both useful and elegant.[3] Much of each course was taken up with mechanics, pneumatics, hydraulics, hydrostatics and geography, although optics were sometimes included, and electricity became common in standard lectures by the late 1760s. Chemistry, however, was neglected, except by William Griffiss.[4]

Despite the occasional mention of 'mechanics' attending, the audiences must have been fairly exclusive. Single lectures usually cost 2s or 2s 6d, while subscribers for series, sometimes as short as five lectures but usually nine or more, paid 1s to 1s 6d per lecture.[5] Some lecturers held several courses in succession, and in 1751-2 Griffiss stayed for nine three-week courses, but there was a danger of exhausting the market. Returning lecturers encouraged repeaters by promising new apparatus and topics and offering them reduced prices.[6] Audiences were not particularly large. Most lecturers specified a minimum subscription of 20-40 before they

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1. B.O.C.A. 18 June 1743 (Ramsay); B.W.I. 23 Dec. 1749 (A.B.); Donn, Epitome, esp. p.119n; F.F.B.J. 29 Dec. 1764 (Flower); J. Ferguson, Analysis of Course of Lectures (Bristol, 1763), p.30.
2. Donn: B.J. 19 Oct. 1765, 3 Jan. 1767; Arden: B.J. 4 Feb. 1769.
3. Machines: B.O.C.I. 6 Aug. 1743 (Martin); Ferguson, Analysis; B.J. 9 Nov. 1771 (Donn). Use: e.g. Griffiss: B.W.I. 16 Nov. 1751, F.F.B.J. 19 June 1756.
4. Chemistry: B.W.I. 10 Aug. 1751. Electricity: B.J. 14 Jan. 1769 (Donn).
5. 'Mechanics': B.G. 26 May 1774. Cf. frequent refs to 'gentlemen and ladies', e.g. B.O.C.I. 6 Aug. 1743 (Martin). Cost, e.g., Donn: B.J. 5 May, 22 Sept. 1770.
6. B.W.I. 15 Feb. 1752 (Griffiss); B.J. 28 Sept. 1771 (Donn).

began.[1] In 1774 Ferguson was elated at an attendance of 62 for his first course and expected 24 at the next.[2] The timing of most lectures suggests a Bristolian not a Hotwells audience, as most occurred outside the summer months, except for a July series at the Hotwells. Otherwise most were given at the schools of the local lecturers or in inns, coffee-houses or halls in central Bristol.[3]

So far I have emphasized the limited character of the scientific community and of the spread of scientific knowledge beyond the leisured and professional classes, except in practical mathematics and other areas of immediate utility. However the spectacle of Nature also reached a wide public audience through shows, newspapers and daily conversation. Though not presented so didactically, these offered ordinary people much of their natural knowledge and still played an important part in framing the outlook of scientific activists.

Though we know little about the public shows brought to Stuart Bristol, 'monsters' and other wonders were certainly displayed, as were models.[4] Cole's collections were almost sold to lottery-men to display at fairs for 'a penny', and many more people must have seen these displays than attended lectures or visited private collections. One showman claimed that over 5000 people had seen 'the great ox' at one Fair.[5] As Chapter Four indicated, these shows sought to attract

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1. 20: F.B.J. 29 Aug. 1741 (Ramsay), F.F.B.J. 5 Oct. 1751 (Griffiss). 30: B.W.I. 6 June 1752 (Hooke). 40: F.F.B.J. 19 May 1770 (Ferguson).
2. Henderson, Life of Ferguson, p.407.
3. B.J. 1 July 1769 (Arden).
4. Thomas, Rayling Rebuked, epistle (metaphor of monster at Bristol Fair); B.A.O. 04417(1), 5 Aug. 1654. Cf. Latimer, 17C, p.32; Gunther (ed.), Early Science, XII:240, 294-5.
5. Bodl. MS Ashm. 1815, fo.200; B.J. 7 Feb. 1767. B.J. 11 July 1767 described animals as from the 'great cabinet of Nature'.

'the curious of all ranks', offering tickets at varying prices. They certainly aimed to attract 'gentlemen and ladies', and their advertisements stressed previous patronage by royalty, nobility or scientific circles in London and abroad.[1] Items praising particular shows appeared in the papers, for example a poem by a pupil of Henderson's school after a private showing of Cox's Museum in 1775.[2] Some shows claimed to illustrate Copernican astronomy or 'the Newtonian science of optics', providing talks or catalogues to enlarge these themes,[3] and the curious were invited to examine exhibits closely, not merely to gaze in wonder. Catcott junior was very interested in the animals exhibited in 1749, and looked closely at the dead 'mermaid' without detecting signs of fraud, though it was later exposed as a 'monstrous birth'.[4] The Philosophical Transactions published John Browning's 1751 letter concerning a dwarf exhibited at the Fair, and Ferguson's 1763 account of a strange fish displayed at the Hotwells.[5] The keyword in showmen's publicity was 'curiosity', and this united the disparate items exhibited. The natural exhibits were all rarities, such as exotic animals, animals or men of unusual size or abnormal growth, or able to perform unusual feats. They

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1. E.g. B.O.C.I. 8 Jan. 1743, 18 Aug. 1744; B.O.C.A. 25 Aug. 1744; B.J. 7 Aug. 1765 ('question among polite and curious'), 31 Aug. 1771 ('curious of all ranks').
2. B.G. 11 Nov. 1775. Cf. poems in B.J. 11 Nov. 1775, B.M.B.J. 2 Dec. 1775 and F.F.B.J. 16 Dec. 1775. Dyer visited this (B.C.L. 20095, 30 Jan. 1776), Porcupine Man ('truly a curiosity' 13 Feb. 1759), Corsican Fairy (5 May 1773) and Microcosm (26 Jan. 1774).
3. F.B.N. 8 Oct. 1726; B.O.C.A. 19 Jan. 1745, B.W.I. 18 Jan. 1752; F.F.B.J. 8 Aug. 1747; A Descriptive Catalogue of Cox's Museum (Bristol, 1775).
4. Inspection, e.g. B.J. 16 July 1768. Catcott: B.C.L. 30100, fos.118-9 (cf. B.J. 29 July 1749). Cf. B.C.L. 1154 for albino African child (1762) and fish (2 May 1763).
5. Phil. Trans., XLVII (1751), 278-81; Phil. Trans., LIII (1763), 170-2. Cf. ibid., XVI (1691), 525-7, on Bristol ruminant; Banks, Journal, p.17.

illustrated both the bizarre variety of the natural world[1] and its closeness to the human condition.[2] Human ingenuity was displayed in conjuring and in mechanisms and models, mostly worked by clockwork or electricity. These showed the potential for perpetual motion or displayed in moving tableaux some industrial wonder.[3] Often they illustrated the same natural and human powers as the lectures, but even more than these they depended on Rococo showmanship, using music, painting and glitter to overwhelm the senses with wonder and pleasure.[4]

Bristol's scientists were still operating within the Baconian framework, viewing these rarities as important guides to natural philosophy. Similarly they continued to take great interest in Nature's own spectacular shows, such as eclipses, comets, storms, earthquakes, unusual tides and monstrous births, reporting these to other scientists and noting them in diaries and papers.[5] These were also reported regularly in manuscript annals, and later in the newspapers, as topics of 'curiosity' absorbing the attention of

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1. E.g. F.F.B.J. 3 Feb. 1759 (Porcupine Man); B.J. 24 Jan. 1767 ('Nature's wonderful productions).
2. See p.155 n.3 for performing animals; B.J. 27 July 1765; F.B.N. 16 Oct. 1725 (animals described anthropomorphically); B.C.L. 30100,fo.118 (Catcott on 'Whistler of Woods' 'nearest to human species').
3. Oracle 5 June 1742 (perpetual motion), 17 July 1742 (clock and corn-grinding); F.F.B.J. 9 Feb. 1754 (weaving), 29 Sept. 1759 (mining).
4. E.g. poems in F.F.B.J. 24 Dec. 1774, B.J. 11 Nov. 1775.
5. E.g. B.C.L. 30100 includes cutting from F.F.B.J. 15 Dec. 1753 on lightning. The local cavern at Pen Park Hole always attracted both popular and scientific interest summarised in F.F.B.J. 25 Mar., 1 Apr. 1775.

Bristolians of all classes.[1] Usually they were noted without any discussion of their scientific significance, but obviously Bristolians eagerly debated their causes and meaning.[2] Often these events, like the shows, must merely have reinforced a popular sense that anything was possible in Nature, but rationalists also used these proofs of Nature's oddness and the fallibility of sense testimony to attack occult theories. In 1762 some argued that there was nothing in the symptoms of a possession case beyond the powers of conjurers, or even performing animals.[3]

Medicine and the Public

Close ties between public and expert science might be expected, given the absence of a scientific profession. In the case of medicine, however, a strong occupational grouping existed with expert knowledge, which Geoffrey Holmes has suggested was transformed into a medical profession during our period.[4] Medical organization in Bristol certainly followed the general pattern during this period.

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1. MS Annals e.g. B.A.O. 37541, 1690-1, 1692-3, 1713-14, Apr. 1760. Papers: e.g. F.B.N. 9 Oct. 1725 (eclipse), 6 Apr. 1728 (aurora); B.O.C.A. 18 June 1743 (births); F.F.B.J. 25 June 1757 (quadruplets), 16 July 1757 (temperature); B.J. 12 June 1773 (earthquake), 8 Apr. 1775 (serpent). The editors expected interest e.g. B.O.C.A. 31 Dec. 1743 (comet), F.F.B.J. 4 July 1752 (storms). In F.F.B.J. 13 Jan. 1753 A. Mun of Bristol calculated all eclipses until 1800.
2. See p.288; B.L. Add MSS 5540, fo.112; B.W.I. 31 Mar. 1750 (earthquakes); B.J. 17 Oct. 1768 (springs), 9 and 16 Sept. 1769 (poems on comet); F.F.B.J. 26 Mar. 1774 (electric); B.M.B.J. 11 Nov. 1775 (colours).
3. Strange and Wonderful News from Bristol (1676), pp.5-6 silenced doubts that a hen might give birth to kittens by appealing to that 'vast America in philosophy' undiscovered, suggesting 'Nature' liked an occasional frolic. Cf. show (F.F.B.J. 30 Jan. 1762) for 'all that in miracles rejoice'. 1762 see p.297.
4. Holmes, Augustan England, 166-235. Cf. I. Loudon, 'Nature of Provincial Medical Practice', Med. Hist., XXIX (1985), 1-32.

The city supported a large and rising number of medical men; the tripartite distinction of physicians, apothecaries and barber-surgeons grew even less realistic. As the apothecaries and leading surgeons grew wealthier they increasingly fused in general practice, except for a small minority who specialized, as druggists or consulting surgeons, while the old link of barbery and surgery was finally broken around 1745.[1] Surgeons, apothecaries and even physicians offered themselves as men-midwives, threatening the old female monopoly by the 1730s.[2] The leading surgeons and physicians found a chance to develop and display their skills in the city hospitals, first at St Peter's Hospital, the city workhouse, and then from 1737 at the Infirmary.[3] In 1775 the first long-lasting Dispensary was established.[4] Bristol's doctors also benefited from the Hotwells custom, and were indefatigable in developing other medical side-lines, such as bathing or innoculation.[5] All of these activities were extensively reported in the local press, if not advertised by the doctors themselves. Did not these developments imply that, at least for those who could afford commercial medicine, regular medical

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1. Parker, 'Early Medical Institutions'; idem, 'Medical Organization and Growth of Medical Sciences' B.M.C.J., XXIX (1911), 201-228.
2. S. Stone, The Complete Practice of Midwifery (1737), p.x; F.B.N. 28 Jan. 1727 (Pye); 27 Jan. 1728 (Thornhill); F.F.B.J. 22 Oct. 1757 (Hands, poor gratis), 8 May 1762 (Martha Powell, trained by Mr. Labee).
3. See below pp.275-6.
4. See pp.178 n.3, 275.
5. Innoculation: J. Jurin, A Letter to Caleb Colesworth (1723), p.5, on Dr. French; F.F.B.J. 2 and 30 Mar. 1765 (Chavasse and Lowder, each £5 5s); B.J. 2 Jan. 1768 (Rodberd, charge according to circumstances); B.J. 22 Oct. 1768 (Benyon, poor free); B.J. 9 Dec. 1775 (Lancaster, 10s 6d). Bathing: see p.159; S.M.V. Hallbook, 18 July 1751; B. di Dominicetti, A Short and Calm Apology (Bristol, 1762); J. Symons, Observations on Vapor Bathing (Bristol, 1766).

remedies increasingly replaced reliance on religious or magical techniques, leaving folk medicine for the poor only?

A number of provisos suggest themselves concerning this argument. Recent research has highlighted the large number of medical practitioners available in Tudor and Stuart towns, and Bristol appears no exception.[1] The barber-surgeons and apothecaries must have been catering to most of the population, and their gild regulations made careful provision for free treatment of the poor. The Corporation and vestries paid for regular medical care of the poor at the standard rates.[2] Bristol's hospitals merely continued this tradition, although they raised standards of surgery. Just as doctors used hospital care for the poor to establish a charitable reputation, so other doctors in private practice also offered free treatment.[3]

The ordinary Bristolian experienced medicine largely through the cosmetic and minor surgical work of the barber-surgeon, or the drugs and medical advice of the apothecary. The efficacy of both may have increased slightly, but it is easier to envisage patient/doctor relations here in a commercial than a professional capacity, with an interchange of ideas about illness and remedies of patient and

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1. M. Pelling and C. Webster 'Medical Practitioners' in C. Webster (ed.), Health, Medicine and Mortality (Cambridge, 1979), pp.165-235.
2. Parker, 'Early Medical Institutions'; B.A.O. 04369(1), no.7. In B.A.O. 04417(2), 31 July 1663 and (3), 22 Feb. 1673 the Company stressed the 'many families' supported by barber-surgery and overproduction of apprentices. Ibid., 24 Jan. and 5 May 1673 record typical Corporate arrangements for relief. See B.A.O. 04026 and C.V.; P/C.W.A. to 1697; S.M.V. Hallbook, e.g. 29 Mar. 1727, 28 Apr. 1736 (Infirmary subscription 13 July 1742); nonconformist care e.g. B.A.O. 6687(3), 35841 PT/F/1a.
3. See p.269 nn.2, 5; B.J. 19 May 1750 (Grace); Wellcome MS 3631, fo.30 for free care of the poor, imitated by itinerants. T. Dover (An Ancient Physican's Legacy (2nd edn,1732), pp.98-9) soon offered his services to St. Peter's Hospital. Cf. comments on Infirmary vacancies in F.F.B.J. 22 Sept., 20 Oct. 1759 and 10

practitioner. This picture emerges from the diary of William Dyer, which also illustrates the continued pursuit of eclectic sources of relief by sufferers, from home cures to patent medicines, from cunning women to quack physicians and surgeons.[1] Many laymen with an interest in health offered their amateur services to friends and the poor, either issuing drugs and advice like the apothecaries or developing a special treatment, such as medical electricity or a particular nostrum. Success in such practice might lead gradually to full-time practice.[2] Bristol was visited constantly by itinerants with some such specialty or nostrum, advertising their presence by putting up a stage in public or notices as to the inn or house where they might be consulted.[3] Porter has rightly stressed that the quacks of this period were not offering 'alternative medicine', but many relied on spectacular display and claims to cure all which hardly equate with professionalism.[4] The same might be said of the patent medicines sold by booksellers and other shopkeepers. Such remedies

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1. E.g. B.C.L. 20095, 5 Sept. 1757, 14 June 1766, 23 June 1769, 13 Aug. 1770, 20 Aug. 1778, and 20096, 16 Oct. 1762. Other Bristolians noting remedies: Wellcome MS 1708, fo.163; B.L. Add. MS 5540, fo.119v, 18598, 18 Sept. 1689; B.C.L. 9167 for 1745. Wellcome MS 3631 mentions 'pretenders to surgery' (fos.35, 41) and patients arguing about cases (e.g. 10 Feb. 1733). For shared ideas e.g. B.C.L. 20095, 14 Feb. 1764, 20096, 17 May 1762; Pharmacopeia in Usum Nosocomii Brioliensis (Bristol 1777).
2. Dyer himself (B.C.L. 20096, passim, 20095, 20 Oct. 1769, 22 Jan. 1770 (treating medical men)), his friend Hopkins (B.C.L. 20095, 14 Feb. 1764) and Captain Cheyne (ibid., 26 May 1766); D. Smith, An Apology for commencing Practice of Physic (1775) (publications on gout advertised B.J. 6 June 1772, 9 Apr. 1774); Symes, Fire Analysed, p.52; Becket, Essay, pp.49-51.
3. Q.S. Minutes Jan. 1670 (riot at mountebank's stage). B.P.B. 30 May 1713 (Jordaine), 17 Mar. 1714 (Dormer), 25 Sept., 13 Nov. 1714, 3 Dec. 1715 (Bushel); F.B.N. 1 July 1727 onwards (Thornhill of Wells).
4. R. Porter, 'Language of Quackery', in P. Burke and R. Porter (eds), Language and Society (Cambridge, forthcoming).

rested on secret and bizarre recipes rather than medical theories, and appealed to the experience of cures against medical dogmatism.[1]

Ironically, much the same was true of the regular medical practitioners. Medical theory was in confusion, and many practitioners were consciously anti-theoretical. They attacked quacks as frauds and incompetents, while publicizing their own successes in the press.[2] They advanced themselves as individual practitioners with a local reputation for competence, not through professional solidarity as a scientific elite. As a profession they were noted for their distinctive dress, use of occult Latin terminology and breadth of humanistic knowledge,[3] not for a distinctive medical world-view. A partial exception may be made for the surgeons. The gild tradition of anatomy lectures was extended by hospital surgery, while individual surgeons used anatomical collections in their surgeries to impress the public.[4] The demand for dead bodies this engendered caused the only

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1. F.B.N. 23 July 1726 (book of cures for Bateman's Drops). Bristol apothecaries developed patent medicines e.g. Hayward's for gout and rheumatism (B.O.C.I. 23 July 1743; B.O.C.A. 1 Dec. 1744 (book of cures), 15 Dec. 1744 (examples); Matthew's 'chemical medicine' against epidemic fever (B.M.B.J. 11 Nov. 1775).
2. Anti-quack: F.B.N. 4 Apr. 1730; F.F.B.J. 3 May 1766. Success e.g. A. Dagge: F.F.B.J. 7 Feb. 1767 (skills with fever and smallpox esp. in children). B.W.I. 23 Apr. 1757 contains a certificate of cures by the Venetian Dominicetti, and a report of successful lithotomy by surgeon Ford at Infirmary.
3. Even their science was 'humanistic' e.g. Dagge's 'Hippocratic' medical pamphlets (advertised B.J. 3 Nov. 1770, 4 Apr. 1772); Samuel Farr, Aphorismi de Marasmo (Bristol 1772), and A History of Epidemics from Hippocrates (1780). Pye and his pupils specialised in surgery on classical principles (F.F.B.J. 22 Sept. 1759, 5 July 1760, 14 Feb. to 28 Mar. 1761; B.C. 7-28 Mar. 1761.
4. B.I.B.M., I:95 (Townsend), 159 (Smith); Complete Chatterton, I:557; Phil. Trans., XXXI (1720) 44-6, XLIX (1755) 93-5, 264-5; B.W.I. 22 Mar. 1755; S. Pye, Some Observations on ... Lithotomy (1724); J. Middleton, A Short Essay on the Operation of Lithotomy (1727); p.262 for lectures.

obvious area of friction between medical and lay culture.[1] But the surgeons also competed fiercely with each other and with the physicians, appealing to the wider public for judgement. The public still controlled the profession both in private practice and in the running of the hospitals and other medical charities.[2]

To stress the interplay between medical and lay ideas of health, and ultimate lay control, does not in itself establish that the laity were not voluntarily accepting a changed view of the world in which secular medical explanations played a larger part. There is no evidence, however, for any decisive break with the eclectic combination of ideas inherited from earlier times in which both doctors and patients exploited Hippocratic, Gallenic and drug-based treatments together with religious and moral therapy. In the field of madness, for example, it was standard in the seventeenth century to begin with physical remedies, turning to prayer and more exotic methods if these failed.[3] Care of the mad remained shared between medical men and lay-people who developed this specialism,[4] whilst the insane poor were cared for alongside both the sick and the socially deficient in St Peter's Hospital.[5] The most important madhouse locally in the mid-eighteenth century was run by the Baptist

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1. Smith, Infirmary, pp.205 ff; Butcher (ed.), Corporation, p.114; F.B.N. 23 Apr. 1726; B.J. and F.F.B.J. 16 June 1770 on.
2. See disputes and publications in n.1, p.272 nn.3-4; Oracle 15 May 1742; F.F.B.J. 22 Oct. 1768, 16 Jan. 1769; The Bristol Infirmary Contest (Bristol, 1755); E. Garlick, A Supplement to an Address (Bristol,1764); An Animadvertory Letter in Answer to a Tract (Bristol, 1765).
3. See pp.294-5.
4. Bristol in the Evolution of Mental Health (Bristol Royal West of England Academy, 1961); Genuine Trial; Keate, Unfortunate Wife pp.21-4; B.C.L. 14799,fos.153 ff.
5. Bristol in Evolution.

doctor Joseph Mason. Mason experimented with every kind of therapy, gentle and harsh, drug-based and moral, but central to his timetable were daily religious services.[1] Madness and melancholy were widely seen as a result of life-style, with correct regimen the chief remedy.[2]

As Joseph Tucker's sermon Hospitals and Infirmaries, considered as Schools of Christian Education for the Adult Poor suggests, there were always close ties in the public mind between medicine and the reform of manners, and the regimen-centred ideas of many doctors coincided with such notions.[3] Sickness remained firmly associated with intemperance of every kind. Medical care combined exercise and diet with bleedings, purging and emetics, and patients' acceptance of such remedies indicated their sense of the need for cleansing and renewal, signalled by disorders in the bodily economy.[4] Supporters of the Infirmary certainly saw it as an opportunity to encourage such moral reform in the poor.[5] Medicine was not simply an instrument of moral discipline against popular culture, however; much of the hostile comment was against the luxury of the rich. Commentators on the Hotwells highlighted the contradiction between its healing therapy of controlled regimen and exercise, and its pleasure-seeking social

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1. H.T. Philipps, 'A History of the Lunatic Asylum at Fishponds' (Bristol Univ. M.Sc. thesis, 1974); C. Evans, The Hope of the Righteous (Bristol, 1780).
2. E.g. Mason's successor in A. Duncan, Medical Commentaries Decade II (Edinburgh, 1789), pp.261-70.
3. Shelton, Tucker, p.98; Barrett, History, pp.185, 611.
4. Purnell, Little Cabinet, pp.323-8; E. Baynard, Health: A Poem (Bristol, 1750); B.C.L. 6485, poems on Spleen and Clifton; Angus 6 e 27(2), 1 July 1744; Wellcome MS 3576; Becket, Essay, p.51; B.I.B.M., III:98 on bleeding. Urban life seemed unnatural, e.g., Tucker's comments in T. Percival, Observations on the State of Population in Manchester (1789), p.41.
5. E.g. C. Reynell, Sermon (Bristol 1738); J. Castleman, Sermon (1744).

life. One of the most powerful critiques came from the nonconformist minister John Dolman, joint proprietor of the rival New Hotwells, who underlined the essential link between bodily and spiritual regeneration.[1]

The development of medical ideology as a means of moral discipline has often been associated with secularization, with the doctor replacing the priest. The vision of medical policing in Samuel Farr's Elements of Medical Jurisprudence (1788) offered a local example, but Farr was translating a Continental text with little relation to the realities of Bristol medical practice.[2] The most significant factor in the changing relations of medicine and religion was religious pluralism, rather than any direct secularizing tendency; Farr's own position reflects the special approach of the Unitarian liberals rather than a medical consensus. The impetus for new medical institutions in Bristol came from religious philanthropy. The first Dispensary established in 1747 was Wesleyan, and the 1775 Dispensary was run at first by Tabernacle Methodists and doctors sympathetic to their spiritual concerns.[3] St Peter's Hospital, though established by Whigs under an ecumenical banner, fell under the control of Anglican Tories, and some doctors who worked there, such as Samuel Pye and William Barratt, shared these sympathies, although Farr's brief period there indicates that this was never an exclusive

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1. Dolman, Contemplations (see B.C.L. 6578 on him); An Address to Inhabitants of Glastonbury (Bristol, 1751), pp.5-11; W. Heard, A Sentimental Journey (1778), pp.21-2.
2. S. Farr, Elements of Medical Jurisprudence (1788).
3. Wesley Letters II:225; p.178 n.3 for 1775 dispensary.

institution.[1] The plans for a Bristol Infirmary, both in timing and personnel, suggest an attempted rapprochement between moderate Whigs and Tories, and an ecumenical gesture for non-denominational piety. Anglican predominance was accepted in the internal religious management and at the annual meetings, but the treasurership was held by a succession of rich and well-established Quakers, while all denominations helped through church collections.[2] The tensions involved in such cooperation did not emerge openly until the early 1770s. Then disagreement over the fulltime appointment of an Anglican chaplain almost led to the Infirmary's collapse, while appointments to the staff, elected by all the lay subscribers, were increasingly fought out on politico-religious lines.[3] But similar disagreements may lie behind earlier staff choices, for example the early resignation of the Hutchinsonian Dr John Middleton, and the carefully contrived defeat of another Hutchinsonian physician, George Randolph, by the Whig champion of enlightened child-care, William Cadogan.[4]

From the Civil War onwards the different denominations had medical practitioners closely associated with them. The Independent Ichabod Chauncy and the Quaker Thomas Bowme, for example, petitioned on medical grounds against the conditions in which their persecuted brethren were held in Bristol's Newgate.[5] Quaker doctors came

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1. Butcher (ed.) Corporation, and Johnson, Transactions, esp. pp.108ff. Pye: p.272 nn.3-4; Q.S. Doggetts, Apr. 1734 (dispute with Whig physician French); B.C.L. 11156-7, passim (Tory politics). Pye and Dr. Lane (see p.250 n.4), to whom he addressed Some Observations, jointly attested a cure of King's Evil by the Pretender in 1717, repeated in Carte's History of England (1747) to fury of Bristol Whigs (B.O. 23 Jan. 1748). Barrett: pp.309 n.6, 326.
2. Smith, Infirmary, e.g. p.34; Castelman, Sermon, p.42.
3. Smith, Infirmary, pp.34ff and 419ff, esp. 429ff.
4. Ibid., pp.16, 421.
5. Besse, Collection, I:58; Mortimer, Minutes (1977), p.235; p.277 n.2.

specifically to practise among that sect in eighteenth-century Bristol. The story of Dr William Logan offering spiritual as well as material comfort to the dying Esther Champion in 1717 illustrates one reason for this.[1] When illness, and especially death, involved so much spiritual preparation, an unsympathetic doctor was a serious problem. On the other hand, few medical men wanted to confine their practice to one religious persuasion. When accused of combining medical practice with political intrigue Chauncy retorted that he was the preferred physician of many of Bristol's Anglican magistrates.[2] The absence of overt religious comment in medical writings and publicity might indicate the need not to offend, not that most doctors were deists. A few were, but this was considered worthy of particular comment; other doctors were keen to vindicate their profession from this imputation.[3]

Science and Religion

Like medicine, science in Bristol was deeply influenced both by the desire to overcome religious controversy, and by the controversial religious disputes which it engendered. The dominant trend, particularly in public utterances, was to stress natural theology, illustrated above all in astronomy, as well as the moral benefits,

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1. Logan: Piety Promoted, II:235. Morgan: Whiston, Memoirs, I:271. Till-Adams and Fox: Bevan-Naish 1227, fo.95; Smith, Infirmary, p.434.
2. C.S.P.D. 1683 (2), pp.9, 165, 250, 265-6; Hayden, Records, pp.284-5; Chauncy, Innocence.
3. B.C.L. 20095, 13 July 1757 (Morgan druggist); B.I.B.M., I:140 (Plomer); J. Robertson, True and Ancient Manner of Reading Hebrew (1747), preface.

both of practising and learning about science.[1] Underlying this, however, was a continuous debate about the relation of the book of Nature to the Book of God, and the respective roles of reason and revelation. This issue interrelated, but not in any simple fashion, with the effort to steer a course between enthusiasm/popery and deism/atheism on such issues as God's special Providence, miracles and the existence of spirits. The main issues involved emerged in a newspaper exchange between 'A.B.' and 'T.D.', and the subsequent satirical pamphlet Don Quixote in Miniature (1750). A.B. exploited the interest aroused in astronomy by Ferguson's lectures to offer his own sketch, which T.D. considered to be deist in its stress on a remote creator and an infinite plurality of worlds. T.D. offered his own account of the earth's natural history, stressing its close relation to the biblical history of redemption. In his satire A.B. ridiculed T.D. and the 'enthusiastic vanity of the religiosos' who saw themselves as God's favourites and expected his 'express messengers' to reveal to them his intentions. He claimed that most clergymen would now agree that Christianity did not depend on 'mere enthusiasm or a pretended revelation'.[2]

Both sides exaggerated the radical implications of their opponents, and most Bristolians sought to maintain some kind of balance. In their sermons local clergymen sought to defend Christian

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1. Gunther (ed.), Early Science, XII:285; Wellcome MS 1708, fo.159; Sturmy, Mariner's Magazine, Book VI verses on astronomy; B.W.I. 11 Nov. 1749 (lectures consistent with 'industry and frugality'); Donn, Essays, p.ix; F.F.B.J. 9 May to 29 Aug. 1752 (Hervey essays); Repentance and Faith, pp.7-10; Complete Chatterton, I:419-20; pp.263-4.
2. A.B. and T.D. in B.W.I. 11 Nov. to 23 Dec. 1749; Don Quixote (possibly the author ('Merry Andrew') was Andrew Hooke).

revelation and miracles without aiding popery or enthusiasm.[1] Some of those active in science took a similar line, for example Benjamin Donn, while both John Becket and Samuel Farr, keen admirers of Joseph Priestley, portrayed science as part of a progressive, experimental tendency which was leading men out of the dark ages of ignorance and metaphysical speculation to a purer vision of God and Nature.[2] But the majority of the scientists whose religious views we can establish saw their science rather as a bulwark against deism and materialism, championing the wisdom of the Bible and ancient philosophy against modern rationalism. This was certainly the chief purpose of William Cole's collecting career,[3] as of Arthur Bedford, the Hutchinsonians Randolph, Middleton and the Catcotts, and the Behmenists Dyer, Symes, Durbin and Penny.[4] Although they disagreed about details of science or religion, many contacts can be documented between them, and also common influences such as the Bath doctor George Cheyne or John Wesley.[5] They shared certain scientific preoccupations, including

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1. B. Bayly, An Essay on Inspiration (1708); idem, Fourteen Sermons, II:62-67, 96; J. Harcourt, The Duty of not Giving Offence (Oxford, 1735), p.15; J. Tucker, Seventeen Sermons (Gloucester 1776), pp.201-11. Cf. moderate sectarians e.g. Coole, Miscellanies, p.53; A. Arscott, Some Considerations ... of Christian Religion (3 parts, 1731-4), I:6-7, II:11-21, III:20, 42-3; Account of Bristol Education Society, p.v. Reason no.7 given for expelling Earle from the Loyal Society was his rejection of Jesus' miracles as simply cures of tertian ague (Few Short and True Reasons).
2. Donn, Essays, pp.xxiii ff; Becket, Essay, preface, pp.25, 129; F.F.B.J. 13 July 1771 (Becket); S. Farr, A Philosophical Inquiry into Animal Motion (1771), pp.xxi-xxii. See p.286 n.4.
3. Turner, 'Forgotten Naturalist'; Bodl. MS Ashm. 1814, fos.313-5, 325 and 1820, fos.65-9.
4. See pp.286-7.
5. Links of family, friendship and correspondence between Hutchinsonians, Behmenists, Bedford and Wesley are documented in J. Barry, 'Piety and the Patient' in R.S. Porter (ed.), Patients and Practitioners (Cambridge, forthcoming). Stephen Penny, when he first encountered Swedenborg's work, supposed it to be by a follower of Law or Hutchinson (R. Hindmarsh, The Rise and Progress of New Jerusalem Church (1861), pp.4-5). For disputes see pp.280 n.3, 287 n.1.

the relations between matter and spirit indicated by electricity, the generation of plants, metals and fossils, and the notion of a universal Deluge. The geological evidence offered by the landforms, springs, and fossil remains around Bristol and the Hotwells made the latter a natural subject for local debate.[1]

It is hard to judge how far the Bristol public were aware of, let alone approved, the stands taken on these subjects, which is clearest in private correspondence and often only expressed obliquely in print, even in scientific publications. Cole's sense of neglect has already been noted.[2] The Catcotts were prominent preachers, and in 1735 the elder Catcott used an Assize sermon to expound Hutchinsonian scientific doctrine, which the Corporation requested him to publish. The subsequent pamphlet controversy must have provoked debate in Bristol.[3] Chatterton's jaundiced eye saw the younger Catcott as an establishment figure, whose work on the Deluge was revered by Bristolians unable to understand it properly, and he also noted Catcott's zealous efforts to proselytize those who visited his collections.[4] George Randolph's account of the Bristol Waters was

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1. For speculations on Avon Gorge and the Deluge pre-Catcott see S. Smith, 'Seventeenth-Century Observations', P.B.N.S., 4th IX (1939-43), 406-26; idem, 'Owen's Observations', ibid., XXVII (1947), 93-103; Bodl. MS Top. Gen. c.25, fos.133-41; MS Ashm. 1829, fo.139 and 1830, fos.24-8; Wellcome MS 1708, fos.131 ff.; J. Beaumont, Considerations on ... Theory of the Earth (1693).
2. See p.252.
3. Catcott, Elohim; Mathews, Bristol Bibliography, p.49. Hutchinson welcomed the publicity brought Catcott (B.C.L. 26063, 28 Oct. 1736), which he probably arranged through alderman Abraham Elton (ibid., 19 Apr. 1735).
4. Complete Chatterton, I:412-8, 465, 508, 539, 546. Cf. remarks on Catcott's reputation in B.C.L. 26063, 2 Dec. 1767 (Tucker) and 23 Oct. 1773 (W. Symes). Cf. diluvialism of: F.F.B.J. 1 Apr. 1775 (Pen Park Hole); J. Walcott, Descriptions and Figures of Petrifactions (Bath, 1779), p.iii; Barrett, History, p.92. Shiercliff, Guide, p.85, disagreed about Pen Park, but agreed the Gorge might be diluvial (p.52). 'Sandy Catkin' was satirised in T.C.M., III (1771), 316.

highly praised by some, although other medical writers ridiculed the notion of an Abyss and other Hutchinsonian ideas, which Randolph never acknowledged openly.[1] The correspondence of the Hutchinsonians shows them on the defensive against what they saw as a general Newtonian consensus, and cautious about pushing their ideas too boldly in public. This was partly a matter of intellectual snobbery, considering such matters too deep for public debate, but they also wished to avoid appearing to open divisions in the community.[2] The divisive possibilities of science in public debate were indicated in 1669-70, when the Royal Society supporters were aghast to find their opponents debating the new science in the coffee-houses and accusing them of atheism.[3] By the eighteenth century experimental philosophy as such was not attacked, but the apparent consensus in public on a limited number of areas coexisted with rival private interpretations of its many facets to accord with different religious priorities. Dyer, for example, picked from his reading and experimentation the elements which reinforced his Behmenist view of creation, while mixing amicably with Priestley, Jenner and the Medical Society of London.[4] Interestingly, he heard only one of Donn's lectures, but attended a week's course by Ferguson, dining with him afterwards at Symes'.

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1. Randolph, Enquiry (1745), pp.84-5 and, Enquiry (1750), pp.164-74; B.W.I. 24 Nov. 1750 (poem); F.F.B.J. 28 Apr. 1764 (obituary); Barrett, History, p.93. Criticism: Owen, Observations, pp.140, 145-59, 195-6, 198, 210; Sutherland, Nature, pp.14, 27-36.
2. Catcott, Treatise, p.vi; B.C.L. 26063,16 Nov. 1741 (A.S. Catcott). See p.253.
3. Oldenburg, Correspondence,VI:371-4, 463-4, 455-7; N.H. Steneck 'The Ballad of Robert Crosse and Joseph Glanvill', Brit. Jour. Hist. Sci., XIV (1981), 59-74. Cole saw civil strife as science's greatest foe: Gunther (ed.), Early Science, XII:297, B.L. Add. MS 18598,25 Nov. 1789, 16 Sept. 1690, 28 Mar. 1691.
4. B.C.L. 20095,6 Nov. 1764, 25 July 1766 (Priestley), 26 Aug. 1786 (Jenner), 6 June 1775 (Med. Soc.).

Ferguson was probably more congenial than Donn, as he was deeply concerned to reconcile the Bible with modern astronomy. He published his pamphlet on the astronomical evidence for the dating of the Crucifixion and the prophecies of Daniel at Bristol.[1]

The Survival of Magic

Historians portraying science and medicine as polite culture, distanced from popular magic, have seen those participating as preoccupied with the dangers and vulgarities of popular enthusiasm and superstition. If Bristol's scientific and medical practitioners were more preoccupied with deism and infidelity, eager to save souls and reform manners, this implies a rather different relationship to popular culture, and its magical tendencies. The rest of this chapter will consider the interest in 'magic' of popular and learned groups in Bristol, but before stressing the many points of similarity between the two, it should be admitted that all those interested in science tended to associate the common people with 'vulgar credulity'. The 'curiosity' of the educated was 'credulity' in the rustic, whose love of novelty and the strange was condemned as likely to be exploited by frauds, either secular or religious.[2] All agreed that Nature was hard to unveil, and the same was said of Scripture, both by those who discounted it as a source of scientific evidence because it was

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1. Ibid., 28 Feb. 1760 (Donn), 15-28 Feb. 1763 (Ferguson); Ferguson, Analysis, pp.47-8; idem, An Astronomical Lecture on the Eclipse of the Sun and Moon (Bristol, 1774). The other lecture Dyer attended was on 'spirit and matter' (B.C.L. 20095, 18 Sept. 1769; B.J. 9 Sept. 1769).
2. Phil. Trans., XVI (1687), 281 (Cole on 'rain of wheat'); R. Baxter, The Certainty of the World of Spirits (1691), pp.204-9 (future Bristol ministers Chetwind and Winney on Glastonbury thorn); B.W.I. 23 June 1750 (essay); Donn, Essays, p.vii; Farr, Philosophical Inquiry, pp.ix-xi.

written to teach the people morality, and those who accepted it as a store of natural philosophy, but believed it needed expert hermeneutics.[1] However the term 'vulgar' was often an insult employed against other learned traditions. Donn lectured against the 'vulgar or Ptolemaic' view of astronomy, while Benjamin Martin dismissed the notion that 'snakestones' were nautilus shells as 'vulgar', asserting that they arose from a 'plastic virtue'.[2] Scientists and medical men were prepared to turn to commonsense, experience or even 'tradition', against other learned theories, when it suited their purpose. They still accepted evidence from popular sources, such as workmen or eye-witnesses of unusual events, even if not their explanations of them.[3]

Ordinary Bristolians were still deeply impressed by magical beliefs, as contemporaries observed. The chapbooks printed in Bristol include several sensational reports of judgements involving the Devil, and nurses and servants were famed for filling children's heads with stories of spirits, goblins and ghosts.[4] Popular healing practices included using the teeth of the dead against toothache, or the touch

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1. B.W.I. 9 Feb. 1750 and F.F.B.J. 22 Dec. 1753 (essays); Complete Chatterton, I:537; J. Beaumont, Gleanings of Antiquities (1724), pp.9-16; Catcott, Remarks, pp.37, 93-4, 100.
2. B.J. 7 Dec. 1765 (Donn); Martin, Natural History, I:74.
3. E.g. Cole in Ashm. 1830, fo.21, and J.M. Levine, Dr. Woodward's Shield (Berkeley, 1977), p.108; Shebbeare, New Account, p.23; Owen, Observations, p.52.
4. Most Deplorable Relation; God's Just Judgement on Blasphemers (Bristol?, 1770?); Heaven's Judgement on Gamesters (Ellesmere, 1795) (involves several Bristol ministers inc. Mr. Bedford); Keate, Unfortunate Wife, p.5; P. Bright, Dr. Richard Bright (1983), p.20; F.F.B.J. 4 Jan. 1755. Phil. Trans., XIII (1683), 2-6, reported a supposed spirit in Pen Park Hole, still believed after 1800 (Leech, Rural Rides, p.207).

of a dead man against illness.[1] The spring associated with a supposed witch, Mother Pugsley, was commonly visited to cure eye diseases.[2] Cunning women lived in the nearby villages of Bedminster and Mangotsfield in the second half of the eighteenth century, and one of them regularly hired an inn-chamber in Bristol to give consultations.[3] Fortune-tellers often visited Bristol, particularly at fairtime.[4] Many of the magical beliefs were associated with the countryside, and some contemporaries emphasized rural credulity, but town-dwellers were surely involved, indeed probably saw the countryside as a repository of magic.[5] Some commentators associated popular beliefs with ignorance of religion and unwillingness to trust providence;[6] more likely these ideas fitted into an eclectic popular religion in which strongly polarized supernatural forces worked in the world. The spectacular success of Methodism in the Kingswood collieries, accompanied by revivalist hysteria and severe struggles with inner demons, support this view.[7]

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1. Tooth: Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. O. Dick (Harmondsworth, 1972) p.130. Touch: F.F.B.J. 25 Apr. 1752; Latimer, 18C, pp.56, 294. Cf. F.B.N. 15 Apr. 1727 (murderer forced to touch victim's body to see if it would bleed); A Relation of the Inhumane and Barbarous Sufferings of ... Quakers (1665), p.115 (Quakers believed same could apply to places where people died).
2. Pryce, Popular History, p.576; Leech, Rural Rides, pp.140-1. Cf. Complete Chatterton, I:343 (Jacob's Well). For Pugsley see p.293.
3. B.C.L. 20096 16 Oct. and 22 Nov. 1762; Norman, Great Apostle, re Mrs. Biggs of Bedminster; Southey, Letters, II:342.
4. Q.S. Minutes, July 1670; B.W.I. 29 Dec. 1750; Latimer, 18C, p.224.
5. B.W.I. 23 June 1750 (essay); B.C.L. 20095, 23 Apr. 1753 on Stanton Drew; pp.293 n.4, 294 n.3.
6. B.W.I. 23 June 1750 (essay).
7. MacDonald, 'Religion, Social Change etc.'. See e.g. Arm. Mag., II (1779), 179-81, 583, IV (1781), 35-40, 257-8, 310, 373, XII (1790), 657.

Such popular enthusiasm horrified many respectable Bristolians, but many shared religious priorities which made them receptive, in some respects, to such 'magical' beliefs as faith in divine judgements, dreams, prophecies, spirits, astrological and alchemical ideas and occult theories of correspondence, sympathy and imagination.[1] Sometimes this merely reflected curiosity about popular beliefs, more often a desire to embrace within a religious system the phenomena which popular belief highlighted but could not satisfactorily explain. The ambivalence of John Wesley towards the popular cosmology he exploited has been explored, but his evangelical mission made him particularly sensitive to popular beliefs and fears.[2] Others developed an inner pietism which shared the scriptural and supernatural symbolism of popular religion, but appealed to the middling ranks, even to the well-educated, rather than the poor.

We can follow in detail the thought of one such Bristolian through William Dyer's diary. Amid his activities as a prosperous accountant and amateur medical practitioner, Dyer recorded the many experiences that occurred to him or his friends which offered proofs of 'an invisible world' or of the power of the imagination, such as dreams and prophecies fulfilled, warnings of sudden deaths, apparitions and cases of diabolical possession.[3] To Dyer these

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1. E.g. B.W.I. 14 July 1750 (letter).
2. H.D. Rack, 'Doctors, Demons and Early Methodist Healing' in Sheils (ed.), Church and Healing, pp.137-52; see p.295.
3. B.C.L. 20095, e.g. 30 Aug. 1759, 9 Dec. 1766 (imagination), 29 June 1766, 1 Aug. and 26 Oct. 1770, 25 and 30 Jan. 1771 (dreams and prophecies), 25 May 1753, 23 Sept. 1759, 19 Aug. 1769, 17 Dec. 1772, 9 Mar. 1774 (apparitions etc.), 10 Apr. 1769, 22 Jan. 1775 (possession). Cf. B.L. Add. MSS 18598, 27 Apr. 1692 (Cole); Nicholls and Taylor, Bristol, III:77 (vision of Ald. Hart c.1680); Arm. Mag., X (1787), 575 (S. Told's vision); Glory of Heavenly City (Bath, 1782); B.C.L. 20097; see p.305 n.5.

phenomena, though often 'mysterious' in their details, corroborated his religious philosophy, based on the mystical tradition of Law and Behmen. This same natural philosophy generated Dyer's interest in electricity, which he and a circle of friends around the Rev. Richard Symes took as experimental proof of the role of 'fire' underlying all natural processes.[1] This etherialized natural force bridged the gulf of spirit and matter; stress on its natural powers reinforced, by analogy, a pietist stress on the regenerative effects of spiritual grace purifying fallen man.[2]

Although pietists and evangelists came from a wide range of denominations, it would certainly be wrong to portray them as a dominant group in Bristol. Indeed they were only too conscious of living in 'an age of infidelity', surrounded by scoffers at their philosophy and religion.[3] Some interested in science distanced themselves carefully from the Dyer group, for example Donn, Becket and Farr, although Farr's account of animal motion repudiated mechanical as well as occult philosophies and employed analogy and the notion of a world-soul.[4] Catcott junior, like other Hutchinsonians,

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1. Symes, Fire Analysed; Bristol subscribers to R. Lovett, Philosophical Essays (Worcester, 1766). Hutchinsonians also studied electricity e.g. G. Stevens and G. Horne in B.C.L. 26063, 28 Mar., 27 Apr. 1752, 23 June 1774. Some Hotwell theories postulated a central fire, e.g. Underhill, Short Account, p.7; Shebbeare, New Analysis, p.23 (extended in his Practice of Physic (2 vols, 1755)). See also p.251 n.4.
2. Penny, Letters. See D. Hirst, Hidden Riches (1964); C. Garrett, 'Swedenborg and the Mystical Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England', Jour. Hist. Ideas, XLV (1984), 67-81.
3. B.C.L. 20095, 1 June 1761, 15 May 1771; H. Durbin, A Narrative of Some Extraordinary Things (Bristol, 1800) pp.3, 5-6; J. Behmen, The Way to Christ Discovered (Bath, 1775), p.iii. T.C.M., IV (1772), 150-2 sneers at Symes.
4. B.G. 16-23 May 1771 (satirical praise of Symes, then Donn disclaimer); Farr, Philosophical Inquiry, pp.xxii-xxiv, 28-30; idem, Epidemics; Becket, Essay, esp. pp.49ff; J. Priestley, Experiments and Observations (1779), pp.466-9; A. Broughton, Observations on Influenza (1782), pp.8n, 27; R.M. Kirk and D.T. Moore, 'The Bright Family' Arch. Nat. Hist., X (1981), 119-51; p.248 n.1.

distrusted the mystic aspect of Behmenist science.[1] Nevertheless, it is striking how far those active in science in Bristol, throughout our period, dissented from standard mechanical or Newtonian science. Cole and Beaumont both held to notions of equivocal generation and some directive power in Nature against purely mechanical ideas. Beaumont offered a neo-Platonic defence of a spirit-world and ancient wisdom, traces of which are also visible in Cole.[2] Arthur Bedford, as well as attacking Newton's chronology, wrote to the Bishop of Gloucester in 1703, reporting the conjuration of spirits by Thomas Perks, a self-taught Mangotsfield mathematician.[3] This became one of the most-quoted instances of a spirit-world in the eighteenth century.[4] The Hutchinsonians, although more mechanist than Newton in their account of a world-machine regulated by God, used this chiefly to justify a Scripture-based natural philosophy consonant with high Anglicanism, Hebraic scholarship, and above all the Trinity.[5] A natural philosophy centred on man's redemption, and hence on the Trinity and defence of the Bible as revelation, linked these figures with the Behmenists and with Wesley, in their continued openness to

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1. Catcott, Remarks, p.89; W. Jones B.C.L. 26063,16 May 1761; Young, Some Particulars, p.16; B.C.L. 20095,7 Dec. 1774.
2. Cole: Bodl. Ashm. 1830,fo.21; Wellcome MS 1708,fos.3, 131. Beaumont: Phil. Trans., XI (1676), 724-42; J. Beaumont, Historical, Physiological and Theological Treatise of Spirits (1705), e.g. p.230.
3. A. Bedford, A Copy of a Letter (Bristol, 1704); idem, Animadversions on ... Newton's ... Chronology (1728); Scripture Chronology Demonstrated (1730); above n.158. Bedford's companion in the Perks affair was Bayly, author of Essay on Inspiration.
4. H.M.C. J.P. 26, no.1273; Beaumont, Treatise of Spirits, p.296; Durbin, Narrative, appendix; E. Sibly, A Complete Illustration of ... Astrology (4 parts 1784-8), p.1121; B.C.L. 396, 10364; Arm. Mag., V (1782), 425; below p.294.
5. C.B. Wilde, 'Hutchinsonianism, Natural Philosophy and Religious Controversy', Hist. Sci., XVIII (1980), 47-70; idem, 'Matter and Spirit as Natural Symbols' Brit. Jour. Hist. Sci., XV (1982), 99-131.

the scriptural traditions of providence, prophecy and spiritual intervention.

Aspects of civil life not confined to 'popular' culture certainly supported similar notions. Public epidemics were still viewed as God's judgements in 1721, when the Whig Goldwin used the Marseilles epidemic to preach religious and moral regeneration.[1] Fasts to avert God's wrath in war continued throughout the period, and the public still interpreted earthquakes and unusual celestial phenomena as signs of great events to come and hence occasion for repentance.[2] Judgement stories grew up around odd events such as the building of a tower called Cook's Folly.[3] Good things accidentally discovered, such as the healing properties of the Hotwells in diabetes, were attributed to revelation in a dream.[4] The Devil, meanwhile, remained an important explanatory device for evil, and a means to characterize one's opponents. The opponents of the playhouse in the 1760s continued Bedford's attack on the theatre as literally 'Satan's synagogue'.[5] Blasphemy and cursing were frequently punished well into the eighteenth century by the Corporation.[6]

Growing uncertainty about the applicability of such notions in any particular case, leading only gradually to total scepticism, most

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1. Goldwin, God's Judgement. Cf. C. Marshall, A Bitter Lamentation (1673) (Bristol's ingratitude when saved from plague) (see below p.281); S. Gough, Discourse occasioned by Smallpox and Plague (1711).
2. Reynolds, Memoirs, p.122; F.B.N. 6 Apr. 1728; B.W.I. 24 Mar. 1750; F.F.B.J. 4 Oct. 1755; B.J. 10 Feb. 1770, 11 Mar. 1775; Neve and Porter, 'Alexander Catcott' 56 n.32. Criticised in F.F.B.J. 30 Nov. 1754; B.J. 9 Sept. 1769; Penny, Incentive.
3. B.L. Add. MS 27951, fo.180v and 15776, fo.89.
4. B.C.L. 20095, 27 Apr. 1751; Complete and Authentic History of Glastonbury (c.1751), p.80; Latimer, 18C, p.343.
5. See p.242; A. Bedford, A Second Advertisement (Bristol, 1705), p.16; Consequences of Theatre, pp.15, 19, 30.
6. Q.S. Conviction books.

likely arose from the deployment of such ideas by rival religious groupings. Parliamentarians noted the collapse of a Catholic chapel and the outbreak of plague in royalist-held Bristol as signs of God's judgement.[1] Opponents of the Quakers called them servants of the Devil or witches, while the Quakers cursed their persecutors and noted God's judgements on them.[2] The Baptists also recorded judgements and nourished millennial hopes on the basis of comets and other signs.[3] At least one Anglican clergyman returned the compliment by seeing the death of his non-conformist tormentors as a judgement.[4] By the 1690s all sides became wary of publicizing such views, whatever their private eschatology. The Quaker leaders disowned the public warnings of destruction through earthquake, fire or flood offered by Quakers in 1694, and again by Richard Bury as late as 1728.[5] By the mid-eighteenth century, Bristolians who published their visions and prophecies were generally seen as deluded, and not supported by any of

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1. N. Wallington, Historical Notices ... Charles I (2 vols, 1869), II:187, 211-2; J. Sprigge, Anglia Rediviva (1854), p.122. Cf. W. Kemp, A Brief Treatise (1669), pp.39-40 (plague left as Parliamentary forces arrived because a greater pestilence drove out a lesser!).
2. See p.295; C. Bayley, The Causes of God's Wrath (1665); D. Dole, Once More a Warning (1684); E. Stirredge, Strength in Weakness (1711), p.134.
3. Underhill (ed.), Records, pp.84-7, 221, 341, 365. Purnell, Good Tydings (1649), p.64 claimed there were very few Fifth Monarchists, but he had millenial hopes e.g. Little Cabinet, pp.414, 421-2, 434-5. For W. Alleine, author of The Mystery of the Temple and City (1677) and Several Discourses (Bristol, 1697) see A.G. Matthews, Calamy Revised (Oxford, 1934), p.8. Presbyterians saw the Great Fire as a judgement (C.S.P.D. 1666-7, p.149).
4. Godwyn, Tenderness, p.10.
5. See p.116 n.5; Mortimer, Minutes (1977), p.83; Bury, Collection. Some Bristol Quakers were receptive to the French prophets (H. Schwartz, French Prophets (Berkeley 1980) esp. pp.202-7) and to May Drummond, whose Internal Revelation was reprinted at Bristol 1736.

the regular churches.[1] Even the sober exegesis of Bishop Newton on Revelation only convinced Chatterton that such religious writings were no better than one man's opinion.[2] If Chatterton's cynicism was one response, however, others sought securer proofs of God's providence, either, like the Hutchinsonians, in the history of nature or, like pietists of all denominations, in the inner experience of God's working on the soul.

A declining role for magic in the public life of the community was compatible with its continued importance to the individual in most aspects, but critical in the two areas of judicial astrology and witchcraft accusations, where public expression was particularly important. Even in these areas traditional beliefs and private experiences supportive of such notions may have persisted, but they found increasingly few occasions for public resolution.

The place of judicial astrology in Bristol was always uncertain. A belief in astral influence, particularly of the sun and moon, was deep-seated, reinforced by the importance of the tides and attempts to associate other phenomena with these and with the weather more generally. Such empirical interest in correlating phenomena continued unabated during our period, as did the curiosity about celestial phenomena discussed above.[3] There was no concerted religious attack

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1. Edward Goldney, author of Epistle and Infallible Remedies (1770) was incarcerated (B.C.L. 26064,fo.163) as was S. Penny's sister (B.C.L. 20095,16 Sept. 1769) and H. Allen (B.A.O. BD/M1/2,June 1774, B.C.L. 20095,15 Apr. 1760, 21 Apr. 1761) author of Letters (n.p. n.d. c.1774-5). N. Walker, Awful Memento (1777) complained at neglect.
2. Complete Chatterton, I:365, 412-9, 421-2 and on Newton 452ff. esp. 458-9, 526-7, 532-3, 598, 670-2.
3. Cole, Purpura, p.5; Aubrey, Three Prose Works, p.340; Phil. Trans., VII (1672-3), 5138-42, XVII (1693), 815-6, LXV (1775), 194-8; B.L. Add. MS 5540,fo.10; B.A.O. 08158 'rules to judge weather by'; B.J. 14 Jan. 1774 (Llewellin's almanac); B.C.L. 20095,31 May 1757, 31 Aug. 1770. Madness was associated with the moon e.g. Genuine Trial; B.O. 14 Nov. 1747 (Hooke on Farley).

on natural astrology. Astrologers, of course, premised their work on the claim that God did nothing in vain, which was a commonplace of all scientists. By claiming to predict human events, however, judicial astrologers faced both religious hostility and scientific scepticism. In 1651 the Presbyterian Ralph Farmer earned Lilly's wrath for attacking astrology as 'devilish' in a sermon;[1] others saw astral influences operating chiefly on the imagination, hence likely to deceive fallen man.[2] Astrology was associated, dangerously, with conjuring. Bedford's contact, Perks, passed from an interest in astrology to the conjuration of spirits, and Chatterton shared the same interests.[3] Perks was disillusioned with astrology as it did not 'tend to a mathematical demonstration', and by the 1780s Ebenezer Sibly was conscious that most people had no time for it.[4] When the self-styled 'mathematician and theologer' Lacy arrived in Bristol in 1771 to sell his pamphlet Astronomy or the Solar System demonstrated, and offer his services, his advertisement spoke very coyly of 'celestial influences' at nativity, but 'Candidus' was quick to denounce him as a fraudulent fortune-teller with a catchpenny pamphlet, disguising astrology as astronomy. Most people, he believed, were too well informed of the distinction between real science and trickery to be easily imposed on, but he was worried for the uneducated, such as the lower class, journeymen's wives and servant girls.[5]

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1. W. Lilly, An Easie and Familiar Method (1652), pp.43-4. Cf. Thompson, Diet, p.10; R. Bovet, Pandemonium (1684), p.91.
2. B.C.L. 20095 15 Sept. 1770.
3. Bedford, Copy of Letter; Meyerstein, Chatterton, pp.9, 68; Sibly, Illustration, pp.817, 1057ff.
4. Sibly, Illustration, dedication. Cf. B.J. 9 Dec. 1749 (letter scoffing at almanac); B.G. 25 May 1775 (reassurance to 'common people' about almanac prediction).
5. B.J. 6 June and 20 July 1771 (Lacy) and F.F.B.J. 20 July 1771 (Candidus).

sibly believed, however, that the prejudice against astrology was not due to scientific understanding but resulted from 'the disturbances at the close of the last century'.[1] Although from a biased source, this coincides well with the fate of Bristol's last almanac-maker, John Silvester, who was forced to flee the city about 1702. We only know that he was 'esteemed a conjuror' and was forced to leave after 'discovering something by that art', but it is tempting to suggest that it was Silvester's frequent religious and political observations and predictions regarding Bristol in particular and the nation generally which inspired his problems. Ironically the bitter divisions which may have made the astrologer's role too dangerous were the chief subject of Silvester's interest, as he believed God used the heavenly bodies to draw people to concord or discord, like the loadstone, although he stressed that God might also operate through other forces, such as spiritual inspiration.[2] Public distrust, and the occasional use of the vagrancy laws against fortune-tellers, produced a general neglect of astrology until the last decades of the eighteenth century. Even then, Sibly's first publications were nearly suppressed as dangerous.[3]

Historians have increasingly stressed the problematic position of witchcraft beliefs in the seventeenth century, drawing a careful distinction between popular beliefs of *maleficium* that fuelled prosecutions and learned concerns about the Devil and possession, and

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1. Sibly, *Illustration*, dedication.
2. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, fo.xiv. Capp, *Astrology*, pp.331, 379; J. Silvester, *Astrological Observations and Predictions for 1691* (1690), pp.1-4, 10-11, 13.
3. E. Ward, 'Ebenezer Sibly' *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, LXXI (1959) 48-53, quoting *F.F.B.J.* 25 Sept. 1784. See also A. Debus, 'Scientific Truth and Occult Tradition', *Med. Hist.*, XXVI (1982), 259-78.

showing how imperfectly the two ever coincided.[1] The last recorded executions for witchcraft in Bristol came in 1624, although two libel cases involving a witchcraft accusation have survived from 1675-7.[2] Thereafter popular fears were apparently assuaged by direct action or counter-magic. When the suspected witch Mother Pugsley was buried in 1701, some of the crowd apparently jumped into her grave and tore the corpse to pieces.[3] The cunning women near Bristol continued to prescribe such traditional counter-magic as the boiling of the sufferer's urine, or of a special bundle stuffed with pins.[4] Such behaviour horrified the educated. They feared that old and ugly women would be made scapegoats, while the counter-magic was denounced as superstitious, diabolical or both.[5]

In the absence of legal cases, our evidence depends almost entirely on those incidents which attracted the attention of writers or diarists eager to find evidence of an invisible world from preternatural occurrences. The focus of interest in these was possession, and the evidence concerning the Devil and evil spirits provided by poltergeist phenomena, physical fits, or the answers of spirits to questions. The question of witchcraft is generally a side-issue, sometimes not raised at all. Richard Bovet reports two

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1. C. Webster, From Paracelsus to Newton (Cambridge, 1982); C. Larner, Witchcraft and Religion (Oxford, 1984); R. Weisman, Witchcraft, Magic and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts (Amherst, 1984).
2. Latimer, 17C, p.91; E.P./J/2/2(3), Cox vs. Davis and Dunster vs. Smith.
3. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2, fos.127-8.
4. B.C.L. 20096, 23 Jan., 29 Mar., 22 and 30 Nov., 7 Dec. 1762; Durbin, Narrative, p.40; S. Norman, Authentic Anecdotes (Bristol, 1788).
5. Ibid.; F.B.N. 15 Feb. 1726; Durbin, Narrative, pp.54-5; B.C.L. 20095, 7 Dec. 1762 and 20096, 22 Nov., 7 Dec. 1762.

such cases, one attested by the former Dean of Bristol,[1] while the Baptist church was twice involved in prayer and fasting to cast out evil spirits,[2] but no witches were named. The Perks case involved conjuration not witchcraft, although the spirit Malchi that Perks raised was later named by various parties in the 1762 Lamb Inn case, as the familiar of the witch blamed, who came from the same village as Perks.[3] When George Lukins of Yatton started to suffer from recurrent fits after 1770 he alternated uneasily between naming witches involved and seeing the Devil as solely responsible.[4] There was clearly a popular desire to find someone tangible to blame. A witch or spirit was said to be involved in a 1684 poltergeist case,[5] and the family involved in 1762 quickly identified the witch involved and tried to take counter-action. The godly group who accepted the reality of the possession agonized over the evidence of witchcraft, and rejected outright the counter-measures.[6]

We cannot be sure how widespread the belief in witchcraft was in Stuart Bristol. The cases mentioned above involved a spectrum of religious groups and social classes, although in the 1675 case the correspondent noted that some of the physicians always believed the

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1. Bovet, Pandemonium, pp.163-171.
2. Underhill (ed.), Records, pp.191-4.
3. Durbin, Narrative, p.29; B.C.L. 20095,20 Dec. 1760. Cf. B.C.L. 20096,8 Feb., 29 Mar., 26 May 1762 (Mangotsfield and Kingswood references). When the collier Llewellin of Mangotsfield (see p.257) was also named (10 Feb.) Dyer noted 'no doubt a lying spirit'.
4. Norman, Anecdotes.
5. Bodl. MS Gough Som. 2,fo.108.
6. Durbin, Narrative, pp.18-19; B.C.L. 20095,10 Dec. 1761 and 20096, 15 Jan., 18 Feb., 13 and 18 Mar., 18 May, 17 June 1762. Beaumont, whom Dyer read (ibid., 3 Aug. 1762) rejected the involvement of witches (Treatise, pp.296, 391-2).

fits to be the effects of a 'natural distemper'.[1] Medical and supernatural approaches often complemented each other however; the Baptist exorcized in 1673 had first been treated by his brother-in-law Dr Chauncy.[2] The rhetoric of witchcraft was still invoked both by the establishment and ordinary people against the Quakers. Ralph Farmer accused the Quakers of witchcraft, reminding his readers that they came from witch-ridden Lancashire, while the Quakers complained that in 1663 Sir John Knight had the court-room in Bristol where they were tried set out as if trying witches at an Assize. No wonder that the Quaker preacher Barbara Blaugdone found herself viewed as a witch.[3]

There are very few mentions of witchcraft in Bristol between 1700 and 1750, and the dominant tone of the newspaper accounts is of amused disgust at popular superstition.[4] The only Bristol case recorded, of a cobbler killed by rabies after a bite from the familiar cat of a witch he had offended, sounds like an ironical account.[5] Wesley reported the amazement of a sympathetic physician, possibly Middleton, at the convulsive fits of a convert in 1739. In 1742 he impatiently diagnosed 'evil spirits' in a Bristol illness that had long baffled the doctors.[6] In 1752 a correspondent felt sufficiently detached to send an 'old receipt to perplex or kill a witch' from when the 'laws admitted of witches and punishing them'.[7]

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1. Bovet, Pandemonium, pp.170-1.
2. Underhill, Records, pp.191-2.
3. Farmer, Great Mysteries, pp.77-9; Relation of ... Sufferings, p.49; Blaugdone, Account, p.28.
4. F.B.N. 29 Jan., 14 May 1726.
5. Latimer, 18C, p.249.
6. J. Wesley's Journal, II:534; Wesley Letters, I:641.
7. F.F.B.J. 25 Nov. 1752. J. Gough, Select Lives (Bristol, 1773), p.13, felt well-attested cases would not now be 'easily credited', and so suggested Jesuit impostures. However B.C.L. 20096, 21 Feb., and Durbin, Narrative, p.24, show the 1762 case revived memories of earlier incidents.

In 1762 and 1788, however, Bristol was the scene of the two most celebrated possession cases of the later eighteenth century. The Lamb Inn case of 1762 provoked a newspaper controversy, as well as contemporary accounts by Dyer and his friends Stephen Penny and Henry Durbin, the latter published posthumously in 1801.[1] The exorcism of Lukins, the Yatton demoniac, provoked a sharp exchange between the Rev. Joseph Easterbrook, Lukins' champion, and the Yatton surgeon Samuel Norman, who considered Lukins a fraud.[2] In both cases the believers in possession were led by a group of clergy and laymen deeply influenced by Methodism and Behmenist mysticism. Their opponents pointed this out, and attempted to characterize the events as recrudescences of Puritan enthusiasm from unenlightened times.[3] It is impossible to establish how public opinion regarded the two events, although Dyer and Durbin were both extremely conscious of criticism and scoffing.[4] Interestingly, however, in their manuscript annals for 1762, neither George Catcott nor the historian Samuel Seyer, though referring to public scepticism and indicating their own reservations, were prepared to dismiss the possibility of supernatural involvement.[5]

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1. See p.297; p.298 for Penny's account; Durbin, Narrative and B.C.L. 7957, fo.272.
2. J. Easterbrook, An Appeal to the Public (Bristol, 1788); Norman, Anecdotes; idem, Great Apostle; G. Lukins, The Narrative of an Extraordinary Case (Bristol, 1788); T. Jackson (ed.), The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers (4th edn. 6 vols 1871), VI:127-8; J.F.C. Harrison, The Second Coming (1979), p.53; Gent's Mag., LIX (1789), 504; F. Grose, A Provincial Glossary (2nd edn, 1790), Popular Superstitions section, p.4; J. Ferriar, 'Of Popular Illusions', Memoirs Manchester Lit. and Phil., III (1790), 31-116 at 114-6 (and see p.58 for 1762 case).
3. Norman, Great Apostle, p.28; F.F.B.J. 13 Feb. 1762.
4. Durbin, Narrative, preface; B.C.L. 20096, 4-5, 19 and 25 Feb., 10, 13 and 27 Mar., 15 May 1762.
5. B.C.L. 4533, for 1762; B.C.L. 22477, for 1761. Cf. Mills in B.C.L. 12196.

The most significant feature of the 1762 affair was probably the character of the argument engendered. Disbelievers chose first of all to reprint Reginald Scot's arguments of 1584, supporting them with reference to the amazing tricks performed by conjurors and ventriloquists. They questioned the accuracy of the witnesses and the reliability of their tests to prevent fraud, while also, somewhat inconsistently but tellingly, raising the question of what godly men thought they were doing scratching and rapping to listen to the Devil, and trusting his evidence. Finally they challenged the biblical foundation for witchcraft ideas, arguing that the accounts there referred to conjurors and poisoners or to natural diseases.[1] The believers in possession responded by stressing the accuracy of the evidence, admitting that many cheats had occurred but that this case, like many others, was well attested, and that it was presumptuous to reject as impossible natural phenomena which one could not easily explain.[2] The aspect of the affair which had most impressed them privately, and which they stressed publicly, was the ability of the children to understand learned languages.[3] They also rejected any attempt to explain away the spirits and miracles of the Bible, defending the biblical scholarship on this of previous centuries.[4]

Underlying the controversy was certainly an opposition between 'enlightened' and 'puritan', opposing one another with the dangers of superstition and enthusiasm or of deism and shallow materialism. The ingredients of the debate, however, were as old as Reginald Scot, and

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1. F.F.B.J. 6-27 Feb., 13 Mar. 1762, 3 Aug. 1765 (Harwood); B.C.L. 20096, 19 Feb. 1762.
2. F.F.B.J. 20 Feb., 6 Mar., 8-15 May 1762; Durbin, Narrative, pp.4-5, 24, 36.
3. F.F.B.J. 20 Feb. 1762; Durbin, Narrative, pp.26, 29, 31; B.C.L. 20096, 10 Feb. 1762.
4. F.F.B.J. 20 Feb., 6 Mar. 1762.

there is little sign of any use of scientific ideas in the argument - indeed most of those active in science were on the side of the believers. In the 1788 case the argument centred on the equally timeless issue of medical versus spiritual accounts of madness, with sides taken as before on the a priori ground of the likelihood of the Devil intervening directly in human lives.[1]

The most significant change from Scot's time was the abandonment both of public prosecution of a witch, and of exorcism as a counter-measure. Both, as historians increasingly realize, had been abandoned because of their divisive effects in the local community, and the impossibility of adequate verification. The concern about partisan exploitation of exorcism which prompted the 1604 Canon still had force in 1762. The nearest attempt at an exorcism then was a prayer session led by James Rouquet, an Anglican minister trained by the Methodists.[2] In 1788 Lukins was exorcized, but only by one Anglican minister, Easterbrook, again trained as a Methodist, with six Methodist colleagues. In both cases Symes and his pietist Anglican colleagues refused to participate and so violate the Canons.[3] Indeed the burdening sense that public debate of these issues could only breed controversy constrained all the actions of men like Dyer, Penny and Symes, whose pietism was born of weariness with religious divisions and efforts to find a spiritual ecumenism. Dyer noted that Penny decided not to publish his account of the 1762 affair lest it 'hurt the minds of the people by filling them with jealousies and fears'.4

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1. See p.296 n.2. Norman, Great Apostle, quotes Scot extensively.
2. B.C.L. 20096, 7 Jan. 1762 and cf. 29 Mar. 1762 (wife of journeyman with visions sent first for Methodist preacher); A.B. Sackett, James Rouquet (Wesley Hist. Soc. Publics VIII, Chester 1972).
3. Easterbrook, Appeal, pp.7-8; Atmore, Methodist Memorial, p.110.
4. B.C.L. 20096, 30 Mar. 1762.

Conclusion

Although science and medicine grew steadily in utilitarian and cultural importance, there was no concerted programme to use them to advance a professional group or a particular ideology. Instead they were exploited piecemeal by individual showmen, entrepreneurial lecturers and scientific amateurs, or by medical sub-groups, to attract a public whose primary motive was 'curiosity'. Although many were alarmed lest Nature's wonders be abused by quacks and enthusiasts, playing on popular credulity, there was little that could be done to govern public response. In any case scientific and medical men were themselves deeply divided about the religious and moral implications of Nature; most were as worried about fashionable infidelity as popular superstition. Although rival philosophies regularly sparked public controversy, there was great reluctance to air disagreements publicly. This further encouraged emphasis on those aspects of science which could be presented through experiment and collection, not explicit theorizing. All sides increasingly avoided topics which had always provoked controversy, such as astrology and witchcraft, where both ideological disagreements and popular superstitions inevitably intruded. This promoted a de facto natural theology in public science; it need not have necessitated a similar trend in private interpretation. Cosmologies were still derived from religious education and allegiance, not from scientific evidence. While priority was given to scriptural evidence and theories concerning spirit and matter, natural philosophy retained a strong supernatural, even magical, component.

CHAPTER 7: THE CIVIC COMMUNITY

In previous chapters the continuing significance of civic culture has often been noted. The importance of public life, the role of civic expenditure and the civic calendar in leisure and the arts, changes in the image of city life, appeals to the public good, and the relations of sociability to civic values have all been considered. This chapter considers more closely the precise constituents of civic identity, and attempts to justify the claim that they were important factors in Bristol culture. Many historians have suggested that English towns lacked a strong civic consciousness, because of their small size and limited political autonomy and the close social ties between city and country. In particular historians have portrayed this period as one in which provincial towns flourished by acting as purveyors of metropolitan culture to regional elites dominated by the gentry, rentiers and professions. The period therefore marked a low point of distinctively 'civic' consciousness between earlier notions of burgess and gild life, and the growth in urban provincial consciousness with industrialization.[1]

In questioning this interpretation I shall rely on three main sources for contemporary images of Bristol:[2] writings about the town's past; comments on its present character; and the values appealed to in ceremony involving the participation of the city as a whole. Recent historical research into these subjects has shown that ideological and symbolic elements were central to political change and

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1. See p.19 n.2, esp. Clark, 'Visions'.
2. Marcy, 'Eighteenth-Century Views'; I.Gray, Antiquaries of Bristol and Gloucestershire (B.G.A.S. Rec. Sec., XII,1981) (almost nothing on this period).

conflict.[1] Attributing importance to community values does not imply a total consensus or an undivided society, but highlights the part such values played in struggles for legitimation and the constraints on action provided by assumptions that could not lightly be broached when seeking to appeal to the whole community.

The first section outlines the main constituents of Bristol's image. The next section considers whether whole groups of Bristolians were excluded from community as defined above, and the changing part in civic life of the merchant elite and the ordinary people. The final section considers the effects of civic images on religious and political developments.

Images of Bristol

Both visitors and Bristolians saw Bristol primarily as a trading city. Although population and size were considered, the chief basis for Bristol's claim to be the second city was its commercial success, both in overseas trade and as a regional metropolis. The historians portrayed Bristol's growth as the natural consequence of its commercial advantages, both in the character of its citizens and its location, well-placed for Irish and colonial trade and control of the Severn, Wye and Avon valleys.[2] Bristol's history represented a model of the advance of society through the effects of commerce, which according to Barrett made urban history more important than county

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1. See pp.14 n.1, 19 n.2; E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge, 1983); K. Thomas, The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England (Creighton Lecture, 1984).
2. B.W.I. 13 Apr., 4 May 1751 (acrostics), 23 May 1750 (Mercator letter); F.F.B.J. 5-26 May 1764 (excerpts from Anderson's History of Commerce), 2 May 1772 (Plebeian); B.J. 26 Sept. 1767 (poem); 'Historical and Poetical Description of Bristol' (1729) in Bodl. Gough Som.2, fo.162; B.C.L. 12196, fo.2: R. Champion, Considerations of the Present Situation of Great Britain and U.S.A. (2nd edn., 1784), pp.208-9; Barrett, History, pp.2-37, 54, 57-8, 81-2, 182-4; Shiercliff, Guide, Chapter 1.

histories. To him commercial success reflected 'greater honour on Bristol than anything we have said or can say in its praise for its antiquity, the only thing many places more extolled in chronicles or old histories have now left to boast of whilst this, like a well-cultivated spot, has been continually flourishing with renewed vigour'.[1] Hooke's earlier study singled out the merchant as the most honourable and useful member of society, and the theme was echoed in sermons and in speeches at public ceremonies.[2] Visiting dignitaries emphasized the contribution of commerce to national greatness.[3] Guide-books and visitors noted the bustle of the town and the industriousness of its inhabitants. The dark side of the image was a reputation for sharpness, meanness and philistinism, caring for nothing but trade; ballads about Bristol played this off against images of heroic sailors and merchants.[4]

Bristolians strenuously denied such imputations, while glorying in the reputation for 'virtue and industry', which was the civic motto. Complacency about the town's commercial position was prevented by stressing that only the frugal diligence of past ancestors had exploited natural advantages, so that such standards must be

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1. Barrett, History, pp.66-7. Cf. ibid., pp.1, 164-90; idem, Proposals for Publishing a History (Bristol, 1788). Barrett's research was largely complete by 1775 (see F.F.B.J. 26 Oct. 1771, 21 Mar. 1772, Meyerstein, Chatterton, p.481).
2. J. Whitson, Farewell to the World ed. T. Ford (1729), p.vi; Catcott, Antiquity; A.Hooke, Bristollia (1748), preface; O.C.A. 31 Aug. 1745 (Mozeen prologue); W. Goldwin, The Honourableness, Usefulness and Duty of Merchants (Bristol, 1715).
3. Evans, Outline, pp.235-9; Gent's Mag., VIII (1738), 603-4; H.M.C. 64 Verulam, p.249.
4. See p.195; Complete History of Somerset, pp.26-7; Collins, Miscellanies, p.25; Complete Chatterton, I:577; Register of Folly, p.77; S. Curwen, Journal and Letters, ed. G.A. Ward (N.Y. 1845), 153. F.F.B.J. 7 July 1764; B.G. 31 Oct. 1771. For heroism e.g. Powell, Bristol Privateers, pp.140-1.

maintained.[1] We have seen the use made of this in debates over sociability and the arts. To many commentators wealth itself was less important than the virtues required to attain it. The rich must use wealth correctly; the middling were urged to place virtue, contentment and friendship above the struggle for success.[2] Gild insistence on fraternity and security above entrepreneurship was taken over by the friendly societies, Freemasons' lodges and other clubs. Thus Bristolians sought to minimize the divisive effects of trading competition within the community, whilst repudiating the notion that business itself depended on vice and bred luxury destructive to society.[3]

The corporate life of Bristol, and the privileges won by its Corporation, were also considered an essential matrix within which commerce could flourish. The notion is implicit in the tradition of annals-keeping, which remained popular amongst Bristolians of different occupations, from shopkeepers and artisans up to aldermen and members of the professions, well into the eighteenth century.[4]

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1. E.g. Barrett, History, pp.66, 183-4.
2. See pp.171-2, 177-8, 197, 224-5.
3. R. Purnell, Serious Exhortation (1663), p.84; Murch, Presbyterian Churches, p.110; B.W.I. 12 May 1750, 21 Sept., 5 and 26 Oct. 1751; O.C.A. 14 Mar. 1747 (T. Durbin obituary); F.F.B.J. 26 July, 27 Dec. 1766, 26 Sept. 1767, 23 Apr. 1768; Bayly, Fourteen Sermons II no. 7 'Honesty'; Case of the Creditors of J.G. Pedley (1783); R. Jenkins, Historical Law Essays (Bristol, 1779), p.13, 46-7.
4. For background see Clark, 'Visions'; A. Dyer, 'English Town Chronicles' Local Historian XII (1977), 285-92. The only annals printed are early: R. Ricart, The Maire of Bristow is Kalendar ed. L. Toulmin Smith (Camden N.S., V 1872); W. Adams, Chronicle ed. F.F. Fox (Bristol 1910) (revised MS version in B.A.O. 13748(4); A.E. Hudd, 'Two Bristol Calendars' T.B.G.A.S., XIX (1894-5), 105-41. Occupations: Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fos.xiii-xiv; B.C.L. 7950, fo.90, 12196, fo.335; S. Seyer, Memoirs, Historical and Topographical (2 vols. Bristol, 1821-3), I:x-xiii. For late Stuart annalists see p.306 n.1. For post-1700 annalists: Bodl. MS Gough Som.2; B.A.O. 07831, 08158, 22156, 37541, 38083(7); B.C.L. 4502, 4505, 4946,

It is made explicit by the historians and antiquarians. The key events in town history were new charters or privileges, while the annalistic calendar was based on the mayoral year and lists of officials. The most important functions of corporate government were the wise administration of justice, loyalty to the crown and the winning of privileges through lavish hospitality.[1] The Corporation were seen by the citizens mainly as magistrates.[2] This aspect was stressed in civic ritual, both in mayoral elections[3] and during Assize weeks when central government, embodied by royal judges, was on display publicly alongside the Corporation and a representative body of freemen composing the Grand Jury.[4] Both trials and executions were major public events.[5] Lavish hospitality to visiting royalty and statesmen, together with gifts and addresses of loyalty, were believed essential to ensure government favour.[6] Such activities were considered to cause, as well as symbolize, prosperity. Although the gilds declined after 1700 the notion of representing all the city

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4(cont.) 9167, 10152, 10162, 10163(1), 10166(3), 16767. Local newspapers probably lessened annals-keeping, but annalists copied press items (e.g. B.A.O. 37541) and papers carried historical items (e.g. F.F.B.J. 2 Feb. 1754, 6 Oct. 1759). Barrett left space for readers to continue his Annals (p.704), but his publication caused one annalist to stop (B.C.L. 10152,fo.44).

1. Several annals were kept by town officials. See p.303 n.4; B.L. Egerton MS 2044; B.A.O. 09594(1). B.A.O. 13748(4), 'to reader' on mayoral dating. Civic image: Adams, Chronicle, p.241; A. Wantner in Bodl. MS Top. Glos. c 2,fo.350 b; Whiston, Farewell, pp.v-vi; A. Hooke, A Dissertation on the Antiquity (1748), pp.iii-v; Prospectus for Bristollia in Bodl. MS Willis 43,fo. 87; B.C.L. 4505,notes on 'Antiquity of Corporation'; Directory, pp.117-8; Barrett, History, pp.82-4, 114-26.
2. B.L. Add. MS 27951,fo.180v; T.B.G.A.S., XXVII (1905), 119.
3. C.S.P.D. 1680-1, p.681; Barrett, History, pp.120-1.
4. North, Lives,I:156, 284; B.C.L. 26063,8 Sept. 1735, 20095,6 Oct. 1775; B.O.C.A. 13 Apr. 1745; F.F.B.J. 1 Sept. 1753, 9 May 1761; B.J. 7 Oct. 1748, 6 Apr. 1771; Latimer, 18C, p.323.
5. See p.140; Barrett, History, p.493.
6. H.M.C. 78 Hastings,II: 142; R.C. Latham (ed.) Bristol Charters (B.R.S. XII, 1947), p.40; N.B. Phoenix, dedication.

trades in public ceremony remained important.[1] The support of trading interests through communal action shifted gradually from gild activity to public meetings but these still claimed to speak for Bristol interests, working through M.P.s who were judged for their record in achieving concrete advantages for Bristol.[2]

Although such an outlook is easily dismissed as parochial, it embodied a coherent notion of the relationship of local to national events, and a perspective on national history. The town's annalists and historians included much information and comment on national history in their accounts; they conceived of all history as a stream of discrete events rather than historical processes.[3] The growth in Bristol's privileges depended on the accretion of national liberties, but these were not unprecedented changes but the natural developments of an ancient constitution when wisely ruled by kings with obedient subjects, displaying Protestantism and patriotism.[4] The Civil War, when these aims clashed, reduced contemporary annalists to silence,[5] and similar anguish is visible in accounts of the 1680s, turning to

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1. See pp.163-5; Goldwin, Description, p.7; Wood, Description, p.36; B.O. 29 Apr. 1749; B.W.I. 10 Nov. 1750.
2. E.g. Bristol Contest, pp.7, 50-2 on M.P.'s role; P.T. Underdown, 'Edmund Burke Commissary of his Bristol Constituents', Eng. Hist. Rev., LXXIII (1958), 252-69.
3. Annals with considerable national history post-Reformation include Adams' two versions; B.A.O. 22156; B.L. Egmont MS 2044; B.C.L. 4502, 10161, 10162(3), 10166(1). Several Bristol antiquarians wrote on wider historical questions: see D.N.B. for Bedford, Broughton, Cary, Catcotts; p.301 n.2 for Champion; p.314 n.6 for Hooke.
4. Adams, Chronicle, pp.34, 50, 106; B.A.O. 13748 (4), statement of purpose.
5. Ibid. shows Adams reduced to quoting a prophecy concerning bad weather on St. Paul's Day to explain the Civil War. The cataclysm encouraged prophetic explanation e.g. Grace Cary's visions (Seyer, Memoirs, II:338-41). J. Cary copied several prophecies concerning post-1660 crises in B.L. Add. MS 5540, fo.21

relief at deliverance by William and the chance to unite against the Catholic French.[1] Hooke, after describing the progressive gains in privileges under each ruler due to magisterial wisdom and virtue, concluded that Bristol's freedoms were only seriously threatened when, under James II, the freedoms of the whole state were in danger.[2] The only Bristolian who publicly repudiated this view of history for the notion of historical stages, which made the past irrelevant to modern society, was Dean Tucker, who also questioned the value of corporate privilege and civic ritual.[3]

The traditional view of the civic constitution was embodied in stone in the High Cross at the city's heart, with its statues of the monarchs who had granted Bristol privileges. Four statues had been added in 1633, and the Cross was repaired and re-gilded in 1697.[4] During the seventeenth century visitors were impressed by the Cross and by Bristol's medieval inheritance of walls, gates, crosses, churches, pumps and the underground sewers and waterpipes which kept the hilly city unusually clean.[5] Civic processions were based around the pumps, crosses, churches and civic buildings, reaching

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1. B.C.L. 10166(1) is most Tory, and 10163(4) moderately so. B.C.L. 4502 and 10163(2) are moderate Whig and 10166(3) very Whig.
2. Hooke, Dissertation, pp.iii-iv.
3. J. Tucker, Two Dissertations (Bristol, 1749), pp.5, 48; idem, Second Letter to Friend (1753), pp.5, 7, 9, 12, 16-17, 25; A.F. Tytler (ed.), Memoirs of Lord Kames (2 vols 1814), I:172, 176-7, 183; Shelton, Tucker, pp.94, 100. Bristol's other Whig intellectuals, Hooke and Cary, preferred to use the civic heritage. For Cary see p.325; A Vindication of the Parliament of England (1698).
4. M.J.H. Liversidge, Bristol High Cross (B.B.H.A., 1978).
5. Mundy, Travels, IV:8-10; Fiennes, Journeys, pp.266-7; inscriptions on maps quoted in T.B.G.A.S., XLVIII (1926), 326, 331: Bristol's hills and layout led to many comparisons with Rome, even after 1700 e.g. Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fo.162; Defoe, Tour (1769 edn), II:237; Barrett, History, p.57.

almost all corners of the old city.[1] The annalists recorded in detail every aspect of municipal betterment and changes in the town's physical fabric.[2] To Barrett the building of the first stone bridge and the new quay in 1247 symbolised the progressive spirit which had made Bristol great.[3] The opening of the new Exchange in 1743 was marked by lavish ceremony. The keynote speech emphasised that public edifices were 'at all times held in esteem and considered as manifestations of the wisdom and grandeur of a state'.[4] The wealth of a city was immortalised by its physical inheritance.

During the eighteenth century new requirements set heritage against improvement. The High Cross was moved to the College Green in the 1730s and then lost to the city in 1763. The city gates were gradually dismantled after 1750 to facilitate traffic, while streets were widened and rebuilt, and civic building and churches restored or rebuilt in neoclassical style.[5] Population growth put undue pressure on the old streets and drains, and the wealthy began to move to the suburbs or new squares. To visitors the cramped old city was less attractive than the countryside around.[6] To many Bristolians, however, the city itself was being re-created as a centre of urban

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1. B.C.L. 9167 for 1697 and 29 Oct. 1739 processions; B.O.C.A. 7 Apr. 1744; B.C. 1 Nov. 1760.
2. B.C.L. 10166(2) for 1676, 1691, 1707, 1712, 1720 etc. Bodl. MS Gough Som.2 was prompted by an enquiry from the Buck brothers, engravers, about Bristol buildings, and Stewart planned to draw all the major buildings (fos.x-xvi).
3. Barrett, History, pp.66-7, 73-80, 87-8, 95-7; A Short Historical Account of Bristol Bridge (Bristol 1759); F.F.B.J. 19 Apr. 1760 (A.Y. Letter); B.J. 26 Sept. 1767 (poem). Chatterton's first Rowley poem was on the earlier bridge.
4. Gent's Mag., XIII (1743), 496-7, 663; B.O.C.A. 24 Sept. 1743; Wood, Description; Barrett, History, pp.461-4.
5. Liversidge, High Cross. Gates: Latimer, 18C, passim; Shiercliff, Guide, p.46; F.F.B.J. 7 Dec. 1765.
6. Marcy, 'Eighteenth-Century Views', pp.19-28.

civilization. They prided themselves on the elegance of Queen Square and College Green, which were extensively used as sites for civic ritual.[1] There was considerable sorrow at the loss of the Gothic landmarks, particularly the High Cross.[2] Many lovers of the past were torn between admiration for Bristol's heritage and support for 'improvement'. Their wish to retain the High Cross as a living part of Bristol's heritage stemmed from a different historical vision from that of the rich Bristolians, including Quakers, who adopted Gothic as a fashionable ornament, or of Pope, who admired the Cross but regretted that it was spoiled by recent gilding.[3] Bristolians were noted for their care of church monuments and inscriptions.[4] They repaired and restored the old, because for them the past was there to be improved, while setting equal store on new works of the same kind.[5]

Just as the medieval churches dominated the architectural heritage, so church life profoundly affected civic ritual and the civic image. Much of the calendar was still based on the church year, and parish events such as perambulations helped to define the

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1. See p.148; F.F.B.J. 7 July 1764, 26 Oct. 1771 (Hotwells Sojourner), 2 May (Plebeian) and 12 Sept. (Civis) 1772 on improvement. F.F.B.J. 22 Sept. 1761 reported 20,000 in Queen Square for coronation celebrations.
2. B.C.L. 22477, for 1733, 20095, 8 Feb. 1761, 12999, fos. 12, 37; B.L.Add MS 5811, fo.58v; F.F.B.J. 27 Oct. 1774; B.C. 26 Apr., 27 Sept. 1760; Barrett, History, p.294; Southey, Letters, III:366; Leech, Rural Rides, p.99.
3. Gomme et al., Bristol, pp.163-75; Pope, Correspondence, IV:204-5. In July 1733 opponents of the High Cross felt it necessary to oppose 'prejudice' in favour of its antiquity by calling it a 'relic of popish superstition' (C.C.P.).
4. F.F.B.J. 12 Oct. 1754, 24 Jan. 1761; B.L. Add. MS 5811, fos.56, 91.
5. Barrett, History, pp.82-113 esp. p.98. Barrett's circle hoped to prove that their medieval ancestors could guide present improvement e.g. ibid p.455; Gent's Mag., LVI (1786), 460; B.J. 23 May 1767.

city.[1] The Corporation's ritual calendar was based on church festival days when the members attended church services in solemn procession, combining an intricate round of parish church attendance with visits to the Cathedral and the civic chapel of St. Mark's. City societies imitated the Corporation in this.[2] The church bells played a central part in public ceremony, while the city clergy, through their sermons, acted as public interpreters of the meaning of these festivals.[3] Visitors to Bristol were struck by the regularity of church-going and the good order of the churches.[4] Guide-books and histories were usually organised by parish, devoting most attention to the churches and their monuments, whose examples of past piety and virtue were considered likely to impress the current generation.[5] Interest in the town's history was liveliest among Anglican clerics and their lay supporters, who hoped to highlight the church's role in Bristol life.

The churches' status in the civic community was never undisputed,[6] which was precisely why the church party laboured so

1. See pp.158, 174.
2. See detailed picture of civic ceremony in swordbearer's memoranda: E. Fawcett and E. Ralph (eds.) 'Mugleworth's Diary' T.B.G.A.S., LXI (1939), 246-70. For societies see pp.171, 177, 180-1.
3. E.g. R. Standfast, A Sermon preached ... at the Assizes (1676) or J. Berjew, Religion Essential to Civil Government (Bristol, 1774). Several sermons raised considerable controversy: C.S. Render to Caesar the Things which are Caesar's (Bristol, 1718); Philalethes, A Stroke at Pulpit Time-serving (1763); p.280 for Catcott's 1736 sermon. Bells: see p.334.
4. See pp.308, 313.
5. Whitson, Farewell, p.vii; Bodl. MS Willis 64, fos.160-1; Barrett, History, pp.294-5; epitaphs noted in B.A.O. 08158, fos.100-1, 132-9, 145. Whitson's work was reprinted several times to exploit reverence for past virtue. Cf. exemplary lives e.g. Crossman, Calling; Gough, Select Lives.
6. Barrett, History, pp.58, 243, 278-9, 295, 339, 387-8, 449, 579-80. Barrett's publication was based on a century of Tory research. The chain can be traced in Bodl. MS Aubrey 12, fos.12, 15 and 13, fos.65-68; B.A.O. 09701 (1,3,5-10); P/Tem E 4 Haynes letters; B.A.O. 8019(4), 14581 HA/W/10; Bodl. MSS Willis 43, fos.1-2, 83, 93-7, 106-14 and 60, fos.108-10 and 64, fos.150-1; Whiston, Farewell, preface; B.L. Add. MS 5811, fo.84; Complete Chatterton, I:667; Barrett, Proposals; Seyer, Memoirs, pp.v-vi.

hard to render it central. Bristol was spared major disputes between town and Cathedral authorities by the low income and irregular presence of the bishops, and the laxity of the Chapter, but controversy arose regularly over the privileges accorded the Corporation when they visited the Cathedral. For long periods civic ritual bypassed the Cathedral.[1] The religious calendar was increasingly overshadowed in civic life by secular holidays, based on royal or national events. The city clergy, though well-educated and often respected, mostly depended for their livings on the Corporation, and for an adequate income on congregational gifts.

The Anglican historians either ignored the dissenters and their churches, or commented pointedly that their origins lay in Civil War and regicide.[2] The chronicle-keepers came from a wider religious spectrum, including some who recorded with sympathy the persecutions up to 1688.[3] The Presbyterians remained active in Bristol civic life. During the 1650s they continued corporate ritual unabated, and when they came back to power after 1735 they continued to participate fully, incorporating the Presbyterian church into the civic round.[4]

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1. H.M.C. 4, pp.141-4; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fo.56; C.S.P.D. 1677-8, pp.320, 351, 382, 1681-2, p.369; B.L. Add. MSS 5811, fo.69, C.C.P., Nov. 1739; F.F.B.J. 10 Nov. 1759. For work on Cathedral history in the 1680s and 1705-30, see D.C./A/6/6; Bodl. MSS Willis 43, fos.96-7, 104-14, 203 and 59, fo.396 and 60, fo.124 and 76, fos.100, 109-11.
2. E.g. Jones, Clifton, pp.27-8, 35-6; Barrett, History, p.243.
3. See p.306 n.1 esp. B.C.L. 10166(3). Low Church antiquarians include Bedford, Hooke and probably N. Freind (Bodl. MS Topog. Oxon F 31, fo.293), J. Chetwind (Bodl. MS Wood D4, fo.65; F41, fos.248ff) and Alexander Morgan (Bodl. MS Willis 43, fo.90, F.F.B.J. 22 Mar. 1755). Freind and Bedford's research reached Barrett through Haynes and the Catcotts. Barrett bought Morgan's collections, but never had access to Hooke's (Barrett, Proposals).
4. The swordbearer Mugleworth was probably Presbyterian (see B.A.O. 6687(1-2). For Presbyterian thanksgiving sermons see e.g. Pope, Merciful Discovery; T. Wright, A Sermon preached to a Society of Protestant Dissenters (1763).

The more sectarian religious groups found it harder to fit in with corporate ritual, although they included fewer of the elite whose absence might be noted. The Quakers caused the greatest offence, as their refusal to honour church festivals or observe public rejoicings for military success outraged popular feeling.[1] The only public activities in which they were easily incorporated were public fasts. The same was generally true of the Methodists.[2] In their earliest days both groups used similarly extrovert gestures to challenge the whole community to repentance. The Quakers proceeded through the streets in sack cloth and ashes, even, in the Naylor incident, in imitation of Christ, calling on Bristol to choose its destiny as Babylon or Zion.[3] Whitefield was ushered into the city like a visiting dignitary by the crowd during his early preaching, while the mass Methodist meetings in the city's heart provoked both corporate and crowd distrust.[4] But both movements soon grew introverted, focussing like other dissenting groups on their own trials and divisions, and rarely challenging the city's self-image directly.[5]

Religious division increased the importance of charity and morality as non-controversial proofs of Christianity, as well as

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1. See p.138; C.S.P.D. 1665-6, p.116; J. Helton, Reasons for Quitting the Methodist Society (1778), p.62.
2. Underhill, Record, pp.371, 389; T. Cary, A Sermon preached at SS Philip and Jacob (1691); The Humble Presentment of the Grand Inquest (Bristol, 1696); M. Pope, A Discourse on the Afflictions and Refuge of People of God (1703); Oracle 13 Nov. 1742; F.F.B.J. 12 Feb. 1757, 17 and esp. 24 Feb. 1759; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.42-3.
3. Latimer, 17C, pp.269-72; Besse, Collection, I:39-74 esp. 41, 45; Speed, Reason, p.28.
4. A.C.H. Seymour, Life and Times of Countess of Huntingdon (2 vols, 1884), II:354, 364; J. Wesley's Journal, II:239, 340.
5. Hayden (ed.), Records, passim, e.g. pp.114-5; Mortimer, Minutes; Whiting, Persecution; J. Randall, A Brief Account of the Rise ... of Quakers (2 edns, Bristol, 1747 and 1772); B.W.I. 2 June 1750 (A.V.); B.C.L. 20095, 21 Sept. 1780.

providing evidence that a Protestant city was as generous as any Papist one. Bristol was justly famous for its charities, nearly all spent on causes within the city, unlike London.[1] Both annalists and historians devoted particular attention to bequests.[2] Charity played a growing role in city ritual with the multiplication of charitable societies, and the establishment of Colston's anniversary as a semi-public holiday after the 1720s.[3] Charity was particularly important to a trading city because it offered tangible proof that city wealth was used well, and that the wealthy were not avaricious or narrow-minded. Sermons and essays balanced self-congratulation with exhortation to live up to ancestral standards.[4] Charity also ensured the community of rich and poor. Prospective M.P.s imitated the mayor in giving alms to Newgate debtors;[5] faced with high food prices the poor weavers processed in their trade insignia, draped with black, to elicit communal sympathy.[6]

Charity was also to be administered carefully to reinforce the good order and prosperity of the city. Although many Bristolians continued to leave bread or money to the poor, usually administered by the churches, the most prestigious gifts and schemes concerned

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1. W.K. Jordan, 'Forming of Charitable Institutions of West of England: Bristol and Somerset 1480-1660' Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc. for 1960, Pt. VIII; Manchee, Charities; Barrett, History, passim, esp. pp.610-23; Account of Hospitals.
2. B.L. Egerton MS 2044; B.C.L. 4946, 10095, 10161-2, 10166(3), 15861; Whiston, Farewell, p.vii; Bodl. MS Willis 43, fo.87; Barrett, History, pp.82, 184, 610-23.
3. See pp.178-81. Chapman, Sermon, pp.20-1, apologizes for not commenting on Bristol history on such an occasion.
4. E.g. C. Brent, Persuasions; idem, Honour the Lord with thy Substance (1708); idem, Money Essay'd (1728). Defenders of Bristol reacted strongly to accusations of lack of charity e.g. F.F.B.J. 7 July 1764; Rouquet, Christian Strife, p.25.
5. Fawcett and Ralph, 'Mugleworth's Diary' 260; F.B.N. 4 Nov. 1727; F.F.B.J. 20 Dec. 1766.
6. F.F.B.J. 9 Jan. 1768.

education and employment, training the poor into virtue and industry, above all by apprenticeship.[1] This was also the central concern of those seeking the reform of manners. Bristol's magistrates showed no slackening after 1660 in their resolve to enforce moral standards.[2] The social tensions of the 1690s, combined with bitter political and religious distrust, saw the growth of rival agencies to forward this priority, each clearly believing that the citizens would be impressed by success in this aim.[3] Although the momentum for reform lessened after 1715 interest remained strong and Bristol retained the image of a Puritan town, unusually Sabbatarian and fierce in its punishment of vice.[4] This has been interpreted as a matter of social control, aimed against the unruly poor, but it was just as much an expression of Bristolian and bourgeois identity, implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, rebuking the idle rich and the vicious capital.[5]

Finally one must return to antiquity and honour. Despite Barrett's assertion that commercial success mattered more,[6] he, like other historians, strove to establish an honourable heritage for Bristol. The annalists[7] were content to start in the middle ages, when Bristol was indeed England's second city, but the historians

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1. See pp.33-6, 50, 67, 172, 179-81.
2. E.g. J. Knight, An Order for Restraining Blasphemy etc. (c.1670); S. Crossman, An Assizes Sermon (1676); G.J. presentments 1660 onwards.
3. See pp.34-5, 53; Speed, Reason, pp.20-28.
4. See pp.136-7 for Sabbatarianism; Underhill, Short Account p.9; Foote, Genuine Memoirs, dedication; Defoe, Tour (1742 edn), II:268; Combe, Philosopher, I:83; E. Burke, A Letter to the Sheriffs (1777), p.66.
5. F.F.B.J. 7 Dec. 1754, 6-27 Dec. 1766 (B.B.); T.C.M., III (1771), 433. F.F.B.J. 5 Oct. 1754 noted that the 'sober frugal Puritans' had triumphed over the 'debauched extravagant Royalists'.
6. See p.302.
7. Except Adams, who was effectively writing his own history of Bristol and England.

wanted to associate Bristol's origins with the nation's, according to the group each historian imagined founding the constitution.[1] Tradition held that two kings from the Brut legend had founded Bristol, and despite critical attacks Bristolians were loath to give this up.[2] Camden's claim that the silence of early chronicles showed that Bristol was not important till the tenth century[3] was challenged through etymological and archaeological research and conjectural accounts. Evidence of earlier settlement gradually accrued,[4] though overshadowed by Chatterton's Rowley forgeries, which conveniently provided what the historians hoped to find,[5] and by Hooke's ingenious theory that Bristol had long been a leading commercial city, noticed by geographers, but that chroniclers had ignored it until it had castles and churches.[6]

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1. E.g. F.F.B.J. 12 Sept. 1772 (Civis); Meyerstein, Chatterton, p.265; Barrett, History, pp.2-8, 28-30.
2. B.A.O. 08158, fo.140; Rawdon, Life, p.173; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:241; Adams, Chronicle, pp.1-5, 12, 15-20 and B.A.O. 13748(4), esp. 'long and honourable evidences for antiquity' under 1630 in summary annals; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fos.1-3; Hooke, Dissertation, pp.36, 49-52.
3. Cited in Hooke, Dissertation, appendix.
4. Growing architectural and archaeological understanding can be traced in: Bodl. MS Topog. Gen c.24, fos.191, 210, 222, and 25, fos.132-8, 153-162, 168; Topog. Glos. c.2, fos.269, 313, and 3, fos.185, 230; B.C.L. 6494, fos.12-21; R. Atkyns, Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire (1714), pp.103-4, 187, 224; W. Stukeley, Itinerarium Curiosum (1724), p.149; Bodl. MS Topog. Gen e.18, fos.283-94; Gent's Mag., XVII (1777), 276-9, 481-2 and LVI (1786), 463, 544-5, 580; S. Rudder, New History of Gloucestershire (1779), esp. 375-6 and note; B.I.B.M., I:128 and II:518; F.F.B.J. 2 Apr. and 14 May 1763; B.C.L. 4904, fos.17ff., 5199, 22477; Shiercliff, Guide, p.67; and esp. Barrett, History, pp.7-30, 37, 43-6, 52, 72-3, 194, 197, 286, 289-90, 387, 447, 458, 574, 645.
5. Meyerstein, Chatterton, pp.109-11, 189-90.
6. Hooke, Dissertation, pp.1-2, 5, 10, 41, 49; idem, Bristollia, pp.1, 3, 60. Hooke's conjectural approach reflected his interest in political arithmetic: see idem, An Essay on the National Debt (1750).

Most Bristolians were doubtless ignorant of these debates, but visitors were struck by the pride of ordinary Bristolians in their civic heritage, and their own status as freemen.[1] Notions of honour were important to a trading city which prided itself on its contribution to the country's war effort, while personal reputation or credit was central to successful business. The merchants in particular could claim to take risks and cultivate credit as much as any gentlemen. They could also challenge the false honour of the aristocracy, expressed in war and duelling, pointing to the mutual benefit and peaceful relations established at home and abroad by trade.[2] What the individual could rarely claim was the permanent estate and family tradition of the landed gentry. This made it even more important to associate himself with institutions of greater continuity, such as civic and gild associations, or later the Freemasons.[3] The ubiquity of heraldic symbolism in seventeenth-century Bristol, often based on civic or gild arms, combined with the pomp of funerals, suggests a strong desire to ballast personal insignificance with the weight of communal prestige.[4] The middling could only achieve this through activity in city societies, so they dominated these institutions, which combined elaborate rituals and posts of honour with conventions of good behaviour and mutual support.[5]

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1. Rawdon, Life, p.173.
2. See p.302; The Bristol Merchants Triumphant (n.p.,n.d., c.1733?); F.F.B.J. 22-29 Aug. and 3-10 Oct. 1767 (essays).
3. See pp.171, 177, 179-81 for the 'Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons' (e.g. B.O.C.I. 28 Apr. 1744), the 'Ancient Honourable and Most Magnificent Order of Hiccobites' (F.F.B.J. 10 Feb. 1753) and the 'Ancient Britons' (e.g. Price, Antiquity)
4. Conder and Were, 'Heraldry'; T.F. Fenwick and W.C. Metcalfe, Visitation of Gloucestershire 1682-3 (Exeter, 1884).
5. See pp.170-1.

The Limits of Community

I have so far assumed that all Bristolians would have been aware of, and affected by, at least some of the associations of civic identity. This might seem implausible, given Bristol's rapid population growth, based largely on immigration. The 1778 edition of Defoe's Tour claimed that Bristol contained such a 'heterogeneous mixture' of people from Wales, Ireland, Scotland, America and the neighbouring counties with different languages and religions, that 'any general characteristics of its inhabitants cannot be given'.[1] Traditionally immigrants were introduced to the values of Bristol society by apprenticeship. During the seventeenth century apprenticeship was at a high level while growth was modest, suggesting that most immigrants probably entered this way, or by marriage into Bristol families. There was an increase in the proportion of Bristol-born apprentices, while external apprentices increasingly came from a few nearby counties. By the early 1700s the proportion of apprentices proceeding to become freeman had risen from about a third to just over 50%, while the county societies offered a forum which could combine pride in place of origin with civic pride, through the support of apprenticeship.[2]

The population growth thereafter threatened this traditional solution. The proportion of apprentices to the working population steadily declined, and although the ratio of apprentices freed rose,

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1. Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:239.
2. A. Yarborough, 'Geographical and Social Origins of Bristol Apprentices 1542-65', T.B.G.A.S. XCVIII (1980), 113-30; Sacks, 'Trade, Society and Politics', pp.228-35, 495-504, 752ff; Holman, 'Apprenticeship'; idem, 'Orphans'. There were over 3000 freemen in the late seventeenth century and only 4560 household heads in 1696, 19% of whom were widows.

freedom through fines, marriage or patrimony grew more important, especially in election years.[1] Although apprentice numbers revived somewhat after 1750, many were charity apprentices. Their numbers indicate the continued belief in apprenticeship as an ideal entrance to civic life, but this gradually undermined the honorific character which apprenticeship had earlier held. Moreover in the late 1760s attention shifted from apprenticeship to support of lying-in women and marriages and care for specific problem groups such as debtors and prostitutes.[2]

The place of women and children in the civic community is difficult to gauge. Normally they were subsumed within the household, whose male head alone participated in civic affairs. If the household head died, civic groups might take responsibility. The Corporation took legal charge of orphans and offered education.[3] The boys and girls of the two orphan schools played a prominent role in civic rituals. The City Grammar School boys were incorporated in a manner fitting their higher status by marching in the 5th of November processions, after one of them had delivered a Latin oration at the Tolzey.[4] Charity school children were similarly on display in society events, as were the apprentices at county feasts.[5] Widows were offered material support by gilds; most almshouses catered chiefly for widows. Widows and orphans were offered further security by the growth in friendly societies.

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1. Quilici 'Turmoil in a City', pp.188-208.
2. See pp.172, 181.
3. Holman, 'Orphans' shows the extent of the orphan problem, while D. Souden in Clark, Transformation, pp.150-8 shows the considerable surplus of females c.1700.
4. Fawcett and Ralph (eds) 'Mugleworth's Diary', 260, 268; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fo.79; F.F.B.J. 6 Nov. 1773; Defoe, Tour (1778 edn), II:242-3.
5. See p.181.

Even if such care was important to civic values, women and children played a largely passive role. Charity certainly offered a field where Bristol women could express their preferences. Jordan discovered an unusually large number of female donors in Bristol before 1660, and the figures from Barrett for parish charities suggest that their contribution grew thereafter.[1] However men almost always administered these gifts and controlled the other charities which increasingly overshadowed parish charity. Women's role in civic celebration was enhanced after 1700 by the growth of polite society, as wives and daughters were invited to grace dinners and balls.[2] Otherwise women were only involved in a distinctive role when the events celebrated had a female connotation. Female royal visitors were escorted by the mayor's wife and other leading ladies, while Queen Anne's coronation celebrations incorporated both ladies and young maidens, some of them dressed as men, floral tributes organized by female parishioners and other symbols that 'Dux femina facta'.[3] Women who took an active partisan role in public were liable to be criticized for their presumption and unfemininity, whether they were the Parliamentary supporters of 1642,[4] the sectarian prophets of the Interregnum,[5] or the Jacobite ladies who flaunted white roses in 1750.[6]

Apprentices were also distrusted when they used their representative quality as community spokesmen to express attitudes distasteful to the authorities. The most notable cases occurred in

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1. See p.312 n.1.
2. See pp.141, 324.
3. See p.333 n.1.
4. Two State Martyrs, p.9.
5. Purnell et al., Church, pp.21, 47.
6. B.W.I. 16 June 1750.

1654, when they attacked Quakers,[1] in 1660 when they called for a free Parliament,[2] in 1678 when the carpenters' apprentices appeared to be celebrating Charles I's execution,[3] and in 1685 when they attacked brothel-keepers.[4] In each case the apprentices' supporters could claim that their actions were expressing community norms; most were associated with the traditional Shrove Tuesday marches of apprentices from different trades, which carried on through the next century.[5] Normally these passed peacefully, and the values they expressed often appealed to vertical solidarity within a trade in symbolic rivalry with other trades, but despite the lack of overt challenge, the sporadic violence and independent expression always concerned the city rulers. They suspected that troublesome apprentices were being encouraged by city factions, which was apparently the case in 1660, though the trade marches suggest that this was not the only factor.[6]

In many respects the same ambiguity surrounded the participation of the general population in civic ceremony. It was obviously important to establish unanimity of support at such occasions, and accounts stress the 'popular demonstrations of joy', large attendance and 'huzzaing' of approval.[7] Such support was deliberately courted,

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1. Farmer, Satan Inthron'd, p.57; Besse, Collection, I:39.
2. B.C.L. 10166(1) and 10163(4), for 1660; Corry and Evans, History, I:471-9; A Letter of the Apprentices of ... Bristol (1660).
3. Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fo.99.
4. B.C.L. 10163(2), for 1685. T.P., Eben Ezer, expected young men and women to lead public rejoicings, as they did at coronations (see p.333 nn.1-2). In 1683-5 Tories were harnessing apprentice support through the Society of Loyal Young Men.
5. See pp.164-5 e.g. F.F.B.J. 26 Feb. 1757; Brown, Odes, p.57, B.C. 9 Feb. 1760.
6. H.M.C. 71 Finch, II:57.
7. Goldwin, Poetical Description, p.7; F.B.N. 24 June 1727; B.O. 29 Apr. 1749; F.F.B.J. 22-29 May 1756, 5 Nov. 1757. B.C.L. 20095, 29 Nov. 1759 reports a 'vast throng' for a thanksgiving day, while Wesley Letters, II:70 notes great popular joy on Nov. 5th.

not only by processing through most parts of the city with the maximum of noise and spectacle, but making important days public holidays and providing free drink, bonfires, fireworks and other illuminations.[1] Some of the poorer groups of workers, such as weavers, woolcombers, sailors and glassmen were given financial assistance and hospitality to organize displays on major occasions,[2] in addition to the compulsory presence of the city's trading companies in full array. In these circumstances the different trades clearly vied to provide the most impressive display.[3]

The array of incentives to attend makes it difficult to decide how far attendance implied assent to the values such ceremonies were intended to express. Groups who rejected civic ritual, like the Quakers, found themselves attacked by what they considered the rabble as late as 1780.[4] Tucker believed that 'mobbing and electioneering' were central to popular leisure.[5] The imagery of popular action showed a close awareness of the civic ritual which it imitated. Trade solidarity was displayed during industrial action, for example when the sailors marched through the town with flags in 1746.[6] Targets of popular anger were processed through the streets and pilloried, or,

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1. See p.307 n.1 for music etc. and C.V., 2 Dec. 1697 for fireworks. Drink, bonfires: e.g. F.B.N. 24 June 1727, B.C. 30 May 1761, F.F.B.J. 7 May 1763. Money distributed: Wood, Description, p.36; F.F.B.J. 1 Mar. 1766. B.C.L. 20095, 30 Oct. 1760 notes that a holiday was given to all attending George III's proclamation. All freemen were offered free entertainment at public houses on Clare's re-election (B.J. 20 Dec. 1766).
2. C.V., 1738; Gent's Mag., VIII (1738), 602-3; C.V., 1762 for 1761 coronation.
3. F.F.B.J. 9 Nov. 1754 (Smiths' Vulcan champion). Cf. F.F.B.J. 12 Oct. 1759, 19 Sept. 1761 for houses and parishes competing.
4. Underhill, Records, pp.10, 20; Bristol Riot, p.7; B.C.L. 20095, 1 Mar. 1780.
5. Tucker, Brief Essay, p.36.
6. F.F.B.J. 29 Mar. 1746. Cf. colliers e.g. B.C.L. 9167, for 1709.

if inaccessible, burnt or hung in effigy.[1] A 'great concourse' attended the procession through the city to the common place of execution of the weavers' journeymen when they executed the hated master-weaver Fecham in effigy in 1732. One account noted that they strove to imitate as closely as possible the official route, despite being forbidden by the magistrates to traverse the heart of the city. The procession went two by two, with men carrying long staves to represent the constables, and two mounted to represent the sheriffs, although they could only afford asses.[2] The crowd were often appealing to official civic values, the moral economy of the city, and their activity was sometimes curtailed if the magistrates offered to act officially in their place.[3]

Although such popular action was often orderly in its way, it appeared a threat to civic order to respectable citizens. Accounts of civic ritual always stressed its 'decorum', reporting with satisfaction major events which had gone off without accident or disruption.[4] The gild procession displayed the breadth of city trades within a highly ordered setting. Private celebrations on major festivals, for example bonfires and fireworks, were frowned upon, with the excuse that they caused accidents.[5] Critics of civic or political demonstrations would always claim that such activities were pandering to the mob, or relying on mob support bought by money or

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1. Glos. Jour. 13 Mar. 1733; F.F.B.J. 28 Oct. 1752, 4 Sept. 1756. Cf. B.J. 16 Aug. 1766 (milkman celebrated legal victory over alderman by having bells rung, etc.).
2. B.A.O. 37541 for 1730-1; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fos.166-8; Glos. Jour. 28 Mar. 1732.
3. F.F.B.J. 11 Feb. 1764. Official punishments still included pillorying and shaming, despite popular violence, e.g. F.B.N. 10 Nov. 1725, 25 Feb. 1727; B.W.I. 18 Aug. 1750.
4. O.C.A. and F.F.B.J. 11 Oct. 1746; B.C. 11 Oct. 1760.
5. F.F.B.J. 12 Sept. 1761; B.J. 24 May 1766, 28 Oct. 1769.

drink.[1] Popular protest was frequently identified not as the work of dissentient interests within the city, but of the Kingswood colliers, whose unruly life-style was contrasted with civic stability.[2] During the crisis of 1713-14 the Whigs explained away popular Toryism by blaming the machinations of the Tory Loyal Society, and the hiring of colliers, ignoring the evidence of indigenous popular support.[3]

If crowd participation was always conditional, viewed ambivalently by the city rulers, the participations of the rulers themselves was also variable - less firmly established, in many respects, than that of the middling groups. The merchants dominated the city, and the Society of Merchant Venturers was easily the most important occupational organization. Histories and sermons were dedicated to the Society, and the merchants were always singled out in comments on the town's various estates.[4] Merchants, particularly Society members, predominated in the Corporation, and the Merchant's Hall was often used for civic ritual, especially between 1700 and 1756.[5] However the Society did not participate in corporate events as a body, while its activities were chiefly aimed at influencing national government, which it approached independently, rather than affecting civic affairs. There were often divergent interests between

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1. See p.332 and B.C.L. 20095, 1 Mar. 1780 'This fact let the Annals of Bristol declare / When mobs were our magistrates, Miller was Mayor'.
2. P.D. Jones, 'Bristol Bridge Riot and Its Antecedents' Jour. Brit. Studies, XIX (1980), 74-92; R.W. Malcolmson, '"Set of Ungovernable People"' in J. Brewer and J. Styles, An Ungovernable People (1980) pp.85-127; Collins, Miscellanies, pp.93-8.
3. B.C.L. 4502, for 1714; Bristol Riot pp.5-6, 26; Full and Impartial Account, pp.8-9.
4. See pp.302, 312; J. Rainstorp, Loyalty Recommended (1684).
5. Sacks, 'Trade, Society and Politics', pp.693 ff; S.M.V. Hallbook, 29 Sept. 1723, 2 Nov. 1738, 16 Sept. 1743 (use of Hall).

different merchant groups, and only about 60% of the merchants ever belonged to the Society, the proportion falling rapidly after 1750. There were always many more rich merchants than corporate places to fill, while the Corporation was never wholly merchant-dominated, and became less so in the mid-eighteenth century.[1]

Only an ever-decreasing minority of merchants could expect to see their wealth and importance translated into civic office. But unlike middling citizens they had the resources and social prestige to lead the life of gentlemen in their own right. This might involve sporting pursuits, land purchase and claims to armigerous status. In the seventeenth century it might also include a role in the city's trained bands. As notions of gentility changed, these groups adopted the genteel lifestyle of fine houses, rich carriages and activity in polite society and in prestigious institutions such as the Infirmary and Library Society. Although the town was the centre of all these activities, it was not the horizon, just as these groups had wider economic connections than many others. Suburban residences and retirement appealed to their desire to escape the demand of city life, including its civic trappings.[2]

It would be wrong, however, to suggest a radical dissociation from civic affairs. As individuals the merchants were still honoured participants at civic functions, and the Corporation attracted them by

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1. Quilici, 'Turmoil in a City', pp.140-184, 223; Savadge, 'West Country', pp.104-6; Minchinton (ed.), Politics and Port; McGrath, Merchant Venturers.
2. See pp.146-7, 151-2, 166-71, 175; P. McGrath, John Whitson and Merchant Community (B.B.H.A. 1970), idem, 'Wills of Bristol Merchants', T.B.G.A.S., LXVIII (1948), 91-109; idem, Merchants and Merchandise, introduction; W. Minchinton, 'Merchants of Bristol in Eighteenth Century', in Sociétés et Groupes Sociaux en Aquitaine et Angleterre (Federation Historique de Sud-Ouest, Bordeaux, 1979).

adjusting its modes of celebration to suit the changing tastes of polite society. From about 1700 money was spent each holiday evening on regaling leading citizens at the Council House with toasts and sweetmeats, while balls became increasingly regular after 1714.[1] As the rich abandoned horseback for coaches, so coaches became incorporated into civic processions, especially from the 1730s.[2] Both these changes may have attracted the fashionable at the cost of popular hostility. Coaches distanced the dignitaries from the people, and their use by visiting royalty had been disliked in the seventeenth century.[3] A wry comment on aldermanic coaches suggests similar feelings continued.[4] Sometimes prestige was reconciled with visibility by putting the empty coaches in the procession behind their walking owners.[5] The first civic ball in 1714 was attacked by a crowd, and another crowd attacked a polite celebration in 1735. In both cases the Jacobite or Tory feeling involved may have fed on popular anger that civic funds were being spent on exclusive celebrations.[6]

The Politics of Community

Evidence that civic values made an appreciable impact depends ultimately on proof that appeals to such ideas had practical effects in Bristol politics. Of course, it is often hard to distinguish

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1. C.V.; Oracle 6 Nov. 1742; B.O. 2 Nov. 1745 (but crowd also entertained). Balls: see p.141.
2. C.V. For state coach of 1753 see Latimer, 18C, p.291; F.F.B.J. 23 June 1753; B.C.L. 20095, 22 June 1753. Coaches obviated the need for civic officials to precede forcing back crowds (e.g. B.C.L. 22477, for 1738).
3. B.C.L. 10163(2), for 1687; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fo.75.
4. B.G. 5 Dec. 1771.
5. B.O.C.A. 24 Sept. 1743; B.J. 19 Oct. 1765.
6. 1714: see p.333. 1735: Latimer, 18C, p.193.

propaganda from power. The Corporation could offer material incentives for those who supported its activities, and its opponents often claimed that its support rested on influence, bribery and intimidation. The opponents themselves used other organs of city government, such as the vestries, the Corporation of the Poor, or the Merchant Venturers, both because they could be said to represent civic opinion, and because they had powers of patronage. The blurring of power and propaganda was obvious in charity. It is hard to imagine that notions of community could have had such currency without such reinforcement.

Notions of the city's past also had direct significance, as much of city government was still determined by precedence. Rivalries within the Corporation, and between gilds, were settled by appealing to seniority of appointment.[1] In the 1690s the radical John Cary prepared a case for greater civic democracy based on medieval precedent, although this was never published.[2] The nature of Bristol's Parliamentary franchise was disputed throughout the period, provoking historical research and argument, especially after the victory of the populist Tory Coster in 1734.[3] Civic records were then sent off to Parliament; they had no sooner returned than they were required again for a dispute over the right to levy town dues. This provoked the publication of rival editions of the city

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1. Latimer, 17C, pp.63, 312-5.
2. B.L. Add. MS 5540, fo.37.
3. Latimer, 17C, pp.93, 147-9, 250-1, 307; Cary, Vindication, p.107; Case of Bristol Election; C.C.P. Dec. 1734, Nov. 1735; C.V. 1735; B.A.O. 09594(1); B.C.L. 7954, fo.90; B.C.L. 4504 under 1134; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fo.26, MS Willis 43, fos.90, 93-4; B.C.L. 11161, 27 July 1747, 10959-61; Bristol Contest, pp.54-6; F.F.B.J. 22 Mar. 1755; Barrett, History, pp.141-63.

charters.[1] Another long-running dispute concerned the maintenance of the city's clergy from civic finances.[2] Once such disputes had started much of the later argument consisted of appeals back to earlier decisions, on the assumption of ancestral civic wisdom.[3] The Anglican historians conducted much of their research into lost church rights.[4] Not surprisingly access to both civic and ecclesiastical records was often a sensitive matter. The Tory Barrett was refused use to the city archives which the Whig Hooke had been granted.[5] The failure of the many people interested in Bristol's history to publish before 1789 was partly due to such problems, as well as lack of leisure and financial resources for a costly endeavour.[6] It also reflected the intellectual problems

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1. S.F.B.N. 10 Oct. 1735, 3 July 1736; Bristol City Charters and Bristol Charter of 1710; S. Seyer, Charters and Letters Patent (Bristol, 1812), pp.viii-x; C.C.P., Jan. 1736; C.V., 1736-7; B.A.O. AC/JS/53/59(1); B.C.L. 4502, fo.129, 4504, for 1163; Barrett, History, pp.121-2, 656.
2. P/Tem E 4; Apology for Clergy; A Letter from a Freeman of Bristol to Joseph Earl (1712); Reasons Offer'd to the Inhabitants of Bristol against a Tax (1712) (reprints arguments from 1650s); Whiston, Farewell, p.vii; Bodl. G.A. Glos B4a, no.858; Barrett, History, pp.83, 130.
3. See p.232 for theatre; J. Knight, A Speech Against the Bill for General Naturalization (1694), p.8; B.W.I. 29 Oct. 1757 (quotes 1635 Palmer sermon on militia).
4. Temple disputes of Bedford and Catcott: B.C.L. 4904, 6494; E.P./V/3, 1705, for Temple; P/Tem FA 1(1), 4-7, 9. Redcliffe: J. Gibb, An Account of the Minister's Conduct, A Letter from the Vestry to Rev. Mr. Gibb, A Letter to Rev. Mr. Gibb and the Rest of the Vestry (all Bristol, 1725). Gent's Mag., LVI (1786), 460, notes that Redcliffe records were neglected after a lawyer pronounced them 'useless'.
5. N.D. Harding, 'The Archives of the Corporation', T.B.G.A.S., XLVIII (1926), 227-50. Access granted to Haynes (a Tory Common Councillor), Hooke and Morgan: Bodl. MS Willis 43, fos.1-2, 90; C.C.P., Feb. 1747; Hooke, Dissertation, p.iii; Barrett, Proposals. Refusal to Barrett: Bodl. MS Topog., Glos. c.9, letter 30 Jan. 1761; B.C.L. 9966, fo.17.
6. Bodl. MS Aubrey 13, fo.83, MSS Willis 43, fo.102 and 64, fos.144-6, 150-1, 159; B.I.B.M., I:76-9; Gent's Mag., LVI (1786), 460, 544-5; Meyerstein, Chatterton, pp.285-6.

involved in attempting to render a civic history useful in answering precisely those political and religious questions which interested the historians. An annalistic approach was relatively straightforward, but it was much harder either to establish information on the early history of the town and its churches, or to present such material while preserving the literary style necessary if history was to persuade by example, as well as teaching by precedent.[1]

The same aims and dilemmas beset the more general use of the past to illuminate the city's identity. History was very popular, both as reading-matter and as a source of wisdom and precedent.[2] Bristolians of every persuasion used the past. Dissenters appealed to Biblical history, and to historical proof of the evils of religious persecution;[3] Anglicans, especially during Exclusion, used the Bible and secular history to show the punishment of rebellion and the powers of monarchy and the church.[4] Critics of government in the eighteenth century used the histories of Rome and Britain to attack corruption and praise the patriotic champions of liberty.[5]

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1. Bodl. MS Wood F41, fo.249-51, MS Aubrey 13, fos.64-7, MS Willis 43, fo.87, 93-4, MS Gough Som.2, fo.ix; Barrett, Proposals; Whiston, Farewell, pp.iv-v (this summarises lessons a history of Bristol would teach if written); Oracle 23 Oct. 1742; Gent's Mag., LIX (1789), 921-4 (review of Barrett).
2. See pp.57, 105-7; Hardcastle, Christian Geography p.179; P/Tem Ka 4, fo.111; B.W.I. 16 Dec. 1749; F.F.B.J. 16 June 1759, 24 May 1760; J. Brooks, Antiquity the Wise Instructor (Bristol, 1770); Jenkins, Essays, p.ix; B.C.L. 7077 (commonplace book with many historical notes).
3. Hayden (ed.), Records, pp.81-3; Bishop, Looking-Glass; Harwood, New Introduction; J. Wheatley, The Lives, Tryals and Sufferings of the Holy Apostles (Bristol, 1751).
4. R. Towgood, Disloyalty of Language Questioned (Bristol 1643), pp.69-77, 85; Crossman, Assizes Sermon, pp.16, 20; idem, A Sermon ... to Artillery Company (1680), pp.8, 20, 24-30; Kingston, Vivat Rex, pp.3, 6-9, 18, 23-7, 34-39, 42-3; Phileroy, Vision; Roberts, Sermon, pp.7-11, 22.
5. B.W.I. 2 Aug. 1750 (T.D.); Gardner, Liberty; Gough, Britannia pp.12, 30.

political allegiances remained articulated around the historical issues of the seventeenth century, voiced, particularly in popular slogans, in terms of Roundhead or Cavalier, Williamite or Jacobite.[1] The party issues were those of church and toleration, Popery and Protestantism, Stuart versus Orange/Hanover, commonwealth or absolutism. As elsewhere the key to electoral success lay in convincing those who occupied the middle ground that either the church or the Protestant succession was in danger.

The outcome of these contests depended in large measure on national events, on the relations between the different religious communities, and on appeals to direct material interests, of individual electors and of the city as a whole. But these party issues also related directly to the civic heritage, and their outcome was affected by civic ritual and civic values. I have shown that both the church and the Protestant succession were identified with the city, and they were deeply imbedded in civic ritual.

During the seventeenth century the religious and political divisions were so violent that it was impossible to contain them satisfactorily within a framework of civic community. Despite vigorous efforts to preserve unanimity, including banning the wearing of rival favours in 1641-2,[2] the city was divided by war. During the next decades various factions sought in turn to dominate the city, exploiting the idea of civic community in propaganda and ritual but never able to get all parties to join in. The Presbyterian Corporation of the 1650s sought eagerly to restore civic unity,

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1. Bristol Riot, pp.7, 29; Bristol Contest, p.7; B.C.L. 10944-74 esp. 10969; Bristol Watch Bill, pp.8-12.
2. J. Tombes, Jehovah Jireh (1643).

drawing up new rules for Corporation debate and trying to regain prestige by reviving civic ritual,[1] but they were beset both by sectarian demonstrations and by royalist use of the apprentices to challenge their representativeness.[2]

The Restoration Corporation was faced with similar problems. The persecution of dissenters, justified by zealous Anglicans as necessary to restore city unity and often timed to coincide with civic festivals, which the sects boycotted,[3] appeared to others to be endangering community, and the dissenters claimed to be suffering limbs of the body corporate.[4] Corporation disagreements over persecution were expressed in quarrels over precedence within the council,[5] and by uncertain treatment of distinguished court visitors, which some interpreted as deliberate messages to the populace of disrespect for government.[6] Celebration of January the 30th was always contentious.[7]

The tension heightened after 1679. Struggles to control expressions of civic opinion in the Grand Jury and Assize speeches were supplemented by much greater attention to public ritual at elections. Both sides copies the civic ritual of welcoming visitors into town, greeting their candidates on horse and foot. When this led

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1. T.P. Eben Ezer; Corry and Evans, History, I:472; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2,fo.79; Latimer, 17C, pp.277-8, 280-2.
2. See pp.311, 318-9.
3. E.g. Besse, Collection, I:63.
4. Ibid.,I:45.
5. C.S.P.D. 1663-4, pp.472-84, 498, 522, 545, 1689-90, p.241.
6. C.S.P.D. 1663-4, p.477, 1677-8, pp.423-7, 1684-5, pp.240-1.
7. See p.319 n.3; T. Jekyll, Peace and Love Recommended (1675); S. Crossman, Two Sermons (1681), esp. p.3; Q.S. Minutes,Aug. 1679; J. Locke, Correspondence ed. E.S. De Beer (8 vols, Oxford 1976 on),II:160-1; The Vizor Pluckt off Richard Thompson; A Report from Committee of Commons ... Richard Thompson (1680). Thompson's inflammatory sermon was still recalled in 1714 (Bristol Riot, p.9).

to disorder the Tories prosecuted the Whigs for a riot.[1] Tory victory was both hastened and symbolised by the ritual ascendancy of the Artillery Company, with its lavish procession on St. George's Day; Tory apprentices were organised into the Society of Loyal Young Men. Both groups were tied to the Duke of Beaufort, and the succeeding years saw regular visits by his entourage, supplemented in 1686-7 by two visits from James II, whose entertainment drained the city budget.[2] Whig frustration after 1683 was signalled by the boycott in 1684 of the 5th of November procession by the Soapboilers' Company.[3] The Beaufort Tories neglected the regular civic rituals for these party occasions, and James' reign saw a new intensity in the celebration of royal anniversaries.[4] The sacrifice of local autonomy, centring on the issue of a new charter, produced tensions among the Tory groups, which grew as loyalty to James clashed with anti-Papist civic traditions. The Tory Sir John Knight, later a violent opponent of William, arrested a priest to the Crown's disgust. The end of 1688 saw anti-Catholic riots in Bristol.[5]

During the 1690s Whigs and Tories struggled to control the Corporation, but also experimented with creating new bodies to represent civic values, such as the reform of manners. Cary condemned the Tory Corporation of the 1680s for prostituting the city to partisan interests, and accused the surviving Tory faction on the

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1. See pp.117, 124; Landon, 'Bristol Artillery Company'.
2. See pp.175-6; B.C.L. 10163(2) and 9167 for 1686-7; B.A.O. 04026 1686-8 (inc. £703 spent on James' second visit, see C.C.P. Sept. 1687).
3. C.S.P.D. 1684, pp.240-1.
4. See C.V. 1685-8 for celebration of 14 Oct., 6 Feb. etc. and P/C.W.A. ditto e.g. Redcl. 'by Mayor's order'.
5. Latham (ed), Bristol Charters, pp.48-55; Latimer, 17C, pp.439, 451-2.

Corporation of continuing the process, particularly when they refused to entertain the royal judges, claiming financial stringency; celebrations for William's coronation were certainly perfunctory.[1] In 1694 the Jacobites apparently celebrated Mary's death by ringing bells and dancing in the streets.[2] Eighteenth-century Bristol witnessed frequent demonstrations of rival Williamite and Jacobite sentiment. As well as celebrating the birthdays of their respective champions,[3] the parties sought to use the two major anniversaries, Restoration and Gunpowder Day, to their own ends. The increasingly Whig establishment portrayed Restoration Day as a celebration of loyalty to government,[4] but the Stuart associations, expressed in the popular habits of wearing oak emblems, decking houses with oak and making bonfires, were widely realised to carry Jacobite connotations.[5] The Whigs may have felt on stronger ground with Gunpowder Day, whose anti-Catholic bias they sought to strengthen by exploiting the association with William's birthday the day before, and the Torbay landing the same day.[6] The Tories portrayed the Gunpowder Plot as a threat to King, Church and Parliament, and drew

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1. B.L. Add. MS 5540,fo.39v; H.M.C. 5, p.382; Latimer, 17C, pp.448, 453-4, 461, 489, 495.
2. H.M.C. 5, p.382.
3. For William's memory see C.V., 4 Nov. 1717; P/C.W.A., 4 Nov. 1717 XCh, St. Werb, St. James (by Mayor's orders) and All Sts, 1733, 1737; Eustace, Rysbrack, pp.23-34 esp. p.27; Collins, Miscellanies, p.25; B.W.I. 21 Apr. 1750; Brown, Odes, p.79 and below n.6. Jacobites: B.W.I. 16 June 1750, Bristol Contest, pp.43-4; Latimer, 18C, pp.110, 113, 196-7.
4. J. Gibb, The Mutual Duties of Magistrates and People (Bristol, 1721), pp.19-21.
5. Bodl. MS Gough Som.2,fo.174; Huth (ed.) Narrative, pp.144-5; Curwen, Journal, p.241; F.F.B.J. 30 May 1761; B.C. 31 May 1760; Latimer, 18C, pp.110, 164, 483.
6. Oracle 6 Nov. 1742; O.C.A. 9 Nov. 1745, 7 Nov. 1747; B.W.I. 11 Nov. 1749, 10 Nov. 1750, 9 Nov. 1751; Needham, National Deliverances; C. Evans, British Constitutional Liberty (Bristol 1775).

parallels with the Civil War and republican dissent.[1] Continued celebration of January the 30th as a civic holiday presented the Tories with scope for further attacks on sectarian regicide, but the sombre ceremonies were necessarily low-key, and the Whig Corporation seem to have gradually diminished their importance.[2]

The major royal occasions and celebrations of national victories, including the suppression of Jacobite rebellions, offered the other main occasions for bipartisan civic ceremony.[3] General patriotic consensus did not prevent both sides seeking to benefit from such occasions. A Tory satirist described wrily the exploitation of anti-Papal feeling in 1745-6 by the Whig Union Club,[4] and the Whig M.P. Nugent was quick to offer free ale to the populace during the victory celebrations of the Seven Years' War.[5] Participation by the Corporation and one of the Whig M.P.s, Elton, in public rejoicing at the defeat of Excise outraged other Whigs who accused the Mayor of rabble-rousing in a newspaper article which the Corporation denounced as libellous and burnt at the High Cross.[6] The most lavish ceremonials occurred at the coronations of Queen Anne and George the Third - monarchs whose support both parties might hope to win. Queen

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1. F.F.B.J. 11 Nov. 1752.
2. In 1690 the two Tory Bristol M.P.s urged the Commons to celebrate 30 Jan. (B. Henning (ed.), House of Commons 1660-90 (3 vols, 1983), II:502, 696). Calves-Head Clubs: B.L. Add MS 5540, fo.26; H.M.C. 29 Portland, IV:287. Later: F.F.B.J. 5 Feb. 1757; B.C. 2 Feb. 1760; C. Reynell, Two Sermons (1730); T. Broughton, A Sermon ... at the Mayor's Chapel (1746).
3. B.P.B. 29 Oct. 1715; Pope, Merciful Discovery; S. Gough, Mercies Shown to Rebels (1717); O.C.A. 9 Nov. 1745, 11 Oct. 1746; J. Ray, A Complete History of the Rebellion (2 edns, Bristol, 1750, 1752).
4. B.C.L. 26064, fo.180.
5. F.F.B.J. 2 Oct. 1762.
6. Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fos.173-4; B.C.L. 4502 for 1733; C.V. 1732-3; Glos. Jour. 17 Apr., 26 June 1733; Gent's Mag., III (1733), pp.267, 316.

Anne's coronation festivities included symbolic appeals both to the Tory Church tradition, and to the broader consensus of anti-Popery, with a popular Pope-burning ceremony.[1] The official symbolism for 1761 centred on the image of Britannia defeating the French, but pro-church and anti-corruption themes were also deployed.[2]

While both sides could hope to gain from cooperating in celebrating these events, other occasions brought divisions into the open. The years 1713-15 saw repeated riots, partly at elections but also over the celebrations of the Peace of Utrecht and then George's accession. The 1714 coronation riot included the stoning of the coronation ball and an attack on a Quaker meeting-house, followed by an affray at the house of a dissenting baker reported to have an effigy of Sacheverell for burning.[3] The Whigs portrayed the riot as the work of a mob hired by the Tory Loyal Society in a last despairing effort to regain prestige after popular demonstrations of loyalty at George's proclamation in which the Tories had felt obliged to join. The importance of ritual became even clearer in the trials which followed. The Tories portrayed the special commission sent to try the rioters as a repeat of the Western Assizes of Judge Jeffreys, although their supporters somewhat inconsistently also denounced the 'Roundheads'.[4] The commission was met outside town, as judges usually were, by many leading gentlemen on horseback, this time

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1. B.C.L. 9167, for 1702; Bodl. MS Gough Som.2 app., fos.79-81; F.F.B.J. 5 Sept. 1761; P/C.W.A., for 1702. See ibid., e.g. St. John's, Tem., St. James, 1714-28 for continued ringing and F.B.N. 10 Feb. 1728.
2. F.F.B.J. 5-26 Sept. 1761; P/C.W.A., for 1761; C.V., 1762.
3. Background to riot: B.C.L. 7954, fos.6-7; Letter to an M.P.. Writings on riot: P. Rogers, 'Daniel Defoe, John Oldmixon and Bristol Riots of 1714' T.B.G.A.S., XCII (1973), 145-56.
4. Oldmixon, History, pp.579-82; Bristol Riot, pp.14-16, 29; Full and Impartial Account, pp.17-18, 23, 25.

clearly divided into Whig and Tory groups. The Tories headed the procession into town and on arrival took the usual ceremonial route to the centre, but the Whigs promptly diverted the procession with the judges along an alternative route, pushing through such a vast crowd that it took an hour to go three-quarters of a mile.[1]

If the Whigs triumphed on this occasion, often the Tories held the upper hand in appeals to the community. They dominated the parish vestries, and thus could control the displays of flags, decoration on parish churches, and above all the ringing of bells. Bells were expected to ring from dawn to midnight on major occasions.[2] Churchwarden's accounts show that the bells were often rung on overtly Tory occasions, such as electoral victories or the defeat of Jewish Naturalization,[3] while the only church to celebrate Whig occasions was the mayor's chapel.[4] Even the inscriptions on the bells reflected the divergence.[5] The mayor's chapel bells did not ring on Colston's birthday, either, when the Tories were able to exploit the associations of charity with High-Church Anglicanism.[6] The Whigs

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1. Ibid., p.18.
2. F.F.B.J. 10 Apr. 1762, 1 Mar. 1766; B.J. 17 Nov. 1771. For a dispute in 1660 about ringing see P/C.W.A. Tem. and St. Tho., 23 Feb. 1660; Corry and Evans, History, I:477-9.
3. P/C.W.A., passim e.g. All Sts., 1734, 1739, 1754-6, 31 Aug. 1758, 1768, 1774; St. James, 1751, 1756; St. S., 1741, 1754; B.C.L. 11156, 8 Feb. 1741; Gent's Mag., XXVI (1756), 186; F.F.B.J. 29 June, 14 Dec. 1754.
4. Ibid., 29 June 1754; B.C.L. 20095, 1 May 1754.
5. Ellacombe, Church Bells, pp.36-9. Only the Mayor's Chapel bells had inscriptions to William or George I. Others were either 'Church of England' or overtly Tory e.g. St. James 1755 'May the Church flourish and her enemies decrease' and 'Sir John Phillips Bart and Richard Beckford Esq.'.
6. Occasional Poem; C. Brent, A Good Man's Surpassing Worth (Bristol, 1721); An Elegy on Edward Colston (Bristol, 1721); The Monument of ... Colston (Bristol, c.1721); F.F.B.J. 16 Nov. 1754; The Several Charitable Settlements of Edward Colston (Bristol, 1760); Barrett, History, pp.377, 654-6; see p.176, 178-9.

veered between attempting to discredit Colston, and seeking to co-opt his legacy as a non-partisan inheritance.[1] In 1752 distrust of the new Whig calendar was highlighted by moving the date back 11 days to preserve the 'real' anniversary.

The Tories were also more energetic and inventive in developing ritual at elections, partly from the necessity of outweighing corporate influence. Both parties identified themselves with colours and favours, and became known popularly by these; the supporters of the Tory candidate Hart, in 1727, wore hearts.[2] Both sides organised on a parish basis, exploiting local loyalties and welding these, after the 1730s, through city-wide parent societies. Both sought to give their candidates civic significance by meeting them and escorting them into town, by holding meetings in the main civic settings, and by chairing successful candidates through the city.[3] Groups of workers such as weavers and woolcombers were incorporated into party processions,[4] while in 1739 the Tory candidate Southwell was assiduous in attending gild dinners and Colston celebrations and greeting the gilds on November the 5th.[5] Coster's victory in 1734 was based on such populist tactics, and the Tories sought to consolidate their victory by celebrating each anniversary of this

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1. Bristol Riot, p.5; Hawkins, Nature, p.25; F.F.B.J. 25 Nov. 1752, 16 Nov. 1754; Complete Chatterton, I:504.
2. Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fo.160; F.F.B.J. 4 and 25 Jan. 1755, 3 May 1755, 20 Mar. 1756, 19 Mar. 1768.
3. Letter to an M.P., p.9; B.A.O. 6783, 13 May 1741; B.A.O. 37541, 6 Apr. 1756; F.F.B.J. 20-27 Mar. 1756, 19 Mar. 1768, 5 Nov. 1774.
4. Bodl. MS Gough Som.2, fo.144; B.C.L. 22477, fos.120ff; B.J. 25 Feb. 1775.
5. B.C.L. 11156, 30 Oct. to 7 Nov. 1739.

triumph.[1] By 1754 the Whigs were prepared to fight by the same methods, leading to an election of unprecedented expense, propaganda effort and populist rhetoric.[2]

Distaste for such activity by the leaders of both parties, expressed as a dislike of the disorder and divisive effect of elections, encouraged an official electoral truce after 1756 until 1774. Though this was justified by the rhetoric of community peace and unanimity, it was clearly unpopular with many ordinary Bristolians, who felt their identity as Bristol freemen was threatened by the absence of elections.[3] These had become increasingly central to the notion of Bristol community, eclipsing other forms of civic expression.

Conclusion

The role of the civic community changed considerably after 1760, as the character of politics altered. Although appeals to Bristol opinion and the public good were no less important, they were increasingly expressed through the press and through public meeting, petitions and instructions.[4] The Corporation and civic ritual seemed less central, but a plethora of societies and pressure groups emerged to address Bristolians directly on particular issues. These new forms of community politics have a modern ring, and are often

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1. Ibid., 13 Dec. 1740; B.A.O. AC/JS/11/6, 23 May 1737, 6783, 21 May 1735.
2. F.F.B.J. 30 Mar. to 29 June 1754; B.W.I. 13 Apr. 1754; Shelton, Tucker, pp.144-5. F.F.B.J. 3-10, 24 May 1755, ridicules Clare's anniversary events.
3. Reports sought to balance the continued identity of 'blues and yellows' at elections, with the 'great regularity and decorum' of arranged results, e.g. B.C. 28 Mar. 1761; F.F.B.J. 19 Mar. 1768; B.J. 12-19 Mar. 1768.
4. Underdown, 'Parliamentary History'.

portrayed as the first stirrings of middle-class urban consciousness, challenging the rule both of merchant oligarchies in the towns and the landed gentry nationally. The Bristol evidence suggests instead that although modes of expressing different values, and priorities between values, amongst Bristol citizens were changing, the older traditions had also been an effective form of expressing opinions, which contemporaries took very seriously.

This conclusion is reinforced by the continuing importance of the traditional forms of civic expression in the radical politics of the 1770s. The Wilkites' public displays were closely based on earlier Tory tactics, including the ringing of church bells, although some vicars tried to resist this.[1] During and after the 1774 election the radical Cruger made enthusiastic use of populist ideas and symbols,[2] unlike his colleague Burke, who was quite out of sympathy with the civic traditions he was expected to uphold. Though this reflects Burke's own attitude, immortalised in his rejection of the view of M.P. as community delegate, it may also represent the attitude of Burke's Quaker backers, long alienated from civic traditions.[3] Cruger, by contrast, was a former Tory who attempted to claim heirship of the Tory 'independent societies' in the parishes.[4]

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1. B.C.L. 20095 18 Apr. 1770; B.J. 2 Apr. 1768, 14 July 1770, 4-11 Jan., 1 Feb. 1772; F.F.B.J. 9 Apr., 11 June, 30 July 1768, 21 Apr. 1770, 4-18 Jan. 1772; B.G. 9 Jan. to 6 Feb. 1772.
2. B.C.L. 20095, 27 Feb. 1775, 20196, 4 Nov. 1774 (painting for Cruger and Burke); B.J. 25 Feb., 4 Mar. 1775; B.G. 23 Feb. 1775; B.M.B.J. 25 Feb. 1775.
3. P.T. Underdown, 'Burke's Bristol Friends', T.B.G.A.S., LXXVII (1958), 127-150. Richard Champion kept a Bristol annal, however (B.A.O. 38083(7)).
4. B.G. 29 Sept. 1774; B.J. 21 Mar. and 4 Apr. 1772; Complete Chatterton, II:159-63.

However the most eloquent testimony for the continuing significance of the civic heritage, yet its fragmented meaning, lies in the work of Thomas Chatterton. His radical critique of contemporary Bristol was based on the myth of a medieval Bristol run by truly charitable, pious priests and merchants, together with free-thinking satires on the Corporation, vestries, merchants and clergy of contemporary Bristol.[1] Ironically his work on Bristol offered William Barrett important material to complete his History, which, by the time it was published in 1789, offered an increasingly conservative Bristol establishment the Tory image of the community they now wanted.

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1. Taylor, Art of Chatterton.

CONCLUSION

Two main conclusions have emerged from this study. The first is the difficulty of establishing the chronology or the social implications of cultural change. I have emphasized the evidential problems produced by biased and changing sources, particularly in charting the growth of commercial provision. Generalisations about elite and popular culture, although they may illuminate the growing contrast between the cultural experience of Bristol's merchants and the oral, magical and vernacular world of the poorest, offer little assistance when considering the majority of Bristolians, who had some education, some access to print, some involvement in new forms of leisure, artistic and scientific activity, but all in limited form, often closely tied to their work and neighbourhood. One should not overestimate the impact of new developments, whether in English education, printed literature, commercial sports or scientific knowledge, compared with more traditional aspects of urban culture. Moreover, although participants in new forms of cultural activity laid great store on 'gentility', it is a caricature to suggest that the shift from communally organised culture and leisure to voluntary or commercial provision inevitably strengthened social differences. Civic or church activity was always affected by social distinctions, while one feature of commercialization was the search for wider markets, whether by publicans organizing sports or printers hawking ephemeral literature.

Ther rest of this chapter will be devoted to my second conclusion, namely that the main agent in cultural change was not social emulation, but the, often unintended, consequences of political and religious divisions within a civic community. Throughout our

period the divisions resulting from Civil War could neither be overcome nor, given the strong sense of civic identity, be accepted as inevitable and natural partisanship. This conclusion justifies the decision to treat this period as a unit, as well as the emphasis placed on the continuing influence of earlier issues and attitudes in eighteenth-century Bristol.

The changing character of partisan division may offer one explanation for the contrast that emerges between the low level of public artistic performance or civic and religious patronage in the late seventeenth century, and the subsequent growth in polite society, particularly public artistic and scientific events. In the years after 1640 every public activity became charged with partisan significance. It was impossible to avoid open conflict in civic ceremony or cultural practices, such as theatre or astrology, which required a public setting. The repeated exploitation by sectional interests of supposedly shared notions and values, such as those of civic community or divine providence, weakened their public credibility, while art forms associated with a particular ideological position became anathema to others. It is tempting to suggest that these tensions also explain the decline in private ownership of books, pictures and musical instruments. Political pressures on booksellers may have restricted their commercial activities, and public preoccupation with current affairs caused a shift to ephemeral literature. The absence of public patronage of the arts may have made these less fashionable, discouraging local producers and retailers of music and pictures. Bristolians were still eager to bring beauty into their houses (and gardens), perhaps the more so as controversy raged outside, but they invested in furniture and other fashionable consumer goods.

Gradually, however, the bitterness of ideological tensions lessened. Public cultural life blossomed again, as did private investment in books and paintings, at least. One element in the appeal of polite culture, as Borsay has suggested,[1] was its promise to divert the participants from areas of contention, offering a structured setting in which people of differing opinions could mingle politely. Aversion to activities and associations closely bound up with the old ways may help to explain the many new forms of clubbing and organizing cultural activity. Some of these involved the use of education and the arts to promote non-denominational ends, thus employing culture not simply as a diversion from conflict but a means to overcome it.

However, in contrast to the work of Borsay, Holmes and Clark,[2] the emphasis in this study has been on the continuing problems involved in the establishment of such an 'augustan settlement'. Ideological divisions remained and different groups were always tempted to use cultural activity to further their own cause. Even apparently non-partisan projects were dogged by suspicion. The tensions emerged most often in educational, moral or philanthropic projects aimed at the poor, which inevitably raised issues of patronage. But any form of cultural life offered, at least implicitly, a statement about civic values, and might be challenged.

It was very difficult to avoid ideological issues because so much of the cultural activity occured in settings intimately associated with the political, religious and social life of the city. This was a matter of choice as much as necessity. Although the imitation of

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1. Borsay, '"All the Town's a Stage"'
2. Idem, 'Culture, Status and ... Landscape'; idem, 'English Urban Renaissance'; Holmes, 'Achievement of Stability'; Clark, 'Visions' and 'Introduction' to idem, Transformation, pp.13-61.

metropolitan fashions brought prestige, even more important as a source of both prestige and legitimacy was the civic tradition. By using the civic and religious calendar, the setting of civic buildings, public squares and churches, and the media of sermons, processions and proclamations, one not only reached a broad audience more effectively, in many cases, than by other methods, but conveyed an aura of tradition and authority not associated, for example, with the printed word. Concern that the new forms marked a shift in commitment from the business or religious values traditionally associated with civic life led to the denunciations of 'luxury'. It was important to demonstrate that a particular cultural activity could take its public place in the ideal civic community of order and harmony.

Arguably the importance placed on the decorous conduct of public life grew, as ideological divisions threatened to undermine communal ties. Thompson and Hay have identified the strong element of 'theatre' in post-Restoration life, and Borsay has explored how 'ritual' could render manageable life among the elite.[1] In the civic context, however, the orderly conduct of public life, requiring different groups to cooperate in public whatever their disagreements, was not merely the ideal of an oligarchic establishment, but reflected general abhorrence of conflict, potentially disastrous to urban society. Moreover the rituals of urban life gave honourable parts, greater or lesser, to most citizens. The leading merchants, retailers and professional men considered themselves gentlemen, despite aristocratic sneers at bourgeois philistinism, while the ordinary

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1. Thompson, 'Patrician Society'; D. Hay, 'Property, Authority and Criminal Law' in idem et al., Albion's Fatal Tree (1975), pp.17-63.

artisan or trader established his identity as a respectable and honourable member of society through his civic position and social attachments. In cultural life as in other social attachments the ideal was to balance the pleasures of sociability with virtue, industry and decorum. New forms and styles of cultural life were quickly adapted to express these perennial values. The new stress on rules in art, such as the heroic couplet, or in education, such as grammar and elocution, offered an easily-absorbed standard of respectability, rather than a firm benchmark to exclude particular social groups. In any case the partisan struggles which divided society from top to bottom meant that no elite consensus could be reached that might exclude the lower orders.

The obsession with 'gentility' therefore, should not simply be taken at face value, but seen as a claim staked by particular groups, seeking to associate their behaviour not merely with standards set by their social superiors in London but also, and I would argue more importantly, with civic traditions. Opponents would respond that such claims cloaked destabilizing personal or partisan ambitions. The polemical character of such exchanges does not, however, mean that they had no effect. Areas of cultural life which involved particularly controversial issues, for example religious creeds as they affected education and science, became marginalized because they could not easily be absorbed into a decorous public setting, so that they were left to private conviction. This probably encouraged secularization, but it was the effect of pluralism rather than disbelief, and the public face should not be taken as evidence for private motivation or belief. The very civic life which encouraged genteel coexistence also bred political and religious disagreement.

If these conclusions can legitimately be drawn from the Bristol evidence, then they should apply to provincial urban culture in general, as Bristol was not unique in its political and religious divisions or social structure, although its civic identity may have been stronger than most. Ultimately the suggestions advanced here can only be substantiated by other case-studies and comparative work, and these may reveal more about the years around 1700, only sketchily covered here for lack of evidence. The final lesson of this study must be, however, tht comparisons will only be fruitful if based on respect for, and detailed understanding of, the social context and local meaning of cultural activity, not simply the bare statistics of public investment and performance.

A List of Figures, Maps and Tables, with Sources

		page
Figure I	The Scale of the Book Trade in Bristol 1635-1775. Source: author's own listing of book-traders, and population estimates discussed on p.146	347
Map I	Bristol's Parishes in 1773, with Major Landmarks. Source: derived from Map II, with parish boundaries superimposed.	348
Map II	A Plan of the City of Bristol, by Benjamin Donne (Bristol, 1773)	349
Table I	Literacy in Nine Bristol Parish 1754-60 from Marriage Registers. Source: Parish registers in B.A.O.	350
Table II	Male Literacy in Bristol 1660-1759 from Marriage Licence Bonds. Source: B.A.O. E.P./J/3/1	351
Table III	The Scale of the Book Trade in Bristol 1635-1775. Source: as Fig. I	352
Table IV	Book-Trade Burgesses and Apprentices in Bristol 1636-1775. Source: Burgess and Apprentice Books in B.A.O.	352
Table V	Publications (of over 3 pp.) Printed in Bristol 1695-1775. Source: compiled from sundry sources.	353
Table VI	The Expenditure of the Corporation of Bristol on Printing 1695-1775. Source: B.A.O. 04026 and Corporation Vouchers.	354
Table VII	The Expenditure of the Corporation of Bristol on Newspaper Advertising 1700-75. Source: as Table VI.	354
Table VIII	The Ownership of Books in Bristol 1620-1767, from Probate Inventories with Valuations Deposited in B.A.O. Source: B.A.O. E.P./J/4.	355

Table IX	Subjects of Books Listed in Advertisements for Auction Sales in Bristol Newspapers 1720-75. Source: Bristol newspapers.	356
Table X	Subjects of Publications Printed in Bristol 1695-1775. Source: as Table VI.	357
Table XI	Subjects of Publications not Printed in Bristol but Published, in Part, by Bristol Booksellers 1640-1775. Source: as Table V.	358
Table XII	Bibles and Other Religious Works Named in Bristol Probate Inventories 1620-1767, Deposited in B.A.O. Source: as Table VIII.	359
Table XIII	The Ownership of Timepieces in Bristol 1620-1767, from Probate Inventories with Valuations Deposited in B.A.O. Source: as Table VIII.	360
Table XIV	Collections at Annual Dinners of Bristol Charitable Societies 1658-1775. Sources: compiled from sundry sources discussed on pp.172, 179-181	361
Table XV	The Popularity of Genres of Drama at Jacob's Well Theatre, 1741-8. Source: B.C.L. 11204.	362
Table XVI	The Ownership of Musical Instruments in Bristol 1620-1767, from Probate Inventories Deposited in B.A.O. Source: as Table VIII.	363
Table XVII	The Ownership of Pictures in Bristol 1620-1767, from Probate Inventories with Valuations Deposited in B.A.O. Source: as Table VIII.	364

FIGURE I : THE SCALE OF THE BOOK TRADE IN BRISTOL 1635-1775

= ESTIMATED POPULATION / 2205 (average population per book-trader 1635-1775)

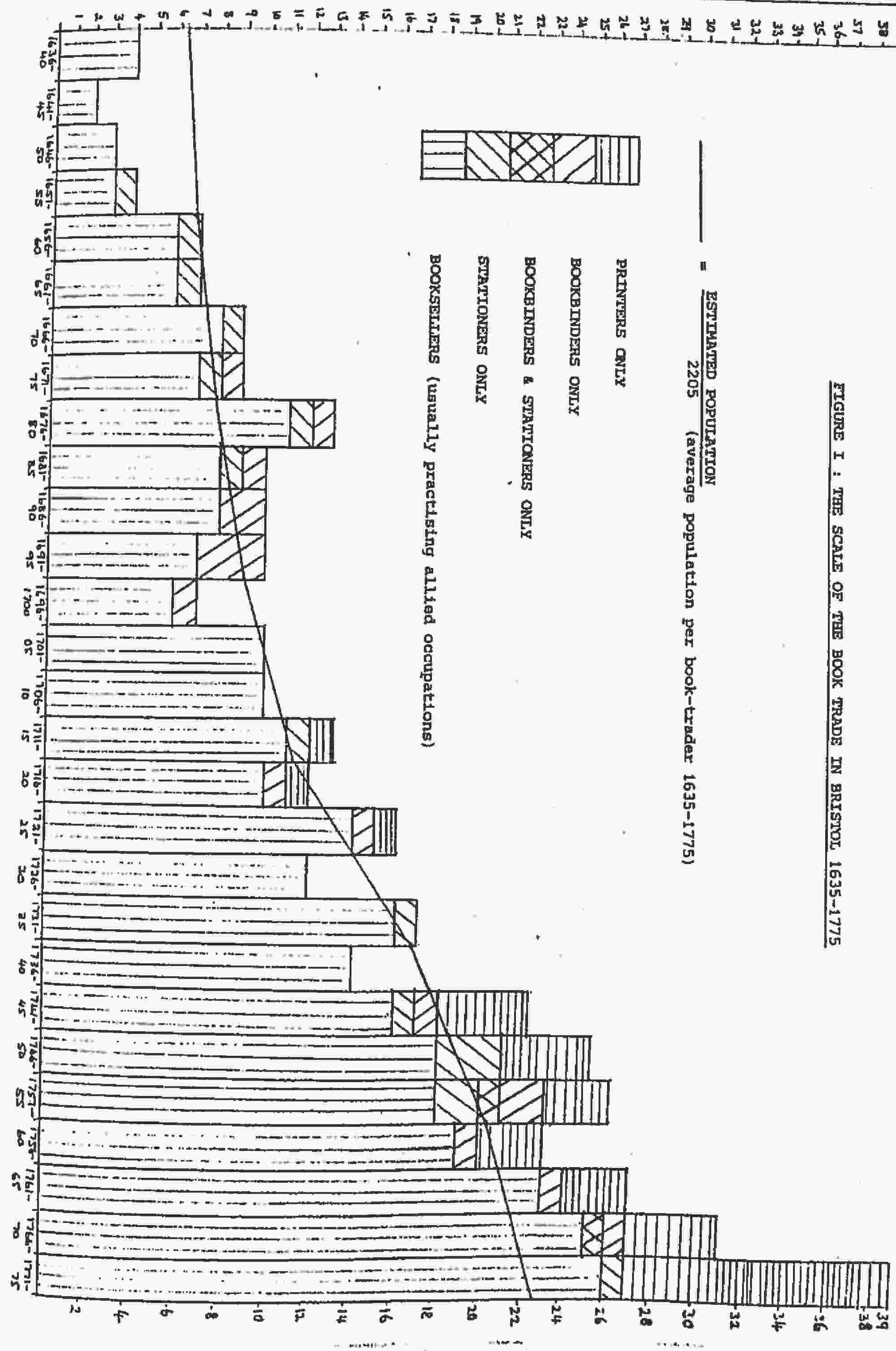
PRINTERS ONLY

BOOKBINDERS ONLY

BOOKBINDERS & STATIONERS ONLY

STATIONERS ONLY

BOOKSELLERS (usually practising allied occupations)



MAP I

BRISTOL'S PARISHES IN 1773, WITH MAJOR LANDMARKS

(buildings unlabelled in each parish = parish church)

KEY

(1) ALL SAINTS PARISH
(2) ST. EWIN PARISH
(3) ST. MARYPORT PARISH
(4) ST. WERBURGH PARISH
(A) ST. PETER'S HOSPITAL (Workhouse)
(B) ST. JAMES CHURCHYARD
(C) MAYOR'S CHAPEL
(D) COLLEGE GREEN
(E) JACOB'S WELL THEATRE
(F) CATHEDRAL
(G) QUEEN SQUARE
(H) EXCHANGE
(I) GUILDHALL
(J) BRIDGE

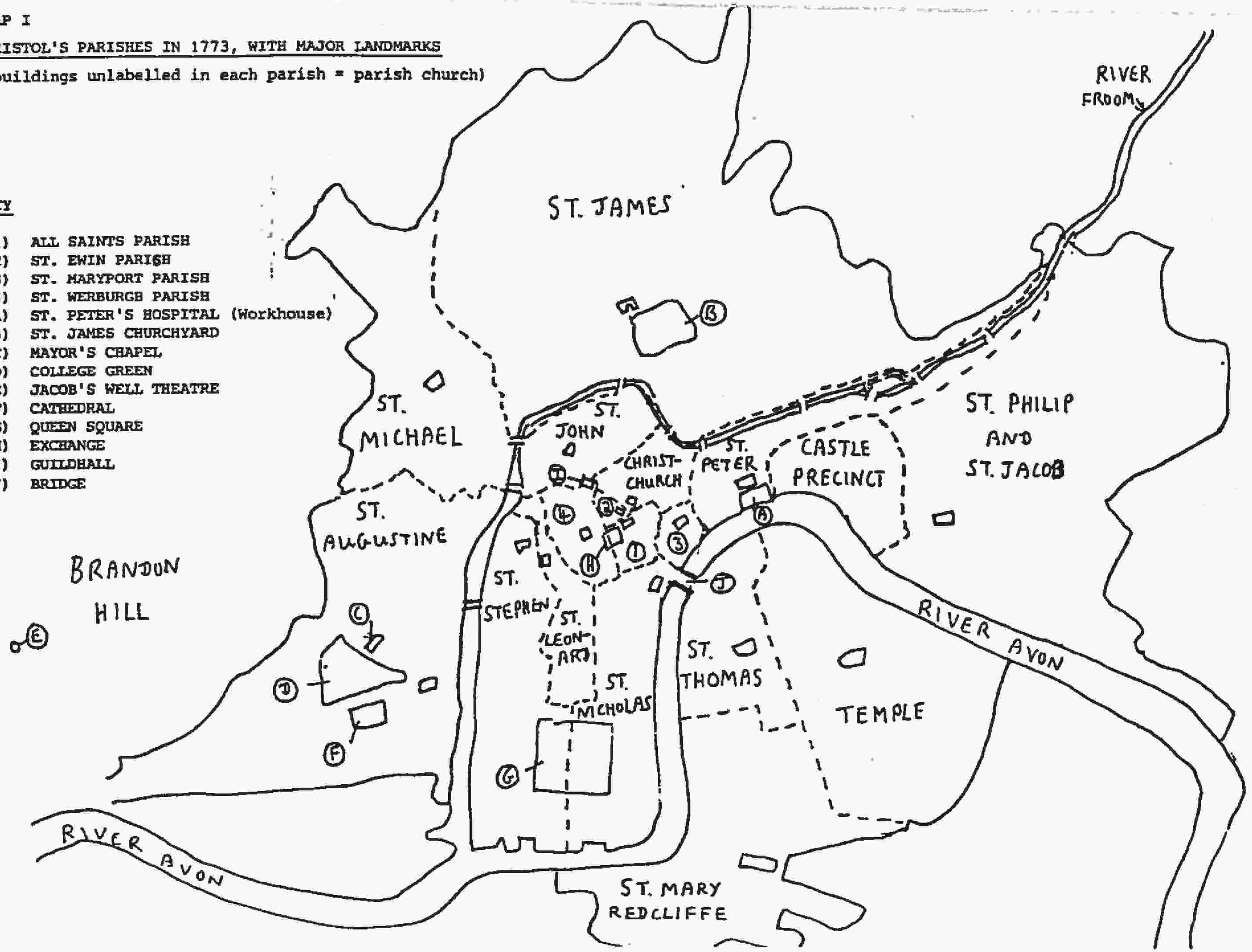


Table 1 Literacy in Nine Bristol Parishes 1754-60 from Marriage Registers

Parish	Males			Females		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
All Saints	11	13	85	6	13	46
Christchurch	50	72	69	34	72	47
St Augustine	146	176	83	109	176	62
St John Baptist	58	88	66	32	88	36
St Leonard	28	33	85	16	33	48
St Philip & St Jacob	510	779	65	276	779	35
St Stephen	99	124	80	67	124	54
St Thomas	91	113	81	50	113	44
St Werburgh	9	13	69	8	13	62
TOTAL	1149	1611	71.3	696	1611	43.2

A = Number of bridegrooms or brides able to sign

B = Total number of bridegrooms or brides

C = A as a percentage of B

Table II Male Literacy in Bristol 1660-1759 from Marriage Licence Bonds

Occupation	1660-9			1690-9			1720-9			1750-9			TOTAL		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Gentlemen, esquires etc.	33	33	100	17	17	100	20	22	91	39	41	95	109	113	96.5
Merchants	45	46	98	58	59	98	10	10	100	10	10	100	123	125	98.4
Religion, Law, Accounts, Teaching, Books	2	2	100	10	10	100	2	2	100	7	7	100	21	21	100
City & Customs Officials	1	1	100	1	1	100	-	-	-	3	3	100	5	5	100
Surgeons, Barbers etc.	14	14	100	25	25	100	15	16	94	9	10	90	63	65	96.9
Yeomen and farmers	6	9	67	14	22	64	15	18	83	23	27	85	58	76	76.3
Cloth Industry -Distributive	17	17	100	22	23	96	9	10	90	15	16	94	63	66	95.5
-Weavers and Spinners	4	5	80	6	11	55	6	10	60	4	4	100	20	30	66.7
-Tailors	12	18	67	34	41	83	11	12	92	11	11	100	68	82	82.9
-Other producers	7	10	70	31	40	78	30	33	91	19	19	100	87	102	85.3
Food & Drink -Producers	16	22	73	44	52	85	37	45	82	20	21	95	117	139	84.2
-Services	8	14	57	15	24	63	12	17	71	15	19	79	50	74	67.6
Shopkeepers	31	31	100	46	46	100	12	12	100	14	14	100	103	103	100
Metal Trades	22	26	85	50	56	89	10	12	83	17	17	100	99	111	89.2
Wood Traders	33	47	70	121	133	91	47	52	90	45	46	98	246	278	88.5
Leather Trades	15	19	79	30	34	88	13	14	93	9	10	90	67	77	87
Instrument makers	1	4	25	11	11	100	2	2	100	10	10	100	24	27	88.9
Building, painting & glass	1	6	17	25	35	71	16	22	73	9	10	90	51	73	69.9
Shoemakers and Cordwainers	12	14	86	26	30	87	14	15	93	12	12	100	64	71	90
Soapboilers	24	25	96	24	24	100	7	9	78	6	6	100	61	64	95.3
Tobacco Workers	11	18	61	18	23	78	7	7	100	4	4	100	40	52	76.9
Other crafts	3	3	100	16	21	76	6	6	100	5	5	100	30	35	85.7
Sailors	76	87	87	251	305	82	107	122	88	98	122	80	532	636	83.6
Miners and Colliers	2	2	100	1	2	50	2	3	67	1	1	100	6	8	75
Hauliers, Loaders and Labourers	1	2	50	6	16	38	5	10	50	-	-	-	12	28	42.9
Gardeners and Limeburners	-	-	-	6	8	75	2	3	67	1	3	33	9	14	64.3
Other unskilled Workers	0	6	0	7	12	58	0	1	0	2	3	67	9	22	40.9
Miscellaneous	6	7	86	12	15	80	2	2	100	8	8	100	28	32	87.5
TOTAL	403	488	82.6	927	1096	84.6	419	486	86.2	416	459	90.6	2165	2529	85.6

A = Number of bridegrooms able to sign bonds

B = Total number of bridegrooms

C = A as a percentage of B

Table III The Scale of the Book Trade in Bristol 1635-1775

	1635	1655	1675	1695	1715	1735	1755	1775	Average
Population (in '000's)	14	15	17	20	25	37	45	50	-
No. of Booksellers*	4	4½	9	6½	10½	15	18½	26	-
Booksellers per '000 population	3.50	3.33	1.89	3.08	2.38	2.47	2.43	1.92	2.625
No. of all Book-Traders*	4	5½	11	8½	12½	15½	24½	39	-
All Book-Traders per '000 population	3.50	2.73	1.55	2.35	2.00	2.39	1.84	1.28	2.205
No. of Book-Traders freed in next 20 years	5	6	8	9	5	15	21	-	-
No. of Book-Traders apprenticed in next 20 years	9	6	6	12	7	20	12	-	-

* = Average of two half-decades around date, except first and last

Table IV Book-Trade Burgesses and Apprentices in Bristol 1636-1775

	1636-55		1656-75		1676-95		1696-1715		1716-35		1736-55		1756-75		Total	
Occupation*	F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A
Stationers	3	9	4	3	2	2	3	1		1	5	5	5	7	22	28
Booksellers	2			2	2	2	1	1	2	5		2	3	1	10	13
Bookbinders			2	1	3	2	2		3	1	7	8	5	2	22	14
Printers					1		3	10			1	1	6		11	11
Booksellers/ Stationers											2	1	1		3	1
Printers/ Bookbinders												3	1		1	3
Bookbinders/ Stationers												1				1
Printers/ Stationers												1				1
Total	5	9	6	6	8	6	9	12	5	7	15	20	21	12	69	72

* as given in the apprentice or burgess book
F = Freemen A = Apprentice

Table V Publications (of over 3pp.) Printed in Bristol 1695-1775

		ND	'95 -00	'01 -05	'06 -10	'11 -15	'16 -20	'21 -25	'26 -30	'31 -35	'36 -40	'41 -45	'46 -50	'51 -55	'56 -60	'61 -65	'66 -70	'71 -75	T
Pamphlets (4-16pp.)																			
Methodist	A	3										15	23	3	13	17	35	12	121
	B											1	1		1		1		4
	C											3	8				1	2	14
Others	A	19	1	6	4	6	7	10	3	3	1	6	13	3	7	26	16	18	149
	B					1			1				3	3	1		1	12	22
	C																1		1
Total	A	22	1	6	4	6	7	10	3	3	1	21	36	6	20	43	51	30	270
	B					1			1			1	4	3	2		2	12	26
	C											3	8				2	2	15
Tracts (17-56pp.)																			
Methodist	A										3	23	27	10	13	17	18	10	121
	B										1	5	2	2	6	6	5	7	34
	C											5	1	1	1	3	3	1	21
Others	A	5	3	1	2	6	5	5	1	3	8	2	15	12	10	13	17	39	147
	B	1					2	1	2		1	3	2	7	10	1	8	17	55
	C									1	1				1		6	14	23
Total	A	5	3	1	2	6	5	5	1	3	11	25	42	22	23	30	35	49	268
	B	1					2	1	2		2	8	4	9	16	7	13	24	89
	C									1	1	5	7	1	2	3	9	15	44
Books (57pp. or over)																			
Methodist	A	2									2	14	31	7	15	31	39	23	164
	B											1	4		1	3	1	1	11
	C											4	1	59	2	13	10	31	120
Others	A		10	1	4	1	1	4	3	1	4	3	6	14	5	8	23	32	120
	B														1		2	8	11
	C		1					3				1	1	2			3	9	20
Total	A	2	10	1	4	1	1	4	3	1	6	17	37	21	20	39	62	55	284
	B											1	4		2	3	3	9	22
	C		1					3				5	2	61	2	13	13	40	140
TOTAL																			
Methodist																			
	A+B	5									6	59	88	22	49	74	99	53	455
	C											12	16	60	3	16	14	34	155
Others	A+B	25	14	8	10	14	15	20	10	7	14	14	39	39	34	48	67	126	504
	C		1					3		1	1	1	1	2	1		10	23	44
Total	A+B	30	14	8	10	14	15	20	10	7	20	73	127	61	83	122	166	179	959
	C		1					3		1	1	13	17	62	4	16	24	57	199
	A+B+C	30	15	8	10	14	15	23	10	8	21	86	144	123	87	138	190	236	1158

A = Titles of known size

B = Titles of estimated size

C = Additional editions and volumes subsequent to the first volume of each title

Table VI The Expenditure of the Corporation of Bristol on Printing 1695-1775

Date	Total expenditure	Average annual expenditure (£)
1695-1700	9.05	1.51
1701-5	21.60	4.32
1706-10	21.90	4.38
1711-15	13.33	2.67
1716-20	33.30	6.66
1721-5	33.63	6.73
1726-30	43.95	8.79
1731-5	49.45	9.89
1736-40	56.70	11.34
1741-5	132.60	26.52
1746-50	99.48	19.90
1751-5	66.19	13.24
1756-60	156.47	31.29
1761-5	95.84	19.17
1766-70	117.14	23.43
1771-5	67.50	13.50
1695-1775	1018.13	12.57

Table VII The Expenditure of the Corporation of Bristol on Newspaper Advertising 1700-75

Date	London papers (£)	Bristol papers(£)	Other provincial papers(£)	All papers (£)	Average annual spending(£)
1700-09	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.05
1710-19	3.05	4.80	0.00	7.85	0.79
1720-29	0.25	1.25	0.00	1.50	0.15
1730-39	2.64	13.50	0.50	16.64	1.66
1740-49	1.56	9.90	2.85	14.31	1.43
1750-59	6.54	43.97	2.77	53.28	5.33
1760-69	4.55	54.48	1.75	60.78	6.08
1770-5		65.25		65.25	10.88
TOTAL	£19.09	£193.15	£7.87	£220.11	£2.90

TABLE VIII The Ownership of Books in Bristol 1620-1767; from Probate Inventories with Valuations Deposited in B.A.O.

Valuation range	1620-39	1640-49	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	1700-09	1710-19	1720-29	1730-39	1740-67	1620-1747
£1-9													
Inventories	75	84	4	71	69	94	95	47	27	18	26	13	623
No. with books	9	11	0	10	7	9	11	6	5	2	1	0	71
Percentage of inventories including books	12.0	13.1	0	14.1	10.1	9.6	11.6	12.8	18.5	11.1	3.8	0	11.4
£10-24													
Inventories	52	50	4	85	91	92	62	64	51	33	44	16	644
No. with books	16	21	2	20	19	12	11	8	10	9	7	4	135
Percentage of inventories including books	30.8	42.0	50.0	23.5	20.9	13.1	17.7	12.5	19.6	27.3	15.9	25.0	21.6
£25-49													
Inventories	24	51	3	60	89	74	42	22	33	12	7	7	426
No. with books	12	14	1	16	20	16	18	7	12	7	2	2	127
Percentage of inventories including books	50.0	37.3	33.3	26.7	22.5	21.6	31.0	31.8	36.4	58.3	28.6	28.6	29.8
£50-99													
Inventories	20	34	3	71	45	66	28	30	28	5	10	14	354
No. with books	8	18	1	18	14	19	7	6	8	0	3	4	106
Percentage of inventories including books	40.0	52.9	33.3	25.4	31.1	28.8	25.0	20.0	28.6	0	30.0	28.6	29.9
£100-249													
Inventories	26	34	6	59	39	57	25	26	22	14	12	7	323
No. with books	13	19	2	18	10	18	9	7	8	5	5	3	116
Percentage of inventories including books	50.0	55.9	33.3	30.5	25.6	31.6	36.0	26.9	36.4	35.7	41.7	42.9	35.9
£250-499													
Inventories	10	20	1	14	15	16	11	10	9	5	4	3	118
No. with books	7	9	0	4	6	5	5	4	4	0	0	1	45
Percentage of inventories including books	70.0	45.0	0	28.6	40.0	13.3	45.5	40.0	44.4	0	0	33.3	38
£500+													
Inventories	4	12	1	4	5	9	3	7	7	6	8	2	68
No. with books	4	7	1	3	2	6	1	1	2	2	5	2	36
Percentage of inventories including books	100	58.3	100.0	75.0	40.0	66.7	33.3	14.3	28.6	33.3	62.5	100.0	52.9
Total													
Inventories	211	285	18	364	353	408	266	206	177	93	113	62	2556
No. with books	69	104	6	89	78	85	57	39	49	25	23	16	640
Percentage of inventories including books	32.7	36.5	33.3	24.5	22.1	20.8	21.4	18.9	27.7	26.9	20.4	25.8	25.0

All inventories, valued and unvalued, which included books, as a percentage of the total no. of inventories 1620-1767:

1620-39	1640-49	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	1700-09	1710-19	1720-29	1730-39	1740-67	1620-1747
32.43	35.79	30.0	23.59	21.14	20.28	20.36	19.31	27.22	25.0	21.01	23.19	24.39

TABLE IX Subjects of Books Listed in Advertisements for Auction Sales in Bristol Newspapers 1720-75

Subject	1720-39 No.	1720-39 %*	1740-49 No.	1740-49 %	1750-59 No.	1750-59 %	1760-69 No.	1760-69 %	1770-75 No.	1770-75 %	Total No.	Total %	Average %	Ranking
Religion	35	32	110	21	51	19	38	25	21	39	255	23	27.2	1
History	12	11	124	24	69	25½	25	16½	13	24	243	22	20.2	2
Natural Philosophy	10	9	28	5⅓	23	8½	6	4	0		67	6	5.4	5
Eccles. History	16	14½	24	4⅔	19	7	0		0		59	5⅓	5.2	7
Arts	1	1	10	2	5	2	1	⅔	0		17	1½	1.1	12
Medicine	2	2	21	4	8	3	0		0		31	3	1.8	11
Geography	5	4½	38	7⅓	16	6	1	⅔	0		60	5½	3.7	8
Literature	9	8	35	6¾	28	10⅓	48	31½	16	30	136	12¼	17.3	3
Dictionaries	1	1	33	6⅓	14	5	19	12½	1	2	68	6	5.4	5
Classics	14	13	31	6	12	4½	6	4	3	5½	66	6	6.6	4
Gardening	0		4	¾	0		0		0		4	⅓	0.2	13
Law	0		36	7	18	6⅔	2	1⅓	0		56	5	3.0	10
Music	0		4	¾	0		0		0		4	⅓	0.2	13
Philosophy	5	4½	21	4	8	3	6	4	0		40	3½	3.1	9
TOTAL	110		519		271		152		54		1105			

* Percentage figures show the percentage of each subject within each period's total number of books.

Table X Subjects of Publications Printed in Bristol 1695–1775

Subject	1695 –1705	1706 –1715	1716 –1725	1726 –1735	1736 –1745	1746 –1755	1756 –1766	1766 –1775	undated	1695–1775
Religious										
Methodist	0	0	0	0	65(12)*	110(76)	123(19)	152(48)	5	455(155)
Non-denominational	0	2	1	1	2(1)	10	9	18(1)	1	44(2)
Anglican	3	9	9	2	7	14(1)	9(1)	19(12)	0	72(14)
Nonconformist	1	1	2	0	1	7	3	30	0	45
Quaker	4	3	1	3	2	8	0	6(4)	0	27(4)
Total	8	15	13	6	77(13)	149(77)	144(2)	225(65)	6	643(175)
Arts and Sciences										
Belles lettres	5	2	6	4	0	4(1)	7	23(6)	0	51(7)
P.P.E.	3(1)	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	7(1)
Science	1	0	1	0	1	1	5	20	0	29
History	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1(1)	0	5(1)
School	0	0	2	0	1	4	3	5	0	15
Total	9(1)	3	10	4	2	13(1)	15	51(7)	0	107(9)
Topical/General										
Lives	0	0	1(4)	0	0	0	1	8	0	10(4)
Popular	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	21	24
Topical religions	2	1	3(1)	0	0	2	1	12	2	23(1)
Topical political	1	5	2	4	3	6(1)	2	14(2)	0	37(3)
Topical other	0	0	0	3	9(1)	14(1)	36(1)	33(2)	0	95(5)
Miscellaneous	1	0	1	2	1	1	0	3	0	9
Total	4	6	8(5)	9	13(1)	24(2)	41(1)	70(4)	23	198(12)
TOTAL (excl. methodist)	21(1)	24	31(5)	19	27(2)	76(4)	77(2)	194(28)	24	493(42)
TOTAL (incl. methodist)	21(1)	24	31(5)	19	92(14)	186(80)	200(21)	346(76)	29	948(197)

* Numbers without brackets refer to titles. Numbers in brackets indicate extra editions and volumes printed of those titles in that period.

Table XI Subjects of Publications not Printed in Bristol but Published, in Part, by Bristol Booksellers 1640-1775

Subject	1640-99 No.	%**	1700-25 No.	%	1726-50 No.	%	1751-75 No.	%	1640-1775 No.	%
Religious										
Methodist	0		0		12(13)		4		15(16)	10
Non-denominational	2		4(5)*		6		8		20(21)	13.1
Anglican	6		9		16		9(10)		40(41)	25.6
Nonconformist	7		6		4(5)		8		25(26)	16.3
Quaker	4		0		1		1(2)		4 (7)	4.8
Total	19	67.9	19(20)	83.3	39(41)	78.8	30(32)	56.1	106(111)	69.4
Arts and Sciences										
Belles lettres	1		3		1		8		13	8.1
P.P.E.	0		0		2		0		2	1.3
Science	0		0		3		3		6	3.8
History	0		0		2		2		4	2.5
School	2		0		0		3		5	3.1
Total	3	10.7	3	12.5	8	15.4	16	28.1	30	18.8
Topical/General										
Lives	0		0		0		1		1	0.6
Popular	0		0		0		0		0	0
Topical religious	0		1		0		5		6	3.8
Topical political	3		0		0		3		6	3.8
Topical other	1		0		2		0		3	1.9
Miscellaneous	2		0		1		0		3	1.9
Total Topical	6	21.4	1	14.2	3	5.8	9	15.8	19	11.9
TOTAL	28		23(24)		50(52)		55(57)		115(160)	

* Numbers without brackets refer to titles. Numbers in brackets include extra editions and volumes printed of those titles in that period.

** Percentage of total number of books for that period.

Table XII Bibles and Other Religious Works Named in Bristol Probate Inventories 1620-1767, Deposited in B.A.O.

Inventory description		1620 -39	1640 -49	1650 -59	1660 -69	1670 -79	1680 -89	1690 -99	1700 -09	1710 -19	1720 -29	1730 -39	1740 -67	Total
Bibles only	Nos.	14	25	0	25	13	13	11	3	5	2	0	2	113
	%	19.4	23.4	0.0	27.2	16.7	14.8	20.0	7.7	10.2	8.0	0.0	11.0	17.3
Bibles and religious books	Nos.	11	5	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	21
	%	15.3	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	2.6	0.0	4.0	8.0	0.0	3.2
Regious books only	Nos.	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	%	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Bibles and misc. books	Nos.	20	25	4	14	13	20	10	4	7	4	2	2	125
	%	27.8	23.4	67.1	18.2	16.7	22.1	18.2	10.3	14.3	16.0	8.0	11.8	19.1
Religious and misc. books	Nos.	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	1	1	10
	%	2.8	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	4.0	5.5	1.5
Misc. books only*	Nos.	25	50	1	52	51	52	34	28	37	18	20	12	380
	%	34.7	46.1	16.7	56.5	61.4	59.1	61.8	71.8	75.7	72.0	80.0	70.6	58.8
TOTAL		72	107	6	92	78	88	55	39	49	25	25	17	653

* Miscellaneous works, i.e. non-religious titles and cases where books' titles are not specified, are shown for comparison and because they may include Bibles and religious books.

TABLE XIII The Ownership of Timepieces in Bristol 1620-1767, from Probate Inventories with Valuations Deposited in B.A.O.

Valuation range	1620-39	1640-49	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	1700-09	1710-19	1720-29	1730-39	1740-67	1620-1767
£1-9													
Inventories	75	84	4	71	69	94	95	47	27	18	26	13	623
No. with clocks	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	4(0.64%)
No. with watches	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	6(0.96%)
£10-24													
Inventories	52	50	4	85	91	92	62	64	51	33	44	16	644
No. with clocks	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	3	10(1.55%)
No. with watches	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	1	1	4	3	2	16(2.48%)
£25-49													
Inventories	24	51	3	60	89	74	42	22	33	12	9	7	426
No. with clocks	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	13(3.05%)
No. with watches	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	4	3	0	1	11(2.58%)
£50-99													
Inventories	20	34	3	71	45	66	28	30	28	5	10	14	354
No. with clocks	0	0	0	0	1	7	1	1	4	1	4	6	25(7.06%)
No. with watches	1	0	0	1	2	2	2	4	2	1	3	4	22(6.21%)
£100-249													
Inventories	26	34	2	59	39	67	25	26	22	14	12	7	323
No. with clocks	0	0	0	0	2	5	3	4	4	6	5	6	35(10.84%)
No. with watches	1	2	0	0	1	1	3	2	2	4	2	4	22(6.81%)
£250-499													
Inventories	10	20	1	14	15	16	11	10	9	5	4	3	118
No. with clocks	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	2	15(12.71%)
No. with watches	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	2	2	2	0	3	15(12.71%)
£500+													
Inventories	4	12	1	4	5	9	3	7	7	6	8	2	68
No. with clocks	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	5	3	6	1	17(25.0%)
No. with watches	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	3	2	0	10(14.71%)
TOTAL													
Inventories	211	285	18	364	353	408	266	206	177	93	113	62	2556
No. with clocks	1	0	0	1	7	15	7	9	19	13	23	22	119
No. with watches	2	7	2	1	6	7	8	11	11	18	11	16	102
% with clocks	0.47	0.00	0.00	0.82	1.98	3.68	2.63	4.37	10.73	13.98	20.35	35.48	4.66
% with watches	0.95	2.46	11.11	0.82	1.70	1.72	3.08	5.34	6.21	19.35	9.73	25.81	3.99

Table XIV Collections at Annual Dinners of Bristol Charitable Societies 1658-1775

Name of Society, (and first year of recorded collection)	£ p.a. collected and percentage increase over preceding decade																							
	1658		1661 -70		1671 -80		1681 -90		1691 1700		1701 -10		1711 -20		1721 -30		1731 -40		1741 -50		1751 -60		1761 -70		1771 -75	
	£	%	£	%[a]	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%
Gloucestershire (1658)	7.00		4.4	-38	5.23	19	3.54	-32	5.27	49	7.18	36	13.01	81	18.41	42	55.69	203	64.02	15	125.69	96	159.13	27	222.97	40
Sons of Clergy (1692)									5.91		7.65	29	17.38	127	31.32	80	55.80	78	91.42	69	175.82[b]	92	203.76[b]	16	283.19[b]	39
Somerset (1737)																	59.95[c]		50.00[d]		89.95		118.80	32	190.44	60
Wiltshire (1751)																					40.17		51.00	27	87.93	72
Dolphin (1751)																					21.73		28.47	31	48.06	69
Ancient Britons (1754)																					80.80		113.72	41	153.33	35
Grateful (1759)																					22.00		55.64	153	107.50	93
Herefordshire (1766)																							111.53		158.99	43
Anchor (1769)																							23.59		89.95	281
Average per society																					79.45		96.18[e]	21	149.15	55

a = increase over previous decade
b = In the 1750s c. 46% of the total was collected at a sermon not the dinner, and this probably continued in later decades.
c = 1737 only
d = 1747 only
e = or 31% if only the seven societies which existed in the 1750s are counted.

Table XV The Popularity of Genres of Drama at Jacob's Well Theatre, 1741-8

	History/Tragedy		Shakespearean History/Tragedy		Shakespearean Comedy		Comedy		Opera	
	Perfor-mances	Average receipt	Perfor-mances	Average receipt	Perfor-mances	Average receipt	Perfor-mances	Average receipt	Perfor-mances	Average receipt
Non-benefit	36	£13.77	24	£14.26	15	£18.13	106	£15.32	9	£13.54
Benefit	20	£37.50	17	£29.27	11	£40.46	50	£36.93	3	£40.41
Takings unknown	2		1		1		8		0	
Total	58		42		27		164		12	
Total as % of all performances	19%		14%		9%		54%		4%	

Table XVI The Ownership of Musical Instruments in Bristol 1620–1767, From Probate Inventories Deposited in B.A.O.

	1620 –39	1640 –49	1650 –59	1660 –69	1670 –79	1680 –89	1690 –99	1700 –09	1710 –19	1720 –29	1730 –39	1740 –67	Total
Inventories	222	299	20	390	369	424	275	202	180	98	119	69	2665
No. of inventories incl. musical instruments	5	8	0	12	11	13	3	3	3	0	3	1	62
Percentage of inventories with musical instruments	2.25	2.68	0.00	3.08	2.98	3.07	1.09	1.49	1.67	0.00	2.52	1.44	2.32

Valuation of inventory (in £)

	1-9	10–24	25–49	50–99	100–249	250–499	500+	Total
Inventories	623	644	426	354	323	118	68	2556
No. of inventories incl. musical instruments	6	11	10	7	9	6	6	55
Percentage of inventories with musical instruments	0.96	1.71	2.35	1.97	2.79	5.08	8.82	2.15%

N.B. Second set of figures excludes professional musicians and all inventories with no valuation, hence the discrepancy in figures.

TABLE XVII The Ownership of Pictures in Bristol 1620-1767, from Probate Inventories with Valuations Deposited in B.A.O.

Valuation range	1620-39	1640-49	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	1700-09	1710-19	1720-29	1730-39	1740-67	1620-1767
£1-9													
Inventories	75	84	4	71	69	94	95	47	27	18	26	13	623
no. with pictures	3	1	0	11	8	6	1	2	4	6	1	6	49
% of Inventories including pictures	4.0	1.2	0.0	15.5	11.6	6.4	1.1	4.3	14.8	33.3	3.8	46.2	7.87
£10-24													
Inventories	52	50	4	85	91	92	62	64	51	33	44	16	644
No. with pictures	5	7	1	14	18	10	8	6	9	10	17	8	133
% of Inventories including pictures	9.6	14.0	25.0	16.5	19.8	10.9	12.9	9.4	17.6	30.3	38.6	50.0	17.55
£25-49													
Inventories	24	51	3	60	89	74	42	22	3	12	9	7	426
No. with pictures	1	5	2	12	12	16	4	5	12	5	6	6	86
% of Inventories including pictures	4.2	9.8	66.7	20.0	13.5	21.6	9.5	22.7	36.4	41.7	66.7	85.7	20.19
£50-99													
Inventories	20	34	3	71	45	66	28	30	28	5	10	14	354
No. with pictures	6	6	0	15	9	14	4	5	8	3	6	9	85
% of Inventories including pictures	30.0	17.6	0.0	21.1	20.0	21.2	14.3	16.7	28.6	60.0	60.0	64.3	24.01
£100-249													
Inventories	26	34	2	59	39	57	25	26	22	14	12	7	323
No. with pictures	7	6	0	18	10	12	3	7	7	10	7	7	94
% of Inventories including pictures	26.9	17.6	0.0	30.5	25.6	21.1	12.0	26.9	31.8	71.4	58.3	100.0	29.10
£250-499													
Inventories	10	20	1	14	15	16	11	10	9	5	4	3	118
No. with pictures	2	4	0	4	6	7	0	5	6	3	2	2	41
% of Inventories including pictures	20.0	20.0	0.0	28.6	40.0	43.8	0.0	50.0	66.7	60.0	50.0	66.7	34.75
£500+													
Inventories	4	12	1	4	5	9	3	7	7	6	8	2	68
No. with pictures	2	5	1	4	1	4	0	1	3	4	5	2	32
% of Inventories including pictures	50.0	41.7	100.0	100.0	20.0	44.4	0.0	14.3	42.9	66.3	62.5	100.0	47.06
TOTAL													
Inventories	211	285	18	364	353	408	266	206	177	93	113	62	2556
No. with pictures	26	34	4	78	64	69	20	31	49	41	44	40	500
% of Inventories including pictures	12.32	11.93	22.22	21.43	18.13	16.91	7.52	15.05	27.68	44.09	38.94	64.52	19.56
All inventories, valued or unvalued, which include pictures of % as total no. of inventories	11.71	12.04	20.00	21.02	17.34	16.75	7.27	15.35	27.78	41.67	40.34	59.42	19.25

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MS Wood D.4	Epitaphs, historical notes etc. of Anthony Wood, mostly 1659-62
MS Wood F.41	Letters to Anthony Wood 1657-95
Don. e. 597	Rowley Poems (1777), annotated by G.S. Catcott
G.A.Glos.B.4 a-b	Scrapbooks of printed ephemera of G.S. Catcott
G.A. Som. 8 12	A. Hooke, Dissertation on Antiquity (1748) and Bristollia (1748), annotated by Charles Godwyn.

G.116 Jur. A. Hooke, Essay on National Debt (1750) annotated by Charles Godwyn

Vet. A. 4e. 1778(3) Annotated copy of Catalogue of Auction of Library of Dr. Archer of Wells etc. (1740)

Regent's Park College, Angus Library

Angus 6 e.15 Copybook of J.C. Ryland, 1746 onwards

" 6 e.27(1-8) Memoranda books of J.C. Ryland 1744-5

" 18 c.13e Records of Western Association of Baptist churches 1733-44

" FPC D.21 Sermons preached by Andrew Gifford of Bristol, 1705-19

Wellcome Unit for History of Medicine, Oxford

Typescript calendar of 'Ephemerides' of Samuel Hartlib.

BRISTOL

Gloucestershire Society, Nelson House, Rupert Street

Minutes of Gloucestershire Society, 1657 onwards

St. Mary Redcliffe Church

Churchwardens' accounts, 1620-60, 1660-90, 1690-1734, 1734-84

Pile Street Charity School: accounts from 1733; list of subscribers 1779; copy of Rules of Pile Street School (1764)

Queen Elizabeth Free Grammar and Writing School: minutes of governors

Vestry book, 1709-66

Bristol Archives Office

Corporation Records

04264 Common Council Proceedings from 1598 ((3) 1637-42, (4) 1642-9, (5) 1649-59, (6) 1659-75, (7) 1675-87, (8) 1687-1702, (9) 1702-22, (10) 1722-38, (11) 1738-45, (12) 1745-54, (13) 1754-62, (14) 1762-72, (15) 1772-82)

04417 Orders of Mayor and Aldermen 1653-73 ((1) 1653-60, (2) 1660-6, (3) 1666-73)

04418(1) Proceedings of Mayor and Aldermen 1738 onwards

Boxes of correspondence of Town Clerk and other corporation business from 1748.

Letter-book of Mayors 1746-52

04359 Burgess books from 1559 ((2) 1607-51, (3) 1651-62, 1662-89, (4) 1689-1705, (5) 1705-13, (6) 1713-26, (7) 1726-32, (8) 1732-9, (9) 1739-43, (10) 1743-8, (11) 1748-55, (12) 1755-59, (13) 1759-68, (14) 1768-74, (15) 1774-80.

04357(2) Apprentice books 1636-40, 1640-58, 1660

04354 " " 1664-5

04357(1) " " 1668-71

04353 " " from 1670 ((1) 1670-84, (2) 1684-99, (3) 1699-1711, (4) 1711-24, (5) 1724-40, (6) 1740-60)

04356(13-14) Apprentice Books 1754-64, 1764-77

04026 Great Audit Books 1532-1785

Corporation Vouchers from 1698

B.M.C./1 (1-3, 13-23) Bailiffs accounts and receipts for Trinity Hospital to 1734.

B.M.C./2 (1-6) Accounts for Foster's Almshouse and Bristol Grammar School

B.M.C./4 Records of Queen Elizabeth Hospital, incl. cashbook 1737-9 (04189) and school register 1757-65 (04188)

B.M.C./6 Records of Red Maids' School incl. rules and orders of 1758 (00819(25))

Quarter-Sessions Minute Books 1653-71, 1672-81, 1682-9, 1681-1705

04449 Quarter-Sessions Doggett books ((1) 1695-1703, (2) 1703-12, (3) 1712-16)

04450 Quarter-Sessions Doggett books ((1) 1721-4, (2) 1724-9, (3) 1729-33, (4) 1733-7, (5) 1737-41, (6) 1741-8, (7) 1748-53)

04451 Grand Jury presentments 1640, 1657-60, 1662, 1664-6

04452(1)(front) Presentments 1676-1700

04452(1)(back) Quarter-Sessions convictions 1695-1728

04452(2) " " " 1728-95

04455 Jury books 1731-42

05062(1-9) Alehouse-keepers' licences from 1654

04434 Orders and recognizances of Tolzey Court ((1) 1673-88, (2) 1683-93, (3) 1693-1703)

04435 Orders and recognizances of Tolzey Court ((1) 1716-24, (2) 1724-30, (3) 1730-7, (4) 1737-48, (5) 1748-56)

04413 Court of Conscience actions 1692-4

04471 " " " " ((1) 1691-6, (2) 1696-1700)

04414 Court of Conscience actions from 1741

04415 " " " " from 1746

Society Records

02144	Ordinances of Woollen-drapers Company
01396-8	Papers relating to Bristol Library
04369(1)	Ordinances of city companies ratified by Common Council 1628-1754
04370	Minutes of Soapmakers company 1562-1642
08019	Ordinances (1670) and accounts from 1735 of Whitawers etc. Company
08155	Minutes of Bakers Company 1499-1732
08156(1-2)	Minutes of Feltmakers Company 1596-1865
4954(3)	Proceedings of Merchant Taylors Company to 1707
6787	Minutes of Porters Company 1671-1799
8029(11)	Articles and orders of Artillery Company 1678-81
8976(15)	1764 shareholders' agreement re King Street theatre
8978	King Street theatre dividend book from 1764(1a) and accounts from 1764(3)
8980(3 a-b)	Tickets from King Street theatre
28049(25)	Rules of Elbridge school
32079	Bristol Library Society: Minutes (153), Committee Book (154) and Cashbook (160) all from 1772
35684(15)	Accounts and memoranda of Merchant Taylors Company from 1707
Xeroxes 2 (A-B)	Records of Bristol Law Society from 1770
Bristol Infirmary	Biographical Memoirs compiled by Richard Smith in 14 volumes

Smyth Collection

AC/C 64-115	Letters of Smyths and related families at Ashton Court c.1650-1760

AC/F8/6-7	Smyth family inventories 1680 and 1691
AC/AS/8/5-9	Accounts of estate of Thomas Chester 1704-15
AC/AS/44/2-3	Letters to Christopher Cole re Henbury Grammar School
AC/JS/11/6	Letters of Jarrit Smith and W. Davis 1737
AC/JS/12/4	List of members of Colston Society 1778
AC/JS/13/2	Gloucestershire Society report for 1761
AC/JS/13/8	Somerset Society report for 1774
AC/JS/15/21-3	Accounts of Bluett Jones c.1720
AC/JS/17/24/g	Inventory of Mr. Potter 1756
AC/JS/29/22	Accounts of Sarah Thurlby c.1720-5
AC/JS/36/2	Accounts of Jarritt Smith 1727-38
AC/JS/50/13	Funeral costs of Elizabeth Lawford, 1727
AC/JS/53/59	Copies of documents for law suit over town dues 1736
AC/MU/1	Letters to and from Samuel Munckley
AC/WH/18(19)	Inventory of E.P. Chamberlain 1756
AC/WH/19(3)	Accounts of J.H. Smyth from 1767
AC/WO/9	Accounts with Henry Woolnough, solicitor
AC/WO/10(18-19)	Inventory of John Elbridge 1739
AC/WO/13	Christopher Cole papers

Personal Papers

04399	Day book of R. Neale 1761-4
07831	Calendar of Bristol history to 1724 with list of officials
08158	Memorandum book of John White (1711-81)
09594(1)	List of Mayors etc. 1661-1765, with annals to 1735
09701(1-24)	Letters of Richard Haynes 1690-1722

6783	Accounts and memorandum book of Joshua Wharton of Brislington 1733-42
8019(1-7)	Letters to Christopher Cole and Haynes family 1690-1730
9728(1-2)	Dairies of Francis Creswick 1671 and 1674
10531	Letters of Cary family c.1670
11109(19)	'Life of Captain John Jaen' c.1725
12879	Accounts and letters of Morse and Martin apothecaries c.1750
12964(1)	Letters and papers of Edward Southwell to 1741
13748(4)	Chronicle of Bristol continued to 1644 by William Adams
14581	Wills of Haynes family (HA/W/10(1729) and 14(1679))
14754(1)	Papers on Goodere murder of 1741 by Richard Smith
22156	Annals of Bristol to 1718
26226	Letters to and from Samuel Lowder c.1770-5
28048	Harford family papers incl. ledger 1748-68 (F1), cashbook 1769-79 (F13) and diaries of journeys in 1768 (J1/1-3)
32955(104)	Accounts of Henry Danvers 1774-6
33288(60)	Accounts of Thomas Speed 1681-90
37541	Pidding family annals and memoranda 1685-1762
38083(7)	Chronicle of Bristol 1216-1792 started c.1760 by Richard Champion

Parish Records

P/AS/ChW/	All Saints churchwardens' accounts 1651-61(1a) and 1701 onwards (1b)
P/AS/V/	" " vestry books 1650-1750(1a) and from 1750 (1b)

P/XCh/ChW/ Christchurch churchwardens' accounts 1606-55(1b), 1656-1708 (1c), 1708-42(1d), 1742 onwards (1e)

P/XCh/V/ Christchurch vestry minutes 1641-1714(1a), 1709-84(1b) and orders 1709-10(3)

P/St Aug/ChW/ St Augustine churchwardens' accounts 1669-1739(1a), 1728-92(1b)

P/St E./ChW/ St Ewin churchwardens' accounts 1715(3) and briefs 1707-63(4)

P/St E./V. St Ewin vestry book 1596-1746(1) and 1746-1814(2)

P/St J./ChW/ St James churchwardens' accounts 1624-1701(1b), 1702-54(1c), 1754-81(1d)

P/St J.B./ChW/ St John Baptist churchwardens' accounts 1635-1729(3c), 1710-52 (3d), 1729-76(3e)

P/St J.B./V/ St John Baptist vestry book 1676-1726(1a), 1726-92(1b)

P/St P. and J./ChW/3a St.Philip and St Jacob churchwardens' accounts 1562-1782

P/St P. and J./V/ St.Philip and St Jacob vestry books 1649-1717(1), 1722-1832(2)

P/St S./ChW/a St Stephen churchwardens' accounts 1747-1855

P/St S./V/ St Stephen vestry books 1688-1764(1a) and 1765 onwards(1b)

P/St T./ChW/73-108 St Thomas churchwardens' accounts 1641-57, 1657-70, 1701-15

P/St W/ChW/ St Werburgh churchwardens 1615-1709(3b), 1709 onwards (3c)

P/Tem./ChW/ Temple churchwardens' accounts 1642-54 (15-18), 1656-1700 (19-25(5)), 1701-43(25(6)-30(1)), 1743-75(30(1-2))

P/Tem./E4	Letters on clerical maintenance 1707-12
P/Tem./E5(6)	List of papists in 1767
P/Tem./Fa/1-9	Papers on disputes between ministers and Weavers Company/vestry
P/Tem./Ka/	Temple Colston school papers incl. minutes 1709-49(1(1)), 1727-49(7), 1749 onwards (1(2)); cashbooks 1709-46(2(1) I-III); register 1709-16(3)
P/Tem./Ka/4	Letter-book of Temple ministers from 1709
P/Tem./La/	Temple vestry books 1619-1748(1), 1749 onwards (2)

Nonconformist Records

6687	Lewin's Mead Presbyterian church: minutes from 1691(1); cashbook 1690-1786(2); poorbook from 1690(3); annual collection 1756-9(4)
6688	Stokes Croft Presbyterian charity school: minutes 1722-64(1) and 1765 onwards (2)
30999(3-4)	Stokes Croft school accounts from 1722
35481 PT/F/1a	Bristol Tabernacle (Whitefield Methodist) cashbook 1765-80
SF/A/9/1	Papers of workhouse of Bristol Society of Friends
SF/Cat.I	List of books etc held by Bristol Society of Friends 1737
SF/F4/1	Bristol Society of Friends cashbook from 1760
BD/A2/1	Broadmead Baptist church cashbook 1699 onwards
BD/Ch/2/1	" " " accounts of Bodenham estate from 1753
BD/M1/2	Broadmead Baptist church book 1758-79
BD/M2	Church book of Independent congregation at Broadmead from 1757

Diocesan and Cathedral Records

E.P./A/10/1/4,7 Diocesan subscription books incl. schoolmasters 1662-1788

E.P./A/34/ Medical licence for J. Coopey 1745(1) and petition by J. Craighton(2)

E.P./A/35/1-3 Schoolmasters' licences and letters testimonial 1735-78

E.P./A/44/7 Brief historical notes about Bristol (eighteenth-century)

E.P./J/2/1 Loose papers of diocesan court 1683(2), 1686-94(3), 1695(4), 1700-13(5), 1721-8(6), 1731-56(7), 1740-3(8), 1748(9 and 10), 1751-9(11), 1760(12), 1761(13), 1762(14), 1763(15), 1764(16), 1765(17), 1766(18), 1767(19), 1768(20)

E.P./J/2/2 Libels in diocesan court 1672-4(2) and 1675-7(3)

E.P./J/3/1 Marriage licence bonds from 1633

E.P./J/4 Wills from 1546 and inventories for 1620-3, 1639-1767

E.P./V/3 Churchwardens' presentments from 1637

D.C./A/6/6 'Historical memoirs of City of Bristol' by G. Pew c.1673

D.C./A/8/ Minutes of Bristol Chapter 1663-1751 (1) and from 1751 (2)

D.C./A/9/1/5-10 Accounts of Bristol Chapter from 1602 to 1784

D.C./A/9/2/1 Books of particulars of Chapter expenditure 1699-1745

D.C./A/9/6/2-5 Receipts for Chapter expenditure from 1749

Miscellaneous

04217 Collection of printed broadsheets from 1696

Xeroxes 52 Register of deaths 1718-56(1) and 1707-11(2) in Bristol

Bristol Central Library Reference Division, Bristol Collection

Index of Local Artists

Microfilm copy of Hallbook of Proceedings, Society of Merchant Venturers

394 Verses Written at Portbury 1750

396 A. Bedford, 'extraordinary account of apparitions' dated 1763 (1703?)

932 Copy of Quaker Sermon 1767

956 Poem by Emmanuel Collins copied by G.S. Catcott

1154 Alexander Catcott Papers

1564-5 Verses and letters by Thomas Skone, Emanuel Collins etc.

3994 Memoranda on rebuilding St Michael's, 1774-5

4502 Annals of Bristol to 1740 by W. Matthew with additions to 1774 by James Stewart

4503 Jottings on local history by S.G. Tovey

4504-5 Notes for history of Bristol by A. Hooke c.1740

4531 Fragments of topographical history by S. Seyer

4532 Notes on Bristol history by S. Seyer

4533 MSS relating to history of Bristol collected by S. Seyer

4754 Volume of Bristol charters

4755 Collation of Bristol calendars by S. Seyer

4756 Commonplace Book of Bristol history by C.J. Harford

4757-8 Bristol benefactors by S. Seyer

4765-6 Officers of Merchant Taylors Company 1671 onwards

4768 Ordinances of Company of Whitawers, Pointmakers etc., c. Charles I

4771 Copper trade minutes of Joseph Percival and Company 1762-9

4772 Grand Jury MSS 1758-62

4773 Petty Jury MSS 1760-1

4788 Charters and ordinances of Merchant Taylors Company 1579-1640

4904 Notes on Temple parish by A. Bedford, A. and G.S. Catcott

4939 Oaths, list of members and accounts of Mercers and Linendrapers Company 1647-1728

4943 Undersheriff's procedures etc., 1727-91

4946 Account of Mayors 1216-1778 and memoirs of Bristol to 1795

4991 Papers of Southwell Privateer 1746 and Dreadnought Privateer 1758

5009 Biographical notes on Bishops, Deans and Prebendaries of Bristol by A. Hooke c.1740

5014 Minutes of Bristol Bridge Trustees 1763 onwards

5029-30 Minute books of Wiredrawers and Pinmakers Company c.1500-1797

5116 Memento Mori, 1670 MS funeral sermon by T. Palmer

5199 Essay on Rowleian controversy c.1783

5254 Poetry from Bristol newspapers 1772-1805 by R. Hawkswell

5258 MSS on Catcott family history in J. Whiston, Pious Meditation (1829)

5330 Account of charities, ordinances and corporation expenditure 1709-16 by P. Mugleworth

6329 Newspaper extracts 1753-5 by G.S. Catcott

6431-2 Papers on Kingswood Chase by F. Creswick, copied by G. Mitchell

6457 Legal documents and lawsuits c.1700

6480 Criticism of conduct of A. Catcott

6485 Poems by W. Goldwin

6491 Notes on Bristol churches by G.S. Catcott

6494 Notes on Temple Church and parish by A. Bedford, A. and G.S. Catcott

6492 Journal of Reverend Bowen, transcribed by G.S. Catcott

6495 Diaries of tours of A. Catcott 1748-74 (photocopy BCL 30100)

6496 Verses on several occasions by A.S. Catcott

6523 Volume of MS extracts, pamphlets, tradesman's cards etc 1597 onwards

6526 Copy of 1767 Quaker sermon

6529 Apprentice book of Merchant Taylors Company 1674-1754

6578 Collections on Bristol history 1610-1873

6580-90 Actions in Tolzey and Pie Poudre Courts 1700-58 with legal cases and opinions 1689, 1737, 1749-70 in vol. 11

7077 Account and commonplace book of W. Bevan 1637-8

7453-529 Bristol Library Society registers 1773 onwards

7530 Rules and list of members of Bristol Library Society

7945-60 Collections of C.T. Jeffries vols 1-16

7976-80 Playbills and other papers on Bristol theatre of R. Smith 1672-1843

9075 Annals 1216-1777 (by George Martin?)

9167 Catalogue of officers to 1749 and annals to 1745

9169 Catalogue of Mayors 1437-1680 and brief account of 1680

9794 Saints Backsliding by E. Collins (MS copy)

9966-10001 Braikenridge collection of Bristol materials

10095 Ordinances of Merchant Taylors company c.1640-70 with annals to 1679, list of charities etc. by J. Ripopon

10124 'Book of Ornaments' of W. Milton

10150 Ordinances, rents, memoranda etc. of Bristol

10152 Records of Bristol 1781-6 by J. Roach and lists to 1810

10154 Collection of transactions in eighteenth-century Bristol by S. Seyer

10157 Legal documents 1679-1722

10158 Papers on Pen Park Hole by G.S. Catcott

10160 Copies of legal documents, petitions etc. to 1663

10161 Martin's annals to 1688

10162 Minutes of Society for Reformation of Manners 1699-1705, with annals to 1741 by T. Broughton

10163 (1-4) Annals to 1825: annals to 1784: annals to 1788: annals to 1688

10164 Annals of Bristol 1790 by S. Seyer

10166 (1-3) Brickdale's annals to 1688: annals to 1741: R. Farnell's calendar and benefactors' book 1748

10364 A. Bedford, A Copy of a Letter (1703), transcribed by G.S. Catcott

10921-3 Biographical memoranda by J. Innys 1773-4

10944-73 MS and printed notices and handbills re 1754 election

11152-61 Southwell papers:

- 11152 Charter and Romsey letters 1665-78
- 11153 Romsey and Knight papers 1679-88
- 11154 Henley and Merchant Adventurers papers 1690-1718
- 11155 Seizure of Postillion Ketch 1693-7
- 11156-61 Edward Southwell papers 1738-76

11204 Account book of Jacob's Well theatre 1741-8

11398 List of Masters and Wardens of Joiners etc. Company 1690-1774

11875 Charters and charity notes to 1749

12196 Memoirs and annals of Bristol (1773-90) (Thomas Mills?)

12999 Guide to City of Bristol by B. Donn c.1785

13011 Papers on Jacob's Well and Bristol stage 1704 onwards

14799 Papers of Arding family

15861 Bristol wills, gifts etc. 1292-1654 by J. Hickes (1669)

15970 'England's Forewarnings' by Mrs Grace Cary (1644)

16605 'Simple narrative of facts ... College Green' by J. Billingsley (1750)

16767 List of mayors and annals to 1701 (late eighteenth-century?)

18871 Journal of dates, places etc. of J. Heylyn 1712-65

20095 Memorable events and extracts from diaries of William Dyer 1745-1801

20096 Diary of William Dyer 1762

20097 Diary of R. Tucker 1767

20196 Business ledger of M. Edkins 1761-86

20852 Papers on Wiltshire Society

21058 Music copybook of T. Chatterton senior

21256 Ledgers of Tryal Privateer 1757-60

21353 Classified list of merchants and tradesmen of Bristol by I. Cotterell 1768

21368 Portraits and account of Samuel Sturmy

21402 Materials on Wiltshire Society

21769 Census of houses and inhabitants of SS Philip and Jacob by James New 1781

21917 Memoirs of Bristol to 1795 by G.S. Catcott

21952 Collection of catches selected by T. Warren

22111 Diary of unknown traveller's journey to Bristol 1743

22477 Copybook of miscellaneous references to Bristol history by G.S. Catcott

22537 Notes on Stokes Croft theatre

22606 Copybook of references to Bristol history by G. Braikenridge

22700 MSS on inns and taverns of Bristol

22709 MSS on coffee-houses of Bristol

23274 List of books donated to Bristol Library by Paul Fisher 1763

23802 Correspondence and accounts of Bush and Co., silk merchants 1755-80

24009 'Olde-worlde Gleanings'

24651 Copybook of letters of Caleb Dickinson 1757-8

25486 Chronicle of Bristol by W. Adams 1627-48

25813 Curiosities of Bristol and its neighbourhood

25947 Extract from a magazine of 1766 with theatre prologue

26060-1, 26064, 26067 Collection of C.T. Jeffries, vols 17-20

26063 Correspondence of A.S. and A. Catcott etc. 1733-74

26064 Letters and other documents collected by J. Latimer, inc. Rose Garden Society minutes

26684 Photocopy of A. Catcott's description of Loxton Cavern transcribed by C.J. Harford 1794

29739 List of books donated to Bristol Library by John Heylyn 1766

30100 Photocopy of diaries of A. Catcott 1748-74

2. PRINTED SOURCES

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

I. BOOKS AND ARTICLES [only works cited in the footnotes, or by implication in the text, are included]

Abbot, Henry, Unity, Friendship and Charity (Bristol, 1713)

An Account of the Bristol Education Society 1770-1776 (Bristol, 1776)

An Account of the Hospitals, Almshouses and Public Schools in Bristol (Bristol, 1775)

Adams, William, Chronicle of Bristol, ed. F.F. Fox (Bristol, 1910)

An Address to the Inhabitants of Glastonbury (Bristol, 1751)

An Affectionate and Candid Letter (by 'A Bystander') (Bristol, 1767)

Allen, Henry, Letters (n.p., n.d., c.1774-5)

Allen, William, The Mystery of the Temple and City (1677)

--, Several Discourses on the Unsearchable Riches (Bristol, 1697)

An Alphabetical List of Subscribers to a Map of the Country Eleven Miles Round Bristol (Bristol, 1769)

An Animadvertory Letter in Answer to a Tract ... by Edward G-- L-- K (Bristol, 1765)

An Apology for the Clergy of the City of Bristol (1712)

Arber, E., (ed.), The Term Catalogues 1668-1709 (3 vols, 1903-6)

Archididascalos Coeruleus, Union and Loyalty Recommended. See under Emanuel Collins

Arscott, Alexander, Some Considerations Relating to the Present State of the Christian Religion (3 parts, 1731-4)

The Art and Mystery of Printing, with an Ode on the Coronation (Bristol, 1761)

Ashmole, Elias, Autobiographical and Historical Notes, Correspondence etc., ed. C.H. Josten (5 vols, Oxford, 1967)

Atkyns, Robert, The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire (1714)

Atmore, C., The Methodist Memorial (Bristol, 1801)

Aubrey, John, Brief Lives, ed. A. Clark (2 vols, Oxford, 1898)

--, Brief Lives, ed. O.L. Dick, (Harmondsworth, 1972)

--, Three Prose Works, ed. J. Buchanan-Brown (Fontwell, 1972)

Aylmer, John, Bristol Infirmary Recommended (Bristol, 1757)

B, J. (J. Brown), The Merchants' Avizo (1607)

B, N.(Nicholas Billingsley?), Phoenix Moriendo Revixit (2nd edn, Bristol, 1704)

B, N.(Nicholas Billingsley?), The Royal Conqueress (Bristol, 1704)

Bacon, Robert, Christ Mighty in Himself (1646)

Baker, William, Rules for True Spelling and Writing English (Bristol, 1724)

Banks, Joseph, A Journal of an Excursion to Eastbury and Bristol, ed. S.G. Perceval (1900)

Barker, Robert, The Unfortunate Shipwright (2 parts, 1761, 1766?)

Barrett, William, Proposals for Publishing a History of Bristol (Bristol, 1788)

--, The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol (Bristol, 1789)

The Bath and Bristol Guide (Bath, 1753; 4th edn, Bath, 1760)

The Bath, Bristol and Epsom Miscellany (1731)

Batt, William, Union and Loyalty Recommended (Bristol, 1754)

Baxter, Richard, The Certainty of the World of Spirits (1691)

Bayley, C., The Causes of God's Wrath Against England (1665)

Bayly, Benjamin, An Essay on Inspiration (2nd edn., 1708)

--, The True Notion of Moderation (1711)

--, Fourteen Sermons on Various Subjects (2 vols, 1721)

Baynard, Edward, Health: A Poem (Bristol, 1750)

Beaumont, John, Considerations on a book Entitled the Theory of the Earth (1693)

--, The Present State of the Universe (1694)

--, An Historical, Physiological and Theological Treatise of Spirits (1705)

--, Gleanings of Antiquities (1724)

Becket, J.B., An Essay on Electricity (Bristol, 1773)

--, The Use of the Hydrostatic Balance Made Easy (Bristol, 1775)

Beddome, Benjamin, A Scriptural Exposition of the Baptist Catechism (Bristol, 1776)

Bedford, Arthur, A Copy of a Letter Sent to ... Bishop of Gloucester (Bristol, 1704)

--, Serious Reflections on Scandalous Abuses (Bristol, 1705)

--, A Second Advertisement Concerning the Profaneness of the Playhouse (Bristol, 1705)

--, The Evil and Danger of Stage-Plays (Bristol, 1706)

--, The Temple Musick (1706)

--, The Great Abuse of Musick (1711)

--, Unity, Love and Peace Recommended (Bristol, 1714)

--, A Sermon Preached at St Mary Redclift Church (Bristol, 1717)

--, A Serious Remonstrance (1719)

--, Animadversions on Sir Isaac Newton's Book Entitled Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended (1728)

--, The Scripture Chronology Demonstrated (1730)

--, Observations on a Sermon (1736)

--, An Examination of Mr Hutchinson's Remarks and Mr Catcott's Answer (1738)

--, The Doctrine of Assurance (1738)

Beer, Mary, A Collection of Prophetical Warnings (Bristol, 1709)

Berjew, John, Religion Essential to Civil Government (Bristol, 1774)

Bernard J., Retrospections of the Stage (2 vols, Boston, 1832)

Besse, J., A Collection of Sufferings (2 vols, 1753)

Bettey, J.H. (ed.), A Calendar of the Correspondence of the Smyth Family (B.R.S. XXXV, 1982)

--, (ed.), 'A Bristol Glassworks circa 1730' in Bristol Miscellany (B.R.S. XXXVII, 1985), pp.15-20

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