

Reviews

Edited by ALAN TYLER

Bridget Wells-Furby (ed.), *The Great Cartulary of Berkeley Castle, c.1425* (Gloucestershire Record Series volume 28, BGAS 2014). xiv + 510 pp., 4 figs., 6 col. figs., 2 maps. Hardback, £30.00 (£22.50 to BGAS members) [ISBN: 9780900197844]

The document calendared in this volume is a cartulary which forms part of the extensive medieval archive surviving in the muniments room of Berkeley Castle. Its title, the ‘Great Cartulary’, was given to it by the 17th-century historian of the Berkeley family John Smyth of Nibley, although today it is identified in the catalogue more prosaically as ‘Select Book 10’. The history of the cartulary’s development is quite complex. Consisting originally of deeds relating to the Lisle estate, which came to Thomas IV, Lord Berkeley, through his marriage to Margaret, daughter and heiress of Warin, Lord Lisle (d. 1382), the volume was expanded to include material connected with other properties, notably the core Berkeley estates around Berkeley itself and various outlying manors in Wiltshire and Essex. Almost certainly, the spur to compilation of the volume was found in the great Berkeley lawsuit, which broke out in 1417 following the death without male issue of Thomas IV, the lord who had married the Lisle heiress. As a result of the dynastic failure, the family was plunged into a struggle between the heir male, the deceased’s lord’s nephew, Sir James, and his heir general, his daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband Richard, earl of Warwick. Dr Wells-Furby suggests that the prime mover of the first stage of the project, the bringing together of evidences for the Lisle estates, was Earl Richard, as the two latest entries, dated September 1419 and September 1425, are copies of leases which were made by his officials. Just why the earl should have chosen to embark on so massive an archival undertaking is, as Dr Wells-Furby admits, something of a mystery, as his wife had borne him only daughters, and the estate to which the evidences related would be divided between them on his death. Nonetheless, he appears to have spared no expense in going about the work, which was written out in a fine, large, clear hand on folios the margins of which are carefully squared off. Dr Wells-Furby suggests that the main motive for him then to launch into the second part of the project, the bringing together of deeds relating to the Berkeleys’ own lands, was found in the rejection by the earl and his wife of the proposed partition of the estates and their assertion of a claim to the lands of the main Berkeley lordship. This second stage of the project appears to have been something of a hurried job. The writing is smaller and less carefully formed than in the main part of the cartulary; there are copying errors, and less space is given over to margins. Nonetheless, the two parts of the cartulary do seem to have been conceived as a whole.

To the present-day reader, the main value of the cartulary is to be found in what it tells us about the development of the Lisle estate, since the Lisle family archive accounts for well over half the volume. Not all of the documentation published here is being brought into the public domain for the first time. Since a significant number of the charters also survive as originals in the castle muniments room, a substantial part of the contents has already appeared in calendar form in Dr Wells-Furby’s *Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle* (Gloucestershire

Record Series volume 17, 2004). While undeniably this means that there is a certain duplication between this and the earlier volume, the effort of publication is still well worthwhile, because there is a great deal of new material here; and the charters and deeds already calendared in the *Catalogue of Muniments* are made available in this volume in richer and more detailed form. Original source material for a family such as the Lises, who were in the lower parliamentary nobility, is such a rarity for the Middle Ages that the opportunity to see it laid out in its entirety is bound to be welcomed. What it consists of is a total of some 740 charters and associated documents, most of these relating to the transfer and acquisition of land, family settlements and other family arrangements. There is only a handful of account rolls and remarkably few leases. Since the Lisle estate grew incrementally, as in each generation members of the family married into and acquired the estates of other families, so we are afforded a glimpse into the history and affairs of those families whose estates were absorbed into the larger one. Most of the Lisle family lands, however, lay not in Gloucestershire, but in the upper Thames Valley and on the Berkshire and Wiltshire downs. Although the archive brought to publication here is one which happened to end up in the hands of a Gloucestershire family, it is not actually one which sheds much new light on Gloucestershire landholding. For those with an interest principally in Gloucestershire, and Gloucestershire estates, it is not the big first half of the cartulary which will hold the most interest, but the second and smaller section, which relates to lands in the county heartland. Here again, the qualification needs to be added that much of the material relates to properties such as Cam, Hinton and Slimbridge, which are already covered by the original charters published in Dr Wells-Furby's exemplary *Catalogue* of 11 years ago.

In layout and editorial method the present volume follows the format employed in Wells-Furby's earlier volume, with the individual entries reproduced in calendar form and each section prefaced by a substantial introduction tracing the history of the estate and the family or families which owned it. The introduction to the Berkeley section will be especially useful to local historians for the care taken in identifying all the many separate holdings referred to in the charters. The quality of the scholarship throughout is of the highest distinction.

NIGEL SAUL
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Carol Clammer and Keith Underwood (eds.), *The Churches and Chapels of the Parish of Tidenham: their history and architecture* (Tutshell, Tidenham Historical Group 2014). 200pp., numerous illustrations. Cardcovers, £15.00 [ISBN: 9780992872205]

Tidenham is a largish parish on the west bank of the Severn in the triangulation of its junction with the Wye and includes the promontory of Beachley from which there is the ancient crossing to Aust on the opposite bank, now superseded by the first Severn Bridge. This book by the Tidenham Historical Group lists 24 places of worship, past or present, in the parish with a history of each and a description of the buildings and their contents. They range from evidence of the existence of a chapel at Lancaut in AD 625 to the Roman Catholic church built in 1988. It is interesting on two counts, first as antiquarian and architectural history, and secondly as a picture of the religious life of the area over some 1,400 years.

The parish church of St Mary and St Peter is mainly of 13th-century date, but the church at Lancaut, which served a local fishing community, was 11th-century, but ceased to be used in 1865. Its roof was removed and it is now a ruin. Like that in the parish church, it had a lead font, which is particularly fine and, after a period of private ownership, is now in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester cathedral.

The 19th century saw the building of other churches as the parish expanded. These in part were due to the Revd John Armstrong, vicar 1845–57, strongly influenced by the Tractarian movement and Anglo-Catholicism. In 1857 John Norton, a somewhat brutal Gothic revivalist, “restored” the parish church, but his work was later ameliorated by Sidney, the architect son of Thomas Gambier-Parry of Highnam fame. Henry Woodyer and Gambier-Parry were responsible for much work in relation to the new churches, which appear pleasant, and St Michael’s, Tidenham Chase, designed by Sidney Gambier-Parry has a fine mosaic altar and reredos by Powells.

The 19th century saw the establishment of nonconformist congregations, and the 20th century a mission church and various evangelical places of worship. The Roman Catholics arrived in 1939 and, after temporary accommodation, built a nice building in 1988. Three chapels were constructed at the army barracks at Beachley: the Roman Catholic chapel, built in 1969, was demolished in 1998, and only the Anglican and Free Church chapels remain.

This book is scholarly written and is well illustrated. It deserves its place in the Society’s library.

†GERARD LEIGHTON
Bath

Roger H. Leech, *The Town House in Medieval and Early Modern Bristol* (Swindon, English Heritage 2014). xi + 440pp, CD insert, numerous ill., maps & plans. Hardback, £100.00 [ISBN: 9781848020535]

To my shame, I have only visited Bristol once, and that 32 years ago as part of the Vernacular Architecture Group’s South Gloucestershire spring conference. The day was expertly led by a then relatively young Roger Leech. It quickly became clear how significant Bristol is to the study of urban vernacular architecture. There was the promise of a forthcoming publication which, for several years, was eagerly awaited. Over time, memories of that visit faded to the extent that when I recently carried out research into four urban centres in south-east England I hardly gave Bristol a thought.

It has been Leech’s other archaeological activities which have caused the long wait. Nevertheless, both his research into Bristol and his enthusiasm for its built past have clearly endured, resulting in this present publication. The end product is a phenomenally detailed study which, in my view, is the most detailed yet into a major English town, saving (perhaps) London.

There is far too much contained between the covers of this weighty tome for this review to do it justice, so I intend nothing more than to highlight what, for me, are the most relevant points. For example, one of this reviewer’s urban studies involved the port town of Winchelsea, Sussex, a town generally accepted as having one of the highest concentrations of medieval cellars in any English town: it originally had at least 50. It was, therefore, a surprise to learn that in 1480 Bristol had a staggering 142 cellars, mostly in the commercial areas. As at Winchelsea and Southampton, they primarily related to the Bordeaux wine trade, though by 1480 some were used for the storage of other goods, either for local consumption or awaiting trans-shipment.

But we are getting ahead of ourselves. What of the town’s origins? Bristol was probably founded in the 10th century and already by the early 11th was sufficiently important to have its own mint. It quickly developed into one of England’s top-rank towns. Leech includes a comprehensive overview of the past visual and documentary record, emphasizing how extensive the material is. Due to Bristol’s rapid growth, already by the 14th and 15th centuries houses on plots which commanded the highest values were being rebuilt with additional storeys. This was a trend adopted later in other areas, whilst still more storeys were added in the highest rental districts. Eventually,

by *c.*1600, two-storeyed houses were restricted to a few peripheral areas: a situation not found in *most* English towns, where multi-storeyed houses were always in a minority, except perhaps within the principal commercial street.

On account of its high national ranking, to students of smaller towns many of Bristol's buildings will undoubtedly seem alien, as will some of the terms: 'shophouse', 'corteplace', 'lodge' and 'garden house'. For me the numerous shophouses are one of the most intriguing and significant features of the town's built heritage. In the medieval period the term did not necessarily signify a dwelling, though even at this date it normally did, with the accommodation elevated over the shop. They were often built in terraces of two or more and were one or two rooms deep, rising through several storeys. Halls in shophouses were on the first floor, usually overlooking the street. The examples cited by Leech emphasize how small the footprints of some of these shophouses were. One was less than 15 feet square and rose through four storeys, plus attic. Even so, despite their small footprint, multi-storeyed shophouses provided a generous total floor area and were as commonly occupied by wealthy businessmen as by poorer members of the urban population. They should not be regarded as a solely medieval phenomenon: in Bristol they continued to be built well into the 18th century and beyond.

An interesting section relates to the attitudes of more prosperous inhabitants to commercial street frontages. It has already been noted that the hall (and later the main parlour) of a shophouse was usually sited overlooking the bustle of the street. Similarly, in the very largest houses – those which occupied wide plots with impressive ground-floor open halls set back from the street – the owner still felt the need to retain a presence on the street, having at least one chamber projecting through the fronting terrace of rentier properties so as to overlook the highway. Principal houses located next to the riverside incorporated 'towers', built both large and broad. These, Leech argues, were not like the watch towers found in ports such as King's Lynn (Norfolk), but were suites of withdrawing chambers. In this they are comparable to examples found in London, Bruges and Venice.

In both the commercial centre and the principal commercial streets ownership of a large hallhouse during the medieval period was a mark of distinction. Elsewhere, the social distinction between a hallhouse and a shophouse was less obvious, though just how common smaller hallhouses were is difficult to judge: the documentary record suggests they were markedly less common than shophouses. At this time the mix of wealth within the town seems to have been heterogeneous with the rich living cheek-by-jowl with the poor. During the post-medieval years distinct social neighbourhoods developed with the architecture of each becoming increasingly more uniform in house size, appearance and status. As an example, beginning in the early 17th century, speculative developments of low-status houses began to be built in back yards, behind earlier rentiers fronting the street. This was in many ways a reaction to increased population pressure. Many such developments were new ventures, but others represent the division of large courtyard hallhouses set back from the street. Leech suggests that this trend towards converting large town-centre elite houses into tenements increased following the exodus of Bristol's elite to the suburbs. Although starting over a century earlier, this was a phenomenon which accelerated after 1750, when Bristol experienced a particularly rapid period of population growth, promoting spacious speculative suburbs in areas beyond the traditional built-up area.

Another of Bristol's architectural quirks is its 'lodges' or 'garden houses', most of which originally stood detached and had associated walled gardens. These 'occasional houses' should not be regarded as a solely late development. The earliest for which details are known date between *c.*1150 and *c.*1275. By the 16th century these compact, often multi-storeyed Bristol lodges were owned by successful merchants and 'industrialists', who commonly had two residences: a house in the commercial centre and a lodge built towards the periphery, but within

easy walking distance. Both were fully furnished, though whereas the town house was used for everyday living and entertaining, the lodge was regarded as a retreat. This was taken still further during the middle years of the 17th century, when Bristol's leading gentry began acquiring larger houses located a few miles away from the town. Even so, at this time these were still regarded as secondary to the main house in the commercial centre. It was not until c.1700 that these country houses were extended to become the family home. Already by the early 17th century some lodges and garden houses were being converted into full-time residences, and this increased from the 1660s onwards.

It was not just the social mix present within the town that was changing. Before the 1640s Bristol's trade was predominantly with Europe, though the level of commerce was already by then diminishing, causing economic decline. Revival, when it came, was evoked by a rapid development of links with America. Trade with that continent was already present in modest form in the 15th century, but grew exponentially from the 1650s onwards. In particular it was the Africa-America slave trade which was the trigger. It is no coincidence that the 1650s and 1660s saw the first new streets laid out since the 13th century.

Inevitably, every reviewer will have some criticism. For me, it was the treatment of the town's geography. This may not be a concern to those readers with an intimate knowledge of the town, but this volume has a much broader remit and many, like me, will have visited only occasionally. Our lack of topographical knowledge was not sufficiently borne in mind by the author. I would advise any spatially-aware reader who is not familiar with Bristol to acquire a good, clear street plan and index before opening the volume: it will save many frustrating moments. This criticism aside, this is without doubt a study to which I will return on many occasions. It is not a volume to read in one sitting from cover to cover. Instead, for most, it will be subject to short bursts of attention, concentrating on individual themes. It is, in my opinion, a must for all who have an interest in the historic urban environment.

DAVID MARTIN

Bexhill-on-Sea

Victoria Ridgeway and Martin Watts (eds.), *Friars, Quakers, Industry and Urbanisation: the archaeology of the Broadmead Expansion Project, Cabot Circus, Bristol 2005–2008*, Cotswold Archaeology Monograph No. 5 & Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph No. 16 (Cirencester & London, CAPCA 2013). xviii + 485 pp., 223 figs., 14 tables, 5 appendices. Hardback, £34.95 (from Oxbow Books) [ISBN: 9780956305480]

This hefty volume showcases a partnership between two major professional archaeological units designed to achieve the aims of this substantial project. There are over 30 contributors, while the Acknowledgements list many more members of the project team, including the contractors, the developers and archaeologists from museums, universities and the public and private sectors. Such is the nature of 21st-century urban archaeology. Finishing this complex project so soon after fieldwork is a fine achievement.

While conventional in its organization, the book is generously illustrated with large numbers of block plans and realistic sections thoughtfully coloured to improve their reading and our understanding. There are also innumerable reproductions of historic paintings, prints and drawings, a feature of modern digital book production. A brief summary gives the flavour of the project and an indication of what was found. The Introduction describes the project background, the second redevelopment since the Second World War of this part of the Broadmead area, a

suburb of Bristol north of the castle and the River Frome and east of the main walled town. The areas investigated stretched from Merchant Street east to Houlton Street. The site splits into two: the friary and the post-medieval development to the east. Details of all interventions are shown very fully in plan, while land-use and plan conventions are included as figures.

Chapter 2, Historical and Archaeological Background, is by the late Christopher Philpotts, to whom the book is dedicated. The Dominican friary, its two cloisters and its subsequent sale to William Chester, areas by Marshal (Merchant) Street and the 'Weare', the Quaker meeting house and 18th-century sugar house on the site of the friary church and subsequent eastward expansion (including George Whitefield's Tabernacle) are all described in leases and maps, illustrating the complexity of urban data. The sale of part of the Blackfriars precinct to the Society of Friends in 1670–1 began the dominance of the Quaker ownership from then until the present (two original ranges still survive). Originally the area east of Marshall (Merchant) Street between the Frome and Castle Ditch was inhabited by leatherworkers and perhaps by dyers. Trades also noted over time included soap-boilers and point-makers. By the 18th century Bristol was expanding eastwards with streets of cheap housing and woodworking trades and metalworking in evidence along with more domestic and retail buildings such as innumerable public houses.

The exemplary archaeological background by Davenport is based on the early work on the friary by Godwin and Leighton, the fine illustrations by Hugh O'Neill and recent work by Keystone Historic Buildings Consultants. It recounts the changes made up to and including the Bristol City Council repairs of 1958–61 and the 1970s. The standing remains are of the Bakers and Cutlers Halls (formerly the friars' infirmary and refectory) with New Hall between, the Tanners' Hall briefly in the west range of the Great Cloister and the Quaker meeting house on the site of the east range, Lesser Cloister.

The fieldwork results are well compiled, providing an extensive relatively jargon-free record of a complex series of excavations ordered by period and then by area. This inevitably requires some back referencing to pick up earlier plans and sections. Context numbers are regularly five-figure in square brackets, which can be irritating to read. The degree of recent destruction was considerable and results mixed. The earliest period 1 describes natural deposits and pre-medieval activity. Apart from some floodplain plants and food remains, house fauna, cess beetles and peats described elsewhere, there was only naturally-deposited alluvium.

The area was first settled in the first half of the 12th century, dated by pottery, probably coinciding with the establishment of William, earl of Gloucester's 'new town', founded here in 1147. Figure 1.5 contains all the interventions, but is rarely referred to in the text. The mid 13th-century friary was found in small excavations confined to the choir chapels and burials, the possible chapter house and the church/choir passage and its junction with the south-east corner of the church nave. Among evidence for cloister walks were the remains of a double column base of polished Blue Lias *in situ* in the western range of the lesser cloister towards Merchant Street, its rarity emphasizing both its high quality and the degree of damage to the conventual remains.

Excavations also looked at Merchant Street, the Weir (Weare) and areas to the east of the friary, Quaker meeting house and Whitefield's Tabernacle. Industrial activity included hornworking and metalworking, particularly smithing. A 12th-century wooden trough used for mortar mixing, numerous smithing hearths and stone tanks for lime and other chemicals used in tanning or other processes were informative finds. The River Frome was revetted and even culverted in part and an inlet constructed on the south side. Five tanning pits with wooden casks at their bottoms were dated to the 18th century. Tenement boundaries marked property divisions in timber/pits or stone. Eighteenth- and 19th-century developments saw expansion with poor housing, including cellars and cesspits, into the land to the east, some into former brick pits, and the development of new industries.

Standing building recording described the vertical interventions into the friary and Quaker buildings during conversion, where much less original fabric was found than probably hoped for, largely recalled later in the discussion on the friary.

In the finds section a gratifyingly competent report on medieval pottery by McSloy, which follows the reviewer's Bristol Type Series (BPT) of wares lodged in Bristol City Museum, fits dating and context remarkably well. A few dendrochronological dates add to the growing corpus of pottery from Bristol dated by absolute chronology.

The post-medieval pottery covers 15th- to 19th-century wares relatively thinly scattered over the site and less divisible into groups. Sugar-loaf moulds and many imports were listed. The floor tiles, the largest group of ecclesiastical finds from the site, also forms one of the largest groups so far studied for Bristol, mostly late 13th- to 14th-century in date. The Nash Hill (Wilts.) floor tiles are widely distributed in western England.

In contrast, few architectural stone objects were recovered. Of the stone types included, Dundry and Minchinhampton freestone were most common, but no Caen stone as is often suggested. An invaluable geological glossary is included.

The clay tobacco pipes by Jarrett had been thoroughly studied and an important revised typology of 28 types devised based on form and unique marks and initials, a considerable advance to their study in the city. There was also some muffle and kiln waste from Hanover Court.

Waterlogged deposits included parts of wooden revetments, while among the large objects was the fine oak trough, 17th- to 18th-century casks and an elm log drain. The material was divided by Goodburn into early 'treewrighting' material (log-splitting) and later 12th-century 'carpentried' (using tools such as saws). Unusual treehauling holes for pulling heavy timbers were also noted. Apart from cases, the leather was 12th- to 13th-century cobbling waste from the River Frome area.

The biological remains provide another dimension to our knowledge of historic Broadmead. There were three medieval burials from the choir chapels, two more from the Quaker burial ground and 17, mostly female, from the Tabernacle vault. Diseases of good rather than bad diet were noted. The coffin fittings were reburied with the human remains.

The animal bone produced evidence for hornworking and tanning, some from goat horns and foot-bones. The main collection came from cattle, sheep, pig, chicken and goose. Of the fish from sieved samples, the largest quantity came from a 13th- to 14th-century hearth deposit with lots of herring, thought to be a cheap food at the time.

Sampling strategies identified significant fruit species such as blackberry, raspberry, hazelnut, apple, fig and plum – all hedgerow or open field or even imported sources. The food grains were usually free-threshing wheat and barley. Overall, there was not much change by period. Among the trees, beech and oak were popular as fuel. Elm was absent and the majority of wood came from managed woodland.

Insects too were plentiful in organic samples. Those in the wooden trough included dung beetle. Also present was bean weevil, a denizen of cess deposits. Other species may have come from stable and house litter.

Moving to the environment, boreholes produced evidence for a Mercian Mudstone island for siting the friary buildings. The pollen analyses from the peats were divided into five zones. From this and a Carbon 14 date, the Mesolithic/Neolithic change was calculated to be 4,200–4,000 cal. BC, or decline of elm and increase in cereals, interestingly much the same as over the rest of southern Britain.

The closing thematic discussions are illustrated by invaluable interpretative plans. A section by Davenport on the medieval friary includes antiquarian and recent photos. A discussion on the timber roofs shows that two western bays are missing from the Bakers' Hall, for example,

and relates the problems of historical ‘repair’. The later medieval period developments are also discussed. Synthetic sections follow on industries and economy, diet and health followed by 18th- and 19th-century expansion and a conclusion. The appendices include pottery tables, useful rock types, animal bone, plants and insects.

This is a thoroughly well researched and prepared inter-disciplinary book producing a wide range of important results. The editors are to be congratulated on its fine production. It is unlikely that a further investigation of this thoroughly-developed area can ever be repeated. This major contribution will, therefore, stand the test of a considerable period of time and substantially augments Bristol’s increasing volume of archaeological data and, lest we forget, is also very good value.

MICHAEL PONSFORD

Bristol

Andor Gomme and Michael Jenner, with photography by John Trelawny Ross, *An Architectural History of Bristol* (Wetherby, Oblong Creative 2011). 448 pp., 370 ill. Hardback, £68.00 [ISBN: 9780955657658]

This is a book which has been long and eagerly awaited. It is a revision of B. Little, A. Gomme and M. Jenner’s *Bristol: An Architectural History* (1979). Building on the work of early 20th-century scholars, such as Walter Ison, *The Georgian Building of Bristol* (1952) and C.F.W. Denning, *The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bristol* (1923), for almost 40 years this volume has been viewed by scholars and enthusiasts as a major source of information on the history, design, and planning of Bristol’s buildings.

In recent years a number of scholars have made considerable additions to our knowledge of some of the city’s most important buildings and architects. These includes comprehensive studies such as S. Whittingham, *Sir George Oatley: Architect of Bristol* (2011); A. Beeson, *Bristol Central Library and Charles Holden: A History and Guide* (2006); J. Bettey, ‘The Church of St Thomas the Martyr: Demolition and Re-building 1786–1793’ in *‘A Grand City’ – ‘Life, Movement and Work’: Bristol in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (2010); A. Foyle, *Bristol: Pevsner Architectural Guides: City Guides* (2004); R. Leech, *The Town House in Medieval and Early Modern Bristol* (2014); *Topography of Medieval and Early Modern Bristol*, part I (1997) and N. Orme and J. Cannon, *Westbury-on-Trym: Monastery, Minster and College* (2010). These have all contributed to the need to re-write and re-evaluate the original text.

There are many attractive features of the new work: the page lay-out and general design make it a delight to handle. The text has been extended to include modern research and buildings erected since the first edition. John Trelawny Ross’s photographs are generally splendid, but some suffer from a grainy quality and many are disfigured by the ever-present motor car. In places the text suffers from poor proof-reading, undoubtedly caused by the haste with which the volume was prepared for the press.

The prose is trenchant and contains many witty turns of phrase set in the high-flown literary style beloved by architectural historians. It is occasionally disfigured by the surprising use of curiously inelegant and inapposite patois (e.g. p. 93 “hash”, “stumpier”; p. 112 “gaffe”; p. 369 “Seasidey”; p. 377 “peddled”; p. 391 “snazzy”; p. 394 “snook cocking”; p. 395 “piffling”, “to hell with” and p. 399 “an image of speech and zip”). If their use is intended to give this work a contemporary feel, it both fails and appears dated, the infelicities interrupting the flow and harmony of the whole.

The work is not strong on some aspects of the city's ecclesiastical buildings, such as the role of patronage in obtaining commissions and the liturgical usages at the time when the various churches were built. The authors could have provided more information on many of the commissions obtained by the leading 19th-century Bristol architectural practice, Foster Wood. They are correct to posit a link between the partnership and the nonconformist denominations in the city. Joseph Wood (1822–1902) was the son of the Revd Joseph Wood (1796–1869), a popular and well-connected minister who served as the superintendent of the Bristol North Wesleyan circuit until 1849.

Gomme and Jenner's attack on Holy Trinity, Hotwells, with its central pulpit and prominent display of the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed, ignores the fact that the church was specifically designed for the Revd John Hensman (1780–1864), the minister between 1830 and 1844. He was one of the country's leading Evangelicals for whom the sermon, rather than the sacraments, was central to an understanding of Christian witness and ministry. Indeed, as constructed, the pulpit blocked the view of the communion table. This was also the intention of Thomas Paty for the new interior of Christ Church, City, in the 1780s and is clearly seen in his surviving plan. The later archaizing Anglo-Catholics inverted the Evangelical's priorities and saw themselves as Catholics first, consequently elevating the sacraments over the sermon.

The authors, without citing authorities, draw the attention of their readers to the fact that during the 18th and 19th centuries surveyors provided house and other designs for their patrons. Prominence could have been given to George Culley Ashmead (1800–95), the friend of R.S. Pope and Brunel, who, during the 1840s and 1850s, played an important part in the construction of Buckingham Chapel, Clifton, Buckingham Place, and parts of Pembroke Road and Alma Road. An interesting feature of much of his work was the omission of the use of Bath stone in the construction, and the utilization of local limestone quarried to allow the construction of the footings and basements of both the chapel and the houses.

There is a small number of errors and omissions in the text. In the former case this includes the claim (p. 177) that Henry Williams brought back the quarter jacks to the facade of Christ Church, City, when he "renovated" the church in the 1880s. They were actually returned by the Revd M.A.R.T. Cole (1874–1948) as late as 1913. Another is the perpetuation of the old myth that the Dutch House was destroyed in the bombing of 1940 (p. 81). Whilst damaged, it was judged by many to be salvageable but demolished on the grounds of safety. St Ewen's Church is stated to have been demolished in 1820 (p. 85). It actually closed for worship in 1791 and survived until 1823–4, when it was cleared to make way for the new Council House. A surprising omission is the lack of mention of James Bridge's wooden model of the interior of St Nicholas's Church (erected 1762–9), which was housed in the church and destroyed in the Blitz. It survives in the form of photographs and gives the most perfect representation of a Georgian church interior in Bristol. Bridge's surviving architectural model is of the Royal Fort House, where it is currently on display.

A personal sadness is that this book does not contain more on the later Inter-War buildings designed by Sir George Oatley (1863–1950) for the University; Wills Hall, Manor Hall and the Dame Monica Wills Memorial Chapel, and the harsh observations of the authors on architecture of St Monica's.

Among the book's strengths is its account of the city's late 19th-century industrial architecture, much of it now demolished, or, like Roger's Brewery in Jacob Street, transformed almost beyond recognition. It also catalogues in a masterly way the systematic destruction of parts of the city in the 1960s and correctly castigates the city architect's department for its complicity in the destruction of such gems as a late Norman Hall house in 1961 (p. 296).

The authors in the first edition of this work declined to comment on what had been built in Bristol in the 30 years since the end of the Second World War. This edition puts their previous

reticence to one side and comments on the ‘architecturally wretched’ 70 years since 1945, and notes (p. 393) that the vast bulk of the city’s modern architecture ‘is at best indifferent and far too often grossly ill-planned and unsympathetic to the historic character of the city’. They refer to the ‘ruthlessly domineering ugliness of so much of early 21st-century Bristol, the endlessly boring repetition of the purely mechanical details of commercialized modernism, the sheer architectural feebleness which produced Broadmead in the 1950s’. These are observations which are echoed by so many who love the city and the ‘built environment’. The work ends with a study of a small number of architectural and planning triumphs, which are few enough, but include the greatly appreciated rescue of Queen’s Square. It has been said that the Post-War city planners did more to disfigure, maim, and destroy the city of Bristol than Hitler’s bombers, and this study provides considerable evidence to prove this assertion.

There are two omissions in this work which could be easily rectified in any subsequent edition: the lack of maps, which would enable the reader to trace the development of Bristol, and the need for a larger and more comprehensive bibliography. This could have been obtained from the pages of this Society’s *Transactions*.

Notwithstanding the relatively minor reservations of the reviewer, this is undoubtedly an important work of scholarship and reference, and it is likely to remain so for many years to come. The catalogue of the architects who shaped the city and the lists of their major Bristol commissions at the rear of the volume remains a work of impressive scholarship, easy to reference and of great utility. It was justly praised in the first edition and has stood the test of time. The book is an invaluable addition to the library of everyone who loves the city of Bristol and its buildings, and it is warmly commended.

MARTIN J. CROSSLEY EVANS
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John Stevens, *Bristol Politics in the Age of Peel, 1832–1847* (Bristol, Avon Local History & Archaeology Books 17, 2014). 44pp, 10 ill. Cardcovers, £3.50

Bristol’s political importance in the age of Peel is well known because of the citizens’ violent expression of their support for a reform of the parliamentary franchise in October 1831. The Bristol and Nottingham riots really frightened the politicians. John Stevens’ book starts from that moment, placing it in the context of Bristol politics more generally.

The story is not completely typical of every parliamentary constituency; there was an unusually large number of voters both before and after the 1832 Reform Act because, as Stevens explains, Bristol was both a borough and a county, so that the franchise included all 40 shilling freeholders as well as borough freemen. The total electorate after Reform was 10,315, which might represent nearly a third of adult males. It meant that bribery was unlikely to make a major difference, although Bristol’s candidates did try. Stevens describes the cases in this period. It might also be said that the politically dominant families maintained their positions throughout this period.

Stevens works through each electoral contest between 1832 and 1847 and shows what numbers voted and for which parties or interests. Whig and Tory were labels applied to quite a variety of opinions. It is clear from the account that the press was very influential, and also that there were some critical national issues which tended to determine how votes were cast, such as the campaign for the abolition of slavery, the repeal of the Corn Laws, or the civil recognition of marriage in nonconformist chapels. At the same time local interests, for instance in the proposed reduction of sugar duties, or the question of which party would distribute appointments in Customs and

Excise, also influenced electoral outcomes. The author has read thoroughly in the local literature and suggests that Anglicanism or nonconformity was the major dividing line determining political allegiance.

Since the introduction of single member constituencies, the ability of all or at least most of the electors in any particular place to have their views represented directly has been removed. Bristol was one of many places where it was usual to have both a Tory and a Whig member of parliament, and the complicated ways in which the two votes available to each elector were cast is carefully explained. The system allowed for shifting alliances from election to election. The consequent kaleidoscope of electoral results is now difficult to absorb. To this reader unfamiliar with the names of the MPs for Bristol, a table listing the members, and the electoral results for each, would have been helpful.

One feature of the book which does help in identifying the candidates is the excellent illustrations. Portraits of the men are well reproduced, very clear, with neat summaries of the salient points in each man's career.

There are some wry or humorous asides which lighten the seriousness with which the book is written, and it is supported by wide and diligent reading, which is carefully noted. The detail packed into this small book is at times daunting, but the contribution to the history of Bristol politics is to be welcomed.

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John Toman, *The Lost Photo Album: a Kilvert family story*, 2nd edition (Croydon, The Kilvert Society 2015). 296 pp., numerous illustrations. Cardcovers, £15.00 [ISBN: 9780957626614]

The first edition of this fine piece of research was published in 2013 and reviewed in volume 131 of our *Transactions*. In the normal course of events a second edition, even with the addition of a much-needed index, would not call for a further review; however, following the publication of the first edition, the author was able to securely identify the final five people who appeared among the 162 *cartes de visite* enalumbed by the diarist, Kilvert's cousin, Anna Maria, (Mrs Theophilus Gwatkin), who came to reside in Liverpool in 1870. The volume is a fine piece of detective work and puts the Kilverts and their social circle into their mid-Victorian context. The final discoveries, which arose out of the publication of the first volume, have resulted in the addition of the final chapter.

The key to the final identifications was the *carte de visite* of 'Mrs Whitworth' reproduced on p. 259. She has been shown to have been Elizabeth Gee Whitworth (1841–1900), known as Lizzie, the wife of a Liverpool lard refiner and provision merchant, Alfred Whitworth (1835–76), who was the daughter of Dr James Shaw (1812–87), a Manchester surgeon and apothecary. Estranged from her father, Lizzie and her brother William Gee Shaw (1840–1901) lived in Wirral, Cheshire, from the 1860s. William was a general produce broker and cheese factor in Liverpool and New York. It is probable that Theophilus Gwatkin, William Gee Shaw and Alfred Whitworth knew each other through the closely-knit world of the Liverpool merchants, united through their business interests, various trade associations and the various Exchanges, reading rooms and clubs, such as the Athenaeum and Lyceum. William Gee Shaw's photograph is believed to be the last to appear in the Kilvert Album.

Toman's research has revealed a small cache of additional photographs of men and women who played a part in Mrs Gwatkin's life, and who may have met Kilvert on his visit to Liverpool in 1872.

Alfred Whitworth's poor health and residence at a spa in Malvern in 1861 allows Toman to introduce us to the fascinating world of hydrotherapy and to the commanding figure of Dr James Manby Gully, who put the town on the map before being ruined for enjoying criminal conversation with one of his patients, Mrs Florence Bravo, and procuring the criminal abortion of the fruit of their union. Hydrotherapy was very much part of the world of middle and upper middle class life in late Victorian and Edwardian England, and was patronized by Queen Victoria, Florence Nightingale and Charles Dickens. Unfortunately, whatever relief Alfred Whitworth received from his condition as a result of his trips to Malvern and other spas, such as Llandudno and Southport, was not permanent and he died, prematurely, in his 41st year, leaving a widow and remarkably plain twin daughters, Adelaide and Libby.

The difficulties and challenges faced by maiden ladies and the problems of mental health are also considered by Toman as he considers the fate of the Whitworth twins, particularly Adelaide (1865–1945), who spent the last 40 years of her life in Bodmin Asylum. Her fate mirrored that of Kilvert's aunt, Emma, at Brislington Asylum, Bristol. Following her mother's death, Adelaide Whitworth sank into a state of 'mania', from which she never emerged. She was banished from her home on the Isle of Man, her gardening and her shell collection by her sister and her cousin and guardian William Pooley Shaw (1869–1944), a Liverpool cotton broker in the firm of Overton and Shaw, and placed securely far away from her friends, family and neighbours who might have been embarrassed by her behaviour.

The second edition of Toman's book augments our knowledge of Kilvert's world. It both broadens and deepens our appreciation and insights into the fashions, enthusiasms, conventions, shibboleths and sensibilities of the Age. It is warmly commended.

MARTIN J. CROSSLEY EVANS

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Eugene Byrne and Clive Burlton, *Bravo, Bristol! The city at war 1914–1918* (Bristol, Redcliffe Press 2014). 144pp., numerous illustrations. Cardcovers, £15.00 [ISBN: 9781908326638]

On 29 September 2014 the Bristol section of the Society warmly applauded Mr Burlton's talk on Bristol's White City. This was the exhibition and theme park near Ashton Gate planned to celebrate the British empire and promote Bristol's commercial links with the dominions, but it did not pay its way, went into administration and was bought by the War Office, once the war had begun, for barracks and rudimentary training of recruits. Members who enjoyed that fascinating presentation will need no persuading to buy or borrow this book. The White City features in *Bravo Bristol!*, which is about the wider picture of how the city reacted to and was affected by the war as a whole.

Eighteen chapters of up to a dozen pages each, aptly illustrated, mostly with contemporary photographs, deal with themes such as the eve of war; mobilization; recruitment; the role of the docks; the redirection of local industries to the war effort; the hospitals; the shortages; the killing and maiming; and the losses suffered by families. Between chapters, one- or two-page inserts mention topics such as Arthur Edward Jeune Collins and his innings; the Winslow boy; and Red Cross parcels. Linking the themes are extracts from the diary and scrapbook of Maude Boucher, wife of a chemical manufacturer.

Bravo Bristol! covers much the same ground as *Bristol and the First World War*, to which both authors contributed, and which was made available free in Bristol city council public libraries as

part of Bristol 2014's *The Great Reading Adventure 2014*: (in 2003 we were all encouraged to read *Treasure Island*, and in 2010 *The 2010 Book of Aviation Wonder*).

Several points are remarkable: the apparent lack of government planning for war, with recruitment being left to local initiative and organization; the persistence of Bristol city council in trying to maintain 'business as usual' (the lord mayor owned a chain of pawnshops); the social slant of early recruitment, directed at the 'mercantile and professional, but not necessarily a public school man'; the city council's unwillingness to welcome Belgian refugees; trade union hostility to women being employed in war work; the eventual involvement of huge numbers of local businesses in war-related production; the important and under-recognized part played by Avonmouth and its docks; religious dissension, with evangelicals objecting to a cross being carried in a procession on the grounds that it smacked of popery; the appalling labour relations in the docks and the city's bus undertaking, the latter attributed to the intransigent intolerance of George White; the fact that many workers were paid more in the army than they earned when civilians; the army refusing to pay for an extension at the Beaufort war hospital (Glenside) on the basis that looking after the wounded was a job for the Red Cross or other charities; the gassing of Adolf Hitler, perhaps by weapons made at Avonmouth; the crowds flocking to view a U-boat towed into the city docks after the war had ended, unaware that its crew had sunk the *Llandoverly Castle* and then rammed its lifeboats and machine-gunned survivors in the water; the children who joined impromptu processions through city streets on armistice day (local authority schools were closed because of the influenza epidemic), many of whom were barefoot; and the summary dismissal *en masse*, under pressure from trade unions and returning servicemen, of women bus conductors.

There were some positives, however: the enormous amount of voluntary work prompted by the war and its casualties, and the often self-sacrificing efforts of individuals in that regard; the invention, in Bristol, of the Red Cross parcel, so important in the Second as well as the First World War; the nudge conscription and the employment of women gave towards electoral reform; the impetus the war added to the large-scale building of houses by both the city council and the private sector; the recognition, notwithstanding the trade unions, of the value of work done by women and of their capabilities; and the work of Fabian Ware, founder of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

Unlike *Bristol and the First World War, Bravo Bristol!* does not explore in much detail the war's longer-term local consequences, apart from housing: one would like to have read more about women's rights and equality; the Conservative-Liberal pact promoting the specious brand, defamatory in its innuendo, of a 'Citizen party' to fend off Labour control of the city council; the attempts to develop a post-war consensus between capital and labour; the impetus bad labour relations in the docks and on the buses gave to the Transport and General Workers Union and its subsequent influence on the local Labour party; the growth in the city's direct and indirect reliance on arms manufactures; and the contribution that made to full employment, crime reduction, and the prosperity of the area generally.

Sharper copy-editing would have avoided the showstopper, 'Every major pubic [*sic*] event was now being disrupted by suffragettes', a sentence crying out for an illustration, though perhaps some things are better left to readers' imaginations. Style detectives familiar with Mr Byrne's contributions to the *Bristol Times* will wonder whether the chapters composed of vivid one-sentence paragraphs are his, the more discursive ones of Mr Burlton. This is a well-produced, attractively presented, readable, interesting, informative and worthwhile book, always lively, but imbued with just the right tone of sympathy, regret, anger and sadness.

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