

JOHN NAISH AND HIS SCHOOL IN BATH

The Ledger

Bristol College was a school which opened in 1831. One of its pupils was Walter Bagehot, financial journalist of *The Economist* and commentator on matters fiscal, political and constitutional. Bristol College's archive is in Bristol Central Reference Library.¹ Most of the pieces are large and bound in full or half leather, with red leather labels stamped in gold lettering. One piece² is a thick, narrow, stumpy ledger, bound in white vellum, simple, unadorned, unlabelled, untitled. It is catalogued as the Ledger of Bristol College, but its entries are dated 1809-1813, some twenty years before Bristol College was even founded, let alone opened.

Nor is the Ledger wholly that of a school: it contains the accounts of a proprietor whose main business was a school, but who also had interests in at least one other business.

Whose School?

Who was the proprietor? The Ledger offers clues: (1) Entries for payments to a Lancasterian school: so the proprietor was not an anglican or roman catholic, but probably a nonconformist. (2) All dates in the format 1 Mo 1, so the proprietor was almost certainly a Quaker. Consistent with that is an account headed "Tithes", but completely blank. (3) Entries for payments to "Bath monthly meeting" and "Quarterly meeting", so the proprietor was a member of the Society of Friends in or near Bath. (4) An entry for a payment to Sidcot School (opened 1.ix.1808): so the school to which the Ledger relates was not Sidcot. (5) An entry for rent for 1 Hatfield Place in 1813.

There is a Hatfield Place in Bath: it is a house in Hatfield Road, which runs from Wellsway to Bloomfield Road at its junction with Englishcombe Lane, high up and at that time out of town: the temptations of the sulphurous pit would have been at some distance, albeit downhill all the way. Browne's *New Bath Directory* for 1809 lists Mr John Naish at Hatfield Place, without attributing any occupation. But the *New Bath Directory* (1812) has an entry for "Naish J, academy for young gentlemen, 1 Hatfield Place, Wells-road".

So the Ledger is that of John Naish of Bath, Friend, proprietor of a school for boys at 1 Hatfield Place, Bath.

Who was John Naish?

John Naish the schoolmaster was the son of Francis, a silversmith (1752-1785), and Susannah Naish (1756-1822) of Bath. Susannah Naish, daughter of William and Susannah Evill, was brought up a baptist, married Francis Naish in 1778, but was left a widow in 1785 with four young children. She joined the Friends and wielded much influence.³ Her circumstances enabled her to arrange for her sons John and William Naish to attend Ackworth, the Friends' school in Yorkshire, from 1793 to 1796; William is recorded as having come from [Flax] Bourton in Somerset and stayed at Ackworth until 1799.⁴ From 1796 to 1803 John Naish was an apprentice schoolmaster at Ackworth.⁵ John Naish then went to Sheffield and there taught as a schoolmaster: he is so described when on 16.i.1806 he married Catharine Trickett at Sheffield Friends' meeting. Catharine was the daughter of Robert, a cutler, and Catherine Trickett of Hill-foot in Yorkshire.⁶

The North Somerset Monthly Meeting on 28.iv.1806 received a certificate of removal for John and Catharine Naish from Balby Meeting, Yorkshire. Young Sturge the land surveyor was detailed to get the measure of them, with friends approved by the women's meeting.⁷

John and Catharine Naish had four children while they were at Hatfield Place: Francis (31.iii.1808); Robert (11.iv.1809); Phebe (18.viii.1811); and Thomas (14.v.1813).⁸

That John Naish was made of stern stuff is suggested by his own report about sufferings to the North Somerset Monthly Meeting at Sidcot on 30.x.1809. He had been fined £20 by Bath magistrates for refusing to do militia duty. He had not paid the fine, but distress had not been levied.⁹ The same meeting investigated with disapproval the conduct of Joseph Sewell, who had been fined £10, but had acquiesced in his employer paying the fine for him.¹⁰

John Naish the schoolmaster is often referred to in Monthly and Quarterly Meeting minutes as John Naish of Bath, to distinguish him from two others of that name.

(1) John Naish of Congresbury. He is mentioned in North Somerset Quarterly Meeting minutes, but does not feature in this

story. Son of Joseph and Betty Naish (nee Willmott) of Flax Bourton, born 1786, he married Lydia Eddington 1810, and became a shopkeeper at Congresbury; he died in 1875, aged 88.¹¹

(2) John Naish of Bathwick. Bath directories list a John Naish who was a horsedealer at 19 Bathwick Street, though by 1812 he had moved to 35 Bathwick Street (or Bathwick Street had been renumbered). He is not John Naish the school proprietor, but the Ledger does refer to him: towards the end of the Ledger is an account headed "1813 Estate of John Naish", to which another hand has added "Bathwick". The account opens with an entry dated 26.iv.1813 for £24 cash found in the deceased's pocket (had he just sold a horse or did death beat him by a short head to buying one?); there are items for horses, the cost of the funeral, and payments "to Sarah" (daughter or widow?), The burial was at Flax Bourton on 27.iv.1813.¹² The register records that he was a horse dealer from Bath, but "not a member of our Society", which is consistent with an entry in the estate account in the Ledger for the payment of tithes. The *Bath Chronicle* 29.iv.1813 and the *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette* of the previous day report the death on 23.iv.1813 of John Naish, "formerly an eminent tanner in Lambridge (a little to the north-east of Bathwick), a man much respected by an extensive circle of friends." The corresponding entry in the *Bath Journal*¹³ calls him John Nash, gives his address as Sydney Place, and describes him as formerly proprietor of the tan-yard at Lambridge.

Why should this estate account have been written in the Ledger? The accounts in the Ledger are not confined to the school: some deal with other traders, eg the sale of porter, and some deal with Meeting expenses. One possibility is that John Naish the schoolmaster wound up the estate of John Naish, tanner and horsedealer; perhaps they were relatives.

What sort of school?

At this period children from poor families might have received elementary education, if at all, at one of the early monitorial schools following the methods of Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster; some might have attended charity or dame schools; children from affluent families were most likely to be educated at home by a relative, tutor

or governess. There were grammar schools, but not all were efficient: Bristol Grammar School, for example, was then scandalously and spectacularly defunct. Few could afford, nor might wish, to send their children to one of the few major public schools like Eton or Winchester. Schools stamped with Dr Arnold's brand were yet to come. The gap in the market was filled by small private academies teaching children from families who paid fees. Bath in 1805 had at least twenty-four boarding schools, of which eleven were for boys; of those, one was preparatory only, one was a grammar school in the strict sense, and two were run by clergymen.¹⁴ Some advertised in the *Chronicle* and the *Journal*. Several such schools were run by Friends as individuals by way of business; many will not have wished their children to attend Church of England schools, especially ones where the catechism was taught; and from many anglican schools they would have been barred in any event.

A Lancasterian school was begun in Bath in 1810: John Naish paid a subscription in support of it. Apart from any sense of obligation, he would not have seen a Lancasterian school teaching elementary education to children from poor families as a threat to his own academy. John Naish does not appear to have advertised his school in the Bath newspapers: that suggests that his was intended as a school for children from a wider area; but he does not appear to have advertised in other regional papers eg the *Exeter Flying Post*, which suggests his school may have been intended for Quaker families only. Before moving back to Bath from Yorkshire, he issued a prospectus:¹⁵

John Naish respectfully informs his Friends, that he intends to open a Boarding school at No 1 Hatfield Place, three quarters of a mile from Bath.

For Thirty Boys at 35 guineas per annum

The situation is pleasant and healthy, and the premises are large and commodious.

The school is intended to be opened the 1st of the 2nd Month, 1806.

Applications are requested to be made either to SUSANNAH NAISH, Kingsmead Terrace, Bath; or to JOHN NAISH, No 17 Allen-Street, Sheffield.

*This number will not be exceeded - The Languages and Drawing to be paid for extra, each 3 guineas per annum - Entrance money 2 guineas.

The minutes of the North Somerset Monthly Meeting do not contain any resolution authorising John Naish to set up the school: contrast the control over the establishment of new businesses exercised by the Leeds Meeting.¹⁶ That may reflect different practice; or Susannah Naish senior's clout.

Curriculum and staff

John Naish's prospectus set out both his proposed curriculum and his principles of education, with much that modern educators would applaud:

The children will be instructed in Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetick, Book-Keeping, the Mathematicks, Geography, History and such of the Languages as their parents may desire, in Drawing, if required, and in some other branches of Learning.

For the effectual accomplishment of the important designs of Education, it seems necessary that the teacher be well acquainted with the minds of his pupils; JN will therefore endeavour to establish a free and familiar intercourse between him and his scholars. When by this means he has obtained an easy access to their minds, and acquired over them that influence which he trusts will result from their confidence in his endeavours to promote their welfare, he hopes it will be easy to direct and guide their exertions, and to establish such principles and habits in their minds as will qualify them for useful and honourable stations in future life.

With respect to his mode of teaching, it may be proper to observe, that he will always endeavour to make his pupils acquainted with the elementary principles of those Sciences which they profess to study, and to adapt his instruction to their peculiar habits of thinking.

Spelling and Reading claim great attention; they will in some measure be considered as the groundwork of Literary Education. Writing will be taught in its various branches, and regard had both to elegance and usefulness.

In the study of Grammar, their attention will first be directed to the radical principles of language, the teacher having invariably found a familiar explanation of these the best introduction to a well-grounded knowledge of the particular rules. They will

frequently be exercised in Composition on easy and familiar subjects; and attention will be paid to their style of conversation. In Arithmetick, besides the proper management of figures, they will be instructed in the general properties of numbers, and will mostly be exercised with such questions as are the likeliest to occur in real business, and it will be deemed highly useful to make them conversant with the most approved methods of Book-keeping.

The Mathematicks it is hoped may be made to expand and strengthen the intellectual powers.

The study of Geography will be preceded by that of the simple parts of Astronomy, because the children must be acquainted with the nature of latitude, longitude, the meridians, equator, &c, before they can make a right use of maps and globes.

Their Historical and Biographical Reading, the teacher hopes, will furnish him with opportunities of instilling just and generous sentiments into their minds.

The Languages will be taught by approved masters.

Such parts of Natural Philosophy as are adapted to their capacities will be explained to them in familiar lectures, illustrated by a suitable philosophical apparatus.

For their further Improvement, a proper assortment of books will be provided, to the reading of which they will be encouraged to allot a part of their leisure time.

J NAISH is aware that the most punctual performance of what he has now mentioned does not comprise the whole of his business. His oversight of the children will not cease with their regular hours of study, because he well knows that at other times there will be frequent opportunities of giving them general and miscellaneous information, of teaching them to act well, and think correctly. It will be his duty to attend to every circumstance that is likely to affect the forming of their minds, and to encourage their applications for advice and information.

Though the children will be taught to consider a strict attention to their studies as a serious and indispensable duty, yet the teacher hopes he shall be able to render the performance of it pleasing, and to impress them with a just sense of the usefulness of learning.

It will be regarded as an object of considerable importance to make suitable provision for their amusement, and in all other respects to study their comfort and accommodation. This it is considered will tend to produce in them a disposition favourable to the purpose of education.

It is not stated what the "suitable provision for their amusement" was; it is not clear whether games were played, but in the Ledger Richard Davis' account is debited with a sum for "2 skins for covering balls". What that resulted in is suggested by several entries for "cash, boys, for damage"; an account headed "Glazier" might explain of what sort.

How John Naish delivered his curriculum can be gleaned from the Ledger entries.

He employed as schoolmaster Richard Davis. Although the Ledger begins at the start of 1809, it includes an account for Davis, copied from a loose paper account tucked into the Ledger, which acknowledges that Davis was employed from 5.iv.1806, some seven months after the opening date given in John Naish's prospectus. Davis' salary was £63 a year, and from the books credited to him he seems to have taught French as well as English. Davis was absent ill from xii.1808 to iii.1809, and got no pay.

In the accounts for 1811 Daniel Deboudry is employed as teacher at £63 a year. As he is credited with a copy of Weekes' *Rhetorical Grammar* and Cicero's *Orations*, perhaps he taught Latin. In 1812 there appear to be other teachers, John Rae, and R Wallis, the latter being paid for "for 3 boys extra", so presumably he taught an option subject such as French or Latin. In 1813 there is a teacher called Thomas Jones.

Of particular note (because it may explain what happened to the Ledger) is the account of John Sanders. His 1810 account includes £17 2s 6d for his bill for drawing, which implies that he was not at that time John Naish's employee. His account also includes £10 for a telescope and £3 13s 6d for a microscope: obtained, perhaps, from Darton & Co, whose account includes an item for newspapers as well as instruments and unspecified goods, which may have included some of the philosophical apparatus referred to in the prospectus. In 1811 John Sanders is employed as drawing master, on a salary of £40 15s. It is tempting to speculate whether John Sanders might be.

(1) John Sanders or Saunders (1750-1825), who studied and exhibited at the Royal Academy 1769-1773;¹⁷ was living in Bath in 1792; taught painting and drawing at 9 Lansdown Place in 1793,¹⁸ where he was a tenant of the Sharples and did damage nailing pictures to the stucco walls;¹⁹ moved to Beach's studio at 2 Westgate Buildings in 1799; and enjoyed some success there as a portrait painter. He painted Judith, Countess of Radnor in 1821 and Fanny D'Arblay mentions him as having painted Princess

Charlotte.²⁰ He appears to have moved in 1802 into his son's premises at 4 Green Park and then 3 Westgate Buildings. Late in 1824 he moved to Clifton, Bristol, to a relative's house at 1a Clifton Place, and died there early in 1825.²¹ Or,

(2) His Son John Arnold Sanders, born probably before 1789²² in London, who had a drawing academy at 4 Green Park, Bath in 1802;²³ offered landscape and perspective at 19 Kingsmead Street in Bath and 1 Clifton Place, Bristol in 1815;²⁴ married Fanny Hippisley at Shepton Mallet on 21.x.1815;²⁵ taught drawing at the Bristol Hotwell in 1816 and possibly later;²⁶ but is said to have got involved with a pupil and emigrated to Canada in 1832-33.²⁷

John Naish had other employees. In 1809 he employed three female servants (explained in the 1810 summary account as a cook, housemaid and nursemaid), two at nine guineas and one at six guineas a year; a man (Moses?) employed for forty weeks (term time only?), at 8s a week "allowing 20% as given him". There was also a Charlotte Hart employed at eighteen guineas a year (governess/matron?), who also got one and three quarter yards of lassiemere²⁸ at 10s.

Lowest paid of all was George Robinson, credited 5s a quarter, later increased to 6s, but to whom £8 was debited for clothing. He was John Naish's apprentice, presumably an apprentice schoolmaster. His account includes a debit for "a horse cloth lost, 4s 6d". Whether that was the occasion of a quarrel between them the accounts do not say, but there was a serious rift: John Naish reported to the North Somerset Monthly Meeting on 28.i.1811 that there was a dispute: it ended on 26.viii.1811 with the issue of a clear certificate of removal for George Robinson to Rochester.

In 1809 John Naish billed fees for just over thirty pupils at £36 15s each per year,. That implies that the school had claims to quality, and was somewhat up-market. Some paid extra for Latin and French. Robert Fox's outstanding debt from 1808 implies that young Joshua was taught Spanish, but that appears to have been a one-off: the prospectus said languages would be taught as a parent might require. There are items for English readers, an English dictionary, "48 copies of exercises on histories of England", 6 Payne's Geographies, and a year's subscription to Upham's library (John Upham was bookseller in Lower Walks, Bath).²⁹ In 1810 some books appear to have been sold to Sidcot School. There is also a payment of 11s to R Smith of Ackworth, which might be another school-

connected payment. French required the purchase of *Gil Blas* and *Les Jardins*. Other works purchased included Douces's *Illustrations* and Malcolm's *Anecdotes*. The accounts include items for quills, drawing paper, and a sheet of parchment (6s 6d: for a legal agreement? for binding the Ledger itself?)

Pupils

Not all pupils were local: the Ledger confirms the prospectus's description of the venture as a boarding school. With the help of the *Dictionary of Quaker Biography in Friends House Library* it is possible to identify some of the 37 fee-payers and hence some of the pupils, but only tentatively, because (1) few addresses are given; and (2) the practice of set-off of one debt against another, mutual aid and charity mean that the person billed was not necessarily the parent of the pupil. The names listed in the fees account are of parents or other persons responsible for fees, not the names of the pupils, because : (1) some of those named, if correctly identified, were not married, let alone parents; (2) some items are so large as to imply more than one pupil; (3) Robert Fox's account includes an item for a book "for Joshua", and Wm Boulton's account includes an item "for Alfred"; and (4) two of the names in the school fees account are Rachel Fry and Dor[othy] Fox, whereas the school was for boys.

George Eaton was probably the ironmonger in Bristol whose son Joseph (1792-1858) later established the *Bristol Temperance Herald*;

Luke Evill is almost certainly John Naish's cousin, an attorney who practised at Green Street in Bath;³⁰

Edward Fox was probably the merchant of Wadebridge (1749-1817), whose son Francis was born in 1797; the family were related to the Weres of Wellington in Somerset;

a Dor[othy] Fox (1766-1842) nee Hingston, was the widow of Robert Were Fox, merchant of Wadebridge; two Dorothy Foxes are in the 1809 list of Friends ordered to be drawn up by the West Devon Monthly Meeting;³¹

a John Grace (1771-1851), merchant of Gloucester, Lodway (near Pill in North Somerset) and Bristol, had four children including James (born 1797) and Josiah (1799);

Walter Prideaux (1779-1832), the banker from Plymouth, who appears in the 1809 West Devon list under Kinsbridge/Modbury, had a son Charles (1809-1893) who rose from apprentice to inspector to general manager to chairman in the family firm;

William Shorthouse (1768-1838), a Birmingham chemist, had a son Joseph, born 1797;

John Southall (1763-1828), a Leominster mercer, had sons Samuel (1793), Thomas (1794) and William (1797);

John Thomas is likely to have been the grocer at Bristol Bridge (1752-1827), who later interested himself in the Somerset Coal Canal and the Kennet and Avon Canal; in 1812 he retired to Prior Park, so was a comparatively near neighbour of John Naish; his sons included Edward (1794) and Joseph (1797);

John Tuckett may have been the merchant from Bristol (1758-1845) who moved to Plymouth and had children including Edward (1798);

Thomas Were, a Bristol merchant (1771-1833) had a son Thomas (1800).

Dev[ereux] Bowly was a banker from Cirencester.³²

Others are not so easily identifiable. Was Edmund Barritt from Purleigh in Essex? Who was Frank Cockworthy? Rachel Fox? Was David Cox of Essex or Gloucester? Was Geo Fisher the one from Lancaster? Was Stephen George from Rochester, or the Bristol sugar trader of that name? Was David Coe the father of Joseph Coe the Bath haberdasher? Was Josh Gibbins from Aston near Birmingham or Stourbridge? Was John Hinton the grocer from Plymouth Dock (Devonport) who married at a Friends' meeting in 1784?³³ Was James Leman the Bristol attorney of that name? And who were William Boulton, George Arthur, B Chorley, William Tay, Josh Young?

As might be expected from the location of the school, the list has a strong west country flavour, but the prominence of Cornwall and Plymouth names suggests there may have been no comparable school at that time for the sons of affluent Friends in the far south west.

One pupil had a separate account of his own. In just five lines of

accountancy Wm Boulton was charged for Alfred Boulton's tuition to Christmas 1808; then for board only; 2 guineas for a physician; £3 9s for an apothecary (William White); and £16 6s for the undertaker's bill.

John Naish and Sidcot

One local event which must have had an impact on John Naish's school was the opening of Sidcot, about twenty four miles from Hatfield Place. F.A. Knight has told³⁴ how Sidcot came to be founded.

In 1779 the Friends' Yearly Meeting purchased the premises of the former foundling hospital at Ackworth in Yorkshire, and opened a boarding school there.

In 1784 John Benwell, who had a school at Yatton, and whose brother Joseph Benwell had a school at Longfield, moved to Sidcot and opened a school there for forty five boys.

At the Yearly Meeting in 1807 unnamed Friends from the West of England discussed opening an Ackworth-type school near Bristol, agreed on the need, and decided to raise it at the (Bristol and Somerset) Quarterly Meeting. The Quarterly Meeting at Glastonbury in vi³⁵ 1807 approved of founding in one of the western counties "an Institution somewhat similar to that at Ackworth, for the education of a smaller number of the children of Friends in low circumstances". The Quarterly meeting appointed a committee to move the matter forward; that committee included John Benwell, Joseph Naish and "John Naish (of Bath)". The three men appointed superintendents of the school included John Benwell and Joseph (but not John) Naish. Joseph Naish (1750-1822) was the son of John and Elizabeth Naish of Flax Bourton. He was placed with a Bath tradesman, returned to Flax Bourton as a tanner, married Betty Willmott of Claverham in 1771, and moved in 1789 to Congresbury, where he met John Benwell.³⁶

The provisional or general committee, appointed by the Quarterly Meeting, met at Bridgwater on 15.ix.1807 and decided to raise £7000 to establish a school within reach of Bristol. When the committee met in Bristol on 15.xii.1807, with £4000 subscribed, it agreed to buy John Benwell's house and fourteen acres at Sidcot, Benwell and his wife Martha to act as unpaid superintendents but with free board and lodging until permanent staff were recruited. This was agreed by the Yearly Meeting in 1808.

The possibility of competition with others schools, including private schools owned or run by Friends as individuals as distinct from Friends' meetings, was noted: Sidcot was intended for

“the offspring of poor Friends, or of those who cannot well afford to send them to other boarding schools. They are not to encourage the sending of those whose parents or guardians can conveniently send them to other boarding schools”.

That stipulation may have been made to protect the interests of proprietors like John Naish, and might even have been made at his instigation: his school at Hatfield Place was already up and running. When Ackworth had opened it had caused the closure of several schools that had been established by Meetings.³⁷

At the first meeting of the General Committee of Sidcot school on 15.vii.1808, the fees were fixed at £14 a year plus 4s 4d pocket money. John Naish was charging two and a half times that. The curriculum was to be Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography. The girls were to learn sewing and knitting as well. All were to undertake domestic work; the girls were to mend the boys' linen, and the senior boys were to work on the land and in the gardens.

In 1808 the Committee included Joseph Naish, but neither John Naish nor John Benwell. However, in 1811, the North Somerset Monthly Meeting gave John Naish permission to attend the Sidcot School Committee (28.i.1811); he had attended the Ackworth general meeting on 29.vii.1807.³⁸

Sidcot opened on 1.ix.1808 with six boys and three girls. Numbers rose to 32 in 1809, 67 in 1812, 75 in 1815, and 85 in 1820.

During its early years Sidcot had staffing difficulties. The first schoolmaster, on £40 a year, left after two months. A husband and wife team appointed in 1810 on £120 a year left after eighteen months. Joseph Naish, filling in as unpaid superintendent in 1817, gave notice of his intention to resign within a year because of friction between his predecessor's widow and another woman member of staff who left in 1818; Joseph himself resigned in 1820, by which date John Naish's school had ceased at Hatfield Place, and the Ledger entries had ceased.

What other business connections did John Naish have?

There was an S Naish at 7 Kingsmead Terrace in 1809: she must be the Susannah Naish who is named in John Naish's school's prospectus as one to whom applications might be made.

The Ledger mentions two Susannah Naishes, senior (John Naish's

mother) and junior (sister-in-law?). Susannah Naish senior is recorded as having lent some £75 for three years at 5%, the rate of interest on all borrowings in the Ledger but one. Susannah Naish junior's account has several entries, including meat, cash advanced to C Naish (John Naish's wife?), "pictures of orchard", a bed, a lye but[t], a swing and six sheets of drawing paper.

William and Susannah Naish were advertising themselves as selling general groceries, teas and British wines at 21 New Bond Street in 1809,³⁹ and they were still there in 1812.⁴⁰ It is clear from the Ledger that John Naish traded with them: they supplied meat and groceries. William Naish features prominently in the accounts, on occasion as apparent funder of Meeting expenses, as debtor and creditor, and as one who paid some of the pupils' fees. Perhaps not too much should be made of that, as one of the striking features of the Ledger is the way in which balances were struck after setting debts off against each other, often with many parties involved. Not all cases were as simple as that of Robert Fox of Falmouth, whose 9s. debt for a Spanish grammar for Joshua and 30 yards of cord was "discharged by gift of a hat to Francis."

The *Bath Journal* for 3.ii.1812 carried an announcement that Swetman & Co's Brown Stout Porter business would be removing from Broad Street to 21 New Bond Street (William and Susannah Naish's shop) where it would be carried on under the name of Naish & Co. The Ledger shows that some time before 1812 Josiah Swetman helped not William but John Naish to open a trade in London porter in Bath. There are entries for carriage of samples to Bristol and Sheffield, which implies that the business was making use of the family's local connections there. Amidst entries for bottles and corks is one for a payment of £10 to Josiah Swetman "for his services before the opening of the trade". Josiah Swetman then gets a salary of £60. After just over £40 worth has been sold, the stock appears to have been sold to Wm and Susannah Naish, for a price left with them, but on which they would pay interest. On 24.ii.1812 the Bath and North Somerset Monthly Meeting authorised Josiah Swetman's removal to Bristol.⁴¹ Commencing September 1812, the Ledger records, William and Susannah agreed to allow John Naish 3% "on all the London porter sold in Bath".

There is also an account with James White, under which John Naish paid a cash dividend of 6% on a sum of about £100, plus some £14 "profit and loss", possibly as part of the terms of a business loan.

John Naish borrowed other money at simple interest: all at 5%. The lenders were: Susannah Naish senior: £74 15s 6d; Thomas Sanders:

£300; Samuel Smith: £100, increased in 1812 to £400; Robert Trickett (Catharine's father, presumably): £200. These evidently were the providers of working capital for John Naish's school. At least two, possibly three, were relatives of John Naish.

Some accounting aspects of The Ledger

Five pages of the Ledger have been cut out. The index implies the missing accounts were for R Wallis (one of the schoolmasters), A Pye, T Witton, John Thomas (who had a school fees account), Meeting, Glazier, Butcher and the debit side of the Bank account.

The Ledger contains both business and household items. Meetings expenses are included, so although they appear in various individuals' accounts, they were separately accounted for. It is not possible to reconcile these with the accounts of the Meetings, which have suffered fire damage and are largely illegible.⁴²

The Ledger is kept in conventional double entry. As some of the items are difficult to reconcile with the annual summary accounts, and some of the contra items are not in the accounts where you might expect them to be, it is possible that John Naish may not have grasped the principles fully, or accounting conventions may have changed.

Set-off is frequent, as is satisfaction in kind.

Many accounts are paid by bill of exchange. There are transactions with a bank, not named. Prescott's is mentioned in a note to one of the estate accounts, but that may be because John Naish the horsedealer banked with them.

The 1809 figures include an account headed "Taxes". This includes not only the expected items for window tax, poor rate, highway rate and property tax (including property tax on interest loan), but also items for house, servant, carriage, horse and dog, the last 3s 6d. This might suggest that John Naish treated as a tax all outgoings, whether or not they were strictly taxes: thus the 1811 summary account includes under the heading Taxes his subscriptions to Sidcot school and a Lancasterian school (one began in Bath in 1810, converted in 1813 to a National school, and lasted for many years under the name of Bathforum Free School), and two subscriptions to the Bath Meeting. But he has a separate account for house contents insurance (£800 in 1809, reduced to £500 later), the debit entry being to cash, not taxes.

One outgoing which had a separate account was John Naish's

horse. Again, a mini-saga in a few lines. It cost him £37 16s; there were bills for hay, corn, the saddler, medicine, shoeing and the blacksmith. Running costs were £16 15s. 5½d. Twice John Baker was paid 1s 6d for mending a whip (though this is not in the Horse account). The horse was sold for £20. Mileage is not recorded.

John Naish rented 1 Hatfield Place. The rent was £67 a year in 1809 and 1810, paid to John Hensley, possibly of Bathwick Street;⁴³ but £100 in the year of his death, paid to Richard Bailey or Bayly (who is not named in Bath directories). John Naish rented a field to Thomas Wright, later to Captain Thornhill,⁴⁴ and a cellar to Hester Bishop, who in 1805 and 1812 had an ironmongery and brazier's business at 25 Broad Street.⁴⁵

The school was profitable. In 1809, on a turnover of £1213, John Naish made £251, a profit of 20% on turnover and 25% on outlay. The summary figures for 1810 are not totalled, which suggests he had not put all the expenses in, but on the figures listed he made £547 net on a turnover of £1250, a profit of 43% on turnover and 77% on outlay.

Unlike a modern educational establishment, the business was not, in money terms, labour-intensive: of the expenditure for 1809, 65% went on food (of which more than half went on meat and bread) and drink; 18% on domestic expenses (which included several items of food as well as soap, candles, brushes and starch); 7% on rent; and 10% on staffing costs (it would have gone up to only 11% if Richard Davis had been paid for the whole year when he was off sick).

Some of the accounts do not tally. In particular, the totals of the individual accounts for beer and wine are lower than the amounts for those items stated in the annual summaries.

Some of the entries are puzzling, eg in 1813, "sub for Land St [a Meeting?] £10", in the account of Susannah Naish junior; and "3 shares of engraving J T Adams's profile". John Till Adams had an account for books, so could have been a bookseller or publisher, but the subject was perhaps John Till Adams (1748-1786) a doctor in Bristol who married Ann Fry in 1777 and had "a large connection among the Quakers of Bristol":⁴⁶ "a talented man whose early death was greatly lamented".⁴⁷ John Sturton the mason got paid £9 11s 6d "for putting up the steamer": some sort of boiler?

The annual summary for 1810 is incomplete. There are no annual summaries for later years, though there are entries in individual accounts. Perhaps John Naish got fed up with accounting. Perhaps the school folded. It looks very much as if John Naish the schoolmaster

took his leave at the same time as John Naish the horse dealing tanner. The *Bath Chronicle* for 6.v.1813 carried an advertisement:

TO SCHOOLMASTERS

To be let, very pleasantly situated within a mile of Bath, a HOUSE, and extensive Premises, conveniently fitted up for a genteel establishment, and the School Business, which business has been carried on there for several years. The School Furniture, in good condition, to be sold - applications (post paid) to be made to WN, 21 New Bond Street, Bath.

Evidently William Naish was selling his brother's former premises and business stock; the school was being sold as a going concern. Perhaps John Naish had died. There was no report or notice in local newspapers, and no mention in the relevant quarterly or monthly meeting minutes. There is no entry for any Naish in Gye's *Bath Directory* of January 1819.

John Naish after the Ledger

After John Naish died, Catharine Naish appears to have returned to Sheffield. The youngest of three of their four children were pupils at Ackworth School between 1819 and 1827, and are all described as of Sheffield: Robert from 1819 to 1823; Phebe from 1823 to 1825; and Thomas from 1824 to 1827.⁴⁸ Their mother Catharine was principal mistress (that is, governess) at Ackworth from 1827 to 1830.⁴⁹ Thomas, like his father, stayed on at Ackworth as an apprentice schoolmaster from 1827 to 1832, in which year he died at the school.⁵⁰ The others died in the 1830s and 1840s, two of them at Sheffield: the *Annual Monitor* also records the death of a Catharine Naish at Sheffield in 1840, describing her as the widow of John Naish of Bath.

And the Ledger after John Naish?

How could John Naish's Ledger have become included in the muniments of Bristol College?

Bristol College was founded by a voluntary association formed at a meeting held at the Bristol Philosophical and Literary Institution in xi 1829. One of the resolutions passed at that meeting was:

7. That the Institution shall be open to Students of all religious

denominations, without preference or distinction; but that it shall be competent to a committee, consisting of those members of the Council who are also members of the Church of England, to institute Lectures, and provide instruction in Theology, within the walls of the College.

That Friends made their presence felt is shown by a letter⁵¹ the Clerk to the Council wrote on 19.v.1830 to the Revd Edward Baines of Cambridge, who had enquired in response to the advertisement of the post of Principal:

Perhaps it might be as well that I should 1st mention the high probability that the concession made to Mr Kennedy [who did not get the post, but went to Harrow] regarding the business of tuition being daily commenced with prayer may not be allowed to yourself or any other clergyman who may offer himself as a candidate for the Principalship. I think it but candid to mention this as my private opinion at least: some members of our Council are Quakers, and therefore have of course conscientious scruples which though they were got over - [in that] instance are not likely I believe to be quieted on a second attempt.

The founders and subscribers of shares in Bristol College included Joseph Storrs Fry (1767-1835 and son of Joseph Fry of chocolate fame), Thomas Richard Sanders (1792-1876) (any relation to the drawing-master of John Naish's school or the lender of capital?) and John Naish Sanders, who had two shares.⁵² John Naish Sanders, nephew of the geologist William Sanders (1799-1875)⁵³ was one of the many enquiring intellects who enlivened early nineteenth century Bristol: a shareholder in Bristol Zoological Society, and a founder (in 1820) and funder of the Bristol Philosophical Society.⁵⁴ It seems possible that John Naish Sanders, who lived at Clifton Hill,⁵⁵ then outside Bristol, had an interest in one or more of the Naish family businesses around Bath, and thereby acquired John Naish's Ledger. Perhaps John Naish Sanders was the son or brother of John Sanders the drawing master, who might have married a Naish daughter? When Bristol College was forced to close in 1841,⁵⁶ the books must have been kept and eventually passed to Lewis John Upton Way, a local antiquarian,⁵⁷ who donated them to Bristol City Library in 1919.⁵⁸

By the time this paper sees the light of day, no doubt the Ledger will have been recatalogued in its own right as the Ledger of John

Naish of Bath, member of the Society of Friends, conscientious objector to militia duty, proprietor 1806-1813 of an academy for young gentlemen at 1 Hatfield Place, off the Wells Road, Bath, and one of those involved in the foundation of Sidcot School.

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