

From the *Transactions* of the  
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

**The Making of Bristol's Victorian Parks**

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1998, Vol. 116, 175-184

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## The Making of Bristol's Victorian Parks

By COLIN YOUNG

### *Background*

The early provision of public parks in England, that is parks where all citizens were freely admitted, was a Victorian achievement. Furthermore, it was essentially a municipal achievement, inspired by social and public health reforms, sanctioned by central government legislation and largely financed by public money derived from locally levied rates. This durable public resource, frequently referred to in the past as 'green lungs', was intended to make a contribution towards the improvement, not just of the public's health but also of its morals. It was believed by the early advocates of public parks that relief from overcrowding in the tightly knit streets and courts of urban England by the provision of leafy open spaces would facilitate a flushing or dilution of foul air and thereby reduce disease. It was also believed that a freely accessible place of public recreation accommodating 'improving' activities would facilitate, through a mingling of different social classes, a raising of poorer class morals. Although this rationale was both falsely based and operationally ineffective the number of parks provided throughout the country attests to the enduring public support they enjoyed and the political orthodoxy they came to represent.

Agitation for public parks, formally expressed through a number of government reports published from 1833, led to the passing of the Public Health Act of 1848 which empowered local boards of health to provide, maintain and improve land for parks. Between 1848 and the opening of Bristol's first designed park in 1879 no fewer than 106 parks<sup>1</sup> had been opened in cities, towns and resorts throughout the country. It is therefore surprising to find that Bristol—major port, railway centre and industrial city—was not one of them. It is true that the Clifton and Durdham Downs had been regarded as 'the People's Park' before their acquisition from the lords of the manor of Henbury and the Merchant Venturers in 1861<sup>2</sup> but these were far from those parts of the city in greatest need. Some recreational needs were provided by the Clifton Zoo,<sup>3</sup> Bristol Pleasure Gardens at Horfield and Avonmouth Gardens and a scheme had been prepared for public recreation in Leigh Woods<sup>4</sup> but these too were out of town and did not offer free or easy access.

At the turn of the century the city corporation had acquired, by gifts, leases and freehold purchases around 175 acres in some ten separate locations (Fig. 1) and had transformed them into popular and enduring public parks.

### *Demand for Parks and Search for Land*

The demand for public parks in Bristol came from a variety of sources but the event that seems to have been first to formally raise the issue of park provision was the publication in 1871 of a pamphlet titled *The Cry of the Poor; Being a Letter from Sixteen Working Men of Bristol to the Sixteen Aldermen of the City*.<sup>5</sup> Of the range of grievances outlined by the authors, the absence of a 'people's park' was of particular importance especially when compared with some northern

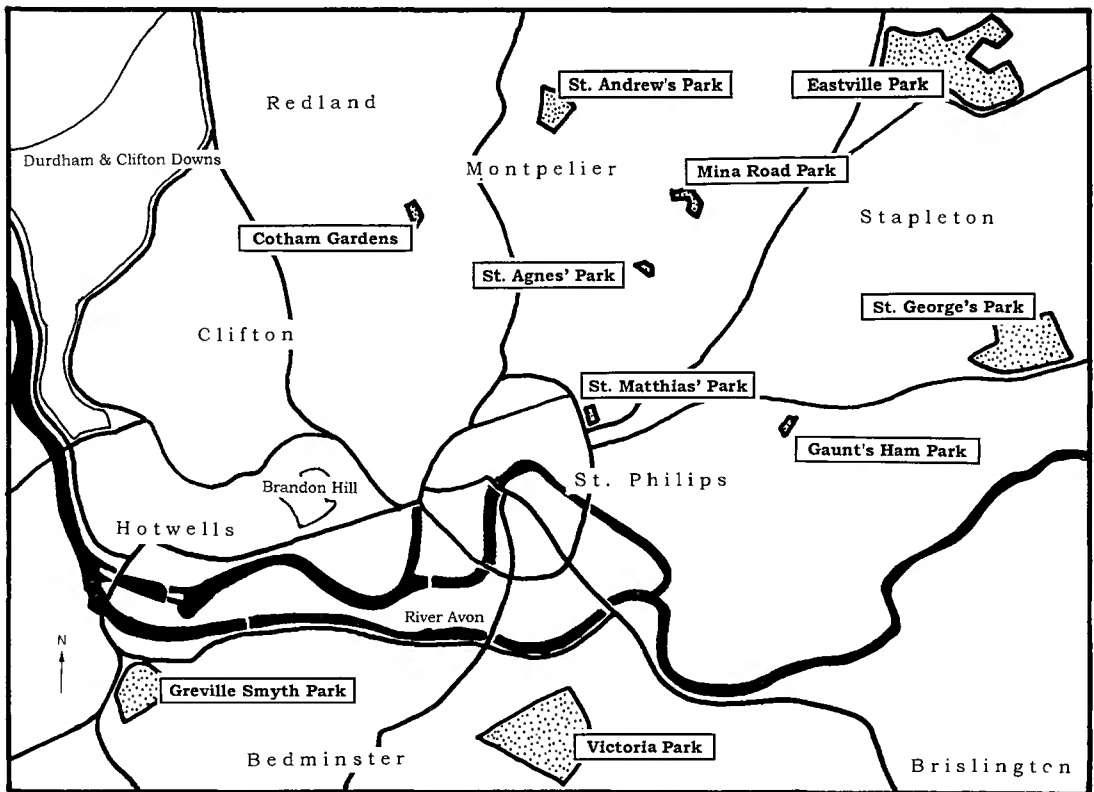


Fig. 1. The location of Bristol's Victorian parks.

towns where green spaces had already been provided. There followed an analysis of the existing provision, which showed how unsuited it was to the needs of working people, especially those living in the developing eastern districts. The letter concluded with a call for urgent action on the behalf of the aldermen.

Despite the informed passion of this missive nearly six years elapsed before any need for a park was recorded in the corporation minutes. It is improbable that the corporation was ignorant or indifferent to the need for parks; it is more likely that the issue took time to register as a political priority with councillors having to respond to more pressing public need elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> Without the publicity attending political involvement it is probable that landowners of suitable land were either unaware of the need or waiting for a corporation initiative. The *Western Daily Press* understood the need for in its editorial of 26 May 1877 a renewed plea for a park in St. Philip's was made, a provision which, it asserted, 'a wealthy city should consider . . . as necessary as public roads'. When, the following month, Lewis Fry (councillor for St. Philip's ward) echoed the call he received a prompt response with the suggestion that some 65 acres of tenanted meadows and market gardens in Stapleton belonging to Sir J.H. Greville Smyth might be suitable.<sup>7</sup> Within days the site had been visited and declared suitable, although far removed from St. Philip's and largely irrelevant to the pressing needs of its inhabitants. As if not to lose momentum, the corporation land steward was asked to report on the availability of other suitable sites. At this stage no indication was given of what might constitute 'suitable' land so when the

steward duly reported on the Stapleton land, some at Narrowways Hill and more on the Kensington House estate at Brislington the following September, he was probably making an intuitive assessment. When the public park committee had visited the Brislington site they opposed the steward's view, judging it to be unsuitable because of the difficult access from the eastern and south-eastern districts.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, Sir Greville Smyth had determined that if he was to sell his land at Stapleton to the corporation it was to be on condition that it would be used only as a public park and not partly developed for residences. In trying to balance the positive features of the site, its accessibility, views, well-drained soil and trees, with the asking price of £25,000, the fact that five public footpaths crossed the land and the 'park only' stipulation,<sup>9</sup> the corporation concluded that it would not purchase the land. However, this process produced some criteria by which the suitability of a site might be judged.

Although the land-search process had no tangible results by this time, it continued under the direction of the city surveyor, C.J. Thomas. It was more than a year before the sanitary committee (successor to the public park committee) reported that land in Cotham, known as Upper Hilly Close, 'together with the grove of trees thereon forming part of the Avenue called Redland Avenue or Cotham Avenue',<sup>10</sup> had been acquired by means of a lease from the eight co-owners, of whom five were members of the Fry family, including Lewis Fry. It may have been the growing pressure to show results or an acceptable price that persuaded the corporation to conclude the deal although the land itself did not meet location and access criteria already cited. As a consequence the middle classes residing in the spacious villas of Cotham were the beneficiaries rather than the urban poor populating the inner city or eastern areas.

As if to reassert their commitment to the search for land, two sites were visited by the committee, another at Narrowways Hill and one between the Stapleton and Fishponds roads, while the rector of SS. Philip and Jacob proposed the burial ground of that church as 'a place of public recreation'.<sup>11</sup> In the same month the corporation received a letter from Stephen Harding (a yearly tenant of Sir Greville Smyth) suggesting 'a suitable field of 21 acres as a park for Bedminster situate near Clift House Estate, Coronation Road'.<sup>12</sup> That the freeholder knew nothing of this suggestion until he read it in a newspaper a year later suggests an unusual relationship between landlord and tenant but it appears to have been a propitious prompt, for the corporation acquired the land in October 1882.<sup>13</sup> More significantly it was the first acquisition bearing some congruency with the developing site selection criteria. The land was well, but not ideally, situated close to the more needy areas in the south of the city for, contrary to the committee's claim that it would serve the inhabitants of Hotwells to the north, the River Avon separated the two.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, only a third of the site area lay above the Colliter's Brook flood level and being generally so low-lying the views could not match those of the elevated sites already noted, although the view up the Avon Gorge of the Clifton suspension bridge (opened 1864) may have been considered sufficient compensation.

### *Breakthrough*

Up to this point the emphasis had been on acquiring land at or just beyond the growing edges of the city where land was theoretically available and relatively cheap. This strategy, mirroring those of many other expanding towns and cities, presupposed the availability of land in the acreages needed for a conventional park of a kind that reflected the needs and aspirations of those able to live in the emerging suburbs. The provision of parks on green-field urban fringe sites yielded comparatively quick results relatively easily but to satisfy the needs of the inner city

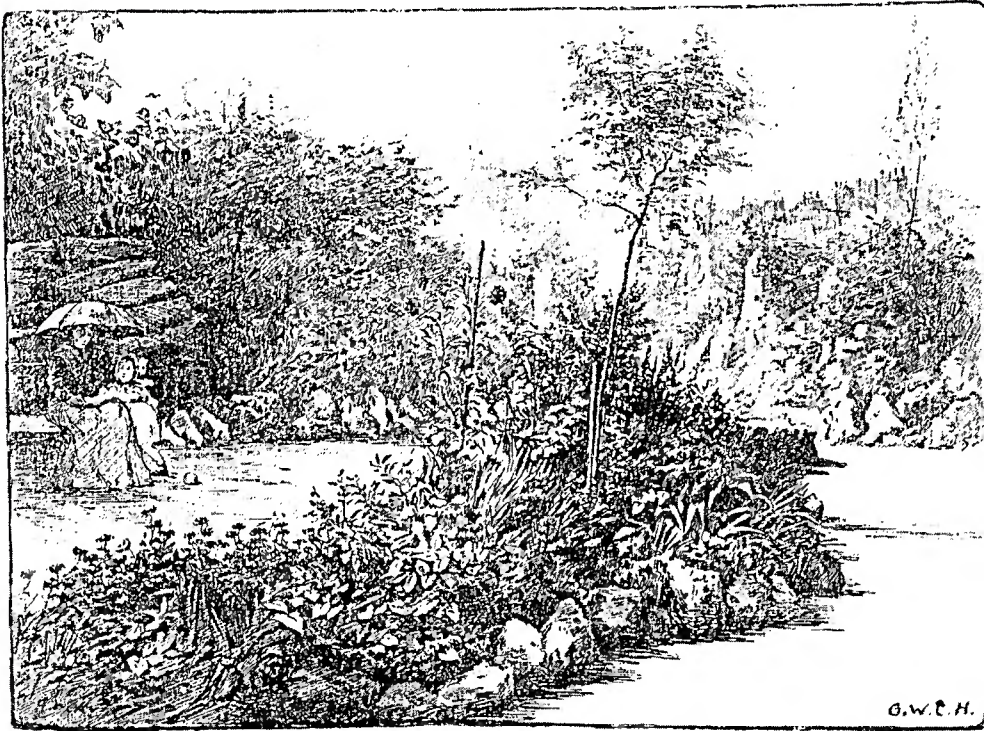
could be much more complicated. Bristol had retained much of its medieval past in the form of narrow streets, insanitary housing and a dearth of open space.<sup>15</sup> In such places the opportunities for creating open spaces were few, given the cost of developed land and the potential loss of rate revenue in the conversion from land with buildings to open space. Accordingly, the corporation urged the securing of any open sites that might become available in the inner city.<sup>16</sup> The parish vestry of St. James' seemed to respond to this call when it resolved to convert its churchyard to recreational use. Though financed by individual donors (again the Frys were prominent), the parish and the Society of Merchant Venturers, the ground was taken over by the corporation. In his address at the opening ceremony the mayor declared the ground to be for the poor of St. James' for whom, he reasoned, it might be impractical to travel to the Downs on the edge of the city for their recreational needs.<sup>17</sup> This level of awareness was clearly influential in the acquisition of two other centrally located sites arising from road improvements, one of which became the St. Matthias' park.<sup>18</sup>

The development of corporation policy to provide parks in the poorer areas of the city coincided with the establishment of Clifton College's St. Agnes' Mission, a socio-religious adjunct to the college intended to stimulate the flux of social classes by which the poorer classes of St. Agnes' parish in particular might be raised and improved. The parish had been created out of a residential and industrial district to the north-east of the city and among the facilities intended to fulfil the mission's purposes was a park which following a three-year process was acquired by the corporation in 1885. It appears that the corporation sanitary committee and the mission, in the person of the Revd. J.M. Wilson, jointly, or at least simultaneously, identified suitable land alongside the church for the park.<sup>19</sup> Thereafter the sanitary committee had second thoughts about its suitability but the local population was in no doubt and sent the committee a memorial to that effect.<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to see what objections the committee had to the land. It had been described as 'wasteland' and 'virgin soil' although the Ordnance Survey map (surveyed in 1883 and published in 1884)<sup>21</sup> shows a walled site with some buildings, gardens and orchards, but even these differing descriptions do not suggest the kinds of conditions that would prove difficult, or particularly expensive, to transform into park land. It had been suggested that land at Montpelier, about a mile away, would have been more suitable<sup>22</sup> and this may have been more attractive to the committee. Rather more likely was the realization that both sites could not be afforded (commitment to the land at Bedminster had already been made), thereby causing a certain amount of vacillation. Swayed, perhaps, by the persuasiveness of Wilson, but also conforming to its own location criteria, the corporation eventually decided in favour of the St. Agnes' site (Fig. 2) and delayed purchase of the Montpelier site for some years.

At the same time as the sanitary committee started to consider the question of parks at St. Agnes' it received a memorial suggesting land at Knowle called Lily Mead as suitable for a park<sup>23</sup> and, more significantly, a letter from James Derham offering 22½ acres of 'the highest and healthiest part'<sup>24</sup> of his developing estate, to be known as St. Andrew's, in Montpelier. This particular characteristic of the land was repeated in speeches made at the opening ceremony and was obviously thought important, especially at a time when pulmonary disease and crowded living conditions were prevalent.

There is nothing to hinder the western breezes from the channel reaching St. Andrew's Park with scarcely diminished freshness . . . a delightful sense of openness [with a] wide panorama.<sup>25</sup>

The Ordnance Survey map of 1882 shows the site bordering open country and featureless except for a quarry and sub-dividing field boundaries, but because of the corporation's 'leisurely action'



*The Rockery.*

Fig. 2. The rockery at St. Agnes' park (*The History of St. Agnes Parish: 1876-1890*, 23).

in acquiring the land it had become

cut up and uneven, the depository of much of the rubbish that had been used in the building operations [and of] most of the old tins and such encumbrances of which the residents in the immediate vicinity desired to rid themselves.<sup>26</sup>

This unsavoury picture was clearly the cause of much of the local residents' agitation during the long period between Derham's offer and the park opening. The vocal middle classes of St. Andrew's finally achieved their goal but not before the corporation had responded to the plea of the authors of *The Cry of the Poor* and provided a 'few acres . . . within reach of our homes'.

The priority favouring the poorer districts was reinforced by an instruction given in 1883 to the newly formed open space sub-committee to search for land in the south-east districts, particularly for the residents of St. Philip's Out Parish,<sup>27</sup> but was again frustrated by another offer of land at Cotham. The offer is interesting, not just because of the prompt response to middle-class interests, but because the land was contiguous with the earlier Cotham acquisition and therefore represented an extension, and potential enhancement, of the established park. The extension comprised an avenue that marked the axis from Redland Court southward for half a mile across a shallow valley. Following the conversion of the Court from residential use to a school in 1882, the trustees of the G.O. Edwards estate offered the remains of the avenue, presumably not needed by the school, to the corporation.<sup>28</sup>

Urban fringe land at Stapleton and Brislington was again suggested as suitable land in 1883,<sup>29</sup> but was rejected by the sanitary committee because both areas were too distant from the 'populous parts of the city' and it would have been too expensive to provide adequate access.<sup>30</sup> More land in the Redcross Street area was suggested by 'ratepayers' who made the novel request that ground on and around the site of the Lawford's Gate prison should be converted to a pleasure ground.<sup>31</sup>

A short distance north-east of St. Agnes' park lay a plot of stream-side land that was fast becoming embedded in a network of small streets of terraced housing. It was offered to the corporation by William Hunt as a gift in 1884. This kind of generosity was as rare as it was valuable, the site being situated in an area of pressing recreational need, and appearing to meet acquisition criteria. Despite this the corporation had misgivings about the conditions Hunt sought to enforce but eventually, after first declining the offer, accepted it.<sup>32</sup> In recognizing the smallness of the plot Hunt leased another on the other side of the stream, in the expectation that, on the death of its tenant, it would be purchased as an extension to the park. Although these intentions were not realised the park was marginally enlarged six years later when Hunt sold the corporation four adjoining houses which, when demolished, increased the park frontage on Mina Road and thereby improved both access and the prospect from houses opposite.<sup>33</sup>

Up to the mid 1880s the corporation's contact with the public had been largely characterized by offers and suggestions of land by landowners in a sketchy policy context. From 1886 that pattern changed markedly. For the next eight years at least there was a regular demand by ratepayers, residents or workers for the establishment of a park in a particular district, for the hastening of the acquisition process, or for the provision of some facility within a developing park. The extent to which this involvement was inspired by the achievements already described, by genuine need or by inter-district 'competition' is not always clear. However, this swell of public participation was to exert a sustained pressure on the corporation that resulted in a programme of purchases that was consonant with the evolved criteria and operated in a much clearer policy framework.

Barton Hill and St. Philip's Marsh were the foci of attention during 1886 and 1887. These heavily industrialized districts of factories, railways, canals and gas works were quite different from both the overcrowded inner city and the expanding urban fringe. The need for public open space in these areas had been identified since the 'sixteen working men' published their pamphlet, a need now reinforced by a memorial from the residents of St. Philip's, but identification of suitable land proved more difficult. Sites on and near the Great Western Cotton Works were inspected but rejected for being low-lying, having inadequate access or being too expensive. Yet another site was rejected for being 'subject to the fumes of the adjoining factories' but, curiously, the purchase of a quarter acre of it for a 'play ground or open space' was recommended.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps these frustrations provoked the corporation into converting some of its own land near Barton Hill to establish Gaunt's Ham park in 1887.<sup>35</sup>

### *The Large Purchases*

These modest achievements contrast with developments in the neighbouring district of Bedminster East where public pressure to provide a park culminated in the establishment of Windmill Hill park, later to be called Victoria park. A memorial dated 7 October 1886 calling for a park was conveyed to the corporation from a meeting of 'ratepayers and residents of Bedminster East and Redcliff [sic] Wards',<sup>36</sup> and at another meeting a month later the sanitary committee 'acknowledge[d] with pleasure the support which has been given to the proposal to secure a park for Bedminster East and the adjoining District'. Land was identified around which

'On three sides was a dense population [and] it was easily accessible from all parts, and would be as much a park for Redcliffe as for East Bedminster', asserted Councillor Davies.<sup>37</sup> The land was part of an east-west ridge, the upper parts having a somewhat bleak and exposed character but allowing views over the city to Brandon Hill and Clifton. The higher parts would have been above the worst air pollution and the sloping terrain provided natural drainage. It seemed to match the physical criteria in all major respects.

The city surveyor was commissioned to ascertain the owners of land 'on the southward side of the Great Western Railway, between St. Luke's Road and Windmill Hill'.<sup>38</sup> They were eventually identified as James Sheat and Martha Scrase. Both agreed to sell and this seemed to precipitate favourable responses from other landowners, the most significant being Sir Greville Smyth who agreed to sell 30 acres to secure a public park of 40 acres. In all, five separate purchases were made in a land assembly process that shows the corporation had by then clear park-making goals and the resolve to achieve them, something it had not shown consistently up to that date.

Before that process was complete the new Eastville park had been created at Stapleton. With a long gestation period and some disagreement between the sanitary committee and the full council about the proposal, the creation of the new park turned, as frequently in the past, on the intervention of the public and on the determination of a public figure—this time Mark Whitwill. It was Whitwill who suggested a fresh approach be made to the landowner, Sir Greville Smyth, in 1887, ten years after the first.<sup>39</sup> His suggestion was rejected by the sanitary committee but referred to the full council which, following representations from the public and in particular the Bristol Operatives Liberal Association, rejected the committee's recommendation and purchased the land.<sup>40</sup> In its petition the Association echoed *The Cry of the Poor* that

no further time should be lost in securing land for a public park for the east end of Bristol and this meeting considering the 70 acres now offered to the city by Sir Greville Smyth to be admirably suited for the purpose trusts that the town council will, without delay, agree with the present owner for the purchase of the land.<sup>41</sup>

The public also played a significant role in the making of the park at St. Andrew's (Fig. 3). Following the offer by James Derham in 1882, an eight-year period of inertia and bureaucratic languor ensued. The first intimation that the initial proposal was still alive comes in an entry in the sanitary committee minutes of 1888 where it is stated that the open spaces sub-committee had inspected 'Derhams land' at Ashley Hill and that 'they were unanimously of the opinion that the situation is not suitable for a public park'.<sup>42</sup> This judgement was accepted yet six months later the committee had been persuaded by Councillor Bastow, supported by a deputation of the public, to 'again consider the desirability of providing a People's park for the Northern District of the City'.<sup>43</sup> Fourteen months later the committee received a memorial from rate-payers of Montpellier which claimed that 12½ acres would be insufficient for a park and urged them to purchase a further 4½ acres on offer. However, when put to the vote the extra acreage proposal was defeated.<sup>44</sup> Impetus was restored as a result of another public meeting when, in a resolution, the 'expediency and justice' of providing a park in the north was pointedly referred to, claiming that 'a share in the advantages enjoyed by other Districts' was also due.<sup>45</sup> For the first time there is a reference to fairness. The corporation's achievements and the benefits being enjoyed in other areas of the city, albeit poorer districts, were gaining widespread appreciation and, although St. Andrew's was well-ventilated and solid middle-class 'villadom', it was obviously the local perception that the district was incomplete without a park.

This was enough to gain the approval of the council and the committee was instructed to proceed. Accordingly, in 1890 the committee reported that the surveyor had determined that





Fig. 3. St. Andrew's park (photograph by the author).

the  $12\frac{1}{2}$  acres could be obtained for a 'reasonable' price and that a provisional contract had been agreed.<sup>46</sup> Four years later, when there was little evidence of material improvement, the corporation received a rebuke from the ratepayers 'requesting the Authority to at once lay out St. Andrew's Park and appoint a caretaker'.<sup>47</sup> The following year the park was finally opened. A series of small land acquisitions was made about this time which increased the acreage at Stapleton<sup>48</sup> and gained municipal open space as a by-product of a street-widening scheme in the Haymarket<sup>49</sup> and yet more following the culverting of the River Frome above St. Augustine's Bridge.

It was also in April 1890 that Handel Cossham promised the St. George's local board to provide a public park but his death soon afterwards seemed to frustrate the ambition for no park was developed in the location he was reported to favour.<sup>50</sup> Four years later, however, a park was developed nearby on 38 acres of agricultural and market garden land, known as Fire Engine farm, which had been acquired from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. There was close accord between the physical characteristics of the land and the criteria already outlined and the recreational need of a parish of colliers, weavers and iron-makers had become self-evident. On the expansion of Bristol in 1897, the city acquired the partly laid-out park and thus might justly claim to have eventually met the demands of the 'sixteen working men'.

### *Summary*

The Bristol city corporation was slow to anticipate the need for public parks and slow to respond to the public demand for them. Early demand for parks within easy reach of the populous parts of the city came from residents of those parts but the first park land was acquired more by fortuity than as a result of a planned process and was far removed from those districts of greatest need. The involvement of a politically active landowner appears to have been critical to the

impetus of the park-making programme and the land gift was an effective triggering device. The local press gave assiduous support to the demand by representing need, reporting council action and making editorial comment.

The corporation enunciated no park-making policy beyond a tardy recognition of a general need, nor was a land acquisition process made explicit. Only gradually did site selection criteria evolve to assist decision making and the delay resulted in the rejection of a number of early offers and suggestions and no early land purchases. Such a pragmatic approach engendered public frustration, inter-district competition and claims of unfairness but eventually land in various acreages distributed across and around the city was acquired and a range of parks laid out that met the needs both of the poor and of the new suburban dwellers.

Today public participation in the planning process is formalized while our parks are an inheritance we are inclined to take for granted. Recent concerns about the deteriorating park fabric, land loss, inappropriate incursions and the anti-social behaviour of some users together with new prospects offered by Heritage Lottery funding have led to fresh thinking about the future appearance and purpose of the Victorian park. Those involved in this debate, which should include the public, will be well served by an appreciation of the park-making process as well as by the physical legacy.

### Notes

1. Number obtained from Hazel Conway, *People's Parks: the design and development of Victorian parks in Britain* (Cambridge, 1991).
2. *Bristol Times & Mirror*, 16 May 1865.
3. *Ibid.* 7 June 1865: 11,000–12,000 people visited the zoo during the Whitsun holiday of 1865.
4. *Ibid.* 31 March 1865.
5. Copy in Bristol Record Office (Bristol R.O.).
6. A number of public baths and washhouses had been opened between 1850 and 1877. Flood and pollution control of the River Frome continued in the 1870s. Maintenance of the docks had made a demand on resources since their purchase by the corporation in 1848.
7. Mins. Public Park Committee (Bristol R.O., 04942: General Committee Minute Book), 11 July 1877.
8. *Ibid.* 12 Sept. 1877.
9. *Ibid.* 16 Oct. 1877.
10. Conveyance 24 Nov. 1879 (Bristol R.O., 06668).
11. Mins. Sanitary Committee (Bristol R.O., 04866) 21, 2 June 1881. This suggestion was perhaps prompted by the Metropolitan Open Spaces Act, 1881, which dealt with the question of closed or disused churchyards.
12. *Ibid.* 16 June 1881.
13. Conveyance 20 Oct. 1882, amended 31 July 1883 (Bristol R.O., 06669–70).
14. The Vauxhall ferry might have provided a means of access.
15. Elizabeth Ralph, *The Streets of Bristol* (Bristol, 1981), 9. The St. Jude's district was compared with Bethnal Green in *Bristol Times & Mirror*, 15 and 27 March 1865. Another type of land conversion was urged by the vicar, curate and churchwardens of St. Matthias' in proposing the site of a disused rope walk be laid out as a park: Mins. Sanitary Committee 22, 27 July 1882.
16. Mins. Sanitary Committee 21, 19 May 1881.
17. *Bristol Times & Mirror*, 1 July 1882.
18. *Report of Sanitary Committee* (23 Sept. 1884).
19. Mins. Sanitary Committee 22, 22 June 1882; *The History of Saint Agnes Parish: 1876–1890* (Clifton College, Bristol, 1890), 21. See also H.E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City: 1870–1914* (London, 1976), 118.
20. Mins. Sanitary Committee 22, 3 Aug. 1882.

21. O.S. Map 1/500, Glos. LXXII.13.7; Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City*, 118; *Hist. of St. Agnes Parish*, 22.
22. *Hist. of St. Agnes Parish*, 21.
23. Mins. Sanitary Committee 22, 11 May 1882.
24. *Ibid.* 3 Aug. 1882.
25. *Western Daily Press*, 2 May 1895.
26. *Bristol Times & Mirror*, 2 May 1895.
27. Mins. Sanitary Committee 23, 30 Apr. 1883.
28. *Ibid.* 22, 25 Oct. 1883.
29. *Ibid.* 20 Dec. 1883: a letter from Fry & Co., Solicitors.
30. *Report of Sanitary Committee* (18 Sept. 1884).
31. Mins. Sanitary Committee 23, 21 Feb. 1884.
32. *Report of Sanitary Committee* (18 Sept. 1884).
33. Conveyance 14 Nov. 1884 (Bristol R.O., 06674). See also *Report of Sanitary Committee* (18 Sept. 1884), which gives a rather different account of the ownership of 'Sweets Estate', and conveyance 15 Dec. 1890 (Bristol R.O., 06679).
34. *Report of Sanitary Committee* (16 Dec. 1886).
35. Mins. Sanitary Committee 24, 4 Aug. 1887.
36. Mins. Local Board of Health (Bristol R.O., 04904), 12 Oct. 1886. An offer of land as an extension to Bedminster park was rejected on the grounds of expense, that the park was already large enough and that the shape 'would not render it an acquisition to the existing enclosure': *Western Daily Press*, 19 May 1886. However, Lady Smyth succeeded in giving a further 4 acres in 1902, whereupon it was named Greville Smyth Park: *Annual Report of the City Engineer's Department* (1902-3), 38.
37. *Bristol Times & Mirror*, 10 Aug. 1887. Davies was anticipating the purchase of much more land intimated in *Report of Sanitary Committee* (4 Aug. 1887).
38. *Report of Sanitary Committee* (16 Dec. 1886).
39. Mins. Sanitary Committee 24, 5 May 1887.
40. Mins. Local Board of Health, 24 Apr. 1888.
41. *Ibid.* 16 Mar. 1888.
42. Mins. Sanitary Committee 24, 19 Jan. 1888.
43. *Ibid.* 25, 19 July 1888.
44. *Ibid.* 5 Sept. 1889; the vote was 8:4.
45. Mins. Local Board of Health, 22 Oct. 1889.
46. *Report of Sanitary Committee* (7 Aug. 1890). The 'reasonable price' was £614 an acre, midway between the prices of the Stapleton and St. Agnes' lands but also including sums for drainage and road paving.
47. Mins. Sanitary Committee 29, 1 Mar. 1894.
48. *Ibid.* 3 Aug. 1893; Proc. Bristol Council (Bristol R.O., 04818) 15, 10 Oct. 1893. At the same time there was a proposal to purchase a ropewalk in St. Philip's Marsh: *ibid.* 12 Dec. 1893.
49. *Ibid.* 7 June 1894.
50. *Western Daily Press*, 3 and 4 Apr. 1890.