The Landmark Trust

MARSHAL WADE'S HOUSE History Album



Researched and written by Charlotte Haslam, 1979
Revised 1994 & re-presented in 2015

The Landmark Trust Shottesbrooke Maidenhead Berkshire SL6 3SW Charity registered in England & Wales 243312 and Scotland SC039205

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1977

BASIC DETAILS	
Built:	18 th century
Original architect:	Unknown
Listed:	Grade I
Freehold Acquired by Landmark:	1975
Architects: and Mr Derek Stollar FRIBA	Mr David Brain ARIBA
Builders: G.E. Williams & Sons	F. Rendell and Sons and

First let for holidays:

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Summary

Marshal Wade's House was acquired by the Landmark Trust in 1975, as a charity that rescues historic buildings and gives them a new life by letting them for holidays. In its fine position close to the Abbey, this house represents an important example of early 18th-century urban architecture in the Palladian style. It is a rare survival in Bath being built before the grand expansion of the city masterminded by the John Woods, Older and Younger. Tradition has long associated the house with Marshal Wade, so it is curious that there is no evidence that he ever held the lease of No 14. The freehold belonged to the Abbey until the early 20th century, and his name does not appear in any of its very complete records, although at least one biography states that he died there in 1748. However, it is difficult to imagine the house being given so fine a front without the influence of someone familiar with Palladian architecture, which Wade undoubtedly was at that early stage. The likelihood is that he took lodgings there - possibly most of the house which was larger at that time.

George Wade was elected MP for Bath in 1722 and this would seem the most likely date for him to set up a permanent residence here. The next year he asked Lord Burlington to design him a London house in Great Burlington Street and it has been suggested that Burlington was responsible for the Bath house too. But the house in Abbey Churchyard is not the work of a purist. It is more likely to be by a local builder/mason working from Plate 50, Volume I of Vitruvius Britannicus, of which the list of subscribers includes the name Thomas Greenway. An architect as well as mason practising from c I704 until c1727, he built a number of small-scale Palladian essays including the Cold Bath House at Widcombe, an Assembly Room and General Wolfe's House in Trim Street, as well as 13, Abbey Churchyard next door. All have a faintly Baroque feel - bolection architraves are found on Wolfe's house; at the group he built in St John's Court; and at the Cold Bath. The Ionic capitals on Wolfe's House along with the other Orders on No 13, although less elaborate than those on Wade's House, are like them curiously undersized. The case for Greenway is by no means water-tight but he seems to be a more likely candidate than any of his Bath contemporaries.

George Wade, a keen amateur architectural enthusiast and friend of Ralph Allen of Prior Park, is much better known in his military connection. He commanded as a general officer in the Scottish Highlands during the pacification after 1715 and between 1726- 37 he executed the great military roads through the Highlands. In 1744 he was in the Netherlands and in 1745 his army in Yorkshire was evaded by the Pretender on his march south. Marshal Wade died in 1748 and an engraving of c1750 shows his Bath house with a shop on the ground floor. Later in the century the Cheap Street front was demolished with part of the house. Around 1810-1820 the large first floor room was formed and the existing shop front inserted. In 1920 Mr Dyte bought the freehold, and that family continued there until 1961 when they sold the house to Cyril Howe's photography shop. The Landmark Trust bought the Churchyard side from him in 1975. The ground and first floors are now let and above we have made a new set of comfortable lodgings for visitors to Bath.

Restoration by the Landmark Trust

In 1975 the interiors needed some repair. The shop and the fine room above it had been used as the photographer's studio but the original decoration and architectural detail was still there, and simply needed sympathetic treatment. Throughout the building, the pine panelling was stripped of wallpaper and painted as it would originally have been; oak floors were uncovered and polished, fireplaces removed for their hiding places and repaired. The windows had all been renewed at some point but the dummy window on the top floor still had its original thick glazing bars and this was used as the pattern for renewing the rest.

The only structural alterations were those needed to block off the shop from the staircase; and the removal of a staircase leading from the shop to the basement, which took up valuable floor space. Of course there was also the introduction of modern services to be thought of and the fitting out of the shop, as described at the time by Mr David Brain, the architect responsible.

The works included the complete renewal of services and the necessary treatment and reinstatement throughout to put the whole building in first class order, whilst retaining everything worthwhile from earlier times. Considerable ingenuity was used in several ways to achieve this. For instance in the flat, in order to expose and keep as much as possible of the panelling, a complete kitchen was purpose made in the form of an island unit placed centrally in the room.

In the lower floors, much rich decorative plasterwork has been cleaned and restored. The shop fitting inside has been carried out in a manner in keeping with the several surviving Regency features, and the shop front itself has been restored to its original appearance. Glazing bars have been reinstated and much architectural detail in the enriched mouldings has been cleaned and revealed and the whole decorated in such a manner as to expose it once again to its former magnificence.

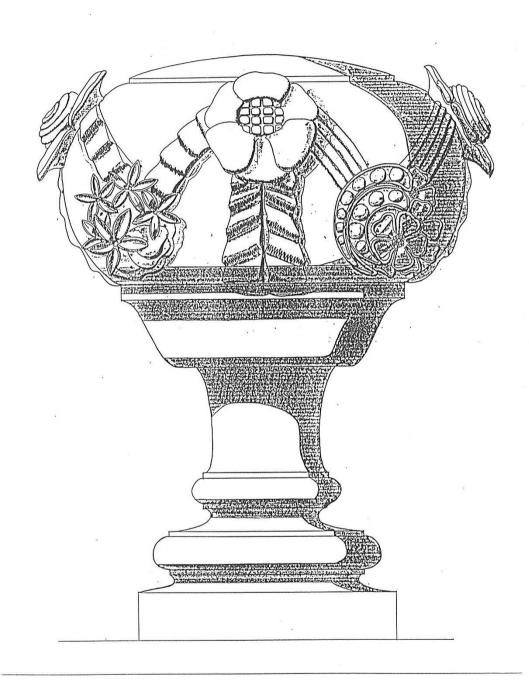
The interior would thus have satisfied the Marshal himself and was to be enjoyed by many over the next few years, but the state of the front still gave cause for concern. In 1979 it was decided that something must be done to stop the erosion of the stone work, which was rapidly crumbling away. The work was too delicate to withstand the sand-blasting or fierce acids most commonly used for such cleaning work. The stonework was first washed with an intermittent spray of water, to soften the black encrustation and wash out damaging salts with a minimum amount of water. The sculptured decoration was given an extra cleansing by applying a poultice of newly-slaked lime directly to its surface, an even gentler method of softening the encrustation (in some places 2" thick) and removing the hard chemical surface skin.

To prevent any further erosion and decay, the facade was flooded with about twenty applications of lime water to replace the calcium which had been dissolved from the weaker parts. Projecting mouldings were covered with lead to throw off the rain. Lastly the surface of the stone was treated with a very thin coat of slaked lime and stone dust to fill any remaining cavities. Finally the stone urns, the detail copied from those at Widcombe Manor, were reinstated.

Introduction

The honour for the creation of Bath is generally, and quite rightly, given to the John Woods, Elder and Younger. But where there is work for one busy architect there will also be other, maybe lesser, men, hoping for a share in the fun. Before John Wood became active in the City's expansion from about 1727 this was especially true, because the rebuilding of the City to hold the growing numbers of people seeking health and pleasure there had actually begun some twenty years earlier. The architects for these earlier buildings, many of which have since been lost, were more typically provincial, blending 17th- century fashions with elements of the Baroque. But in the years around 1720 there are clear signs that some, perhaps just one, of these architects were keeping abreast of developments in architectural thinking, and had absorbed the basic principles of Palladianism. The house at 14 Abbey Churchyard, built probably in the early 1720s, most fully demonstrates that this was so.

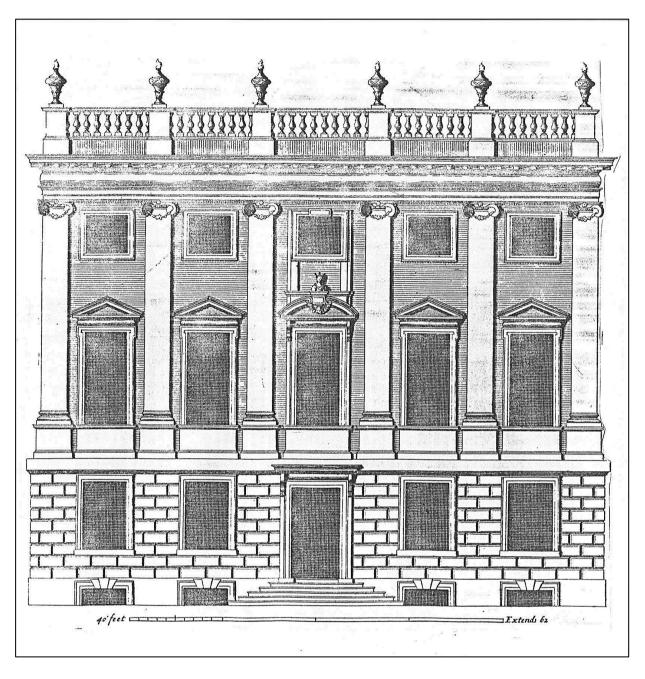
In Bath tradition this house has long been linked with the name of General Wade, one of the founders of the city's good fortune. It is said that when he paid for the removal of houses directly north of the Abbey, to make an alternative route to the Orange Grove (called Wade's Alley) and thereby prevent the use of the Abbey itself as a thoroughfare, he at the same time acquired the houses on the north side of the Churchyard, and had Number 14 rebuilt for himself. J. B. Salmond, in his biography *Wade in Scotland* (1938), says that he died there in 1748. Curiously, however, there is no evidence that he ever held the lease of the house. The freehold belonged to the Abbey until the early 20th century, and his name does not appear in any of its very complete records.



Detailed drawing of one of the replacement urns on the roof of Marshal Wade's to replace the lost originals

The answer may be that, like so many houses in Bath, it contained sets of lodgings, and Wade rented one of these - perhaps most of the house. His part in its rebuilding must be called into question. Yet it is difficult to imagine it being given so fine a front without the influence of someone familiar with Palladian architecture, as Wade was. Until proved otherwise, tradition will be upheld, at least in the following account in which suggestions as to its possible architect are put forward.

The house was bought by the Landmark Trust in 1975, and was ready for visitors the following year. Only in 1978, after the cleaning of the front under the supervision of the Bath architects, Brain & Stollar, was its full quality revealed after decades of concealment under grime. Whoever designed and built it, they created a noble architectural show-piece which holds its own with the best that Bath can offer.



Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume I; plate 50 depicting Lindsey House in Lincoln's Inn Fields

The Building of Marshal Wade's House

General Wade and the Palladian Revival

In 1722 General Wade was elected to represent Bath in Parliament. He had visited the city before but this would seem the most likely date for a decision to set up a permanent residence there; and so, since it was apparently in 14 Abbey Churchyard that he had his lodging, for the rebuilding of that house. Wade's House, as it came to be called, is therefore a building of some importance; not only, as already explained, is it a rare survival of Bath in its pre-Wood days, a precursor of the city's great architectural flowering, but it is also an early example of the re-introduction to this country of the Palladian town-house, or palazzo, facade.

Inigo Jones had built houses of this kind in Great Queen Street in Covent Garden; and Lindsey House in Lincoln's Inn Fields is of the same pattern and date. It had, ideally, a basement or ground storey; a Giant Order of columns or pilasters running through an emphasised first and a subordinate second storey; and an attic storey above the entablature.

This type of design had not caught on in the 17th century, and was not to do so until the early 18th century when a small group of men led by the architects Colen Campbell and Giacomo Leoni, and the architect/patron Lord Burlington, proclaimed the architecture of Palladio in opposition to the English Baroque of Vanbrugh, Wren and Hawksmoor.

The first example of a town-house in this Palladian revival was Queensbury House, designed by Leoni in 1721 and closely modelled on Lindsey House. This time the model was widely taken up, although, on the whole, it reached provincial cities some years after it had first been seen in London.

In this, Bath must be considered an exception as it sailed to social pre-eminence in the 1720s under the influence of Beau Nash and Ralph Allen; its architectural development marched level with, and even outstripped, that of the capital in the completeness of its remodelling according to the grand schemes of John Wood. Yet, for a house of this type to be built there at the beginning of the decade is still remarkable. The explanation must lie with Wade himself and the fact that he moved in the high Whig circles in which these ideas were being formulated, counting patrons such as Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Cobham among his friends. But who put the idea into solid form?

Unfortunately, to this there is no definite answer, because no record of the architect has survived. It is only possible to advance theories. All the same, by looking more closely at both the patron himself, and at the architects available to him, it is possible to come to something like a conclusion.

The Search for an Architect - The Patron

From contemporary accounts, it appears that Wade was an intelligent and cultivated man, with an enthusiasm for the new Palladian architecture, the orderliness of which accorded well with his Whig politics. He clearly had within him a dormant building bug (something which also went with Whig politics) which was to come out both in the construction of three houses for himself, and the Scottish bridges and garrisons for which he is best known.

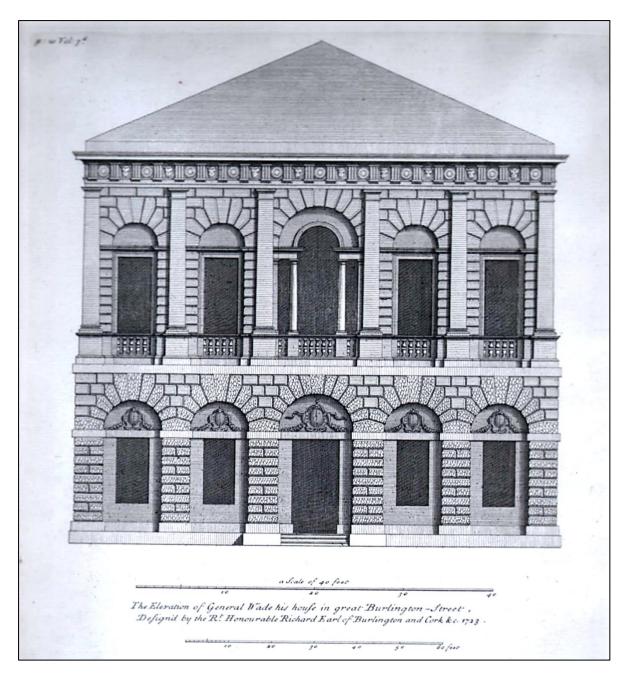
That his interest in architecture was serious and well-informed is born out by his being a subscriber to the leading architectural books of the day, Leoni's edition of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* and Campbell's lavishly illustrated *Vitruvius Britannicus*. But how had this interest developed in the first place, seeing that his life until he was forty had been spent almost entirely on one military campaign or another?

A possible clue lies in the fact that before he represented Bath he was M.P for Hindon in Wiltshire, from 1715. In the same year William Benson, a landowner in Wiltshire, was elected M.P. for Shaftesbury, only five or six miles away. William Benson also happened to be one of the first to take up Inigo Jones's Palladianism. As early as 1710 he had built Wilbury House, usually regarded as the first truly Palladian villa to be built in England.

It is possible, even probable, that their political common interests brought the two men together, and that Benson infected Wade with his enthusiasm for Palladio and introduced him into the circle of his disciples. The link would have been strengthened by his friendship with Richard Temple, whose Second-in-Command he was on an expedition to Vigo in 1719 and who as Lord Cobham was the builder of Stowe.

Taking all this into account, it becomes easy to understand how Wade was attracted to Bath, where lay the imagined remains of the Classical architecture he admired; and which offered increasing opportunities for architectural display in its public and private buildings - while at the same time attracting an ever larger audience to appreciate them. We can even assume that Wade wished to live in a house that would honour a city of which he was already fond, and with which he was to develop a close and beneficent relationship. At the same time he wished to show its citizens and visitors that he was a man of some importance there, and that he was worthy of such a position.

In 1723 Wade was to commission Lord Burlington himself to build him a house in Great Burlington Street. This has given rise to the theory that Lord Burlington also designed the house in Bath, but although it may have been due to his influence that the Abbey Churchyard facade was built to a Palladian model, his cannot have been the actual hand responsible for it. A comparison of the two buildings shows at once that the Earl was a purist, a scrupulous follower of Classical models, which the designer of the Bath facade undoubtedly was not.



From Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume III

Possibly the Bath house was the first commission, from which Wade afterwards progressed to greater heights in London. Or he may simply have thought it proper to engage a local man. In any case, the details of the house point strongly to it being the work of a provincial architect. To be quite correct in Classical terms the first floor should be more strongly emphasised. The architect here is leaning towards the 17th-century practice of having rooms of equal heights on all floors. There are other 'errors' too: the window sills should not come below the base of the Order, and the uneven number of pilasters leaves no room for a central entrance. The attic storey is of clumsy proportions, which led people to say it was a later addition, but structural details show it to be original. Lastly, the window architraves, with their bolection mouldings, have an old-fashioned feel to them, as does the almost French surface decoration. Here is the hand of someone with a fondness for the Baroque.

This could in part have been Wade himself, whose formative years did after all fall in the 17th century, but it is also possible, as Sir John Summerson says in *Architecture in Britain 1660-1830*, that Wade chose the plate depicting Lindsey House from *Vitruvius Britannicus* and asked an able but possibly conservative Bath mason-builder to copy it, adapting it as necessary. A builder who was already familiar with some of the principles of Palladian design would no doubt have been preferred.



John Harvey's Pump Room





Two buildings by Thomas Greenway; left, Cold Bath House, Widcombe (demolished) and right, General Wolfe's House

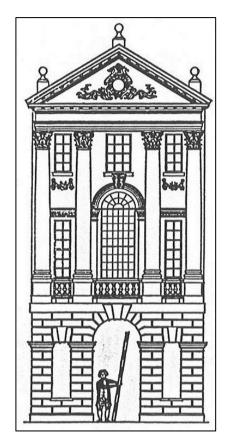
The Search for an Architect - The Likely Contenders

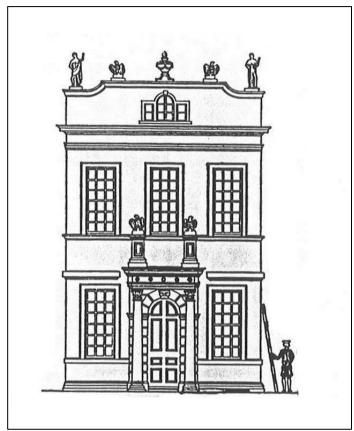
Who were the builder/architects in Bath in 1722? In many ways the most accomplished was William Killigrew, but he had a distinctive style which was not Palladian at all, so he is an unlikely candidate. There was also a confusing family called Harvey, all with the first name of John, described as stone-cutters by John Wood in his *Essay towards a description of Bath*. He goes on to say that the Pump Room designed `by the second of the name ... considering the Time when built is one of the best pieces of Architecture the City could boast of, even for ten or fifteen years after the Room was erected'.

This Pump Room was a single storey building with large windows, similar to an Orangery; graceful and well-detailed in a Baroque manner. The same John Harvey, according to Wood, built the Lansdowne Monument in 1722. Another one, thought to be a son, was chosen in opposition to Wood to rebuild St Michael's Church in 1734. This was charming, if not strictly Palladian. So one or both were active at the time Wade's house was built; but no domestic building known to be by either remains, nor a description of one, and both the public buildings have gone, making a stylistic comparison impossible.

The third name in the architectural history of Bath at this time is that of Greenway, and here we grow much warmer. Benjamin and Daniel Greenway ran an architectural workshop in Widcombe, on the outskirts of Bath, producing urns and such like, which was used by Wood; but their father, Thomas, was an architect as well as a mason, practising from about 1704 until about 1727.

Thomas Greenway built the Cold Bath House in Widcombe (now demolished) which is described by Walter Ison in *The Georgian Buildings of Bath* as `one of the earliest examples in Bath to show a competent use of Renaissance detail'. He also built an Assembly Room in 1708 and, at about the same time, some houses in Trim Street, one of which, called General Wolfe's House, Ison describes as an `accomplished early essay in small scale Palladian design'.





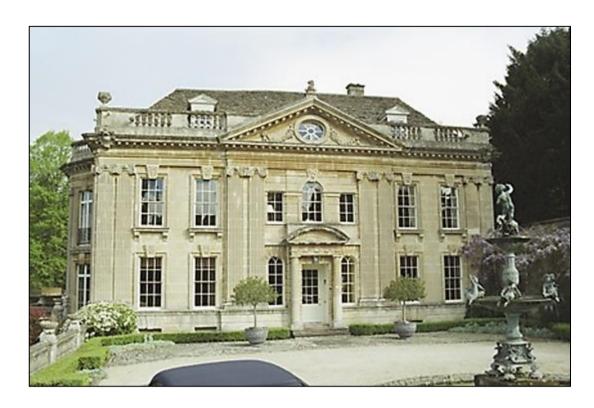
Ralph Allen's Town House, Lilliput Lane (left) and Beau Nash's House, St John's Court (right). Drawings from Ison's *Georgian Building of Bath*

In 1720 Greenway built a group of houses in St John's Court, one now being the Theatre Royal. Even Wood allowed them to be 'the richest sample of Building, till then executed, in the City'. Characteristically he twists this by adding that it is 'so profuse in Ornament, that none but a Mason, to shew his Art, would have gone to the expense of these enrichments'. Well, the same could be said of Wade's House, which is also in some ways 'over-ornamented'.

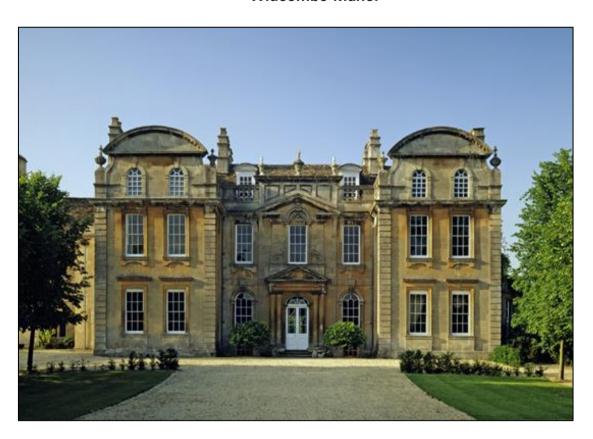
Next to these houses is another described by Ison as 'a later and more refined example of Greenway's building', with a richly carved porch that could indeed be an advertisement for a sculptor's workshop. And this house was at one time the residence of Beau Nash. What is more likely than that Wade should ask `The King of Bath' to recommend him an architect?

Another house Ison attributes to Greenway is 13, Abbey Churchyard, next to Wade's House. Could both have been built at the same time, as a speculative development? Architecturally No 13 does not do well: 'immature use of superimposed Doric, Ionic and Corinthian pilasters', but it may be that the redevelopment of these houses was begun by Greenway on his own, and only later did Wade came along and place *Vitruvius Britannicus* in front of him, inspiring him to come up with the facade of No 14. Wade was a kind and encouraging patron to other artists, and he may have acted in the same way to Greenway.

Apart from the accomplished stone-carving, there are other similarities between Wade's House and Greenway's works elsewhere. All have a faintly French Baroque feel, in spite of a Palladian framework. Bolection architraves are found on General Wolfe's House, the St John's Court houses, and the Cold Bath House. Panelled pilasters like those on the attic storey appear elsewhere, but as aprons to windows. Lastly, the lonic capitals found on both General Wolfe's House and, with the other Orders, on 13 Abbey Churchyard, although less elaborate than those on Wade's House are, like them, curiously undersized.



Widcombe Manor



The Ivy, Chippenham (Country Life)

Another house that has been attributed to Greenway is Widcombe Manor, built in about 1727 for Philip Bennet. Here again is the blend of Palladian outlines with Baroque ornament. Ison and Pevsner both felt the building was too accomplished, the product of someone familiar with the work of the country's best Baroque architects, and showing too marked an improvement on Greenway's earlier work. If Greenway was capable of a design such as Wade's House about 1722, he might conceivably have acquired the skill and experience to build Widcombe five years later?

Moreover in an article on the fine Baroque house called The Ivy, in Chippenham, in *Country Life* (September 3 1992), Gervase Jackson-Stops suggests that Greenway was the designer there too, around 1727: 'At first sight, [Widcombe] looks rather more Palladian than The Ivy. But both houses have the same old-fashioned detail', and like Greenway's other buildings it has a profusion of stone-carving. Mr Jackson-Stops also points out that Greenway, in his mason's yard, made 'urns and vases for Lord Orkney at Cliveden, and for other important houses all over England', commissions which 'must have brought him onto contact with architects such as Vanbrugh, Archer, and Hawksmoor'. And if with notable Baroque architects, why not also with more Palladian ones?

In these attributed works, and others which Greenway is more certainly linked, the same general approach emerges, of a basic preference for the Baroque but a readiness to adapt to new ideas. An approach which is clearly present in Marshal Wade's House, along with the other now familiar theme of shared detail: the urns on the balustrade at Widcombe Manor resemble closely those on the earlier house. Both could have been ordered as extras from Greenway's workshop, but that cannot be so easily said of the lonic capitals at Widcombe, which have a very similar floral motif to those on Wade's house, and are once again surprisingly under-sized. And in any case, if Greenway was involved in both cases as mason, why not also as architect?

There is one other important building of this period in Bath for which the architect is uncertain, and that is Ralph Allen's Town-house itself. The former garden front of a wing that was added in 1727 survives, in Lilliput Alley, and is normally attributed to Wood - mainly because he himself describes it as 'a Sample for the greatest Magnificence that was ever proposed by me for our City Houses'. It is a much more accomplished piece of Palladian design than Wade's house, but nevertheless Ison thinks it 'lacking the finesse' of Wood's work, although probably inspired by him. And here again is that beautifully-carved surface ornament. Could it be Greenway again, working for Allen, as he had already worked for Nash and, just possibly, Wade?

Some Loose Ends

A last piece of evidence on behalf of Greenway is that he was a subscriber to *Vitruvius Britannicus* - if indeed he is the bare Mr Greenway listed there, of no given place or profession. Like Wade, he only appears in the third volume, but presumably this qualified him to receive all three. The book would of course have been a useful aid to a successful mason/architect, but it also enabled him to adapt and copy Lindsey House for Wade.

Thomas Greenway is thus a more likely candidate for the execution of Wade's house than any of his Bath contemporaries, but his case is by no means watertight. The design may have been Wade's own, or that of a friend; an architect/builder from Bristol may have done it, and Widcombe too. There is no way of definitely knowing, unless new evidence should be found.

A drawing of the original rear facade, for example, would be more than welcome. Until 1961 the house ran through (as the lower floors now do again) to Cheap Street, but it lost some feet on that side when the road was widened in the late 18th century. The Cheap Street facade is traditionally said to have been very grand and ornate. During restoration work in 1976, the ends of beams which would have supported the floors of the Cheap Street half were found embedded

in the walls. They were at a higher level than the existing floors, and the architect David Brain suggested that these differing levels were taken in by a staircase leading up from an entrance hall on that side.

If the main entrance was in Cheap Street, which is likely considering that there seems never to have been a grand doorway on the other side, why is the Abbey Churchyard facade so imposing? The answer may lie in the fact that Cheap Street was then only 13 feet wide, a 'narrow inconvenient way' to quote Wood. A really splendid piece of architectural trendsetting, as the Churchyard front is, would not be fully appreciated at such close quarters. The Cheap Street facade may have been equally up to date; it is more likely that it was grand but unremarkable, perhaps more in the fashion of existing Bath buildings; Greenway, if it was he, left to his own devices, without a plate *from Vitruvius Britannicus* in front of him.

Wood describes houses in Cheap Street as having 'a handsome outward Appearance; and while one is remarkable for having the Orders of Architecture over one another, an Order to every Story of Building, another is still more so for its having been built with Brick at a much greater Expense than Stone would have come to, for the Sake of Novelty'. Not very impressive, though the first one does recall the 'immature use of super-imposed Doric, Ionic and Corinthian pilasters' of 13 Abbey Churchyard. This could indicate Greenway using the same pattern for Wade; or it could just be the back of the same house.

Interestingly, John Wood, who mentions Wade favourably elsewhere, makes no mention of this house, either in architectural terms, or as his dwelling. In fact, for reasons best known to himself, he dismisses Abbey Churchyard altogether, saying it has little to recommend it, even though it contained what was certainly one of the finest private buildings in Bath at the time. Ison suggests that this omission was prompted by Wood's desire to redevelop the whole centre of Bath with a splendid scheme of his own, for which reason he did not want people to think anything in the area was worth preserving.

Be that as it may, a house in Abbey Churchyard, then as now, could be properly seen and admired. And with Wade's Alley making a popular promenade between the Pump Room and the Orange Grove, the public had even more excuse to pass directly in front of it. That same asymmetry which does not allow for a central entrance caps the argument that this was no more nor less than a glorious architectural show-piece, intended to enhance the reputations of its owner, its architect and Bath.

Some notes on the life and character of General Wade

While some uncertainty surrounds the house that Wade built in Bath, more is known about his eventful life. Wade's family originated in the West Country but settled in West Meath in Ireland in the mid-17th century, under Cromwell. Wade's father, Jerome, owned land at Killavelley. He had three sons, of whom George, born in 1673, was the third, and the only one to follow a military career. One of his brothers, William, became Canon of Windsor and the other, Jerome, succeeded his father in Ireland.

In 1690 George Wade was gazetted Ensign in the 10th Regiment of Foot. War in Flanders offered him opportunities for swift promotion, and by 1695 and the Peace of Ryswyck he had risen to the rank of Captain. War broke out again in 1702 over the Spanish Succession, and Wade was once more in Flanders. After distinguishing himself at the Siege of Liège and having climbed a rung or two further up the ladder, he transferred to Portugal. Before long he was a full Colonel and then, in 1708, a Brigadier General. By the time he returned to England on the conclusion of peace in 1711, he was an established military name, with a comfortably established fortune to back it. Since it is unlikely that he inherited much from his father, he must have acquired it in the course of his career, in part from the spoils of war and in part from the apparently expected pickings that went to the Colonel of a regiment from its outfitting.



General George Wade, about 1731

In this same year he went on the retired list, thus giving himself time for wider interests: politics for instance. Although he was made Major-General and given command of Ireland in 1714, on George I's accession, he preferred his new pursuits and instead of taking up the post, stood successfully for election as M.P. for Hindon in Wiltshire. At about this time too he was introduced into the circles of the Palladianists: Benson, Burlington and Cobham. The fact that he did not subscribe to the first volumes of Leoni's edition of Palladio and Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* but only to those which came out after 1715 supports the argument that it was not until his first election, and possible meeting with Benson, that his interest in these ideas was fully aroused.

The Jacobite rebellion jerked him back into matters military. He was given command of two regiments of Dragoons and sent to suppress the threatened rising in the South-West, centred on Bath. The clear result of this was the arrest of a number of Jacobite conspirators, and the seizure of 200 horses, 11 chests of firearms, 3 pieces of cannon, and moulds for casting more, a hogshead full of basket-hilt swords and another of cartouches, and one mortar. Less apparent was the beginning of Wade's long association with Bath and of his lifelong friendship with Ralph Allen, the future Postmaster and 'Man of Bath'.

Friendship with Ralph Allen

This friendship was to have a great effect on the younger man's career, which he acknowledged after Wade's death by erecting a memorial to him in Prior Park. Wade backed Allen financially when he applied to the Government for the 'farm' of the Cross Road and Bye Letters, a virtual monopoly of the country's postal system, and he no doubt put in a word for him with the Postmaster- General, whose son he knew. More than this, Mr Erskine-Hill in *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope* not only attributes Allen's early political views to Wade's influence, but also his espousal of Palladian architecture. This resulted in Prior Park, and above all in Allen's constant support of John Wood in his schemes for transforming Bath into the perfect Classical city. If this is so, then our debt to Wade is obviously enormous.

At the same time, however, we come up against a widespread legend. It is not known how the two men met; there are tales involving waggonloads of weapons coming up from the west, and it does seem that Allen somehow discovered details of the Jacobite plot, possibly through being authorised to open letters in the Post Office, and that he passed the information on to Wade. From here the legend runs that Wade took a liking to Allen and that Allen in return took a liking to Wade's illegitimate daughter, Miss Erle, and married her. The loving father settled a large fortune on the happy couple, which launched the bridegroom on his postal career. The bride is then supposed to have died.

Unfortunately there is no foundation for this story, which first appeared in the 19th century. Wade never married, but he had four 'natural' children whom he acknowledged, and to whom he left property in his will, drawn up in 1747. One of these legatees, still alive and well, was Miss Jane Erle. Allen was married twice, and both his wives are accounted for: Elizabeth Holder, who outlived him, is described on the family monument as his second wife; in 1721 Ralph Allen, Bachelor, married Elizabeth Buckeridge in the Charterhouse Chapel. The possibility of an earlier and forgotten marriage is therefore ruled out. The fortune

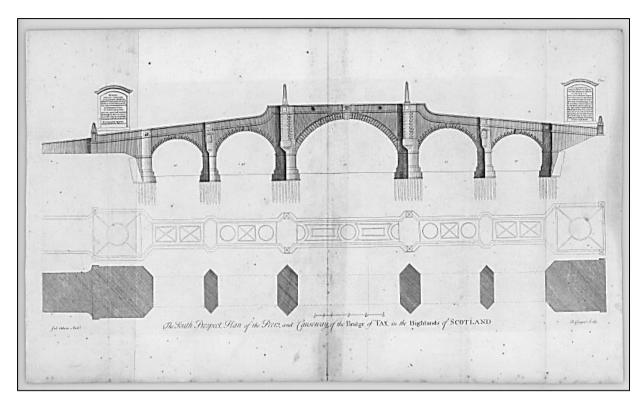
settled on Allen by Wade must be limited to the guarantee to the Government, and a good deal of friendly advice and encouragement. The marriage with Miss Erle was perhaps a tentative plan, wished for but never realised.

The years of Wade's association with Bath are marked by many grants and gifts to the city, ranging from an altar piece for the Abbey, possibly designed by Wood (removed in the 19th century for being of an unsuitable style, and used to line the hall of a house in Bath), to the clearing of the houses around the north of the Abbey, to stop the public using the transept as a thoroughfare. He gave money towards rebuilding St Michael's Church, for a Butcher's Market, and presented the members of the Corporation with their portraits, painted at three-quarter length, to be hung in the Guildhall. They rose to the occasion by having him painted at the same time, full length.

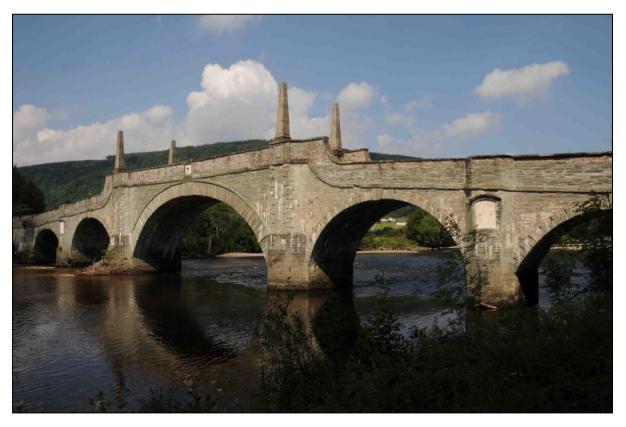
In 1723 Wade commissioned Lord Burlington to design his London house. It no longer exists, but there is a drawing of it in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It was copied from a sketch of Palladio's and was very handsome. It was not such a success in other ways, as Horace Walpole noted after its sale in 1748:

It is worse contrived on the inside than is conceivable, all to humour the beauty of the front. My Lord Chesterfield said, that to be sure he could not live in it, but he intended to take the house over against it to look at it. It is literally true, that all the direction he gave my Lord Burlington was to have a place for a large cartoon of Rubens that he had bought in Flanders; but my lord found it necessary to have so many correspondent doors, that there was no room at last for the picture; and the Marshal was forced to sell the picture to my father: it is now at Houghton.

Even Wade seems to have found the house difficult to live in since he built himself another one for his old age, in Southwood Lane, Highgate.



Bridge over the Tay at Aberfeldy, designed by William Adam



The Tay Bridge at Aberfeldy

Wade in Scotland

In 1723 Wade was fifty, and yet the work for which he is most widely known was only now begun. In 1724 George I sent him to Scotland to report on the state of affairs there and to discover the reasons for the lack of success of the Disarming Acts. This Wade had done by the end of the year and he was accordingly made Commander-in-Chief of Scotland. Over the next fifteen years he enforced the Disarming Acts, organised the Highland Companies (later the Black Watch), built or strengthened three forts and several barracks, some 250 miles of road and nearly 40 bridges. Of the latter, some were extremely fine, particularly the Tay Bridge at Aberfeldy, designed by William Adam.

The primary purpose of the roads was, of course, military, but they also made the Highlands more accessible, allowing wealth and new life into the area. Wade supervised much of the work himself, spending part of the summer and autumn in Scotland each year. As Stanhope in his *History of England* says, the fact that 'he became personally popular even whilst faithfully obeying the most distasteful orders' is remarkable, and testifies to his 'judicious and conciliatory' nature. He was king to his 'Highwaymen', paying them well and treating them with consideration. He concerned himself with other matters officially outside his brief, such as education, and on behalf of Architecture, did what he could to save Shawfield, the only house designed by Colen Campbell in Scotland, sacked in the Malt Tax Riots in Glasgow in 1725.

Friends and other interests

During these years, the most fruitful and busy of his life, Wade must have divided his time equally between London, Edinburgh and Bath. He continued to represent Bath, being re-elected four times, once with the full 30 votes of the Corporation. His friendship with Allen grew, and such men as Alexander Pope and James Heidegger, manager of the Opera, came within his circle. Another lifelong friend was Sir Paul Metheun, whose great picture collection can now be seen at Corsham Court in Wiltshire.

When not working, Wade's time must have been spent in much the same way as that of any political-military gentleman of the 18th century who moved in cultivated circles. One pastime he enjoyed was that of gambling and he is reputed to have spent a fair amount of time in the Lower Rooms, a gaming-house popular in Bath at the time. One of the few anecdotes concerning him occurs in such a place and is recounted by Horace Walpole in another letter:

General Wade was at a low gaming-house, and had a very fine snuff-box, which on a sudden he missed. Everyone denied having taken it: he insisted on searching the company: he did: there remained only one man, who stood behind him, but refused to be searched, unless the General would go into another room alone with him: there the man told him, that he was a born gentleman, was reduced, and lived by what little bits he could pick up, and by fragments which the waiters sometimes gave him. "At this moment I have half a fowl in my pocket; I was afraid of being exposed: here it is. Now, Sir, you may search me". Wade was so struck that he gave the man a hundred pounds - and immediately the genius of generosity, whose province is almost a sinecure, was very glad of the opportunity of making him find his own snuffbox, or another very like it, in his own pocket again.

No doubt he drank and ate liberally as was usual then, and although Clarke in *The Georgian Era* of 1833 primly says that he was a worthy man 'where women were not concerned', it was not considered dreadful to have illegitimate children in that more robust age. He had his portrait painted not less than five times, and seems to have treated the artist of one, Jerome Van Diest, as a particular protégé He

introduced him to friends, including Allen, and left him money in his will to see that he should not starve.

He voted assiduously for the Government in Parliament, but did not speak regularly, except on military matters. However, there must have been a good deal of conversation in the Coffee Houses on matters affecting life in Britain and the Whig universe. The gist of some of these is told us by Bishop Newton in the Preface to his *Dissertation on the Prophecies* published in 1754:

What first suggested this design were some conversations formerly with a great general, who was a man of good understanding and some reading, but unhappily had no regard for revealed religion, and when the prophecies were urged as a proof of revelation, constantly derided them.

The Elder Statesman

Wade resigned his command in Scotland in 1740, having been made a full General the previous year. He was regarded by now as something of an elder statesman, to be consulted by friends and also by his monarch, who made him a Privy Councillor in 1742, and Lt-General of the Ordnance. The elder statesman was soon back in action however on the outbreak of hostilities with France in 1744. The King had decided not to lead the allied army himself, but to make Wade a Field-Marshal and to send him instead.

The appointment was a mistake. Wade was too old for the responsibility and not strong enough either to overrule his joint commanders or to outmanoeuvre the superior army of the French. He soon fell sick and by the end of the year was back in England. There was talk of his having bungled it, but the King was satisfied, pronouncing him 'an able officer ... but not alert'.



Wade's memorial in Westminster Abbey

Even so, the following year he was put in command of the army sent to stop the advance of Prince Charles Edward Stuart into England. This time he did bungle it - but so did the Duke of Cumberland. Wade hesitated at Newcastle and the Prince slipped past him to take Carlisle and then on, evading Cumberland, to Derby. Wade finally retired, aged 73, and Cumberland took over his command.

Wade became a temporary target for satire, but he remained in favour with the King and with the Corporation of Bath who re-elected him in 1747, which says much for his established good character. His retirement was thus honourable, if short, for he died in 1748 at his house in Bath, reputedly leaving a fortune of £100,000 to his two sons, both army captains, and his two daughters. His memorial, carved by Roubiliac, is in Westminster Abbey, but was apparently mourned over by its sculptor because placed too high to be properly appreciated.

Wade's personality is an elusive one and this is perhaps because he was not greatly out of the ordinary in any respect; more solid than brilliant, as he has been described. But he had several different sides to his character, all the same. The portraits show a gentleman typical of the late 17th or early 18th century, conventionally good-looking, a strong face, yet not without humour and sensitivity. Kind and generous, he undoubtedly was; practical in his assessment of what was needed in Scotland and competent in carrying this through. A good leader of small parties of men if not of large armies.

Politically and morally he was typical of the Whiggish Augustan Age with its belief in the supremacy of Man, and His consequent responsibility to maintain Order through good works and public building. His interest in architecture and the arts was obviously genuine and strong; it came out in the houses he built; in his friendship with some of the great patrons of the age; and in his concern for the artists themselves, such as Van Diest, and for their works, such as Campbell's Shawfield. That the interest was always there is shown by his bringing back a large unwieldy Rubens cartoon from Flanders, not the chosen

booty of every soldier. With all the high ideals went a somewhat coarse and rowdy way of life and a definite shrewdness in amassing a personal fortune - a contradiction typical of the 18th century.

It all adds up to an impression of a rather likeable and balanced man, and a civilised one, but also one whom everyone took so much for granted in these qualities that he faded slightly into the background, and little was actually recorded of him. It is of some significance however that both in Scotland and in Bath, the places with which he was longest connected, his name is associated with improvement, which is more than most men can hope for.



An engraving, c. 1750 showing the ground floor of 14

Abbey Churchyard as a shop

Later History of 14 Abbey Churchyard

When Marshal Wade died in 1748, his two sons, to whom he had left most of his property, sold the London house and presumably also gave up his tenancy in Bath. By this time the main residential quarter had moved further up the hill to the new squares and crescents being laid out by the Woods, Elder and Younger, leaving the centre of the town to public entertainments and commercial activity. It is not surprising, therefore, to find an engraving of about 1750 showing Wade's house with an awning over the ground floor windows, looking as though what were originally kitchen and service quarters had already been converted into a shop - and this may indeed have happened in Wade's lifetime. Later engravings show the shop clearly, with small alterations being made, no doubt, to suit the different proprietors.

The upper floors would still have had some fine rooms, probably let out as sets of lodgings as before. There is a tradition that Gainsborough rented one of these apartments in the late 1750s, before he moved to the Circus, but other evidence suggests that he stayed with his sister in a house on the south side of the Churchyard, later demolished to make way for the Pump Room extension. The legend no doubt arose because Wade's house was thought more fitting for an honoured visitor, one of whose works was a portrait of Captain Wade, the Marshal's nephew, and Master of Ceremonies in the New Rooms in 1769.

Towards the end of the century the Cheap Street front was demolished, together with part of the house. What remained would still have been larger than the present house, since it ran right through the block, but the main staircase was probably lost, as well as any grand reception rooms on that side.



An imaginative (and quite incorrect) reconstruction of the ground floor, drawn by Lansdown in the mid 19th century.

The present, rather ordinary, staircase may have been built at this time, to replace the one that had been demolished. It seems to have been inserted into an existing hall which ran through from the Cheap Street side to the Churchyard entrance (which would explain the stranded arch at the foot of the stairs), and possibly there was a separate flight up to the first floor from the other side.

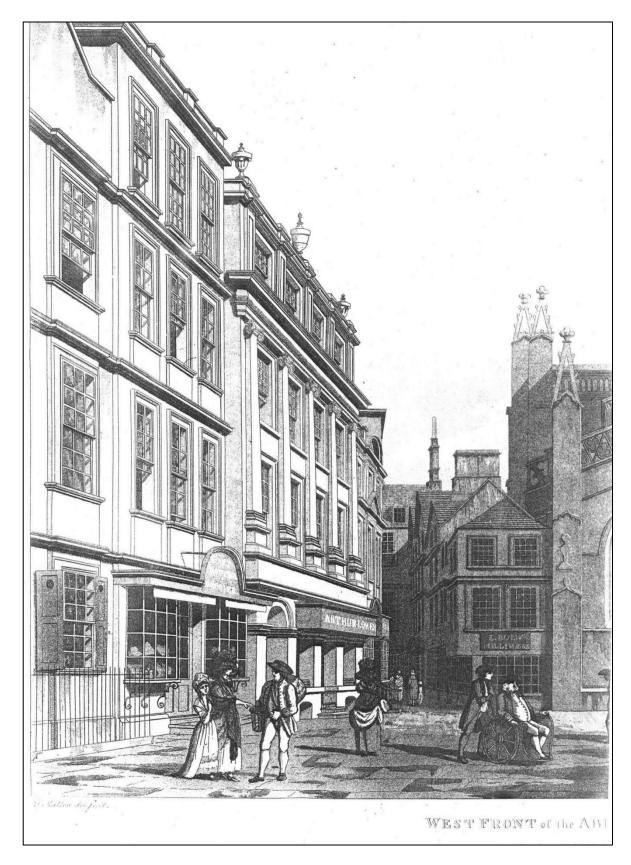
The next alterations were made in the Regency period, around 1810-20. At this time the large room on the first floor was formed, with its fine plasterwork, and the existing shop front was inserted. From the discovery of a fireplace behind the curved end of the first floor room it appears that there were originally two rooms there, as on the second floor, probably with the same painted panelling and cornices, characteristic of the early 18th century. No doubt these now seemed inconveniently small, particularly if there were no longer any large rooms on the Cheap Street side of the house.

That the staircase is not of the same quality as the other Regency work supports the argument that it was built to fulfill an immediate need in earlier, more hurried, alterations brought about by the sudden loss of part of the house, and was not part of an attempt to render the premises more grand.

We do not know what the ground storey looked like before the Regency alterations, but that it cannot have been as shown in the mid-19th-century engraving by Lansdown with rustication and square windows is certain. This must be an imaginative recreation based on Palladian convention; the 18th-century engravings seem to show arched windows and smooth ashlar walls.

In a scrapbook in the Bath Reference Library there is a small engraved advertisement which depicts Wade's house with the new shop front and the name Woodford written above it. Round the edge it reads, 'Irish Linen and Muslin Warehouse, of Abbey Churchyard and Cheap Street, Crapes, Bombazeens

Funerals Furnish'd'. A business that took such trouble to advertise itself may well have taken the trouble to erect a smart new shop front as well.



Woodford's might also have furnished Miss Martha Hume with the extras of her trade, which was that of Straw Hat Manufacturer. She probably had her show-room in the fine upper room, or one of the floors above. We know of her because she is listed as being in business there in a Directory for 1822.

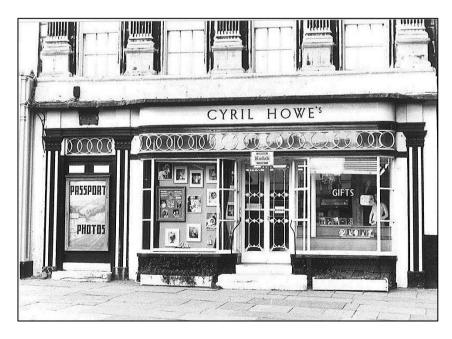
In 1839 the shop belonged to John Wright, Silversmith, Jeweller and Perfumer, and in an elevation drawing of Cheap Street in 1840 the other side has 'Wright, Goldsmith and Jeweller' written above it, showing that the premises still ran right through the block. By 1859 it had passed into the hands of Edward Tiley, Seedsman. In 1861 he had expanded his business to that of Nurseryman as well, but was sharing the building with Miss Harriet Hooper, Dressmaker, who no doubt had one of the upper floors, like Martha Hume. In 1883 Mrs Grace Tiley was running the shop, styling herself as Florist in addition to the rest, and her sons, Tiley Brothers, were still there in 1889.

None of these different tradesmen owned the freehold of the house. Abbey Churchyard was still glebe property, and the houses in it belonged to the Church, which granted them on leases of various lengths. The Tileys lease seems to have come to an end in 1894, because in that year the British Auxiliary Bible Society opened a depot there.

The Society seems, before long, to have found the space too large for its sole use; so, at the beginning of this century, the shop was leased to Thomas Dytes, Stationer and Bookseller, with the arrangement that he would still accommodate the Society's stock.



The flower pots on the upper window sills serve as a reminder of the Tiley family business



Then in 1920 the Church was in need of funds, and so the freehold of 14 Abbey Churchyard was sold to Mr Dyte, with the daunting proviso that he would not carry on any 'noisy noisome or offensive trade calling or business whatever'. Nor was he allowed to open a cinema, picture house, theatre or music hall, nor to set up in any of the following trades: 'Tanner Skinner Furrier Fellmonger Leather Dresser Blacksmith Brightsmith Coppersmith Wheelwright Bellhanger Ironmonger Cooper Farrier Butcher Slaughterman Melter of low Tallow Chandler Soap Boiler Plumber Brazier Glazier Brewer Beerhouse Keeper Beerseller Victualler' - none of which occupations had probably ever entered his head.

The Dyte family carried on until 1961, when they sold the building to Cyril Howe. He set up his photography shop there, and it was he who divided the house into two, with separate halves facing onto Cheap Street and the Churchyard. The top two floors of No 14 became a self-contained flat. Then in late 1975 he put the Churchyard side up for sale. It was bought by the Landmark Trust early the following year.

It seemed sensible to keep the long-established division of shop and flat, to bring in extra income. Similarly, when a lease of the Cheap Street side was offered some years later, it seemed sensible to take this on, making it possible for the shop at least to regain its former size.



Before restoration

Restoration by the Landmark Trust

When the Landmark Trust bought Marshal Wade's House in 1976 the interior of the building was rather a mess. This was particularly true of the shop, and the fine room above it which had been used as the photographer's studio, with polystyrene tiles stuck to the ceiling and the windows blacked out. But the original decoration and architectural detail was still there, and simply needed sympathetic treatment, to enable the rooms to speak for themselves again. The plan was to restore the two lower floors for use as a shop and gallery; while the upper floors would make a fine Landmark flat.

Throughout the building, the pine panelling was stripped of wallpaper and painted as it would originally have been; oak floors were uncovered and polished; fireplaces removed from their hiding places and repaired. The windows had all been renewed at some point but the dummy window on the top floor still had its original thick glazing bars and this was used as the pattern for renewing the rest.

The only structural alterations were those needed to block off the shop from the staircase; and the removal of a staircase leading from the shop to the basement, which took up valuable floor space. The details of all this can be seen in the plans that follow. Of course there was also the introduction of modern services to be thought of and the fitting out of the shop, as described at the time by the architect responsible for the work, Mr David Brain:

The works included the complete renewal of services and the necessary treatment and reinstatement throughout to put the whole building in first class order, whilst retaining everything worthwhile from earlier times. Considerable ingenuity was used in several ways to achieve this. For instance in the flat, in order to expose and keep as much as possible of the panelling, a complete kitchen was purpose made in the form of an island unit placed centrally in the room.

In the lower floors, much rich decorative plasterwork has been cleaned and restored. The shop fitting inside has been carried out in a manner in keeping with the several surviving Regency features, and the shop front itself has been restored to its original appearance. Glazing bars have been reinstated and much architectural detail in the enriched mouldings etc has been cleaned and revealed and the whole decorated in such a manner as to expose it once again to its former magnificence.

The interior would thus have satisfied the Marshal himself and was to be enjoyed by many over next few years, but the state of the front still gave cause for concern. In 1979 it was decided that something must be done to stop the erosion of the stone-work, which was rapidly crumbling away. The work was too delicate to withstand the sand-blasting or fierce acids most commonly used for such cleaning work. Accordingly the advice of Professor R.W. Baker was sought, who had worked on the conservation of the cathedrals at Exeter and Wells. Under his guidance gentler methods were used.

The stonework was first washed with an intermittent spray of water, to soften the black incrustation and wash out damaging salts with a minimum amount of water. The sculptured decoration was given an extra cleansing by applying a poultice of newly-slaked lime directly to its surface, an even gentler method of softening the incrustation and removing the hard chemical surface skin.

All this work took far longer than was expected and the architect, Mr Derek Stollar, said it was the worst case he had ever had to deal with. In places, the solid black incrustation was two inches thick and looked like a weird volcanic stone. He thought the reason for this was that, being in the shelter of the Abbey, the front was not continually washed by the action of the wind and rain as with more exposed buildings.

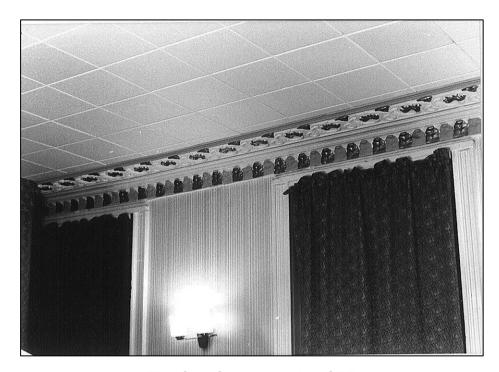
When the front had been cleaned, a certain amount of repair work was needed: cavities and small broken areas of moulding were made up with a mixture of well slaked lime, limestone dust, fine sand and ceramic material, all closely related to the stone itself. Where there was thought to be danger of stone actually falling, small areas were replaced, using Bath stone.

The next task was to prevent any further erosion and decay taking place. To do this, the facade was first of all flooded with something like twenty applications of lime water to replace the calcium which had been dissolved from the weaker parts. Mouldings which projected were covered with ead to throw off the rain. Lastly, the surface of the stone was treated with a very thin coat of slaked lime and stone dust to fill any remaining cavities and to prevent any further accumulation of moisture - which would be the beginning of the next phase of blackening and deterioration.

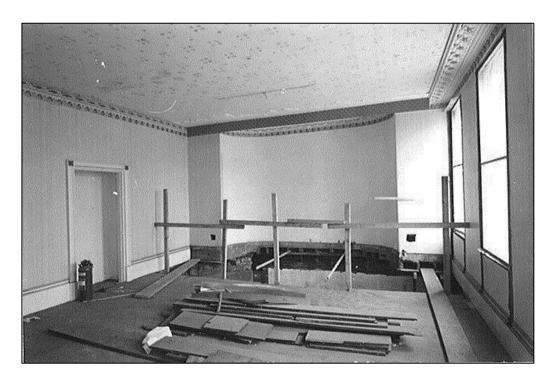
The final task was the replacement of the urns on the parapet, which are so important a part of the original design. They were still there as recently as 1955 but they had eroded badly and become unsafe. The fragments still exist but it would have been impossible to rebuild them, so three new urns were made, using what evidence was provided by the fragments, and photographs of the originals in situ.

The close resemblance between the Marshal Wade's House urns and those at Widcombe Manor made the task easier, since the sculptor could copy the detail from these. Great care was taken to check the one against the other at all stages and the finished result is as near to perfect as it is possible to be.

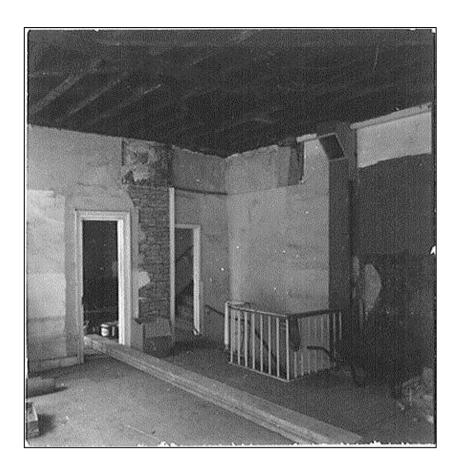
With the urns back in place, only the job of touching up the paintwork remained to be done before Marshal Wade's House could stand fully revealed once more as one of the major architectural ornaments of the City of Bath.



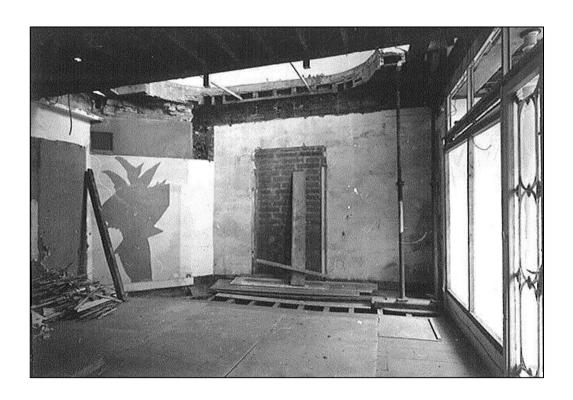
The first floor room in 1975

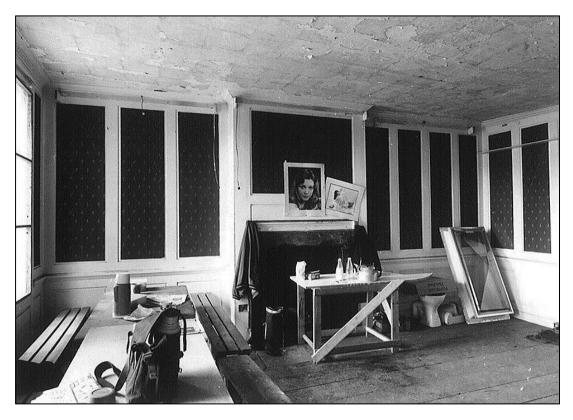


The first floor room in 1975

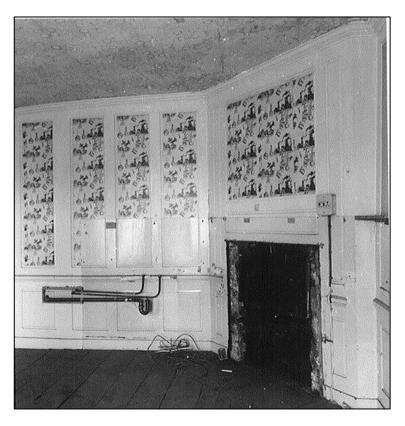


Inside the shop during building work

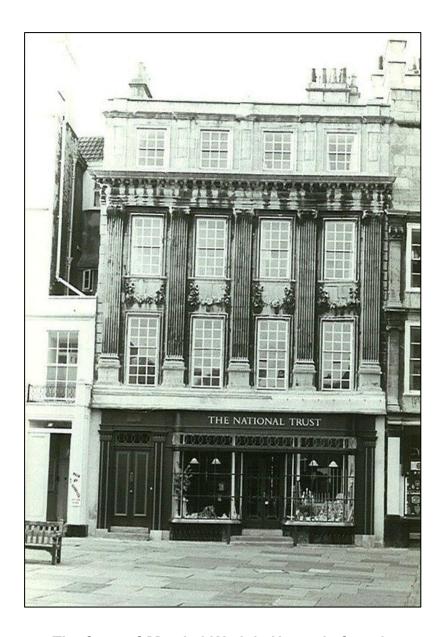




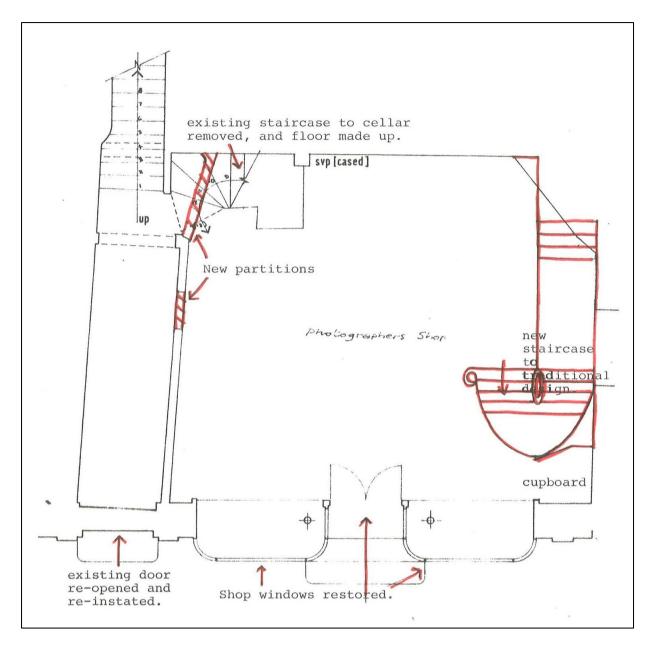
The sitting room in 1975



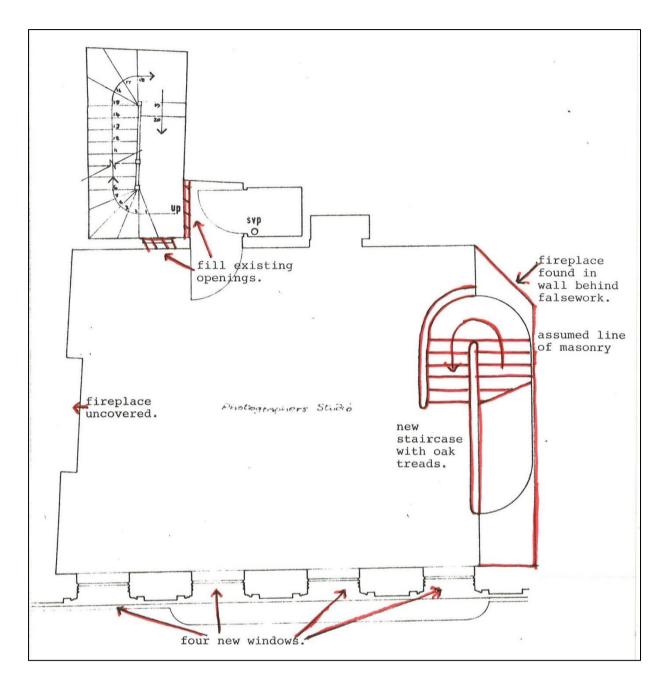
The kitchen



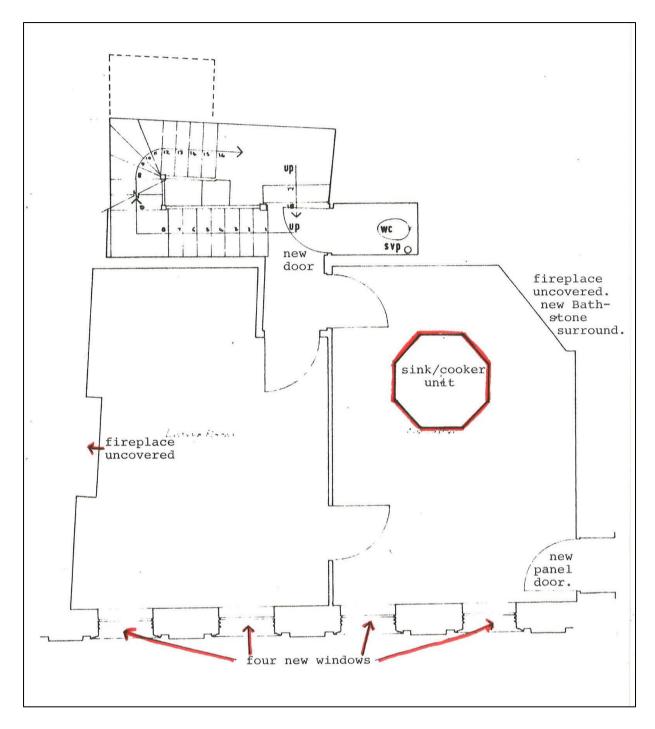
The front of Marshal Wade's House before the cleaning of the stone-work in 1978



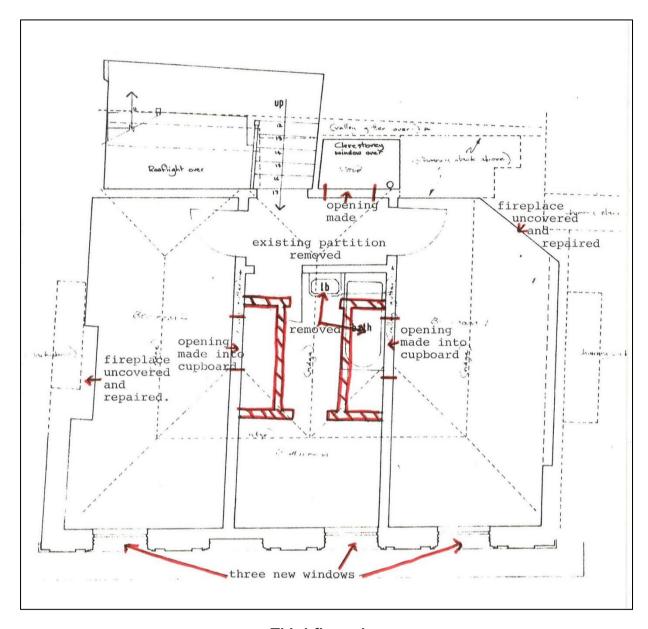
Ground floor plan



First floor plan



Second floor plan



Third floor plan

Some Verse Inspired by General Wade

General Wade proved an irresistible subject for writers of bad verse. Most often (and variously quoted) is the modest rhyme:

If you had seen these roads before they were made You would lift up your hands and Bless General Wade.

In general, however, the admirers of the roads and bridges do not let us off so lightly, as the following two examples will show:

Macdonald the Bard's Salutation to General Wade

'Hail! Fav'rite of Great Britain's Throne, Prime Executor of her Law! Whose Skill and foreward, Zeal alone Could Fierceness to Submission draw.

Thro' rugged Rocks you forc'd a Way Where Trade and Commerce now are found, The Indigent look brisk and gay, Since Plenty does thro' you abound.

The steepest Mountain opes her Womb, To let her Sons and Hero meet; Who would have dream'd it was her Doom E'er to have vy'd with London Street.

Tay-Bridge to the Passenger

Long has Old SCOTIA Desolation fear'd,
Pensive, 'till an auspicious Star appear'd:
But soon as the Celestial Power came down
To smile on Labour, and on Sloth to frown;
SCOTIA reviving, rais'd her drooping Crown;
Discord and Barrenness confess'd their Doom;
One clos'd her Feuds, and t'other op'd her Womb;
Rocks inaccessible a Passage knew,
And Men, too fond of Arms, consent to plow.

Not less surprizing was the daring Scheme,

That fix'd my station in this rapid Stream.
The North and South rejoice to see Me Stand,
Uniting in my function, Hand in Hand,
Commerce and Concord, Life of ev'ry Land!
But...who could force rough Nature thus to ply,
Becalm the Torrents, and teach Rocks to fly?
What Art, what Temper, and what manly Toil,
Could smoothe the rugged Sons of Abria's Soil?

Methinks the anxious Reader's at a stand,
Not knowing, George for GEORGE (to bless the Land
Averse t'Obedience) spoke the stern Command.
And still he seems perplex'd till he is told,
That Wade was skilful, and that Wade was bold.
Thus shall his Fame, with GEORGE'S glory rise
Till Sun and Moon shall tumble from the Skies.

It would be too much for the strongest to have Webster's *Ode to the Right Hon Lieutenant General Wade, on his disarming of the Highlands imitated from* administered in full, or the anonymous *Albania*, dedicated to Wade by its Editor. The lines written in praise of this same Editor by Aaron Hill may not prove overharmful, however:

More than just thy mind, more generous in thy muse! Albanian born, this English theme to choose: No partial flattery need thy verse invade, That in the ear of Scotland sounds a Wade. When ages hence, his last line's lengthener dies And his lost dust reveals not where it lies; Still shall his living greatness guard his name, And his works lift him to immortal fame. Then shall astonished armies, marching high, O'er causewayed mountains that invade the sky, Climb the raised arch, that sweeps its distant throw, Cross the tumbling floods, which roar unheard below, Gaze from the cliff's cut edge, through the midway air, And, trembling, wonder at their safety there! Pierce fenny deeps with firm unsinking tread, And o'er drained deserts wholesome empire spread. While charmed, the soldier dwells on wonders past, Some chief, more knowing and more touched - at last, Shall, pointing, to the attentive files, explain,

How, many a century since - in George's reign, Wade's working soul, that graced his prince's throne, Built these vast monuments - and spared hisown.

Wade reached the highest point of his career in verse at the outset of the '45 when the following verse appeared, to be sung to a well known tune:

Lord, Grant that Marshal Wade May, by Thy mighty aid, Victory bring! May he sedition hush, And like a torrent rush Rebellious Scots to crush God save the King.

The Evening Post were more sceptical however:

Old honest Wade, in former days,
Taught Highlanders to mend their ways;
And now displays great George's banners
In hopes, ere long, to mend their manners.
An Highland politician cries 'Gud, make our ministers more wise;
None but these loons to play this match!
Gud's wuns! 'twill irritate the Scatch!

The evening Post was right and the campaign that had opened with such acclaim was to close to the sound of ribaldry:

Cope could not cope, Nor Wade wade through the snow Nor Hawley haul His cannon to the foe

And to rub it in further:

And, pray, who so fit to lead forth this parade, As the babe of Tangier, my old grandmother Wade? Whose cunning's so quick, but whose motions so slow, That the rebels march'd on, while he stuck in the snow.

Fortunately, memories are short, and Wade was soon back in favour with the ode makers, for instance a Mr D. McBane, who fittingly closed his lengthy work with a neat epitaph:

When therefore, he is dead and gone, Let this be writ upon his stone: He never liked the narrow road, But ran the King's Highway to God.

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