

THE DIARY OF MARY ANNE NICHOLS, 1823–1834, A PUBLISHER'S DAUGHTER IN HAMMERSMITH

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SUMMARY

This is an account of the diary of Mary Nichols, daughter of John Bowyer Nichols, a London publisher who lived at The Chancellors, a large house by the Thames at Hammersmith between 1831 and 1846. As editors of the Gentleman's Magazine and publishers of many county histories the Nicholsons were at the centre of the network of antiquaries, genealogists and local historians that existed during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. They were also members of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society and printed the early volumes of Transactions. Mary's diary testifies to the broad interests of her family and provides a unique insight into both their private and social life, identifying many of the publishers and writers who were entertained at their home. It also includes information relating to Hammersmith and its inhabitants during the 1830s, and tells us much about the education Mary and her siblings received at local schools.

In 1839 the London firm of Nichols and Son published *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Hammersmith* by Thomas Faulkner. Consisting of a detailed description of the Hammersmith area in the early 19th century, its church, principal houses, notable parishioners, commercial life, charities and schools, it was well received by contemporaries¹ and remains an invaluable source for the history of Hammersmith at a time of unprecedented growth and development. At the same time as Faulkner was gathering his materials, however, Mary Anne Nichols, the daughter of Faulkner's publisher, John Bowyer Nichols of The Chancellors, a large house near the suspension bridge in Hammersmith, was

keeping a daily account of her life in a series of almanack pocket book diaries. I discovered these manuscripts, bound into a single tiny volume, in a London bookshop in 1982. They cover the years 1823 to 1834 and provide a fascinating insight into the daily life and interests of a young lady between the ages of nine and twenty-one (Fig 1). The Nichols family moved to Hammersmith in 1831 and through her diary Mary offers us a valuable glimpse of the neighbourhood at a time of rapid expansion. The domestic detail which her diary contains is complemented by her account of the guests her family entertained at their home, the locals they came to know, the places they visited and the church and local schools which they attended.

EARLY LIFE

Mary Anne Iliffe Nichols was born on 5 April 1813 in her family's apartments above their printing office in Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street. She was the eldest daughter of John Bowyer Nichols (1779–1863), publisher and editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*², (Fig 2) and his wife, Eliza Baker (1784–1846). (For further information on the Baker family see Pooley 1992.) The Nichols firm was responsible for printing and publishing many of the county histories written during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and successive members of the family were also respected as authors and meticulous editors in their own right. Mary's grandfather, John Nichols (1745–1826), is remembered today as much for his monumental *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* 8 vols,

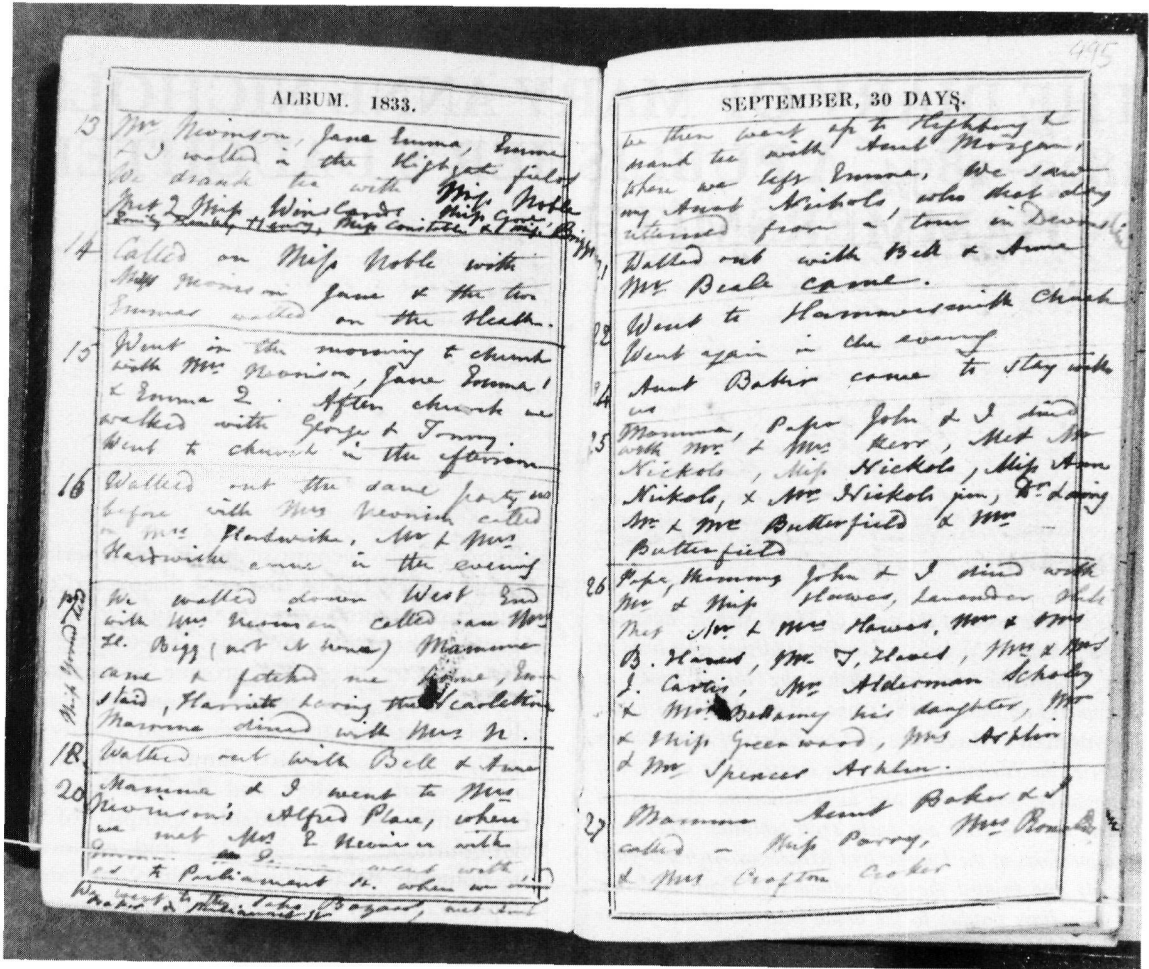


Fig 1. Typical pocket book diary entries for the period 13 to 27 September 1833. Between 13 and 17 September Mary was staying in Hampstead with the Nevinson family. She visited her aunts Nichols in Highbury on 20 September and her music teacher, William Beale, called on her at home on 21 September. Her visits to Mrs Ronalds and Mrs Croker can be seen in her entry for 27 September.

(1795–1815) as for his encyclopaedic biographical survey, *The Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* 9 vols (1812–1815). Her father continued and completed John Nichols’s biographical works as well as editing many books of his own, while her brother, John Gough Nichols, (1806–1873), wrote and edited many important studies relating to English history, topography, heraldry and genealogy (Fig 3). Alongside their literary achievements the Nicholsons were also involved in the establishment of learned societies and often printed their transactions. The first six volumes of the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, published between 1860 and 1890, were printed by the Nichols firm. They were members of both the Society and its

Council and John Gough Nichols contributed some 24 papers to the first three volumes. Writing an account of the first seventy years of the Society in 1933, C.W.F. Goss paid tribute to ‘the kindly offices of that amiable and intelligent person, John Gough Nichols, one of the most accurate antiquaries of his time [who] who voluntarily undertook and brilliantly performed the task of collaborating with Mr Hugo in editing all publications’ of the Society. After John Gough Nichols’s death these editorial responsibilities passed to a committee of the Council (Goss 1933). Mary Nichols was, therefore, born into a family who were an integral part of the closely-knit early 19th century community of antiquaries, writers and publishers. Her diary takes us to the



Fig 2. John Bowyer Nichols photographed by Kent and Hennah of Brighton c.1860. Reproduced from the Memoir of him published privately in 1864. This Memoir was an extended version of the obituary which had been published in the Gentleman's Magazine 1863 ii, 794-8 (reproduced by permission of Hammersmith and Fulham Archives and Local History Centre).

heart of this world, providing a fascinating insight into her domestic and social environment and testifying to the broad interests and contacts which her family enjoyed (for an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of Mary's diary as a historical document see Pooley 1995). From the age of nine she kept a written account of her life, initially in the form of brief entries in her pocket diaries and later, as her interests in art, architecture and history developed, in more detailed journals of her travels throughout England and Europe³. In 1823, when Mary appears to have first begun to keep a diary, she was living at her family's new business premises at 25 Parliament Street, Westminster⁴. They had moved there in 1819 (Anon 1864), partly to be closer to Parliament and thus facilitate her father's printing of the *Votes* and *Proceedings* of the House of Commons but perhaps also to acquire more accommodation for the expanding Nichols nursery. Mary and her brother, John Gough



Fig 3. Autotype photographic portrait of John Gough Nichols in his sixtieth year, taken 2 February 1866 (reproduced from Nichols, 1874, by kind permission of the owner).

Nichols, had been joined by a brother, Bowyer Edmund, in 1814⁵ and by two sisters, Emma and Harriett, in 1816 and 1819 respectively. Within a few years even Parliament Street must have become cramped with the arrival of two more sisters, Isabella and Anna, in 1821 and 1823 and two brothers, Robert and Francis, in 1824 and 1826, and by 1827 we find the Nichols family living away from the noise of London in Matrimony Place in Clapham⁶.

By 1831 John Bowyer and his wife were planning to move again. In March they looked at a house in St Anne's Hill in Wandsworth and during the early summer went over several more in Lavender Hill, Streatham and Dulwich before deciding on a property in Hammersmith in July. On Monday 25 July Mary wrote,

Mamma Emma and I went to see the house at Hammersmith for which Papa was in treaty. Met Papa there we were much pleased⁷

Mary chronicles the move to Hammersmith with some excitement. Throughout August and September she and her parents visited the house frequently and attended sales in the area to

purchase furniture for their new home. On 9 August Mary

... went with Papa Mamma and Mr Mills to Barnes Elms to see some furniture Live Stock &c previous to a sale on the 10th. Barnes Elms formerly belonged to the R Hoare's family and is now the property of Colebrook Esq, the owner of Papa's house at Hammersmith⁸

The process of moving began on 15 September when

The Books and some Furniture were moved to Hammersmith. Mamma and I were there all day. Papa and Francis came to tea.

The family moved in on 29 September.

THE CHANCELLORS

Standing in five acres of grounds on the banks of the Thames, The Chancellors was a large property dating from the 17th century which derived its name from being owned by the chancellor of St Paul's cathedral. An indenture of 1649, held with other deeds relating to the property at the Guildhall Library, provides much information about the appearance of both the house and its grounds in the mid 17th century⁹. The house is described as

... consisting of a Fore Court, and Little hall, a Kitchen, Five Parlours, a wash howse, Two Cellars. Above Stayers, A Dyneing room waynscotted, a Closet and two Chambers on the same floore, Fower Chambers Two of which wainscotted in the Third Story, In the Fowerth Story One garrett, and over that a Turrett led ...

The estate was sold with other lands belonging to the Dean and Chapter in 1649¹⁰ but reverted to the chancellor at the Restoration (Faulkner 1839). It was subsequently leased to the Slade family who, Faulkner tells us, considerably enlarged the property by building onto the existing structure. The leasehold passed from the Slades to the Osbaldiston family who gave the house the name of The Refuge and later sold the lease to Sir Thomas Colebrook. We are able to gain an impression of the appearance of the property when Mary first saw it from the view preserved in the *Panorama of the Thames* drawn, probably by John Clark, in 1830¹¹ (Fig 4). It stood in spacious grounds to the east of the new suspension bridge, between Queen Street Wharf and the site of Brandenburg House. A row of poplars along the river bank, together with the river wall, a low hedge and what appears to have been a garden wall shield all but the upper storey and roof of the house from our view; but the discovery of a plan of the ground floor of the

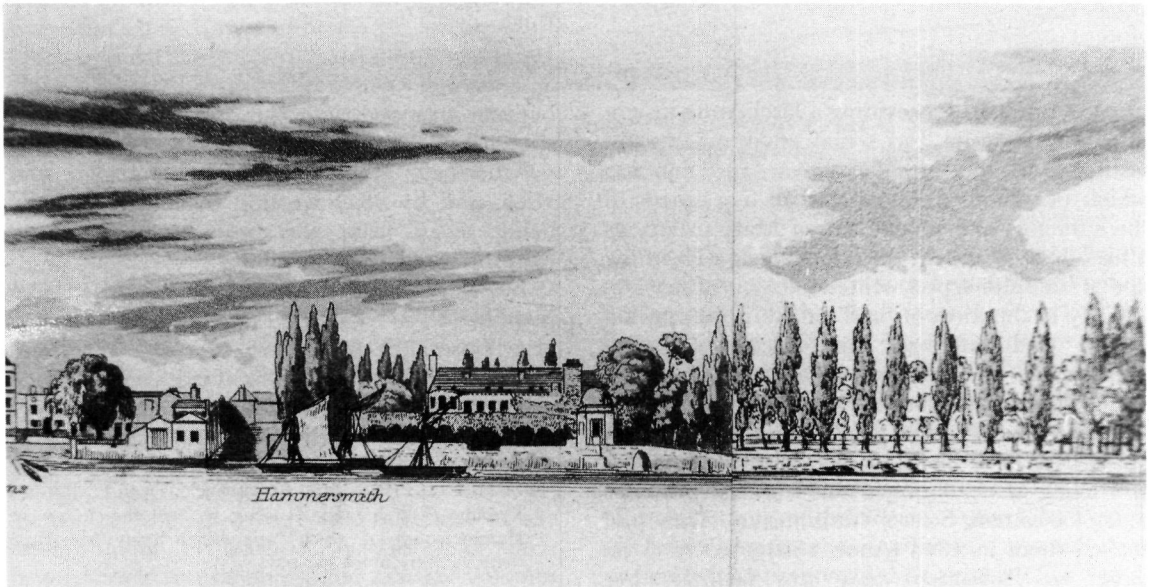


Fig 4. *The Chancellors* viewed from the river, reproduced from *Panorama of the Thames* c.1830. Queen Street Wharf lies slightly to the left of the word 'Hammersmith' and *The Chancellors* can be seen amongst the trees immediately behind the river bank and garden wall. The domed ceiling of the 'Greek Temple' summer house can be seen on the right (reproduced by permission of Hammersmith and Fulham Archives and Local History Centre).

house drawn by Mary's brother, Robert¹² (Fig 5), together with an etching of the property made by Mary in 1836¹³ (Fig 6), enable us to obtain a better view of the Nichols's new home. It was a large three storey house with a long Georgian facade extending for some one hundred feet parallel with the river. The main door in the central bay on the front of the house opened into a spacious hall which led to the right into the dining room and to the left into the drawing rooms, the larger of which had an apsidal end with French windows leading out into the garden. A kitchen and a greenhouse were located at the rear of the building, suggesting that the wall seen from the river may have enclosed a kitchen garden. A small gate at the eastern end of this wall led to the river bank. From the right wing of the house a structure described by Faulkner as a 'Grecian Temple' stretched towards the river.

This consisted of two octagons crowned by domes connected by an open verandah supported by two columns. Steps led down from this verandah into the garden. The southern octagon can be clearly seen in the *Panorama* (Fig 4), as can the tall poplars behind the house near the wharf. The date of this 'Temple' is difficult to assess, but it is interesting to compare these illustrations with the description of the grounds included in the deed of 1649,

... all that Garden and an Orchard inclosed with a brickwall, And all that Stable, with a loft, a necessary howse and a back yard conteyning by estimacon Three Roods; And all that Close of pasture ground adioyning to the foresaid Tenement on the South ... enclosed with a Brickwall on the East and West and Fishpond on the South, And all that Summer house of Brick unfinished, abutting upon the Wall on the East, And all that other little house in the Fashion of a Summer house built with

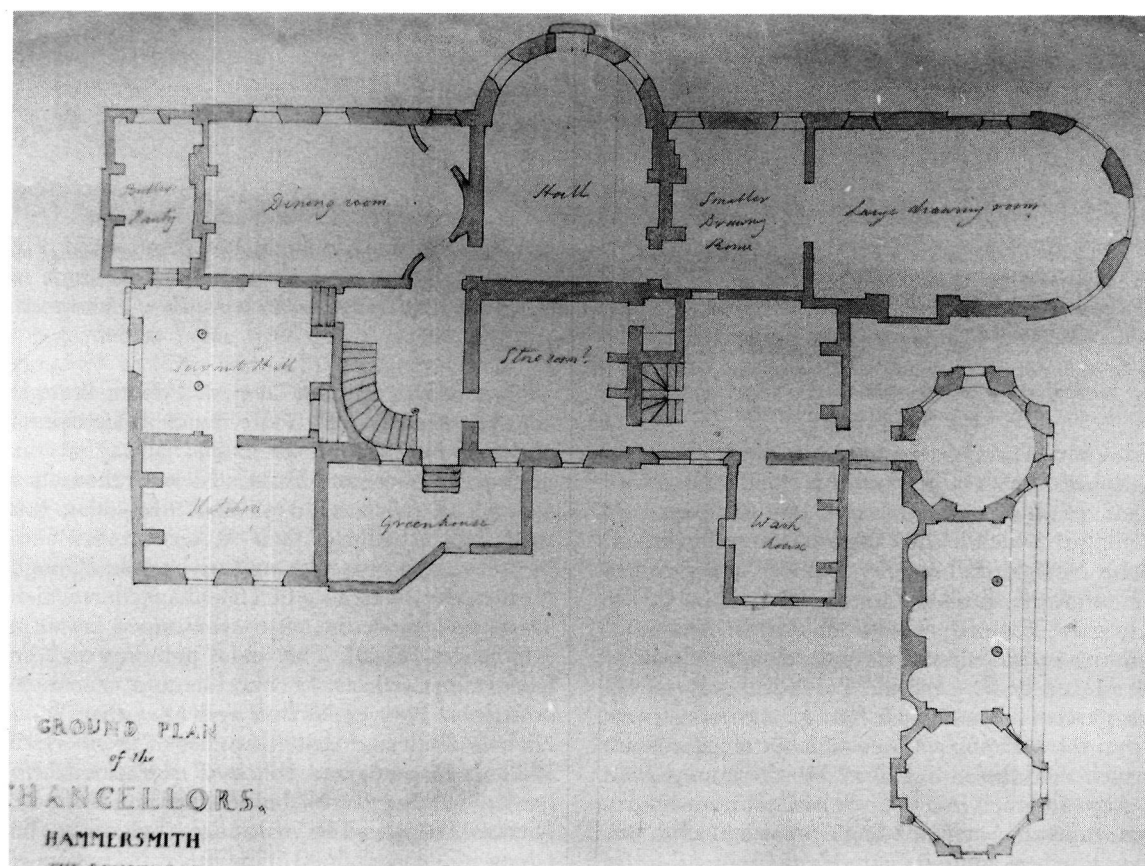


Fig 5. 'Ground plan of The Chancellors, Hammersmith, the Residence of J. B. Nichols Esq FSA. Drawn from Actual Measurements by R. C. Nichols.' Scale of original: half an inch equals five feet. The hall which contained the works of art catalogued in 'The Description published in 1839 can be seen at the top of the plan. The 'Greek Temple' or summer house lies at a right angle to the house on the right of the plan (reproduced by permission of Hammersmith and Fulham Archives and Local History Centre).



Fig 6. *The Chancellors* etched in 1836 by Mary Nichols. The main entrance in the central hall can be seen at the front of the building, while the 'Greek Temple' faces the tree on the left of the picture. The poplars behind the house can also be seen in the Panorama (Fig 4), forming the boundary between the estate and Queen Street Wharf (reproduced by permission of Hammersmith and Fulham Archives and Local History Centre).

brick abutting on the wall on the Weste, with a little garden thereto belonging next the Thames ...¹⁴

The house was ideally suited to the antiquarian tastes of Mary's father and was rapidly filled with the collection of paintings, stained glass and sculpture which he had inherited from his father, John Nichols, and acquired himself in the course of his work. Faulkner tells us that in 1839 the Grecian Temple contained several pieces of architectural sculpture from the chapter house of St Martin de Boscherville¹⁵ in Normandy as well as part of an elaborate Italian chimney piece from the parlour of 'Theobalds' in Hertfordshire which had been acquired by the antiquarian Richard Gough in 1765 and placed in his library at Enfield before being presented by his representative, John Farrer, to John Bowyer Nichols in 1834¹⁶.

By 1839 the house also contained a sufficient number of works of art to merit a survey of the principal paintings by Thomas Faulkner (Faulkner

1839) and the printing 'at their Private Press at The Chancellors' of a more detailed description of those hanging in the main hallway of the house by Robert and Francis Nichols, then aged 15 and 13 (Nichols 1839). It is likely that this work was a gift to their father on his 60th birthday. The text was written by John Gough Nichols and an etching of *The Chancellors* which Mary had made in 1836 was tipped in as a frontispiece (Fig 6). The list of paintings in *The Chancellors* reflects the interests and careers of both John Bowyer Nichols and his father, John Nichols. Both had written studies of the work of William Hogarth and collected examples of his work (Nichols 1781; Nichols & Steevens 1808–17; Nichols 1833). The entrance hall at *The Chancellors* contained Hogarth's 'Mystery of Masonry brought to light by the Gormagons' and a conversation piece which included a portrait of Hogarth's mother-in-law, Lady Thornhill. Elsewhere in the house were two oval

portraits of Hogarth's sisters, Mary and Anne, and his portrait of Mrs Rebecca Wainwright¹⁷. Other pictures in the hall included G. Clint's portrait of Mr Ashby, an engraver who lived in premises owned by John Bowyer Nichols in the Hackney Road¹⁸, and 'Sancho Panza's Interview with his wife' by Francis le Piper. An 18th-century landscape of Hyde Park by Jacob Schnebbelie (1760–1792), which hung in the entrance hall, was described by John Gough Nichols as of particular interest for the details of contemporary costume which it recorded¹⁹. Jacob Schnebbelie had been draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries and had contributed many of the plates which embellished Mary's grandfather's *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*²⁰. In addition to the paintings the hallway was ornamented with sculpture. On a table opposite the fire place was a copy of Bernini's bust of Charles I and near to it a bust of Charles Hutton, Professor of Mathematics at the Royal Military College, Woolwich. A bust of Inigo Jones was placed opposite. On fine days the room would have been coloured by the large collection of 15th and 16th-century heraldic stained glass which Mary's father had placed in the windows (Nichols 1839; Nichols 1864).

Mary's 1836 etching of *The Chancellors* shows that her home stood in stately grounds and this is confirmed by the Hammersmith poor rate assessment of December 1844²¹ which describes the garden as being over one acre size and the meadow as five acres. John Salter's map of Hammersmith in 1830 (Fig 7), and Roberts' map of the parish of 1853 (Fig 8), based on the tithe map of 1845, include *The Chancellors'* estate and provide an idea of the extent of the garden and meadow. On 8 October 1832 Mary wrote that it had been a 'Very windy day. We were busy gathering apples and pears and walnuts', and in 1839 Faulkner noted that the estate included a number of trees, particularly walnuts, mulberries and cherries. The garden also contained a tree described by a correspondent to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1834,i,499) as 'one of the finest specimens of the *Gleditschia Triachanthus* in England', as well as the trunk of an old Cedar of Lebanon which had been felled in the grounds of nearby Butterwick House in 1836 and purchased by Mary's father. Each year Mary would invite her friends to *The Chancellors* in May and June to help in the haymaking. Prior to the construction of the suspension bridge the estate had been even larger, extending further to

the north, but in about 1827 a 'New Road' had been cut through the estate connecting Fulham Lane with Queen Street. The northern portion of the grounds which contained a large hot-house and grapery had thus become separated from the rest of the estate and was subsequently let to Thomas Livermore, a market gardener. Mary tells us that she walked in 'Livermore's garden' after church on Sunday 6 April 1834 but she does not describe it.

HORTICULTURE

Faulkner remarks that by 1839 John Bowyer Nichols had 'much improved' the grounds at *The Chancellors*, and further information relating to his interest in horticulture is provided both by his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1863,ii,794–8) and by his daughter in her diary. He had become a member of the Linnaean Society in 1812 and had taken part in the famous Sunday evening soirées hosted by Sir Joseph Banks, who had encouraged him to publish *A Selection of the Correspondence of Linnaeus and other Naturalists* in 1821. He appears to have become a member of the Horticultural Society in about 1832²², shortly after moving to Hammersmith, and Mary's diary shows us that she accompanied her parents to meetings and lectures organised by the Society at their rooms in Regent Street²³. On 23 May 1832 she records that she

went to the Horticultural Society ... to the third of a course of Lectures on Botany applied to Horticulture by John Lindley FRS. Assistant Sec.

Comparison between her recorded visits to meetings of the Horticultural Society and the *Transactions* of the Society²⁴ suggests that other lectures she attended may have included G.J. Townen's 'Observations and Discoveries connected with the Culture of Melons' delivered on 3 December 1833 and George Bentham's 'Report on ... Hardy Ornamental Plants raised in the Horticultural Society's Garden.' Fired with ideas and enthusiasm gained from these lectures and their visits to exhibitions at the Horticultural Society's garden at Chiswick the Nicholises began to plant shrubs and flowers around their estate and to take the advice of friends from the world of horticulture. In March 1834 they entertained John Adey Repton (1775–1860), son of the landscape gardener, Humphrey Repton (1752–1818)²⁵. Repton had trained as an architect with John Nash before collaborating with his

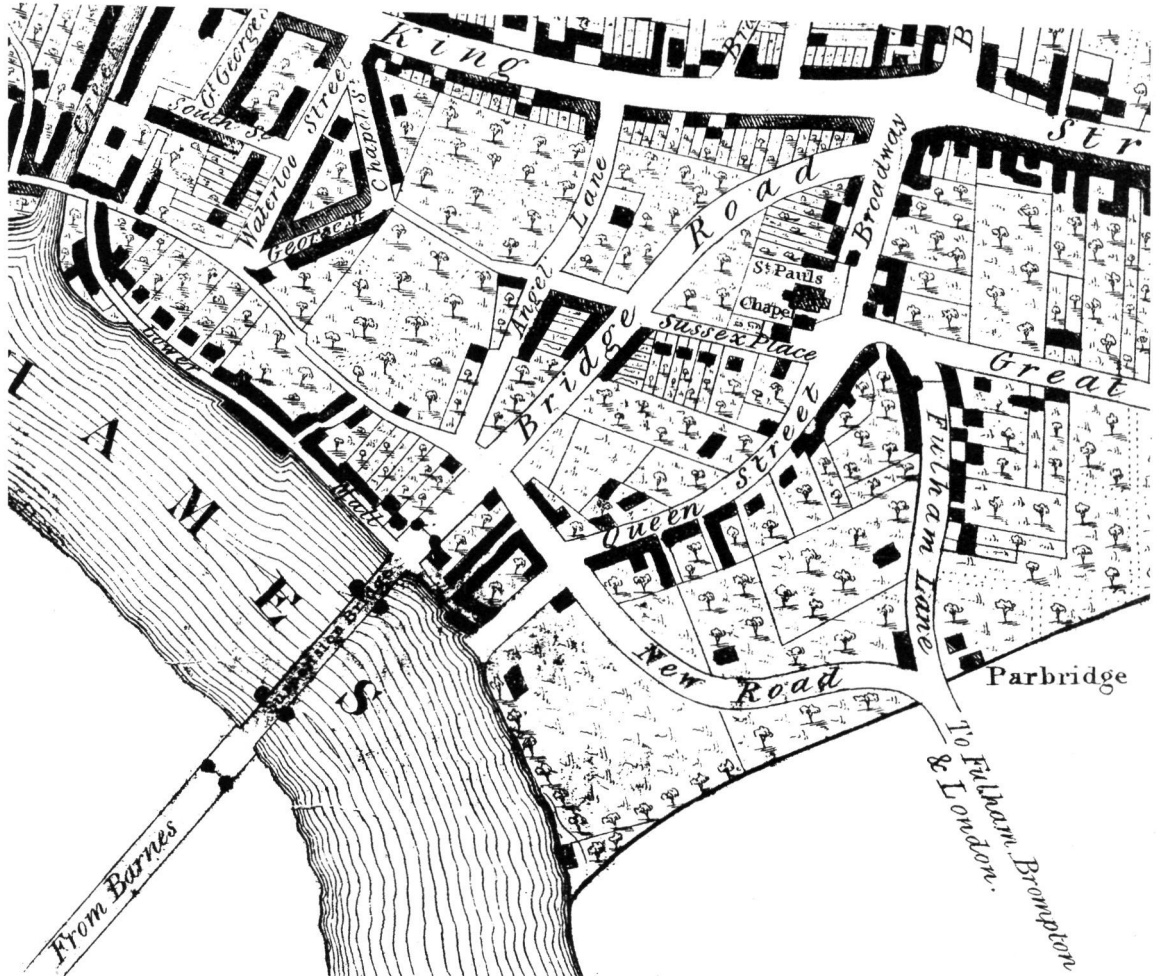


Fig 7. Part of the Survey of the Parish of Hammersmith 1830, by John Salter. The Chancellors estate can be seen to the south of the 'New Road' linking Queen Street with Fulham Lane (reproduced by permission of Hammersmith and Fulham Archives and Local History Centre).

father in the production of architectural designs as an accessory to landscape gardening. He would have known John Bowyer Nichols and his family through his interest in early architecture and it may be significant that an illustrated article by him relating to the font at Springfield, Essex, was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* three months after this visit. He stayed at The Chancellors for four days and on 14 March Mary tells us that

Papa Mamma, Emma and I went to Whiteley and Osborn's Nursery Ground Fulham, where Papa brought a good many evergreens for his improvements now making at the suggestion of Mr. Repton

These improvements were extensive. On 1 April Mary wrote again that she had been

Engaged with Mamma all the morning superintending the planting of 100 trees from Richmond Park given to Papa by Mr. Jesse

Edward Jesse (1780–1868) was an influential writer on natural history who in 1832 held the office of deputy surveyor of royal parks and palaces²⁶. The April issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* that year included a review of his most recent publication, *Gleanings in Natural History*, and it is tempting to see his gift of so many trees to Mary's father as related in some way to the magazine's promotion of his work. During the 1830s he was living in Richmond Park. It is possible that he was introduced to John Bowyer Nichols by their mutual friend, the poet John Mitford (1781–1859), who joined the staff of the

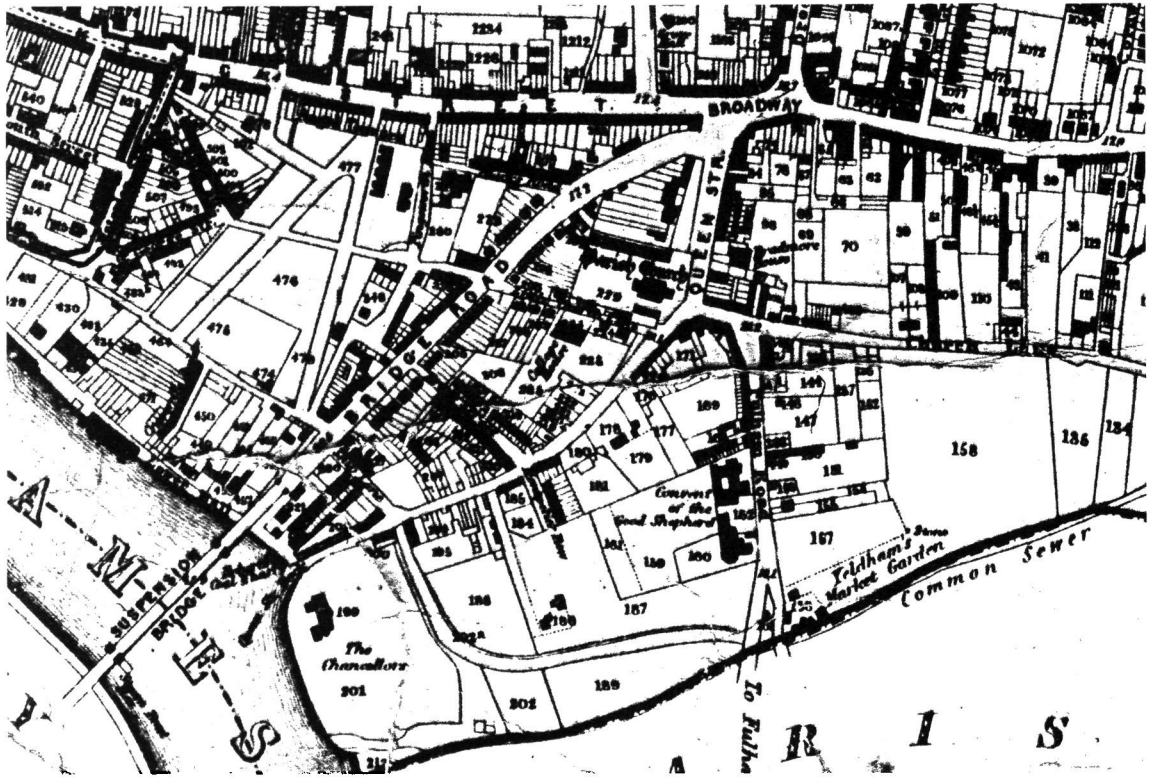


Fig 8. Roberts' map of Hammersmith of 1853, based on the tithe map of 1845. The Chancellors estate comprised the house, plot 199, 16 perches; stables and plots adjoining, plot 200, 32 perches; the park, plot 201, five acres, two roods and 16 perches; a garden, plot 202, three roods and one perch and a lodge and strip of garden, plot 202a, one rood and 10 perches (reproduced by permission of Hammersmith and Fulham Archives and Local History Centre).

Gentleman's Magazine in 1834 and who was deeply interested in Jesse's planned improvements in the royal parks²⁷.

Mary's diary shows her to have been fond of plants and a keen gardener. On 17 November 1834 she wrote, 'Planted my Tulips in the two oval beds in front of the house' and on 21 November, 'Attended Milbury taking up the Dahlias.' She also enjoyed the exhibitions of flowers organised by local nurserymen in Hammersmith as well as visiting other gardens in the area. On 12 May 1832 she and her sisters '... went ... to see a show of Tulips at Walker's the Toy Shop in Hammersmith' and on 23 June she tells us that

Papa, Mamma, the Miss Nevinsons Emma and I went to see a show of Geraniums at Coley and Hill's Hammersmith. Papa went to town, the rest of the party went to the Horticultural Gardens²⁸.

On 23 June she returned to Coley and Hills to see a 'show of Auriculas.' Her continued interest in gardening can also be seen in the reviews of

horticultural books which she wrote for the *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1834 and 1856²⁹.

There were several fine gardens in the Hammersmith area which could be visited. On Sunday 20 May 1832 Mary tells us that

In the afternoon Papa, John, Harriett, Is[abella] Robert and I went to Chiswick Church. We went into the Garden of Corney House formerly the residence of Lord Macartary [Macartney]

By the summer of 1834 the work which the Nichols family had undertaken in their garden was beginning to show some return. Visitors to The Chancellors were impressed by the estate and by the pleasantness of its situation on the banks of the Thames. The views of two visitors, William Lisle Bowles (1762–1850) and John Mitford, are preserved by Faulkner in his *History* (Faulkner 1839) and mentioned by Mary. Bowles and Mitford were entertained by the Nicholes on Sunday 22 June 1834. At the time, Bowles, who was vicar of Bremhill in Wiltshire, was collaborating with Mary's elder brother, John

Gough Nichols, in a history of Lacock Abbey³⁰. Bowles shared John Bowyer Nichols's interest in gardening. In 1820 he had carried out 'improvements' of his own at Bremhill, filling the garden there with grottos, hermitages and obelisks, as well as fragments of sculpture from the ruins of a local religious foundation³¹ (Pevsner 1975, 141). Mary recorded the visit of Bowles and Mitford in her pocket book diary,

Mr. Bowles the poet and Mr Mitford dined with us. Mr. C. Croker and Mr. Alex Macdougall drank tea with us. Mr. Bowles wrote a sonnet for our seat opposite the river commonly called Arthur's seat

Bowles gave his poem the title *Inscriptions for a Seat in the Grounds of Sylvanus Urban, at Hammersmith* and it was printed by Mary's father in the September edition of the *Gentleman's Magazine*³².

Here rest, and cast a look around,
The river shines, and makes no sound;
Barge following barge, boat after boat,
Upon the peaceful surface float;
And all the lucid landscape lies
As silent as the summer skies.

Mitford wrote a poem in similar vein but embellished by classical allusions on 11 August 1834 which was printed in the same issue.

SOCIAL LIFE

The social life enjoyed by the Nichols family at The Chancellors was busy and varied. Mary's diary shows that they regularly entertained family, neighbours and friends at their home, as well as people from the worlds of literature and antiquarian research, and their desire to do this may have contributed to their decision to move to so large a property. Most of their immediate family lived in and around London and visited their relations at Hammersmith regularly. Mary's grandfather, John Nichols, had lived with his daughters in Highbury Terrace, Islington, and although he had died in 1826, Mary's aunts Sarah, Isabella and Anne still lived there, as did another aunt, Mary, who was married to John Morgan (1784–1832), a stock broker. Mary's maternal grandparents, John and Eliza Baker of Hampstead, had both died in 1825. Their son, the Rev William Baker, lived with his family at Hargrave in Northamptonshire and visited the Nicholsons at Hammersmith each year for a few days³³. The Nicholsons were also related by marriage to another publishing family, the Bentleys. Mary's diary is full of references to

visits by her aunts and cousins to The Chancellors and shows that the Nicholsons were eager to show their relations places of interest in the neighbourhood. On Sunday 30 October 1831, shortly after moving in to their new house, they entertained one of their cousins from Highbury,

Arthur Morgan spent the day with us. We all went to Hammersmith Church after which we walked to Chiswick and saw Hogarth's Tomb and House. In our way we went into the West Middlesex Water Works and saw the Steam Engines [*sic*]

On 2 June 1834 the Nicholsons were entertaining the Bakers of Hargrave and Mary tells us that

Aunt Baker, Harriet, Robert Baker Emma ... John and I went by the Endeavour Steam Packet to Richmond where we met Mamma Uncle and Papa who came in Uncle's Chaise with Mr. Mitford. We all Proceeded to the Park and walked in the new Terrace and dined under the Trees. We then proceeded by different routes to Hampton Court Mr. Mitford myself and sisters went in a boat.

Mary's account of her social life testifies to the broad network of contacts established by her father and brother in the course of their work, as well as to the diversity of their personal interests. The dinners hosted by the Nicholsons for their friends in the worlds of publishing, commerce, antiquarian research and the arts had a long history. John Nichols had entertained his literary friends at many memorable gatherings at his home in Islington, a flavour of which can be gained from Mary's aunt Isabella's letter to John Bowyer of 5 September 1812, now held with Nichols family papers at Columbia University, New York,

...the Gentlemen were more than normally pleasant ... those who know the party must be aware that some sparring must unavoidably arise ... one thing in particular was highly commended and that was the Wine, they were in no hurry to leave the table as they did not come in to tea till near ten³⁴

Mary's diary shows us that her father continued the tradition of these dinner parties and that she, sharing his interest in the arts and the study of antiquities was usually present at the table and learned much from the conversation of his friends.

The most frequent visitors to Hammersmith were those associated with the Nichols family in the publication of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The roles played by John Mitford, William Pickering, John Bruce, A. J. Kempe and J. T. Mansel in the editorial management of the magazine between 1834 and 1856³⁵ have been dextrously disentangled from the mass of documentation held at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington by Penelope Peoples and Professor

James Kuist from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and Mary's diary provides valuable evidence for the presence of these business associates of her family at The Chancellors during the early 1830s. In 1833 William Pickering, a publisher in Chancery Lane, purchased a share in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and a new series was started in January 1834. According to the new title page the magazine was now edited by the Rev John Mitford, John Bruce and John Gough Nichols. The balance of responsibility between these men is difficult to gauge, but Penelope Peoples has shown that while Mitford wrote the leading articles for the magazine between 1834 and 1850, and was joined by Mansel, Bruce and Kempe in making editorial decisions, it was Mary's brother, John Gough Nichols who was ultimately responsible for the management of the magazine (Peoples 1980).

William Pickering (1796–1854) had begun his career in publishing in 1810 when he was apprenticed to John and Arthur Arch, the Quaker publishers and booksellers in Cornhill, London. He established his own business in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1820 and five years later became one of the first booksellers to bind books with boards covered with dyed cotton cloth rather than paper. His knowledge of rare books and manuscripts was extensive which would have given him much in common with Mary's father and brother. Mary first mentions him in her diary on Sunday 14 July 1833 when she notes that 'Mr Mitford and Mr. Pickering dined with us' and her subsequent reference to Pickering drinking tea with them on 26 January 1834, dining at The Chancellors with Mitford on 25 May 1834 and entertaining her father and brother to dinner at Chancery Lane on 20 June 1834 can be seen to have been coterminous with the discussions which would have accompanied the new editorial arrangements which were introduced that year³⁶.

Mary's first reference to John Mitford also comes in 1833 when she records his visit to dinner at The Chancellors on 2 June. Born in Richmond, Surrey in 1787, he had been ordained in 1809 and licensed to the curacy of Kelsdale in Suffolk but appears to have devoted himself more to his collection of coins, engravings, manuscripts and autographs than to the duties of clerical office. Charles Lamb described him as 'a pleasant layman spoiled'³⁷. He formed an extensive library of plays, poetry and works by Classical authors

and began to write about poetry for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1833, immediately becoming a close friend of Mary's family, with whom he shared so many interests. He returned to The Chancellors just a week after his first visit

Mr Mitford dined with us. In the evening Emma and I went on the river with Mr Mitford and John

and in addition to the dinner he enjoyed there with William Pickering on 14 July he dined there again on 1 December 1833 and 25 May, 22 June and 5 July 1834, as well as accompanying the Nicholes to Richmond and Hampton Court on 2 June. Editorial papers of the *Gentleman's Magazine* held at the Bodleian Library³⁸ confirm Mitford's prominent place in the magazine's affairs, writing numerous articles and reviews. In January 1834, out of some twenty pounds per month allowed for payment of contributors he received over eleven pounds and over the entire year he was paid over £124 of an allocated £240 (see also Peoples 1980, 37–9).

The involvement of John Bruce (1802–1869) with the *Gentleman's Magazine* does not appear to have begun until the administrative changes of 1834, but Mary's diary shows that he had been a friend of her family for some years prior to this. He had trained as a lawyer but became increasingly interested in history and art, becoming a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1830. He gave up his legal career in 1840 to allow himself more time for research³⁹. His many contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine* after 1834 show that his interests lay in the fields of constitutional history and it comes as no surprise that he dined at The Chancellors on 1 April 1832 in the company of Sir William Betham (1779–1853), Ulster King of Arms and an acknowledged authority on constitutional history, who was also closely involved with the publishing enterprises of the Record Commissioners. Bruce's correspondence with the Nichols family, preserved at the Folger Shakespeare Library, shows that he shared many interests with John Gough Nichols with whom he was instrumental in establishing the Camden Society in 1838. He contributed some 136 articles to the *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1834 and 1856 and worked closely with John Gough Nichols and John Mitford as joint editor of the magazine⁴⁰.

Another visitor to The Chancellors who was on the staff of the magazine was Alfred John Kempe (c.1785–1846) an enthusiastic antiquarian

who was also closely involved with Mary's father and brother in the Society of Antiquaries of which he had been made a Fellow in 1828. Kempe's interest in archaeology had brought him into contact with the Nicholsons some time before his first contribution to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in about 1823. He had published inventories of his archaeological discoveries on Holwood Hill at Keston in Kent in 1814 (Kempe 1814) and was friends with Charles Alfred Stothard, a draughtsman for whose *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* he had written an introduction and descriptions in 1817. Kempe's sister, who was later to become famous as Mrs Bray, the novelist, married Stothard in 1818. Kempe wrote some 216 articles for the *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1823 and 1846 and was responsible for many of the book reviews after 1834 (Kuist 1982; Peoples 1980, 36). Again, Mary's diary allows us to trace his friendship with her family at least as far back as 1828 when she tells us that on 15 September Kempe and his family dined with them. In 1830 it was the Kemptes' turn to entertain the Nicholsons. On Friday 3 September Mary wrote

At 9 o'clock Papa Mamma and I sett [*sic*] off for Keston to visit Mr. Kempe. We arrived at 1/2 past 12 by way of Beckenham Penge Wood and Hays Common. We slept at the Cross

The following day,

We breakfasted with Mr. Kempe. After which Mamma and I rambled on the Common with the Miss Kemptes

Mary's diary testifies to the close involvement of her family with Kempe and other of their antiquarian friends in conservation campaigns. In 1832, when Kempe is first recorded as visiting The Chancellors, he was actively promoting the efforts to preserve the Lady Chapel of St Saviour's, Southwark, from destruction by developers. In January he published the proceedings of a meeting held to protest against the proposals and throughout the year the Nicholsons published a series of articles on the subject by the architectural historian, Edward John Carlos. Mary's pocket books show that her family were also involved in less formal aspects of the campaign. On 5 July 1832 we learn that,

Mamma, Emma, Harriett and I went to Mr. Kempe's New Kent Road where we had luncheon. We then proceeded with 2 of the Miss Kempe's [*sic*] to the Fancy Fair at the Surrey Zoological Gardens for the Ladye Chapel, Southwark. It was very pretty Papa and John met us there, we dined in Parliament St.

The financial accounts which she also entered in

her pocket book diary show that she did not return empty handed,

July 5 At the Fancy Fair Glass Plates 2.0d

Kempe and his family visited The Chancellors often. On 19 July 1832 we are told that 'Mr. and Mrs Kempe and family ... came up by water and drank tea with us' and on 13 June 1834,

Mr. and Mrs. Kempe, the Misses Marianne, Eliza, Jemima and Caroline Kempe, Mr. and Mrs. Bray, Mr. H. Stothard and Mr. Brandreth dined with us

Mrs Bray was Kempe's sister, Anna Eliza, who had married Charles Alfred Stothard in 1818. She became widowed in 1821 when Stothard fell from a ladder in Bere Regis church in Devon while sketching a monument for his *Monumental Effigies*. Kempe helped his sister to see the work through the press after this tragedy and the final volume was eventually published in 1832. In about 1826 Mrs Stothard married again, this time to the Rev Edward Bray, vicar of Tavistock, and between 1826 and 1874 she became known to the public as the author of twelve successful works of historical fiction⁴¹. This particular entry in Mary's diary enables us to see that she did not lose contact with her first husband's family, for Henry Stothard, a sculptor, was her brother in law. The other member of the party, Henry Brandreth (1797–1840), was a writer who shared Kempe's interest in archaeology and had helped at his Keston excavations in 1828.

These excavations had stimulated much interest in antiquarian circles, for Kempe and his fellow archaeologists were convinced that the remains they found on Holwood Hill were those of the Roman city of Noviomagus (Kempe 1814). Mary's diary for 1828 suggests that her brother, John Gough, may have been one of the fascinated antiquarians who rushed to the scene, for on 17 September we are told that 'John went into Kent with Mr. Kempe'. As a result of the discovery Kempe and his associate, Thomas Crofton Croker, founded a society of Fellows within the Antiquaries who held an annual feast at Keston and called themselves the 'Noviomagians'. Croker was life president, Kempe his deputy. Other members included Henry Brandreth, John Bowyer Nichols and William Henry Rosser, a London solicitor and active Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries who served as the 'indefatigable secretary', of this 'learned and convivial society' (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1848,ii,211–2). Again, Mary's diary bears witness to the close involvement of her

family with the Noviomagians. On Friday 16 May 1834 she wrote,

Mamma and I drank tea with Aunt Morgan then went to Mr. Windhouse's Stamford Hill where Papa had dined with the Noviomagians

and on 1 July she tells that

The Society of Noviomagians took a *dejuné* [*sic*] at our house and Papa proceeded with them to Richmond

The archaeological dining club of Noviomagians were by no means the only antiquarians who were entertained by the Nicholse at Hammersmith. Between 1832 and 1834 Mary's diary is full of references to architectural historians, archaeologists and archivists who were invited to The Chancellors to share their discoveries and perhaps plan the publication of their research under the auspices of either the *Gentleman's Magazine* or the Nichols press itself. Edward John Carlos (1798–1851) has already been seen to have contributed articles to the magazine in support for the campaign for the Lady Chapel of St Saviour's, Southwark. He was also active on the committee for the restoration of Crosby Hall, London, in 1832 and wrote a history of the building for the November issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* that year. Between 1824 and 1833 he contributed a series of articles on the new churches of London to the magazine. Mary mentions him twice. On Sunday 8 April 1832 she tells us that,

Papa and John went to Tooting Church and Mr Carlos returned with them and dined with us

On 16 June 1833 he and A J Kempe dined with the Nicholse after church.

Another important architectural historian of whom Mary and her family appear to have been especially fond was John Britton (1771–1857), author of *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1801–1804) and *The Cathedral Antiquities of England* (1814–1835). Like Carlos and Kempe, Britton was vociferous in his support for the conservation of historic buildings and an active supporter of efforts to 'repair' those suffering from neglect. He was personally involved in the work to restore Waltham Cross in 1834 and Mary records her family's interest in this project in her diary entry for Sunday 17 May that year,

Mr and Mrs Britton Papa Mamma and I went to see Waltham Abbey Mrs B. Mamma and I dined together Papa dined with a large party of Gentlemen, to commemorate the repairing of the Cross.

Mary seems to have become great friends with John Britton, who was clearly delighted at the

keen interest she showed in architectural history. He encouraged her study of the subject by presenting her with engravings of historic buildings. Years later, in 1853, Mary kept a detailed account of her visit to Peterborough and illustrated it with woodcuts of the cathedral which she tells us in a footnote belonged to 'Britton and Robson's Antiquities of the English Cities' and 'Were given to me by Mr. Britton.'⁴²

The social life of Mary's family did not, however, entirely revolve around the worlds of printing and antiquities in which her father and brother were so deeply involved. Mary's mother, Eliza, enjoyed her own circle of friends and the diary contains numerous references to dinner parties which were hosted by Eliza for her friends from Clapham, where she had been sent to school between 1796 and 1799⁴³, and Camberwell, where her parents had lived between 1803 and about 1811. Two of her most frequent visitors were George Dollond and his sister, Miss Huggins of Camberwell. George Dollond (1774–1852) had been born George Huggins but had changed his surname when entering into partnership with his maternal uncle, Peter Dollond, the optician, in 1805⁴⁴. He had succeeded to the optical business in St Paul's Churchyard in 1819, and the diary shows us that the Nichols family were clients of his establishment. On 29 March 1834 Mary records that she

Went with Papa to town, to Mr. Dollonds Papa gave me a new pair of light steel spectacles⁴⁵

HAMMERSMITH SOCIETY

It did not take long for the Nichols family to make new friends in Hammersmith. By attending church each Sunday they became acquainted with the families of the Rev Francis Atwood and his curate, Mr Newberry, and by November 1831 the diary shows that Mary and her sisters had also come to know the Misses Goss who ran a school in Brandenburg Terrace. On Boxing Day Mary tells us that the

Misses Goss, their brother, and some of their young ladies ... came in the evening and we had a little dance⁴⁶

By early 1832 Mary and her mother can be seen taking tea with their new acquaintances, such as Mrs Bush of the Lower Mall, Mrs Scott of Ravenscourt, or Mrs Dewsnap, wife of Mark Dewsnap, a surgeon in King Street⁴⁷. It is likely that they were also introduced to local people by friends who already lived in the Hammersmith

area, notably the Crokers of Turnham Green and Moyes of Brook Green.

Thomas Crofton Croker has already been noticed as life president of the Noviomagians⁴⁸. He was a convivial Irishman with a deep knowledge of the folklore of his native country and a talent for writing. He had first come to England in about 1818 and by 1824 had published his *Researches in the South of Ireland* which was illustrated by Marianne Nicholson, whom he married in 1830. He was also an enthusiastic student of antiquities, joining the Society of Antiquaries in 1827 and collaborating with the Nicholsons and others in the formation of the Camden Society in 1839⁴⁹. Mary and her family visited Croker at his home on Barnes Common in 1830 when they were living in Clapham and it is possible that it was he who introduced John Bowyer Nichols to the Irish artist, Daniel Maclise, whom Mary's father commissioned to paint his children in 1831⁵⁰ (Pooley 1992) (Fig 9). After 1831 the Crokers were regular visitors to The Chancellors. They dined there on Sunday 1 April 1832 and on 22 May Mary tells us that



Fig 9. *Mary Nichols and John Gough Nichols. Detail from a portrait of the Nichols children painted by Daniel Maclise in 1831 (reproduced by kind permission of the owner).*

Mamma, Aunt Baker Emma and I called on Mrs C. Croker at Barnes Common, she was not at home, but we saw her little boy and his picture by Mr M'Clise⁵¹

On 28 August 1833 Mary relates another visit,

Mamma Emma, Miss Zwinger Frank and I went by water to the Horticultural Gardens. Frank fell into a tank, we took him to Mrs Croker's where he slept

In 1838 Mary wrote a review of Croker's *Memoirs of Joseph Holt* for the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Mrs Croker is described in her obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1854,ii,525) as having been a highly accomplished lady who had inherited all the talent of her father, the artist Francis Nicholson. She was skilled in both music and painting but suffered throughout her life from 'constant fits of illness'. She also possessed literary talent, writing two novels which were published under the name of her husband⁵² and provided considerable assistance to Crofton Croker in his translation of the *Travels of M. de la Boullaye le Gouz in Ireland AD 1644*, published in 1837. She also seems to have had a wry and engaging sense of humour and to have taken her husband's interest in antiquities less seriously than the ladies of the Nichols family. In 1844, on the occasion of the visit of the British Archaeological Association to Canterbury she anonymously wrote two satirical ballads, *The Barrow-Digging on Breach Downs* and *The Lament of Canterbury Cathedral* which were privately printed and inserted in the minutes of the Noviomagian Society.

Like the Nicholsons, Thomas Crofton Croker and his wife entertained many antiquarians, writers and artists at their home and, between about 1820 and about 1870, kept a scrapbook of their invitations to their visitors and a record of the entertainments they provided for them. The document is now held by Hammersmith and Fulham Archives Department⁵³ and includes correspondence between Croker and Mary's family, such as an invitation to young Dillon Croker from Mary's sister, Emma, to 'a small party of young people' at The Chancellors on 4 January 1840, and Crofton Croker's reply of 3 January,

My dear Miss Nichols,
Dillon feels much indebted to you for your very kind invitation to the Chancellors tomorrow evening, but he has had so much gayety [*sic*] this week, and next week has the Pantomime in prospect, that Mrs Croker considers the fatigue and excitement would be too much for him if he joined your revels.

Allow Me, as old Father Christmas, to express my perfect admiration of the whole of your party on Monday evening; I never remember seeing so many merry faces ...

The family of James Moyes (1776–1838) of Brook Green were also well known to the Nicholsons before they moved to Hammersmith. Moyes was a printer whose offices had been located in Greville Street, London, until they were destroyed by fire in 1824, after which he re-established his business at the bottom of Bouverie Street, off Fleet Street. He had been ruined in the economic crisis of 1826 but emerged again to operate successfully from new premises in Castle Street, Leicester Square, until his death⁵⁴. James Moyes and his wife dined at The Chancellors on Sunday 5 August 1832 and on 22 September following Mary tells us that

Papa, John and I dined with Mr and Mrs Moyes of Brook Green. Mamma was unwell.

It was a large party attended by other people of the Hammersmith area, such as Mr Horsely of Chiswick Mall and Mr Railton, whose wife ran a school at Eagle House, Brook Green, as well as by people known to Moyes from the world of publishing, including John Galt (1779–1839), the novelist, and Henry Sass (1788–1844), the artist. Mary and her mother often called on Mrs Moyes when making social visits in the neighbourhood and on 8 January 1833 we are told that,

Miss and Master Moyes came to tea. We kept Twelvth [sic] Night Master Moyes King, Miss Mariann Nichols, Queen

Neither Mary or her parents, however, knew that 30 years previously, the young James Moyes had sought to marry her aunt, Sarah Nichols⁵⁵ and had written to her to request an interview, only to be politely refused. The affair is documented by a series of letters held with papers of the Nichols family at Columbia University⁵⁶. Moyes wrote to Sarah on 25 May 1802, proclaiming that

nothing in the world would give me greater pleasure than in being permitted to pay my address to a lady ... qualified to render the domestic state happy and respectful ... not that I wish anything to be done clandestinely; but surely a Lady of the strictest virtue and decorum may grant an interview to a young man without acquainting anyone with it ...

Sarah was accustomed to receiving such letters; the Columbia papers contain several references to other proposals from unnamed suitors, but she was in a difficult position. The death of her father's second wife, Martha Green, in 1788 had left her, as the eldest of John Nichols's unmarried daughters, the effective head of his domestic household. She wrote to Moyes the following day, refusing the interview. Sarah never married,

but continued to direct the domestic arrangements of the Nichols family from her home in Highbury Place until her death in 1843⁵⁷. The letters were discovered by Mary's father three years later when he wrote a memorandum to accompany them, providing biographical details of Moyes and remarking,

So well was the secret kept by Moyes and Miss Nichols, as Mr Moyes desired it should be, that I never knew of it till I found this letter in April 1846.

Of the new friends made by the Nicholsons in Hammersmith, special mention should be made of Sir Francis Ronalds (1788–1873) of the Upper Mall and the Scott family of Ravenscourt. Ronalds was a scientist who is remembered today as the inventor of the electric telegraph⁵⁸. In 1816 he had conducted a series of much publicised experiments using some eight miles of insulated wire which he laid down in the garden of his home⁵⁹ in wooden troughs filled with pitch. Mary must have found him fascinating for she was interested in inventions and enjoyed seeing exhibitions of the latest technology. On 30 September 1833 she tells us that

Papa took John, Isabella Anna, Frank and I to the Gallery of Practical Science in Adelaide St. where we saw Mr. Perkin's Steam Gun &c &c We also saw some experiments showing the identity of magnetism and electricity. Papa John and I received an electric shock from a magnet. We also saw some little loaves baked in a model of the Patent Metropolitan Bread Company's Bake House.

In 1825 Ronalds invented and patented a perspective drawing instrument to enable sketches to be taken from nature. It was improved in 1828 and described in a work called *Mechanical Perspective* (Ronalds 1828). On 12 March 1832 Mary tells us that

Mamma Emma and I called on Mrs Ronalds. Mr. F. Ronalds shewed us his drawing instrument. Mamma and I had our portraits taken⁶⁰

And on 22 May, when the Ronaldses called at The Chancellors we are told that

Mr Ronalds shewed me how to use his Perspective Machine⁶¹

One of the grandest houses in Hammersmith in the early 19th century was Ravenscourt, the home of George Scott (1788–1859), a successful property developer (Vercoe 1991; Berry nd). The Nicholsons dined at Ravenscourt on 4 April 1834, in the company of the Dewsnaps and Albert Mangles who had married Georgiana Scott, and the Scotts in turn were entertained at The Chancellors on 15 July. Mary's diary shows that

George Scott's daughters attended the academy for young ladies run by Miss Goss in Brandenburg Terrace, but these are the only references to the Scott family in Mary's first diary. That her family were to become closer to the Scotts than her pocket books suggest can be seen from the diary of Jessy Emma Scott, which covers the period from December 1843 to August 1844⁶², and from Mary's later account of her visit to Oxford with the Scotts in 1848⁶³.

Jessy Scott's diary differs from that kept by Mary Nichols in that her informal style is more literary than Mary's brief remarks and her subject matter more confined to family and local gossip than Mary's varied reports of shopping trips, private tuition and excursions to art galleries and ancient monuments. Jessy's account is important in that it allows us to see the Nicholsons through the eyes of someone who was not a member of the family. This is immediately clear in her reports of the parties hosted by the Nicholsons,

24 January 1844

[Ellen] is going tonight like the whole neighbourhood to the Nickols. I believe it will be a delightful dance and Blanch will be there

25 January 1844

... and almost simultaneously arrived the Nickols (Anne and Frank and a Mrs Morgan) they stayed a little while talking. After they went we had a charming chat with Blanch. What a delightful party she had at the Nickols

14 February 1844

Tonight we go [*sic*] to a dance at the Bowlings; which turned out an extremely pleasant party, Marianne⁶⁴, Isabelle and Anna Nickols were there and we had a great deal of fun with them. They looked extremely well ... We danced a great deal and came away at past two. There was a famous supper and excellent ices.

In 1845 Mary's sister, Emma, married Thomas Griffiths, a surgeon of Hammersmith (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1863,ii,794-8) and her engagement is noted by Jessy Scott in her diary entry for 24 April 1844

We got to the ball a little after nine ... Emma Nickols danced nearly the whole evening with Mr Griffiths, whose acknowledged bride she is after some delay and much⁶⁵ we were quite pleased to see them so happy. She looked nearly so handsome as⁶⁶ and so happy and brightened up and he so quietly satisfied and attentive [*sic*]...

For their part the Scotts appear to have staged amateur plays at Ravenscourt, with various parts performed by their friends. Again, Jessy Scott's diary records the Nicholsons' involvement in these events. At a dress rehearsal on 23 April 1844 Jessy wrote,

... Robert and Francis Nichols came in the middle of dinner ... Francis Nichols was very⁶⁷ and disproved [*sic*] of Tanny's dress saying it made her look odd!

Of the play itself, on 25 April,

Francis N. was not ill dressed and performed very naturally but was too undesigningly [*sic*]⁶⁸ W Dewsnap looked the picture of a vallet in his brilliant costume but unfortunately didn't quite know his part⁶⁹.

The descriptions of The Chancellors provided by Thomas Faulkner in his *History of Hammersmith* and by John Gough Nichols in the *Description of the Hall of the Chancellors* give us some idea of the appearance of the interior of Mary's home, but it is Jessy Scott who shares with us her impressions upon walking into what must have been a wonderfully full and cluttered library when she visited the Nicholsons on 30 January 1844,

We were shown into the library, I had not been there before a charmingly untidy, comfortable sort of room. Isabelle looked so very well, so elegant and almost handsome⁷⁰

On 15 February 1844, at the age of 17, Francis Nichols matriculated from Exeter College, Oxford, to Wadham, and his enthusiastic loyalty to his university is vividly recorded by Jessy Scott in her entry for 21 June that year,

We were all going to the Nickols after lunch to see the regatta (this being the second day of it) ... There was a large party, at the Nickols and Mr Berkley⁷¹ and Mr Griffith of corse [*sic*] among them. Mr G looked so happy with Emma ... The afternoon was delightful and we enjoyed it extremely, the river was covered in boats and looked very gay and pretty. Francis Nickols was so enchanted when the Oxford boat won, I thought he would have thrown himself into the river.

In July 1848 Mary and her family went to Oxford for the Commemoration in the company of the Scotts. Francis Nichols was at Wadham College at the time and Mark Dewsnap at Christ Church. Mary kept a journal of the visit⁷² and tells us that Francis had taken lodgings for the Scott's at Mr Wheeler's the Stationer & Bookseller in High Street', and together the Scotts and Nicholsons enjoyed a busy week visiting colleges, attending balls and planning expeditions to places such as Nuneham and Blenheim. The visit to Nuneham was by boat and included a picnic by the river,

... Mrs Scott joined our party, and we did justice to the chickens hare, ducks, lamb & New College Puddings & fruits & wines which had assembled from various quarters. We were amused by seeing a party said to be from New College who were dancing on the turf to the music of the Oxford band. We took a few turns ourselves not of the

walze or Polka but of sober promenade, and about 8 o'clock prepared to return to Oxford.

HAMMERSMITH IN THE 1830s

The pocket book diary which Mary Nichols kept between 1831 and 1834 contains a wealth of information about her family life at The Chancellors and the many people who were entertained there. It also tells us something of the people of Hammersmith with whom they became acquainted; but what does the diary tell us about Hammersmith itself during the 1830s? What can we learn of the everyday life of the neighbourhood during these years of urban growth and rapid change from reading Mary's diary? It is interesting to compare the diary with the description of Hammersmith which was published by Thomas Faulkner (Faulkner 1839) shortly afterwards. Faulkner's *History* is indispensable as a topographical survey of the parish during these formative years. He charts the spectacular growth in population since the turn of the century, describes the boundaries of the parish, its principal houses, the church and institutions. The parochial charities are listed, the schools and academies noted, but in Faulkner's company we rarely meet the people of Hammersmith inside their homes, hear the sermons preached in the church or glimpse inside the local schools. Mary's diary takes us this step further by introducing us to her friends in the neighbourhood, taking us to church on Sundays, listing the subjects taught at the school run by Miss Goss and recording some of the public entertainments which she went to in the area.

The 17th-century church of St Paul was but a short walk from The Chancellors at the corner of Queen Street and Fulham Road. On 2 October 1831, the occasion of the Nichols family's first visit to the church after moving into their new home, St Paul's was still a chapelry within the ancient parish of Fulham, served by a perpetual curate, Francis Atwood, who was assisted by Mr Newberry. Mary seems to have attended church each Sunday that she was in Hammersmith and often passes her opinion on the sermons she heard, occasionally recording the charitable causes for which they were preached. Moreover, the financial accounts which she carefully maintained each month in her pocket book allow us to see how much she felt moved to contribute

to these various charitable causes. On Sunday 13 November 1831, for example, she

Went to Hammersmith Church Heard a very good sermon from Mr Gifford the lecturer for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

and her accounts for November show that she gave ten shillings. This was an exceptional donation for Mary; her usual amount was between two and six shillings. On 27 November she gave 2s 6d when

The bishop of London preached a Sermon for the Female Charity children

Other visitors to Hammersmith who preached on behalf of this cause included John Rogers Pitman⁷³ of Kensington on 3 June 1832 and Mr Hambleton of Islington on 23 September⁷⁴. On 27 April 1834 a sermon for the same cause was delivered by Dr Sumner, bishop of Chester, and Mary gave two shillings.

Mary evidently enjoyed hearing good sermons and frequently praises those of Francis Atwood in her diary. On 19 February 1832 we are told that 'Mr Atwood preached an excellent sermon on Prayer' and on 4 March he preached 'a very good sermon on Charity.' On Sunday 18 August 1833 Mary records that she gave three shillings when 'Mr Atwood preached a sermon for the National Schools in compliance with the King's letter.' In addition to her reports of charity sermons Mary can also be seen to have supported benevolent causes within the parish. On 19 January 1832 she reports that 'Papa, Mamma, John and I went to the Hammersmith Subscription Ball' and her accounts for 4 March show that she gave 2s 6d as a 'Subscription to the Hammersmith District Visiting Society'⁷⁵.

National concerns are also reflected in Mary's reports of church services. The arrival of Asiatic Cholera in London, on 13 February 1832, prompted many people to renew their attendance at church and seek the security of faith in the face of possible disease and sudden death (Morris 1976, 144-97)⁷⁶. The traditional Anglican view of God was of an omnipotent interventionist who might be placated by prayer and charitable endeavour. As early as November 1831 the Hammersmith vestry had established a committee, or Board of Health, 'for the purpose of taking every precaution to prevent the introduction of Cholera Morbus'⁷⁷, but it was not until 1832 that the government issued official prayers and appointed a day of fasting to be kept on 21 March. Traders closed their shops, theatres

closed and communities throughout the country went to church (Morris 1976,148). Mary was clearly sympathetic to the national mood and recorded the day in her diary,

On this day a Fast was ordered by the Government to supplicate God to avert the Cholera. We all went to Hammersmith Church. Mr. Newbury the Curate preached an excellent Sermon

She gave three shillings to the collection and her entry for the following day betrays her own anxiety about the threatened epidemic: 'I walked a long time in the garden.' By the following spring the worst of the outbreak appeared to be over and on Sunday 14 April 1833 the government appointed a 'general thanksgiving to Almighty God, to acknowledge his great goodness and mercy in removing from us that grievous disease...'⁷⁸. The Nicholsons went to Hammersmith church and Mary wrote in her diary that 'This day was kept as a Thanksgiving'. Ironically, a week later, Mary herself was taken ill, albeit not with cholera,

I was attacked with the influenza which is so prevalent this spring. It is said that 40,000 persons have had it in London.

As early as 1629 the people of Hammersmith had felt it necessary to have a church of their own, separate from that of the parish church of Fulham. A chapel of ease had subsequently been created but by the early 19th century, with the increase of population in Hammersmith, the need for separate parochial status had become urgent. The curacy of the church of St Paul was finally converted to a vicarage by an Act of Parliament in 1834⁷⁹ and Mary and her family were present at the church on 29 June to celebrate the occasion,

We all went to Hammersmith Ch. the Bishop of London preached it being the first Sunday that Hammersmith being a Parish

Mary's father had been present at the vestry meeting held on 9 January 1834 when Mr Bowling had proposed and been seconded by Mr Dewsnap 'that a Committee be appointed to negotiate with the parties interested in separating this Hamlet from the parish of Fulham'⁸⁰. He was subsequently elected onto the committee and attended four of its seven meetings between 10 January and 31 May⁸¹. It is interesting to note, however, that this seems to have been the limit of John Bowyer Nichol's administrative involvement in Hammersmith during the period covered by his daughter's diary. He was elected

as a trustee of the pews at St Paul's for three years in March 1832 and again in 1834⁸² and nominated, but not elected, to the select vestry in 1835⁸³. He did not stand again in 1834 or 1835 and in the following vestry minute book, covering the period December 1835 to January 1836, his rare attendance at only five meetings between 1838 and 1841 can be attributed to his application for a reassessment of the rateable value of The Chancellors in December 1838; his support for Mr Bowling's motions that the vestry send letters to the Queen and Prince Albert following their attempted assassination in June 1840 and congratulating them upon the birth of an heir in November 1841 and the concern felt by the parish following the withdrawal of funding for street lighting for the Turnpike road by the Commissioners of the Metropolitan roads in October 1841.⁸⁴ His reluctance to commit himself to parish office may be explained by his continued fulfillment of these duties throughout this period in the parish of St Margaret, Westminster. Vestry minutes of St Margaret's show that he served as a governor and director of the poor of that parish in 1829, was elected churchwarden in 1826, 1827 and 1830, attended many vestry meetings and acted as trustee to a number of local charities⁸⁵. As the Parliament Street offices of the Nichols firm were but a short walk from St Margaret's his involvement with that parish in preference to that of Hammersmith may be seen as a simple matter of convenience.

Shopping trips feature prominently throughout Mary's pocket books and her monthly accounts provide valuable information relating to the shops she visited, the items she purchased and the amount of money she spent. It may be significant, however, that Mary chose to travel into London to purchase clothes, gloves, fancy goods and items for her album rather than patronise shops in Hammersmith. The expansion of suburbs such as Hammersmith during the 1830s was considerable, but the paucity of information supplied by Mary about local traders may suggest that while the area was an agreeable place in which to reside and entertain one's friends, its commercial life could not equal the variety and choice of Regent Street or the Soho Bazaar. When, for example, there was a fire in the kitchen at The Chancellors during the night of Thursday 26 April 1832⁸⁶ it was 'to town' that Mary and her mother chose to go on the following Saturday 'to buy Kitchen Utensils'. The evidence provided by Mary's diary indicates

that the most successful businesses in Hammersmith at this time were the horticultural nurseries of James Lee and Colley and Hill. We have seen that the Nicholse were customers of theirs when making improvements to the grounds of their home, but it is remarkable that the only shop which Mary names is Walkers, the toy shop in Angel Terrace which she visited with Miss Goss on 12 May 1832, and even then the object was 'to see a show of tulips'.

The Nicholse did, however, attend sales of furniture and household goods in Hammersmith throughout the period of the diary. Mary frequently accompanied them, although she appears to have preferred viewing the houses themselves to bidding for any of their contents. The first sale she attended with her parents took place on 29 February 1832, five months after moving into their new house. Mary tells us that they went

to see Mr. Strutts house opposite the Church There being a Sale by Auction of the furniture &c

Again, on 23 April, Mary and her family,

... looked at a house at Turnham Green, formerly belonging to Dr. Griffiths of the Monthly Magazine

The Nicholse had been friends with the family of Dr Ralph Griffiths (1720-1803) since the middle of the previous century, when Griffiths had commenced publication of the *Monthly Review* at his shop at the sign of the Dunciad in St Paul's Churchyard. The profits from this first regular review of English literature enabled Griffiths to purchase Linden House in Turnham Green and this remained the home of the Griffiths family until the sale recorded by Mary in 1832⁸⁷. On 21 December 1832, the Nicholse 'went to a sale of furniture at Mr Robinson's Dorset Cottage,' and on 13 July 1833 Mary and her sister, Emma,

... went to look at the house and furniture on Sale of the late Mr. Horsely, Chiswick Mall an old gentleman we met at Mr. Moyes.

It is possible that Mary Nichols's interest in looking over these houses derived in some measure from her growing interest in local history and architectural antiquities. This is suggested by her account of her visit to another house in Hammersmith, on 11 March 1832,

After church we went over an old house in Queen Street Hammersmith the residence of old Mr. Attwood for 40 years, the materials were sold by Auction by Mr. G. Robins on 12th and it was rapidly pulled down Under

the floors [*sic*] was a great quantities [*sic*] of shells. It was built of brick with stone pilasters and dressings⁸⁸.

On the day of the auction she returned to the house and 'took a sketch of the old house in Queen Street'.⁸⁹

Mary's diary tells us much about the ways in which she and her family enjoyed themselves. They frequently attended concerts, the ballet and the theatre in London but were also fond of visiting art galleries, exhibitions and hearing public lectures. In March 1832 a series of scientific lectures was organised at the Latymer School in Hammersmith and Mary tells us that she and her sisters attended four of them. The first, on 26 March, was on astronomy and was given by a Mr Armstrong. Two days later Mary 'went to a second lecture on the moon and tides, and on 30 March she and her sisters were present at 'a third lecture on the Planetary System.' The fourth lecture took place on 4 June. If this later date was arranged in an attempt to ensure fine weather, Mary's report of the event shows that it was less than successful,

In the evening, Emma, Harriett, Isabella and I went to a lecture at the Latymer School on Mixed Philosophy by Mr Walker, the experiments on Electricity failed owing to the wet weather⁹⁰

EDUCATION

Some of the most rewarding information to be found in the diary relates to education. Mary kept her pocket book account of her life between the ages of nine and 21 and thus included a wealth of detail concerning both her own tuition and that of her brothers and sisters. I have written elsewhere of the value of her diary as a historical source for education in early 19th-century Hampstead (Pooley 1992, 22-4), but for the student of education in Hammersmith in the 1830s the manuscript is even more valuable. As early as 1827, when the Nicholse were still living in Clapham, we learn that Mary's cousins Morgan from Highbury were attending the school at Eagle House, Brook Green, run by 'the large, amiable headmaster, Joseph Railton'⁹¹ (Hudson 1949). After moving to Hammersmith the Nicholse appear to have sent their children to two other local schools. Mary and her sisters went to Miss Goss while her brothers were despatched to Mr Allen. We are also told of another school in the neighbourhood, run by Dr Chisholm, and are provided with the names of

tutors who visited The Chancellors to provide private tuition in specific subjects. In early 1832 Mary was 18 and her sisters, Emma, Harriett, Isabella and Anna aged 16, 13, 11 and nine respectively. A governess was employed to instruct the younger girls at home. On 6 February 1832 Mary tells us that 'Miss de Chantepic first came as daily governess to my sisters,' but this arrangement does not seem to have extended to her brothers, for Robert, aged eight and Francis, six, were already attending a local school run by Mr Allen. On 23 May 1832 we are told that,

Mamma Aunt Baker and I went to the Examination of the Boys at Mr. Allen's near the Suspension Bridge where Robert and Frank go to school

Joseph Allen's Bridge House Academy was located in the Lower Mall and, according to the census of 1831, took in some twenty boys⁹². Their schoolmaster was the father of Joseph William Allen (1803–1852), an artist who had begun his career painting scenery for Madame Vestris at the Olympia Theatre but who later became famous for his talents as a painter of pastoral landscapes. He was especially active in establishing the Society of British Artists and exhibited many of his works at their gallery in Suffolk Street, London. On 24 March 1832 Mary tells us that she

... went to town with Mamma to the private view of the Suffolk Street Gallery Mr. Allen, the schoolmaster gave us the ticket⁹³

The Rev Dr George Chisholm was a prominent local figure who kept a school at Bradmore House as well as being an assistant curate at St Paul's church between 1822 and 1834. His school is described in a contemporary directory of 1828⁹⁴ as a 'Finishing School for a Limited Number of Young Gentlemen'. Its size may be estimated from the census returns of 1831 which state that his household comprised 31 males, of whom four were teachers and two servants. Mary's brothers did not attend this school, but on 7 January 1834 she tells us that she

Went with Papa over Dr. Chisholme's house opposite the Church, where there was a sale in consequence of the Dr's relinquishing his school

Considerably more information is provided about the school kept by Miss Goss and the subjects which were taught there. The school is not described by Faulkner and few references have been found in other secondary sources. Mary's account suggests that, while it took boarders she and her sisters attended it for

specific lessons from specialist tutors who visited the establishment. Some of these tutors were well known in their chosen fields and in high demand throughout London at this time. It is also evident that Mary became firm friends with the lady who ran the school. The first reference to her can be found as early as November 1831, when

Mamma Emma Harriett Isabella and I went to a Juvenile Party at Miss Goss to celebrate the birthday of her niece Miss Maria Goss

Mary seems to have begun to attend the school early in 1832 when she and a Miss Coe commenced lessons in Italian under a Signor Petiary. These took place each Wednesday until June 1833. Elocution lessons were provided for the young ladies on Saturdays. On 31 March 1832 Mary tells us that

I went with my Sisters to Miss Goss' to take a Lesson of Mr Webb Position Master

The two other subjects which Mary was taught at the school were drawing, on Wednesdays and Fridays, and singing. Her first drawing lesson was taken on the occasion of her 19th birthday, 5 April 1832, when in addition to listing her birthday presents

... John, two pretty engravings, Aunt Nichols A Case of Morden's Drawing Pencils, Aunt Morgan a pretty drawing for my Album

she tells us that 'I went to Miss Goss' to take a Drawing Lesson of Mr Harding.' Mary's subsequent references to this drawing master as well as evidence contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine* suggest that he may have been James Duffield Harding (1798–1863), a celebrated landscape painter who played a prominent role in the introduction of lithography to England⁹⁵. During the 1830s Harding was building a considerable reputation for himself as an influential teacher⁹⁶, both in classes and through the medium of numerous books in which he used the new process of lithography to provide examples for his students to work from (Harding 1832). In general, Mary received her lessons from Harding in Hammersmith but on 12 October 1832 she visited him at his home, presumably at his new premises in Gordon Square⁹⁷. His lessons consisted of direct observation by the pupils of his techniques and were based upon the principle of progressive examples, by which the pupils were led from simple sketches to more intricate compositions. On 23 August 1832 Mary records that 'I went with Miss Combe and Miss Goss to see Mr Harding take a sketch.'

That Mary appreciated this style of tuition is shown by a review she wrote for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in June 1834 of Harding's book, *Elementary Art, or the use of the Lead Pencil Advocated and Explained*, which was published that year (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1834,i,632):

This work contains the substance of the author's lessons to his pupils, and is an excellent treatise eminently calculated to lead the young student to think and reason on the principal of Art, instead of blindly copying the productions of others

Harding was clearly pleased with his reviewer, for later that month he joined Mary and her family for dinner at the Star and Garter in Richmond, taking with him his friend, Edward Lear, then in his early twenties⁹⁸.

It is not clear from Mary's diary how long her drawing lessons with Harding continued, but they clearly influenced her style and helped to develop her interest into a talent which she was to use throughout her life. As early as 1836 she was winning prizes for her watercolours from the Society of Arts and between 1839 and 1865 she exhibited some 56 paintings at London galleries. I have yet to find an example of her exhibited work, but have discovered two early examples of her etchings in the Print Room of the British Museum, as well as the view of The Chancellors which forms the frontispiece to the *Description of the Hall of the Chancellors*. One of them, a landscape entitled 'A View Near Tunbridge Wells', is very similar to her sketch of The Chancellors and shows that her method of drawing trees and foliage derived in part from the distinctive style of James Duffield Harding.

The diary also shows that Harding was not the only drawing master employed by Miss Goss. On Saturday 5 October 1833 Mary 'took a lesson in drawing of Mr Burgess at Miss Goss's' and on Saturday 26 October she tells us that she 'Went to drawing. Saw M. Sacré give his drawing lesson'. These teachers are less easy to identify. Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (Williamson 1921) lists two artists called Burgess who were in London at this time, of whom John Cart Burgess (d.1863) may be the more likely to have given lessons⁹⁹. A painter in watercolour, J.C. Burgess had exhibited a number of flower pieces and landscapes at the Royal Academy and Suffolk Street Gallery and in 1811 had published *A Practical Treatise on the Art of Flower Painting*. Of M.Sacré no references have been found.

Mary also studied music and dancing with Miss Goss. On 3 February 1834 she wrote,

Went to Miss Goss to take a Singing lesson with Harriett of Mrs Kiallmark

Kiallmark was a name well-known in music circles in early 19th-century London. Mary's teacher was the wife of George Frederick Kiallmark (1804–1887), a pianist renowned for his performances of Chopin¹⁰⁰. They had married in 1829 and on 8 May 1833 Mary and her mother were taken to their London home (Godfrey 1949,45) for a concert,

Mamma and I accompanied Miss Goss and Miss Kate Goss to a soiré at Mr. G Kiallmark's 1 Russell Place Fitzroy Square. Mr. Piozzi the singer was there

A week later Mary and Emma Nichols went to the Kiallmarks' again, for a morning concert with the other young ladies at Miss Goss's school,

Miss Goss, Miss Kate Goss, Miss Coe Mrs Taylor, the Miss Taylors, Miss Balls Miss Hill, Emma and I went to Mr Kiallmark's Morning Concert Mde Sala, Madame Cinti Damoreau, Miss Bruce, Mr Wilson, &c Mr Chatterton on the Harp Dupler on the Flute Mr Kiallmark on the Piano Forte¹⁰¹

Mrs Kiallmark gave Mary her singing lessons in Hammersmith on Mondays and Thursdays in February and March 1834. She was followed by a Signor Liverati who Mary first names as singing tutor on Friday 18 April.

Other subjects taught at the school included dancing and French, but Mary does not record having taken lessons in either of them. She regularly visited the school with her family 'to watch the Young Ladies dance' and that she received tuition in French at some stage is shown by her reports of helping Miss Goss by sitting in on French classes, as well as by the five reviews of French text books which she wrote for the *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1832 and 1835. Mary was called upon to help Miss Goss on 3 March 1834 when

Mrs Bulley Miss Goss' sister died. I went to Miss Goss and Stayed the whole day there

The following day Mary

... sat with the young ladies during M.Le Croix the French Master's lesson

and she continued to sit in for Miss Goss at other classes throughout the week, as well as taking the young ladies to church on Sunday.

At the same time as attending Miss Goss's school Mary was receiving lessons in music at home. As early as 1830 she was having music lessons from the composer William Beale (1784–1854) with whom her family had become acquainted when living in Clapham. In 1821

Beale, who had started his career as a baritone in the Chapel Royal, became organist at All Saints, Wandsworth, a job which was followed by a similar position at St John's, Clapham Rise¹⁰². He is remembered today as an important composer of glees and madrigals, but in the 1830s he was also teaching as a 'Professor of the piano-forte'¹⁰³ in which capacity he visited the Nicholsons on Mondays and Thursdays. He appears to have become quite a friend of the family, attending their dinner parties and accompanying them on visits to the gardens of the Horticultural Society at Chiswick. Mary was fond of music and attended many concerts during the period covered by the diary; she also reviewed eight books relating to music for the *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1832 and 1839.

The volume of pocket book diaries which contains so much information relating to Hammersmith in the early 1830s ends in 1834. If Mary continued to keep such a detailed record of her life after this time it has yet to be rediscovered. Her later journals tell us much about her travels in England and Europe but say little of her family life or Hammersmith and London in subsequent years. From her will we know that she remained single until her death in 1870¹⁰⁴. Her family continued to live in Hammersmith for another ten years but, by 1845, it seems that parts of the estate had begun to fall into disrepair. The poor rate assessment of that April described the 'extensive yard and premises' as being 'in ruins, of no rateable value' and by the time of the next assessment, in October, the Nicholsons had moved to Ealing and the property was empty¹⁰⁵. Writing to J. Martin of Hammersmith Library in December 1900, Francis Nichols remembered with affection his own 'childish associations' with the area, describing it as 'a place very familiar to me fifty years ago'. The tradition of entertaining at The Chancellors was revived for a time by the next occupier, the opera manager Benjamin Lumley (1811-1875), who hosted a series of 'splendid fêtes' in the grounds for artistes and gentry until his ruin in 1858¹⁰⁶; but by 1869, when the parish was surveyed by the Ordnance Survey, the house had been demolished and the land developed. Today the house and grounds of The Chancellors have been replaced by the office accommodation of Chancellor's Wharf, some town houses and an open space; but the rediscovery of the diary of Mary Nichols in a London bookshop in 1982 allows us to glimpse something of the area and

its inhabitants one hundred and sixty years ago. Mary's record and observations complement Faulkner's detailed survey of the parish which was published by her father and at the same time afford a precious view of the life of a publishing family who involved themselves in the affairs of their neighbourhood, and attracted to it many of the leading historians and archaeologists of their day.

NOTES

¹ The review which was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1839 ii, 281 was written by John Bowyer Nichols.

² For details of the publishing careers and antiquarian interests of Mary's grandfather, John Nichols (1745-1826), father, John Bowyer Nichols, and brother, John Gough Nichols (1806-1873), see the *Dictionary of National Biography* 22 vols. (London, 1885-1901) [Hereafter *DNB*]. For further information relating to the history of the *Gentleman's Magazine* see C L Carlson, *The First Magazine, A History of the 'Gentleman's Magazine'* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1938) and J Kuist, *The Nichols File of the 'Gentleman's Magazine'* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1982). The Folger Nichols Manuscript Collection, known as the Nichols file and held at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, consists of a complete paste up set of the *Gentleman's Magazine* as prepared by the Nicholsons for publication, as well as over six thousand papers accumulated by John Gough Nichols as editor of the magazine and other antiquarian publications. Annotations made by members of the Nichols family identify many of the anonymous and pseudonymous contributors to the magazine and these are indexed by Kuist in the *Nichols File*. Penelope Peoples presents a general introduction to and survey of the collection in *The Folger Nichols Manuscript Collection: A Description and Analysis* (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee PhD, 1980). The collection itself will be referred to hereafter as FNC.

³ I rediscovered four volumes of the large number of travel journals accumulated by Mary Nichols in a private collection in 1991. Their contents may be summarised as follows:

Volume II part ii: Journals of visits to Oxford in 1844, 1846 and 1848 and to Stamford (Lincs.) and Hargrave (Northants.) in 1853.

Volume IV part ii: Journal of a tour in Leicestershire and Derbyshire, concluding with a visit to Birmingham in 1846.

Volume X: Journal of a visit to Salisbury to attend the annual meeting of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society in 1854.

Volume XVIII part i: Journals of tours in France and Belgium, 1853; a visit to Aix la Chapelle to receive

treatment for rheumatism in 1864; and a tour through the Rhineland and Switzerland in 1865–66.

These documents, together with Mary's pocket book diary are available for consultation on written application to the writer at Surrey Record Office. I would be most grateful for information relating to the location of other journals kept by Mary Nichols.

⁴The private offices of the Nichols firm were in Parliament Street, while the printing offices occupied 'spacious and rambling premises' in King Street, immediately to the rear. Anon *A Short History of the House of Nichols, 1694–1938* (London, 1938). I am grateful to Robin Myers, archivist to the Stationers' Company, for this information.

⁵He died in infancy.

⁶Clapham Land Tax returns 1828–1830, Surrey Record Office QS6/7.

⁷The extracts from Mary's diary and other documents reproduced in this article retain original spelling and punctuation.

⁸Richard Hoare, a member of one of London's most influential banking families, became lessee of Barn Elms in 1750 and was succeeded by his only son, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, the historian of Wiltshire. Colt Hoare enlarged the mansion and improved the property and in 1827 sold his interest to the Hammersmith Bridge Company. It was subsequently transferred to Sir Thomas Colebrook. C J Barrett, *The History of Barnes Elms and the Kit-Cat Club, now the Ranelagh Club* (London, 1889).

⁹The deeds are part of the archive of St Paul's cathedral, held at the Guildhall Library, MS 12317.

¹⁰Prebendal survey, 1649. Guildhall MS 25632 fo. 43.

¹¹*Panorama of the Thames Circa 1830, Hammersmith Section* Hammersmith Local History Group, 1960, reproduced from *Panorama of the Thames from London to Richmond* published c.1830 by Samuel Leigh, Strand.

¹²Held at Hammersmith and Fulham Archives and Local History Centre [hereafter HFA] ref: DD428.

¹³This forms the frontispiece for the description of the main hallway of the house held at HFA for which see below and Nichols 1839.

¹⁴Guildhall Library MS 12317.

¹⁵The sculpture was described by John Bowyer Nichols in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1835 ii, 474–475. One piece represented Abraham offering up Isaac while the other showed Lot and his family being led from Sodom.

¹⁶John Nichols had worked closely with Richard Gough (1735–1809), accompanying him on antiquarian tours of England, publishing his articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and overseeing the deposit of his books and manuscripts at the Bodleian Library after Gough's death. Mary's brother, John Gough Nichols, was named after him. The chimney piece is described by Faulkner, *Hammersmith*, 275.

¹⁷John Bowyer Nichols described these paintings in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1835 ii, 304–305.

¹⁸John Bowyer Nichols owned a considerable amount

of property in east London. On 24 March 1829 Mary and her parents visited '... Loddige's [nursery] in the Hackney Road, where we were much pleased. We looked at Papa's gardens in the Hackney Road in returning.' For details of his other property see his will, Somerset House, 1863, and related correspondence in FNC bundle Yd 24 16A (99).

¹⁹This painting is also listed in an inventory of goods in the Nichols' home in Red Lion Passage, dated 1805. Bodleian Library Eng. lett c 372 ff243, 260.

²⁰His son, Robert Bremmer Schneeblicke (d1849) gave Mary some tuition in drawing in 1829.

²¹HFA, PAH/1/69. The gross estimated rental of the property was £136.00 for the buildings, £8.00 for the garden and £25.00 for the meadow.

²²His name first appears in the Membership lists in 1832.

²³The date Mary became a member of the Horticultural Society is not known, but she and her father are both named in the Membership List for 1860.

²⁴Held with the records of the Society at the Lindley Library of the Royal Horticultural Society.

²⁵*DNB*: Repton.

²⁶*DNB*: Jesse.

²⁷For further information relating to Mitford see below.

²⁸The Miss Nevinsons came from Hampstead. For details of Mary's friendship with their family see Pooley, 1992, 24. One of Mary's visits to them can be seen in the diary extract (Fig 1).

²⁹Mary's contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine* are all anonymous but have been identified by James Kuist from the annotated copies of the magazine held at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Kuist, *Nichols File*.

³⁰*Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey* (London, 1835). Robert Cradock Nichols, in his *Memoir of John Gough Nichols* (London, 1874) 7, states that Bowles' letters indicate that he felt unequal to the task of writing this history and that he was keen to give the bulk of the responsibility and credit to Mary's brother.

³¹I am grateful to Dr David Robinson for this information.

³²Sylvanus Urban was the pen name used by successive editors of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

³³Mary's account of her own visit to Hargrave in 1853 is contained in her Travel Journal, II ii 1853.

³⁴Columbia University Library, Spec MS Coll Nichols. Also held on three microfilms at the Bodleian Library as MS Film 1529/1–3 [hereafter: Columbia Microfilm 1–3]. This document is on microfilm 1.

³⁵The Nichols family sold their shares in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1856 to J H Parker of Oxford.

³⁶*DNB*: Pickering and Bodleian Library MS Top Gen e 34 f139; Eng MSS lett c 360 f13.

³⁷*DNB*: Mitford.

³⁸Bodl. MS Top Gen e 34.

³⁹*DNB*: Bruce. He edited the first twelve volumes of *Calendars of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1625–1638* (23 vols, 1858–1897).

⁴⁰ His obituary in the *Athenaeum*, reproduced in that of the *Art Journal*, 1870, 71 praised the depth of his learning and importance of his editorship on the history of the magazine.

⁴¹ The most popular of her works included *Letters Written during a Tour in Normandy and Brittany* (1818), *The Borders of the Tamar and Tavy* (1836), *The Mountains and Lakes of Switzerland* (1841), *A Peep at the Pixies, or Legends of the West* (1854), *The Good St Louis and His Times* (1870), *The Revolt of the Protestants of the Cevennes* (1870) and *Joan of Arc* (1870).

⁴² *Travel Journal II* ii 1853, 96.

⁴³ Papers relating to the education of Eliza Baker can be found on Columbia Microfilm 3.

⁴⁴ Licences for George Huggins to take the name of Dollond are held with Dollond family papers at the Guildhall Library, MS 14806.

⁴⁵ I have been unable to find a reference to her grandfather, John Nichols, having been a client of the Dollond firm, but it is interesting to note that his portraits show him to have worn spectacles. That Mary's father wore glasses can be seen in his photograph in Fig 2.

⁴⁶ See 'Education' for further details of Miss Goss and her school.

⁴⁷ Mrs Dewsnap's death on 14 May 1834 is recorded by Mary.

⁴⁸ *DNB*: Croker.

⁴⁹ Other societies which he was instrumental in founding were the Percy Society in 1840 and British Archaeological Society in 1843.

⁵⁰ The painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1832 and reviewed by Mary's father in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1832 i, 438–440. Maclise illustrated the second edition of Croker's *The Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* in 1826 and was praised by Croker in the preface as 'a young Irish artist of considerable promise who I trust will receive that patronage he so justly merits'. A letter from Maclise to John Bowyer Nichols relating to his visits to sketch the Nichols children is held at the National Art Library, (86.WW.L).

⁵¹ Maclise's portraits of T. F. Dillon Croker are held by the Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room (PD194 E722–724).

⁵² *The Adventures of Barney Mahoney* (London, 1832) and *My Village versus Our Village, by the author of 'Barney Mahoney'*. William Jerdan, the journalist, was impressed by her writing, recording in his autobiography that 'She wrote in as original and clever a style as I ever met with.' *The Autobiography of William Jerdan* 4 vols (London, 1852) iv, 332.

⁵³ HFA DD/134/1–458 and L1–L39.

⁵⁴ For further information relating to James Moyes see J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton* (London, 1850) 298–299. Letters from John Britton to Sir John Soane, held at Sir John Soane's Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields (III.B. 1 1–125) include many references to

Moyes. Britton lost much valuable material in Moyes' fire of 1824.

⁵⁵ John Nichols' eldest daughter by his first marriage and step sister to Mary's father.

⁵⁶ Columbia Microfilm 1.

⁵⁷ For the important part played by the ladies of the Nichols family in the family publishing business see Kuist, *Nichols File*, 13–19 and below, n.87.

⁵⁸ *DNB*: Ronalds.

⁵⁹ The property is now called Kelmscott House.

⁶⁰ I have been unable to trace these portraits. Examples of Ronalds's work are, however, held with his papers at the Institute of Electrical Engineers, SC MSS1. 7.7–7.102.

⁶¹ For the value of Ronalds's invention to the study of antiquities in the years immediately prior to the invention of photography see Alexander Blair and Sir Francis Ronalds, *Sketches at Carnac in 1834* (Private, 1836).

⁶² Transcript held by HFA DD/272/1.

⁶³ *Travel Journal II* ii 1848.

⁶⁴ Presumably Mary Anne.

⁶⁵ Gap in transcript.

⁶⁶ Gap in transcript.

⁶⁷ Gap in transcript.

⁶⁸ Gap in transcript.

⁶⁹ The transcript has W. Dewsnap, but it is more likely to be M. Dewsnap.

⁷⁰ This was a great library. In addition to county histories and genealogies John Bowyer Nichols formed a large collection of 'drawings, engravings, printed papers and rubbings of sepulchral brasses, which he arranged in parishes, having several portfolios for most of the counties.' *Gentleman's Magazine* 1863 ii, 798. John Britton acknowledged its value as a 'working tool' in his *Autobiography* and Mary herself refers to it more than once in her later journals of tours, citing references to topographical books and maps which she had consulted there.

⁷¹ Harriet Nichols married the Rev William Comyns Berkeley of Cotheridge Court, Worcestershire, in 1844. A monument to her memory is on the north wall of the chancel in Cotheridge church.

⁷² *Travel Journal II* ii 1848.

⁷³ *DNB*: Pitman.

⁷⁴ Mary's contributions to these sermons were 4s 6d and 3s respectively.

⁷⁵ A leaflet of January 1832 relating to the Hammersmith District Visiting Society is held at HFA: 2080.

⁷⁶ I am grateful to Christina Maxwell of Lambeth Place Library for this reference.

⁷⁷ Members of this committee included local surgeons, such as Mr Bowling and Mr Dewsnap. Vestry minute book, HFA, PAH/1/4 page 217.

⁷⁸ *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving ... to be used on Sunday the Fourteenth of April 1833* (London, 1833). Lambeth Palace Library, G199 36.50.

⁷⁹ 4 and 5 Wm IV cap LXXV.

- ⁸⁰ Vestry minute book, HFA, PAH/1/4 page 290.
- ⁸¹ Vestry committee reports, HFA, PAH/1/14, page 233.
- ⁸² Vestry minute book, HFA, PAH/1/4 pages 233 and 378.
- ⁸³ PAH/1/4 page 271.
- ⁸⁴ Vestry minute book PAH/1/4, pages 85, 139, 179, 187, 196.
- ⁸⁵ Westminster City Archives, E2426.
- ⁸⁶ 'In the night we were awakened by the cry of fire. The kitchen was very much burnt, but with much exertion the fire was got under.'
- ⁸⁷ In his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, iii, 507, Mary's grandfather, John Nichols, describes Dr Griffiths as 'a steady advocate of literature, a firm friend,' and the surviving records of the two publishing houses suggest some similarities in their methods of business. Both publishers kept annotated files of their magazines and were assisted in their businesses by female members of their households. The file of the *Monthly Review* kept by Griffiths and his son, George Edward (d.1829), is held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, while that kept by the Nichols family of the *Gentleman's Magazine* is at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington. Griffiths was assisted in the *Monthly Review* by his first wife, Isabella, who died in 1764; the role of Isabella Nichols (1784-1868) in the publication of the *Gentleman's Magazine* is examined by James Kuist in the *Nichols File*.
- ⁸⁸ Thomas Steven Atwood d.1826. The house is also described by Faulkner, *Hammersmith*, 270.
- ⁸⁹ I have been unable to trace this sketch.
- ⁹⁰ This may have been Deane Franklin Walker (1778-1865).
- ⁹¹ Martin Tupper, a poet and miscellaneous writer, was at the school in 1820.
- ⁹² Pigot's *Royal National and Commercial Directory*, (1839) and HFA, PAH/1/215.
- ⁹³ For further information relating to J W Allen see *DNB*: Allen and his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1852, ii, 431-2. By 1852 his father had become master of a school in Chiswick.
- ⁹⁴ *The Boarding School and London Masters Directory*, 1828.
- ⁹⁵ For Harding's career, see his entry in the *DNB* as well as J L Roget, *History of the Old Watercolour Society* (London, 1891) I, 508-514, II p177. His importance as a lithographer is discussed by M Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850* (London, 1970), 151, 196-197, 216.
- ⁹⁶ He taught John Ruskin. See M Hardie, *Water Colour Painting In Britain* (London, 1968).
- ⁹⁷ He moved from 12 North Crescent, Bedford Square, to larger premises in the newly-erected Gordon Square in 1832, Roget, *op cit* II, 177.
- ⁹⁸ Harding's friendship with Lear is described by Daniel Fowler, Harding's studio assistant between 1831 and 1834, in his autobiography, edited by Francis K Smith, *Daniel Fowler of Amherst Island 1810-1894* (Kingston, Ontario, 1979), 103-6. I am grateful to

Professor Michael Twyman of the University of Reading for this information.

⁹⁹ The other, H.W.Burgess, was landscape painter to William IV.

¹⁰⁰ G.F.Kiallmark's father had taught the violin, piano and harp and was leader of the orchestra at Sadlers Wells. See *DNB*: Kiallmark, and Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 1981

¹⁰¹ Henrietta Sala (1789-1860), singer; Laure Cinti-Damoreau (1801-1863) French soprano; John Balsir Chatterton (c.1802-1871) harpist. See *New Grove Dictionary of Music* for details of their careers.

¹⁰² *DNB*: Beale, and *New Grove Dictionary of Music*.

¹⁰³ *Boarding School and London Master's Directory* (1828).

¹⁰⁴ John Bowyer's eldest daughter is described as 'unmarried' in his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1863 ii, 794-798 and Mary is described as 'spinster' in her will, a copy of which is held at Somerset House.

¹⁰⁵ HFA, PAH/1/70, 71.

¹⁰⁶ *DNB*: Lumley.

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