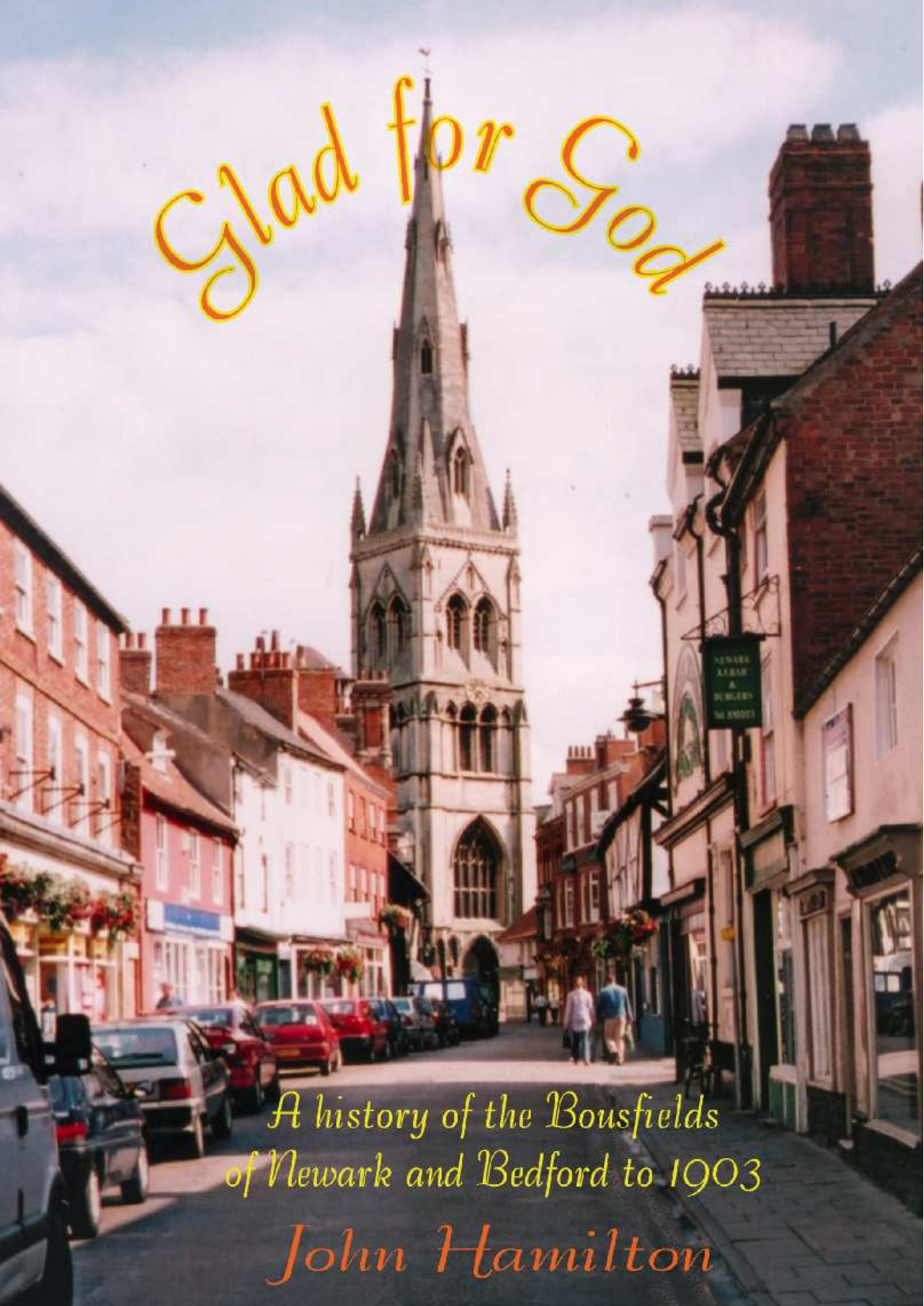
Glad for God
A history of the Bousfields
of Newark and Bedford to 1903
John Hamilton

Glad for God is the history of the Bousfield families of Newark and Bedford from the late eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. It first traces the origins of the Newark families they married into and then tells the story of two brothers, Edward and Thomas Bousfield, and their descendants. Charting their triumphs and disasters, their loves and losses, their jobs and good works reveals how some of these descendants found a new religious ideal which transformed their lives, while others stayed with the faith of their fathers.

As the years passed, their differing beliefs and lifestyles led to a widening gap between the two families. In Newark one family remained Anglican and became publicans. The other converted to Methodism, moved to Bedford and became energetic Temperance campaigners. By the early twentieth century all contact between the two had been lost.

Glad for God includes an account of the career of Edward Tenney Bousfield. During 45 years working for J. & F. Howard of Bedford, he was at the forefront of the development of agricultural equipment nternationally, making major though unacknowledged contributions in many areas including both steam ploughing and sheaf-binding reapers.

This is the story of nineteenth century England in microcosm, showing how the lives of both ordinary and extraordinary people were fundamentally reshaped by the new society that emerged and by the new opportunities and new beliefs that helped toform it.

GLAD FOR GOD

A history of the Bousfields of
Newark and Bedford
to 1903

John Hamilton

Heart of Albion

GLAD FOR GOD

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To my children and grandchildren

Glad. God. W.

Hand-written headings to the 1838 lists of the
Register of Parliamentary Electors for the
Borough of Newark-upon-Trent 1832–46

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Introduction

The fortunes of the Bousfields and their ancestors in Southwell and the neighbouring village of Upton were traced in *Cool Sequestered Vale*. But in the latter part of the eighteenth century many of the Bousfields left Southwell to find their fortune in the wider world. This present work continues the story of two brothers and the families they founded. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Edward and Thomas moved just a few miles along the road to Newark, married local girls and spent the rest of their lives in the town. But the similarities end there: their histories and those of their families increasingly diverged as the years went by. At first this separation was more financial than physical. But over time the gulf became so wide that the representatives of the two branches of the family who came to live quite close to one other in Nottingham were unaware of the presence of their not-so-distant cousins. Furthermore Edward, the elder of the two, had numerous children who in turn between them produced large numbers of offspring; so that today his many descendants are to be found widely scattered around the world. Thomas's branch of the family in contrast may well have died out. It certainly appears to have done so in the male line.

The story of both lines of the family is followed to the first few years of the twentieth century. Not only does this make a convenient cut-off point in wider historical terms. It also coincides with the ending of the family's residence in both Newark and Bedford. From the middle of 1903 there were no Bousfields living in Bedford and only one born with that surname still in Newark, and not many years later she too had moved to Nottingham. But life goes on and inevitably some ends remain untied. While this history does not set out to relate the full story of every family member mentioned in the text, a brief Postscript deals with the most obvious of these unfinished lives. One protagonist in particular still had plenty of life left in her in 1903. She in any case deserves special mention; for without her this history would have been

very different in terms of not merely her own life, but of our knowledge of many other members of the family too. Her diaries form by far the most important single source for this history: hers too is the dominating character of the second half of our story. I refer of course to Charlotte Eliza Bousfield née Collins.

Historically before the nineteenth century women are very elusive. For every Queen Elizabeth and Nell Gwyn there are millions of women of whom almost nothing beyond their names and immediate family connections survive. Most records of ordinary people are official documents. They concern the activities of parish priests and soldiers, tradesmen and local officials, property owners and tax payers. Virtually all of these until late into the nineteenth century, and in some cases until late into the twentieth, were men. The only official documents where women regularly appear are the parish registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, wills, and from 1831 censuses. The comparatively few in business also appear – from the early nineteenth century onwards – in such sources as trade directories and newspaper advertisements. Before then it is usually impossible to obtain detail of women's lives, still less form any picture of them as individuals. Happily Charlotte redresses this imbalance. For her diaries allow us not merely to follow her own life: being concerned not with the male-dominated world of work but with the female-oriented environment of family and "good works", they tell us more about the women in her life than the men.

It is not too difficult to follow the history of a family, an institution or a movement in the past. It is much harder to understand why people behaved in the way they did. For this one must get into the mindset of the times, know the true situation and the outlook of those involved. To present a fuller picture I have therefore included some general historical background of Newark in the first half of this book. Some of it is directly germane to the history of the family. But all of it is, I believe, interesting of itself and I hope adds to any enjoyment that may be experienced reading it. It is for this reason that the opening chapter deals entirely with the history of Newark to 1800. Chapter Two is, I confess, something of a problem. Even after several attempts I am still not sure it is readable, but John Holland at least deserves to be set in an historical context. And even before him a few fascinating titbits have emerged. So it remains.

It has proved possible to follow – disentangle is perhaps more appropriate – the thread of the family's history back to the mid-sixteenth century – almost exactly as far back as the Southwell ancestors of the Bousfields. Many of the surviving records are of course much the same in Newark as in Southwell, the parish registers in particular, though Newark's start later – in 1599, but are virtually continuous thereafter (whether they are complete is a another matter). But Newark's status as a Borough means that many different types of records exist – Council minutes and election records, for example – which never existed for Southwell. On the other hand, early property transactions, whether residential or agricultural, so useful for the Southwell history, are largely absent from the Newark record. As important, wills and inventories, which proved so valuable for Southwell, hardly exist for the Newark side of the family before the nineteenth century. This absence of wills and the usual plethora of repeated names – John Holland and William Knight, in particular – make the reconstruction of firm family relationships very difficult before 1700. Uncertainties and alternate possibilities inevitably remain. For the eighteenth century several new sources of information emerge: Petty Session and workhouse records, Parliamentary and Borough voting lists with their details of property qualifications, and from the beginning of the nineteenth century new types of religious records, such as Methodist registers, Anglican seating plans, and records of ministers of all sects. Local newspapers, trade journals and patent records also add to the sources for the nineteenth century, and towards the end of it, pub licencing records. Then there are Charlotte Bousfield's diaries, over half a million words detailing the daily life of her family for over 40 years: a marvellous record in itself and absolutely invaluable for this history. One notable gap in the record is the paucity of material from the company which employed her husband for 45 years, J & F Howard Ltd of the Britannia Iron Works, Bedford. This is a gap which can be only partly filled from other sources. These have been used as far as possible to produce a coherent story even though it is not as full as one would have wished.

The title *Glad for God* perhaps requires some explanation. Its immediate source is the 1838 Newark register of parliamentary electors. Those who made it their business to keep track of voters' performance

or intentions at elections for Parliament, equivalent to today's constituency parties, would use the blank columns in their copy of the register to note for which candidate each voter had voted at the last election or was likely to at the next. At the top of each blank column the appropriate initial of the candidate's surname was added. But in 1838 the names of two of the three candidates both began with G; so they had to be distinguished. These registers were at this time produced every year even if there was no election. There was none in 1838, but presumably the local parties wanted to be ready at all times in case one was called. So who were the candidates referred to? 'Glad' is clearly W.E. Gladstone, at that time one of Newark's Tory MPs. 'God' is almost certainly E.S. Godfrey, for many years chairman of the Red Club, the local Conservative party organisation, even though he was in fact never a candidate at an actual election; while W is 'Sergeant' Wilde, Newark's other MP (see Chapter Four).

But the title refers also to the central role religion played in the lives of many if not most members of the family throughout the nineteenth century. In this they were no different from many of their contemporaries. The huge increase in religious fervour, fuelled by John Wesley's ministry over many years, was doubtless founded on the fundamental changes in society brought about by the industrial and agricultural revolutions. But whatever the cause, the effects cannot be gainsaid. For a large proportion of the population religion acquired an importance in their lives that it had not held in Britain since the seventeenth century. A major difference from then was the tolerance that now existed. Anglicans, Methodists, Catholics, Presbyterians, Jews and others lived alongside one another peaceably. Over the century the state rolled back virtually all the legal disabilities that constrained non-Anglicans. Social inequalities remained to an extent, but all were free to choose their religion and to change it at will. In politics Tories tended to be Anglican, non-conformists to be Liberal (which gave Gladstone as Liberal Prime Minister a particular problem with 'Home Rule for Ireland' since non-conformists were often strongly anti-Catholic and believed that 'Home Rule is Rome Rule'). As far as can be discovered, all members of the family remained Protestants up to the end of the nineteenth century and for some time beyond. But within that general designation they moved from one adherence to another. In 1810 William was perhaps the first Bousfield to leave the Church of England

and join the Methodists. His daughter-in-law Charlotte was brought up as a Congregationalist, yet spent much of her married life as a Methodist, while at least two of her children brought up as Methodists became Anglicans.

An outline family tree has been included at the beginning of every chapter covering those who appear in it and placing them in the line of descent. It is hoped that this will make the story of the family easier to follow. In addition, to help make identities clear, numbers have been added in the text to the mostly frequently used names: e.g. John 5 Holland and William 3 Knight.

Note on spelling

Just as the name of the town has varied between Newark, Newark-upon-Trent and Newark-on-Trent over the years, so its street names have also appeared in various forms e.g. Kirkgate, Kirk Gate and Kirk-gate. In both cases the first form has been used throughout this work.

Note on dates

Before the reform of the calender in 1752, when New Style dating using the Gregorian calender was finally introduced into Britain, the new year started on 25th March. The period from 1st January to 24th March, therefore, used the same AD date as the previous 25th March to 31st December. Thus for example what we now call 4th February 1590, was then known as 4th February 1589. Following current custom dates from 1st January to 24th March prior to 1752 given here keep the original day and month but use the New Style year.

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I must also gratefully acknowledge financial help from the following members of the family: Guy Bousfield, Michael Bousfield, Hugh Hamilton, Kenneth Thomson, Catherine Cappel, Sarah Suhov, Jane Taylor and Andrew Hamilton.

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Burton Joyce, Nottinghamshire 2003
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Chapter One

Newark – a brief history to 1800

> Newark-upon-Trent is a great thoroughfare in the York road, one hundred and twenty four miles from London. It has bridges over the Trent, which forms an island here by dividing itself into two streams two miles above the town, which meet again two miles below it.
>
> *Universal British Directory 1791-8.*

> During the second world war, the Americans looked for a typical English town to film and show in their own country. They chose Newark and the film was shown under the title "Market Town".... A glance at the map shows Newark to be situated in the Trent valley where the river changes its course more or less from the direction north-east to north.
>
> *D.A.R. Bowen, Newark Industries Past and present, 1955.*

The Trent effectively forms the boundary between northern England and the rest of the country, and Newark's position at a place where the river is easy to cross might seem to make it the obvious site for an important settlement. Indeed a prehistoric trackway, Sewston Lane, connected the river Welland at Stamford with the Trent valley at this point; while the Fosse Way, the great cross-country Roman road, also briefly meets the river here. Flint tools, Bronze Age pottery and an Iron Age coin have been found at Newark, suggesting that people were living here long before the Romans came. Much Roman pottery and other artefacts have also been found, indicating a Roman settlement of some kind. But despite this it is true to say the Romans largely ignored the site. Instead they built a fort to guard a bridge over the undivided river a few miles to the south at East Stoke (Ad Pontem) and used other

means to cross the Trent-Humber barrier to reach York and the north. Thus it was not until sometime in the 40 years between the Danish (Viking) settlement of Mercia in 878 and its reconquest by the Anglo-Saxon monarchy in 918, that a fortification was constructed to provide protection in those troubled times for the settlement at the crossing. It was known as the 'new work' to distinguish it from the older Roman military remains in the neighbourhood.

In general the evidence suggests that Newark owes it origin as a town to the Danes. The street names, Kirkgate, Castlegate and so on, are Danish, as they are in the other more important East Midland towns of Nottingham and Derby. Moreover the Vikings were traders as well as raiders, and though not called a 'borough' in the Domesday Survey of 1086, Newark is then noted as having 56 burgesses. This and the fact the town's authorities never had any control over the surrounding farmland suggest that Newark was planned from the start as a town for trade and industry, and did not grow piecemeal out of a farming community. The layout (see illustrations on pages 3 and 19) with its large market place strongly supports this. In the years leading up to the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, Earl Leofric and his wife Godifu, better known by the Latinised version of her name Godiva, already the dominant power throughout central England, acquired the lordship (manor) of the town and ten or so parishes around it, which together formed a small administrative district known as a 'soke'. But after the Conquest, which Lady Godiva survived, the Norman Remegius was appointed Bishop of Lincoln, and although Newark was just over the border in the diocese of York, he became lord of both town and soke.

The Domesday count of inhabitants in 1086 equated to a total population of perhaps 400. Over the next hundred years this probably rose to around 1000, and by the time of the Black Death in 1348 to 2700. This may have caused it to drop by as much as a third, and it did not reach the pre-Black Death figure again until the early seventeenth century. The occupations of the 56 burgesses of 1086 were not given in Domesday Book, but a twelfth century document lists a surprising variety of crafts – weavers, merchants, tailors, smiths, joiners, shoemakers, tanners, potters, dyers and fullers among them. Most of these would have been engaged in satisfying purely local needs and from the start Newark doubtless served as a market town for its immediate area, in particular as a centre for farmers from the

Newark from the air. This view from the west across the Trent shows the distinctive triangular shape of the town centre. The castle ruins lie between the river and the line of the Fosse Way, now Millgate, Castlegate, Bargate and Northgate. The dark street to the right centre is Stodman Street. Kirkgate runs across the left centre of the picture from the church tower to the strange D-shaped block, at the left-hand top corner of which lay Bargate House – see Chapter Six. (Newark Advertiser)

surrounding villages to sell or exchange their animals and other agricultural produce.

The nature of this produce changed several times over the centuries. For at least three hundred years from c.1300 leather and leather goods were one of Newark's main sources of income. But there can be no doubt that in medieval times the wool trade was the most important. Fine English wools were much in demand by the dyers and weavers of Flanders in such towns as Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent, and the English east coast ports such as Boston were in easy reach of them. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries there is evidence that

Flemings were active in the town and one is still commemorated in a great memorial brass of 1361 to be found in Newark parish church. Even in the following century wool was still a major commodity. But it fell away as more cloth manufacture was undertaken in England itself. The wealth the wool trade brought to the town, as elsewhere in eastern England, is shown by the splendid church itself. The soaring tower and spire date from between 1220 and 1320, but the rest of the church was rebuilt on a grand scale, the present nave and chancel being completed probably around 1520 after 50 or more years of construction, giving a good indication of how long the wool trade continued to benefit the town.

The Roman Fosse Way, the ancient Sewston Lane and the navigable Trent itself had long made Newark an important communications point. But it is probable that until the thirteenth century the problems of negotiating the long stretch of low-lying and often boggy land between Newark and Doncaster, 30 miles to the north-east, encouraged road travellers of all sorts to take the route further east. The road via Nottingham, with its even more important royal castle, led through Sherwood Forest, where the sandy soil provided a more reliable footing in all weathers for those on foot or horseback, in spite of the dangers the forest posed from bandits such as Robin Hood. The first bridge over the Trent at Newark was built by Bishop Alexander around the time he built the castle c.1130 (see below), replacing an earlier ford. At the same time he obtained permission from King Henry I to hold an annual fair lasting five days every July. These fairs were an important part of life in medieval times and for centuries thereafter. They provided the occasion for finding jobs and marriage partners, for entertainment of all sorts, as well as trade in both agricultural and manufactured goods. They also provided the owners of the rights to the fair with an important source of income. In time Newark came to hold several fairs. King John granted a weekly market to be held on Wednesdays, and some time before 1330 another 2-day fair was added "on the eve of the finding of the Holy Cross and the following day"[1]. By 1600 these had been increased to four annual fairs and by the late eighteenth century to seven.

But the domination of the town by the successive Bishops of Lincoln probably inhibited its development as a commercial centre. It did this in two ways. First it limited the scope of the town's leading

citizens to control their own and the town's affairs, since the Bishop retained control of the manor court. The early burgesses, however, had certain personal rights, such as freedom from agricultural services and taxes and the right to take themselves and their businesses elsewhere under another lord. In time Guilds evolved – that is organisations of traders for mutual support and control. In larger towns these were craft-based, but in smaller places like Newark a single Trinity Guild covered most skilled trades and crafts. This controlled both the range and quality of the goods produced or traded and entry into a craft through apprenticeship. The annually elected Master and Wardens thus assumed some of the functions of a Mayor and Corporation particularly in regard to commerce. It was only in 1549 after the Reformation, following the bishop's surrender of his manorial rights to the Crown, that Edward VI gave the town its first Charter allowing the Guild's elected officers, now called the Alderman and Assistants, wider powers.

The Bishops of Lincoln as lords of the manor also had the right to exact tolls on the movement of goods, livestock and travellers to and through Newark, and it may be easily seen that the bishops' desire to maximise their revenue from these conflicted with the interests of merchants, both local and itinerant, as well as farmers and travellers wishing to trade in or travel through the town. These tolls were readily extracted since access to and through the town was either from or over the river (controlled by the castle) or through one of only three gates. One of these gates, controlling the northern exit of the Fosse Way and standing at the junction of Northgate and Castlegate, was not taken down until 1762. It was known as North Bar gate and gave rise to the short street today known as Bargate, which, as we shall see, looms large in the family's history. An indication of the deleterious effect of the tolls on Newark business may be seen in the creation of an early loop road (now Victoria Street and Appletongate), which allowed travellers along the Fosse Way to bypass the town and thus avoid the tolls.

The tolls covered everything that moved or was moved. In 1330 the then bishop proved in court that he had the right to "have at Newark and in the water of the Trent below the bridge and the castle... a certain toll... of all merchandise crossing there every day through the year."[2] The exercise of these rights caused continual friction between the burgesses and the bishop. In 1276 and again in 1346 the tolls were the

subject of a major complaint by the merchants, and an agreement reached on them in 1352 proved only temporary. In 1600 it was noted that "Every beast fold in the [town's annual] fairs paid a toll of 2d, every pack horse laden 2d, every cart or wain laden 16d" and in 1609 mention was made of "the through toll and the beast toll, and the week toll and the passage toll and the horse toll and pickage and stallage" as well as the corn toll! [3]

The first castle at Newark was almost certainly one of the many motte and bailey fortifications – an impressive earthen mound surrounded by a wooden palisade – which King William I ordered to be built to keep his new English subjects in subjection. But the building of a major stone-walled castle had to await the appointment in 1129 of Bishop Alexander. Known even by the papal court as Alexander the Magnificent, he was the illegitimate son of another flamboyant Norman Bishop, Roger of Salisbury. His biographer, Henry of Huntingdon, commissioned by Alexander himself, wrote: "Desirous of excelling every noble in his making gifts and the splendour of his works, he was in the habit of seizing most eagerly the goods of his people... he was ever squandering more and more."[4] Another medieval chronicle, *Gesta Stephani*, describes him as "a man of vast pomp, and of great boldness and audacity... taking with him... so vast a band of followers that all men marvelled."[5] An obsessive builder, he was responsible for three castles and several monasteries.

Of the castle he had built at Newark – "a magnificent castle of very ornate construction"[6] – the gatehouse, one of the finest surviving from the early twelfth century, largely remains. It was here that King John, a keen huntsman and frequent visitor to the nearby Sherwood Forest, died in 1216 famously of a surfeit of lampreys. In the years around 1300 the castle saw much military use, for it was on the main road between London and Scotland, at a time when King Edward I was attempting to conquer the Scots led by 'Braveheart' William Wallace. The King himself stayed there half a dozen times and had it largely rebuilt, making it as much a palace as a military fort. Indeed this is how it remained throughout its life. As with so many medieval castles including Nottingham's Newark castle was mostly pulled down in 1646 at the end of the Civil War on government instructions. But it remained Crown property and in the 1840s its ruins were the first in England to have public money spent on consolidating them.

From the early 1400s until perhaps the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, Newark prospered. Not only was the parish church rebuilt, but several wealthy residents made substantial donations to the town particularly in the sixteenth century. The most important of these was Rev Thomas Magnus' bequest in 1529 to found a grammar school, which continues to this day. Another major gift came from Robert Brown, who in 1532 left much property to the town of Newark to be spent on "reparations to the church there or any good works to be done in the town". A generation later in 1557 William Phillipot made generous financial grants for the poor of Newark, as well as many individual bequests to relatives and in-laws. One of these may well have been the cause of one line of the family settling in Newark (see Chapter Two). In 1625 the burghers' petition to the Crown to be given full Borough rights cited growing prosperity and increased population, caused in part by Newark having become an official post town due to the growth of traffic and communication between England and Scotland.

As long-distance wheeled traffic became more important in the first half of the seventeenth century (by mid-century there was a public stagecoach from London to Doncaster), the more level road between London and the north via Newark became more useful than more hilly alternatives such as the route through Nottingham. Traffic along the 'York Road' or 'Great North Road', as it came to be known later, increased as a result of the union of the English and Scottish Crowns in 1603, and many Scottish nobles stayed in the town on their way to London for King James's funeral in 1625. A few years earlier in 1609 "the towne of Newark" was described as "a great thoroughfare towne and a post towne and the Kinges Majestie's subjects doe usually travel from the north parts into the south parts through the said town and likewyse back again". [7]

But the problems of road maintenance did not go away. Quite the contrary. The increase in wheeled traffic, both coaches and carts, and of cattle on the hoof herded south for the burgeoning London market, made impossible new demands on an already inadequate road. In 1640 "about Tuxford [some 15 miles north of Newark] is the most absolutely ill road in the world".[8] Forty years later the antiquary Robert Thoresby got lost on the road in that area. In the 1720s Daniel Defoe, journalist, novelist and spy, wrote his famous description of English roads, noting

The tower and spire of Newark parish church today, looking up Kirkgate from outside the former Bousfield premises.

that: "The soil of all the midland part of England is of a deep stiff clay.... The land carriage of the northern counties [en route to London] necessarily goes through these [midland[counties, that the roads have been ploughed so deep, and the materials have in some places so difficult to be had for their repair... that the very whole country has not been able to repair them".[9] As Defoe made clear, the situation was only relieved by the privately funded building of Turnpike roads, mostly during the eighteenth century, supported by charging tolls to passing traffic. The Great North Road was the first in the country to have substantial sections improved in this way. The Nottinghamshire section was turnpiked as early as 1725, and by 1750 the whole road had been turnpiked to the Scottish border. But crucially the section immediately to the north of Newark remained unimproved. Tolney Island, just over the river from the castle, was constantly liable to flood, and during the great flood of 1766 passengers on the Great North Road had to be conveyed from Newark to Muskham by boat. This persuaded the trustees of the turnpike to take action and in 1770 a road of bridges was constructed across the island to prevent it being closed by floods. Five years later the Duke of Newcastle had a new bridge over the Trent erected. Built of brick faced with stone, it replaced "a wooden bridge of very mean construction" which had served the river crossing for well over 100 years.[10]

Of course the only means of road transport other than on foot was by horse (mules and donkeys never seem to have enjoyed widespread use in Britain), with the result that the breeding and care of horses were a major economic activity. As early as Henry VIII's reign Nottinghamshire was known as one of the great horse-breeding counties and doubtless Newark had its share of this trade from the start. Late in the eighteenth century John Throsby, writing in his enlarged edition of Robert Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottingham,* claimed that the town's "situation on the north road and five horse fairs, where great numbers of brood mares are brought up and dispersed over the northern counties, are its principal support".[11] Fattening cattle in the meadows of the Trent and the Vale of Belvoir immediately to the south was also an important agricultural activity by the late sixteenth century. Linked to the livestock markets was the leather trade. Not only shoemakers, but tanners, leather breeches makers, glovers and saddlers were all found in the town. The leather trade continued to be important

for Newark from medieval times through to the nineteenth century and in 1837 seven saddlers and 37 boot- and shoe-makers had their businesses in the town.

In 1625 Charles I granted Newark full municipal status with its own Mayor and twelve Aldermen. It must not be imagined, however, that this was a democratically elected body. Indeed the increase in status and power seems to have been accompanied by a narrowing of an already restricted franchise. Under the Royal Charter the Mayor and Aldermen formed a self-perpetuating oligarchy of local gentry and businessmen, appointing new members themselves from "the most fit and discreet inhabitants" as vacancies appeared. They were in this subject to no direct wider control. Once appointed, alderman served for life "unless removed for ill behaviour or for any reasonable cause".[12] This only changed with the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, which made the members of the Corporation subject to election by the townspeople. Ironically the Parliamentary franchise, arising from Charles II's grant of two Members of Parliament to the town in 1673 as a belated reward for its loyalty during the Civil war (see below), was much wider, being open to all males who paid the local taxes of 'scot and lot' – essentially contributions to the upkeep of the local poor. The Church Wardens were elected on the same franchise, and these elections were vigorously contested, as the Wardens had a say in the distribution of Newark's large charity funds.

For all the changes in economic activity and political status, Newark remained a typical English market town, grouped around the market square and along the river bank and serving the local agricultural community. It was partly its strategic position in the centre of England, guarding the main route from the south to Scotland and the north of England, and partly by chance that its experience of the Civil War in the 1640s was by no means typical. It was besieged twice, but never fell to the Parliamentarians. Indeed it was strongly Royalist from the start, suggesting that its comparatively small number of merchants had long been dominated by the local nobility and gentry. Charles I visited the town in July 1642 immediately before famously raising his standard at Nottingham the following month to 'start' the Civil War. At Newark, sure of support, he "declared that, whereas he went to other places to confirm and undeceive his subjects, he had come there only to thank and encourage them".[13] Within weeks soldiers were brought into

the town by the Royalist commanders and defensive earthworks raised. Then came a key moment. In February an attacking Parliamentary force had the town at its mercy, but its gentleman commander valued his friendship with the Royalist officers above his commitment to the Parliamentary cause and pulled back. Had he pressed on, he might have spared Newark – and perhaps the country – much suffering. As it was, Newark remained a Royalist stronghold until the end of the war.

It was first besieged in 1644 and then again by both Scots and English forces numbering some 16,000 troops from November 1645 until the following May, when Charles surrendered to the Scots at nearby Southwell. During these sieges major fortifications were constructed by both attackers and defenders – the Queen's Sconce is perhaps the best surviving example of this type of Civil War fortification to be found anywhere. In addition much damage to property was sustained both from artillery fire and from deliberate action by defenders to clear lines of fire. Perhaps one sixth of the town was destroyed. Even more important was the loss of life from the outbreak of the plague, clearly much exacerbated by the privations suffered during the long siege, causing the deaths of a huge proportion of the town's inhabitants (see below).

Not surprisingly the town's prosperity was also badly affected by the war. William Dickinson writing in 1819 quoted the assessment of Thomas Heron, Recorder of the town in the mid-eighteenth century: "Newark possessed a great trade before the unfortunate sieges... Such an interruption to their trade was very ruinous of it."[14] Nevertheless the place continued to function, thankfully for family historians and unlike many other places. Borough Council minutes, petty and quarter session court records, parish registers, church wardens' accounts, all survive, kept up without a break throughout the Civil War and following Commonwealth period, as do the hearth tax lists of 1664 and 1674. These suggest that the town continued on its quiet way with little real excitement after 1646, for which after such suffering the townspeople were no doubt grateful. Visiting it around 1725, Daniel Defoe describes it in appreciative tones: "Newark is a very handsome well-built town, the market place a noble square, and the church large and capacious..." (he was notable less complimentary about nearby Lincoln: " It is an old dying, decayed, dirty city.")[15]. But there are few other mentions of the town in the literature of the day. One reason for

this silence is the conformist religious stance of the town's inhabitants. Unlike other small towns – Bedford and Southampton, for example, the homes of John Bunyan and Isaac Watts respectively in the late seventeenth century – Newark remained staunchly Anglican, as far as can be judged, and it was not until John Wesley started his peripatetic mission – his first visit to the town was in 1743 – that much interest was aroused in non-conformity.

Its recovery over the hundred years from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 was aided by two things – travellers and beer. The two often went together! But like road travel of the time it was slow going. Nationally the population rose only gradually during this period, growing by less than one million between 1600 and 1700 to around five million, and it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that a combination of rising birthrates and falling death rates made a big impact on it. London was a major exception to this. Sometime early in the eighteenth century it passed Paris to become the world's largest city. By 1801, at the first national census, it had over a million inhabitants, when the total population of England had risen to just under eight and a half million. In Newark, as we have noted, the catastrophic loss of life caused by the Black Death was not made good for nearly three hundred years, with the population perhaps only reaching the same figure of 2700 again in 1620, only to be much affected by further outbreaks of the plague. Late in 1646, exacerbated by the long Civil War siege which had just ended, 1000 people died in another major outbreak, while in 1665 yet another one again carried off about a third of the population. Thus it was that the town's population in the mid-eighteenth century once more reached the same figure as it had been 400 years earlier. Thereafter it rose more quickly and in 1801 the first official census gave a population of 6730, comprised of 1487 families living in 1376 houses. Thirty years later this had increased to a total of a little over 9500. By comparison, Nottingham had a population of 29,000 in 1801, and rose much more rapidly than Newark thereafter.

A rising population, particularly in London, now overwhelmingly the largest and wealthiest city in Britain – no other British city had as many as 100,000 inhabitants even in 1801 – meant more travellers on the Great North Road. Servicing these was an increasing number of coaches and inns. The latter's numbers started to rise when the monasteries, which had been the major suppliers of these services, were dissolved in

1536–7. They provided lodging and refreshment for travellers, as well as yards providing secure parking for coaches and stabling for horses. In 1799 the Wagon and Horses in Newark, which we shall meet again later, had stabling for no fewer than 50 horses as well as its own malthouse. But the number of inns was greatly exceeded by the number of taverns serving local residents. Some 40 or 50 taverns or alehouses seem to have been the norm in Newark over long periods. For example a list of 1609 gives the names of 54 brewers, 24 keepers of tippling houses and 6 persons, who were both. Sir Frederick Eden, in his classic treatise on The State of the Poor, states that Newark had 49 taverns in 1795. And Newark became famous for its beer. Celia Fiennes, writing in 1697, enthused about it: "At Newark I met with the strongest and best Nottingham ale, that looked very pale but exceeding clear."[16] By the late eighteenth century, Handley and Sketchley's Town Wharf Brewery, established in 1766 right opposite Bar Gate House (where later one family of the Bousfields came to live), had gained a considerable trade with Catherine the Great's Russia. The Empress herself was said to be "extremely partial to the stout humming liquor".[17]

Newark's beer owed its high quality to the large crops of barley which were grown in the Vale of Belvoir immediately to the south and to an excellent water supply of great purity and with just the right amount of calcium sulphate from the local gypsum strata – in this mirroring the latterly more famous Burton-on-Trent many miles upstream. Being on the largest navigable river-system in England was another crucial factor in the development of brewing and its associated industry of malting in the economic life of Newark. For it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the railways became a rival to waterways as carriers of heavy traffic. The late eighteenth century also saw several technical developments, including that of the (static) steam engine which facilitated the production of beer on a large scale. So that, whereas in the middle of that century most inns and alehouses were still brewing their own beer, by 1800 perhaps half the country's beer was produced by larger breweries.

Town fairs, as mentioned above, had since medieval times been important for Newark in many ways. By the eighteenth century there were seven of them, scattered throughout the year. They were mainly for horses and cattle, and the May Fair, held around the middle of that month, became the biggest. It lasted five days and not only every sort of

agricultural animal was traded but also textiles – linen and woollen cloth. In addition it was a hiring fair for farm labourers, who, dressed in their smartest blue smocks, stood around on the steps of the Town Hall having their "arms and legs pinched by the farmers to see if I was strong" in the words of one who suffered this indignity in the late nineteenth century. [18] A letter to the local newspaper in 1833 claimed that the fair that year "was for many people a success.... The prices realised [for fat beasts] were far above expectations... The pleasure fair was well attended with well-dressed lassies and lads, and there was plenty of fun to amuse them.... But we believe there was never such an influx of botchers, smashers and thieves in this town as on Tuesday.... Not a single arrest was made by the police". The following year "the lassies and lads" could again enjoy 'all the fun of the fair', with stalls and peepshows as well as hurdy-gurdies operated by itinerant Italians.[19]

Another continuing aspect of Newark life was the tolls. They did not die out when the Crown took over the manor lordship, the Crown being just as keen to obtain revenue from them as the bishops had been. In fact the Crown usually leased out the manor with its tolls and other rights – by the early eighteenth century to the Dukes of Newcastle, who also owned Nottingham Castle. This involvement of the Dukes in Newark's affairs had a major impact on the town and in 1836 when the Crown sold off its manor properties in the town, the Duke became a major landowner with the right to charge tolls still in force. He in turn leased them out and they continued to cause much trouble to farmers in particular well into the nineteenth century.

One change that did take place during this period was the establishment of a town workhouse. While the town was very small, helping the poor could be done on an individual basis. In 1570, for example, the Council Minutes record that: "The Aldermen and every Assistant within his ward... shall every month Court present in writinge the name and surnames of the poore and sicke people and of such as lack fuell. And shall further make a generall survey of all the people in this town every yere [in January]". That this was at least partly effective is shown by "A note of the poore in Cartergate" of the same date. It included Jo. Flower and his four children, aged "16 years to 3/4 old": "Fewell none, very poore, tenant to Mr Francklin".[20] As the population increased, poor relief became institutionalised. Supporting the poor

became a parish responsibility and under an Act of 1601 Overseers of the Poor were appointed in every parish to raise the required money by means of a local tax known as the Poor Rate and to provide relief, as it was called. At first relief continued to be given to the poor in their own homes or in the almshouses established by charitable gifts such as those mentioned above. But growing numbers of poor and unemployed gave rise to the provision of dedicated workhouses, where the able-bodied poor were housed, fed and given work to do. The accounts of the overseers of the workhouse in Newark begin in 1728, which probably indicates when the workhouse was established. In 1755 the number of "poor in the house" – many of whom were children – varied between 30 and 35: three years later it had risen to 80. But this seems to have been the peak. In the years either side of 1790 there was no further increase, and by 1792 the number was down to 50. These numbers were boosted by poor supported at home: for example in February 1786, the Overseers noted 68 in the workhouse and 20 on "home relief". Three years later Eden claimed "The workhouse here is one of the very best in England." [21]

Being poor at this time, as at others, was considered to entail moral as well as economic failure. "Poverty was a social form of original sin; the possession of wealth, the hall-mark of the elect. A breach of the law by the poor was an aggravation of their already unsatisfactory moral state".[22] Even if they had committed no crime, the poor could be incarcerated in the workhouse. A Newark resident was outraged in 1751 by the state of the workhouse, which was "in the hands of a single woman who was utterly unable to serve the several ends of governing".[23] Many, the writer claimed, were provided for who made no pretence of requiring charity, and (worst of all, it might seem) inmates might go into the town at leisure. At times the poor could be forced to wear a badge to indicate their status, a chilling reminder that such 'branding' of the officially undesirable was not the invention of German Nazis. Newark, though not alone in this respect, was well provided with charitable foundations (though how much money reached the intended recipients and how much was siphoned off in one way or another by the trustees is a moot point), so it would not be surprising if there were spongers. But if, as seems likely, the Newark regime was like that at Mansfield, then the inmates were expected to be at hard labour thirteen hours a day. Clearly even the 'master and

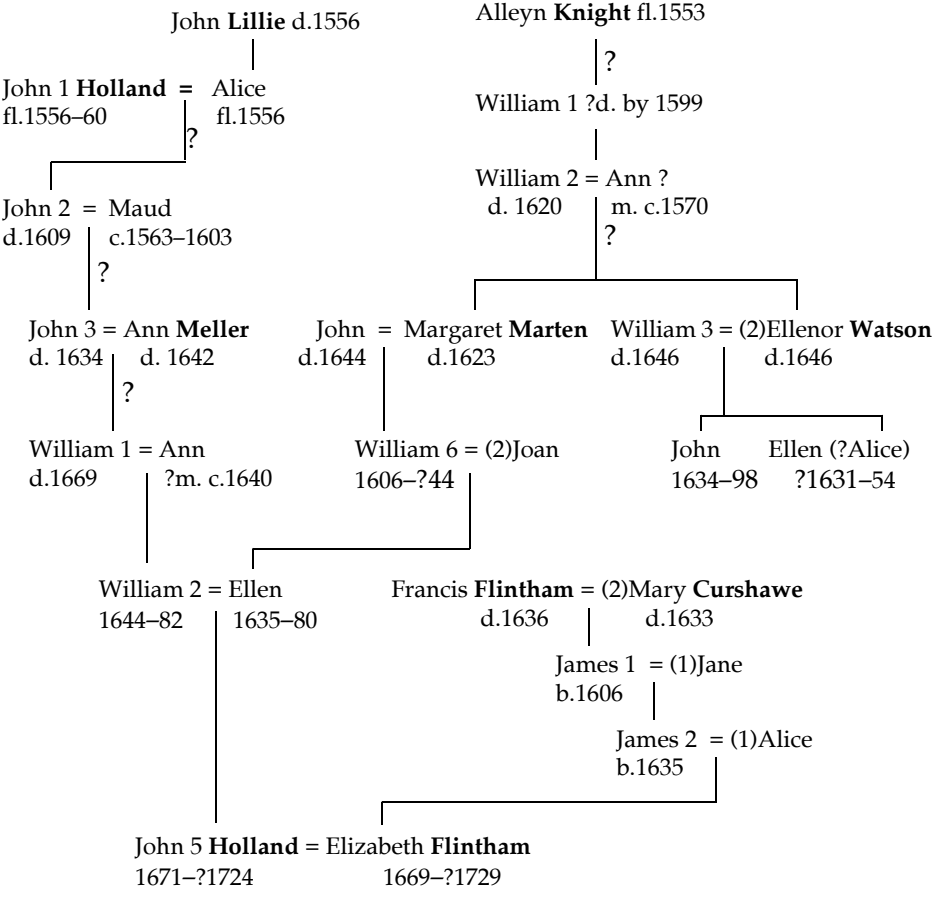
mistress', who were typically in charge of the workhouse, let alone 'a single woman', could not control several dozen inmates at such work.

But the poor were not only subject to the workhouse. It was overwhelmingly the lower classes who were punished for criminal offences. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Quarter Sessions frequently give 'laborer' as the occupation of those punished by jail or whipping "till his [or her, for women seem to have been whipped as often as men] back be bloody". Even if not found guilty, the poorer members of society faced a double jeopardy. Everyone charged had to put up a monetary surety, typically £10 or £20. Those who could not find this money were committed to the 'Common Gaol' until they did or their case came to court. Those able to find the money were given bail. Once convicted, if fined and without means of payment, again the poor would be jailed. Theft was much more likely to result in jailing and/or whipping than assault, for example – often six months to a year for minor incidents of theft. The jail at Newark seems to have been used only for temporary imprisonments, longer sentences being served in the county 'House of Correction' at Southwell. When a new workhouse was built in 1786, a small jail was attached to it. By then the first Bousfields had already arrived and Newark had begun to be transformed. It is now time to look at the histories of their ancestors in the town.

Chapter Two

The Newark Ancestors c.1550–1770

The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Hollands, Knights and Flinthams



The Early Hollands

The first mention of the Hollands in Newark that has been found occurs in the will of William Phillipot, already mentioned as one of Newark's major benefactors. William's wife Elizabeth had already had six children by two marriages before she married him – she also married twice again after he died, five times in all. When William died in 1556, he left property to his stepchildren. Elizabeth's second husband had been a certain John Lillie, and Phillipot by his will gave to "John Holland of Retforthe in the countye of Nottingham and to Alice his wyf, doughter of John Lillie decessed... thes landes, tenements and Rentes followinge." He then specifies six properties in Newark, three of them in Kirkgate, two in Ironmonger Lane and one "in the Pavement called the Fawcon".[1] The Kirkgate reference is important, because in the eighteenth century John and Mary Holland, Edward Bousfield's parents-in-law, were living there in property which they owned, unlike many Newark tradesmen who lived and worked in rented accommodation.

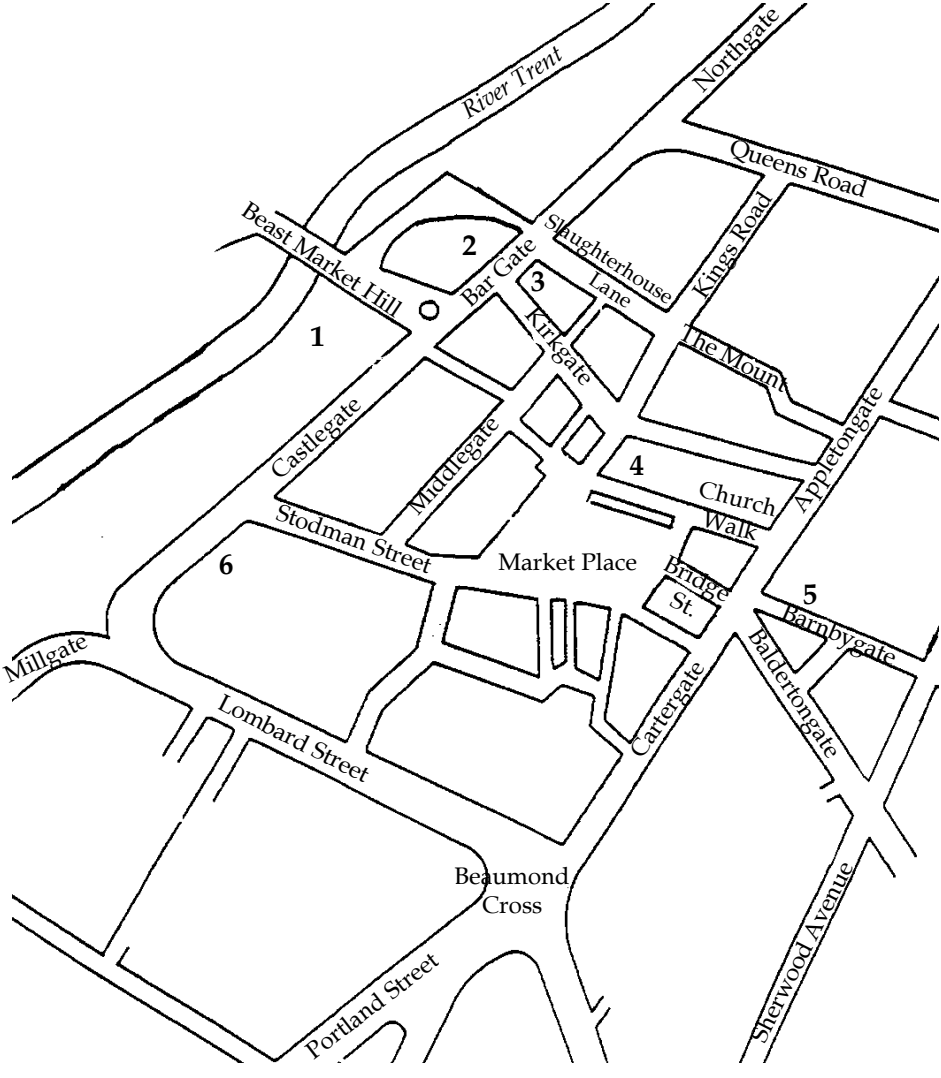
Other than his legacy, nothing is known about this first John Holland except that he was involved in the administration of Phillipot's very complex will, suggesting that he was a man of some education and status. The earliest accounts of the charity are dated soon after Phillipot's death. They include:

> The Charges [i.e. expenses] that I John Holland have byn att sens Mt Phylypot dyd Anno Dni 1556:
>
> It. att Tyckyll [Tickhill] my dynner & my horse off Wedeysdaye the xvth daye of Januarye 1557 at the Court xd
>
> It. pd. more att Tyckyll off Wedysdaye the xxiith off Januarye when the baye [bailiff] off Tradser [?Tadcaster] dyd bring the presep to the court to Mmr Malary the servante for his fees. xiid
>
> It. for a pottele of wyne for Mr Nobyle vid[2]

There was more both then and in 1560. The bottle of wine seems to have been a 'thank-you' to the bailiff for obtaining probate.

The Newark parish registers do not start until 1599, so it is impossible to trace the descent from John 1(*) and Alice for certain. The

> (*) The numbers 1, 2 etc after frequently used Christian names are not of course in the original sources, but have been added to try to bring a little clarity to the story.



Plan of central Newark, showing the historic town and the sites principally associated with the Bousfields.
1: Castle 2. Bargate House
3. Bousfield and Holland premises
4: Parish church 5: Methodist church
6: Exchange Hotel (now Crown and Mitre)

earliest Holland to appear in the register is Maud wife of John 2; she was buried on 9th May 1603 "aged 50". She must thus have been born around 1553, and if John 2 was much the same age, he could well have been the son of John 1 and Alice, who as we have seen were already married in 1556. The description of Maud as the wife (rather than the widow) of John 2 also shows that he was still alive in 1603.The burial in June 1609 is probably his. Then on 6 July 1605 John 3 Holland, "inholder [tenant] of Newark-upon-Trent", and perhaps the son of John 2 and Maud, married Ann Meller. One of these Johns may have been the "Joseph" Holland mentioned by the early nineteenth century historian of Newark Richard Shilton, who noted him as resident in the "Market steade" paying 8d rent to Lord Burghley (Shilton was not always entirely accurate and no Joseph Holland appears anywhere in the Newark records). The baptisms of two successive Johns (4) "the son of John Holland" are listed in 1605 and 1608 respectively. It was normal to give a second child the same name as one who had just died, so that even though the burial of the first has not been traced, we can be satisfied that these two were brothers, the sons of John 3 and Ann. John 3 was buried in February 1634, his wife Ann eight years later in February 1642. John 3 perhaps had a brother Thomas, who was buried in October 1640.

Unfortunately, in spite of there being several fairly complete lists of Newark's male inhabitants, virtually no other evidence for the Hollands apart from the parish registers has been found during the seventeenth century. What little there is, comes later in the century. Thus there is no way of finding out what the family's occupation was. This lack of information suggests that its men were employed by others, or if they did establish themselves in business it was in a very small way.

That the Hollands mentioned so far were ancestors of the Bousfields is only a strong possibility. The first Holland who can be identified as such with reasonable certainty is William 1. He could well have been the son of John 3, even though his baptism does not appear in the register. The evidence, however, also admits to the possibility that he had no connection with the earlier Hollands but moved to Newark from elsewhere in the 1640s. The name Holland is derived from the eponymous area of Lincolnshire, which contains the low-lying fens or 'hollow land', and is a common one in the East Midlands. On the other

hand John and Thomas continue to be family names for the next 200 years.

William's marriage to his wife Ann has not been traced but probably took place in the early 1640s and presumably away from Newark. Their first child William 2 was born in September 1644, followed by a couple of daughters over the next five years. The marriages of no less than another five Hollands also appear in the Newark registers around this time but their baptisms do not. Some or all of them may be children or relations of William 1, but there is no way of telling. William 1 died in November 1669 – Ann's death has not been traced, and it is possible she married again. Their son William 2 married Ellen or Ellinor Knight in May 1663. We return to the Knights later in the chapter, but for the moment we must note that identifying Ellen from two candidates, who were cousins born less than four years apart and both with a father William, is difficult. Because of her age at marriage and at the birth of her last child the younger of the two looks more convincing. This Ellen was 28 years old when she married William 2 and bore him eight children, six sons and two daughters, although the eldest son can only be traced through his burial. She was getting on for 42 when their seventh child was born. A final one, named Ellinor after her mother, and born three and a half years later, was one too many. Little Ellinor lived just long enough to be baptised. Ellen survived another two weeks before dying aged 45 in June 1680. William 2 lasted only another couple of years, dying in December 1682 and leaving five surviving children, the eldest only twelve years old. There is no evidence how they were brought up, but it could have been William 2's putative brother Thomas, whose four children by his wife Elizabeth overlapped William and Ellen's. Whoever did it, did it well, for at least four of the five married and had numerous children.

William 2 and Ellen's fourth son and fifth child was John 5, born in September 1671. He was only eight years old when his mother died and just 11 when his father followed her. John, although third eldest of the surviving siblings, was the first to marry – on 5 February 1691. He was only 19 and his wife Elizabeth Flintham 21, and we follow their history in the second part of this chapter.

Apart from the parish registers, only two records of the Holland family have been traced for this period. The Hearth Tax list of 1664 shows William 1 living in a two-hearth house in Baldertongate – for

some reason he was not liable for the tax. The 1674 list shows William 2 living in the same street in a three-hearth house – see Table on page 30. Both of these are typical homes for tradesmen and craftsmen. The later list may not indicate a larger house, only a more accurate tax register. And in 1705 the Church Wardens paid William 3, John 5's elder brother, £6.18.18d for unspecified work to the 'church fabric' as a plumber and glazier.

The Knights of Newark

Before following the fortunes of the Hollands through the eighteenth century, we must go back a hundred years and more and attempt to trace the Knights and the Flinthams. The Knights were rather more visible in Newark than the Hollands and their history can therefore be followed in more detail. Nevertheless they have proved particularly difficult to unravel. This is partly because they seem to have multiplied (in the biblical sense) just before the parish registers were started and partly because there are no wills before 1646 to help determine family relationships. They also insisted upon calling many of their boys William and the baptismal registers almost always omit the name of the mother. 'William the son of William' occurs all too often and for several years up to 1630 no fewer than four adult William Knights were living in Newark! In 1633, the occupation of two William Knights, identified as 'senior' and 'junior', is given as baker, while the same year a third William, a victualler, that is inn-keeper, was fined 40s with many others for failing to attend a court session, which was probably concerned with renewing his licence and with other minor offenses connected with his trade. The fourth William Knight was a blacksmith.

Thus one of the key questions thrown up by the data is how many families were involved? Were all these William Knights close relatives – fathers, sons, uncles, cousins etc – or were two or three quite distinct families represented? Another is which line is the ancestral one? Happily it has proved possible to answer most of these questions and to formulate a family tree which at least makes sense, even if it cannot be claimed to be the certain truth. What follows, then, is a best attempt at interpreting the evidence and producing a meaningful history. Where there is particular doubt, possible alternatives are indicated.

The first reference comes in 1553 when Newark Council paid Alleyne Knight 2s "for rent going out of lands in Balderton fields" – Balderton was a village on the edge of Newark. Then sometime late in Elizabeth's reign (date uncertain) "Wm. Knight" was one of many fined 4d because they let their dogs out without "mussels" – it sounds like a royal money-making scheme, unless special regulations to combat the plague were temporarily in place. Also at an unknown date but certainly before 1579, "one Knight farmer [that is sub-lessee] was drowned at the mills"[3] (this came to light in a dispute over 40 years later between William Cecil, Lord Burghley, no less, the King's chief minister, and the citizens of Newark over compulsory use of the Royal water mills, on which Cecil as lessee under the Crown had spent much money renovating after many years of neglect). A 'W. Knight' was assessed in 1593 for £3 (a typical amount) 'in goods' as a tax to help in the war against the Spanish. He is one of about 50 such tax-payers. A Knight – no Christian name given – is noted in the Council minutes for 1594 as one of two bakers' wardens, the two being chosen annually by their fellows in the town to police the trade and ensure their regulations were kept – the same applied, of course, to other trades at this time. Far from there being unrestricted capitalism at this time, commerce was strictly controlled by the business community. Thus bakers were only allowed to produce two types of bread, with a third special type during Lent only. Likewise cobblers could only repair shoes: cordwainers had the monopoly of making them.

While it is impossible to construct a family tree with any certainty from these scattered mentions over half a century, with the added information from the later parish registers it is possible to envisage a possible scenario. By the middle of the sixteenth century William 1 Knight, perhaps the son of Alleyne, and his wife were living in Newark. They had three sons, one of whom was William 2. The other two sons as well as their parents died before 1599, when the parish registers start, but all three brothers had sons whom they named William (3, 4 and 5) after their father (it may seem far-fetched to suggest that three brothers should each name a son William, but in the early nineteenth four sons of Edward and Mary Bousfield each named a daughter Sarah). So much can be inferred – or invented – from the evidence. From William 2 onwards we are generally on somewhat firmer ground. He was a

moderately prosperous baker and married Ann probably in the 1570s. They lived in Baldertongate and probably had several children including Ann who married in 1599, John in 1601 and William 3 for the first time in 1605.

The offices the various Williams were elected to is a useful source of information. At this time there were no paid local officials. All freemen of the borough were expected to take their turn according to their status. At the top of the tree were the mayor and aldermen (town councillors). They were supported by a dozen coadjutors, that is assistant aldermen. All aldermen seem to have served an 'apprenticeship' as coadjutors, but by no means all coadjutors made the grade to alderman. Further down the scale were the constables, who did the less glamorous work of policing the town. Thus election to one of theses offices is an indication of a man's standing in the town. William 2, who was coadjutor, probably continuously, from 1603–15 was somewhere in the middle rank of Newark society. This was the highest office achieved by any Bousfield ancestor until the nineteenth century; for no family member was elected to the Council or became Church Warden before then. The only exception to this was in the special circumstances of 1604 when detailed regulations were issued by the Council fearful that they were faced "with a Suspicion of the visitation of the Plague". William 2 and a Mr Duckworth were then named as aldermen for Baldertongate ward or 'division' together with two constables. The regulations included the following:

> 1. Everye Alderman in his ward shall this night Servey the nomber of the poore within their devision that order may be taken forthwith for their relef, so that they go not abroad during the time of Infeccion.
>
> 3. Itm. it is Agreed that those which have any doggs or Catts shall either tye them up or keepe them in their howses... or els some be appointed to knocke them in the head.
>
> 8. Itm. that everye Inhabitant keep their Swyne in their Backsides [back yards] and doe not turne them out [clearly pigs in normal times just wandered the streets].
>
> 9. Itm. that everye Bucher keepe his Mastiffs tyed up on his Backside upon payne for everye dogge taken loose to forfeit xijd...

These measures seem to have been successful, for there is no evidence of a major rise in the number of deaths.[4]

William 2 and Ann died within a few months of each other in 1620. William 3 was perhaps the eldest son, in spite of both being married later and dying later than his brother John. This is evidenced by his being called William after his father and because, like him, he was a baker, though brother John was one too; but also because he married well, suggesting that he had received a major part of his father's estate. For his first wife Jane was the daughter of Edmund Whiteman, gentleman, of East Stoke, a few miles south of Newark. Jane perhaps bore William 3 eleven children – with so many William Knights in Newark at this time it is impossible to be certain who was a child of whom. Of these eleven five, maybe six, survived him, though one, George, only by a month. Jane then died sometime in the mid–1620s: though her burial has not been traced, William 3's will states that he wishes to be buried in the parish church "by [i.e. beside] my wife Jane Knight". He married again in 1628 to Ellen or Ellenor Watson, and she bore him another five children, four of whom survived to adulthood. William 3 is called "Mr" in his burial entry, and he, his second wife Ellenor, and two of his children all left wills (see Appendix). Also he desired to be buried in the parish church, rather than in the churchyard – all indications of his relatively superior status and prosperity. It is possible, but less likely than the alternative given below, that the Bousfields are descended from Ellen, his daughter by his second wife Ellenor – see below.

William 3 was the most successful of the seventeenth century Knights of Newark. With Francis Flintham he served as constable several times between 1607 and 1619. In 1623 for another war with Spain, "Willm. Knight" was assessed for 20s i.e. £1 "in lands" and his brother John for £3 "in goods" in a list of some 40 names – a select group even for somewhere as small as Newark. Then in 1630 William 3 was defeated by 8 votes to 4 in the election for coadjutor. The next year he was elected and remained in office until 1646, the year of his death. In 1641 in a tax list containing close on 200 names, including W. Knight (3), W. Knight jun (4),both assessed at 2s 8d, and W. Knight smith (6), assessed at 1s – again typical amounts, but no Flinthams or Hollands are listed, pointing to a difference in wealth.

During William 3's last two years in office, 1644-6, when Newark was suffering its major siege and the plague was raging, special regulations were again made. Aldermen and coadjutors were allocated their own districts, oddly known as 'Disneys', to look after and "order [i.e. arrange] sufficient relief" to both Newarkers "visited [by the plague] or infected" and other poor needy in the town, which was crowded with Royalist supporters.[5] One of their tasks was to ensure burial of the dead. William Knight was named as one of the two coadjutors for the Cartergate, Baldertongate, Barmbygate and Appletongate Disney.

Just as William 2 and Ann had died in the same year, so William 3 and his wife Ellenor did too – in 1646 and within two days of one another. Or so it appears. For their end is shrouded in doubt, as is the existence of their daughter Ellen. William made a will dated June 20th 1646, claiming to be "in good health" and leaving his property to his wife Ellenor and his four surviving children by Jane. He was buried on June 24th. Ellenor also left a will, a nuncupative or oral one, dictated apparently to her friend "widdow Taylor" in which she is described as "widdow Knight" and which is simply dated 1646. By it she leaves money to her four children by William, stating also that William had left them money in his own will. Indeed the first item in her will reads: "John Knight sonne of Will'm knight hath by his father's will as is by the will proved before this £10.0.0." But William's surviving will makes no mention of his children by Ellenor! But even stranger Ellenor describes herself as widow, but the parish register clearly shows "Ellenor wife of William Knight buried June 22nd 1646" – two days before William and just above him in the register! By this token Ellenor was never a widow. It was of course a time of great stress at Newark. The great siege had just ended and the inhabitants were dying by the score from the plague. Moreover the register is a fair copy written up perhaps months after the events it lists; so there is a strong possibility that it contains errors. (No further light is thrown on the problem by the dates of probate, Ellenor's will being proved the following April and William's two months later in June.)

Nevertheless this does not explain the contradictory contents of the two wills. And why did William make bequests only to his children by Jane and not those by Ellenor? One explanation is that his will is concerned only with non-monetary property – houses and goods – with

the exception of a tiny amount (2s 6d) to his eldest, by now married, daughter Sara, while Ellenor's will deals only with money. Perhaps William had orally promised Ellenor to leave money to their joint children, and thought this covered them. But perhaps there is also a hint of jealousy between the two sets of half-siblings. When Bridget, William and Jane's middle daughter, made a will when dying unmarried twenty years later, she made bequests to her full siblings and to her married sisters-in-laws, but none to her half-siblings. The problems of the wills do not end here. Ellenor's will lists her children as John, Ellen, Ann and Jane. The parish baptismal record confirms these names with the exception of Ellen. Instead it clearly lists "Alice daughter of William" baptised in July 1631 and fitting in nicely between the baptisms of Jane and John. No Ellen appears, at least not as a baptism. Another problem is that 'too many' Ellens are buried! The possibility of the registrar mishearing Ellen as Alice arises, and this is certainly the easiest explanation. If we accept that it was Ellen who was baptised in July 1631, could she have married William 2 Holland in 1663 and had a daughter Ellen at the age of nearly 49 in 1680? It is perhaps just possible but most unlikely. Hence the conclusion that it was not this Ellen but the daughter of William 6 the blacksmith who married William Holland – see below.

As noted above, it is probably not from "Mr" William 3 the senior baker that the Bousfields are descended, but from his nephew William 6 the blacksmith. (Williams 4 and 5 seem to have been nephews of William 2 and cousins to William 3.William 4 was probably the "junior" baker of 1633 and died in 1643 or 44. William 5, who married in 1618, was a victualler and died in 1633.) William 6's father John married Margaret Marten of Thoroton, a village in the Vale of Belvoir to the south of Newark in April 1601. John, who was probably a brother of William 3, was a baker, like other members of the family. In 1619, however, he enjoyed the unique distinction, according a modern historian who has examined the Corporation books in detail, R.F.B.Hodgkinson, of being the only Freeman of Newark to be disenfranchised. "The Minute Book of March 29th states that John Knight was to pay 40s 'for his fine for malting after he was discharged'".[6] But this oblique reference provides no further detail. He seems to have been able to continue in business, however, for four years later he is assessed for tax at £3 compared to his brother William's £1.

He and Margaret had five children, three girls and two boys. The eldest boy and third child was William 6 baptised in February 1605–6. Margaret died in 1623, and within two months John had married again, this time to Mary Riall. But he had no more children and died in August 1644. He was probably in his late 60s. Apart from William 6, he had a son Thomas, who in 1636 was sent by the Newark Church Wardens to York to buy hymn books. The Wardens' account reads:

> Thomas Knight hath layd out :
>
> For my Jurney to Yorke: For my owne Charges v s
>
> For my horse hire & his Charges v s
>
> For Towe sett of Anthem Books [specified] xi s. [7]

William 6 was a blacksmith, as already noted. He remained fairly low in the social pecking order of Newark's commercial class, never becoming more than a constable, which he was in 1641 for the Carter/Balderton/Barmby/Appletongates Disney. He married a Newark girl Dorothy Pacy in June 1631. They had a son William 7 eighteen months later. But Dorothy soon died and William 6 got quickly married again to Jone (or Joane). The marriage has not been traced, but the register unusually, but helpfully, notes the names of both parents of their daughter Elliner or Ellen (the two names seem to have been used interchangeably at this time) in her baptismal entry in March 1635. As mentioned above, it was probably this Ellen, the daughter of William 6 and Joan, who married William 2 Holland at the age of 28 in 1663. William 6 and Joan had three more children, but soon after the birth of the last in 1643, William 6 died. The register lists the burial of a William Knight in December 1643 and again the following April and it is impossible to tell which refers to William 6. Whichever was his, he would have been only 38 years old. Joan with three surviving children – two of her own and one of William 6's, married again a few months after his death to another blacksmith, Edward Armstrong, in August 1644. No children of this second marriage have been found.

We will leave the Knights here except to include the wills of Bridget and John Knight, children of William 3 by Jane and Ellen respectively – see appendix. John died in 1699 and both his will and his inventory survive, the latter being the only such survival from the Newark family,

in strong contrast to the many found in the seventeenth century for the Southwell branch. From his will it appears that John was a maltster, and his two sons Thomas and John a butcher and cordwainer (shoemaker) respectively. He also owned a cottage in addition to his home, where he also had his maltster's kiln and yard. If his inventory is to be believed, his house consisted of only two rooms, a parlour and a "house". The latter must be a living room, for it contains a long table and four stools. Apart from a couple of beds there is very little else in the way of furniture. An unspecified number of "linen chaires", however, are his most valuable goods. Presumably they were wooden framed chairs with padded seats. Comparing this to his Hearth Tax return, where he is listed as having five hearths (see Table overleaf), however, suggests that the inventory by no means tells the full story. A house with five hearths was a substantial one, indicating a prosperous family in a small town like Newark. Much may have been included – hidden, perhaps – by the term "huslements" in the inventory. Likewise it is by no means certain that he and William Holland had added to their homes in the ten years between the two assessments. It could be that the authorities were more aware of the possibilities of under-recording by the second time around. It could also be that in the 25 years between 1674 (the date of the second Hearth Tax assessment) and John's death in 1699 that the family suffered a major change in fortune.

The hearth tax returns give a good indication of the prosperity of the various branches of the family at this time – Robert Beck had married Sara, daughter of William 2 and Jane: the "Mr Robert Beck" of the 1674 return was their son. The typical craftsman/trader had two or three hearths and most of the family fall into that category.

The Flinthams

Compared to the Knights, the Flinthams were a modest family, more like the Hollands. The name derives from the village of the same name a few miles south of Newark. Neither physically nor socially did they move far. One or two were Constables; their homes contained no more than one or two hearths. They moved in the lower reaches of Newark society. They were not very numerous. This means that, although it is difficult to elicit much of their history, their family descent can be readily established. Francis Flintham married Margaret Butler on 13 November 1599. Margaret must have been only 19 years old, for it is

Hearth Tax Returns

1: 1664

Baldertongate	William Holland	2 hearths	'not chargeable'
Cartergate	John Knight	3 hearths	6s
—	John Knight	1 hearth	'?not chargeable'
Appletongate	Mrs Knight	2 hearths	4s
Northgate	John Flintham	2 hearths	4s
—	Robert Flintham	1 hearth	2s
Kirkgate Disney	Francis Flintham	1 hearth	'not chargeable'
Milngate	Richard Flintham	1 hearth	2s

2: 1674

Balderton Gate	} William Holland	3 hearths
& Carter Gate	} John Knight	5 hearths
Appletongate	} Richard Knight	1 hearth
& Barmbygate	}	
Northgate	Samuel Flintham	2 hearths
Market Place	Mr Robert Beck	3 hearths

Note: No Booths are listed in Newark on either date.

Analysis of 1674 Hearth Tax for Nottinghamshire

No. of Hearths	*Social Status of Occupier*	*Percent of Occupiers*
1	labourers & poorer husbandmen	43.5
2–3	craftsmen, tradesmen, yeomen	42.5
4–7	wealthier craftsmen etc, merchants	12
8+	gentry & nobility	2

Source: Roger Fieldhouse, 'The Hearth Tax and other Records' in *Group Projects in Local History*, 1977.

presumably her burial that is recorded as "Margerye" in January just over a year later at the age of 20 – at the very start of the Newark burial register the age at death is given, a practice which was soon dropped, not to be taken up again for 200 years. There were no children of the marriage.

Francis married again on 7 November 1603, this time to Mary Curshawe, like Margaret also from Newark. There were several other Flinthams in Newark at this time, presumably Francis's relatives, so it seems probable that Francis's parents had lived in Newark during the sixteenth century. Francis and Mary lived in Northgate, where the Flinthams are listed in the Hearth Tax returns later in the century. A 1629 entry in the rolls of the Borough of Newark confirms this. It is concerned with the problem caused by the erection of a new fence "preventing the tenants of Whitehall laying their dunge in Appleton [open ground alongside Appletongate; see the map of 1790 illustration on page 35]... The jury stated that the said Appleton lay open to the said howse and the rest of the howses towards the Trent, there was a yate [sic] kept for keeping out cattell at ye corner betwixt Flinthames howse and ye Angell [a pub]".[8] Francis and Mary had four children, two boys followed by two girls. The boys survived to adulthood and married; of the girls the elder Mary died unmarried at the age of 24, the younger Elizabeth was only three when she died. Their mother Mary died in July 1633, and Francis a couple of years later in January 1636.

The second son James 1 was baptised on 22 June 1606 and married his wife Jane probably around 1630, but not in Newark, so the marriage has not been traced. James 1 and Jane had three children together, one girl who died young and two boys, Robert and James 2. Jane must have then died, perhaps in childbirth, though her burial has not been traced; for her second son James 2 was baptised on 19 July 1635 and in February only eighteen months later the baptism of "John the son of John and Elizabeth" is recorded. Again the marriage of James 1 and Elizabeth has not been found, nor has the burial of either of them. Did they die in the plague of 1646 and their burials were unrecorded because so many died? Apart from John they also had a daughter Elizabeth born in 1642.

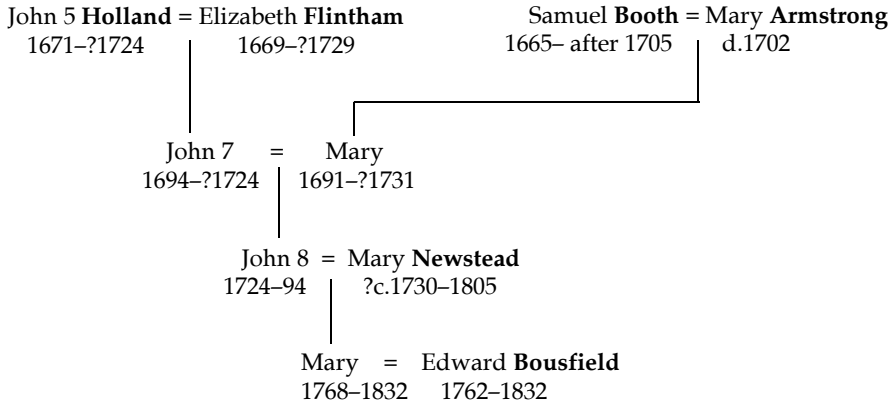
James 2 married Alice sometime in the 1660s – another marriage not found: the Flintham men seem to have preferred wives from out of town – and on 2 May 1669 their only child Elizabeth was baptised. Alice

was dead within 15 months, but James married again – wife not known even by her Christian name – and had a son James 3 in 1678. James 2's elder brother Robert was a whittawer – a maker of soft leather goods – like the Southwell Littles. He died young and unmarried, which is probably why he made a will (see appendix). James inherited his house and all his "house all goods", while his brother and sister had to make do with Robert's stock-in-trade between them – they were of course only half-siblings. James 2 does not appear in either of the Hearth Tax returns. In 1664 he was doubtless living with his brother Robert in the house in Northgate he inherited from him the following year. But why was he not still there ten years later? His absence from the list suggests a significant degree of poverty. We do not know when he died, but it cannot have been before 1678 when James 3 was born. Elizabeth, his daughter by Alice, married John 5 Holland on 5 February 1690–1.

With one exception, Samuel, the Flinthams in the Hearth Tax lists (see above) can be readily identified. John was James 1's son by his second wife Elizabeth, and Samuel in 1674 perhaps his son, though no baptism has been found. John was Constable in 1660. Francis must be James 1's elder brother born in 1605, but he too does not appear in the 1674 list though he did not die for another five years. Richard was his son.

The Eighteenth Century: Hollands, Booths, Newsteads

John 5 Holland married Elizabeth Flintham on 5 February 1691. Information on them is very limited. We do not know his occupation or where they lived. As noted above, he married young being only 19 at the time – Elizabeth was 21. It is impossible to say how many children they had with any certainty, but perhaps six in all. The uncertainty arises because of another John Holland. This John (6) was born just a year after John 5 and married in 1696. The two Johns were almost certainly cousins, although the parentage of John 6's father Thomas cannot be established. After John 6 married a further nine children "of John" appear in the record (no mothers' names are given). The baptism of the last of these, Samuel, in 1708 gives the father as "John the flaxdresser". This is almost the first indication we have of an occupation for a Holland, and it seems have been included to differentiate – rather belatedly! – between the two John Hollands, but which one was the flaxdresser we cannot tell.



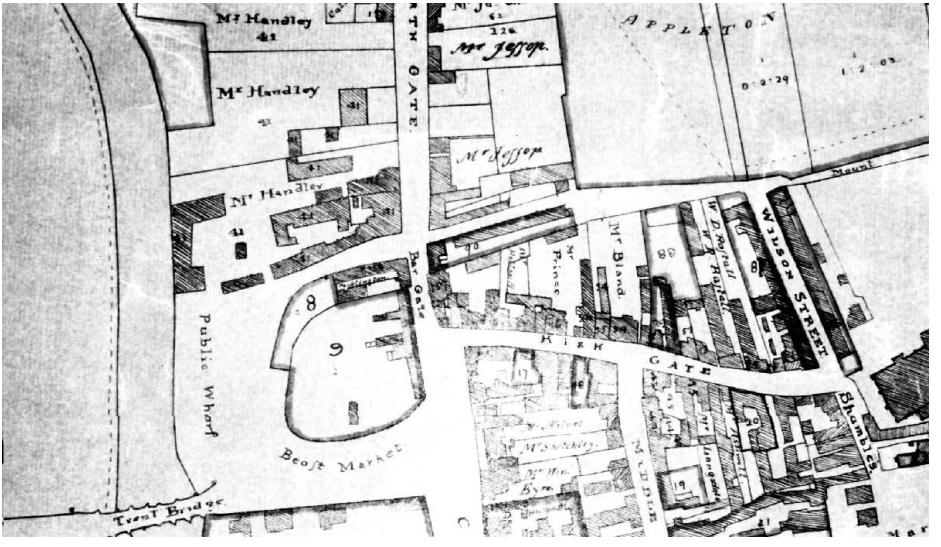
The first four of John 5 and Elizabeth's children, however, were all born before 1696 and thus certainly theirs. The third of these was yet another John (7), baptised 9 June 1694. John 5 must be one of the three John Hollands whose burials were registered between January 1724 and August 1729, but there is no way of telling which was his. Likewise Elizabeth is probably one of the three widow Hollands noted as being buried between September 1729 and April 1731, again undifferentiated in the record.

As he grew up in Newark, John 7 had many cousins as well as his siblings. Apart from the children of John 6 mentioned above, his uncle William Holland had eight children by three wives who included two sisters: while his uncle Francis Holland had nine children by his wife Margaret More. Of course not all of these survived infancy or even childhood: nevertheless enough did to leave plenty of close relatives to play with. In general the Hollands were fairly poor. One of them could not afford a coffin when he died, for in 1731 the Workhouse accounts note "Paid for a coffin allowed by Overseers [for] one Holland sometime since Sexton: 3s 6d."[9] One of John 7's cousins, Francis, who seems to have seven children ('seems' because more burials than baptisms are listed in the registers) was one of the "persons that received Bishop White's Doal" in 1735. Another possible relative Mary Holland had an illegitimate daughter in 1717 though she married presumably the father a few weeks later.

John 7 married Mary Booth on 21 April 1720. He was 25 and she was 28. The Booths may well have been living in Newark at the beginning of the seventeenth century, for a William Booth married a Margaret Pinder in 1610, and the next year a Joan Booth, a widow and perhaps William's mother, died. But entries in the registers are few and far between after that and no other information on them has come to light. Either they were very poor or the family of William and Margaret moved away. Perhaps not too far, because four weddings and one burial of Booth women are recorded in Newark between 1651 and 1683, but no Booths appear in either the 1664 or the 1674 Hearth Tax lists. Then in May 1691 Samuel Booth married Mary Armstrong in Newark (it is not known if she was related to the William Armstrong whom Joan the widow of William 6 Knight married, but quite probably). They had four children, two girls and two boys, over the next eight years, before Mary died in 1702. Samuel married again twice over the next three years, his second wife dying after a couple of years. Like the Hollands there were other close relatives also living in the town. A Charles Booth had four children in the 1690s and a Catherine was buried in 1708. Like the Hollands, too, at this time, the Booths were probably at the lower end of the social scale. A Thomas Booth was another of those receiving the bishop's dole from 1728 to 1730; and Samuel and Mary's younger daughter Hannah also had an illegitimate daughter at the age of 20 in 1721. But beyond that there is no information on the family, except that Hannah's elder sister Mary, firstborn of Samuel and Mary, was baptised in April 1692 and 28 years later almost to the day married John 7 Holland.

John 8 Holland and Mary Newstead

John 7 and Mary had four children, again two of each sex. Beyond that nothing has been found about them except that in August 1723 John was 'bound' for £10 surety to ensure the appearance in court of his younger brother Francis on some unspecified charge, but further records of the case do not seem to survive. John 7 was buried in January 1752. At that time his second son John 8 was still unmarried although nearly twenty-eight years old, having been born in February 1724. In fact he did not marry for nearly another ten years, it being on 3rd December 1761 that he wed Mary Newstead. Unlike the other families we have investigated, the Newsteads do not seem to have come to



Attenborrow's map of 1790. The name 'Mr Holland' can be made out on the original towards the left-hand end of Kirk Gate, next to the property of Mr Prince. His slaughterhouse would have been in the long building in the lane at the back. The Prince property was later bought by Edward Bousfield – see Chapter Three. (Nottinghamshire Archives ref. NE1R)

Newark until well into the eighteenth century, the first entry in the parish register relating to them being dated 1723.

Mary's parentage has not been established, but a total of three baptisms of Mary Newsteads appear in the records of the villages of Elston and Shelton, both close to Newark, in the years 1723–9. One of these is almost certainly hers. Around this time a William Newstead had the misfortune of appearing before the Newark Magistrates for some crime which is not specified. The Quarter Sessions Minute Book entry for April 2nd 1727 reads: "Ordered that William Newstead today be whipt at the Market Cross".[10] Newsteads continue to be found in Newark until well into the nineteenth century, by which time one of them Francis was clearly flourishing, having set up a successful frock smock factory – see next chapter. In the middle of the eighteenth century a John Newstead was supplying the Workhouse probably with food, for an entry in the accounts for 1742 lists a payment of 2s 4d to

"John Newstead for one strike of potatiss".[11] But the Newstead family tree has not been established, so that, while it is quite possible those mentioned were related to Mary, the exact relationship is not known.

In spite of marrying late, John 8 Holland had plenty of children by his wife Mary, including no fewer than three christened John! We shall return to these shortly. With John himself we at last have an ancestor on whom some significant information beyond the parish registers and tax lists survives. It is even possible to make some assessment of his character. He was a butcher and lived in Kirkgate. He seems to have prospered. Not only did he own his own premises at a time when most Newark tradesmen lived and worked in leased accommodation. He also owned the house/shop next door and leased a slaughterhouse from the Duke of Newcastle across the lane at the back. The exact location is shown on a map of 1790, so that we know it was towards the Bargate end of Kirkgate, the opposite end from the church.

Amongst his customers John was able to count the Overseers of the Poor and the Workhouse. For many years from 1764 their account books list such payments as "Holland per bill for beef: £2.5.8" (January 1785)[12]. John supplied meat two or three times a year and it was amazingly cheap. The entry for the week commencing 24th August 1788 notes: "Holland for Beef 9st 9lb @ 4d [per lb] £1.18.6" (though there is something wrong with the calculation, for the figures as given work out at 3½d per lb). [13] The inmates appear to have been given only beef: although the type of meat is not usually shown, when it is, it is always beef.

Successful tradesman he may have been, but that did not mean that he was entirely respectable. From medieval times butchery, unlike bakery for example, had never been recognised as a skilled trade subject to self-regulation. So it is perhaps not surprising to read in the record of the Quarter Session Court for the autumn of 1774 that:

> The Jurors... present John Holland... of the parish of Newark-upon-Trent... Butcher on the second day of October in the 14th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Third... with Force and Arms at the parish of Newark-upon-Trent aforesaid... in and upon John Roberts the Younger in the Peace of God and our said Lord the King then and there did make an Assault and him the said John Roberts then and there did beat wound and ill treat so that his life was greatly despaired of and other wrongs to the said John Roberts then

> and there to the damage of the said John Roberts and against the peace of our said Lord the King...[14]

On the 6th the Magistrates "R. Eastland Mayor & Ch's Mellish Recorder" issued an order:

> to all Constables... These are to will and require you... to bring before us his Majesty's Justices of the Peace... the Body of John Holland... for a Trespass and Assault upon John Roberts the Younger... to find sufficient sureties for his personal appearance at this present Session to answer the same and all such matters as... shall be objected against him.[15]

The same day recognisances of £40 (an unusually large amount) were taken from John himself and his friend and fellow butcher Robert Heppenstall.

The assault sounds horrendous, but in practice it may not have amounted to very much; for the words of the charge were fairly standard for cases of assault. The case was not heard until July the following year. On "10 July Upon the Process: John Holland of Newark Butcher appeared and submitted and was fined Sixpence which he paid in Court and ordered to be discharged".[16] Assault, especially between two members of the lower orders, was not considered a serious offence. But this was not John's only appearance in Court on an assault charge. Fourteen years later in 1788, again in October, he was had up for an assault against a certain Richard Clifton but pleaded not guilty at first appearance. When the matter came to a full hearing the following April the Magistrates agreed with him and he was discharged.

None of this affected his fitness for public office. In 1774 and again two years later he appears on what is almost certainly a list of Constables, being one of two for Kirkgate. From 1774, too, Parliamentary Poll books for Newark are extant. In that year John, Richard and William Holland are listed as having the vote, as are three Newsteads and a Joseph Booth. But no other information is provided. In 1780 in "an Alphabetical List of the Poll for the Election of two representatives to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Newark-upon-Trent 9th Sept" it is noted that John Holland, like most of the other family names in the list, voted for The Right Honourable Lord George Sutton and Sir Henry Clinton Knight of the Bath, the two aristocratic Tory candidates They were duly elected, while Robert

Foster Esquire, the 'popular candidate', failed (at this time every voter had two votes: the two candidates with the most votes were elected).

This was John's last election; for by the time of the next one in 1795 he was dead. He died in November the previous year aged 70, a good age for the time. He left a will, which he had made the previous March – see Appendix. In this he noted that he had already "handsomely provided for my sons Thomas Holland and John Holland", the two eldest surviving boys. Indeed he had set them up in business. He then appointed two of his "friends William Rumley of Newark Ironmonger and Roger Ridge ditto Tailor" as trustees to whom he left in trust "all those my two messuages dwellinghouses or tenements with the gardens stables buildings yards and all appurtenances in Kirk Gate and in the respective possessions of me and my son-in-law Edward Bousfield and all other my real estate also all my household goods and furniture plate linens monies securities for money stock in trade book debts goods cattles chattels effects and personal estate". It is not clear from this whether he actually owned some livestock, though as a butcher this is more than possible. But equally the "cattles" may just be another form of "chattels" included by the lawyer to ensure nothing was omitted.

His very first individual legacy is "the sum of five pounds unto my son Thomas to buy mourning with". But whether this shows he did not fully trust his family to conduct his funeral properly – he made none of them trustees or executors – or whether this clause was included by a pernickety lawyer, is not clear. Then all the income from his "real and personal estates", invested by the trustees "upon government freehold copyhold or leasehold security", was to be paid "unto my dear wife Mary Holland during the term of her natural life for her sole use and benefit". His unmarried daughter Ann was to receive fifty pounds after her mother's death, and "all the residue" was "to be disposed equally to my children Edward Holland, Ann Holland and Mary Bousfield". Edward, however, was abroad, and if he were to "die without issue before his return to England", his share was to be divided between the children of Thomas and Mary.

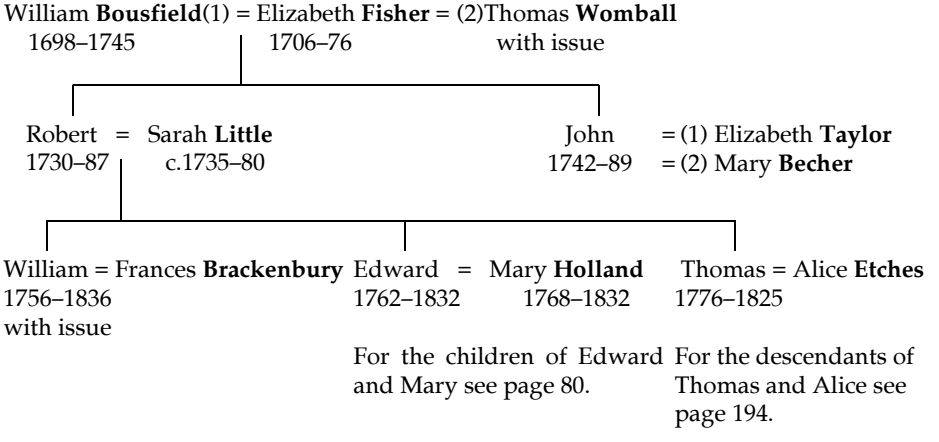
Mary we know almost nothing of. She survived John by ten years, during which time she continued to live in the family home. She had apparently borne him nine children: the baptisms of eight of them are

listed in the parish register between March 1763 and July 1772 – just over nine years! Edward we know about only from his father's will, but he was surely the youngest, there being no time for him earlier. Of these nine, three were christened John. Two of these and one other son died as infants or children, and one son, Richard, lived only till he was twenty one. Mary herself died in April 1805. Thomas the eldest surviving son had been born in 1764 and set up by his father as a butcher in Hillend off Castlegate, certainly by June 1785 when he is first listed in the Workhouse accounts as supplying meat – he was 21 in that year. He married Mary Thornton in Newark in 1788 and after his father's death he moved back into the family home in Kirkgate, where he is shown in 1795 in the Parliamentary Poll book. There he is described as "always a red", which meant Tory. He died in 1806, only eighteen months after his mother. He was just 42 years old. His father's will suggests he had children, but none have been found, and the butchering business came to end with his death.

His younger brother John 9, born in 1771, was only a teenager when his father died. If he married it was not in Newark, and likewise no children of his have been found in Newark Registers. Ann, unmarried at the time of her father's death, remained that way, dying in 1825 at the age of 59. Her younger sister Mary, named after her mother and grandmother and, as we shall see, inheriting her mother's great fecundity, was born on April 1768. In January 1789 she married Edward Bousfield. Their marriage is dealt with in our next chapter.

Chapter Three

The first Bousfields in Newark 1770–1832



The two families of John Bousfield

Edward Bousfield, the second son of Robert and Sarah, moved to Newark sometime in the 1780s. But he was not the first member of the family to take up residence there. His uncle John preceded him by fifteen or so years. John was the youngest son of William and Elizabeth, born in 1742 after they had moved back to Southwell from Winkburn. His story as far as it was then known was given in *Cool Sequestered Vale*. Further research has yielded important new information on him and his first wife, so his history is repeated here. He was only two years old when his father died and cannot have been responsible for whatever shenanigans took place over his father's 'estate'. Nevertheless he seems to have been the beneficiary of them, for he emerged as owner of the modest family 'farm' in Southwell until he handed it over to his elder brother Robert in 1768.[1] Presumably he continued to live with his

mother, wherever that was in Southwell, after her remarriage within the year to Thomas Wombwell. After his father's death in 1745 he not surprisingly disappears from view for many years, emerging at the manor court session to hand over the land to his elder brother Robert, as mentioned above. He was then 26. Perhaps he had decided to give up any farming he was doing and try his fortune elsewhere. At any rate the following year he was in London, marrying Elizabeth Taylor at St Andrew's, Holborn as attested by a hand-written family tree.

The wedding was held on 6th May 1749 and it proved to be very much a Taylor family party. The marriage certificate notes it was "in the presence of us Jasper Taylor, Kath Deverell, Jasper Taylor junior". Jasper senior was Elizabeth's father, Jasper Junior her brother, and Katherine, married to Joseph Deverell, her sister. The officiating minister was Thomas Taylor, another brother. No mention of any Bousfields! The certificate also states that while Elizabeth was a spinster of St Andrew's, John was a bachelor "of the parish of Newark in the County of Nottingham". A newspaper report a few days later gave his occupation as a hosier and confirmed that he lived in Newark. Being acceptable to marry the daughter of so successful a man as Jasper Taylor makes it almost certain John had his own business and that this was in Newark, where he and Elizabeth set up home. Further evidence of his self-employed status comes from the records of the 1780 election in Newark, when like John Holland he voted for the two aristocratic candidates Sutton and Clinton. This shows he was well enough off to own sufficient property to qualify as a voter, which right was based on a property valuation. But how, living and working in Newark, he met and wooed Elizabeth in London remains a mystery.

Jasper Taylor, his new father-in-law, was a watchmaker, one of a long line in this profession. Indeed the Taylor family remain well-known for their work as clockmakers. They occupied the same premises – 17 Holborn – for two hundred and more years from the mid-seventeenth century, when the founder of the dynasty and its most famous member Thomas (1637–90) set up his business there. His clocks remain greatly in demand and sell for extraordinary sums today. A "Grande Sonnerie" of his – a striking table clock - from around 1680 sold in May 2022 at Christie's for £69,200.

Having set up home in Newark, John and Elizabeth quickly started a family. Their first child Thomas was born in May 1770. He was

followed the next year by George, baptised in June 1771 – exact birth dates do not seem to have survived.

Then after a gap came Catherine Ann, born in December 1775; and finally Harriet after another gap, baptised in January 1781, but died around the time of her second birthday. Thomas died at the age of nineteen (the cause not recorded), but Elizabeth married and had a number of children (and grandchildren) by her husband William Ranyard. She died at the age of 72 in Kingston upon Thames. The children's mother Elizabeth died while they were still young in July 1782. She was buried in Newark.

As for George it seems likely that his Taylor grandparents were key to him setting up as a solicitor in London - both the training and the establishment of a practice were expensive. His premises in Bouverie Street lay right next to the Inns of Court with all its City barristers, and not far from Holborn where his mother's family had their premises. He also had a practice in Evesham, but was buried in London in St Dunstan's in the West. Two of his sons became solicitors and a third William Cheek Bousfield a barrister at Gray's Inn. William married Rebekah Richings and she had ten children by him. This was a very successful family. One son, George married an admiral's daughter. Another Henry Brougham Bousfield was appointed the first Bishop of Pretoria in what is now South Africa and his work in establishing the Anglican church there has earned an entry in *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Another son Octavius (the eighth child) emigrated to new Zealand – "banished" there by the family for some indiscretion, according to his numerous descendants. Rebekah's family came from Warborough in Oxfordshire where the family settled after William's death. A dozen or so Bousfield memorial plaques can still be found on the chancel wall of the parish church.

As for John, in August 1780, three years after Elizabeth's early death, he married again, this time to Mary, the daughter of the Rev Richard Turner Becher of Southwell. Mary was thirty years old and still unmarried and perhaps was felt to be in danger of being "left on the shel**f".** The Bechers were one of Southwell's leading families in a small town which boasted many upper class residents. John was certainly not at this level of society and so Mary's age may well have been a factor in enabling the pair to get married. Their only child together, named Becher after his mother's family, spent twenty five years in the army

before taking up farming. He married a probable cousin Henrietta Becher, born in the "East Indies". They had a son and three daughters. None of them married, but one daughter was a milliner and had an illegitimate daughter. The story of John and his descendants gives an insight into the fluidity of English society. John died in September 1789 aged just 47 and was buried in Newark. Some years later Mary married again, still in Southwell.

Edward Bousfield and Mary Holland

John's nephew Edward was born according to Henry on 5th February 1762, nearly six years after William, who was the eldest in the family (William achieved considerable success as a surgeon in Boston, Lincolnshire. His life has not been researched, but like his younger brother John's, his descendants also survive including some in Australia). The next we hear of him is in Newark in 1789, when on January 14th that year he married Mary Holland. The following year he is listed in the Poll Book as living in Kirkgate as a tenant of his father-in-law, making his living as a brazier. He was nearly 27 when he married (Mary was 20) and it is probable he had already set up in business. Why did he move to Newark and what did his chosen occupation consist of?

Newark was certainly much more the sort of place for a young man going into business than the sleepy backwater that was Southwell. In the 1780s it was changing fast, the fifty years from around 1770 being perhaps the most intense period of development in its history. Not only were new industries established; the old town centre was largely rebuilt and the town expanded far beyond its medieval boundaries for the first time. Communications, too, always important to the town, saw major improvement in the 1770s both to the bridge over the Trent and the Great North Road beyond it – see Chapter One. Three years earlier the Corporation had succeeded in getting Parliament to pass an Act for "improving and completing the navigation of that part of the Trent which runs by the Town of Newark". The preamble to the Act states "Whereas the town of Newark is possessed of a considerable trade in corn, wool, coals and other merchandise, and the said branch of the Trent may, by improving the channel thereof... be rendered navigable at all seasons of the year".[4] The river had always been more important a means of transport than the roads, and would remain so for another 70 or 80 years until the coming of the railway in the mid-nineteenth century.

But both roads and river were needed to cope with the rising volume of people and goods that came to, from or through the town. One of the first new large-scale industries was Handley and Sketchley's brewery founded in 1766, already mentioned in Chapter One. Then sometime before 1790 a large mill for making cotton thread for stockings was established. It employed "about 300 hands" according to F.M. Eden "chiefly women and children [earning] 1s to 5s a week".[5] Many of them were inmates of the Workhouse forced to work there to qualify for 'relief', as the Workhouse accounts bear witness. Another factory from 1793 made fine quality linen goods such as table cloths. At one time it employed as many as 500 people, some at least working in appalling conditions in specially designed damp cellars, which were ideal for weaving linen cloth. From the early nineteenth century Newark was also the home of a smock frock factory, which manufactured the garment traditionally worn by agricultural labourers made of light blue linen – the first known maker being a Newstead, who was quite probably a relative. (Surprisingly framework knitting, so important in Nottingham and the surrounding villages, scarcely reached Newark). High quality gypsum was mined close to the town, and, more importantly for the family's history, metal working had begun in a number of small establishments. But malting was the big industrial activity and by the 1790s there were a dozen or so malt makers.

With the increase in employment came an enlarged population, as already noted. This in turn meant a demand for new and improved housing. In 1791 the local paper declared: "The bricklayers [as builders were then known] have scarcely time to build them [new houses] so as to stand finishing".[6] More people also meant more retail trade and the Market Place was largely rebuilt or modernised during the eighteenth century (the ancient Old White Hart Inn being a notable exception). Stodman Street and to a lesser extent Kirkgate and Castlegate were also rebuilt in the latter part of the century. New building spread out in Northgate and Millgate along the river either side of Castlegate on the line of the Fosse Way. The crowning glory of the 'new' town was the Town Hall newly built in the Market Place using money from the town's charities. This splendid building was put up in 1774, decorated lavishly in the latest fashion. With the parish church it continues to dominate the town centre.

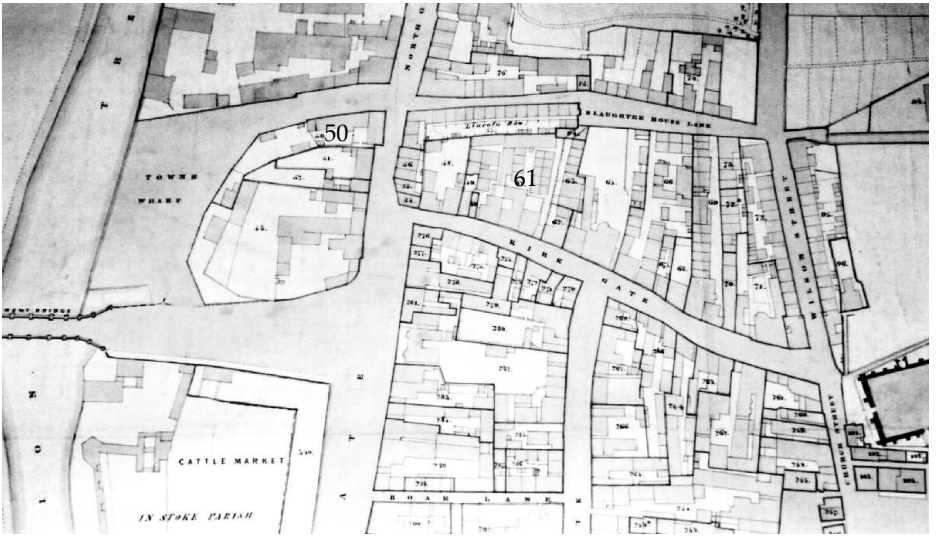
But Newark was changing not just physically and commercially. It was also changing spiritually. John Wesley's first visit in 1743 has already been mentioned. He came again more than once. On his third visit in June 1780 he preached to two or three thousand people. The first Methodist chapel was built in Millgate in 1774 between two public houses. In 1787 the chapel in Guildhall Street was erected and in February Wesley responded to an appeal to open their new house: "a lightsome, cheerful building" according to his own description. In the morning Wesley was too hoarse to preach, but the afternoon service having been delayed so that the Mayor and some of the aldermen could attend, "God opened my mouth to speak strong words...". In August 1789 he travelled 70 miles in an afternoon to visit his friends in Newark on his last visit to "one of the most elegant towns in England".[7] Other non-conformist groups were active too; so that by 1795 Eden reckoned that of the town's residents "a fourth or fifth [are] dissenters, Calvinists or Methodists, each with a place of worship".[8]

But it was not religion that brought Edward Bousfield the half dozen or so miles east from Southwell to Newark, but the business opportunity. We do not why he went into his chosen occupation, although in *Cool Sequestered Vale* the suggestion was made that the family friend James Nicholson had something to do with it. Edward described himself as a brazier or a brazier and tinman, sometimes also using the term tinplate worker. Only one direct reference to the work has been found in the records and that arose half a century later when his two sons Edward Little and William were involved in a court case in 1833, in which one Henry Winn labourer was charged with "unlawfully obtaining from William Bousfield one 4-quart Copper Tea Kettle value 9s belonging to Edward Little Bousfield with intent to defraud him"[9] (Henry pleaded guilty and was sentenced to six months hard labour at Southwell House of Correction, built, incidentally, and then extended to designs by Richard Ingleman, Edward's cousin.)

Following technical advances in the production of the basic metal (an approximately 70:30 alloy of copper and zinc), Britain became self-sufficient in brass by around 1740 and specialist brass-making companies were set up in Bristol and elsewhere. Much the same was true of tinplate; again during the eighteenth century new techniques made sheets of iron plated with tin both cheaper and more readily available. At first the manufacturers made only the basic metal in sheet

Kirkgate looking towards the site of the Bousfield properties c. 1910 – the two buildings on the right-hand side of the street beyond the cyclist. In fact both seem to have been rebuilt after Ann Bousfield died in 1875 – see Chapter Six. (Francis Frith Collection)

or ingot form which they passed on to specialist finished goods manufacturers or to local retail braziers and tinmen. The techniques required to produce finished goods in both materials was similar, so the two crafts were usually combined in one retail outlet. A workshop required little capital to establish, and thus even a small town like Newark had several at this time (three in 1819 and four seven years later, according to *Pigot's Trade Directory*). They produced a wide range of items probably almost entirely 'bespoke', that is, made to order, and were run by independent tradesmen, who "typically worked in cramped workshops attached to their homes"[10] employing no more than a few workmen. In due course more and more goods were made by specialist manufacturers, so that braziers tended to become simply retailers (this of course happened in many other trades as well), but there was always repair work to undertake too. A huge range of both domestic and industrial articles were made of the two materials or of copper: kettles and cooking pots, candlesticks and door knockers,



Central Newark from the tithe map of 1845. The substantial Bousfield plot in Kirkgate (listed in the name of Edward Little Bousfield) is numbered 61, while Bargate House – 'William Bousfield & others' – is numbered 50. (Nottinghamshire Archives ref. AT93/1c/1)

hinges, hooks and handles, name plates and bed warmers to name but a few. Tinware too had a wide variety of uses, especially for storing food since the metal does not react to the acids in food. But it was also used for trays and other decorated items such as tea caddies, which were often painted to resemble Japanese lacquerware[*].

Edward prospered, and his success was a key factor in the gentrification of the family. At some stage after his brother-in-law Thomas Holland died in 1806, he moved out of the premises owned by the Hollands into larger accommodation next door: "my dwelling house in Kirkgate, stables, warehouses and premises purchased of the late Stephen Mairhaw's Devisees", as he was to put it in his will. Next door the former Holland premises were home to his eldest son Edward Little and his family. Behind these houses were a warehouse, stable and

(*) Even though made of 90 percent or more of tin, pewter was not made by the same processes, being cast rather than hammered into shape. So the pewterers usually formed a separate craft. The metal lost much of its market to pottery from the eighteenth century onwards, since it had been used largely for plates and drinking vessels.

eleven tenements in two buildings around a yard, acquired in June 1814 from Sir William Paxton, the former Newark MP, for £900 (see illustration on page 99). The tenements were undoubtedly small, but not untypical of many poorer dwellings in Newark during the nineteenth century, as discussed below. They produced enough income for three of his unmarried daughters to live out their lives on. Later, when his eldest son Edward Little was working in the business, he also had premises in King Street, Southwell, which he had established by 1828.

Mary too was kept busy. Within eleven years of her wedding she had produced ten children, with another four over the next five years, fourteen in all. Inevitably not all survived for long, four dying in infancy. Oddly the six boys who survived to adulthood all married and prospered to a greater or lesser degree; but none of the four surviving girls married. We shall return to them all later. Once again as with other women in the family history, Mary figures in the record only as a wife and mother. We have no more information on her except her date of death.

A little can be gleaned about Edward from the successive poll books and trade directories together with a couple of other references to him. He remained unmoved by the religious revolution which was sweeping the country, largely inspired by John Wesley. He and all his family with one exception stayed with the Anglican faith of his ancestors. In company with other respectable churchgoers he had a family pew in the parish church, which provided him and his family with seven seats in the front gallery. His eldest son Edward Little and family had another five in the north aisle. Interestingly the compliers of this information (several hand-written documents survive from 1822–4) were at pains to discover how many people could be accommodated in the main places of worship in Newark and who they were. The parish church could take 1564, while "the Methodist Chapel in Baldertongate will contain almost 1500 persons", making a little over 3000.[11] But the Census the previous year revealed a total population of 8084. No doubt other minor 'dissenter' chapels were attended by some of them, but the perhaps surprising conclusion is that at least half the population of the town could not be fitted into a church and so did not attend any place of worship. Most of those who did were the richer half of the town's residents or enthusiastic non-conformists. For at this time as for many

years into the future both Anglican and non-conformist churches 'let out' the great majority of their seats for a regular monthly payment. There were some free seats for the poor, but only somewhere between ten and twenty percent of the total. The system was abandoned with much reluctance many years later: it provided the various churches with a regular guaranteed income, which understandably they were loath to give up. In many ways it was similar to the 'covenanted giving' to which churches have had to turn in recent years.

In 1815 Edward was elected Church Warden, one of four. This is likely to have been a sign more of his popularity and the respect with which he was held in the town than any religious enthusiasm. For Newark Church Wardens were elected by everyone who had the parliamentary vote. As the *Universal British Directory* of 1791–8 put it in its description of the town: "There are very frequent contests for church wardens owing to their being appointed trustees for very large estates bequeathed for the good weal of the town". It was certainly a coveted position, and at this time entailed sitting in on Town Council meetings, which Edward did three times in his two years in office. This was a fairly typical period, although occasionally someone served for much longer, one of Edward's fellow wardens William Smith holding office for 25 years, but this was most unusual. Then in December 1829 the Council met, "Mr Joseph Gilstrap & Mr Edward Bousfield having been nominated and chosen by the Parishioners in a Meeting duly held for that purpose in the Body of the Church this day for enabling the Mayor and Aldermen to choose one of them to be a Commoner in place of William Smith deceased. The Mayor and Aldermen here present do elect and choose Mr Joseph Gilstrap...."[12] Although failing to get the final 'nod' from the Council for the largely honorary post of Commoner, Edward had again received a big mark of approbation from his fellow citizens. It is not surprising the Councillors chose Joseph Gilstrap. Starting as a simple hotel manager in premises just a few yards along Kirkgate from the Bousfields, he bought the hotel, fitted it up "to a superior style of elegance"[13] and attracted many of the coaches which served the Great North Road. From this he developed a wine and spirits business and then Newark's largest malting business. He was Mayor in 1838. (His son William was even more successful, becoming very wealthy. He made many charitable bequests including founding Newark's Free Library in 1883, and was created baronet.)

Edward was politically conservative. It is true in 1790 he voted for the 'popular' candidate William Paxton, who topped the poll but was later rejected (see below), as well as for Crosbie, one of the 'red' Tories. But in later years – we have no more information until 1826 – he consistently voted for the aristocratic candidates. This is perhaps surprising, in that the popular candidate was reckoned to be the choice of those free from pressure from aristocratic landlords and Edward as a freeholder, not a tenant, was indeed one of those. In spite of this political conservatism, he took no part in the activities of the militia, part-time soldiers who were recruited in the 1790s in response to French invasion threats. With a business to run Edward no doubt felt he was sufficiently occupied.

On March 2nd 1832 Edward died aged 70. Mary survived him by only two months, dying on May 8th. She was 63. They were buried in Newark churchyard where their gravestones, together with those of six of their children who died young, can still be seen, though they are not in their original position. The local paper described him as "universally loved and respected... His strict integrity and attention to business had gained him the appellation of the Honest Tradesman".[14] Edward left a will, made only a week before he died. This lists his real estate in Kirkgate – see above – but makes no mention of any property in Southwell. Presumably this had already been given up.

After Mary's early death all the household goods and furniture went to his two elder surviving daughters Ann and Martha, while the two younger ones Sarah and Maria had the use for life of the house up till then occupied by Edward Little, together with the income from the eleven tenements. After their deaths all this property was to be shared equally between the seven other surviving children – the two elder daughters and the five sons, Edward Little, William, Thomas , Charles and Henry – or their heirs. Ann and Martha were also left £100 each, and William, who worked with his father in the business, £150. The residue, including the family home and associated business premises, went to Edward Little as the eldest son. Nothing was left to the recently orphaned children of his second son Robert and his wife Mary, who had both died less than three years earlier, but their Lambe grandparents had made provision for them, as perhaps had Edward at the time. Oddly Edward seems to have assumed that his two younger daughters would not marry, for no property was left to their heirs

unlike his other children. Was this because they were disabled in some way? Maria in fact died just a year later, but Sarah lived on for another twenty years.

Thomas Bousfield and family

We return to Edward and Mary's children in the next chapter. But first the life of Edward's other siblings must be covered. Thomas, the youngest of Robert and Sarah's seven children, was born in Southwell like the rest of the family, in 1776, fourteen years after Edward. He followed his brother to Newark and married Alice Etches there in October 1806. They had five children, but neither the marriage nor the children are shown in Henry Bousfield's family tree, although, like Edward's family which is fully detailed, they were still living in Newark in 1848 when it was compiled. This becomes odder when one realises that the old town was a very small place. No more than a couple of hundred yards separates Stodman Street, where Thomas's family lived, from Kirkgate. Edward's family must have known about Thomas's children and could have told Henry about them.

The Etches had been established for some time in Newark. Unfortunately Alice's baptism does not appear in the parish register, so it has proved impossible to discover who her parents were and thus her precise relationship to the other Newark Etches. Towards the end of the eighteenth century three Etches families lived in Newark: Thomas a grocer, John a breechesmaker, both residing in Stodman Street, and Jeffrey a stockinger in Baldertongate. But the 1795 Poll Book describes Thomas as a labourer and John as working 'with Mrs Smith' as a breeches maker, which also makes him sound like an employee. There was by now another Thomas in Wilson Street, an employed baker. In the 1820s John Etches living in Wilson Street was employed as a police officer and had a regular sitting in the parish church; and in 1833 there was a Richard in Jalland Row. All of these were living in tenanted property, but they were all sufficiently well off to have the vote. All this appears entirely respectable; but not all the family could be so described. Around 1820 there were many cases in the Quarter Sessions involving various members of the Etches family both male and female. Then in 1836 Robert Etches and another man were fined for being drunk and disorderly, failed to pay their fines and so were committed to the stocks for six hours. In the same year Richard Etches spent 21

days in Newark Jail for not paying a fine for an assault on a woman. To be poor was bad enough. To be both poor and disreputable was intolerable. The Bousfield cousins may not have wanted to know about Thomas's family and their relatives. If so, this must have happened after Thomas's death; for the Administration Bond Alice obtained on his dying intestate was signed by Edward Little Bousfield, who was Thomas's nephew, and the family friend from Southwell James Nicholson.

Thomas Bousfield was an ironmonger and is described as such as early as 1802, when he is bound over to appear as a witness in a Court case. He was involved in another couple of cases six years later, but in each case the goods stolen belonged to someone else, suggesting that he was an employee. Moreover he lived in rented property – after his death Alice's landlord was John Etches, the policeman – and does not appear on the 1824 parish church list as having a rented pew, though all his children were baptised there. Apart from this little is known of him. He died in 1825 aged only 48,. He was clearly not well off, his estate being worth less than £100, and Alice had to set up shop in due course to make ends meet. The Census returns give her occupation as "grocer", but the trade directories list her under the heading "Shopkeepers and dealers in groceries and sundries"; but this may amount to much the same thing. In 1828–9 however, the trade directory of the time gives this description to a Richard Bousfield in Stodman Street. This is a mistake. No Bousfield with this Christian name has been found at this time, and it is difficult to believe it is a mistake for Edward, Thomas's eldest son, who would have been only fourteen. Although neither Richard nor the business appears at this address in 1831, Alice is operating the business in Stodman Street in 1841 when she was over 60. She died in March 1848 aged 68 and was buried with Thomas. Their gravestone is to be found, as Stilton describes, "along the north wall extension" of the parish churchyard.

Of Thomas and Alice's five children little is known apart from Edward. The others – Thomas, the eldest, born 1807, Mary born 1808, Martha born 1818 and William born 1821 – were all alive in the summer of 1846, for they are named together with their brother Edward and thirteen surviving first cousins in the administration bond granted on the death of their Aunt Martha of Nottingham (see below). Mary married Edward Thoroton Whillock in Newark in 1829. In turn china

dealer and commission agent (salesman), Edward then appears to have made a bigamous marriage. In 1841 Mary is listed as living in Lombard Street, Newark, with Mary and Martha, her two young daughters by Edward, with no sign of her husband. Later that year he married Winifred Elsley in Manchester, declaring himself a bachelor. Winifred died a couple of years later, however, and in 1851 the Whillock family including Edward were living south of the river in London just off Clapham High Street. The two girls give their occupation as milliners. Mary's siblings Thomas and Martha had also left Newark by this time, but no more is known of them. Edward died in 1858, but Mary lived on to 1864. In 1889 Mary 's brother Edward left £50 each to his two nieces Martha Rose and Mary Ann Bryant, who lived in Stockwell and Borough respectively, both poorer parts of London. Though these areas may not have been as poor then as they in general are today, the legacy suggests that the family would have found the bit of extra money very useful.

William, the youngest of the five siblings, was born in 1821 and certainly by 1851 was deaf and dumb. He lived as a lodger with a baker and worked, perhaps for his brother, as an ironmonger and journeyman, that is, a skilled employed craftsman. But he left Newark and does not appear in the 1861 census there. Perhaps he had already moved south. Towards the end of his life he was living in Surbiton in Surrey, and in 1889 his brother Edward left him £100 and the rents from his Newark tenements for life. Edward, who has left a copious record, is dealt with in Chapter Eleven.

John, Mary, Martha and Sarah Bousfield of Southwell and Nottingham

Apart from William, the Boston surgeon, Edward and Thomas Bousfield had four siblings. The only other brother, John, was scarely eighteen months old when he died in 1765. Mary, who was number two in the family after William, was born in 1759 and seems to have spent her life living quietly in Southwell, where she died in 1816 aged 46. The other two sisters, Martha born in 1767 and Sarah in 1772, moved to Nottingham. Sarah made a will as early as 1819, in which she left the income from her estate to Martha for life, the capital then going to her

(*) *In Cool Sequestered Vale* it was incorrectly stated that her brother Edward was also an executor.

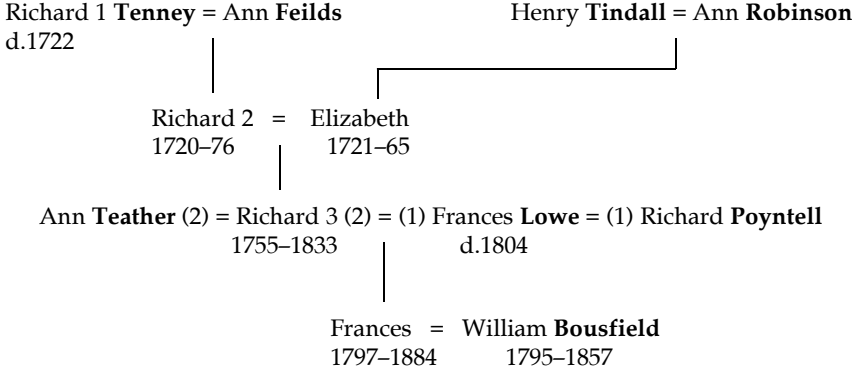
three brothers (Thomas was of course still alive at this time). The only specific bequest Sarah made was of all her "wearing apparel" to Martha, from which she was to give something to the three daughters of James Nicholson of Southwell. Two of the girls Marianne and Elizabeth were to receive "a gown a piece", and Catherine "a piece of print not made up". Sarah probably thought she was about to die; in fact she lived another fourteen years, dying in 1833 aged 61. She was buried in Southwell according to her wish, and no doubt her "body [was] decently and respectably interred... and sung to the church" as her will specified. James Nicholson, who was the sole executor[*], delayed obtaining probate for nearly two years "in consequence of the Executor not being able to obtain possession of sufficient cash for the purposes belonging to the Trust" as a note on the will claims. Yet the estate was valued at £200, that is twice as much as that of her brother Thomas and, as we have seen, there were no monetary bequests.

Martha lived for another twelve years, dying at her home in Holland Street in 1845 a few days before her 78th birthday. She left no will: administration of her estate was granted to Ann, the eldest surviving daughter of Edward and Mary Bousfield, and this is useful, for the bond lists all eighteen of Martha's surviving nephews and nieces. It also values her estate at £300, indicating she was reasonably well off for an old lady living on her own. But the source of her wealth is a mystery, all the more so in view of the problems James Nicholson had faced with her sister Sarah's estate.

James Nicholson, whom we met in *Cool Sequestered Vale*, was clearly a greatly valued friend of the family. In fact he was possibly related; for his mother was probably Elizabeth Revill, doubtless related to William Revill the builder, who married Martha Bousfield, Robert and Sarah's niece. The younger Sarah's will describes James as a joiner, but the trade directories around 1830 list him under builders, adding "also surveyor and appraiser" with premises in King Street, Southwell, close to Edward's Southwell shop. He married Sarah Adams in 1794 and their daughter Marianne was to marry Edward's son Charles – see Chapter Six. James was also an executor – with Edward Little and William – of Edward Bousfield's will, and of that of his son-in-law Charles Bousfield. In both these documents he is described as an "architect".

Chapter Four

The Tenneys and the Newark Elections 1717–1832



Before turning to Edward and Mary Bousfield's children, in order to keep the story even loosely chronological we deal first with the Tenneys, the family that William, the fourth son of Edward and Mary, married into. This will provide an opportunity to look at Newark's lively elections.

William married Frances Tenney in Newark in 1823, but the Tenneys first appear in the town more than 100 years earlier. The first reference found is to the marriage of Richard 1 to Ann Feilds (spelt thus as was usual at that time) on 27 January 1716–7. They had a son Richard 2 in March 1719–20, but Ann died just two years later, being buried in Newark in July 1722. It is not known what happened to Richard 1, but it is possible he married again, for a Frances Tenney married a Richard Ullett in Newark in 1760. From the age on her marriage licence she was born around 1734 and could thus be Richard's daughter. But no further

information on Richard 1 has been found. The name Tenney, also spelt Tenny and Tenne, is much commoner in the neighbouring counties of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire than in Nottinghamshire (the name originated in Yorkshire and appears to be a diminuative of Dennis, itself derived from Dionysos, the Greek God of wine).

Richard 2 certainly moved away from Newark and next appears getting married at Fledborough, a few miles to the north, on 1st May 1742. Fledborough had a reputation as Nottinghamshire's Gretna Green where runaway couples could get married with no questions asked. In fact neither Richard nor his bride had far to travel, for Richard is described as 'of South Clifton' in the marriage licence which doubtless they had to have – and pay for – for not getting married at the parish church of either of them. This hamlet, part of North Clifton parish, lies just across the Trent from Fledborough. Elizabeth Tindall, his bride, came from North Scarle, over the border in Lincolnshire but almost the nextdoor village.

Richard 2's occupation is given as "serving man" on the licence. Presumably he was a servant at some local mansion. His age is given as 20, although he was 22, but this does not throw his parentage into serious doubt. Elizabeth was born in Lincoln some half a dozen miles to the east, the daughter of Henry and Ann Tindall. Henry had married Ann Robinson on 12th January 1717–8 in Lincoln at the church of St Margaret in the Close, just by the cathedral. They had three children, all baptised at St Swithin's church in the city, with Elizabeth the only girl, born between the two boys in January 1720–1. This fits exactly with her age of 21 given on the marriage licence. No Tindalls appear in the North Scarle parish registers, so she perhaps had taken a job as a domestic servant there. She and Richard 2 remained in South Clifton and may have been joined there by a relative of hers, for the baptisms, as well as some burials, of the children of "John and Ann Tindall" are listed in the parish register. Richard 2 and Elizabeth had at least three children, two girls followed by Richard 3, born in March 1755; but a John Tenney married Mary Clark at Flintham in 1777, and several other Tenneys appear in Newark in the nineteenth century, who were clearly related, but who have not been identified, so there may have been more children. Elizabeth died only nine years after Richard 3 was born, being buried at North Clifton in February 1764 aged 43. Richard 2 lived on another twelve years, dying in September 1776 at the age of 56.

His son Richard 3 first turns up in Newark in 1791, though doubtless he had already been working there for some years. He was 36 and still unmarried. In spite of his humble origins he had received enough education to obtain work as a bank clerk. It was this that led him to be summoned in the King's name to appear as a witness at Nottingham assizes. The story of the trial belongs to the eventful history of Newark's parliamentary elections, to which we shall return shortly. The 1795 Poll Book shows him living in the Market Place with the "Blue Bankers" as his landlord, which suggests that he lived above the bank. It adds "married widow Pointell who rents some land of Lady Cath". A further note was added in a different hand: "Of Mr Sutton and Rev Mr Rastall, had no vote at last election". His political opinions may have been clear, but it is not certain he ever owned enough property to acquire voting rights.

By this time Britain was reacting to the threat of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France by recruiting local militia. Such activity began in Newark as early as 1792, but it was not until 1797 that Richard together with Thomas and Jeffery Etches is listed in the "Return of Provisional cavalry in Newark Sub-division".[1] Each is shown as having a horse in a group of ten men. (Later that year the group of militia documents starts to list the "Ballotted men and their substitutes for the Augmentation of the Notts Militia" and gives physical details of each man. The young men listed are all between 5 feet 2 inches and 5 feet 11 inches high, with most of them falling in a bracket between 5 feet four and 5 feet nine. None is 6 feet high. William Holland is listed as a substitute for Joseph Oworth and is described as "age 21, 5ft 7½in. bricklayer, fair complexion, dark hair, grey eyes".)

These were exciting times for the militia, although it seems the Infantry rather than the Cavalry were mostly affected. The 1795 Orders of the Regulations of the Volunteer Infantry, Newark contains a list of some 140 names including Thomas and John Holland. That year Frederick Eggleston, calling himself "an Eye Witness" wrote an account of an incident which took place on July 22nd: "The Infantry assembled by order of the Deputy Mayor to suppress a Riot and to take possession of some wheat [fifteen sacks according to another report] taken forcibly out of a boat , the property of Mr J. W. Winter... The wheat was taken out of the Boat principally by Women and Exhultantly [sic] brought into the Market Place. The Infantry took possession of it and Guarded

opposite the Head Inn – the Kingston Arms kept by Mr Midgiley. The Town Clerk then read the Riot Act opposite the White Hind in Stodman St... The Wheat was then removed to the Town Hall, guarded all night and from thence restored to the owner."[2] Cornelius Brown comments: "The condition of the Poor at this time was indeed deplorable. The war raised the price of wheat to over £5 a quarter... Throughout 1800 high prices and general distress continued... but a good harvest in 1801 brought bread down to 11½d instead of double that sum."[3]

A "List of Functions attended by the Infantry" from 1797 also survives and gives some flavour of the times. It includes:

> March 10th 1798 The Infantry attended the Funeral of Capt. Handley, their Commondant [sic] and Captain Oliver was chosen by the Corps to succeed him.
>
> March 21st Capt. Oliver read a Letter from the Duke of Portland wishing to know wether [sic] the Infantry were willing to March on any Strong Emergency, which was unanimously agreed to.
>
> April 12th A Third Company was this month raised with the approbation of Government and were regularly drilled in the Evenings.
>
> July 26th 1799 Parade: When it was proposed to receive Pay, which was opposed by a great Majority.
>
> Sept 2nd 1800 The Infantry assembled in consequence of a letter from the Magistrates of Southwell Intimating that a Mob intended to Liberate some Rioters confined in the House of Correction and requesting the assistance of the Infantry. But this the Mayor would not consent to on account of the Threat intimated at Newark.
>
> Oct 3rd 1801 This day News arrived that Peace was signed. The Infantry assembled in the afternoon and Fired 9 Vollies [sic] on the occasion and the following toast was drunk by the whole Corps – "Peace with all Europe and God Bless the King!!" [4]

The semi-democratic nature of the militia as well as its patriotic spirit is noteworthy. The "Threat intimated at Newark" in September 1800 is not described. The "Peace" of 1801, which was formalised early the following year by a treaty known as the Peace of Amiens, lasted little more than a year.

Richard, meanwhile, was busy acquiring a family – and losing much of it. His wife, "widow Poyntell" when he married her on 15th

January 1795, was born Frances Lowe or Low. This was a common name in Nottinghamshire and unfortunately her baptism has not been traced. But she may have been the daughter of John and Frances Low, on whom the only certain information we have is that Frances "wife of John Low" was buried in Newark on 6th May 1786. The younger Frances married Richard Poyntell in 1780. The Poyntells had been in Newark since early in the century, and in 1753 William Poyntell, a butcher , married Jane Heppenstall. After William's death Jane married again, this time to Robert Heppenstall, perhaps her cousin and another butcher, whom we have already met as a friend of John Holland. The relationship illustrates once again what a small place Newark was. Richard Poyntell may well have been William's son or nephew. Frances bore him four children of whom three died young. Only the youngest Elizabeth survived. Although the baptisms and burials of all the children were registered in Newark, the family seems to have moved to Coddington a village close to Newark, where Richard himself died in 1788.

For seven years Frances remained a widow, living in Appletongate. Then she found herself another Richard – Richard 3 Tenney, still a bachelor although within a few months of 40 years old. The 1795 Poll Book lists under Appletongate – unusually, for women had no vote – "Mrs Poyntell. Married to Mr Tenney (landlord Duke of Newcastle)." The point of this becomes clear in the next entry: "Farmerie, Philip: brother to and in partnership with the above William Farmerie, a considerable malster. Is to enter the house of the late Mr Poyntell at Lady Day 1795", presumably when Frances's lease expired. Richard and Frances married on 18th January 1795. His age on the licence is given as 36 and hers as 30. Both were euphemisms. This was normal particularly as far as women were concerned. Almost the only marriage licence giving the woman's age as more than 30 that has been seen is that of the just mentioned Jane Poyntell/Heppenstall, whose age is shown as 31 (Rachel Silverwood is noted as being aged 40 when she married in 1726).

We do not know how old Frances actually was at her second wedding. Since she had married Richard Poyntell fifteen years earlier, she was at least a few years into her thirties. Nevertheless she bore her second Richard five children. Two of these died very young. The second born was Frances, baptised on September 14th 1797; in due course she

married William, the son of Edward and Mary Bousfield, and we shall return to her and to her younger brother and sister later. Their mother, however, died at Christmas 1804, when daughter Frances was only seven.

Richard 3 Tenney soon married again – on February 13th 1806 – to another widow. His new wife came from Lincoln, where they married. Born Ann Teather or Tether, she had earlier wed Joseph Langley in 1791 and borne him a daughter, also Ann, who in turn married Edward Little Bousfield; so that he and his brother William married step-sisters. Richard, though all but 51 when he became a husband again, fathered two more children, Richard and Elizabeth. By this time he was a "linen manufacturer", or, as the trade directories of around 1805 have it, a "yarn manufacturer" and living in Appletongate. The directories published around 1810 make him a linen weaver. He had certainly left the bank, and seems to have been making linen yarn in a small way. He may well have not employed anyone outside the family; the fact that he does not appear in any trade directory after 1811 rather supports this conclusion. He is also not listed in the Poll Books again when they restart in 1826 nor was he paying the Poors Rate in 1830.

Old age may thus not have been kind to him financially. Nevertheless he lived long, dying in August 1833 aged 78 (the register claims 77). He also left Tenney descendants. The 13-year old Mary who was a maid at the home of William and Frances Bousfield in Bargate in 1841 was probably his grand-daughter; as was the 26-year old Frances, who was the daughter of John William Tenney, a grocer, and married a builder, Samuel Chambers, in the Methodist chapel in 1853. Likewise the four children of the Richard and Mary Tenney who received Methodist baptisms between 1857 and 1867 were surely his great-grandchildren. But the precise descent of none of these has been established.

Newark Parliamentary Elections 1774–1832

We must now return to the Newark elections. "Party contests have been carried on very high here". The verdict of the early nineteenth trade directory[5] was well founded, and the election 1790 was particularly notorious.[6] A *Sketch of the Political History of the Borough* published in 1826 claimed that in:

> 1774 Col Sibthorpe... was soon defeated on account of a disunion among his party. In 1780 Mr Foster, an inhabitant of the Town, made a grand stand against the efforts of despotism, but corruption gained the day. Ten years after this Sir William Paxton was nominated by the popular party and attained the head of the poll by a majority of 57, but the Mayor thought proper to put a new construction upon the meaning of the [town's] Charter and rejected all votes whose names did not appear on the poor's rates.[7]

Cornelius Brown painted a fuller picture of this 1790 election.[8] "The candidates were Col. Crosbie, Col. Sutton, Mr W. Paxton.... An address was issued by Mr Paxton... earnestly requesting that those in his interest 'will desist from walking about with sticks or bludgeons, and that they will offer no affront to anyone because he differs with him in party or opinion.'... Mr Paxton was ultimately defeated, the final numbers being: Crosbie 403, Sutton 386, Paxton 291". A week later "Paxton protested that the majority against him had been secured by the conduct of the Mayor" in refusing votes from those who had not paid their Poors Rate. He presented a petition to Parliament, and a hearing was commenced in March 1791. The petitioners claimed that the town charter gave to right to vote to "all inhabitants within the borough 'who pay, or ought to pay, scot and lot'. But the returning officer had decided that the words 'ought to pay' were nugatory". In spite of good evidence that all householders were eligible to vote, "the [Parliamentary] Committee decided that the right to vote was with the Mayor, Alderman and inhabitants who paid scot and lot and that therefore Mr Crosbie and Mr Sutton were duly elected."

The Parliamentary Committee had shown itself no less corrupt than the Mayor of Newark. But that was not an end to the matter. As Brown reports:[9]

> ...a large amount of personal animus was imported into the contest, there being a sharp clash of arms between Mr C. Manners Sutton and Mr W. Dickinson Rastall. Mr Rastall was accused of offering to sell to Col. Sutton his interest in the Borough for £3000, an accusation which he indignantly denied, his denial eventually assuming the form of an affidavit dated 7th May 1790 and sworn before J. Sikes J.P., in which he declared he had never ...made any offer... to the Duke of Newcastle or his agents, it having always been his determination to oppose the election 'of more than one member

connected with any of those great families who have of late years represented the town'.

The Reverend William Dickinson Rastall (from 1795 known as Rastall Dickinson after receiving a substantial legacy from the Dickinson side of the family) was the very epitome of the scholarly clergyman of the time. A Cambridge graduate with both money and leisure he spent his later years writing histories of both Newark and Southwell, the first in particular a ground-breaking work, as well as two practical legal books. He died in London in 1822 aged 66. But in the aftermath of the 1790 election he found himself one of several people charged with bribery.

The Dickinson Rastall trial was perhaps the most exciting thing that ever happened to Richard Tenney, but what his feelings were when he received the following summons, we can only guess at:

> George the Third... to William Handley Esq Samuel Oliver Esq Mr Richard Tenney & James Dyson greeting. We command you to appear before our Justices assigned to take the Assizes in & for the County of Nottingham on Thursday the Eleventh Day of August 1791 at Nottingham to testify the Truth in a certain Action... between William Wilson Plaintiff and William Dickinson Rastall Esq Defendant of a Plea of Debt... and that you produce all and every letter or letters... or other paper writings in your custody... written or sent by or from Roger Pocklington of Winthorpe or any other person by his order to the said Defendant or to [any of] you [Richard Tenney and James Dyson are here described as 'clerks to the Newark Bank'] from the first day of January 1790 to the present time when the said Roger Pocklington states the Transaction at the Newark Bank to be carried on without his knowledge and express Disapprobation [sic]... to the Monies given or lent by the Newark Bank to the voters... in the late Election of Members of Parliament... And all and every other letter... written or sent by or from the said Roger Pocklington to the said Defendant or to [any of] you from the first day of January 1790... Also all letters sent by you... in answer to such letters written by Roger Pocklington. Lloyd Lord Kenyon, Westminster 13 July 1791.[10]

The summons refers to the bank as "commonly called the Newark Bank". In fact it seems to have been popularly known as the 'Blue Bank', suggesting it had ties with Whig or Liberal politics. William Handley was probably the richest man in Newark at this time (ignoring the

aristocrats who owned far more of the town but did not live in it). As we have seen, he was owner of the large brewery and in 1791 had recently severed his connections with the bank. The two clerks also received a second demand:

> George III to Richard Tenney & James Dyson to produce books in which there are entries contained of any money paid or lent by... the Bank commonly called the Newark Bank heretofore known by the Firm of Pocklington Dickinson Rastall Handley & Co and now by the Firm of Pocklington Dickinson Rastall Oliver & Co... that is to say to [a list of c.100 names, none of them family] And that you do produce... all... the promissory notes or other notes and securities which were given or signed by the said several Persons above named... on account of the Monies so paid or lent to them. [11]

Unfortunately the court proceedings themselves do not survive, but all the accused were acquitted including Dickinson Rastall himself. "On his return to Newark he received a very hearty reception. He addressed the populace in the Market Place, thanking them for the feeling of regard that had induced them to meet him with drums and fifes and flags, and in the evening an enormous bonfire was made in the market Place and three sheep roasted whole."[12]

The lesson of paying the rates was not forgotten in later elections. Samuel Bristowe, the 'True Blue', that is Liberal, candidate in the 1826 election, reminded his supporters in a pamphlet: "Be not negligent in paying your Poor's rate. So that you are put down as having paid. Where there are such powerful opponents to the Freedom of Election as you have to deal with, it becomes doubly necessary to guard against the tricks played off by the Tools of the Great, to deprive you, 'who dare to be honest', of your Elective Franchise...".[13]

A modern historian describes the 1829 election thus:

> Two candidates presented themselves... Mr M.T. Sadler, a Tory, and Mr Thomas Wilde, a Liberal... usually known as Mr Serjeant Wilde because of his legal office. Mr Sadler had been put forward by the Duke of Newcastle, who owned a large part of Newark (and the surrounding area). Voting at that time was not secret. There was a polling booth for each party; it was easy to see who voted for whom. Not everyone had the vote. Of the 10,000 or so inhabitants of Newark about 1,500 could do so. All were men and had certain property qualifications... The Duke threatened the tenants of his property with

> eviction from their shops or offices if they did not vote for Mr Sadler. *The Mercury* reported with some glee that 'those who voted for Mr Sadler have been presented with a Refreshment ticket value 6 shillings and their wives with a Tea ticket value 2 shillings'.[14]]

This last offer caused much derision in the local press. It should be noted that before the 1832 Reform Act Newark had two MPs. One had resigned in 1829, necessitating the election of a replacement.

The Duke was not making idle threats:

> In September [1829] a petition of over 100 signatures was presented to the Mayor, informing him that over 200 of the Duke's tenants had been given eviction notices for not voting for Mr Sadler. [At a subsequent protest meeting] the Duke sent an indignant letter claiming he had as much right to freedom as those who were attacking him. The property was his and he would not brook any interference between his tenants and himself. 'Is it to be presumed that I am not to do what I wish with my own?' The letter caused an uproar. It was decided to send a petition to Parliament asking that the Duke's lease of Crown lands should not be renewed. After much debate Parliament decided that as the lease would expire in 1836 there was no point in interfering.[15]

The election of December 1832 produced more excitement. It was the first election after the Great Reform Act, which brought fundamental changes to the electoral system and local representation. In fact at first these affected Newark very little, because in comparison to many other places it already had a wide franchise, and indeed paradoxically the number of Newark voters fell in election after election for many years from 1832. The Duke of Newcastle, very antipathetic to reform, was determined that his man should win the contest even against the formidable candidature of Sergeant Wilde, who was later to become Lord Chancellor. Whatever other judgement is made of the Duke, his part in introducing the nineteenth century's most important political figure to Parliament must be recognised. William Ewart Gladstone was only 23 at the time and new to politics. He was a thorough-going Tory, soon to be called by Lord Macaulay "the rising hope of stern unbending Tories". Moreover his father, who was of course paying for a vastly expensive campaign, had made his considerable fortune from West Indian slave plantations, and slavery was a very live issue. Brown describes the scene:

> The nomination took place on Tuesday December 11th... Mr Gladstone was proposed by Mr E.S .Godfrey [president of the Red Club]. [Two speakers] had a turn on the slavery question. Mr Gladstone, replying, thought it was vain to grant slaves political rights till they were changed in their nature by the influence of Christianity. [16]

> 'I never worked harder' said Mr Gladstone, 'or slept so badly; that is to say, so little.' [He later claimed that not even in government] was he so much engrossed and exercised as in his first political campaign. It was the custom… for a candidate to go into every house in the town whether the occupants had the vote or not… Even the houses of paupers were visited. As there were 2000 houses in the borough and Mr Gladstone was elected five times (for Newark) he made 10,000 visits in Newark. A near relative [wrote to congratulate him] on the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into Parliament. Mr Gladstone replied: 'Downing Street, Whitehall, December 13th, 1882: My dear Cousin... We started on canvass at eight in the morning and worked at it for about nine hours, with a great crowd, band and flags, and innumerable glasses of beer and wine all jumbled together; then a dinner of 30 or 40, with speeches and songs, until, say, ten o'clock; then we always played a rubber of whist, and about twelve or one I got to bed , but not to sleep, for never in my life did I undergo any excitement to be compared with it... I have omitted a public-house tour of speaking to the Red Clubs, with which I often had to top up after the dinner and before the whist.' Mr Gladstone's first canvassing card was a plain one, with the words, 'Mr W.E. Gladstone respectfully solicits the honour of your vote and interest.'[17]

The Earl of Winchelsea's steward, being a relative of W.F. Handley (the other Tory candidate, though described as 'a yellow and pro-reform'), was said to have sent a circular to his Lordship's tenants in Newark "commanding them to vote for Mr Gladstone & Mr W.F. Handley".[18] The result was : Gladstone 887 votes, Handley 798, Wilde 726.

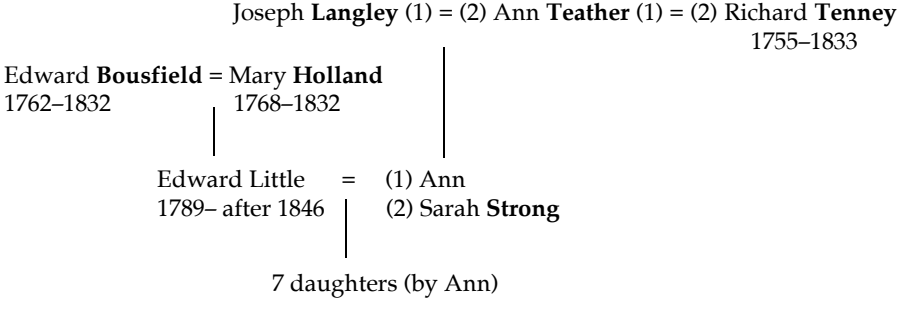
> Though the result of the election was so favourable to the Conservative interest in Newark, it ended disastrously to it in other parts of the country. The Reformers were placed in office by a large majority. [Soon] came the great movement for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, in the debate upon which Mr Gladstone made an earnest speech, urging due regard for the interest of the planters.

> He described his father's connection with the estate of Vreedon Hoop in the West Indies, where 550 slaves were engaged, and stated that they were treated with great consideration, there being one solitary case of punishment during a period of four months. He should be glad for the system of slavery to be brought to a satisfactory termination, but the claims of the planters must be respected on the grounds of justice and equity".[19] A major problem for abolitionists was that slavery was nowhere condemned in the Bible, so it could be – and was – sincerely defended by convinced Christians.

Gladstone remained one of Newark's MPs until 1846, when he broke with the Duke over repeal of the Corn Laws, which up to then had provided British landowners with protection from cheap American wheat. After 1832 elections seem to have quietened down steadily, although it was not until the late 1860s that the sons of the nobility ceased to offer themselves for election.

Chapter Five

Edward Little Bousfield and mid-century Newark 1789–1846



Edward and Mary Bousfield both died in 1832 just a few months before Gladstone's first election as MP for Newark and the first session of the newly reformed Parliament. Another political reform, perhaps as important as the Great Reform Act, quickly followed it. This was to have a dramatic effect on the life of their eldest son, Edward Little Bousfield. He was one of the first to take advantage of the new opportunity to become involved in local politics. For the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 constituted an even greater break with the past in local government than the Great Reform Act had in national government. Most towns of any size – and many had no more inhabitants than today's larger villages – had run their own affairs for centuries, but the local Councils were self-perpetuating oligarchies, with the Councillors themselves selecting replacements for life with no reference to a wider electorate. The paradoxical result at Newark was that parliamentary elections were much more democratic than local ones. All this was ended by the new Act. Council membership was

thrown open to all ratepayers and Councils were elected for a fixed term by their fellow townsfolk, though the Mayor continued to be selected annually by the Councillors. One unchanged feature was that local government was more about running the town's legal system than what we now think of as local administration. Mayors continued to act as magistrates and seemed to spend more time in court than in the Town Hall offices.

Edward Little Bousfield was born on 1st December 1789, the first and most successful of Edward and Mary's fourteen children. He was not yet twenty-five when he married Ann Langley on 31st March 1814. Ann, as we have seen was the step-daughter of Richard 3 Tenney, who had married Ann's mother – also Ann – as his second wife some years earlier. Ann senior, born Teather, came from Lincoln, where she had married her first husband in 1791 (oddly Joseph Langley was also a widower). Edward Little and Ann set up home in Kirkgate in one of the properties Edward's father had acquired from Sir William Paxton, next door but one to his (Edward Little's) parents. As soon as we have any information on him, Edward Little is working with his father as a brazier and tinman. In due course he was taken into partnership by his father, for by 1819 the name of the firm was Edward Bousfield and Son. By this time, too, they had added iron working to their activities, for though still listed under braziers and tinplate workers they have added "tin and ironplate workers" to the entry in the trade directory. The Poll Books continue to give the occupation of him and his father as either brazier or tinplate worker. The trade directories also return to this description after the single mention of 'ironplating' in 1819 (since tinplate was made of a sheet of iron coated with tin, ironplate was presumably another word for tinplate, but the term has not been seen elsewhere).

Even before Edward senior died, a whole new business opportunity had opened up: gas lighting. Nationally the use of gas lighting progressed rapidly after the lighting of Westminster Bridge in London in 1813. It was all done by private companies, for no public funds were available. In April 1830 it was reported in Newark that "A design has been set up to light the town by gas". The shares were sold in two days. A meeting was "held at the Clinton Arms Hotel on 13th July 1832 under presidency of Mr Wm Parker mayor".[1] In August the first board of the

company was appointed. The eleven names included the Mayor, two aldermen and Edward Little Bousfield. "It was agreed to light 114 street lights for £285. From that time to this the company has prospered." Already in August the first brick of the Newark Gas Works was laid. By December the works were ready to start operation and "Newark Theatre was lighted by gas for the first time on Wednesday. A few shops were also lighted. On Thursday next the Market Place and some of the streets are to be lighted".[2]

As far as his main business was concerned, however, by 1835, that is within three years of their father's death, Edward had been joined by his younger brother William and they were in business as ironmongers as well as braziers and tinmen. Indeed as early as 1824 at the baptism of his eldest child, William describes himself as an ironmonger. And in 1828 their brother Robert refers to Edward in his will as "ironmonger" when naming him trustee. In the 1841 census both brothers describe themselves solely as ironmongers, but the 1842 trade directory lists them under both braziers and ironmongers, the latter now being specified as "general and furnishing". Though they had not abandoned their original trade, ironmongery was clearly now more important, . No doubt this was in response to the changing business environment. For iron was taking over from other metals as the material of choice for an increasing range of domestic and other articles. It was cheaper and easily cast, and specialised manufacturers steadily increased their range of finished products throughout the century. Ironmongers, who were retailers selling a rapidly expanding range of hardwares, took over from the braziers and tinmen, who at least partly manufactured most of the goods they sold.

From 1831 onwards the family did business with the Methodists. For a dozen or so years up to 1842, the Account Book for the Newark Circuit lists among the organisation's expenditure two or three payments a year to the Bousfields. Almost all the amounts fall a few shillings either side of £1, so this was not a major source of income for the business. Only a couple of uncertain indications are given of what the bills covered. The entry for December 1834 reads:

Mr Jas. Oldham horsecorn	£2. 5. 6
Mr Buck for shoeing etc	14.10
Mr Bousfield [ditto]	£1. 6. 7 [3]

Then the following March Messrs Bousfields' account for 5s 2d follows bills for hay and horsecorn and precedes an ostler's bill. In spite of the ditto above, the Bousfield brothers were most unlikely to have been shoeing the horses of the itinerant Methodist ministers and preachers. Farriers formed a distinct trade with specialised skills. More probably they were supplying other equestrian items such as horse brasses and buckles. These entries fall away after 1842 but occasional bills by William are noted right up to 1855.

In 1836 Edward Little was one of three major creditors of the bankrupt Thomas Becket senior, merchant and draper of the Market Place, Newark. The documents dealing with this affair make sad but fascinating reading.[4] One booklet lists no fewer than 758 lots of his furniture and household effects put up for auction. Another document listing his debtors contains some 60 names mostly owing £1–£2 each, and includes Mr Gladston (sic) owing 12s. Clearly much business was done on credit. Exactly how much Edward was owed does not appear. A list, which seems to be of creditors not resident in Newark, gives a total owed to them of nearly £550, which was paid at 12s 6d in the pound or 62.5 percent. If Edward himself was repaid at that rate, he may not have suffered too badly.

At any rate three years later he was feeling confident enough to invest some money in a business venture with his neighbour Joseph Gilstrap, by now Mayor (who had been preferred to Edward's father as a Commoner a few years previously), and eight others. They leased a piece of land in the castle grounds from William Farnworth Handley, which he had recently bought from the Crown Commissioners, for seven years @ £76 p.a.: "all that piece of land whereon several houses & other buildings lately stood, bounded on NW by a private road, 219ft frontage: on NE by the Beast Market, 168ft; on SE by Castle Gate 202ft; & on SW by the Bowling Green & certain premises in Castle Gate".[5] Later that year the group leased from the Duke of Newcastle all the tolls and profits of the Newark Fairs for seven years at £30 p.a., that is to say "the profits arising from the tolls and pannage upon horses beasts sheep and swine at two several fairs held within the said Manor [of Newark] the one on the Feast of St Andrew, the other at St Mary Magdalene and also the profits arising from the same at all the other fairs or markets that may be kept within the Manor".[6] This must have

been a successful venture, for Gilstrap and some of the others renewed the lease of the castle grounds for a further ten years when the original ran out. By this time Edward was no longer with them.[7]

The tolls remained contentious, as they had been for hundreds of years, perhaps even more now as they were seen as anachronistic. In a letter to the local paper in 1835, one reader sounded off in high dudgeon:

> At Newark Fair yesterday several skirmishes took place between the town toll-collectors and the farmers who refused to pay this unjust toll. In many instances the farmers were successful and got their beasts off without payment; but the oaths and abominable language made use of by the collectors was shocking in the extreme. Some of these fellows in endeavouring to stop a drove of beasts in North Gate, forced one of them through a shop window... which beside the damage to the window, broke several valuable articles in the shop... It is high time these tolls were abolished. Who, we ask, gets the money? Is it those who call themselves proprietors of this impost? It is not; it is the fellows who collect it, who are mostly in a drunken state... [8]

He seems highly unlikely to have been right about the "proprietors of this impost" getting no money from it. They had paid well for the right to collect the tolls, and while no doubt more than was properly due went into the pockets of "the fellows" who actually collected it, they cannot have taken it all.

Edward Little Bousfield and Newark public affairs

But in addition to his business enterprises, Edward Little was keen to make his mark on the public life of Newark. His first public office was as Church Warden in 1921, when he was only 32, rather young for the post, which he held for one year only. He started his climb up the ladder of municipal office by being elected or appointed to the Grand Jury in July 1827. (Neither the function nor the method of choosing Grand and Petty Jurymen at this time is clear. In earlier times they had the important judicial function of deciding which cases went forward to trial, but this may not have still applied in the nineteenth century. At Newark there were about 20 Grand and 30 or more Petty Jurymen, though the numbers varied.) Whatever else this entailed, it must have been a mark of approbation in the town. Then as soon as the new Act took effect, he put himself up for election to the Council. He described

himself as "red" or more confusingly "Conservative Whig", but the accent was clearly on the first word. His main opponents, including John Handley, were "Reformers". Voting took place in January 1836. At the first attempt he was not successful, coming next to last in the poll with only Charles Ridge, bookseller and publisher, below him. But two councillors from North Ward were made aldermen, so a new election had to be held. On 19th the results were declared. He had received 198 votes – just enough to be elected for the North Ward by a slender nine votes.

He must have realised the result would be close, for according one local paper: "The old Tory system of thumbing and coercing the men to poll was carried out to a great extent. The Tories seemed determined that their dependents should poll for their favourite candidate at all hazards, he being, we believe, what is generally termed a Conservative Whig."[9] In a letter printed later that month Edward was accused of dismissing three workmen for not voting for him. One of the three, named Priest, was "a most ingenious mechanic"and "he knowing he had done nothing wrong, asked why he had been discharged. One of his masters unblushingly told him that it was because he had not voted for the above gent [sic]".[10] Whether it was Edward or his brother William who passed on this intelligence, the Bousfields seem to have taken a leaf out of the noble lord's book. What was good enough for the Duke of Newcastle was good enough for them!

Edward attended his first Council meeting on 26th January and remained on the Council continuously until on 9th November 1842, when he was elected Mayor – unanimously, as normal. The town Edward found himself at the head of was no longer the rapidly developing place that his father had moved to 70 years before. Expansion had slowed, and for the rest of the century Newark grew more slowly than the country as a whole: the population increased from 9,557 at the 1831 census to just under 15,000 in 1901. In the centre of the town the only major change was to the Castlegate/Bargate area, which was much altered in both function and appearance. A Mr R.B. Hindley gave a graphic description in *Newark Advertiser* towards the end of the century of the town at the time Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837: "The site of the Castle Gardens was largely covered by buildings... Immense quantities of wool were brought in by farmers: in fact many times Castle Gate was completely blocked [by them]. Where Mr

Bousfield's premises now are, there was originally a warehouse, and at that part of the roadway two vehicles had difficulty in passing each other, so narrow it was"[11] (this was Edward Thomas Bousfield the plumber – see Chapter Eleven).

But though in population terms expansion was comparatively slow, physically the town expanded enormously, as the population density of the old town centre declined. Further out new housing expanded into the countryside to the north and east, and major new industrial areas were created to the north of the old town on both sides of the river. As Cornelius Brown put it: "We must blot out of the picture nearly all the beautiful buildings with which we are familiar, and must remember that Trent Ironworks, the great breweries and maltings which cover so large an area, the foundries and boiler works, and most of the places of worship as we now know them (save the Parish Church) have been erected during the Queen's reign, many new streets created , and the railways introduced."[12]

Newark was not alone in finding expansion slowing. In fact no town in eastern England east of a line roughly from London to Newcastle-upon-Tyne grew into a major city, except the port city of Hull. Newark was just about on this line and the development of really large towns stopped some fifteen miles to the west along the line of Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield and Leeds. The ancient urban centres of York, Lincoln and Norwich, among the largest provincial cities in medieval times, failed to grow to anything like the same extent as the new towns.

As in the rest of the country, childhood was a dangerous time in Newark. According to *The Mercury,* the local newspaper, of the 238 deaths recorded in the town in 1827, 141 (60 percent) were of young people under 20 years old. Those who survived that long, however, had a slightly better than even chance of reaching 60. The chances of dying young increased greatly with increased poverty. A general depression hit the country in 1815 in the aftermath of the Napoleonic War. A modern historian, Rolf Vernon, describes Newark as suffering less than elsewhere. Its main products including malt, linen and gypsum were little affected by changes to fashion or the effect of mechanisation. Moreover it was still fundamentally a market town. Much of its local trade was with farmers, who were having difficulty paying their way. The Government virtually prevented the import of cheap foreign corn.

This helped them and the landowners, but it was disastrous for the farm and industrial labourers. Many were laid off or had their wages reduced. In 1827 the Curate of St Mary's Church noted the "desperate plight of the poor".[13] In 1829 the *Mercury* printed long letters on the depressed state of agriculture. Around this time for several years large numbers of Irishmen were wont to pass through Newark looking for work at harvest time; as many as 3-4000 of them in 1827. In 1831 the *Mercury* reported that "many farmers had refused to employ them although they must need their help, the country labourers threatening gross assaults to the Irishmen and still worse to those farmers who may engage them".[14] In 1830 a meeting was called to "consider the most efficient means of relieving the poor." The Duke of Newcastle gave £100 to a fund, other aristocrats similarly. That week the *Mercury* reported that 885 families had been given help: 225 stones of beef and 440 stones of flour were distributed.". But still in 1833 "Great complaint is made by the poor at Newark at the enormous price of flour".[15]

These 885 families must have comprised some 3000 adults and children out of a total population of 9500. And the number of families on relief rose to over 900 a little later. Newark was very much a place of haves and have-nots. The living conditions of some of the latter were described – not very sympathetically – by R.B. Hindley:

> Cross Guns Yard [became] such a human dust-bin, that like the other colony over the sea used as a receptacle for human refuse [i.e. Australia], it gained notoriety under its more modern title of Botany Bay. The houses were the homes of pedlars, poachers, peg makers, gipsies, sweeps, tinkers and all the idle loafers and won't-works of that day. Some of the houses were built upon the 'flat' principle, with balconies above; the central block containing 56, and the sides about ten cottages each. They were occupied by over 100 families, the total number of human beings often herded together in this confined space being computed at 300 persons.[16]

Thirty years later the housing had not improved. In October 1865, according to the sanitary inspectors, Eggleston's Yard off Stodman Street housed a total of 42 people in seven houses with only one 'privy' between them. In one house eight people shared the same bedroom. Outside the paving of the yard had cracked, allowing "noxious materials" to percolate into the well beside the single communal water

pump. These conditions arose partly because there had been a sea-change in the way the poor were treated by the authorities. The old paternalism and charity, which had been the norm from the Middle Ages onwards and which had largely given relief to the poor in their own homes, had been reinforced by Gilbert's Act of 1782, "which virtually guaranteed a basic minimum to the unemployed worker".[17] But the 'reformers' of Southwell, the Rev Robert Lowe, the Rev J.T. Becher and especially Capt. George Nicchols, overseer of the Southwell workhouse 1818–20, had persuaded the ruling classes nationally that the poor could be dealt with much more efficiently and cheaply by making workhouse conditions so dire that only the desperate would accept them. Legally this was put into effect by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. While the wealth of the nation doubled and redoubled, the plight of the poor, especially in times of economic downturn, worsened. This remained true throughout the century. Even early in the twentieth century horrendous rates of infant mortality among the poor continued to trouble those with consciences.

Edward was not greatly involved in the consequences of poverty during his time as Mayor. Like the great majority of mayors of all towns he was mostly concerned to ensure that trade and industry flourished and law and order prevailed. He took up office right at the beginning of 1843. On 2nd January he was, as Mayor, elected a trustee of the major local charities, those of Thomas Magnus, Robert Brown and William Phillipott. Other councillors included Benjamin Nicholson another ironmonger, previously mayor and now an alderman, and Joseph Gilstrap. The Council held meetings once a quarter in February, May, August and November. At the February meeting the accounts of criminal prosecutions at the previous July and October Quarter Sessions were approved and signed, and bills to the total of £32/19/8½ agreed for payment.

In May the Council sent petitions against the Bankrupts Act "which appeared to have been adopted by several bankers and merchants in Nottingham" to both Houses of Parliament.[18] The Commons one was sent to Mr Gladstone, still the local MP, the Lords one to the Duke of Newcastle. The Mayor and Treasurer were empowered to revise the draft petition. (It is not clear what was troubling them. Perhaps the Bankruptcy Act of 1825, which allowed in certain restricted

circumstances 'deeds of arrangement' as an alterative to bankruptcy, was felt to encourage greater laxity in business men in ensuring their financial solvency.)

The Council also applied to the Home Office in London for permission to enact the following new Bylaws:

> i) If any person wilfully write upon soil deface or mark any building wall fence [etc] with chalk or paint, or write any obscene or indecent word representation or figure on any pavement wall door or other place within the Borough...
>
> ii) or if any person shall to the danger of passengers in any thoroughfare leave open any vault cellar [etc] to any room underground without sufficient fence or handrail & leave the same open longer than necessary for the taking in or out of goods wares or merchandise – fine up to 10s.
>
> iii) Only licenced auctioneers to cry goods for sale within the Borough (except fish game rabbits vegetables & other like provisions) – fine after Police notice to stop 20s plus costs. [19]

The Council had received a petition from several inhabitants concerning this last item; and another one "praying for the enforcing of the laws against forestalling by Hucksters".[20] This was an attempt to deal with the problem of unlicenced traders taking the business from those who had paid for the right to hawk their wares around the streets of the town. 'Forestalling by hucksters' seems to mean selling other than at the proper markets, getting the sale before the legitimate market traders were allowed to do business.

Finally the Council ordered bills to the sum of £185/7/6 to be paid, mostly to the County of Nottingham.

In August a letter from the Home Office was received in reply, requiring emendation of the proposed Bylaws, mostly by the omission of the graffiti prohibition. But the obscene words Bylaw was allowed, as were the other two proposals. At this meeting Dr Morton presented a draft "memorial" to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Forests (now the Crown Commissioners looking after Royal property) requesting a lease of the Castle premises from the Crown for the purpose of erecting Public Baths. The Council supported this and sent a letter to the Commissioners: "Newark lies on the navigable Trent and on the Great North Road from London to Edinburgh. The Borough

has a population of about 11,000 and no public bath."[21] It suggested the disused Castle Bowling Green site.

Letters were also received from the Duke of Newcastle and Lord John Manners in reply to the petition on the Bankruptcy Act. The Duke had passed his copy of it to Lord Kenyon for presentation to House of Lords. Lord John Manners replied like a true politician: "The forms of the House [of Commons] would not allow me to support the prayer of the petition, but should any alteration to present law be proposed, I shall give the statements of that Petition the consideration and weight they deserve." [22]

Edward was also much involved during his year in office with judicial matters. Already on 9th January 1843 he attended his first session as a magistrate, but had to adjourn it to the following Thursday in the absence of the Recorder, who was a professional lawyer. On that day he subscribed to the oaths of office as Mayor. On the same day his brother William was appointed to the Grand Jury and his cousin Edward to the Petit Jury. It was the highwater mark of the Bousfield position in Newark.

On the same day, in his judicial capacity, he confirmed a warrant for the removal of John and Bridget Barker to North Witham, Lincs – vagrants, that is all without sufficient funds to support themselves, could be required to move back to their home parish, which was responsible for their upkeep. Even those in the last throes of dying were sometimes forced to move on in this way, parishes being so anxious not to bear the costs of their upkeep or burial. He also with his fellow magistrates dealt with a couple of theft cases. William Parr, a labourer was indicted for stealing a watch and chain and a 4d piece, a shilling piece and a half-crown belonging to Benjamin Ockbrook. He pleaded not guilty, but was found guilty and sentenced to the House of Correction at Southwell for a fortnight and to be whipped. Matthew Eyre, another labourer, indicted for stealing a handkerchief value 6d and a hat value 1s belonging to George Colton, did not appear. The quarter's Petty Session convictions were noted: there were eleven in total – four for drunkenness, five for assault, and two for vagrancy.

In April Edward heard an appeal by the parish of St Luke's, Middlesex, against a warrant signed by him and his fellow magistrate Hugh Morton in February for the removal of Hannah, "the wife of

Samuel Wood", and her child Emma aged 13 to St Luke's. This case was "respited to next session". The Petty Session convictions were again "returned into Court and filed". Of the twelve cases, there were 4 assault, 2 Excise Laws, 1 Master and Servants Act, 1 Trespass, 1 malicious injury, 3 Municipal Corporations Act.

Edward continued as a magistrate after his term as Mayor was over. In January 1845 the Court heard that: "Whereas by an order under the hands and seals of Godfrey Tallants and Edward Little Bousfield JPs dated 24 September last Hannah Tissington an insane poor person was ordered to be removed to the County Lunatic Asylum in Sneinton, also another order by the same that her place of last legal settlement, Laxton, should pay for conveying her to Sneinton and to pay weekly for her maintenance, medicine, clothing and care." Laxton appealed and the Court commanded that the order "be quashed for want of form."[23] The two amateur magistrates had got it all wrong. At the same time Edward got his business all wrong (see below) and under what must have been a Council rule had to resign from the Council abruptly. But he continued to work as a junior magistrate in the Newark Police court and officiated there as late as early October that year.

The downfall of Edward Little Bousfield

Edward's first wife Ann bore him seven daughters. Three died as infants. Ann herself died in October 1827, just weeks after the birth of the last one, Emma, who survived her mother only by a month. Ann was only 35. Edward quickly married again. His second wife Sarah Strong came from Bingham, a dozen or so miles south of Newark, and this is where they married on July 28th 1828, a bare nine months after Ann's death. Sarah was 27 at the time, eleven years younger than Edward. They lived in the family home in Kirkgate, which Edward had inherited in 1832, when his parents died, and he carried on the business on this site with his younger brother William. In 1844 they took William Strong, a glazier, into partnership. Was it a looming crisis that had persuaded – or forced – them to do this? William Strong was almost certainly brother or at least cousin to Sarah (and similarly to the Ann Strong whom Edward's younger brother Thomas married in 1829 – see Chapter Six). He seems to have moved from Bingham, where the family lived, soon after Edward and Sarah were married, for his last child

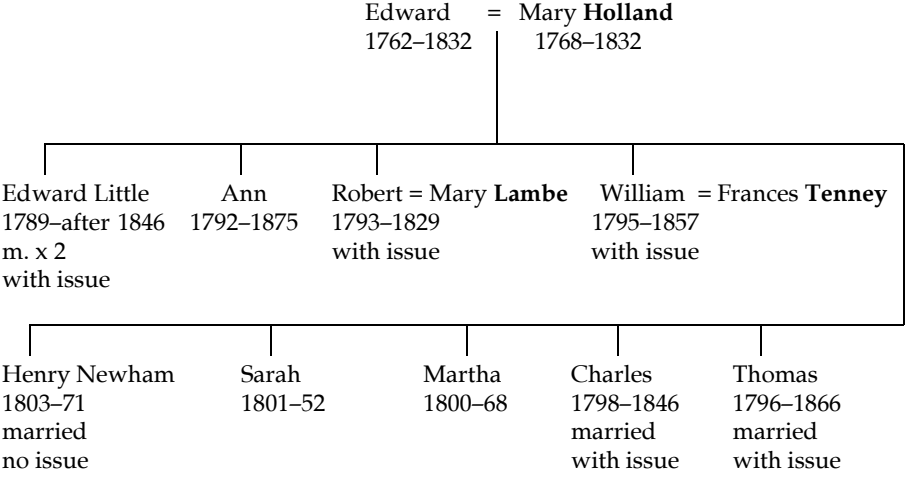
Charles was baptised at Balderton Gate Wesleyan Chapel (William Bousfield's church) in 1831. He would thus certainly have been well known to William Bousfield and perhaps he worked for the Bousfield brothers before being made a partner.

But there was a crisis in the business and early in 1845 disaster struck. Perhaps Edward had put too much of his energies into his public duties. The Council minutes for May 6th 1845 note that "on 17th April last Mr Councillor Edward Bousfield entered into a composition with his creditors".[24] This 'composition' seems to have allowed the Bousfield brothers to avoid the humiliation of bankruptcy and may perhaps have been agreed because of Edward's recent position as Mayor. Nevertheless the affair had a catastrophic effect on him and his family. It meant the loss of the family home in Kirkgate as well as the adjoining business premises. Though no documents survive for these transactions, the properties ended up in the ownership of Grosvenor Hodgkinson, from a family of lawyers, who had also moved from Southwell and had known the Bousfields for generations. Hodginson also acquired the shares of both Edward and William in the other Kirkgate/Paxton Court properties, in which their sisters had a life interest. The documents covering the complex series of transactions in these premises, which their father Edward had bought from Sir William Paxton in 1814, survive and what they reveal about the family fortunes is considered in the next chapter. The effect of the crisis on William Bousfield is likewise covered below.

Edward found a lowly job in London as a "clerk engineer", probably a shop assistant, living at 6 Bond Street, Clerkenwell, London in 1851. He died in London in 1859 aged 70 and is buried in Abney Park cemetery with 11 other Bousfields (see www.abney-park.org.uk). There is no sign of Sarah in London in 1851, but ten years later she is back in her home village of Bingham as a visitor describing herself as "an assistant's wife". Edward's partner William Strong also left Newark. Born William Gambee Strong in Canada, he had married Sarah Jane, one of Edward's daughters, in 1842. They had two sons, the first born in Newark, the second in Canada. Another of Edward's daughters, however, Sophia, the next to youngest, married a Mr Peake and bore him three daughters. One of these in turn married a Nottingham man, Jesse Page (the next to last of the 20 children of his father James by two wives), and their descendants survive. [25]

Chapter Six

The other children of Edward and Mary Bousfield 1792–1884



The daughters of Edward and Mary Bousfield

Four of Edward and Mary's fourteen children died in infancy. Another – Maria – died a year after her parents aged 26. In spite of the varying provision their father had made for them in his will (see Chapter Three), the three remaining daughters, Ann, Martha and Sarah, lived together in the house he had left Sarah and Maria. They continued to live quietly, as far as can be judged, subsisting, as their father intended, on the income from the tenements they lived cheek by jowl with. They never married. They died in reverse order, with Sarah, the youngest, first in 1852 aged 50. She was buried in the parish churchyard by her parents and infant siblings. But the other two sisters were buried in the new

municipal cemetery. This is divided down the middle by a path which separates the consecrated Anglican area on the right from the unconsecrated non-conformist area on the left. Martha and Ann were buried on the left. No trace of them has been found in the Methodist records; they perhaps joined one of the other non-conformist sects in the town some time after Sarah's death, but which and when is not known. Martha, the middle sister of the three in birth order, died in 1868 aged 68; and finally Ann, born the first of them in 1792, died in 1875 aged 83. Martha made a will shortly after Sarah died and it was brief indeed: "I give devise and bequeath all my real and personal estate of every nature and kind to my sister Ann Bousfield for her sole and absolute use benefit and disposal and I appoint her sole Executrix." Her brother William was one of the two witnesses.

Robert Bousfield, Mary Lambe and their children

Robert, the second son, came immediately after Ann in birth order. Though he did not live half as long as his sister, he managed to pack more into his life. Born in 1793, he married Mary Lambe at Aubourn in 1817 at the age of 24. Mary had been brought up in Aubourn Hall, a large house in the village of that name half way between Newark and Lincoln. The Lambes had leased the hall in the 1720s from its owners, the Neviles, one branch of an aristocratic family that claimed descent from the famous fifteenth century Earl Warwick 'The Kingmaker'. The Lambes continued to occupy the hall right up to 1949, when it eventually returned to the Nevile family; but this long time in the occupation of tenants meant that virtually no alterations were made to the house for centuries. Built in 1580, the hall was modernised just a hundred years later: thereafter, although rooms changed their function from time to time, the general fabric of the house with its remarkable carved staircase ascending two flights was largely unaltered. Indeed the only alteration during the Lambes' tenure was the addition of a second front door, the result of two brothers living there who were not on speaking terms. William Lambe, Mary's father, was a wealthy grazier, and he also had property in Kirk Gate, Newark, and several members of the family were baptised in the town. Mary's mother Sarah Robinson is believed to have descended from the brother of the Rev John Robinson, pastor to the Pilgrim Fathers during their time in the Netherlands

(many of the Pilgrim Fathers came from north Nottinghamshire including both Bradford and Brewster). Mary probably received a dowry of £500 as her sister Sarah certainly did.

The Lambes' interests in Newark doubtless explain how Robert came to meet Mary, but, as with his brother William and his wife Frances Tenney (see below), a shared Methodism may well have been a decisive factor in their relationship. Although no evidence has yet been found to connect them directly with the new religion, Mary's father William Lambe was certainly Methodist. Nothing is known of Robert's education (was he apprenticed to his uncle William the Boston surgeon?), but he became a surgeon and apothecary in Silver Street, Lincoln, near the city centre. He and Mary had six children, before Robert died in September 1829 at the youthful age of 36. Mary followed him only a month later, a family record claiming both deaths were due to typhoid fever. The children were left in the care of their grandmother at Aubourn Hall. Unfortunately she too died only six weeks later, and the children were sent off to school in Lincoln, their grandfather William Lambe being already dead. By his will Robert appointed his brother Edward Little Bousfield and "my esteemed friend William Deeping surgeon and apothecary of Newark" trustees. He left everything to Mary, with the income from the estate to be paid to her "to enable her to bring up, maintain and educate all my children during their respective minorities". On her death or remarrying, the estate was to be divided equally between the children. This Mary confirmed in her own will, made just a week before she died. She and Robert were buried at Aubourn, no doubt at her mother's wish.

The early deaths of both their parents and their maternal grandparents – their father's parents, Edward and Mary Bousfield were still alive at this point, but within three years both of them were dead too – no doubt account for the greatly varying fortunes of their children, though all of them were beneficiaries under their grandmother Sarah Lambe's will. The eldest, Mary Lambe, born in 1819, married well. Her husband Thomas Huskinson was born in 1817 into a family which had come up fast both financially and socially in a couple of generations, so fast in fact that his grandmother's family details were not supplied to the compilers of *Burke's Landed Gentry* for the entry on the family, doubtless because they came from too far down the social scale. They originated from the countryside south of Newark and Thomas's own

Silhouette portraits of 'Dr Robert and Mary Bousfield.' (Christopher Granger)

mother was a Newark girl. Thomas himself made his money as a surveyor under the Enclosure Acts, the process by which the old open fields were converted into individual farms. He later managed a large estate of 440 acres at Epperstone for its owners, employing fifteen farm workers. He was lord of the manor there and lived in a grand mansion. The family lived as gentry and became fully integrated into upper class society, a couple of descendants becoming Guards officers and one editor of *The Tatler*. The Bousfield connection, however, was not wholly forgotten, a great-grandson of Thomas and Mary being christened Thomas Leonard Bousfield Huskinson. Thomas died in 1887, Mary in 1893. Several family gravestones survive in Epperstone churchyard.

William Edward, the second child, was born in 1820, and by the age of 20 was working as a farmer in Kirkstead, deep in the Lincolnshire Fens. But it could be that he was also a part-time miller and had served an apprenticeship for that in East Bridgford in Nottinghamshire. For in October that year he married Frances Reddish, the miller's daughter from there (Paul Reddish, Frances's father, like William Edward, varied the description of his occupation between 'miller' and 'farmer', sometimes using both). Their first child Elizabeth Ann was born at Kirkstead in 1843.[*] But they soon decided they preferred the Trent valley to the fens and their next child Robert was born in Lowdham a couple of years later, followed by Sarah Jane in 1847. They continued to move around in the area doubtless in connection with William's job as a

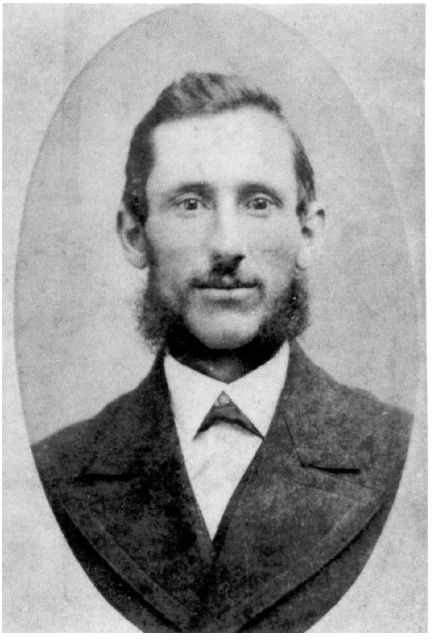
journeyman miller, first to Flintham by 1851 and then to Farndon, where they were living in 1860. Here their last child William Edward junior was born.

The religious persuasion of William Edward and Frances has not been established: no baptism of their children has been found in the Lowdham or Flintham parish registers or in the Methodist records. They may have not had them baptised. By 1861 their daughter Elizabeth, now aged 18, had become a teacher. She died in Newark in 1886 aged just 43 and unmarried, but beyond this nothing is known of the family – who have not been found in later censuses – except for Robert, the elder son. He seems to have left home by the age of 16, which would not have been unusual. At some time before 1868 he emigrated to the USA, for in that year he married for the first time in Iowa. Later he moved with his family to California. His wife, however moved back to Iowa and divorced him in 1903. He married again and died in 1918 after a varied life. His many children – he had twelve in all – were as fertile as he was, and he has left a large descent in the States.

The next daughter Sarah Robinson, born in 1821, married Richard Warwick, a rising young man from Newark, in 1842. His father William was clerk of Handley's Bank in Newark for 29 years, while his mother was William Deeping's sister. Richard also worked in a bank for a time, becoming manager of Smith's Bank in the Market Place (the Smiths of Southwell were one of the founders of English banking in the eighteenth century. A descendant, Lord Carrington, was Foreign Secretary under Mrs Thatcher). Later he was manager of William Handley's Town Wharf Brewery, but in 1856 he bought the brewery and set the family on the way to running one of the largest breweries in eastern England. The family lived in Castlegate and in 1868 Richard was a highly regarded mayor of Newark, enjoying wide popularity in the town. He died in 1877. His three sons William Deeping, Richard Huskinson and John Francis married three sisters, the daughters of Henry Branston. They continued the development of the firm. Their mother Sarah survived her husband by 30 years and lived on to 1907.

Robert, the fourth child, married Mary Ann Haynes, lived in London and died in 1916. In 1851 he was a 'Tea Dealer'; in 1861, a

(*) It is possible William Edward had another, perhaps illegitimate, daughter Emma, born around 1840. An Emma Bousfield certainly had an illegitimate son, George Edward.



Left: *Robert Lee Valentine Bousfield c.1875. He added the names Lee Valentine (he was born on February 14th) when he re-invented himself – and his personal history – in the United States. (Jon Schweitzer)*
Right: *Sarah Robinson Warwick née Bousfield in old age (Martin Greenwood)*

'Railway Storekeeper', but no more is known of him. In 1841 the next child, Emma (age 19), together with her other sister Sarah was staying with their sister Mary Huskinson in Bulcote, Notts. In 1851, age 28 and still unmarried, she lived in St Werbugh, Derby, gave her occupation as 'seminary' with her nephew Frederick Huskinson, age 11.

Finally Anne, only a year old when her parents died, lived for a time at least as a teenager with her uncle and aunt William and Frances Bousfield in Newark, where she got her education. Then she went to live with her married sister Mary first at Bulcote in 1841, then at Epperstone. She married Arthur Thorold Wood, a clergyman from Devon, but presumably related to the Thorolds of Aubourn, after the Neviles the largest landowners in the parish. He was rector of the south Nottinghamshire village of Widmerpool for 35 years from 1870. He helped officiate at the marriage of William Deeping Warwick and

Emily Sarah Branston. Mary and Arthur had one son Charles, born around 1855, who sadly died aged only 18 in 1872. His mother followed him three years later at the age of 47. Arthur, now on his own, officiated over the almost complete rebuilding of Widmerpool parish church by 1895, then lived on for another ten years dying "in his 84th year", as the inscription on his gravestone puts it, in 1905.

Thomas Bousfield of Lincoln

The next surviving son of Edward and Mary Bousfield after William was Thomas (not to be confused with his uncle Thomas, who married Alice Etches and established the longest-lasting Newark branch of the family – see Chapters Three and Eleven). Born in 1796, he married first Ann Strong from Bingham in August 1829. She was probably sister to the Sarah who married Thomas's elder brother Edward Little. There were three children of the marriage, Charles, Ann and Thomas, born at two year intervals between 1830 and 1834. All were born – or at least baptised – in Lincoln. According to Henry, Thomas died in infancy and Ann as a teenager. Of the firstborn Charles Strong nothing more is known. On their mother Ann's death Thomas married again – to Charlotte Whitton. She was some 20 years younger than him, being born in Lincoln around 1815. They continued to live in Lincoln, where Thomas had set up as another brazier, tin-plater and ironmonger in the High Street (no. 280), close to his brother Robert the surgeon in Silver Street. But in May 1845 he went bankrupt owing nearly £510. This was within weeks of the collapse of his elder brothers' similar business in Newark. The next year their younger brother Charles, who had set up as yet another ironmonger, this time in Mansfield, also went bust – see below. Thomas, however, was the only one of the four to be actually declared bankrupt.

The question arises: was this a joint failure, coincidence or due to wider economic conditions? Charles's problems at least were not directly connected with those of his brother. The very day after Thomas was declared bankrupt in June 1845 at Leeds District Court of Bankruptcy, Charles signed a will, which gives no hint of any financial difficulties. As regards Edward and William, the major creditors were all different from Thomas's, so a direct business link must be ruled out. A more certain connection is the effect of general economic conditions.

One historian (Peter Mathias: *The First Industrial Nation*) in describing the intensity of the 1842–3 depression characterised these as "possibly the worst two years in the whole century after the famine that opened it." In the early 1840s prices were falling while wages were rising. For small business men this combination could well prove disastrous and doubtless accounts for the difficulties the various Bousfield brothers faced in their different towns. Later censuses show Thomas as a postmaster in Lincoln. He died in 1866 aged 70. Charlotte was still alive in 1881, aged 66 and acting as housekeeper to her brother Charles Whitton. Oddly she describes herself as married rather than widowed in the census. She died in 1903.

Charles Bousfield of Mansfield

Charles's life is a little better documented. Born in 1798, he married Mary Anne or Marianne Nicholson, daughter of the Bousfields' close friend and mentor James Nicholson of Southwell, on 13th January 1826. Before that it is possible he was working for his father in the brazier's business in Kirkgate, for an entry in the Quarter Sessions Minute Book in October 1816 refers to "Charles Bousfield of Newark brazier, recognisance of £20 to prefer charges against Catherine Boswell for uttering coin – two counterfeit shillings – knowing it to be false and counterfeit" (Catherine was found guilty and sentenced to a year's imprisonment). Charles was only 18 at the time and still legally a minor, but it must be him; there was no other Charles Bousfield, Charles not being a family name. By 1828 he had moved to Mansfield, a dozen miles to the west and by now a larger town than Newark. He too set up as an ironmonger – in the Market Place. Three years later he is in West Gate, describing himself also as a "silversmith etc" and a whitesmith (whitesmiths used Britannia metal which though chemically very like pewter was worked like brass and tinplate, being hammered into shape, rather than cast like pewter). Like his brothers in Newark, he would have been as much engaged in making goods to order as in selling ready manufactured merchandise.

He and his family appear in one of the few 1831 census returns to survive. Unfortunately this provides fewer details than later censuses, but it identifies them as occupying a house there. The household consisted of four males including one over twenty years old, which

must be Charles himself, and five females, no further details provided. Henry lists six children in the family, four boys and two girls. The first five were born or at least baptised in Mansfield parish church between 1827 and 1838, the last one, Edward, being born in July of that year. Three were born by 1831, a boy and the two girls. This makes five family members alive at that time and one can only speculate whether the other four members of the household listed in the census were lodgers, young male assistants of Charles and/or living-in maids.

By 1841 the family had moved to Church Street. All six children were living at home, aged between three and fourteen. The household also included two apprentices of 18 and 19 respectively, no doubt working for Charles. A living-in servant completed the family, suggesting a degree of prosperity. This must have changed with Charles' early death on March 24th 1846, aged only 48. Moreover he too went bust. In June the previous year he had made a will. He left everything to his wife Marianne to enjoy during her lifetime and then to his children equally. The will lists "Furniture Plate [i.e silverware] Linen China Books Pictures" which seems to suggest an affluent household, but this doubtless standard form of words in reality provides no useful information. However "my pew in the parish church of Mansfield" indicates that he had sufficient to pay for such and that he remained an Anglican. He also held shares in the Mansfield Town Hall Company, but the premises where he lived and worked were copyhold, a form of tenancy. His sole trustee and executor was his father-in-law James Nicholson, who duly obtained probate six months after Charles' death, swearing that the estate was worth under £100.

But as mentioned above, disaster struck Charles too in the final months of his life, perhaps contributing to his early death. Nine years later in 1855 his widow Marianne swore an affidavit that he had died intestate and that "very shortly before [his] decease he had voluntarily given up all his personal effects to his creditors... in payment of their debts and that at the time of [his] decease he was not possessed of any personal estate." [1] From this it is clear that Charles had not handed over to his creditors his seventh share under his father Edward's will in the properties in Kirkgate, Newark. Charles was certainly aware of his residual claim, for his will mentions "all my... interest in certain freehold hereditaments in Newark." But perhaps he deliberately

omitted to inform his creditors about it or they were not interested, since it produced no income while any of the sisters were still alive. Likewise Marianne in wrongly claiming Charles had died intestate may have felt the will had been superceded by Charles' later arrangement with his creditors or wanted to continue the fiction that they had not been interested in it. In any case she successfully established the right of her eldest son James to this share. James immediately sold it to Grosvenor Hodginson, who already owed three shares as well as the rest of Edward Bousfield's former Kirkgate premises, for £80, more than twice what his uncles had got ten years earlier.

In spite of Charles' bankruptcy Marianne appears to have had sufficient means not to have to work after Charles' death. By 1851 she had moved to Bridge Street – probably no. 16 – and had just three sons at home. James, the eldest now 24, worked as a clerk in an iron foundry. William at fifteen was an apprentice; and Edward, the baby of the family, now aged twelve, at school **– he later became a physician.** There was still one living-in servant. Marianne remained at Bridge Street for at least the next ten years, with her bachelor son James. Sarah and Mary, her two daughters, also unmarried, returned home and ran a school, which was doubtless not very different from Frances Bousfield's in Newark. Three girls boarded, as later did a 17-year old music teacher after Mary had left home. By now there were two servants, both teenagers. Sometime in the next ten years Marianne died. But James, still an iron-founder's clerk, and Sarah with her school remained at Bridge Street, though without school boarders in 1871. William, the third son and also unmarried at 35, ran – or more probably worked at – an iron foundry in Leeming Street for a time, living next door to the foundry. By 1881 James has apparently died. Instead William has joined Sarah at Bridge Street, though he has given up his business and works as a traveller in hardware. Sarah once again has boarders: two teachers, one pupil teacher and two children. Presumably there were also day pupils. But there the record ends. No Bousfield appears in the 1891 census return for Mansfield.

The Rev Henry Newham Bousfield

The final son of Edward and Mary, Henry Newham, made sure he was not forgotten by going into print, the first Bousfield to do so[*]. He was

born in 1803, the twelfth of Edward and Mary's fourteen children and the last to survive infancy, and is not to be confused with his cousin who produced the family tree. As he describes in his poem *Newark* he attended Magnus Grammar School, Newark's leading educational establishment:

> Here by kind parents was I plac'd, to store
> A vacant head with Greek and Latin lore:
> And here my wise preceptor, kind as they,
> Illum'd my brighten'd path with Learning's ray.

The ancient Classics were the main course of study, including "Horace' keen wit and Homer's nervous line", but mathematics was also taught:

> To exercise our calculating powers
> In long array we stood ...
> ... the Monitor commands;
> The task begins. A hundred busy hands,
> As by one impulse touched, obedient move,
> A hundred pencils o'er the figures rove.

Henry claims he was 'slow to learn':

> The quick perception, the intuitive mind
> Of eagle-glance, were not to me assign'd.
> What nature sparing in her gifts deny'd,
> Dull toil and plodding industry supply'd.

Nevertheless he gained entrance to Queen's College, Cambridge, and it is no exaggeration to claim him as the Nottinghamshire Bousfields' first intellectual. He went 'up' to Cambridge in May 1826. He had already fallen in love and indeed become engaged. The object of his desire was one Charlotte:

> ... In pride of youth his heart
> Fair Charlotte's beauteous form inflam'd ...
> Her form in Nature's finest mould was wrought;
> Her eye that beamed intelligence and thought
> Outshone the diamond blazing at her breast:
> Her bosom, white as winter's snowy vest,
> With graceful swell expanded...

But she was not merely beautiful: she had, unusually for a woman at that time, been taught the 'Classics' of ancient Greek and Roman literature:

... Her comprehensive mind
Was exquisitely polish'd and refin'd:
Enriched with studious diligence; and more,
With native genius. Vers'd in Classic lore,
She glow'd o'er beauties which the female mind
Too rarely tastes...

She could also sew and play the piano. But more than this:

Meanwhile to render happiness complete
Wealth spread his stores propitious at her feet.

Henry had to work hard to get her:

Long had he sought to win her to his arms.
At length her blushing modesty comply'd.

But unexplained tragedy followed:

The bridal morn appointed... Awful change!
That very morn Death marks her for his prey!
That very morn a breathless corse she lay!

Whether it was because of this or his slowness to learn, it took him six years to get his bachelor's degree. He had already been ordained Deacon in 1831, and in 1833 was made Priest. At this time he was living in Whatton, some ten miles south of Newark. He married Ann Mackley at Gedling, now a suburb of Nottingham but then a small village, in April 1835. No children of this marriage have been found. Henry's career as a clergyman is difficult to establish. Though the places where he served are known, it is not clear whether he ever had charge of a parish or always served as a curate. He was in Fairford in Gloucestershire from 1840–44, Thwill in the East Riding of Yorkshire in 1851, and in Wadenhoe, a small village by the River Nene in Northamptonshire, in 1855. But for a time at least after that he perhaps held no clerical appointment, for he does not appear in the *Crockford's Clerical Directories* of 1856 or 1860. But in 1861 he was at All Saints, Islington, followed by St Michael's, Stockwell near the Oval Cricket ground in 1865. Then back to Islington, this time at St Barnabas. From 1868–70 he served at the famous church of St Bride's, Fleet Street, though he was not the parish priest. He lived at Palgrave Place by Temple Bar, just opposite the Law Courts. Ten days before his death he made a will naming his nephew Edward Tenney Bousfield as his executor and leaving everything to his last surviving sibling Ann. The lack of any mention of his wife Ann or of any children in the will suggests that she had already died childless. He died on 15th June 1871,

aged 68.

The first of his poems that we know of was *Newark, a poem interspersed with occasional reflections,* already quoted above. It was printed by J. Bridges of Church Street, Newark in 1826, when Henry was 23. This consists of some 900 lines.

Publishing had begun in the town with the issue of Robert Waring Darwin's *Principia Botanica*; *or a concise and easy introduction to the sexual botany of Linnaeus etc etc*. The Darwins lived at Elston a few miles south of Newark and had long had scientific interests. Robert was brother to Erasmus and thus great uncle to Charles Darwin, but that branch of the family did not live locally. *Principia Botanica* was published in 1787 by William Allin. Allin's daughter married John Ridge and it was the Ridges who were responsible for most of the books published in Newark in the early nineteenth century. Indeed they were Lord Byron's first publishers. His first volume of poems *Fugitive Pieces*, mostly composed between the ages of 15 and 17, was printed privately by S. & J. Ridge in 1806. One piece in particular – *To Mary* – caused comment. But it was following the Rev J.T. Becher's criticisms of "too voluptuous colouring" that Byron withdrew and burnt virtually the entire print-run – perhaps two copies survive.

According to T.M. Blagg, the historian of Newark publishing, "poetry formed a large proportion of the products of the Newark press", thanks to the activities of the Ridges.[2] Henry's major work *The Power of Gold* was also published by them. The original manuscript of this was said by Blagg in 1898 to be "still in the possession of Messrs Ridge". Whether it survives is uncertain, but happily a printed version is to be found in Newark Public Library. *Canto I* opens:

> While some of states o'erthrown, of armies slain,
> And purple tyrants swell the pompous strain;
> Or loosely sing the Chief's indignant ire,
> Whose "glaring eye-balls flash the living fire":
> Then, while to terror of heroic deeds,
> With happy skill a peaceful scene succeeds,
> Dissolve in extacy [sic], or move to tears -
> Delightful interchange of Hopes and Fears;
> I strike a chord of deed and ardent tone,
> Whose nice vibrations ev'ry breast must own;
> I paint the horrors of a Tyrant-Power,
> That sways events, and rules the varying hour,

And sing at once a demon and a god,
That shakes whole empires with his mighty nod; -
Man's highest honour, or his deepest stain,
The greatest blessing, and the greatest bane!

As it progresses the poem improves. In writing about the relationship between writer and critic, he becomes more eloquent:

The volume clos'd, as hastily he [that is, the critic] writes
What spleen with ready eloquence indites:
His turgid work (he says) is arrant stuff,
Less – infinitely less – had been enough,
And bids him show no more his open face,
But fly to deep retirement from disgrace!
Scarce able to distinguish right from wrong,
And ill conversant with his mother tongue,
An Ignoramus next to Crito flies,
His *labour'd* tome with candour to revise,
But wisely soothes him first with ample fees,
As rogues with bread the snarling cur appease,
And mark the change! for now, in partial strain,
He cries - Who writes so well should write *again;*
His style, how eloquent, and yet how clear,
What brilliant strokes at intervals appear!

On the title page Henry describes it as: *A Poem in six cantos with Notes and Miscellaneous Pieces*. It runs for about 1400 lines in total and owes much to Byron and Pope and nothing to the Romantics. Blagg dismisses it, together with other poetry pieces published in the town: "None of the above works were of much importance." Though available from St Paul's Churchyard, London, then the centre of the book trade, it was sold mainly by subscription, and Henry assembled an impressive list of subscribers. There were 135 of them in total including the Duke of Newcastle, the Rev J.T. Becher of Southwell,, J. King, fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge (who was probably his tutor), 'Serjeant' Wilde (later MP for Newark and latterly Lord Chancellor), both of Newark's current MPs Willoughby and Sadler, together with most of the top layer of Newark society. It was dedicated to the Rev J. Sikes LLB of the Chauntry House, who took no fewer than twelve copies. But the only member of the family to subscribe was "Mr T. Bousfield of Lincoln", who took two copies. This was his elder brother Thomas, just mentioned above. Further extracts from the poem are given in the appendix .

The Power of Gold was published in 1830, when Henry was 27 years old. A couple of years later his last known poetic work came out but this does not survive. *The Chauntry House, Newark: A poem with a few historical notes on the Chauntry House* (Newark's Palace Theatre is now on this site) consisting of eight octavo pages is datelined "Whatton, Notts April 1832", when Henry was already an ordained minister of the Church of England.

William Bousfield and Frances Tenney

Henry's career as an Anglican clergyman is an example of the growing interest in religion that was everywhere to be found in nineteenth century England. But his personal involvement was anticipated by his elder brother William. William, as already noted, was the third surviving son of his parents Edward and Mary. He was born on August 11th 1795, worked all his life in the family business, and lived and died in Newark. Compared with the eldest brother Edward Little, with whom he worked for much of his life, he made no great impact on the local scene. He is particularly important in the family history, however, because he is perhaps the first one to leave the Anglican Church and become a Methodist (his elder brother Robert may also have converted, but this has not been established – see above). Before him none of the evidence suggests that any member of the family had a faith which had a major impact on his or her life. From him onwards in every generation family members have been seriously involved in religion in their various ways. Religion and its dictates became a matter which no member of the family could ignore. For William personally religion determined his marriage, and this has been true for many members of the family since his day. Again no evidence suggests that this was true of any of his ancestors. Thus William's move to the Methodists must be seen as a key event in the history of the family.

The Methodist records in Newark start in 1793, some seventeen years after the opening of the movement's first chapel in the town. From that date both the lists of members and the Newark Circuit accounts begin. The following year the total membership of the local 'Societies', as they called them, was 119, covering both Newark and several neighbouring villages. From the beginning many women joined the movement, the 1794 list containing two Etches and two Lowes, all

Newark Methodist church, Barnby Gate. This was completed in 1846, replacing an earlier church just round the corner in Guildhall Lane. Its huge size (it could accommodate 1500 people, almost as many as the parish church, itself the largest parish church in the county) indicates the extent of Methodism's success in Newark.

women. By 1810 membership had risen to 248, and by 1815, when William is first listed at the age of 20 as a member of Brother Corden's Wednesday class, to 353. The next full list is in 1820, and Frances Tenney's name appears for the first time. Two years later so does that of her father Richard Tenney. There can be little doubt that even if this was not how William and Frances met, being members of the Methodist church sealed their relationship. For the first time the ordinary people of Newark had been given the opportunity to choose their religion. Finding someone of the opposite sex who shared your new enthusiasm must have added a powerful extra attraction to any already felt between them. Indeed it might have been difficult for either of them to marry someone who did not share their new-found faith. This feeling was doubtless reinforced by the sense of community which the Methodists built up. For example at Christmas 1827 the chapel choir gave a performance at 5 o'clock on Christmas morning, singing several

pieces. The large crowd of eight or nine hundred people who had gathered even at that time was most appreciative. Then there was the annual summer outing for the children. In July 1828 they and their teachers typically were "regaled with tea and plum cake" in Lover's Lane in the fields on the edge of the town.[3]

There can be no doubting William's enthusiasm. He was the only member of his family in Newark to join the Methodists (his brother Robert moved to Lincoln) and by 1830 he was one of 22 class leaders. Frances too, as just mentioned, was sufficiently enthused to bring her father in. Though he appears only the once in the lists of members, subsequent generations of Newark Tenneys were all Methodist. William and Frances married on 31st March 1823 in the parish church as was still legally necessary. He was 28, she 25. But before she married, perhaps when she was barely 21 years old, Frances had set up her own school for teenage girls. In June 1822 an advertisement appeared in the *Lincoln and Stamford Mercury* under the heading "Ladies Seminary, Newark":

> Miss Tenney, grateful to her friends for favors [sic] so liberally bestowed, respectfully announces that her Seminary will re-open on Monday the 22nd of July, when she hopes to receive a continuance of their support, and assures those parents who may be pleased to instruct her with the care of their children, that the strictest attention will be paid to their health and morals, and no exertions spared to accelerate their improvement in every useful branch of education.[4]

Though the language was perhaps more flowery than most, similar advertisements appeared in this and other local newspapers every January and June to announce the start date of the new term and to advertise vacancies in several local schools: "Parlour Boarders received" and "A vacancy for two Parlour Boarders, and two Articled Pupils" were typically included in the advertisements. Many of these schools were run by – usually unmarried – women, and they seem to have catered mostly for girls. Boys went more often to the local Grammar Schools, who also used this method of getting information to parents. In 1828 Uppingham Grammar School, for example, announced: "There will be a speech-day on Tuesday June 24." Immediately below this an announcement by Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Horncastle informed that: "The young Gentlemen of the above school

will deliver their Public Speeches on Wednesday, June 18th. An Ordinary for Ladies and Gentlemen will be provided at the Bull Inn. – Dinner on the table at 3 o'clock" followed by a ball in the Assembly-Room in the evening. This was signed as one of two 'Stewards' by none other than W.B. Bousfield MD, son of William Bousfield of Boston and thus cousin to his namesake William, soon to become Frances's husband.[5]

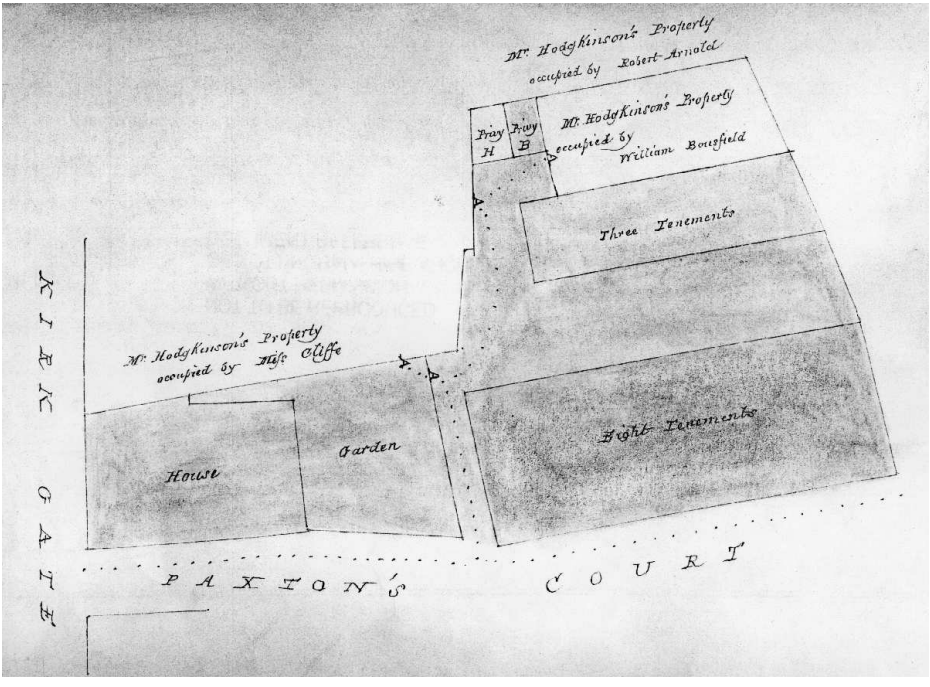
Whether Frances closed the school for a time while she was having children is uncertain. Probably not, for the next advertisement in 1827 was right in the middle of her child-bearing years. It was one of only four more advertisements which have been found in that newspaper over the next 20 years (though one or two may well have been missed); so the assumption must be that she seldom had difficulty attracting pupils. She took in both boarding and day pupils, girls between the ages of ten and seventeen. In 1841 there were nine boarders including William's niece Anne Bousfield from Lincoln: ten years later she had sixteen. The number of day girls is not known (boarder numbers being taken from the census returns). They were taught at Bargate House, where William and Frances lived probably from the time they got married. To help her Frances employed her blind younger sister Ann Tenney and a couple of young women aged between 17 and 22, that is scarcely older than some of her pupils. In 1851 one of these was her daughter Sarah Jane; another was Charlotte Collins, to whom we shall return.

What the girls learnt at Mrs Bousfield's Ladies Seminary, as it was called after Frances's marriage, her advertisements unfortunately give no hint of. Her daughter-in-law later recorded how even well into her eighties she was an excellent needlewoman, still busy with her 'fancy-work'. So we can be sure that sewing was taught. But the very week after Frances's advertisement quoted above another Miss Bousfield, again a cousin of her future husband and sister to W.B. Bousfield, announced that she was now taking four boarders at her school in Spilsby, a village in the depths of Lincolnshire. Day pupils paid six guineas for the basic course of English grammar, history, geography, writing and cyphering (i.e. arithmetic). French, Italian, dancing and painting/drawing ("including ornamental, landscape and miniature") were extra at four guineas each. Boarders paid 23 guineas basic, and

"each young lady is requested to bring a table-spoon, towels and a pair of sheets".[6] Interestingly no sewing instruction was offered. But the basic course at another ladies seminary in Newark – Miss Ward's – advertised around this time, covered "Plain and Fancy Work" as well as "spelling, reading, English grammar, history, etc" for 20 guineas per annum for boarders. Geography was offered as an extra, as, more surprisingly, were astronomy and "writing and accopmts".[7] There was perhaps more but the rest of the advertisement is missing. As the Rev Henry Bousfield remarked in his poem *Newark*, it was unusual for girls to be taught Latin and especially Greek. Instead, while boys toiled away at Homer and Horace, their middle class sisters enjoyed a more up-to-date and useful curriculum.

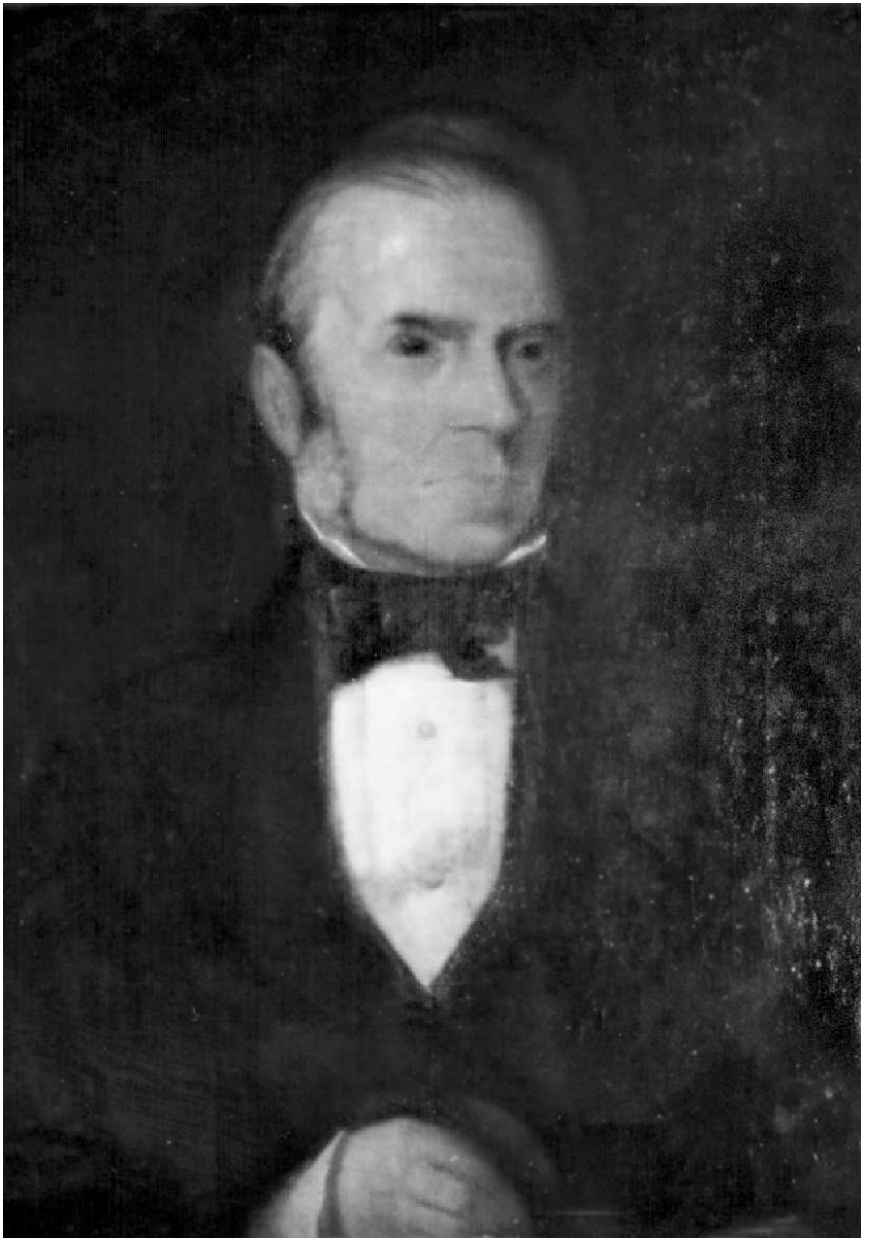
Those girls who boarded were housed in Bargate House. From the outside the site looks unpromising, narrow and curved along one side. But later alterations have so changed it "as to transform into a gloomy courtyard what was once a pleasant spot", as Frances's daughter-in-law Charlotte was to describe it. It even had something of a garden, though there scarcely seems room for one. Bargate is a short street scarcely 50 yards long and forms part of the continuous line of the Fosse Way through Newark lying between Castlegate and Northgate. Unlike those Newark 'gates' which got their names from the Danish word for street, Bargate refers to the 'gate' or barrier through which traffic had to pass to enter or leave the town to or from the north. Until fairly recent times the road was very narrow, particularly at the point where Bargate met Northgate, for it was here that the medieval gatehouse known as North Bar Gate, not taken down until 1762, was sited. Bargate House lay at this very point projecting into the road. It was at the corner of a D-shaped block, some of the curved part of which lies on the line of the original 'new works' from which the town gets its name (see maps on pages 19, 35 and 47). The site followed the curve round and at the back lay the Town Wharf, an open area beside the river where goods were loaded and landed. Across the short street leading alongside the house to the wharf lay Handley's – later Warwick and Richardson's – Town Wharf Brewery.

The other end of the block from the house was occupied by the cattle market until late in the nineteenth century, when the present Ossington House, a temperance entertainment centre of impressive size and appearance, replaced it. Just across the road beyond this lay the



Plan of part of the former Bousfield premises in Kirkgate, showing William's place of business after the collapse and takeover by Hodginson. The house and garden occupied by the three sisters are also shown, as are the eleven tenements, which provided their income. (NA DD1440/92/1/14)

castle ruins with their surrounding grounds, which for much of the century was partly covered by the buildings which Edward Little among others leased from William Handley. On the other side of Bargate opposite the house lay the opening to Slaughter House Lane where John Holland had had his slaughter house. The start of Kirkgate was just a few yards to the right, and the Holland and later Bousfield properties another few yards up the street. William and Frances moved into Bargate House either on their marriage or very soon afterwards and continued to live there until the widowed Frances moved to Northgate after William's death. Thus she had her work on the premises, while William's was hardly a minute away (Bargate House was replaced in 1899 by an entirely new house, which did not project into the road).



Portrait of William Bousfield by an unknown artist. (Guy Bousfield)

As we have seen, William was probably working with his father and elder brother from the beginning of his working life, but his presence was not acknowledged until his father died in 1832. He was then in partnership with Edward Little, until the business went bust in 1845. Whatever the reasons why their creditors decided not to press for bankruptcy, they got their pound of flesh. The business premises had to be sold (like the family home in Kirkgate, they belonged to Edward Little), but William like his brother Thomas lost his seventh share in the other Kirkgate properties. They realised just £38 each, when they were sold by their respective creditors the following summer to Grosvenor Hodginson. This was a very low sum compared to the £900 that their father Edward had paid Wiliam Paxton for the whole site many years earlier, but of course these were forced sales and the property was producing no income, being still occupied by the Bousfield sisters. Nine years later Hodgkinson paid £80 for Charles' share when sold by his son James. Hodgkinson had also acquired Edward Little's share. Shortly after he had bought Charles' portion, he sold his by now four shares to the Rev Henry and the two remaining sisters Ann and Mary for £400, making a tidy profit. The three siblings had to take out a mortgage for the full sum, but now they owned all seven shares and could ensure the property stayed in the family when the last sister died. If that was their intention, it was not fulfilled.

Hodgkinson let the business premises to William, who also used the ground floor of the sisters' house in Kirkgate as a shop (see plan on page 99). He was thus able to continue to work from the site but now on his own. He added gas-fitting to his other businesses. That he was able to stay in business and able to leave an estate of some value on his death a dozen years later requires some explanation. It may be that, although we have called the business a partnership of the two brothers, in fact Edward legally owned it as well as the property in which it was carried on. If this was so, William would have had no liability for Edward's debts. But why then did William sell his share of the other Kirkgate property? Did he agree to this as a condition for the creditors not pursuing Edward to bankruptcy? Alternatively William – and Frances – may have made the money in the dozen or so years he survived after Edward's departure. But this can only be speculation. Of course it would have been in Hodgkinson's interest to let the premises to an on-going business, if he was confident William could run it profitably on

his own. The fact he had an oil portrait of himself painted suggests that he did so. He needed to, for he had a large family to keep.

He and Frances started their family with William, who according to Henry was born on his father's 29th birthday, August 11th 1824. After him children arrived steadily every two or three years, seven in all, three boys and four girls. They were both well cared for and lucky, for all survived to adulthood. Strangely only the eldest, William, was baptised in the Methodist church, the others at the parish church. No explanation is forthcoming for this. William and Frances did not abandon their Methodism. Far from it; they are listed as circuit members in 1851 and William continued as a class leader to the end of 1837. Moreover they passed their religious enthusiasm on to their children. One son, Edward Tenney, became a lay preacher and married a Congregational minister's daughter, while a daughter wed two Methodist ministers in succession.

William did not have the political ambitions of his elder brother Edward Little. But he did become a member of the Petty Jury in 1837–8 and of the Grand Jury for three years from 1843, when his brother was Mayor. But this was the height of his ambition. He died on December 19th 1857 aged 62 and was buried in the non-conformist part of the new town cemetery. His grave is as unpretentious as he himself seems to have been in life. At his death the business was carried on at least until 1861 by his youngest son Richard but thereafter disappeared. His sisters – in 1857 Ann and Martha, later Ann on her own – stayed in Kirkgate, but there was no other family interest there.

Frances continued to live in Bargate House and to run her school after his death. She was clearly an energetic woman. In 1861 and well into her sixties she had 24 girls boarding at the school, all aged between 11 and 16 and all from neighbouring counties, except one 7-year old from Wales. She now had more staff: three of her daughters, including one teaching music, plus two other teachers, and one elderly nurse, all living in. In addition she had two female lodgers, and three living-in servants, a total establishment of 36, all female (in 1841 she had had the thirteen year old Mary Tenney, who was perhaps a niece, as a domestic servant. Ten years later a twelve-year old local girl was living in as a maid. The youth of many of the resident servants is striking). William had left her reasonably well off. His estate was valued at £600 compared

to the £1500 left by his father a generation before (with little inflation during the nineteenth century the comparison is fair). William left everything to Frances "for her own absolute use benefit and disposal" and made her sole executrix as well. It may well have been a very happy marriage, but Frances appears as the more forceful character. William's will was witnessed by James and Mary Knight, who were close family friends. James is variously described as an ironmonger and an accountant on his daughters' marriage certificates – he was also a Methodist lay preacher. It is not known whether they were descended from the Knights who appear earlier in this account.

Sometime around 1861–2, Frances moved out of Bargate House along the road to Northgate, where she continued her school without boarders and presumably in a smaller house. She still had two daughters at home until 1863, when her youngest Hannah Maria got married. Frances stayed in Newark until at least 1864 and then moved to Bedford with Sarah Jane, known as Jenny, her last unmarried daughter. Her second son Edward Tenney had moved there a few years previously and in 1863 he built a new house for his growing family on the southern outskirts of that town. Jenny was soon married, and at some stage after Edward and family had moved out, Frances took over their old house. Certainly by 1871 she was living at 41 Cauldwell Street, where they had been living. With her at least for a time was her youngest daughter Hannah Maria and her three young children, perhaps on an extended holiday from her husband in South Africa – see below. Hannah returned to Durban, and within a few years Frances had moved again. In 1876 she was living in Stockwell Villa, Ampthill Road, closer to Edward and family. She lived there quietly until June 1878, when at the age of 80 she was again joined by Hannah Maria and her now five small children.

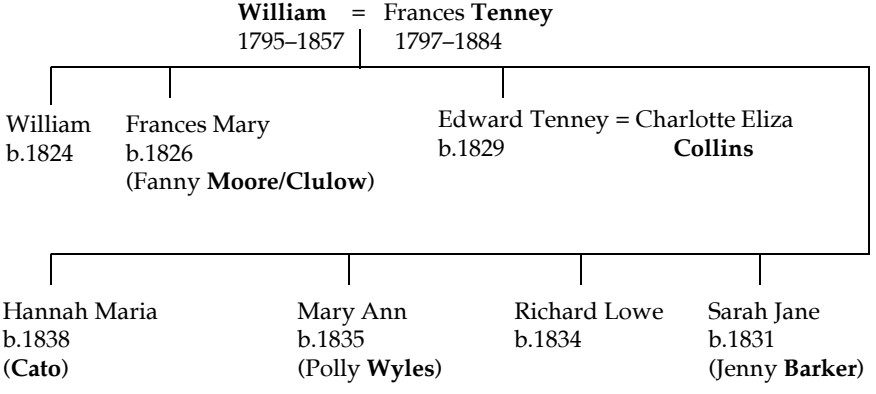
In October that year Frances fell so ill that her life was despaired of. However she recovered and within a few months she, together with Hannah Maria and her young family, moved to Southport on the Lancashire coast, where two of her other daughters were already living. Here Frances was taken in by Jenny, already widowed in her forties, at 10 Saunders Street. Mother and daughter lived comfortably on the income from their invested capital, with a cook and a fourteen-year old maid (from Newark) to look after them. Hannah Maria lived separately with her children.

Frances continued to live with Jenny in Southport until her death. In her last years she remained in good health and was fit enough to travel to London, Plymouth and Bedford more than once, to visit her children and grandchildren. At Bedford she was entertained by her daughter-in-law Charlotte, with whom she had an excellent relationship. Charlotte wrote of her in May 1879: "Grandma came on Thursday... she is well in health , but very weak and feels even a short walk. She is however as industrious as ever with her hands and is almost continuously employed with her wool-work. She has begun a sofa-pillow for me. I think each piece she has done will be her last, but her sight is very good and her fingers move so quickly that to see her sitting at her work few would think her 83. I have taken her for a drive this afternoon in the chaise... and she enjoyed it exceedingly."

In the summer of 1883 she was in Bedford again, accompanied by Jenny. Charlotte reported that "she bore the [train] journey very well. She stitches away at her fancy or wool work as much and as well as ever; but she moves with much more difficulty... Her great pleasure is in the drives we take, especially when Papa [her son Edward] is the driver". Early in July the following year she was taken ill "with an attack of indigestion... After the spasm caused by the indigestion had passed, the chief suffering seems to have been the difficulty of breathing at times from the weak action of the heart. But she was able to walk with an arm of Aunt Jenny and Polly on either side from her own to the back bedroom for coolness an hour before she died and ten minutes before the end was sitting out of bed. Getting into it with very little help she doubled the edge of the pillow into a comfortable position under her head, a look came over her face that caused both children who were watching her to say simultaneously 'Peace, perfect peace'. Then the eyes closed as if to sleep and without a struggle the spirit was released from the aged house of clay, which would have been 87 years old next September." She died on July 8th 1884 and was buried in Newark in the same grave where William had been laid 27 years previously. Some of the funeral party stayed at the home of James Knight who had witnessed William's will all those years ago.

Chapter Seven

Out into the wider world 1824–1914



By the time that Ann, the last of the three sisters living in Kirkgate, indeed probably the last surviving child of Edward and Mary, died in 1875, there was only one line of the family still living in Newark and their story is followed in Chapter Eleven. The others had all died out or left the town. Edward Little had no sons and thus no Bousfield heirs. Of the other sons of Edward and Mary, Robert and Thomas had moved to Lincoln, Charles to Mansfield. Henry Newham had also moved away. William, like Edward Little, had stayed to work in his father's business and had continued to do so after first his father died and then his brother left. His widow Frances had continued with her school, until she retired, and then she too moved first to Bedford and then to Southport. None of her children had set up home in Newark for long. The girls did not marry local men, so it is no surprise to find that they moved away. But what happened to the business?

William Bousfield junior

The obvious son to have carried on from William when he died in 1857 was his eldest son also William. Indeed he did go into this line of business but not in Newark. He was born in 1824, but there is no evidence he joined his father and uncle in the family business, though doubtless he did so in his youth. He was not quite 21 when the business in Kirkgate folded; so it may well have been thought by all concerned he would do better elsewhere. Instead he seems to have moved away quite soon. In August 1847, the day after his 23rd birthday, he married a woman from Foolow, little more than a hamlet in the Derbyshire hills next to the 'plague village' of Eyam and 40 or 50 miles from Newark. She was Harriet Hodgkinson, a farmer's daughter, and a couple of years older than William. In 1881 they were living in the small village of Stock in Essex, a few miles south of Chelmsford. Now well into his fifties, he worked as a hot water engineer and smith, an occupation which would seem to be a natural progression from the work of his father and grandfather. The census of that year lists no children of the marriage, and it seems likely that he had none. Harriet died some time before William, and in 1894 he moved in with his niece Fanny Moore, daughter of his sister Frances Mary, in Enfield, north London. She looked after him, while he helped support her financially. If he had had surviving children, he would have surely spent his retirement with one of them.

Before this he had not been very close to the rest of the family, though he did not lose contact. He was overshadowed by his much cleverer younger brother Edward Tenney, who was treated as head of the family after their father died, and probably felt 'outclassed' by him and his sisters. For all of them and their spouses considered themselves ladies and gentlemen, in the new Victorian definition of those terms, being in white-collar occupations, while William remained a manual worker.

Frances Mary Bousfield and her family

Frances Mary, known as Fanny, was a couple of years younger than William and their parents' second child. She was born in 1826 and on August 22nd 1850 she married John Moore at the Methodist church in Newark. John was a Wesleyan minister, then living in Bury near Ramsey in Huntingdonshire and the son of a schoolmaster. Fanny and

John had three children together, Frances, Charles and William, and probably lived in Bedford for a time, for the tower of the Bousfield's chapel there (see Chapter Nine) was dedicated to his memory, which suggests a man highly thought of. But they were a family smitten by tragedy. John himself died young; Fanny married again, to another Methodist minister, Rev Clulow, who had been minister in Bedford, where he too was well enough regarded for a tablet to be erected to his memory at Bromhead Road Chapel. After Bedford he and Fanny lived in Plymouth. But he also died fairly young in December 1879. There were no children to this, Fanny's second, marriage. In July 1882 she moved to Palmers Green, London, then by the end of 1884 to "her own little house"[*] in Winchmore Hill. In 1887 she moved finally to Enfield, where her unmarried daughter (also Fanny) and Hamilton, her son Willie's child by his first wife, came to live with her.

In 1892 she was taken very ill but recovered. Then two years later she fell ill again."No real danger was apprehended when I arrived" her sister-in-law Charlotte wrote in her diary: "... Aunt Jenny (who was staying with her) and Fanny Moore wished me to remain. Fanny went to the Doctor, who sent a composing draught which she gave to her Mother, but she passed away that evening. We could not believe that the life that was so valuable to her Daughter and Grandson was so near its end. These with her Son and my Husband and his Brother saw her laid in the grave with her two baby grandchildren in Enfield Cemetery". She was 67 years old. As mentioned, her daughter Fanny was in effect left a single mother with a child to look after – her nephew, her brother Willie's son by his first by now dead wife. "Poor Fanny's loss is indeed great, left with responsibility of Hamilton and no certain income beyond the interest of about £300, which is all her mother had to dispose of at her death, but with help from Papa, her Brother Charles and Aunt Jenny, and Uncle William's going to live with her, she will at least for the present be able to keep her nice home."

But Fanny was not the only one to have problems. Her brother Charles and his wife Grace went out to China as missionaries, where they certainly were in 1879. But Grace fell ill and they returned home in 1881. Then Charles suffered serious depression, which lasted many

(*) All the quoted extracts in this chapter are from Charlotte Bousfield's diaries.

months. He recovered, but it was a recurring problem. In 1911 he suffered "a complete nervous breakdown". He became "very depressed and by no means well." Grace however was still alive in 1933, when she received a legacy in Charlotte's will. The younger brother Willie also went abroad with his wife. They lived in his aunt Hannah Maria's house outside Durban (see below) for several years around 1878–80. In June 1880 news reached England that "Mrs Clulow's youngest son Willie Moore has lost his young wife from some fever that has taken her off after a short illness; she leaves a little boy scarcely a year old, had been married just 2 years and still not 20 years old by some months." Willie married again, but his troubles were far from over. In May 1887 "Willie Moore and Amelia lost their eldest baby of little more than a year old about a month after the birth of the second and this little one died a few weeks later at the house of Amelia's mother at Margate and was brought to Enfield to be buried by the side of the first." Worse was to follow. In 1892 "a telegram soon after I left bringing the sorrowful news of poor Willie Moore's death at the house of his wife's brother. She is left with 3 little ones, the youngest 2 months old. His brother Charles was with him at the end."

Sarah Jane Bousfield

The next child of William and Frances was Edward Tenney, to whom we return later. The fourth in the family was Sarah Jane, known as Jenny, born in 1831. Like her sisters, she was taught by her mother at home as part of her school, and by the age of 19 was a 'governess' there, which we can take to mean assistant teacher. She stayed at home helping with the school for at least another ten years. She moved with her mother to Bedford and in due course married a man called Thomas Barker in Bedford during the summer of 1870.

though the marriage has not been traced. But she too was widowed early with no children. She then moved to Southport to be with the last of the sisters Mary Ann, who was living there with her husband. Jenny took her mother in to her home at 10 Saunders Street, when she in turn moved to the town. She was an attractive character, much loved by the family, and very much the leader of the three sisters who lived there. Their mother died at her house, but she stayed on there until her own death in 1908. Her sister-in-law Charlotte, who was very fond of her, described her end: "Dear Aunt Jenny was heard to move by the two

servants who slept in the room adjoining hers... They found her sitting on the sofa. She walked across the room to a chair at the bedside but scarcely spoke and in a few minutes passed quietly away." Her home "for at least 30 years had been a model of order and good taste." She was buried in the Barker family vault in Stockport, near Manchester.

Richard Lowe Bousfield

Richard Lowe, born in December 1833 the third and last son of William and Frances, is the most elusive. He carried on his father William's business in Kirkgate after William's death; at the time of the census of 1861 he was employing three men or boys. He married Ann Puttrill from Holbeach in the Lincolnshire fens. In December 1860 they had a daughter christened Jane Burton. There is no sign of wife or child in the census, but perhaps they were merely staying away on census night. It may be, however, that Ann had already returned to her parents for the following year, 1862, they had a second daughter Frances Ann whose baptism is recorded at Whaplode in July. They also had a son, William Edward, born in Sheffield in 1864. He married Lucy Ann Panton, when she was only 18, and died in Lincoln in 1946. No children have been found from this marriage. But William was lucky enough to benefit from his aunt Charlotte's will. When she came to make this in 1930, she made a legacy of "£100 to my executors on trust to apply it and any income from it for the benefit of my husband's nephew William Bousfield now living at Lincoln or his wife, at the executors' discretion." As we know of no social connection between William and his aunt, this suggests that perhaps she believed he was financially stretched and wished to help.

It does not seem that Richard made a success of the business in Newark or indeed in Lincolnshire. After 1862 the family disappears except that in 1881, as already noted, Jane is living with her aunt and uncle Polly and Ben Wyles in Southport. Ann must have died and perhaps Frances Ann too. Richard like many others at this time decided to try his luck abroad, leaving his surviving daughter behind with his childless sister. For at some stage he went to America, though the only evidence we have of this is a note in his sister-in-law Charlotte's diary that he had been there so long that "we can scarcely think of him as belonging to [the family]". But things did not go well for him. In 1905 Charlotte averred that he and her niece Fanny Moore were the members of the family most in need of financial help. Eventually he returned.

Writing to his son Will in July 1910, Edward Tenney, Richard's elder brother, complained: "It seems almost impossible for us to make a plan this year. We are expecting your Aunt Cato [who] will be staying with us during the month of August. And then I think the arrangements for your Uncle Richard's return from America may need some attention." It sounds like a permanent return home; and if Richard at 76 needed his 80-year old brother's help with 'arrangements', he appears in physical and/or financial difficulty and perhaps without family of his own to look after him.

Mary Ann Bousfield

Mary Ann was known as Polly. The sixth of William and Frances's seven children, she was born in 1835. She too helped her mother at the school, the 1861 census listing her as a teacher of music. Later that year she married Benjamin Wyles, who came from Bourne in Lincolnshire, wrongly listed as Barnes in Lancashire in the 1881 census. They settled in Southport, where they lived at 41 Duke Street and it seems to have been her who brought the sisters to Southport. Ben was a 'photographer and painter in oils and water' and a couple of years younger than Polly. Some of his photographs of members of the family survive. He and Polly had no children but had two nieces to live with them. The 10-year old Gertrude Wyles and Jane Burton Bousfield, aged 20, a 'painter in watercolours', are listed with them in the 1881 census. Both girls could well have been permanent residents. Jane was the daughter of Polly's brother Richard (see below). Polly herself was the first of the siblings to die, in June 1889.

Hannah Maria and the Catos

Hannah Maria was the youngest of the seven children of William and Frances, but in some ways she had the most exciting life, though it is not certain she saw it that way. She too acted as a 'governess' at her mother's school. In 1863 she left England for Natal to marry George J. Cato, the son of a leading resident of Durban, then in Natal Province, now part of the Republic of South Africa. George's father, George Christopher Cato, was of Huguenot origin and a fervent Methodist. He was known locally as King Cato for the prominent role he played in the colony. He and his wife lived a little way out of Durban on a farm called

Cato Manor given to him by the government for his sufferings at the hands of the Boers. His son George J. was a tea and sugar planter, and Hannah Maria bore him five children. In spite of these, the marriage may not have been a happy one. Hannah Maria certainly did not like Durban. By 1871 she had returned to England with her three daughters aged between five and one. She lived with her mother in Bedford – quite comfortably with a nursemaid to look after the children as well as another live-in servant – in her brother Edward's former home in Caudwell Street. Perhaps this was only a holiday; for she returned to her husband and had her two sons. But in view of her subsequent behaviour it is also quite likely that this first return home was intended as a separation.

Early in 1878 George J. died and within weeks Hannah Maria fled back to England with the children. One can only imagine that, to abandon the financial and social position her parents-in-law could offer her and her young family, she must have heartily disliked them and the country. After her mother died, however, her parents-in-law demanded she return to Natal with the children, which she did in 1885. "Mr Cato has taken a house for them in Durban, nearer to him and the town than Cato Manor". She liked Africa no better this time around and returned to England in 1907. She settled in the Isle of Wight, where she was living in 1911 with "her only living daughter". She never married again and was still fit enough in 1914 at the age of 75 to visit her brother Edward and family in Nottingham.

The early Life of Edward Tenney Bousfield

Problems of finding evidence for Edward Tenney's life do not arise. Not only did his wife Charlotte leave a massive four volume diary, covering the daily life of the family for the last 38 years of his life, but sufficient records also survive to reconstruct his distinguished career as an agricultural engineer in the second half of the nineteenth century. Only the first few years of his working life raise some questions, although even here some outline can be given.

Edward was born on October 26th 1829, the third child of William and Frances. Like all his siblings except the eldest William he was given a middle name, a practice that had only begun to be popular in the previous generation. Among the Bousfields of that generation, only

William, the Boston surgeon, took up the new fashion, giving all his children the middle name of Brackenbury after his wife's family. But the Tenneys did the same for a few of their children. Edward Little, one of only two of his numerous siblings to have a middle name (Henry Newham was the other), gave only a couple of his six daughters a second name, but the younger brothers Thomas and Charles did for all or most of theirs, Charles even calling one of his sons William Adams Nicholson. It certainly helped to distinguish him from all the other William Bousfields!

Edward was a clever boy and like so many Victorian children was sent to boarding school at an early age. With very few exceptions, early Victorian – and pre-Victorian – boarding schools were not the large 'Public School' establishments of several hundred pupils we are familiar with today. They were small family-run institutions with at most a few dozen boys or girls, both boarding and day. Newark had several such schools, as well as the long-established Magnus Grammar School. One of these, of course, was run by Edward's mother. No doubt at first he was taught at home like his sisters. But he was only a "very little boy" when he was sent to a boarding school at Norwell, a small village a few miles north of Newark. By the age of eleven he was back in Newark at a school in Castlegate just a few yards along the road from his home. He was one of four boys aged between nine and fifteen boarding at the school run by the 60-year old John Welby and his son.

There must have been some local day boys as well, but the three other boarders came from outside the county. So why was Edward boarding so close to home? There was clearly some *quid pro quo* with the Welbys, because their fourteen-year old daughter Emma was boarding at Frances's girls school at Bargate House. Edward's elder brother William, who was sixteen, was not living at home at this time, Richard aged seven being the only boy in the household. It could be that both the Bousfields and the Welbys had something of a space problem, having so many pupils living with them, together in Frances's case with a couple of teachers. A boy could be crammed in with other boys, and a girl likewise, whereas a child of the opposite sex would have required somewhere separate to sleep.

Edward may well have completed his education at the Welbys, but it is possible he went to the grammar school. The next we know of him is ten years later. Now 21, he is living at home and gives his occupation

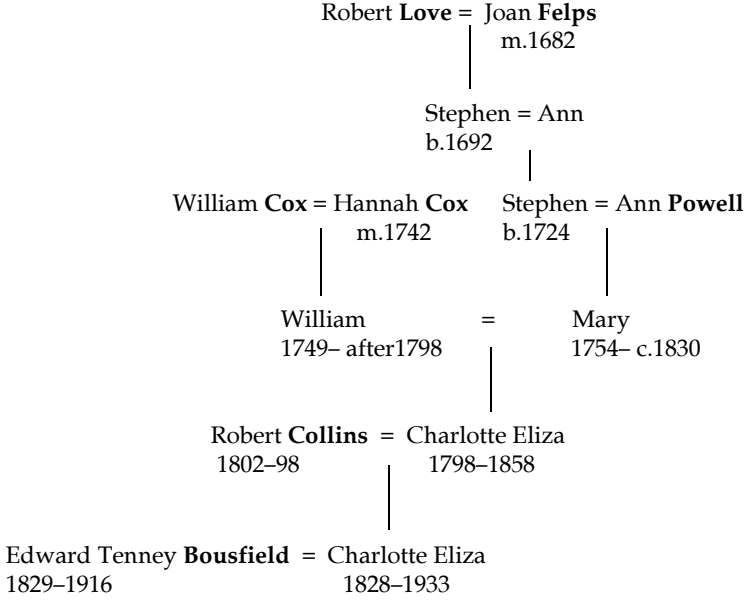
as an engineer, a description repeated two years later in the 1853 trade directory. While no qualifying adjective is attached to this definition, he was plainly an employee. The question arises: of whom? The most likely candidate is Nicholsons. Benjamin Nicholson came from just the other side of Lincoln and was probably no relative of the Bousfields' friend James Nicholson of Southwell. He arrived in Newark as a young man and with a partner opened an ironmonger's shop on the Market Place in 1809. In 1825 he set up a foundry making cast-iron ware for domestic use. He flourished and became mayor of the town in 1840. By this time his son William Newzam Nicholson had joined him in business and soon Nicholsons had a local reputation as manufacturers of agricultural implements. They had a stand at the Great Exhibition of 1851 and won prizes for the quality of their products. But it was still a very small business with only four employees, though they made a wide range of both agricultural and domestic items. By 1855 they had established themselves on a new site on Beastmarket Hill, where Ossington House now stands and just behind Bargate House. They soon built much larger premises on a green-field site across the river and began expanding in earnest, employing 150 men in 1871. Their range included hay-makers and horse rakes. It was a very successful business into the middle of the twentieth century, all the more remarkable for the fact that William Newzam's son, Sir William, and his son Ben became celebrated artists.

Another company in the same type of business and founded around the same time was Midworth's. Joseph Midworth came to Newark in 1814 and established an iron foundry supplying both industrial and domestic markets. But like Nicholson's it was the second generation who really developed the business. His two sons joined him in 1844, expanded the product range to include agricultural implements, iron railings and decorative domestic items. Although taken over in 1867 the firm continued in existence throughout the nineteenth century. In view of the involvement of both these companies in agricultural machinery and his own work in this area, Edward could have joined either of them as a young man. It seems likely that he did so, but no evidence has been found.

But it was not only building a career that was engaging his interest at this time. Now in his early twenties he was also courting a remarkable young woman called Charlotte Eliza Collins. But her story must wait to the next chapter.

Chapter Eight

Robert Collins and the minister's family 1798–1898



The Cox Family of Seaton

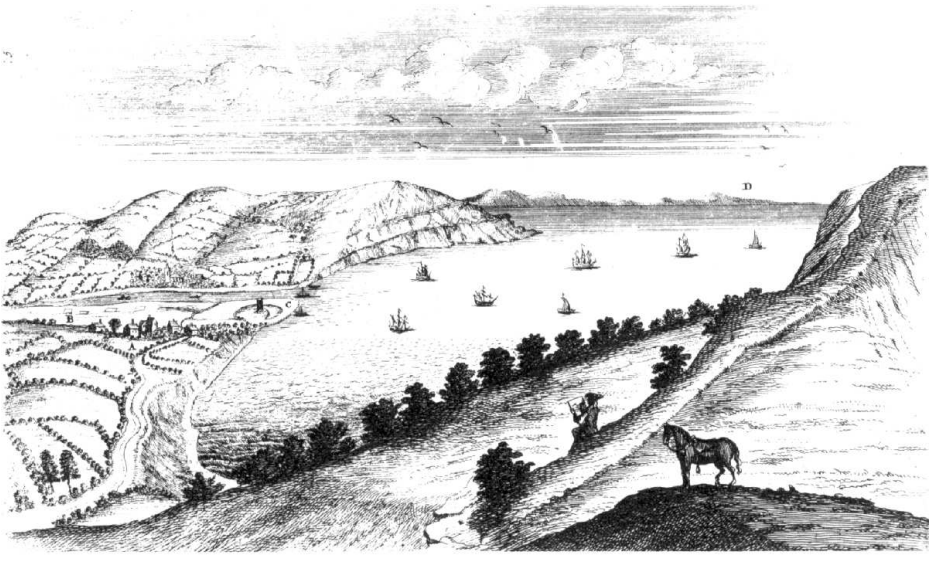
Charlotte's parents both came from the south-west of England; Robert from Sherborne in Wiltshire, and her mother, also Charlotte Eliza, from Seaton, just in Devon and coincidentally over the river from Axmouth, where the Fosse Way on which Bargate House stood, meets the sea. She was the tenth and last child of William and Mary Cox, born on July 12th and baptised on October 7th 1798.

Table of Population

	1801	*1851*	*1901*
Seaton	1497[*]	766	2443
Beer	*	1281	1118
Farway	287	380	233
Braunton	1296	2364	2135

(*) includes Beer

At this time Seaton was smaller than its sister village of Beer with which it shared a parish. In 1542 John Leland had described it in his famous Itinerary: "Seaton used to have a very important estuary, but now a massive ridge and bar of pebbles lies between the two points of the former estuary , at its very mouth... Small fishing boats put in here for shelter. Seaton itself is now a very inconsiderable place inhabited by fishermen, although it used to be much larger when the estuary was good."[1] The antiquarian Stukeley made a drawing of it in 1723 from high up on the Beer cliffs (see next page). By 1800 it had 500–600 inhabitants, some of whom were the usual craftsmen and traders to be found in every village at that time. It also had its fair share of smugglers, although John Rattenbury, the most notorious of Devon smugglers, was born in 1778 in Beer and operated from there. He published his *Memoirs of a Smuggler* in 1837, covering many years of undetected smuggling, and ended his days peacefully as a lime contractor for Sidmouth harbour. The village was later described by a local resident: "Seaton was one of the last of the Devon seaside resorts to be developed and must have been very beautiful in 1785 with its wild flowers, orchards and aigret osprey [sic] still nesting on Beer Head. Transport was by packhorse over good hard flint-surfaced roads, still too narrow for two-wheeled carts."[2] The village did not develop as a seaside resort until the second half of the nineteenth century, after the coming of the railway in 1868. But modernisation did not wait till then, for already in 1838 Kelly's *Directory* claimed: "This place has been much improved of late." This suggests it was something more than a fishing village in the early nineteenth century. Being at the foot of the valley it doubtless also served the local farming community.



William Stukeley's view of Seaton in 1723. The little village can be seen backing away from the shore. Beyond it is the River Ax, on the far bank of which (not visible in this picture) the Fosse Way finally reaches the sea at the end of its long journey from Lincoln via Newark across the centre of England.

The dramatic scenery of this part of the Devon coast with the cliffs of Beer Head plunging over 400 feet into the sea made it a very different place from Newark. But in other ways there was more similarity with the Bousfields there. Just at the time Edward and Mary were producing fourteen children, William and Mary Cox had ten over 20 years from their marriage on June 23rd 1778 up to Charlotte's birth. William's family has been traced back only one generation. He was the younger of the two sons of William senior, who married Hannah Cox, probably his cousin, on October 4th 1742 at Farway, a little village half a dozen miles inland from Seaton. Cox, also spelt Cocks and in various other ways, is a common name in this part of the country, and there were many of them in Farway back to the early seventeenth century. William junior was baptised on May 4th 1746. His wife Mary was the daughter of Stephen Love and his wife Ann Powell, who on June 22nd 1749 married at Hawkchurch, another small Devonshire village lying just beyond Axminster. The Love family had been living here for at least a couple of

generations before this, Mary's grandfather Robert having married Joan Felps in the village in 1682 – see the family tree above. Mary herself baptised on May 19th 1754. Mary and William's eldest son William married a Mary Norsworthy. The Norsworthys were descended from the seventeenth century vicar of Seaton John Nosworthy, who was born in 1612 and was one of the puritan clergy turned out on the reintroduction of the episcopal Anglican Church in 1662. But of Charlotte senior's parents and grandparents no direct evidence has been found of their occupation, wealth or social status. They are, however, likely to have been small tradesmen like the Bousfields. Charlotte's brother-in-law John Akerman, married to her sister Harriet, was an ironmonger as well as running the local Post Office. His son Henry carried on the business, and, like his father was agent for the West of England Fire & Life Company. Later he was also a grocer. The ironmongery business continues in the family to this day with an Akerman's ironmonger's in Seaton's main street.

Another way in which the Coxes were like the Bousfields was in their non-conformity. This was not unexpected, for, according to W.G. Hoskins, "Devon had become one of the most firmly Protestant counties in England within two or three generations of... 1549."[3] Two or three hundred years later this equated to high levels of Baptist and Congregationalist practice. Many years later Charlotte Collins later Bousfield wrote about her grandmother Mary: "At the seaside village (or now town) of Seaton lived my Grandmother Mrs Cox, a widow, with her only unmarried Daughter, my Mother. At that day the only place of worship in Seaton was the Church of England. At Beer, the next village, chiefly of Fishermen and their families was a small Nonconformist Chapel, to which my Mother, with hers, frequently walked for worship on Sunday. This at length proving too toilsome for my Grandmother [it involved climbing up over Beer Head and down the other side and of course back again] induced her to offer her house in Seaton for Non Con Worship."[4]

This was probably in 1823, when Mary was approaching 70. Soon she felt the need for something more formal and got a chapel built in Seaton. This was "on land belonging to my Mother's Mother, and adjoining the spot on which her house stood, in which were held the first Dissenting Services in the then village of little more than lace makers' and fishermen's houses, a thatched cottage next to my aunt's

house in my own recollection; where that stood being now the beginning of a row of substantial lodging houses." Starting nonconformist worship in the village had unexpected consequences. "For this a Preacher had to be found and this was at once supplied from Axminster 7 miles distant where was then what was called 'The Academy' for the reception of young men desirous of entering the Nonconformist Ministry and under the Presidency of the Rev'd Small. To this (now 'Western College' removed to Exeter, next to London) my Father Robert Collins then a youth of 21, went as a Student amongst several others. From this first College for Non Cons in Devon my Grandmother applied and a Student became the Preacher once each Sunday. Of these my Father was one. Both the work and the Widow's Daughter so interested him that at the end of his Term of 5 years in college, during which he ministered in his frequent turn in the Widow's home as preacher concluded by his marriage with her Daughter Charlotte E. Cox... at first opportunity after leaving College."[5] In her diary for October 1879 Charlotte added: "My cousin Mrs Hayward remembers my mother laying the foundation stone of the little Congregational chapel there." This chapel was opened in 1825 but was entirely replaced by a new one on a different site at the end of the century.

The Rev Robert Collins and his children

Robert Collins was born in Sherborne, Dorset, on April 17th 1802. In addition to Charlotte's reminiscences, some information on him is to be found in non-conformist records. These are, however, neither complete nor, in the case of his obituary in the Congregational Yearbook, entirely accurate, partly no doubt because his longevity meant that the events described were mostly far distant by the time it came to be written. Moreover his ancestry has proved elusive. The reason seems to be that the family was Congregationalist, whose records have not been entered in the IGI. Robert certainly had a long-lived father: in 1880 his granddaughter Charlotte wrote of him: "I remember quite well his (my father's) Father who looked old to me though younger than (my) Father now: He died aged about 85 more than 30 years ago." If she is correct – and she does not always get her figures right – he would have been born around 1760 and died in the late 1840s. There was also another son Henry, who married twice and had a son Henry or Harry by his first

wife. Sherborne is famous for its 'abbey' church with its wonderful fan vaulting; but the Collins must have worshipped in the fine – and then recently built – Congregational chapel, which survives although now an antiques market. Robert must have decided from an early age that he wanted to be a minister. As his daughter described, he attended the Nonconformist Academy in Axminster for five years from the age of 20 for this purpose.

This was not an academy in the usual sense. A minister was chosen by the local Chapel Board to instruct young men for the ministry in addition to running his church. The 'academy' consisted of him and was sited wherever he happened to be. Thus 'the Western Academy' or 'College' moved around the West Country to Taunton, Plymouth and then later to Exeter. When the Rev James Small was appointed to run it in 1794, he had already been minister at Axminster for ten years (in all he was minister there for 48 years up to his death in 1834). "Mr Small carried on the work from 1794–1828 with great satisfaction to the Fund Board and the churches from the tutorial point of view. But at times the number of students was discouragingly low. Fifty-three students [*in total*] passed through the institution while it was housed at Axminster. Mr Small was a man of untiring energy. Besides the sole charge of the Academy, he was accustomed to preach three times every Sunday and declined the proffered aid of an assistant tutor. When Mr Small resigned the theological tutorship on the ground of failing health, only one pupil remained."[6] In 1826 the records show that Robert Collins, who was a student there from 1822–6, had only one other fellow pupil in that year. No wonder he had to preach frequently at Seaton!

The wedding took place in Seaton Church on October 17th 1827. Charlotte was 29 and Robert 25. "Very soon after this event my Father received 'A Call' from the Con Congregation at Church at Braunton as an unordained Minister, they then being without a Pastor, he gladly accepted 'The Call'". In fact the official records show that he started there the year he finished college, that is, the year before he was married. "And soon my Grandmother decided on giving up her Seaton house and living with her new Son-in-law and his Wife at Braunton in the Manse belonging to and within the Church grounds of the place of worship built for one of the Ejected Clergy in the year 1662 when '2000 men of courage rare' left the Established Church and were distributed in places built for them as Non Con Churches throughout the country."

Braunton is at the far end of Devon from Seaton, in the north-west corner of the county. Although the parish borders the sea, in the village there is no sense of being by the seaside, for it lies well back from the Taw estuary and is separated from the sea by Braunton Burrows. The Burrows claim to be the largest sand-dune in England and in summer are covered by a wealth of wild flowers including huge numbers of orchids, in spite of being used as a training ground by the British Army ever since the D-Day preparations in 1945. Braunton's other claim to fame is that it is one of the only three or four English parishes to which still have an 'open field' (Laxton in Nottinghamshire is perhaps the best known of these). In the nineteenth century the village formed a 'T' with the main street winding up from the estuary into a steep-sided little valley, while another lane ran off to the left over the level ground to the fields, the Burrows and the sea beyond.

Robert was unordained minister at Braunton for four years 1826-30. As just noted, the family lived in the manse attached to the church. "Here I was born on July 10th 1828 about a year after the removal of my Grandmother's residence with them there... " Charlotte Eliza, the first of Robert and Charlotte's children, was to write later. The second, Robert Luther, followed on December 4th 1829. "But our stay there [at Braunton] was short as at the next two scenes of my Father's labours as Minister before his hall-mark of Ordination.... Hendon [sic], Dorset, was his next Call, where my dear good old Grandmother died. Of her piety, and much love for her little Granddaughter I am told but have no recollection."

The reason for the move to Hindon, a smaller village than Braunton and actually just in Wiltshire rather than Dorset, as Charlotte states, is not clear, unless it was its closeness to Sherborne, where Robert was born and doubtless still had relations. Here the family stayed another four or five years and the next two children were born: Alfred William in 1831 and Mary Jane two years later. By the middle of 1835 they were in Newnham-on-Severn in Gloucestershire and Robert was finally ordained, if his daughter Charlotte is right, for no independent record of this has been found, nor any explanation as to why ordination should have been so long delayed. His obituary written more than 60 years later claims that: "It is still remembered there [i.e. at Newnham] that the young minister was regularly seen in his garden at four o'clock in the morning." Perhaps he looked younger than he was, being in his mid to

late thirties during his time in the village and the father of seven children. Harriet Catherine was born in 1835 and finally the twins Maria Louisa and Frances Catherine in 1837.

While at Newnham "in addition to the Chapel he [Robert] had an engagement to go on alternate Sundays into the Forest of Dean to a rather large but long neglected Chapel of the Countess of Huntingdon distant about 3 miles from Newnham.[*] My recollections of some of the Sunday journeys begin which although short enough to me taken ordinarily on foot were frequently relieved by a wealthy farmer of the near town of Blakeney on the other side of the Forest sending a man and horse to a gateway opening to it from the high road from which he could ride through the Forest road to the Chapel. In fine weather he would occasionally take me with him, and when he mounted the horse at the gate I would be mounted before him on the saddle, his arms going around me to hold the reins and so he ambled with me through the Forest trees. But I recollect also that he had been provided with a heavy long cloak for his visitations in the Forest and under this I remember walking at his side covered from wind or rain when I was allowed to walk with him to one particular place called the Foundry where lived some rather smart Friends that he went to see on his weekday visitations."

Another recollection Charlotte had of this time was of the celebrations of Queen Victoria's Coronation. "The chief [recent event has been] the commemoration of the Jubilee of our Queen whose Coronation on the same day of the month 50 years ago was I can just remember celebrated in much the same manner as on the 21st of this present June. Then I was a little one living with my Parents in the little town of Newnham on the banks of the Severn, and my recollection [is] of a dinner for the inhabitants lain out in the streets."

The family stayed in Newnham until 1841, but not before the youngest child Frances Catherine had died in March 1839, scarcely eighteen months old. Then Robert was appointed minister at Tetbury,

(*) Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, 1707–81, provided the funds for a group of Calvinistic Methodists, which even after the Methodists' break with the Anglican Church used Anglican services. The sect was known as The Countess of Huntingdon Connexion. At the Ecclesiastical Census of 1851 (see below) it had over 100 chapels.

still in Gloucestershire but rather further east. An attractive stone-built Cotswold market town, with its central area today little changed from the mid-nineteenth century and earlier, Tetbury was then going through a period of stagnation following the loss of its pre-industrial wool trade. As for the non-conformists in the town "houses were registered in the name of Congregationalists in 1758 and of Independents in 1765, but little is known of the fortunes of the chapel until 1851 when, styled Independent, it had a congregation of about 130.[*] It was then in a period of decline which lasted until a change of minister in 1857. A new Congregational chapel near the south-west corner of The Chipping was opened in 1862 and had a congregation of over 200 in 1866."[7] A congregation of 130 was a very small group compared to the 1500 that the Methodist chapel at Newark housed. And as the minister's salary was paid for entirely by the congregation, it must have been a poor living indeed, for the 130 churchgoers could hardly have comprised more than 50 families. The Congregational manse, however, standing next to the new chapel, is a fine building, however, and would have made a comfortable family home. Presumably the family lived there. The old chapel, on the other hand, of which only the ruins survive, was very small. It was here that Charlotte and Edward were married in May 1853.

(*) The 1851 figure for the congregation is taken from the Ecclesiastical Census of that year, the first and only census of religion taken in Britain. The figures are flawed by the fact that no attempt was made to distinguish between 'oncers', 'twicers' and 'thricers', being the number of times worshippers attended church on the day of the census. Nevertheless it showed conclusively that even at the height of the Victorian era less than half the population (perhaps 40–45 percent) attended even one church service on Sundays, thus confirming the 1824 figures for Newark given above (Chapter Three). The census also provides valuable information about the spread of the various denominations around the country. The Church of England was still strong everywhere in England, comprising more than half of all churchgoers over most of the country but especially in the southern half. In the north, apart from 'Catholic' Lancashire, and in much of the Midlands Methodism challenged and in some counties, though not Nottinghamshire, surpassed it in numbers of attenders. In the central south but not in the far west, the other non-conformist sects had their greatest strength. So it is no surprise to find that Robert's career was spent in this part of the country.

Robert actually left Tetbury at the end of 1854, not in 1857 as the County History suggests. The family then moved on to Stockbridge in Hampshire, nine miles from Winchester. Within a year of moving another daughter Mary Jane had died at the age of 22, though apparently not in Stockbridge. Doubtless she had married or found work away from home, but she does not feature in the reminiscences of her sister Charlotte, so we can only speculate. Worse was to follow for the family. On 8th March 1858 at the age of 59 their mother Charlotte also died, after suffering for ten days from "spasms of the heart", according to her death certificate. Like so many women in this history, her character is all but invisible. In almost the only direct reference to her in her voluminous diaries, begun 20 years after her death, her daughter Charlotte wrote : "My dear Mother's almost last words were 'My sins are forgiven, I'm going to glory'." (That was in 1879: in 1911 Charlotte gave her mother's last words as: "Good-bye. I'm going to Glory. Oh! May I triumph so when all my warfare's past!") Many years later daughter Charlotte wrote to the wife of one of her many grandsons: "If by any chance you should go to, or through, Stockbridge in the little burying place of the Congregational Chapel to be seen my dear mother's grave and headstone. My Father lived at Stockbridge at the dates on it, and I lost my Mother and one dear Sister (who are both buried there) during his residence in the last house on the right hand side, at the lower end of the village now inhabited by a Doctor. How much I should like to see both house and grave again!" The sister was the other twin Maria Louisa, who died in June 1861 aged 24.

But tragically Maria was not the only one to die that summer. Charlotte described that terrible time in her diary in 1884: "To visit my dear brother Robert's grave (at the Cemetery) was my chief reason for the journey to Torquay. Twenty-three years ago I left home with Lottie a babe of six weeks old, and travelled with her in my arms over one thousand miles, first to Newark where Robert [the elder of her two brothers] then was living with his young wife to whom he had been married six months. Then after seeing him (strength and health gone) set out with some remaining hope for Matlock, I went on to Stockbridge where my youngest sister was dying, staying until the end with her, then on to Bristol to meet my poor Brother again at my sister Hattie's home as he rested there on his way to Torquay whither the Doctor at once ordered him. In a few more days the tidings came that he was

much worse and wished me to come, dear Hattie's delicate health making it dangerous for her to leave. So once more with my baby I went to him, left him at the end of a week in the hands of a Christian physician Dr Totley who ministered to him body and soul, and then at his earnest request went back to Newark to sell his furniture and settle his affairs there which was scarcely done before he passed away. Last Saturday was the first time I had visited the spot where as the inscription reads 'He sleeps with Jesus'. Before the journey from Newark back to Bedford was made a brother and a sister had both been taken from earth to heaven, and I reached home with Lottie three months old, thankful for the mercy which had kept us both in health."

All the siblings except Charlotte were afflicted in some way from their early years. Charlotte wrote of "the trial and suffering to which so many, yes and those dearest to me, have been the subjects of from childhood upwards... All three dear sisters... have passed away after years of weakness, my brothers too!" Some time before the events just described the final sister Harriet married and moved to Bristol, but by 1861 she too was in "delicate health". No information on her husband has been traced except that he was possibly Presbyterian by religious persuasion, for Charlotte wrote of the Presbyterian Chapel there "which was her regular place of worship during the few years of her short married life... with no child of her own". Because she was childless and Charlotte already had her fourth child, Harriet persuaded her sister to let her have the third, John, to stay with her. "We had been in our new home only a few days, when a letter from my dear sister Hattie called me away to Bristol to hers, telling me 'Johnnie' (who was then with her) was very ill of scarlet fever. It must have been 6th September 1863 that I left Papa with 'Willie', 'Eddie' and our baby of two years old [Lottie] to go to John. A week later his dangerous state had taken a turn for the better, but the dreadful disease laid hold of my last remaining sister, and twenty years ago this very week, I was moving between his room and hers until she passed away." She was not quite 28.

This left Charlotte and Alfred, the younger of her two brothers, as well of course as their father Robert. Alfred married and lived abroad, but no more is known of him except that he was dead by 1881, when an uncomprehending Charlotte wrote: "I wonder that I the eldest of six all spared to manhood and womanhood should be the only one left". But her two sisters-in-law also survived. Annie, Robert's widow, married

again and lived in Shirley near Southampton. She was not very fit, however; for in December 1883 on an unexpected visit, when she would have been in her early fifties, Charlotte found that: "Mr Sutton & Annie are both unable to walk any distance". Alfred's widow on the other hand survived much longer. She stayed abroad, however, only returning to look after her father-in-law in his great age.

Robert himself stayed on in Stockbridge for another nine years after his wife died, until he was 65. He then retired and moved to Alresford, though it is possible he went there the previous year 1866. "He lingered awhile in Alresford, then joined the church at Spencer Street, Leamington", according to his obituary.[8] In fact he first moved briefly to Wootton just outside Bedford, where Charlotte now lived with her family. He was living there next to the Wesleyan Chapel in 1869.

Later still, but sometime before 1878 when Charlotte's diaries begin, he moved to 109 Belvedere Road, Upper Norwood, close to the resited Crystal Palace in south London, with his wife Sarah. For in 1876 he married again. His obituary claims that he moved "to be near his fourth wife's brother" who was also a Congregationalist minister; but although her diaries start a full 20 years after her mother's death, Charlotte gives no hint of any other wives apart from her mother and the woman she usually referred to as 'Mrs Collins'. Sarah came from Norwich and was one of a very religious family. Not only was her brother, the Rev S.A. Tipple, a minister, but her sister married an Anglican parson, the Rev Doherty, who had parishes first in Leeds and then Bristol. Sarah was not only much younger than Robert, but also two years junior to Charlotte, her step-daughter. Happily this did not prevent the two women getting on well together: "Mrs Collins is a good wife and seems to make his [Robert's] pleasure and comfort her continual study. I feel most thankful that he has such a cheerful companion for his latter years." The following year (1880) on the birth of his first great-grandchild, Sarah wrote to Charlotte: "The dear Great-grandpapa! Well, here he is hale and hearty, happy and busy, enjoying life to the full, and no wonder, because it is all sweetened by the prospect of a higher, purer, enduring life beyond." Charlotte's diaries contain many entries on her visits with other members of her family to Norwood to "Father and Grandma Collins" (her alternative name for her step-mother, never using her Christian name in her diaries) and of their stays in Bedford. In June 1883, for example, she writes: "After an

Robert Collins in old age with members of his family. This may be his 90th birthday party, though his daughter Charlotte's diary makes no mention of one. His daughter Charlotte sits on his right and her husband Edward Tenney Bousfield stands behind him. Most of their children are in the back row, but unfortunately Robert's wife 'Mrs Collins' if still alive cannot be identified.

absence of two years Father and Grandma Collins are again visiting us. They came on Tuesday and intend to spend three weeks with us. Father is wonderfully well and young in many ways as I have known him for years." Robert was then 81 years old.

They lived in reasonable comfort with a resident maid, though the source of their income is a mystery. The proximity of Crystal Palace was a great benefit, and many outings were made to it for concerts and exhibitions. Robert continued to be very fit right up into his nineties, but Sarah, though so much younger, did not survive him. "The saddest event that has occurred to us as a family from the time I began to write these pages took place in September [1893]... Dear Grandma Collins who we fervently hoped would be spared to continue the loving

devoted Guardian of my Father until his end came, has been taken from him after nearly 18 years of faithful companionship." Robert, now 91, needed someone to look after him. He solved the problem himself: " My brother Alfred's Widow who has been away from England since his death years ago, has at my Father's request returned to live with him [since] January this year [1894]... His old servant Susan is his nurse, and no one else can do anything to please him as well."

Susan proved to be too dominating for Charlotte's liking, however: " I found Father very much as usual, but he is evidently not very happy with his present companionship and talks of coming to live at Bedford." Then later that year: "Father was better than I had seen him for some time, but more and more under the influence of his servant." Before the end of the year matters came to a head: "December 31st 1895: I have to-day returned from Hendon after a week's absence from home, called away in the first instance by duty to my aged father, who has at length been induced to part with an over-bearing Servant, who, from having lived with him some years before the death of his late wife, had assumed so much, and had been yielded to so much by him, as to have been a great cause of anxiety and annoyance to me in all my recent visits to Norwood. That he might think less of her leaving, I went to him immediately to spend Xmas, sorely against my inclination, I must acknowledge, for I left my Husband to make the best of his with Hattie and Mr Hamilton, who were excellent company for each other doubtless." The previous year Robert had attended a big family gathering at Hendon, the home of Charlotte's eldest son Will and family: " [At] our Xmas party... four generations were represented. Grandpapa was very gently dealt with by all, and although much aged since Grandma's death, he was on the whole very happy."

Charlotte's diaries break off for several years the following year, but happily when she restarted them she recalled his death: " I went to see him on the Friday before his death and was surprised to find him in bed. I had not had the least intimation of his illness from his housekeeper. He felt sick the previous day, undressed himself as he had always done, and went to bed, from which he never rose again and died the following Wednesday." That was December 16th 1898. He was 96 years old. "He had lived through the greater part of the century" his obituarist wrote: "and at the time of his demise was probably the oldest Congregational minister in the world. Yet within four weeks of the end

he was able without assistance to climb the hill to St. Aubyn's Congregational Church, and at the last only kept his bed ten days. He could well remember the alarms connected with the threatened invasion of Napoleon Buonaparte, and his own part as a boy already in his teens in the national rejoicings over the victory of Waterloo [in 1815]... Remembered for his almost martial presence, his great age, and the blameless excellence of his long career, the good old man rests in Christ." [9]

Charlotte Eliza Collins as a young woman

Charlotte was the only one of his children to survive him. After her birth at Braunton in 1828 (see above), her few recorded recollections of her childhood have already been quoted. Nothing is known of her education, though she clearly received one, and learnt enough French to be able to obtain lodgings in Paris and not to feel completely tongue-tied when she was on holiday in Switzerland fifty or sixty years later. (Knowledge of French was essential for becoming a governess. Charlotte and Emily Bronte, some ten years older than our Charlotte, went to Brussels in the 1840s for the specific purpose of acquiring the language in order to become governesses.) As one would expect, she knew her Bible and non-conformist history, and was always enthusiastically religious: " I was a collector for the London Missionary Society for many years as a child." As she later acknowledged, her upbringing was very influential in forming her attitudes: "For my earliest surroundings as the child of a Christian minister, the restraining influence of my home education to keep me from the desire even for those pleasures and follies of youth for which so many are trained... I look back on with a grateful heart." The very puritan outlook she developed condemned both novels and more especially the theatre as at best a frivolous waste of time, and at worst as the work of the Devil. Dancing, card-playing and all forms of gambling were likewise to be avoided.[*] In middle age she was to write: "I am sure my children find me puritanical, narrow-minded and strait laced." No intellectual, she was nevertheless a prolific writer – her diaries amounting to some

(*) These were typical sentiments for strict non-conformists. The famous campaigning journalist W.T. Stead, much admired by Charlotte, wrote: "In my youth... the Theatre... was the Devil's

600,000 words – and she also like to turn her hand to verse, though virtually none of this survives.

She could also play the harp, and like all women of every class for centuries, she could sew. It is perhaps teaching this as well as the three 'Rs' that she earned her living. A Congregational minister with a large family could not provide enough for any of his children to live in idleness, and at a young age she had to earn her living. As the Bronte sisters were bemoaning at this time, for an intelligent young woman there was little option but to become a governess. Not all governesses were private tutors; many acted as assistant teachers in the small private schools which proliferated in the nineteenth century, such as the one Charlotte's future mother-in-law ran. Referring to what was doubtless her first job, Charlotte later wrote: "I spent a whole year [in Buckingham] in compliance with a request of a Governess who lived in our family when I was a girl of about 16, taking the place of her sister [who was ill] in the school there, Father coming to visit me instead of my returning home for Xmas." This would have been in 1844, when the family lived in Tetbury. Two or three years later she was in Newark working in Frances Bousfield's school.

The date and occasion of Charlotte's first meeting with Edward remain uncertain, although something can be inferred from various oblique references in her later diaries. But the place of the meeting is known: Bargate House "the old home and birthplace of all grandmama's [that is, Frances's] children, where I first saw Papa [as she usually referred to Edward]." This was probably in the late 1840s, when Charlotte was around 20 years old or a little more and presumably already working as a governess at Frances's school. In her later writings she never mentions the circumstances which led to her taking a job in Newark. But Buckingham is no great distance away and she had already been working in a school. So there is little mystery about her coming to Newark. But by the spring of 1850 she was away again; for in March 1880 she wrote: "Papa reminds me it is nearly 30 years since we began our letter writing." She was certainly back in Newark in the spring of 1851, being listed in the census then as a governess at Bargate

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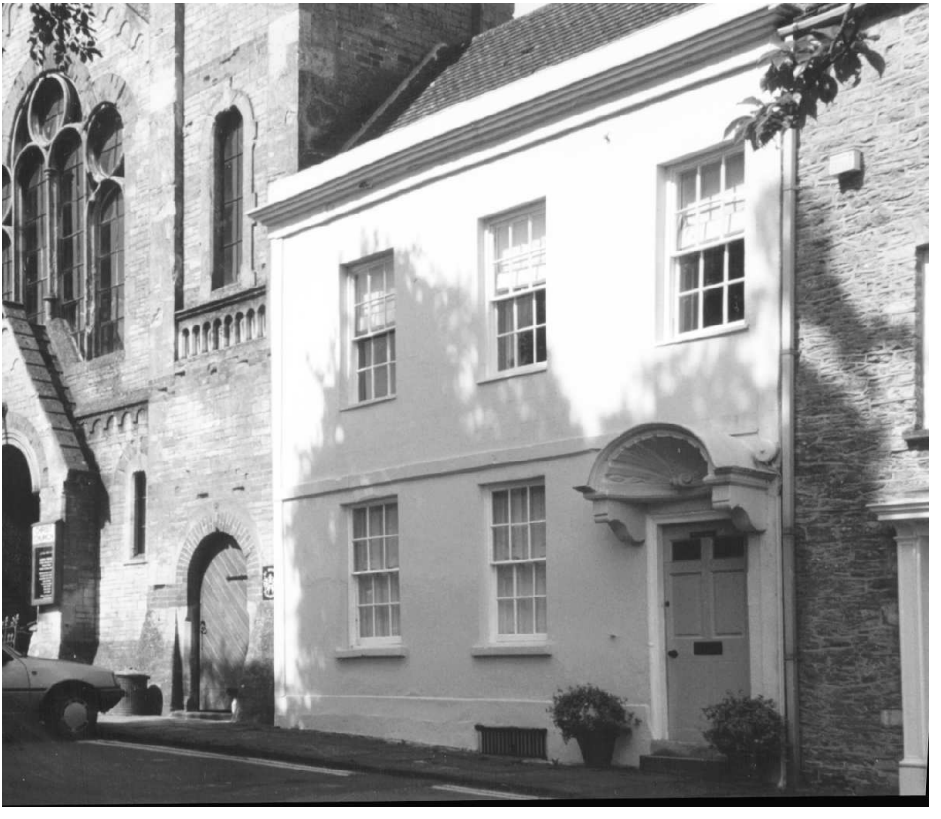
Chapel... Cards... were the Devil's Prayer book: and... the Novel... was regarded as a kind of Devil's Bible." He too was the child of a Congregationalist minister (see A.N. Wilson *The Victorians* p463).

House. She had, however, left once more by the autumn at the latest. "I have many pleasant associations from the days when [the Crystal Palace] stood in Hyde Park, when I paid a last visit there with my Father, the day before it closed [that is, October 14th 1851], by a day trip from my home at Tetbury . My ardent lover joined us there for the sake of about 2 hours stay coming from Newark." (One wonders if it would now be possible 150 years later to take a day trip from Tetbury to London and back by train.)

She and Edward were married in Tetbury on March 24th 1853. She was 25 and a year older than him. They went on honeymoon to Bangor in North Wales – the first Bousfield honeymoon we know of – staying with Edward's married sister Fanny and her husband John Moore. "This day 32 years ago," Charlotte later wrote, "Papa and I had just arrived at Bangor from Birmingham the day after our wedding. We have today been recalling some of the pleasant trips we took during our stay with Aunt Fanny and Mr Moore." Back in Newark they first set up home in a new area of the town – Eastern Terrace off Beacon Hill Road – the precise house cannot now be identified. Here their first child, named William Robert after his grandfathers but always known as Will, was born on January 12th 1854. Later they moved to a house in Northgate close to Bargate House. It was doubtless a better house, for it had two sitting-rooms. The second son Edward Collins, known as Eddie or Ted, was born here on November 28th 1855.

But Edward was keen to set up his own business, and probably sometime in 1857 the family moved to the little village of Sticklepath on the northern edge of Dartmoor. Doubtless Charlotte's Devonshire origins influenced the choice. Nevertheless it seems a strange one. Sticklepath is remote today even with the dual carriageway passing within a couple of miles. 150 years ago it must have been very isolated. True, there was a railway three or four miles away, joining Okehampton with Exeter, but this hardly made it the most convenient place for distributing goods. Whatever business Edward engaged in – he was certainly in manufacturing and we can only assume in the light of his future career that it was agricultural implements – it was hard going; Charlotte later characterised the place as "the scene of our early struggles." Sensibly Edward quickly came to the conclusion that he would do better working for someone else, and "driven by his losses in



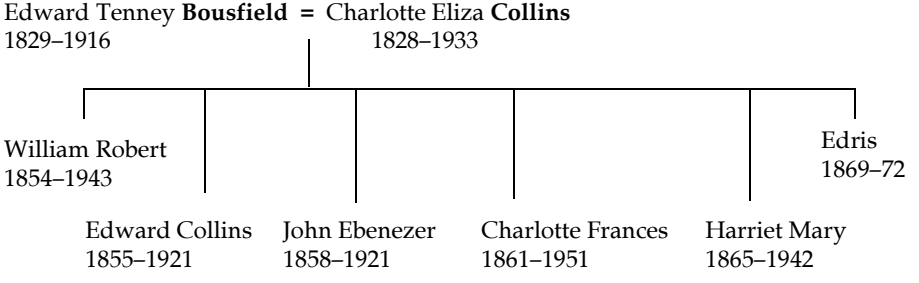
The Congregationalist manse, Tetbury. It is likely that this is the manse where the Collins family lived and from which Charlotte and Edward were married. The church alongside was built after Robert and family had moved on, the tiny chapel on a different site, where Charlotte and Edward were married, being pulled down.

two short... years" gave up the business and was lucky enough to find a job in Bedford. Even during this short time and with two small children Charlotte had found the energy to set up a Sunday School at the Wesleyan chapel in the neighbouring village of Belstone. Two exciting events marked their stay in Sticklepath. The house they lived in was by a stream and one day the young Ted fell out of a window straight into it, his mother jumping in after to save him. The other excitement was the birth of their third son John Ebenezer on August 1st 1858. A month later they had packed up and gone. For in September Edward "accepted

the managership of the Britannia Works, then just built" in Bedford. It was a momentous decision, which determined the whole course of their life thereafter.

Chapter Nine

The Bousfields in Bedford 1858–1903



The Bousfields in Bedford – the early years

From their arrival in September 1858 the family stayed in Bedford nearly 45 years. Little record remains of the first twenty of these. Charlotte's diaries do not begin until the spring of 1878 and contain few references to the intervening period. Moreover apart from a single short letter from the second daughter Hattie no other personal record of the family at this time has survived. Thus only the bare bones of their daily life over this time can be described. Charlotte was 30 years old when they arrived in Bedford, Edward not yet 29, Will was 4 and Ted 2. John, as we have seen, was scarcely a month old. They set up home in 41 Cauldwell Street on the south side of the town, only yards along the road from the Britannia Works and just over the bridge from the town centre. Unfortunately the house does not survive, so that no further information on how they lived can be gained from it. We can say, however, that it was large enough to accommodate one resident servant as well as the family. Their fourth child, named Charlotte after her mother but always known as Lottie, was born here in 1861.

A couple of years later they moved into a house which they had built on Ampthill Road, one of the main roads leading south out of Bedford. "Twenty years ago this very month [i.e. September 1863] this house was finished, and we took possession of it as our own, calling it 'Alpha Villa' because the very first house built in a neighbourhood newly divided into building sites." The area, which they named Southend, was "formerly the site of the County Asylum and cut up into allotments, of which we used the first, and thought ourselves quite in the country." The house was of a substantial size, square in plan, with three reception rooms – drawing-room, dining-room and breakfast-room – plus a conservatory on the ground floor. It also had a substantial piece of land attached to it, enough not only to provide a site for a chapel but also for an orchard. Across the road they also rented the field opposite the house. In 1881 they bought half of this; then a couple of years later Charlotte wrote in her diary: "Papa asked what his [birthday present to me] should be and I told him 'a bit more field'; for the piece he has reserved after re-selling Mr Pearse all but the strip containing the trees, is so narrow at the far end that to be able to walk through it, as I am very desirous to be able to do, he must get sufficient for a pathway, the which would be a very pretty private walk under the trees I value so much." All in all it was clearly a very pleasant place to live.

Here a second daughter Harriet, known as Hattie, was born in 1865, followed by a third, Edris, in January 1869. But Edris survived only three years dying on February 2nd 1872. Charlotte of course never forgot her youngest, and often referred to her in her diaries. On her tenth birthday she wrote: "If her life had been spared, she would have been ten years old to-day... When her merry prattle ceased a gloom seemed to fall over the house, and when she was taken it lost a sunbeam that can never again illuminate it... but with so many dear ones left I can only be thankful..."

By this time Charlotte and Edward had already been working hard to meet the religious needs, as they saw them, of the new population growing up around them. At first they followed the example of Charlotte's grandmother by holding services in their own house, which they did for a couple of years from around 1870. But again following her grandmother Charlotte was determined to have a proper church. The local newspaper, the *Bedfordshire Times and Independent,* later commented: "The progress of Wesleyan Methodism in Bedford has

Alpha Villa, Southend, Bedford. Edward had this house built in 1863 for his growing family. It is larger than the frontage suggests, being double depth. The dormer windows in the roof are modern, but side windows show the attic was used perhaps as bedrooms for staff.

frequently been the subject of remark. In the year 1864 a second chapel of large capacity was built in St Mary's, but until about two years ago [that is, 1871] probably the most ardent Methodist never entertained the idea of erecting another chapel in the same parish. The indomitable perseverance, however, of Mr and Mrs Bousfield has brought such a scheme successfully before their friends, who, after due consideration...

"Our little chapel" – Southend Methodist church, Bedford. It owes its existence essentially to the determination and hard work of Charlotte. Unlike some Methodist churches in Bedford, it remains a place of worship.

resolved to assist cordially in the undertaking."[1] Edward had bought a double plot on the new estate for £300 and he now sold part of one of these to the Trustees of the new chapel for £150.

The new chapel was sited on Ampthill Road just across the small side street Offa Road from Alpha Villa. The corner stones were laid at a special ceremony in May 1873 with 'Mrs T. Barker of Stockport', that is Edward's sister Jenny, laying one of them. Presumably she was chosen because she had lived in Bedford with her mother for a time before getting married. Six months later the building was finished and on November 12th the official opening service was held. The whole project cost £850 and only £110 was owing at the end of the day after a tea provided by Charlotte "with the assistance of a number of ladies". At the same time the church tower "was also erected by a few friends of the Rev John Moore as a tribute to his memory".[2] As mentioned above

John Moore was the first husband of Edward's elder sister Fanny. Even after the chapel was finished and officially handed over to the trustees, Edward continued to be financially responsible for it. He gave this up after three years, but when in 1890 it needed renovating, he offered to defray the cost "apart from collections at the opening services", according to his wife.

"Our little chapel", as Charlotte called it, was not merely a convenient place for Sunday worship, but more importantly a manifestation of the central place that religion held in the life of the family. Edward was a lay preacher and held other offices in the local Methodist organisation. Charlotte had been brought up a Congregationalist, but had joined the Methodists on moving to Bedford: "I remember the trial it was to me when we first came to Bedford to dissociate myself from the Congregational church in which I was born and bred for the Wesleyan into which the force of circumstances seemed to thrust me, but having conjointly with my husband been able to accomplish some little work in it for God... and having the satisfaction of knowing that all our children have under its ministry... been led to be 'stepping heavenwards', I have no regret that it was so." As a convinced, indeed instinctive, non-conformist, she opposed the special privileges which the Anglican state bestowed on its adherents. Later in life (December1905) in a reference to French politics, she was to write: "The separation of Church and State... in my opinion would be beneficial to Catholic and protestant countries alike. A dominant religion, ignoring all others, is not proof of the honour of the State for God's Church."

The "some little help" Charlotte referred to covered not only the building of the chapel but also all the many and varied good works, all related to the Methodist Church in Bedford, she became involved in: Mother's meetings, running the Sunday School, Sales of Work to raise funds, teas on various occasions, distributing tracts, Zanana working parties. For twenty years and more these "useful" activities took up a major part of her time, and were the focus of her great energy, as well as the outward and visible expression of her faith. It is they, together with the family and the many heart-felt expressions of God's goodness and mercy, that fill the pages of her diary. This of course belies the accepted view of middle-class Victorian women as concerned mainly with an endless round of empty social 'calls'. It was most definitely not true of

Charlotte that 'calling' was "by far the most important activity of a middle-class Victorian lady", as claimed by one recent historian of a diary.[3] Her own diary shows calling was an insignificant part of her life. At the same time as doing all these good works, she was of course bringing up five, indeed for three years six, children. Naturally she involved them in her activities, just as she had been by her parents when she was young.

Charlotte's diary was begun in March 1878. She was on holiday on the Isle of Wight with her three youngest children John, Lottie and Hattie "all being out of health". Change of scenery was a favourite Victorian remedy for illness so "Ventnor has again and again been our resort when change was needed, with the desired result." Her great energy demanded satisfaction in terms of varied activity, and the need to visit the island was as much hers as the children's. The immediate impulse to write a diary came from the celebration of her and Edward's Silver Wedding with their children in Ventnor. Its opening pages describe a happy, close-knit family, comfortable though not rich in material terms. They were also comfortable with themselves, confident in their relationships with each other and with God, who was a continual presence in the lives of all of them. Despite the trauma caused by the death of Edris, they knew how lucky they were – the death of children could strike at all families from the highest to the lowest in the land. Beyond the normal anxieties experienced by parents over their growing and maturing children, they had no real concerns. Economically their time so far at Bedford had coincided with a generally rising prosperity particularly in agriculture, serving which Edward made his living (see below). And he worked for a company, whose success underpinned their lifestyle, a success that Edward himself was in large measure responsible for. As Charlotte wrote in 1883: "We [have] had on the whole in this home... such a freedom from anxiety in temporal matters generally as we could not possibly have enjoyed if we had been permitted to carry out our own inclinations, and Papa had continued in business on his own account." The move to Bedford had proved a great success, not least as a result of their own efforts.

Charlotte and the Temperance Movement

But after the triumph with the building of "our little chapel" Charlotte needed a new challenge, a new outlet for her energies in addition to all the good works she was already undertaking. This was especially so because her domestic duties reduced as her sons left home. The diary only briefly supplied this. But it was the best part of four years before the right opportunity presented itself. Then late in 1882, with her two eldest sons married, came a momentous change. She became involved in the Temperance movement. "Papa and I were abstainers from the time we were married until rather more than 12 years ago when I had an illness." A London doctor persuaded her to take "a little stimulant", something she continued to use when she felt her health required it. She brought the children up likewise "without ever allowing them a drop except as medicine". Around September of that year "I allowed my name to be put on the Committee of the 'Blue Ribbon Army' which has as yet been little talked of in Bedford". In November "anxious to throw the whole of my influence into the cause I have lately espoused... I have done what I never did before, signed a pledge and adopted the Blue Ribbon." It changed her life. Thereafter the promotion of complete abstinence became the main focus of her endeavours to be 'useful', as she termed it, to her neighbours and the wider community. But more than that, it became her passionate concern, and even though she was already virtually teetotal, she threw herself into the work of the movement with all the zeal of a convert.

For signing the pledge did more than change her life. For the next dozen years fighting the curse of alcohol dominated it. A year after the initial 'Missionary Meetings' a branch of the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA) was formed in Bedford, with Charlotte as a Committee member. In May 1884 she was appointed local delegate to the Annual Meeting of the Association in London. This opened a new chapter in her life. She began mixing with the leaders of the movement, including Mrs Lucas, sister to the celebrated politician John Bright, and taking part in the public discussions. As a result of this, she was proposed as a member of the committee formed to set up a home for 'inebriate' women in London. The task of finding a suitable property fell to her and she spent much time over six months from November 1885 tramping around south London looking for one.

Eventually in April a house was found and she arranged to furnish it and appoint the staff. But things started to go wrong immediately: the matron in charge left, and for three months she had to run the home herself. It was not until September that she was able to leave it as a going concern.

At the same time she was being asked to help form new branches of the BWTA in the villages around Bedford. This in turn led to her being asked to speak in many parts of the country to promote the aims of the Association. She did this with enthusiasm and no little success, making much use of the opportunity to meet new people and enjoy new experiences. On one trip, for example she stayed with the granddaughter of the artist Joseph Wright of Derby in a house filled with his paintings. On another she stayed at the home in Oxford of Dr (later Sir James) Murray "who is engaged with the help of younger University men in compiling an English Dictionary." On a third, this time to Liverpool, she visited various Catholic institutions, including a "training school for lady teachers". "Amidst all that was so pleasant, the sight of some fifty charming looking girls over eighteen years of age, themselves all educated in the errors of Romanism and destined to train so many of the coming generation... in the same made me feel sad."

But not for the only time in her life Charlotte's work on a pet project ended – at least temporarily – in tears. In April 1890 several members of the 'Home' Committee criticised her handling of an incident at the home, and left her with no option but to resign. She was happy to be finished with the stress and hassle that her position as 'Home' Secretary entailed, but bitterly resentful of the way it was done and the lack of appreciation of all her efforts on its behalf. As a sop to her feelings she was elected Vice-President of the Committee, but took little part in its work thereafter. The incident itself seems to have been used as an excuse to get rid of her, so one must look elsewhere for an explanation of the Committee's action. It is noteworthy that this was not the only time she was pushed out by jealous or resentful colleagues. It had happened with the running of Southend chapel. Her diary entry of 22nd June 1879 notes: "Old Mr Howard asked me how it was we had altered in our activity and labours for the place that he always admired and loved to preach in, and I told him we had given up the work to those who thought we 'took too much upon us.' "

It happened again in 1884 when she met opposition to her organising a Temperance Association tea in some Methodist Assembly Rooms in Bedford: "The same individuals who endeavoured to thwart the efforts made to get the Circuit funds supplemented during my husband's Stewardship have never forgiven our success, and have now taken another opportunity to cause me annoyance..." It was to happen again when the Schoolroom for the chapel was finally built. Whether she came across as 'holier than thou', or appeared too dominating or intolerant of criticism, is not clear. She may well have lacked warmth in her relationships as well as a political sense, failing to keep key people 'on-side'. Nevertheless it is difficult to avoid the feeling that she had cause for complaint at her treatment over the 'Home'. This might very well have never got off the ground but for her exceptional efforts. And Ted, who had given his services as doctor to the inmates largely free over several years, was similarly unceremoniously discarded some time later by the same committee, an event which caused Charlotte even greater distress then her own dismissal.

She threw herself into her work for the Temperance cause with the BWTA both close to home and around the country as described above. But three years later the Association split when a charismatic and autocratic new President persuaded a majority of delegates at the national conference in 1893 to accept a radical new agenda, widening the Association's aims to include a variety of other topical causes including votes for women. While not opposed to the new objectives, Charlotte believed they would fatally distract from the their Temperance work, and with many another left to form the Women's Total Abstinence Union (WTAU). The Bedford branch of the Association similarly split in two and Charlotte found herself President of one of the new associations, and this continued its work much as before. A year later she faced a new challenge. The management of the Bedford Workhouse was found to be grossly corrupt. The Master was said to be "skimming the milk served to children and inmates [and] giving them third-rate flour, while he was himself living in luxury." The committee, known as Poor Law Guardians, whose responsibility it was to oversee the Master, seemed to connive at his abuses. With the majority of them due for re-election, opposing candidates were put up including, for the first time in its history, six women. All these were duly elected, Charlotte among them, in December 1894. For the next

three years with characteristic energy and concern for the disadvantaged she worked for improvements to the inmates' diet and general conditions.

Daily life in Bedford

Socially and financially the family had come a long way from the time a hundred years earlier when Edward's grandfather Edward had moved to Newark and set himself up in business alongside his father-in-law the butcher. They were not as wealthy as the families their sons married into, but they were certainly comfortably off: "We are not rich, but God has given us enough to place us beyond anxiety" Charlotte wrote in 1884. They were frugal in their daily living. Outside the family and visiting ministers, they spent little on entertaining at home. Charlotte and her daughters cannot have dressed expensively, for her diaries mention only occasional visits to dress shops. Edward if anything was a careless dresser; his golden wedding photograph shows him in a shabby coat alongside his smartly dressed family. On the whole, however, they enjoyed the comforts of life without being materialistic. Charlotte would list the presents given within the family on special occasions, their silver wedding, for example, or Hattie's 21st birthday, but beyond that is more concerned with cleanliness and tidiness than luxury. She is horrified when Will furnishes his new home for his bride too sparsely, but never describes the many homes she goes into in any detail.

Their own way of life was not cheap. They must have spent a large amount on travel expenses, for they take frequent journeys. And Charlotte is not slow to send for a doctor if any member of the family is ill, she took to heart the unexpected deaths not only of her own siblings, but of friends and neighbours. Yet home improvements and redecorations were undertaken as required; resident servants constantly employed; extra holidays and visits taken as desired. And when in London full advantage was taken of the capital's facilities to attend concerts, art galleries and other exhibitions. Later on a second home was leased and furnished – see below. But it was not until late in 1878 that Edward first acquired a horse, called 'Charlie', for their private use. The following May he bought a "nice little open carriage", which Charlotte called a chaise. They also had the use of a Brougham, a more formal closed carriage usually driven by a coachman. The diary is

unclear about when this was acquired; the first mention is in the same month as that for the chaise, in an entry describing "driving together for the first time in the chaise which we enjoyed riding in much more than the Brougham. I am so glad [Papa] has a carriage that he will always use instead of walking when he has to go out [to preach] on Sundays."

Moreover Edward put up considerable sums of money to set his sons up in their chosen professions. He also guaranteed their early income so that they could get married, through being able to offer their respective brides the standard of living the parents of each of them were prepared to accept for their daughters. His daughters too he paid for, in Hattie's case for several years at art school, which also entailed paying for lodgings in London. He also helped his niece Fanny Moore when she was left on her own with a young child to bring up. But even through the great depression of the 1880s and on into Edward's retirement the family's way of life was maintained. They seem financially impervious to outside influences. Charlotte's diaries contain no suggestion of monetary anxieties and mention no single occasion when a desired activity or expenditure is put off through lack of funds.

This cannot have been simply because finance was Edward's responsibility, and Charlotte, on whose diaries we rely for information, was kept in ignorance of the true situation. Charlotte was far too shrewd for that. Clearly they were careful with the way they used their money, and careful with their investments. But you cannot invest sensibly if you have no money to invest; you cannot live well over a long period if you have no money coming in. Charlotte's general silence on money matters leaves us with few clues about their income. Edward inherited nothing from his father; in the early years they must have lived entirely on his earnings, on which no information survives. Nevertheless by 1878 he had managed to save some money. By then he owned some Turkish Bonds and Chinese Stock. Selling the latter in 1879 for a profit he bought for letting a row of cottages in Bedford from old Mr Howard, the founder of the firm he worked for, with the proceeds. He also owned some property for letting in Clapham Junction in London, though when and why this was acquired is not known. No doubt he also had some other investments over time, but we have no information on this. The property, however, cannot have been a major source of income. The other sources of income were his salary from Howard's and his royalties from the products sold incorporating

features covered by the many patents he took out with James Howard (see next chapter). No figures can be put to either of these, and we have no knowledge of what agreement he had with Howard about patent payments. But Howard's was a very large operation and after some years probably the vast majority of the products sold by the company incorporated Edward's designs. Royalties could well have come to constitute a significant proportion of his annual earnings. Moreover they would have continued after he retired. They probably explain why the family was able to live so well and so free of financial anxiety even though he was only an employee.

But not only did the family live in a style that belied Edward's job status. Their sons all succeeded in marrying into families significantly wealthier than them. The census returns show that both the Kellys, Will's in-laws, and the Southwells (John's) ran domestic establishments far larger than the Bousfields; the Kellys moreover had two homes, one in London's Maida Vale and another on the Isle of Wight. The financial position of Clara Henman, Ted's wife-to-be, and her mother was no doubt affected by the early death of Clara's father, but her two brothers both ran very substantial farms. The two elder Bousfield boys seem to have little difficulty in getting their bride's fathers to agree to their respective matches: indeed in Ted's case the opposition came from his mother, not from Clara's side. Both young men were well on the way to becoming professionally qualified and this must have greatly promoted their suits. John without such qualification had much greater difficult gaining acceptance from Mattie's parents. He had to wait much longer and his father Edward to guarantee a sufficient income. But all this would not have been enough if other things had not been right. First, as noted, their parents maintained a sufficient standard of living, not wholly different from the future in-laws. A second important factor was doubtless their religious enthusiasm. Victorians were in general impressed by a strong religious faith provided it was expressed in respectable ways. Edward and Charlotte fulfilled this criterion admirably.

A striking feature of their daily life as revealed by Charlotte's diaries is the ease and frequency with which they moved around. Visits to friends and relatives, trips to London, even daily commuting from Bedford to London as Ted did for a time, were undertaken without a second thought. Charlotte travelled all over the country for the

Temperance movement. Holidays were taken not merely to the remoter parts of Britain but also to the Continent as a matter of course. And when they reached the railway destination, onward travel by public or privately hired horse-drawn transport was seldom a problem. Only the Channel crossing caused them concern, for they were almost all of them poor sailors.

The annual holiday presumably started with Edward's job in Bedford. As an employee he doubtless had a fixed entitlement, which from the diary entries was a fortnight, though he sometimes took an extra day, using the Monday to travel home. From the time Charlotte's diaries start in 1878 the holiday was usually taken quite late in the year by modern standards, September or even October, but this was dictated by the demands of Edward's work at the time developing and testing harvesting machinery. In time the Isle of Wight was superceded by other resorts: the West Country – Devon more often than Cornwall – as well as Wales, the Lake District and once to Scotland. Then in 1889 the family ventured to Switzerland. A young Swiss friend of Lottie's and Hattie's persuaded first the girls and then their parents to go. They also knew another Swiss family, the Combe's, whom they visited. They stopped in Paris on the return journey. While the natural grandeur of the country as well as the Protestant piety and low prices they found in Switzerland enchanted Charlotte, expensive, hedonist, Catholic Paris did not appeal. Walking and sightseeing were the main activities in both Britain and Switzerland. They were again in Switzerland in 1892. In both cases Charlotte's lengthy diary entries reveal her great enthusiasm for the place.

Charlotte would also take the children away on her own if she felt the need for it. In the early years the Isle of Wight was the main if not the only destination. Visits here certainly started no later than 1862 (diary entry 23rd October 1878) and, as noted above, were felt to be as much therapeutic as recreational. Visits could last a long time – the one in 1878 covered some six weeks including the whole of March – and were not restricted to one a year. That same year the family also spent a week in Paris in June for the Exhibition, and was again on the Isle of Wight in October for the annual holiday. Apart from Switzerland, they never stayed in a hotel, preferring to rent lodgings. These were not self-catering, but gave them a private sitting-room in addition to the bedrooms. For Charlotte's Temperance trips, accommodation in a

private home was always provided, just as the family put up visiting ministers and the like at their home in Bedford.

The family holidays also gave the servants the opportunity to have one too. For visits between the family, however, servants were often brought as well, particularly if children were included in the party. When they first moved to Bedford and lived at Caudwell Street, the Bousfields had a single live-in servant. But at Alpha Villa they had two – a cook and a housemaid – as well as a gardener, who also looked after the horse and vehicles. Charlotte must have been a good mistress, strict but fair; for, although servants seldom obtrude into the record of her daily doings, their absence or inadequacy hardly ever upsets the household routine. Of course there were changes: one couple emigrated to Australia, the "faint-hearted widow", who replaced the wife as housemaid, proving entirely inadequate within a couple of days [diary entry 19th December 1883). But even this caused little trouble: a "reliable char-woman" was quickly found as a temporary replacement. Even the 'reformed' alcoholic Harriet, former inmate of the 'Home', was kept on for years, until the discovery of her renewed drinking and thieving led to her dramatic departure. Servants were of course essential to the maintenance of the middle-class lifestyle. Although the female members of the family undertook a significant share of the housework, servants gave them considerable freedom of action, allowing time for example for the tremendous amount of good works that the Bousfield women undertook. Servants also made their frequent absences from home possible, as well as the lengthy visits to Alpha Villa by family and friends. And the notable silence of Charlotte's dairies on the activities of young children demonstrates to how great an extent they were cared for by 'Nurse'.

But servants did not remove Charlotte's responsibility for ensuring the smooth working of the household. In a diary entry for January 1879, which provides a rare insight into the daily routine of the family, she berates herself "for lying too long in bed in the morning [which] has so often interfered with my morning devotion.... Often have I left my room without prayer and returned after breakfast for it as a duty not to be omitted, but with my mind so preoccupied with the duties of the day that to withdraw from them for real intercourse with God was impossible, and I have found I have been planning my dinner when in the attitude of worshipping him. My resolve is to rise when I am called

instead of remaining in bed [for] ten or fifteen minutes." She made no comment on whether she succeeded in this aim.

A second home

From July 1887 they leased a house in Apsley Heath, a village a dozen or so miles south of Bedford. It was surrounded by woods with good walks (and next to Woburn Abbey's ducal park), making it for Edward an ideal country retreat. He was keen to use it as a second home, not just for holidays; for it was close enough to Bedford for him to be able to commute to work. Over many years he was subject to bouts of depression, which had become increasingly severe. The change of air and the ability to completely relax in rural surroundings improved his health, and it was only this that reconciled Charlotte to living there for nearly all of the next two years. The move was also a notable success with the rest of the family, and Charlotte and Edward had many visitors here. From Christmas 1888 Edward worked only part time for Howards – see Chapter Ten. He had been wanting to retire fully, but James Howard's premature death the following March, made him promise Frederick, the surviving Howard brother, to continue at his job for a few hours every other day. The rest of his time he spent in London, Will letting him have a room in his Chambers. Much to Charlotte's relief this combination of events was good for Edward's health and enabled her to persuade him to let the Apsley Heath house for three months from June 1889. In July they went off on their holiday to Switzerland, but Edward was "as anxious as ever to get back to the woods", so they returned there in September. Charlotte, however, found it increasingly irksome both being away from home and trying to keep up with her good works in Bedford. Only her frequent trips around the country on behalf of the Temperance movement made it bearable.

In June 1890 they came to a compromise. They gave up "the larger house [at Apsley Heath] which we have occupied nearly three years" and instead took a cottage in the village, to which Edward could go on his own when he felt like it, while Charlotte lived in Bedford. How much Edward used this cottage is not clear, but it was certainly used for at least occasional visits and family gatherings from time to time up to 1908. But in 1904 Edward's depression persuaded him he needed another change of scene and over the next five years he spent some time

in the neighbouring village of Bow Brickhill, even though they kept on the other cottage. They visited Apsley again in 1911 for the first time in three years, and again several times in the next couple of years. In between times they also stayed on the Isle of Wight, which Charlotte much preferred. No visits to the cottage are recorded after 1913; Edward's increasing weakness – he was 84 in that year – making it an unsuitable place to stay.

Charlotte's diaries come to a temporary halt in 1896 after Hattie's wedding and do not start again until the eve of their departure from Bedford in 1903. When restarting she promises to make some attempt at filling the gap, but scarcely does so. One event on which some information survives is the long delayed building of a schoolhouse for "our little chapel". The story is given in the History of the chapel. More room for the Sunday school, which had to use the chapel vestry, was first requested by the teachers as early as 1878, only five years after the chapel itself was built. But nothing came of their request and it is clear from the silence of Charlotte's diary on the subject that the matter did not become a live topic again until after the summer of 1896, when the seven year gap in her diary started. But soon after that it must have arisen again, for the following March a proposal was put to the annual trustees meeting that the Minister ask Edward to give or sell the land behind the chapel for an enlarged school-room. Edward offered a different site on the other side of Offa Road from the chapel and perhaps 100 yards away. But progress was very slow. Edward's site was initially rejected by the Trustees as being too far from the chapel, and another one was considered. It was not until March 1901 that the official stone-laying ceremony took place, the project in the meantime having been nearly abandoned because the cost of building was found to be much greater than the money available. Charlotte and her daughter-in-law Florence, Will's wife, laid the two memorial stones. According to the local newspaper's report of the proceedings "Mrs Bousfield... served every good cause very devotedly. With a silver trowel suitably engraved that lady performed the function with dignity, declaring the stone 'well and truly laid in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost and for the good of the children of the neighbourhood'."[4] Afterwards Edward as Treasurer of the building fund also spoke, paying thanks for the efforts of those responsible for

the project. The building was finally completed and the Schoolroom opened for business in July that year.

The Schoolhouse project, however, did not turn out to be quite such a joyous experience as doubtless Charlotte and Edward had hoped. Charlotte kept the newspaper cutting describing the event and added at the end in her own hand: "My husband gave the land for the Building as also for the Chapel years before, but strange jealousy on [sic] then serving Ministers hid his name as much as possible and to this day the Memorial Stones on the front of the Building are for the same reason blank. A powerful man then living declared it to be vulgar to inscribe the names of those who laid the Stones on them."

Charlotte and her children

Having been brought up as Methodists, all the children, except perhaps Will, retained the mindset of that religion. Even Hattie, who like Will became an Anglican, remained faithful to its ideals of self-restraint and good works – being useful to one's less fortunate, and a godly example to one's less committed neighbours. Charlotte's own, perhaps surprisingly strict, puritanism already mentioned in Chapter Eight was not fully shared by her children. But even she did not disapprove of all forms of artistic endeavour. Poetry, music and painting were a source of much pleasure and she records many trips to art exhibitions as well as concerts. Indeed she much enjoyed music and played the harp herself. But more than this the family often gathered together to sing hymns, those by the American evangelists Moody and Sankey being the great favourites. This joining together for family worship was only one indication that theirs was a close and happy family. The frequent visits made by the different members of the family to each other as well as, once married, to the parental home in Bedford also showed how much pleasure they all got from each others' company.

This is not to suggest that there were no tensions. Will, perhaps the only one of the family not overawed by his mother, had many vigorous discussions with her on matters of faith and politics, where they did not see eye to eye. Ted, the second son, also clashed with his mother over his smoking and his initial decision to start doctoring in the provinces. Hattie found putting up with her mother's strictures difficult in her teenage years. Only Papa, as Edward was known, clashed with no one.

A mild, modest, even self-effacing man, he nevertheless was the solid rock on which the family's well-being was based. This was true of course in financial terms: it was his salary and his careful husbanding and investment of his earnings that ensured their continued prosperity. But it was also true emotionally. Charlotte's diaries record no instances of his having even a serious disagreement with any of their children. Of course his depressive and perhaps rather vague temperament could irritate Charlotte, but she always respected him and got his agreement to all important decisions. That she had sometimes to work on getting this shows he was by no means wholly under her thumb. He had a mind and an opinion of his own. He took some persuading, for example, before agreeing to send Hattie away to boarding school. Their shared faith, indeed a shared religiosity, was a crucial factor in their relationship. For both of them religion was the centrepiece of their lives, the motivation for much of their activity both in and outside the home. But Charlotte was the boss, the matriarch, who kept a close and beady eye on all her children and in due course the men and women they chose as spouses. Will and Ted were allowed to marry young, as indeed Charlotte and Edward had. But John, Lottie and Hattie were all in their 30s before they married.

Will was a polymath, succeeding at whatever he put his hand to. Born in Newark in 1854, he attended Bedford Modern School, then called Bedford Commercial, and in his last term at sixteen in 1870 was not merely Head Boy but carried off all the prizes (plus £200) except that for hand-writing "which he certainly did not deserve". "We sent a wheelbarrow to bring his prize books back home", his proud mother noted not once but twice in her diary. He joined his father at the Howard works as an engineering apprentice on leaving school, but won a scholarship to Caius College, Cambridge, in 1872 (this was coincidentally the same college as attended some 20 years earlier by Henry Brougham Bousfield, a distant cousin, descended from John and Elizabeth [Taylor] and later first Bishop of Pretoria). He graduated in 1876 as sixteenth 'wrangler' in the Mathematical Tripos. He won a Whitworth scholarship at Cambridge and followed his time there with a period at Whitworth's engineering works in Manchester. He seemed destined for a career in engineering. Instead he became a barrister specialising in patent law, where his knowledge of engineering was crucial to his success. According to his various obituaries, which all

The Bousfield clan at the Golden Wedding 1903.
Left to right: *Flo, Will, Hattie, Edward, William Hamilton, Charlotte, Ted, Clara, Lottie, Alex Morton, Mattie, John. Edward's shabby coat contrasts with the smart clothes of the younger generation.*

seem to take their facts from a single source, after Manchester he was appointed lecturer in Mathematics and Engineering at University College, Bristol. But he must have quickly relinquished the post, for when his mother's diaries open in March 1878 he is tutor to the sons of a Capt. Alcock in Bristol. At the same time he was reading for his Law exams. He left the Alcocks and Bristol the next year to concentrate on his studies and the following January (1880) started in chambers with a barrister. In June he was called to the Bar.

He quickly achieved both professional and financial success. He was made a QC in 1891 and then, turning additionally to politics, was elected MP for North Hackney, serving from 1892–1905 as a Conservative (the Press at the time in fact often referred to him as a Unionist, that is opposed to home rule for Ireland and in favour of the

continuing 'Union of Great Britain and Ireland'). In his forties he turned down a judgeship on the grounds that he could not afford the drop in income. As a politician he was something of a maverick, which prevented him gaining ministerial office, since he did not always vote with his party. Yet he was active in parliamentary debates and successfully introduced a Private Member's Bill, the Poor Prisoners' Defence Act, which ensured proper representation in Court by a barrister of those on criminal charges too poor to pay for one. His scientific experiments led to his being made an FRS in 1916 for his work on ionisation and in later life he wrote several books on psychology. By early 1878 the family holidays on the Isle of Wight had led to a chance meeting with a Mr Kelly, a rich businessman with a large family and a home on the island as well as in London's Maida Vale. Will fell in love with one of his daughters Florence, usually known as Flo. They married in April 1879. They set up home in a modest semi in Cricklewood near to the station. Over the next 14 or so years they had eight children, though one, another Edris, died at the age of ten. In June 1889 they moved to a large house in Hendon, which they called St Swithin's, to which Will added a tower, fitting it out for his continuing scientific experiments. He suffered from a form of Parkinson's disease later in life, but lived on until 1943, nearly 90 years old. He had been a widower since 1919 when Florence had succumbed to the worldwide epidemic of influenza.

Ted was also born in Newark in 1855. He too was very clever and an enthusiastic researcher. But in contrast to Will he found it a long struggle to make a full success of anything he turned his hand to. He was sent to the Grammar School in Bedford, and was then articled to a local doctor, Dr Coombs. His mother hoped he would become a surgeon, but he was anxious to start earning, so decided to go into General Practice. By early 1879 he had passed both his surgeon's and physician's qualifications (May '78 MRCS, April '79 LRPC), and after some false starts out of London, in 1885 his father bought a General Practice for him in the Old Kent Road, south London, where he also set up home. In spite of careful assessment of the practice, it is clear that Edward overpaid for it, and in the early years as least it did not yield anything like the return that the retiring doctor claimed he was getting. Moreover, though a good doctor, Ted never concentrated enough on his practice to make an early success of it. Perhaps, too, he lacked

something of a bedside manner, at a time when with few effective remedies available empathising with patients was essential. Instead he followed his bent for research and spent long hours on his microscopy and photography. But by 1887 his mother was able to write: "[His] position is becoming more assured. He does not seem likely to become rich, but in his profession he is having rather more success." His knowledge of both French and German enabled him to get work from some of London's foreign residents.

He would have preferred, however, to give up his Practice and concentrate entirely on research. The problem was maintaining his income. He continued with his research, however, and in 1894 persuaded his landlord to build a laboratory onto the family home. This finally began to produce some return. In 1890 he had begun to investigate bacteria, and in 1898 he was appointed bacteriologist to the London Borough of Camberwell, the first such appointment in the country according to his mother. This entailed checking samples of material in his own laboratory for bacteriological contamination. He was soon also doing research work for Burroughs Welcome, even then an important pharmaceutical company. He failed, however, to get one of the new public health jobs which were becoming more available, and, though he passed the relevant exams and indeed tutored younger men for them as well, he found that he was considered too old when early in the new century he applied for a job as Medical Officer of Health, which would have been more suited to his talents and inclinations than General Practice.

In 1878 he had met a girl from the village of Kempston, just outside Bedford. Clara Henman's father was already dead and she lived with her mother. Her two brothers both had large farms, the older living at Islip Manor outside Oxford, from which she and Ted were married in 1882. They had four children together, the first two being twins. Ted remained an enthusiastic Methodist and took part in many activities for his local church. They lived for many years in the Old Kent Road, but eventually moved a little further out to Denmark Hill, still in south London. He died there in 1921 only 65 years old.

Nothing is known of John's childhood after his birth in Sticklepath in 1858 just before the family moved to Bedford. When his mother's diaries begin, he is living with the Mortons (see below) in Chelmsford, where he certainly spent some months if not years, to what purpose is

not known. But in the autumn of 1878 at the age of 20 he returned home to Bedford and started working with his father for the Howards. With no professional qualification such as his elder brothers had, his career took longer to take off and as a consequence he married much later than either of them. He stayed four years with Howards, but finding he could get no promotion in the family firm joined Lake's patent agency in London in 1882. He took lodgings in Cricklewood just around the corner from Will and family. Again seeing no advancement his father helped him buy into another agency as a partner in July 1887, and over the years John made a considerable success of the business. Before his acquisition of a partnership his romance with Matilda or Mattie Southwell had stalled through his lack of income and prospects. Mattie's father was a well-to-do fruit importer and the family lived in some style on Finchley Road just up the hill from Cricklewood. On marriage in October 1887 John and Mattie moved not very far to Parsifal Road near Fortune Green in South Hampstead, where they had three children, though the second one died almost immediately. Later they moved to a larger house in Rickmansworth, where John died at just 63 years of age in 1921, the same year as Ted.

Lottie, like her younger sister Hattie, received a full education according to the practice of the time. At some stage she had a foreign governess, who doubtless taught the two girls French and German, both written and spoken – it seems to have been this connection which led to the family's later taking holidays in Switzerland. Later she went to a private school in Bedford run by a Mrs Brown. On leaving in December 1878 at the age of 17 she took the Cambridge Senior examination. Thereafter she mostly stayed at home: "Lottie has now entered upon her duties as my helper in domestic matters" her mother wrote the following February: "She has begun very diligently to help, spending all her mornings excepting an hour for her music either in assisting with the cooking or other household work." In addition she helped her mother with her many good works. She also spent some time looking after one unmarried brother or another in Bristol, where both Will and Ted were for a time. She had painting, singing and piano lessons locally after leaving school, but had no further ambition. It was probably the illness she had at this time which prevented her from having children, although the strong Victorian sense of propriety

prevented her mother even hinting at this in her diary. In 1891 at the age of 30 she married Alex Morton. The Mortons had been neighbours of the Bousfields in the latter's early years in Bedford when they both lived in Caudwell Street. Both families were enthusiastic Methodists and like Edward, Morton senior worked for the Howards. They later moved to Chelmsford, where Alex's father was a partner in the firm of Coleman and Morton, and in due course was elected Mayor. Alex, their second son, became a solicitor, and on qualifying was persuaded by a friend to set up in Nottingham. Lottie and he moved there on marriage and stayed in the same house until they died, Alex in 1941 and Lottie ten years later at the age of 90, the last of the Bousfield siblings.

Lottie's relationship with her mother was always good. Even her teenage years apparently produced few occasions for dispute. Hattie, on the other hand, did not find her mother's strictures easy to accept; and her mother in turn found her increasingly fractious. In the end she insisted Hattie was sent to boarding school against her wishes. Edward took some persuading, but in 1880 at the age of fifteen Hattie went first for a year to a new school on Jersey, then the following year to Highbury High School in London. She stayed at this latter four terms in all, studying French, German, English, Latin and Mathematics. She left in December 1883, taking her Higher Cambridge examination and gaining two prizes from the school. But earlier that year, not without some misgivings from her mother, she had began to concentrate on her art studies, at first locally in Bedford, but from June 1884 in London. She lived with her brother John on Claremont Road in Cricklewood and attended Calderon's Art School in Notting Hill.[*] Although her parents paid for several years of art classes – there was even a thought she might study in Paris – Hattie's mother in particular felt that she was too absorbed in it. While Lottie helped her mother both in the home and with her good works, for Hattie painting came first. In the 1891 census she describes herself as 'Artist'; Lottie is just a 'daughter'. "I want her to feel more than she does" her mother wrote early in 1888, "that her painting is rather something to fill spare-time than an absorbing

(*) Philip Hermogenes Calderon, son of a Spanish father and French mother, was nicknamed 'the fiend' and attended parties made up as Mephistopheles and singing the Satanic aria from Gounod's Faust – see Lionel Lambourne: *Victorian Painting*. Happily his paintings were entirely respectable.

occupation, and I tell her we must watch the leadings of Providence as to how far it is her duty to go on so with it." Hardly active encouragement!

But go on Hattie did. She had great talent. She mastered oils, watercolour and pastels. She had a marvellous eye for a subject and a special ability to reproduce facial likenesses. Her figure work was not so strong, however, and it is clear from her sketchbooks that drawing the undraped figure was not something Victorian young ladies were allowed to do. She had four paintings accepted for the Royal Academy's annual Summer Exhibitions, although the first one in 1888 was later rejected through lack of space. Her other successes came in 1893 and 1895, and one after she was married in 1911. Unfortunately the present whereabouts of all of these is unknown. A number of her portraits of family members, both in oil and pastel, survive as do some small water colours of mainly country scenes. Her masterpiece was her half-length portrait of her brother Will, now on permanent loan to the Harpur Trust, Bedford.

Hattie met her future husband William Robert Hamilton through Alex, Lottie's husband. They shared lodgings in Nottingham as young professional men – William was an accountant. He found his suit unwelcome to Charlotte on a number of accounts. He was Scottish and an orphan and thus had no family Charlotte and Edward could relate to – one is reminded of *The Importance of Being Earnest:* "to lose both [parents] looks like carelessness". He was also still struggling to establish himself in his profession in an unfamiliar town. Perhaps most importantly he notably failed to charm his future mother-in-law and stood up to her in matters of religion. This meant that Hattie was 31 before she could marry her 'Mr Hamilton'; and it was a measure of the continuing difficulty of the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law that Charlotte never called William by his Christian name. Hattie and William married in June 1896 – like her elder sister in "our little chapel", right next to the family home.

Bedford – the final years

Little is known of the last seven years of the Bousfields' time in Bedford. Charlotte's diaries break off in the summer of 1896 after Hattie's wedding, and for the three years before that she wrote hardly anything about Edward and not much about her own activities. When she

restarted her diary on moving to Nottingham, she promised to cover the intervening years, but in the event wrote almost nothing of them apart from describing her father's death. Even the eventual building of the schoolroom for 'our little chapel' is known of only from other sources. What can be discovered of Edward's work is covered in the next chapter. Charlotte herself surely continued to be much involved in her children and growing number of grandchildren. The early entries in her 1903 diary also hint that she remained active in Temperance affairs and with mothers' meetings; doubtless with other church matters too. Her work "as Guardian of Poor on the Bedford Board ceased at the end of three years. I did not offer for re-election, but have the satisfaction that I left a few suggestions that were carried out, tending to the comfort of the poor Inmates whom I visited a few times..."

In March 1903 she and Edward celebrated their Golden Wedding with a family party at Alpha Villa. They had already arranged to move to Nottingham to be near their two married daughters. Understandably the family felt that at 74 and 73 years old respectively they would soon be too old to look after themselves properly. For the party "the tables were fixed round so that all could sit facing each other in the breakfast room. The bride and bridegroom of 50 years occupied the central seats facing their children and grandchildren, who with sons-in-law and daughters-in-law were ranged around terminating in the conservatory... numbering 26" in total. The wedding cake was decorated with gold icing. "Thus we partook of that memorable evening meal." After speeches "all adjourned to the drawing room where the more important function was enacted." Presents of gold and silver were handed over "each one inscribed 1853–1903". Then finally 50 "new bright sovereigns" were handed over by Will on behalf of all, "intended for our use in any purchases for our new home. Then came our united thanksgiving, first in song, in verses which I had put together for the occasion... and then the father of the happy group expressed on our knees... words of grateful remembrance" of their past life together.

The following week was spent packing up: "five vans and two outside loads were dispatched to Nottingham." Charlotte and Edward actually left Alpha Villa on 1st April but spent a fortnight at their cottage in Aspley and then another couple of weeks in London, before Hattie and Lottie were satisfied that their new home was fit for them to

live in. They moved with mixed feelings. Though Charlotte greatly enjoyed the Golden Wedding party "the day closed with a feeling of sadness for me. The thought that all who had met so often in the home of so many years would never do so again distressed me." But she accepted that life must move on, and that "with our increasing years" they would need their daughters "at hand in any of the circumstances and emergencies likely to arise" in the future.

Chapter Ten

Edward Tenney Bousfield and Howard's Britannia Iron Works 1858–1903

Howard's was taken over after the First World War and collapsed altogether in 1933. All its records disappeared with the firm. This makes more difficult the evaluation of the contribution of the company and its chief designer Edward Bousfield to agricultural progress in this period. It also leaves a gap in the history both of Bedford and of the production and development of farm implements nationally in the second half of the nineteenth century. An historian can be no better than his sources and the lack of them in this case has perhaps prevented the company's products gaining the recognition they seem to deserve in the record of the advance of British agriculture. Today, though close to the town centre, the huge site of the Britannia Iron Works lies largely derelict. Some of the buildings remain, but many have been demolished and large areas are empty. The great entrance arch stands like a latter-day statue of Ozimandias vandalised and neglected, overlooking a weed-strewn desolation.

"A pile of Blue Books is the only record and 'royalties' the proof, or only reward," wrote Charlotte in 1883, twenty-five years after Edward had joined the Howard brothers, of his time at 'Britannia', "for which his inventive brain has been faithfully at work, (whilst others have reaped the honours) from that day until now." Charlotte's comment remains largely true today. The details of the patents which Edward and the Howards took out are important evidence of the firm's activities. For evaluating Edward's role in these they are crucial. For with only one unimportant exception they are the only printed documents so far found that mention him by name. Without them we would have to rely on the relatively few mentions of his work in Charlotte's diaries, and even these are largely confined to the years

1879–84. For the company the major printed sources are a few of its trade catalogues, the annual catalogues of the Royal Show and articles in the specialist press of the time, but these with one exception mention only the company, never Edward by name. But no financial and virtually no sales figures survive, nor any correspondence. There is thus more information on the company's products than on its organisation and performance. But even with the products many unanswered questions remain. It is one thing to have an illustration of a farm implement, even a detailed description of its construction; quite another to know how innovative it was, how well it worked, whether it was good value for money, or how it compared with competitive products. And without knowing how well it sold it is nearly impossible to assess its real historical impact. The most advanced design is of little importance if few use it. Happily Howard's was one of Britain's and hence the world's leading agricultural implement manufacturers during Edward's time with it, so that it received detailed coverage in the trade press. It has thus proved possible to chart the progress of the company and evaluate Edward's role in its success throughout its best years.

Howard's of Bedford and mid-century English agriculture

The middle decades of the nineteenth century from the late 1830s to the middle 1870s have been characterised as the time of 'high farming' in England. The enclosure of the old open fields, particularly in the Midlands with Bedfordshire at its centre and covering some fifth of the whole land area of England, was almost complete by the beginning of this period. For the makers of farm machinery this was an essential precondition of their success, for it provided the larger flatter fields without which the new implements could not function. The Royal Agricultural Society was founded in 1838 and rapidly turned itself into an instrument for change in every aspect of farming. Within a year or two private experiments in agricultural chemistry had began at what became the Rothamstead Experimental Centre. The Cirencester Agricultural College opened in 1845, the first establishment for the education of farmers in their profession. From the early 1840s the mass manufacture of clay drainage pipes enabled heavy land to be drained for productive use. The repeal in 1842 of the Corn Laws protecting farmers from cheap imports of cereals encouraged farmers, and

especially the larger landowners, to find ways of improving the productivity of both their land and their labour force. In spite of dire predictions that the repeal would destroy English farming, a rapidly rising population as well as the disruption of foreign production by the American Civil War and the Crimean War ensured that during this period they could sell all the crops they produced. Manuring became more intensive and new sources were found. In the late thirties and early forties Peruvian guano and chemically reduced bonemeal became available. The railway system spread quickly all over the country from the 1840s enabling the rapid movement of goods of all sorts in bulk in a way that had not previously been possible.

Better drainage and heavier manuring increased the productivity of the land, but to produce more profitably the farmer also needed to increase the productivity of the workforce. This was largely the domain of improved agricultural implements. Large numbers of new implement manufacturers set up in business. Intense competition meant continuous development of both traditional and new types of machinery. The establishment of many local agricultural fairs as well as the annual Royal Show, held at different venues throughout England, proved a perfect platform for the display and demonstration of these new products. The stage was thus set for an enormous expansion in the agricultural implement market. Besides the introduction of many different types of traditional items such as ploughs and harrows, adapted to a wide variety of soil types and crops, a large number of new implements were developed: horse-hoes, mowing machines (for cutting hay), haymakers, horse-rakes, seed drills, rollers, reapers and binders all emerged from the inventive minds of the men engaged in this business. America, with its wide open spaces and shortage of manpower, was also a major source of new ideas. McCormick's reaper, for example made a big impression when it was exhibited at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.

This machinery was at first all horse-drawn. But it was not long before the success of the steam engine both for railways and in factory production caused farm machinery makers to turn their attention to its use in agriculture. But the weight and expense of the steam engine caused great difficulties at first. New systems of working had to be devised to overcome these problems. Practical 'portable' (that is, movable but not self-propelled) steam engines had been developed for

farm use by the 1840s, when they began to be used at first for threshing and then for such other tasks as root-slicing, oil-cake-breaking and milling. By the 1850s steam ploughing and drain-laying became feasible and adopted widely on larger farms in suitable areas of the country. But it was many years before the introduction of the much more mobile tractor as we now know it was able to offer the smaller farmer a better alternative to the horse.

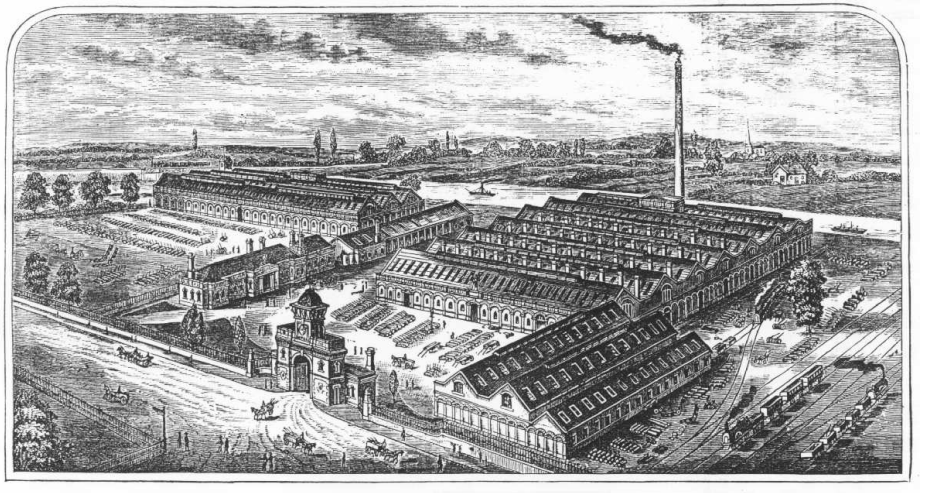
This was the scenario when the brothers James and Frederick Howard took over a small agricultural implement company founded by their father John. James was the moving spirit and sprang into the limelight at the age of only nineteen in 1841 with a new design of plough, "the first iron-wheel plough of the present type ever exhibited".[1] This won first prize at the Royal Agricultural Society's Liverpool show. His father retired in 1850, when the younger brother Frederick joined the company, which from then on was known as J. & F. Howard Ltd. The business rapidly expanded and in 1856 work was begun on the Britannia Iron Works on a vast new site of fifteen acres (later this was increased to twenty acres). The huge works constructed on it to James Howard's detailed instructions were said to comprise the world's largest factory for the manufacture of farm implements. Happily, though the site itself is largely derelict, several engravings of it in its heyday survive, as well as descriptions and plans of its layout and use. The main factory building, comprising foundry, smithery and assembly areas plus many subsidiary departments, measured some 250 feet by nearly 300 feet as originally built. There was access by water, rail and road. The River Ouse, which ran alongside the site, was particularly important for the supply of both coal and iron ore in bulk. A network of railway lines ran through the main factory departments and were directly connected to the main line. Both the layout of the factory and the mass production processes used were advanced for their day. *The Engineer*, a leading trade journal, commented in 1860 on the "extent to which they [Messrs Howards] carry out moulding by machinery.... We think a visit to the Britannia Foundry would amply repay those interested in the extensive production of castings of iron of one particular pattern".[2] The patented process, invented by James Howard, was licensed to other manufacturers.

The company, then, was at the forefront of its trade. In output terms it was one of the largest agricultural implement concerns in the world.

In 1860 it employed 400 men and numbers certainly increased thereafter at least for a time. Surviving engravings show at least 150 men in the foundry alone. But discovering its management structure and thus establishing Edward's position in it have proved difficult. The plan of the office building of 1860 shows no space for any subsidiary management. There are offices for the two Howard brothers, but otherwise only small rooms for such activities as pay and invoicing. The tiny "Designing Office" measured about fifteen feet by ten feet. An even smaller office was provided for the foremen. James Howard was clearly the boss. In ability, temperament and activity levels he was far superior to his brother. Frederick was not merely some years younger, he was also of a more retiring disposition. He looked after the administration of the business including the accounts.

Reporting to these two was some lower management, but this is about all that can be said. One trade article mentions supervisors, with no hint of their number or functions. Apart from Edward and James Howard four names appear on patent applications over the years, though never more than two at a time (see below). In addition to these Alfred Morton, afterwards partner in the successful agricultural implement manufacturers Coleman and Morton, and Lottie's future father-in-law, worked for Howard's for fourteen years up to 1863, that is five years after Edward joined the company. Since by the time he left he was 43 years old Alfred was no apprentice, but must have held a management post of some significance, though the most one can infer from his absence from any patent applications is that it was not to do with product development. As for Edward, Charlotte claims he joined Howard's as 'manager', but she was writing many years after the event, and his job title in the 1861 census is simply 'mechanical engineer', 'manager' not being added until 1871. James Howard figures not infrequently in Charlotte's diaries, but Frederick hardly at all. She mentions no other name in the context of the company.

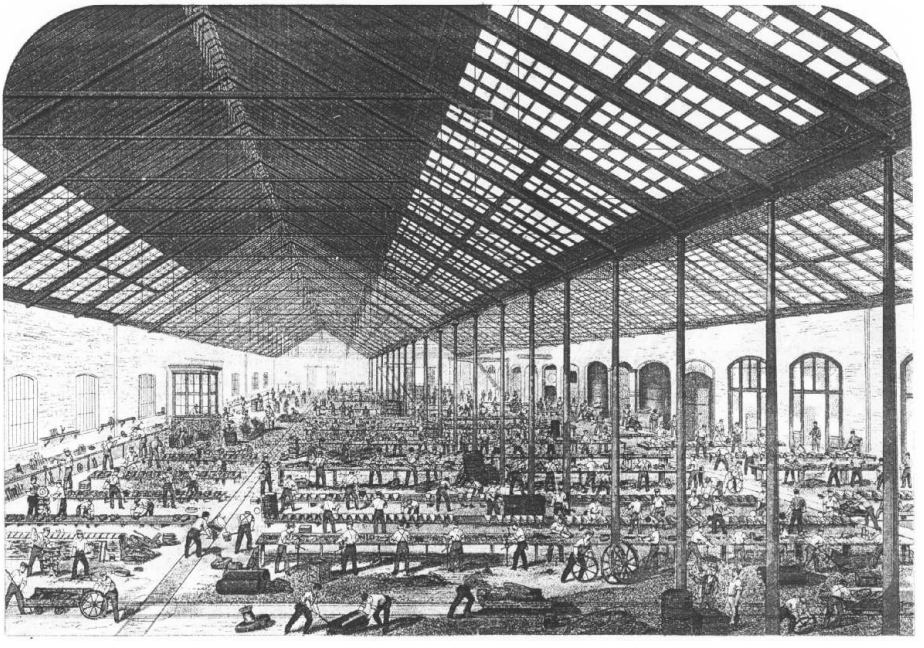
From all this we must infer that there was no management structure as such. Men with appropriate abilities were employed to fulfil whatever functions the brothers thought needed doing, and all reported to them. Doubtless over time Edward acquired greater authority at the works and many matters came to be referred directly to him, especially since James Howard became increasingly involved in outside affairs (see below). But his personality was not one that would



General view of Howard's Britannia Iron Works at its greatest extent in 1877.

lead him to try to supercede Howard's authority, and indeed Howard was not one likely to brook any such challenge. Edward's initial job must have been to further develop the range of products and perhaps the production processes. In the early years, especially before he joined the company, horse-drawn ploughs, rakes, hoes and harrows were the main product lines. They probably continued to provide the bulk of the turnover for the rest of the century and doubtless beyond. They were extremely successful. At the Royal Show in Chelmsford in 1856 Howards was awarded all the first prizes (four in all) for ploughs and four more for its harrows. "The importance of these awards is considerably enhanced, the Society having for the first time devoted four days to the trials of ploughs" one of the firm's advertisements claimed.[3] The same year in Paris the company won no fewer than fifteen awards, including five first prizes and five gold medals for its ploughs and harrows. In 1860 *The Engineer* stated that annual sales of ploughs alone totalled over 6000.

Such success was not achieved by standing still. Oddly no patent was taken out for James's 1841 plough. Indeed it was not until 1851 that he took out his first patent – for ploughs. Thereafter patent applications were a normal part of the work of the company. They averaged one a



Internal view of one of the workshops at Howard's. This shows the foundry.

year for the 21 years up to 1872 just for ploughs, horse rakes and hoes, and hay-making machinery. The great majority of these were in James Howard's name alone, but from 1861 Edward's name began to be added to some of them. In 1866 the company's development efforts turned to reapers and mowers, machines that would cut corn and grass. This was an important new product field for the company. No fewer than four patents for reapers and mowers were taken out in the second half of that year (though one was provisional protection for ideas embodied in a later patent). Four more were applied for by 1870. Six of these eight had Edward's name on them, showing that he was a major contributor to this development programme. It is difficult for the non-specialist to judge the importance of the improvements these patents embodied: "The knife-bar is driven by a connecting-rod, and a crank fixed to a shaft, which is connected by toothed gearing with [another] shaft. This shaft carries a bevel pinion, which gears with bevel teeth on one of the carrying wheels..." is how one application is worded.[4] But

Edward must have been satisfied with the progress of the development, for by the autumn of 1870 both reaping and mowing machines had been successfully launched. The same year a better-quality self-acting horse rake had won "a special prize – the Society's medal" at the Royal Agricultural Society's Oxford meeting.[5] "The mechanism of the self-acting leverage of their new horse rake is exceedingly ingenious," *The Engineer* enthused "reducing to a minimum the manual labour required to empty the rake of hay."[6] The French seem to have been especially taken by the reaper, awarding four prizes to it in the 1870s, while the mower won two prizes in Russia in the early 1880s.

Year after year new devices, new improved machines were brought on to the market by Howard's. Indeed the patent evidence suggests that for at least the 20 years after Edward joined, the company was the most active in product development in the agricultural implement business. For example the number of patent applications for Class 6 Agricultural Appliances for land and crops in 1855-66 was as follows: Howard's 23, Fowlers 18, R Hornsby 11, Ransome's 4, Coleman & Morton 1; in 1867-76: Howard's 20, Hornsby 13, Fowler nil, Coleman & Morton 1. By 1879 the *Implement and Machinery Review* (*IMR*), another trade journal, was able to comment: "Perhaps there is no firm which has made more headway in the manufacture of agricultural implements than Messrs Howard, and their exhibits at the Bath and West of England show were undoubtedly calculated to increase their prestige as makers of reapers, mowers, rakes and haymaking machines."[7] Among the Howard's machines it considered worthy of note were the Simplex mower – "a very light [but] remarkably strong machine", the Simplex reaper [another light but strong machine], several different ploughs including one for raising potatoes, a new steel flexible grass harrow, the self-acting horse rake with a friction brake arrangement, and a new type of horse rake, the 'Anglo-American', "both light and so cheap that it must find favour with farmers in these trying times when money is so scarce and profits meagre."[8] These were all new or significantly improved machines. In the 1860s James Howard had been much involved in the development of various implements; in the next decade with the probable exception of ploughs, in which he was always particularly interested, the major product development input must have come from Edward. Only one patent in the 1870s other than those for ploughs did not have his name on it.

Edward and the development of steam ploughing

All of these new machines were in addition to the product area on which he had been mostly concentrating and where he had already made a considerable mark – steam ploughing. Ploughing and cultivating by steam was the hot topic in mid-century arable farming ('cultivating' entails breaking up the ground without turning over the sod). It quickly became clear that it was only viable on large estates. To reap the benefits of scale which it offered required both large fields and deep pockets. This meant it was primarily of interest to the big landowners and many of these were members of the nobility. It was they who tended to dominate the Royal Agricultural Society, and their involvement added the cachet of social prestige to the opportunity for profit. It was perhaps to strengthen the company's product range in this area that James Howard had taken Edward on; but without knowing his particular area of expertise, we cannot be certain. The later market dominance of the company founded by John Fowler in the early 1850s has tended to obscure the presence of many other manufacturers in this market in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the important contribution they made to its development. James Howard's interest in the market began in 1856, when he took out his first patent "for machinery for tilling land." But almost immediately he was offered a better system by William Smith of Woolston, who had fallen out with Fowler. Howard's then began marketing Smith's steam cultivator in which they incorporated their own modifications.

Though it seems very cumbersome by comparison with the use of petrol-driven tractors, steam ploughing had a big impact on British farming. Particularly on the heavier soils of eastern England it established itself as both more efficient and more productive in terms of crop yields. The problem the manufacturers faced was that steam engines were too heavy and clumsy to be used as steam tractors pulling a plough behind them. They sank into the ground and could not easily be manoeuvred around the field or turned at the end of a furrow. Some system had to be devised to plough a field using a largely static engine. At first this entailed several different pieces of equipments – ropes or wire cables, anchors, pulleys and windlasses in particular – as well as special ploughs or cultivators. Smith was the first to devise a workable 'roundabout' system, but by 1862 he had fallen out with Howard's as well. By then Edward had begun to turn his attention to the various

problems that the use of steam ploughing was throwing up, his first patent being in this area. Taken out in 1861, it specified: "The windlasses or winches used in 'Smith's' system of cultivation are provided with means for bringing the brakes into operation on the winding-drums at the same time that the drums are thrown out of gear; the winches are anchored by means of pointed blades... and the cultivators... are constructed so that they do not need turning round at the headlands". It went on to describe the mechanism whereby "the too rapid rotation of the drum due to the drag of the idle rope" was to be prevented.[9]

From then right up until 1875 the company's major innovative efforts were put into this. No fewer than 26 patents were taken out by the company in this period concerned with one aspect or another of steam ploughing. Of these 23 had Edward's name on them. During these years they were much his most important concern in product development terms: ten of his first eleven patents, for example (the other was void), were for steam cultivation or steam boilers. Many of these were the result of his continuing work to improve the operations of the two parts of the system that he had approached on his first patent, that is the winding-drums and making the turnround at the end of a furrow easier and quicker. But in 1864 he introduced an entirely new system, which overcame the problems posed by the use of anchors, which had not only to be very heavy and firmly fixed into the ground to take the tremendous strain of the cable during the ploughing operation, but also had to be moved as the ploughing progressed. This was both slow and expensive in manpower. This patent related "to engines with winding-apparatus specially arranged for steam-cultivation, and to a method of coupling two such engines together.... When two engines are used together, the implement [that is, plough or cultivator] is drawn backwards and forwards between the two winding-drums."[10] This was further developed in a new patent two years later: "A system is described in which two engines at opposite sides of a field simultaneously draw two ploughs or tilling implements to and fro [across the field].... The implements are hauled... by means of the winding-drums, and are drawn back again by the drums [at the other end of the engines] after the engines have traversed a distance equal to the width of a bout" (see illustration on page 169).[11] In this system the engines (or the windlasses if these were separate from the engines)

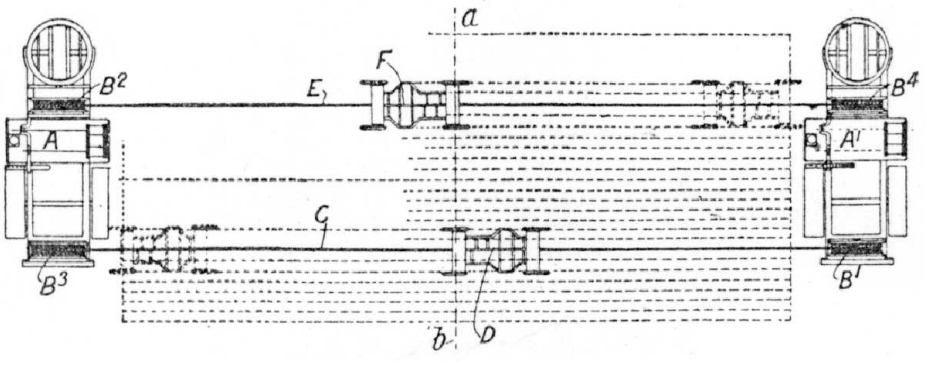


Illustration from the 1866 patent application in the names of Edward Bousfield and James Howard for a two-engine ploughing system. This seems to be the first time such a system was described and thus that, contrary to accepted belief, it was Howard's – and probably Edward – who invented this system for steam ploughing. (Patent application 1866/1192)

moved forward from time to time as the ploughing progressed, but there were no anchors to move.

Using two engines, of course, increased the capital expenditure, although there were savings in having no anchors or pulleys. On the other hand having two ploughs working at the same time speeded the work and in part compensated for the extra investment. By this time the so-called balance plough had come into use. Shaped like an open 'V' balanced on two central wheels, it had up to six ploughshares on each side, each set facing the other and being used in turn as the whole apparatus worked its way to and fro across the field. This two-engine system was taken up by Fowlers a couple of years later. Eventually two engines but pulling just one plough to and fro across the field became the standard model while steam cultivation lasted.

Such a system required either 'portable' or self-propelling engines and much of Edward's efforts were devoted to developing these. At first he produced some strange-looking machines with unusual horseshoe-shaped boilers and only three wheels. One engine with a transverse boiler was exhibited at the Hereford Show in 1865 and two complete systems were sold to a local firm of agricultural contractors

the following year. Howard's had, however, sold Smith's system before this, which had included in the complete tackle some of their own manufactured equipment. Indeed in 1860 *The Engineer* in its major article on Howard's quoted above claimed that "Our readers may probably be surprised to learn that Messrs. Howard have within the last two years made above 80 sets of steam cultivating apparatus, which are all at work in England, with the exception of one set supplied to the Emperor of the French."[12] Such imperial endorsement must have been valuable. Nevertheless the question arises whether all the effort that Edward and the company put into the development and manufacture of steam ploughing engines and equipment was a worthwhile investment over the nearly twenty years they devoted to it. It is a question that cannot now be answered, and we can be sure that Howard's accounting systems would not have been designed to answer it at the time.

It is, however, certain that this was an important part of the company's manufacturing output. By 1870 the original factory area had to be considerably enlarged and the layout much modified to accommodate the production of steam ploughing equipment and boilers. *The Engineer* went back to the Britannia Iron Works ten years after its earlier article and reported: "Our readers are no doubt aware that Messrs. Howard are the inventors and patentees of a tubulous boiler... This boiler is growing in popularity, and to meet the demand for it it was found necessary to extend the premises and provide suitable workshops for its manufacture.... Messrs. Howard... decided that... it was best... to build a new foundry , and to convert the old one into an erecting shop for boilers and machines."[13] The new foundry, built alongside the old run of buildings, measured 258 feet by 235 feet. By this time, too, the combined delivery and despatch department had been greatly increased in size. The factory was further enlarged in the 1870s, an engraving of 1877 showing two large new manufacturing sheds added to the earlier buildings. Edward's development of the steam engine and the associated boiler, which was its power unit, had opened up new markets. All industry was driven by steam at this time and there was a continuous demand for boilers of many different sizes. "This invention [of the recently modified steam boiler] is commanding a large trade" *The Engineer* reported, " one firm alone having purchased about thirty of these boilers of 50-horse power each."[14] The importance

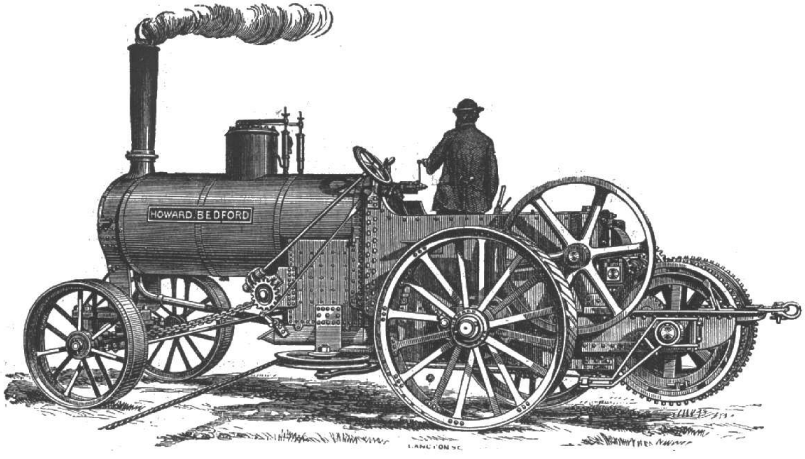
in the Howards' eyes of this part of the company's output is indicated by the entry in an 1876 Bedford trade directory: "James & Fred. Howard: Patentees & manufacturers of steam ploughing & gen. agricultural machinery; also Howard's Safety Boiler."[15]

Edward's success in developing the steam boiler and other steam ploughing equipment enhanced his standing in the company. By 1871 he had added "Manager of Iron Works" to engineer as his job description.[16] But whatever his status inside the company, the Howards were reluctant to give him any public recognition. None of the articles in the trade journals quoted mention him or indeed any other employee. Moreover with only three exceptions (one of which was a provisional application and another to do with lighting) all the patents taken out by Edward in James Howard's lifetime were in their joint names. This was not peculiar to Edward. It applied too to the few patents taken out with other employees, Thomas Phillips and John Pinney in the years up to 1870 and the two Gibbs – G. and H.W. – in the 1880s.Throughout his life Howard made sure his name was on every patent applied for by his company. But of the 107 patents applications made by the company from the time Edward joined the firm until James's death, 74 – more than two-thirds – had Edward's name on them. The inference must be that Edward provided most of the ideas and was responsible for their development into practical products. Charlotte's description of his work on the sheaf-binder in particular (see below) bears this out. But, as she complained, "Others have reaped the honours" arising from the output of Edward's "inventive brain".

There can be no doubt honour was due. By this time Howards was a world-beater. Even in 1870 *The Engineer* could enthuse about the company: "The order book is something worth going to Bedford to see. There is scarcely a portion of the habitable globe to which work from Bedford does not seem to find its way."[17] And through the 1870s and 80s Howards' advertisements confirmed this claim: they boasted of prizes won and gold medals awarded in Paris and Vienna, in Hamburg and Melbourne, in Australia, Russia, Romania, Chile, New Zealand and Algeria as well as all over Western Europe. It not only won prizes: it was voted the top manufacturer of agricultural machinery in Paris in 1867, in Vienna in 1873, in South Africa in 1877, in Paris again in 1878 and in Sydney in 1879. Special adaptations were made with the overseas market in mind: at the Paris Show of 1878 "the readiness with

which ox-power is available in Eastern, in colonial, and in some Continental countries has been kept in mind" the *IMR* informed its readers "and we were not surprised to learn that 5,000 of Messrs. Howard's ploughs have found a market in the Cape of Good Hope."[18] Also on display there were vine ploughs and potato ploughs, both of which were thought likely to sell well in France. It was one of the best and biggest companies of its kind anywhere. Even by 1870 "the average output" according to *The Engineer* "is thirty... tons of agricultural implements a day. Pretty well, dear reader, is it not?"[19] By 1878 the *IMR* could state that in the thirty years of its existence "many hundreds of thousands of ploughs have been distributed [by Howard's] throughout the cultivating world."[20]

Early in 1875 the development of new features for steam cultivation and steam power suddenly stopped at Howard's. No more patent applications were made until Edward returned to the consideration of steam boilers in the 1890s. Probably the reason was the belief that development had proceeded as far as the technology would allow. Perhaps too there was a perception that the market was becoming saturated. Steam engines proved capable of lasting for decades; the replacement market was therefore small. Perhaps most importantly by this time Howard's had to concede that they had largely lost out to other steam cultivation manufacturers especially Fowler's with their more powerful machines. Nevertheless in 1876 the company brought out the "Farmer's Engine". This was a steam engine made in what would now be considered a conventional design (see illustration). It was quite simply the first usable general-purpose tractor marketed in Britain and perhaps anywhere in the world. The *IMR* reported in its January 1st edition of that year: "Starting with the principal or primary use for which this engine is designed – the steam cultivation of land – they have worked out... a series of mechanical adjustments, which, secondary to this, admit of the engine being used as an ordinary portable, for driving thrashing machines etc etc.... The cultivating mechanism... consists of two windlasses or horizontal winding-drums... and all there is to do to get rid of the drums and convert it to a common portable engine is to drive the bolts [bearing the drums] out, first unscrewing their nuts, and disconnecting the bars.... The construction is such as to add another to the many examples of good workmanship which have passed from the famous establishment of 'Howard's'."[21]



Top: *Howard's Farmer's Engine.*
A contemporary engraving from the IMR *in 1876.*
Bottom: *Howard's Farmer's Engine in 2002, largely rebuilt and operated by Richard Vernon. At one time this was on display in Henry Ford's museum in Detroit.*

Further evidence that Howard's had not abandoned steam-cultivation is provided by the big display the company put on at the Paris Show of 1878, already mentioned. As the *IMR* reported: "There are steam-ploughing engines for the combined purposes of steam-ploughing, threshing, grinding, hauling and other farm work; steam cultivators for breaking or smashing up the land at various depths; steam-scarifiers for stirring the land to a moderate depth; and steam-harrows. Messrs. Howard do not forget to show their farmers' locomotive." Their automatic anchor, a key component of one-plough steam-cultivation systems, "which can be moved upon a pair of central wheels without removing the discs", was also a well-known and successful part of their range. Clearly the company was still much interested in this market.[22] The *IMR*'s comment early the following year on the Farmers' Engine "which many a farmer has learned so well to use with as much facility as he had... the horse plough" suggests that the interest was justified.[23] The company had won its first award for its steam-ploughing equipment in 1862, and such awards continued to come through certainly until 1880, although not as frequently as its successes with other parts of its range. In 1879 "at the great trials of steam ploughs at Leicester, which" according to the *IMR* "were the most severe and prolonged ever conducted by the Royal Society, Messrs. Howard were awarded the first prize for the application of steam power adapted to farms of moderate size, the first and only prize for the best five-tined steam cultivator, the first and only prize for the best steam harrow, and the first and only prize for the best detached windlass for steam cultivation."[24]

The Great Depression and its consequences

Charlotte began her diaries in 1878. She was not to know it, but this was at a climactic time for British agriculture. It is true that R.E. Prothero in his classic description of the 'Great Depression' in *English Farming Past and Present* dates the start of this to 1874, and this can be justified on an historical basis. Moreover the weather was often awful from 1872 onwards, in particular being unusually wet. But in psychological terms it was the truly dreadful weather of 1879 that started the depression. As the monumental *Agrarian History of England and Wales* puts it: "1879 occupies a special place in the demonology of farming weather."[25] It came to be known as "the ruin of English agriculture." It was the

coldest year not merely of the century, but of the more than 200 years from 1741 to 1950, every month except June being below the average temperature for that period, most by a considerable margin.[26] Not only that; the summer quarter was the wettest and the autumn the driest of the nineteenth century. Then perversely in 1880 a dry spring prevented the grass growing and a wet summer affected hay-making. The bad weather depressed arable yields dramatically: it also made cattle and sheep ill, reducing both the numbers and quality of Britain's livestock. In the past when bad summers had depressed the cereal crop, prices had risen in compensation. Now prices continued to fluctuate within the long-run norms, so real returns fell sharply. But it was years before the basic cause was understood. Bad weather was not the real problem: it was the greatly increased production of grain worldwide. Not just North America, but Russia and India too were producing cereals in greater quantities than ever. Populations were still rising, but production rose faster. The price inevitably fell. Between the mid–1870s and the nadir of prices in 1894 the price of wheat fell by over half, that of barley and oats by nearly 40 percent. Animal products were less affected, but prices still fell dramatically. Even the least affected of major products, mutton and butter, suffered 25 percent price decreases. At the same time under the pressure of rising industrial demand, wages rose: farm labourers could get better pay in the towns or by emigrating. Farmers thus faced a double 'whammy', and landowners trying to get rents out of farmers fared no better.

In fact the sharp reduction in feedstuff prices meant that livestock farmers did not fare too badly, but in the main arable areas of eastern and southern England, times were hard indeed. They complained bitterly to the Government, but in Britain – uniquely at that time – agricultural output was such a small and diminishing proportion of the national wealth that politically cheap food for the urban masses came before farm incomes. To a faulty understanding of the basic cause of falling prices was added a conflict of interest between the landlords who owned most of the land and their tenants who farmed it (the official *Return of Owners of Land* of 1873 showed that fewer than 1700 families owned 43 percent of the land of England and Wales outside London, a concentration of ownership probably unparalleled in any other country – see *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. VII p701f & table 39.8) In time many farmers found salvation by turning to

milk, horticulture and poultry, commodities where there was little or no foreign competition, though they let the burgeoning butter and bacon markets fall prey to the better organised Dutch and Danes.

More dairy cows were of no help to Howard's or to many other manufacturers of agricultural implements, however. Salvation for them lay along different paths. The extent of their export effort has already been mentioned. Now it was of major importance to them in the fight for survival. No country outside North America had an agricultural implement industry of anything like the size and sophistication of the British one. Contacts were in place and business was already being done, as we have seen, all over the developed world. Apart from one particular product area, harvesting machinery which the Americans made their own, British manufacturers could compete with anyone. From the mid-1870s the value of exports in every class of implement rose in spite of falling prices. Some firms almost abandoned the home market and sold virtually all their production abroad.

Here the lack of records of Howard's is a real barrier to discovering how successful the company was in substituting exports for home sales in this period. The fact that they survived and seem to have continued to flourish, however, suggests that their performance here was at least satisfactory. But plenty of evidence survives that they had long been making a special effort to sell overseas and continued to do so. Their display at the Paris show of 1878 has already been mentioned, as well as the prizes they won in all parts of the world. Howard's had no offices outside England; their export sales must have been achieved through agents. But there is evidence that members of the firm did travel abroad. James Howard himself was well known for travelling widely. In 1882 the *IMR* in a major article devoted to his life described him as undertaking "much Continental and Eastern travel", Eastern presumably meaning Eastern Europe.[27] The magazine also specifically mentioned a "tour of Spain in 1879" by him. Edward himself was in Paris for the exhibition of 1867 and again twice for that of 1878. In September 1881 he went with his son John to some steam cultivating trials near Hanover in Germany, and then on to an electrical exhibition in Paris, though this latter was probably more to do with his private interest in electric lighting than for work purposes. Charlotte also reported in her diary on the return of one of James Howard's sons from

a round-the-world tour. Presumably this took in visits to agents in such countries as South Africa and Australasia.

But further than this both the products developed and the company's promotional literature makes it clear that products were developed with the overseas market in mind. The vine plough shown at the Paris show of 1878, noted above, is only one instance of this. In 1882 the *IMR* reported on a multiple plough with maize drill. "We are not surprised that the series of multiple ploughs recently introduced by Howard's should have found great favour in the Colonies, whence we are assured the repeat orders coming to hand are numerous. This is especially the case with... the maize drill... the simple drill deposits the seed in the middle furrow, where it is immediately covered with the earth raised by the next ploughshare.... The drill is designed for planting maize or 'mealies'; but it can be arranged for beans, peas or other seed.... So simple and so easily managed is this form of plough that the Basutos and Zulus of South Africa work it without difficulty."[28] One problem Colonial and other overseas farmers faced was the lack of easily available repair facilities. Implements, therefore, had to be strong enough not to break. Howard's 1875 catalogue stressed the "strength and simplicity" of its International Reaper, the name itself indicating it was aimed as much at the export as the home market. "Wrought iron and steel are always used as far as possible instead of cast iron. A breakage during harvest often causes delay and annoyance, and sometimes serious loss, especially in Foreign Countries where repairs are much more difficult to execute than at home." The company's patent lever horse rake, too, was "strong, durable and efficient", doubtless for the same reason.[29] At the Royal Show of 1880 a "South Russian plough" was exhibited.[30] In 1884 the *IMR* noted that the "large assortment of tillages and harvesting machines" Howard's had on display at the Royal Show that year were "adapted for every part of the world."[31]

But James Howard himself is on record in 1888 as voicing the concern that the switch into exports had gone too far. He wished to "remove the tendency to almost sole dependence which some implement makers seem to place on exports sources of demand."[32] There was still potential in the home market. By no means all farms by this stage relied on the new machinery. There was thus an untapped

market. Meanwhile the flight of farm labourers from the land continued as rapidly as before, reducing their numbers by about a quarter in the 20 years up to 1881 and by the same proportion in the following 20 – a process that doubtless many farmers, faced with rising wage bills, encouraged. Fewer farm hands meant more machinery, so the opportunity to sell to the British farmer remained, if diminished.

The development of the sheaf-binding harvester

One of the farming tasks that required most labour was the harvest. Mechanical reapers had largely replaced teams of scythe-wielding labourers by the end of the 1870s. In an 1876 article in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society* entitled 'Changes and Progress of Agriculture in recent years' the author listed this change first, before steam-ploughing, before changes in crop rotation. "The most striking feature of agricultural progress within the last twenty years" he proclaimed "has been the general introduction of reaping machines, one of which can do the work of ten men." It was not just the labour-saving which appealed to farmers; it was also the speed of the operation, being able to gather in the harvest at the right time "when the entire crop ripens within a fortnight." The same applied to haymaking, too, "where a similar machine... is available."[33]

But gathering the corn and binding it in sheaves remained a very labour-intensive task. This had become the new hot topic of the farming implement world by the later 1870s and it was to the development of sheaf-binding reapers that Edward now turned his attention. In April 1876 he took out a patent for 'sheafing or binding-apparatus': "The binding-apparatus is mounted on beams projecting from below the reaper platform. The rake of the reaping-machine delivers the crop to a tapering box, which guides the sheaf into a cradle. A cord is then carried three times round the sheaf... by a revolving arm and severed by a knife.... To increase the holding power of the binding-cord it is coated with glutinous or pitchy material."[34] But it did not work; the cord needed to be knotted, which was "much more difficult", as Edward informed his wife.

He tried instead using wire. Being stiff wire was easier to manipulate by machine, but the resulting binder was by no means simple. At the end of 1877 Edward produced a very full patent specification for a binder using wire. It included details of the binder-

frame, binder table, needle, wire clamp, twister, wire cutters, tension arm, and discharger as well as a description of its operation.[35] The following year he modified this design, and his new specification included details of how the actual binding was to be achieved: "The wire from the upper bobbin is threaded through the arm and connected by hand to the lower wire, [this] having been through an eye in the lever, through a slot in the table, and is engaged with the whirl at the side nearest the binding arm. The whirl is given a half revolution, which carries the wire to the side farthest from the binding-arm. The arm descends and passes the wire round the sheaf and into the whirl. The whirl revolves and twists the wires above and below itself. The wires are cut below the sheaf, leaving them united at the lower twist. The arm raises ready for the next sheaf..."[36] This was launched the following year: "In the binder wire is used, and the cutting takes place after the twisting. The severance is affected by a sort of shears, and nut and rotary cutter"[37] . But few English farmers would have anything to do with a wire binder: the high cost of the wire as well as the problem of disposing of it safely at threshing put them off.

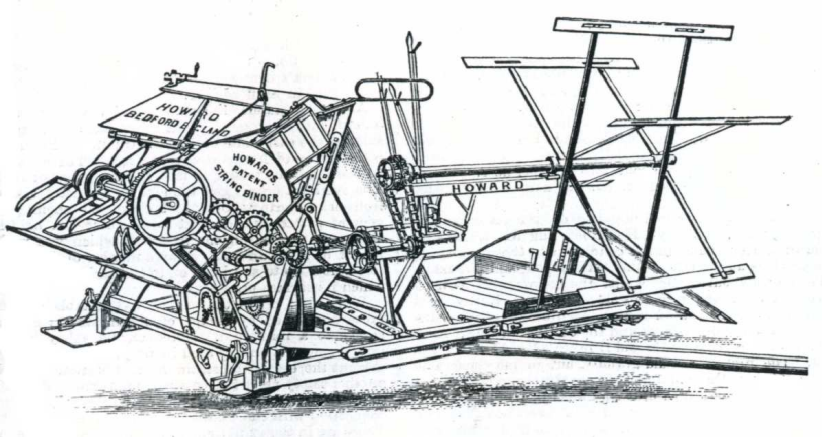
The development of the binder progressed slowly. "We met Papa [as she referred to her husband] driving to the harvest field not far from home." Charlotte wrote in her diary on 1st September 1879, "He got into the carriage and went with us, or rather we went with him, to see his 'binder' at work. He is following up last year's experiences... in the field whenever he can." But the terrible weather was hampering him: "The weather has been fine since Friday and the harvest seems now fairly begun, but how late!". A week later "the wire binder he has about made right and is now trying to get one to tie sheaves with string as they are cut by the reaper. This is much more difficult." At the end of the month Charlotte was again "in the cornfield with Papa to see the 'binder' at work; it is now taking much of his time and attention as it is not quite to his mind, although it worked very well... Mr J. Howard... came up and shook hands and chatted awhile very pleasantly..." A week later and another field of wheat: Papa "was much more satisfied with it."

But not much progress seemed to have been made a year later: "Friday [1st October] went with Papa for a long drive to Wilden to see the binder. It worked tolerably well in a most miserable crop of wheat at first, but a slight alteration intended to improve, made just as Mr

J. Howard was entering the field, spoilt all for the time and it did not bind a sheaf whilst he was there, much to Papa's annoyance." A fortnight later, however, "the last few days of fine weather have enable Papa to be in the fields and a behind-hand farmer, who ought to have gathered his crop of wheat weeks since, has given him another opportunity of working his string-binder.... I rambled around the field in search of blackberries whilst he was having some alterations made in his machine, which he now thinks 'is on its way to perfection'." But his confidence was again misplaced. In August the following year [1881] Charlotte reported: "The journey to Derby was neither a pleasure nor a success to Papa. The continual rains made the trials of binders a very unpleasant business and the more so as he was disappointed in the working of his, which did not do nearly so well as it did here." (His son Will had gone with him: "Will's work was to give a report of the Derby trials for *Engineering* for which paper he now frequently writes." What he did not do, however, Charlotte complained, was write to his mother!).

The *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society* in its report on the trials agreed with Charlotte that Edward's machine had not performed well. It described the binder and especially the knotting mechanism in some detail and concluded that the machine "appeared simple in construction, and, when tried in the Showyard [at the Royal Show], thoroughly efficient, but when put to actual work was not successful, a great many sheaves being thrown off unbound, and stoppages from choking being frequent." It was also not good at producing a "uniform size of sheaf."[38]

So the development work continued. More patents were taken out in 1880 and early in 1881, both concerned mainly with the 'sheaf-binding mechanism'. Then in September yet another patent related "to improvements in the type of machine known as the 'Marsh harvester' and especially to machines as modified by devices in the United States Specification of J.T. Appleby no. 212420."[39] Appleby had invented a means of tying the binder twine around the sheaf automatically. This breakthrough finally enabled the string sheaf-binder to become a practical proposition and British implement makers were quick to adopt it. A year later further improvements were patented by Edward for Howard's. These included modifications to the binder-table and reel "to adapt the machine to various lengths of crop" and to the sheaf-



Howard's sheaf-binder. An engraving from the edition of IMR *that described the great Shrewsbury trials of August 1884.*

carriers "to obviate the dropping of sheaves in the track of the horses when turning a corner".[40] Yet more development of the sheafing and binding mechanism followed early the next year (1883), with modifications to the cord clamps and binder tripping, which involved a device to lock the trip mechanism "to prevent the premature starting of the binding-mechanism".[41] Further modifications were the subject of yet two more patents in 1884.

Other manufacturers, too, had of course also been working hard to produce saleable machines. In the summer of that year the Royal Show authorities decided that their efforts warranted a major trial of sheaf-binders and duly organised this in August. This was the biggest event of the implement manufacturers' year and was written up at length in the trade press. The Shrewsbury trials, as they were known, took place on a farm outside the town."The trials were held in August and lasted 1 week." the Chief Steward of the Trials reported later: "It would be difficult to overrate their importance, being perhaps the most thorough that this or any other Society has ever held."[42] In all 28 machines were originally entered for the trials held by the Royal Agricultural Society, but in the event only sixteen actually took part, including three each from Howard's, Hornsby & Sons and the great American firm of McCormick, the company which had invented the first working reaper.

One of these McCormick binders had won first prize at the Derby trials. Unlike those when the weather had been appalling, now it was very warm and dry. "All the implements throughout the week" the *IMR* reported "were drawn each by a pair of horses... Hornsby's and Howard's brought their own horses with them. The drivers were men well accustomed to binders, some of them having driven in important trials in all corners of the globe. The American machines much part of the time were driven by American experts." [43]

On the first day Hornsby's with a new string binding harvester were the first to go. "Messrs Hornsby's machine had attached to it their 'Winrower' apparatus which deposited the sheaves in triplets in long straight rows, just ready for shocking [i.e. stooking]. This accessory was greatly admired by the public and performed excellently." Hornsby's time for their plot was 35 minutes. When Howard's turn came, they "brought out their 'Simplex' self-binder. With it they did very satisfactory work at a good pace, finishing in 25 minutes." Howard's also tried their cheaper 'low-down' reaper, but it did not work well. On the second day Hornsby's and Howard's were among the four machines that "all made capital execution." Hornsby's however had a device for temporarily stopping the discharge of the sheaves to prevent the horses going over them at the corners of the field (although not mentioned by the *IMR*, Howard's machines also had this feature). On Friday, the third day, "the best morning's work, to our mind was that done by Howard's five-foot cut binder. It went through the two acres in grand style.... there were next to no missed sheaves, the bundles were of full average size, yet tightly bound... and delivery was excellent. The stubble was clean and regular." In the afternoon Hornsby's low-delivery reaper "was deservedly highly praised." [44]

Suffering from the heat and stress Edward needed to get away over the free weekend which now intervened. On Saturday night, he told Charlotte, "he left Mr J. Howard, his sons and the rest of the Britannia staff at the hotel and went to Llangollen for a Sunday alone." Refreshed he returned on Monday morning for the final two days. At this stage, the *IMR* reported "Barley was taken in hand." All three of the Howard machines were used. But by Tuesday morning the judges had whittled the contesting machines down to eight, including Howard's no.s 45 and 47. Howard's no.47 binder "was stopped by a rabbit hole, but soon proceeded, turning out bundles which were as regular and neat as the

crop would allow."[45] By lunchtime, according to the official report in the Society's Journal, two machines, Hornsby's no. 4568 and Howard's no. 47, had "each distinguished themselves by making good work in every plot" they worked on. "In the barley trials their superiority became even more apparent. As the trials became more exhaustive, the ability of these two machines to grapple with increasing difficulties became more marked."[46] Everyone thought the trials were now over, but "after some deliberation the Judges concluded to send the two rival machines" on to a plot "which has already been referred to as too rough to attack." The *Journal* was moved to purple prose by the excitement of the moment: "The head of each firm, like a commanding officer with his troops on parade, was mounted on his favourite charger. Hornsby's pair of black horses... were simply immense. Howard's high-stepping mares, though not quite so heavy, fully made up for this by their extra activity. They all stood ready for the fray to begin."[47]

Howard's went first. "In two rounds made by this machine" the Journal reported "no hitch occurred, except a stop caused by the cutting up of a hedgehog... Every sheaf was tied... and the general work was excellent.... Hornsby's machine... made the two trial rounds without a single hitch, making splendid work throughout." "The work done by the two machines on this patch" the *Journal* continued could not fail to excite the admiration of everyone who saw it. ...This question will now doubtless arise to many readers: 'Has the sheaf-binding reaper at last attained to that degree of simplicity and perfection which would make it safe for me to buy one for the next harvest?'"[48] It was a question the writer declined to answer. The judges, however, had to answer the question as to which was the better machine at the trials. They plumped for Hornsby's giving them the first prize of £100, Howard's taking the second prize of £50. Neither the *Journal* nor the *IMR* added anything to explain this decision, which according to Charlotte was controversial: "from the judgment of the public and press [Edward] ought to have had the first [prize]."

In its obituary of him over 30 years later, the local Bedford paper quoted *The Times* as calling him the inventor of the first English sheaf-binder. But when it did this, in what context and in reference to which machine, is not known. It was not at his death, which *The Times* merely noted. In the course of its report on the trials, however, the *Journal* had noted that: "The special feature of this machine [Howard's no: 47] is the

rotary knotter, which here takes the place of the Appleby knotter, for which the exhibitors claim a more certain action and a reduction and simplification of the working parts, which are now reduced to only six." The report also commented that: "The manner in which the binding mechanism is put in motion varies from other machines" and went on to describe it in more detail.[49] Perhaps it was this series of improvements, or at least differences, that caused *The Times* to give Edward the accolade of the sheaf-binder's inventor.

Howard's had in fact first shown a twine sheaf-binder at the Royal Show as early as 1877, when they displayed a "New patent Sheaf Binder 'for trial'."[50] But this seems to have a means of getting advance publicity, rather than a serious attempt to sell. By 1881, the year of the Derby trials they had three models on display: general, long-straw and light crops. Two years later at York a new "6-foot" sheaf-binder was on show: "intended for hot countries where the straw is short" their show catalogue explained.[51] At Shrewsbury in 1884 no fewer than five machines were displayed including a "low-down" version. Three of these, as we have seen, were sent to the trials. Thereafter their show catalogues for some years remind their readers of the firm's "Royal Prize" sheaf-binder. Nevertheless the impression gained from successive catalogues is that the machine never sold especially well. It is given no prominence, for example, and by 1889 only one sheaf-binder – a new 'steel frame' lightweight model – was displayed. Another new model was introduced in 1892, but this survived only four seasons, 1895 being the last year Howard's displayed a sheaf-binder at the Royal Show.

Edward and Howard's: the later developments

Even with all the development effort he was putting into sheaf-binders in the early 1880s, Edward continued to work to improve the current range of other implements: haymaking machines, ploughs, harrows, horse rakes, even gas engines and silos, were felt to merit his attention and were the subjects of patents he took out at this time. Even if the silo idea came to nothing, his other efforts bore fruit. In August 1883 Charlotte "went with Papa to watch the trial of a newly-patented hay-rake in the hay-field." But by this time a new product type was engaging his attention : a straw-trussing machine. This arose as a result of a new marketing opportunity. Straw, hitherto not worth considering

spending any money on, became a "marketable commodity" as the *IMR* put it.[52] The rising number of dairy cows led to an increased demand, while the "relaxation by landowners of restrictive covenants" on its sale meant tenant farmers of arable land were able to sell it. But after threshing it had to be converted into practical-sized bundles for moving. The Royal Agricultural Society offered a prize for a straw-trusser. Howard's got in first: "The first practical outcome of the demand was exhibited in motion at the York show" the *IMR* reported in September 1883 "having been made and patented by Messrs Howard's of Bedford, and termed Howard's new patent straw-trussing machine." It utilised much of the same mechanisms as the sheaf-binder and was simply hooked on to the threshing machine. "The thrashed straw on leaving the shakers passes between the canvas conductors to the collectors, which receive and compress it against weighted levers. When there is sufficient straw collected, the levers are balanced and moved, and at once the binding mechanism is started. Whilst the truss is under compression, the pair of binding arms enclose and bind it with two bands." The machine was also readily 'portable'; when detached from the thresher a single horse could easily move it on its own two wheels. There was room for improvement, however, the *IMR*'s reporter opined, in the shape of the truss: "We should have liked to see it present a rounder and consequently a more marketable shape." But even " in its present stage [of development] it earned much commendation... and well deserved the Society's silver medal."[53] Later that year Howard's informed the magazine that it had been "largely exported to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa."[54]

Development continued. In the three years 1883–5 the company took out five patents concerned with trussing machines, only one of which did not involve Edward, and a machine was first shown at York in 1883. At the 'Machinery in Motion' department of the Royal Show in 1884, "the machine appeared to be almost as much a centre of attraction" as it had been at York a year earlier. "The success which we then predicted for it has early appeared.. Already, the firm inform us, the demand has become large." It could truss "17 to 18 tons of straw in ten hours at a cost of twine of only a shilling a ton."[55] It looked like another world-beater, taking first prize at the Brandenburg Agricultural Show that year and being awarded medals at two English county shows the following year. It certainly seems to have been more

successful than the sheaf-binder. New models were brought out and in 1888 a "new hay and straw press worked by steam power" was shown at the Nottingham Royal Show.[56] In fact this did not perform well at the trials that year, but by the following Show it had "been considerably improved." *The Engineer* averred "so much so that three men can now do the work six then did."[57] This pressed the hay or straw into bales rather than the sheaf-shaped bundles produced by the trusser, though both basically dealt with the straw as it left the threshing machine. Both machines were still in Howard's Royal Show catalogue of 1900, the last year checked.

Yet another new development of the 1880s was a light railway system. An extensive 'tramway' had been a feature of the Britannia works from the start, but apart from a single patent taken out by James Howard and R. Burn in 1872 no development work was done on the system. Now doubtless sensing a sales opportunity particularly in overseas markets, the company turned its experience in its use over many years to good advantage. The basic system consisted of light rails laid on metal sleepers and fastened to them "with a simple metal key without bolts or spikes", as its special catalogue explained.[58] It was one used in part by Howard's at the Britannia Works right from the start in 1858, but once again Edward spearheaded the further development that was needed to make it saleable. While still involved in improving the sheaf-binder and straw-trusser, he took out two patents early in 1885, and no less than four the following year. These mainly concerned the sleepers and chairs on which the rails rested, and in two of them his son Will was also involved for he is named in the patent application. Three more patents on the same theme followed over the next couple of years, followed by one for railway tip-waggons in 1889. Howard's launched the system with an accompanying special catalogue at the Royal Show in July 1885. The Show catalogue entry described the railway as "specially adapted for agricultural operations, sugar plantations, mines and manufactories."[59] It was light enough for sections to be carried by two labourers and very simple to put together: "the simplest of the many light permanent ways that have been brought out" *The Engineer* declared. "The parts are fewer than by any system."[60] In addition to the basic sections of track, points and a range of waggons both flat or platform and tip were offered.

This 'Portable Railway', as Howard's termed it, was an immediate success. It gained first prize in the Argentine Exhibition of 1886, and by the following year Howard's could boast that it had sold both the railway and the rolling stock "to many parts of the United Kingdom as well as to Australia, Cuba, Jamaica, Central America, South America, India, South Africa, Philippine Islands, Straits Settlements and other countries." To widen its appeal, the tracks were offered in a variety of weights and gauges, thud making it usable for such operations as brickworks, quarries and 'gold fields' as well as coffee, sugar and other plantations. The company claimed its advantages as "simplicity, strength, durability and moderate cost." It was also designed to be foolproof in construction: "The gauge does not depend on the skill of the workman" for it was built into the system. Moreover it was far from being a 'permanent way': "the rails may be laid down, removed and relaid in the most expeditious manner without skilled labour."[61] Although development of the system seems to have come to an end in 1889 – certainly no more patent applications were made after that date, Howard's continued selling it at least until 1900, when it was still listed in their Royal Show catalogue.

Yet in spite of all these successful new products, Howard's went downhill in the 1880s. In November 1884 Charlotte commented that "Farming was never so unremunerative.... there is great scarcity of work in both fields and factories. At the Britannia the number of men employed on short time or discharged is greater than I ever remember hearing of before." And a couple of months later she repeated: "The shortness of work at the Britannia is more talked of than ever before during the long time we have been here." (She continued in characteristic vein: "... and is the ostensible reason for a great deal of distress, which however in being traced to its true source in most cases arises from the improvidence of men who in time when work was plentiful spent on drink the money which would now have kept them above poverty. This is the real cause of the depression of trade.") By the end of the decade the company was no longer the force that it had once been in the industry. Evidence for this comes from the displays at successive Royal Shows. At Derby in 1881 Howard's had 77 exhibits, Ransomes', the company that eventually bought the rump of Howard's

in 1933, had only 40. By the Nottingham Show of 1888 Howard's number of exhibits had decreased to 37, the same number as Ransome's, while W.N. Nicholson of Newark, for whom Edward had probably worked as a young man, had 42. Two years later Howard's displayed only 23 items as against over 40 by both Ransome's and Nicholson's. In the following decade Howard's exhibits increased again to nearly 50, much the same as Ransome's without its new range of lawn mowers. In financial terms Howard's profits were £18,000 in 1910 as against Ransome's of £85,000. It was still a successful company, but no longer the giant it had once been.

Edward in semi-retirement

For a long time Edward had been irked by his treatment at Howard's. Indeed as early as 1879 Charlotte claimed that "he has often been tempted to finish his more than 20 years connection with the Britannia Works." His somewhat depressive temperament was probably as much the origin of this as anything the Howards either did or failed to do. But lack of recognition for his contribution to the firm's success was also doubtless a factor. This applied not just within the company, but in the wider world, too. The *IMR* in its major article on James Howard in 1882 mentions the many patents taken out by the company and comments "This inventiveness should have afforded work enough... for a man at the head of a great manufacturing establishment" as though Howard had done all the product development work himself. Yet with several Howard sons in the business any major enhancement of his status was at best unlikely. After the binder trials of 1884 he became unhappy again. The disappointment of coming second had left him psychologically drained. "He seems to feel" Charlotte wrote that October "there is little in the way of invention and work in his line to be accomplished further by him for the Britannia, and his position there has become so irksome that I shall be thankful when it can come to an end". But in December he attended the Smithfield Show as usual and the following July Charlotte reported that "Business has taken Papa to town several times." Whatever his feelings it must have been clear to him that he had little alternative but to stay on at Howard's. He was in his mid-fifties and even if he had obtained a similar post with another agricultural implement company – unlikely in itself, it would have meant moving to another town. His friend Alfred Morton had done this

some 25 years earlier when he had joined the Coleman brothers, moved to Chelmsford and established a successful business there with them. But there never seems to have been any suggestion that Edward should join them. It was now too late to set up on his own. In any case he had tried that and failed. So he stayed on at the Britannia Works. Nevertheless he chafed under the bit of being an employee.

Edward for all his unhappiness had been more active than ever during the 1880s. More than a third of his patents – 33 out of total of 96 – were taken out in that decade. But by the end of 1888 he was 59 years old and he had had enough of the daily grind. In October Charlotte wrote: "The immediate future is now a very unsettled matter with us. Papa intends to sever his long connection with the Britannia Works at Christmas, at least in its present form, but in compliance with Mr J. Howard's special request, has consented to continue as much supervision and advice as may be advantageous to the business, but leave his time pretty much to his own disposal." This new arrangement even survived James Howard's unexpected death early in the new year. "Another three months I can only sketch." Charlotte wrote in March "For Papa they have certainly brought relief from many annoyances, and complete freedom in the disposal of his time as far as the Works are concerned. He formally resigned all Management at Christmas... Since he consented to this the senior Partner has passed away. Mr James Howard died suddenly in London a few weeks since."

The loss of James Howard was to prove a body-blow for the company. No one of anywhere near his ability and energy seems to have emerged from among his sons and nephews. For forty years and more he had been one of the leading figures in the agricultural implement industry. His creative ability had produced major advances in both implements and manufacturing processes. His vision and his willingness to take risks had led to the creation of a great business and a huge new factory on a virgin site. He seems to have fully mastered all the key factors in a successful business enterprise: innovative product, high quality, advanced manufacturing techniques, price competitiveness, all combined with effective advertising, promotion and public relations. We must assume also that with his brother he was at least a satisfactory employer: Charlotte's diaries never even hint at any discontent among the workforce. His immense energy allowed him not just to lead a major company, but to plan his vast new works in

detail, and to run a farm of several hundred acres partly as a means of demonstrating his company's products. He was also a founder member and first vice-chairman (one of two) of the Agricultural Engineers Association in 1875. He was very active in farming politics, first in the Chambers of Agriculture (founded in 1866) and then as a founder of the breakaway Farmers' Alliance. Of all the candidates this organisation put up in 1880 for election to Parliament to promote the rights of tenant farmers, he was the only successful one. He wrote widely on farming matters, and was also much involved in local politics over many years. He was chairman of a local railway company, a founder of the Bedford Working Man's Institute and an active member of several public bodies concerned with agriculture or engineering. Indeed the suspicion must be that he spread himself too thinly and failed to devote sufficient time and energy to the business, which seems to have begun losing its way in his later years. His other major weakness as a business leader, perhaps, was one which was at the heart of the failure of British business for several generations from mid-Victorian times. This was the failure to ensure the development of professional management both from among family members and outside the family. Being the boss's son was felt by the overwhelming majority of British business – disastrously in the long run – to be enough. Howard's was no exception.

For the moment, however, Edward's plans for his semi-retirement fell into place. In March 1889, his wife could report that: "Papa generally goes to the Works for a few hours every other day and to London alternate days. Will has arranged for him to use one of his Chambers. He spends some time there looking at the papers of any cases that are interesting to him, or going into the Law Courts..." Edward's involvement with the Law Courts had begun more than three years earlier, when he had begun studying for the Bar examinations. He must have been driven by the desire to escape from being an undervalued employee at Howard's. As a barrister he would achieve the status and recognition he could never achieve there. Doubtless Will's great success encouraged him in this endeavour, and the examinations themselves were not at that time enormously demanding. Nevertheless they were certainly a challenge at his time of life and while still in full time employment. The project must have required much application and self-discipline. At the last minute he nearly got

cold feet over taking the exam: "Papa was rather faint-hearted and half-inclined to put off the ordeal." But Will would have none of it and urged him on. So in mid-October 1887 he sat the examination in London, but returned home "not very sanguine as he says the exam papers might have been framed to miss the very subjects to which he had devoted most time." Three weeks later Charlotte was able to write in her diary: "I am indeed proud and thankful. Proud that my husband amidst all the worries and anxieties of business has accomplished as much as any young man with none of either, and thankful as much that his mind is relieved of the extra strain" of studying. The following June, watched by Hattie and Will's wife Florence, he was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple.

It had surely never been his intention to practice as a barrister. Charlotte looked on it as a retirement activity: "The precise direction in which he intends to use his newly acquired position... I do not yet quite know." But it was much more creditable "than if he had been contented as most men of his age are, to quietly settle down to doing little or nothing when retiring from a life-long occupation." But it did not work out in the way either of them had imagined. At first, as mentioned above, he frequently travelled to London to the Chambers Will leant him or to the Law Courts. But if he had hoped that he would get a steady if not too frequent flow of cases to be involved in, he was disappointed. Charlotte notes only two cases up to the middle of 1896, when the seven year gap in her diary begins, in which he took part. In June 1891 he attended a trial as a scientific witness. Then the following January Will used him in one of his big showpiece trials, Nettlefold *v.* American Screw Company. The trial took place over 15 days, before Will and his client emerged victorious. "Papa had been very much involved in the case both before and at the trial... he has had to give his report and opinion professionally. For weeks before the trial he was having models made ready for it at the Works and was also examined as one of the experts in the case."

But long before that it was clear that his retirement from Howard's was at first only partial. "Papa going to London, and too much to the Works" Charlotte complained in August 1890. Though there is little hard evidence, what seems to have happened is that the legal work Edward had hoped for did not materialise. At the same time either he realised that his real love was product development engineering, or the

company's new management realised that it could not do without him. Probably both. He took out a further 20 patents between 1890 and 1898, the year of his last patent, a figure which compares favourably with the 22 he took out in the 1870s. But James Howard's death brought big changes in the way he worked. Whereas while he lived, with only one exception all Edward's full patents for agricultural implements were in their joint names, now after James' death 14 out of his last 21 patents were in Edward's name alone. In these last patents he returned mainly to his first love – engines, both steam boilers and the new 'explosion machines', that is , internal combustion engines, though there was also one for typewriters in 1890.

It is surely wrong to imagine that he was just 'playing around', not seriously involved in the development of products for the market. But perhaps his work was no longer so sharply focussed as it had been. Having only his name on many of the patents was a two-edged sword: he might get all the glory and the royalties, but Howard's may have been less committed to the success of any resulting products. Yet a steady stream of products was introduced by the company which seem to have been based on Edward's latest patents: a vertical steam engine in 1893, a horizontal oil engine in 1894 and three oil engines the following year. Edward took out no fewer than five patents for 'explosion engines' between 1893–5. Then in 1896 an "auto-car for the conveyance of merchandise propelled by Howard's patent petroleum engine" and priced at £200 was exhibited.[63] But it did not appear again. Two of the oil engines, however, remained in the range at least until 1900.

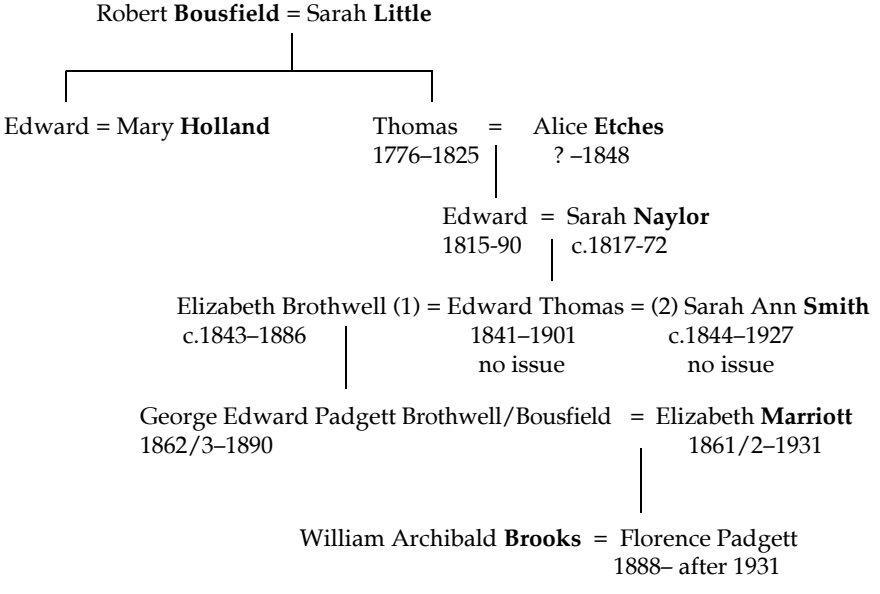
For the last five years of his time in Bedford no evidence survives of his working life, if indeed he had one. His last patent was in 1898 and from a couple of years previously there is a gap in Charlotte's diaries, which start again with the move to Nottingham in 1903. In any case during the 1890s she writes almost nothing of his work beyond that already quoted on his cases at the Law Courts. It is unlikely that he gave up his engineering entirely: even in Nottingham he had a workshop in his new home. But he became 70 in 1899 and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in his last few years in Bedford he did very little work. Though he lived on for another dozen and more years after the move, there is nothing in Charlotte's dairy to suggest he was very active during that time, though he did get involved in his grandson's

unsuccessful engineering business for a time – rather unwillingly perhaps. The thriftiness that Charlotte and he had always practised and the care with which they had husbanded their financial resources now gave him sufficient independence to relax with his gardening and his preaching. When the time came to leave Bedford "a presentation to my husband was made by a deputation of workmen from the Britannia Works, who would not allow one to whom they had been accustomed to look up to for so many years, to finally leave the scene of his responsibilities and labours amongst them without an expression of their esteem. This was conveyed in a beautifully illuminated and framed address, which they brought to the house and presented with kind words, to which my husband gave a suitable and genial reply." The management continued to send a turkey to Nottingham every Christmas until his death.

When the Howard brothers died, the trade press carried lengthy obituaries. They did too when Edward's friend Alfred Morton died. But they were all principals of their respective companies. Edward's death was ignored by the publications which had so frequently described the products he had developed. Neither the *Implement and Machinery Review* nor *The Engineer* so much as mentioned his passing. Local newspapers in both Bedford and Nottingham gave him obituaries without either of them attempting to evaluate his main life's work as an agricultural engineer. A modest, self-effacing man he had little talent – and less inclination – for self-promotion; so that it seems probable that his several important contributions to the development of agricultural implements world-wide have not had the recognition they deserve. It is fair to say that Howard's, for all that it owed to James Howard's many talents, would not have been anywhere near the force that it became in its industry without him. He was crucial to their success in their best years, and once both he and James Howard had gone, the company no longer employed anyone of sufficient ability to ensure its long-term survival.

Chapter Eleven

The last of the Newark Bousfields 1815–1927



When Henry Bousfield came to draw up his family tree in 1848, he ignored or was ignorant of the children of Thomas and Alice. In Chapter Three we speculated that this might have been because the rest of the family did not find Alice's relations the Etches entirely respectable. While there is evidence to support the family's view, nothing in the surviving record suggests that Thomas's descendants

were other than hard-working and honest citizens. But the family break was permanent. No mention is made of these cousins in Charlotte's dairies when she or other members of her family visit Newark; and when in the early twentieth century both sides of the family came to live in Nottingham, there was no contact and probably no knowledge of the others' existence. Today their self-confident gravestones in the Anglican part of Newark cemetery face directly across the dividing path to the more modest memorials of William and Frances on the non-conformist side. No symbol of the family split could be more palpable.

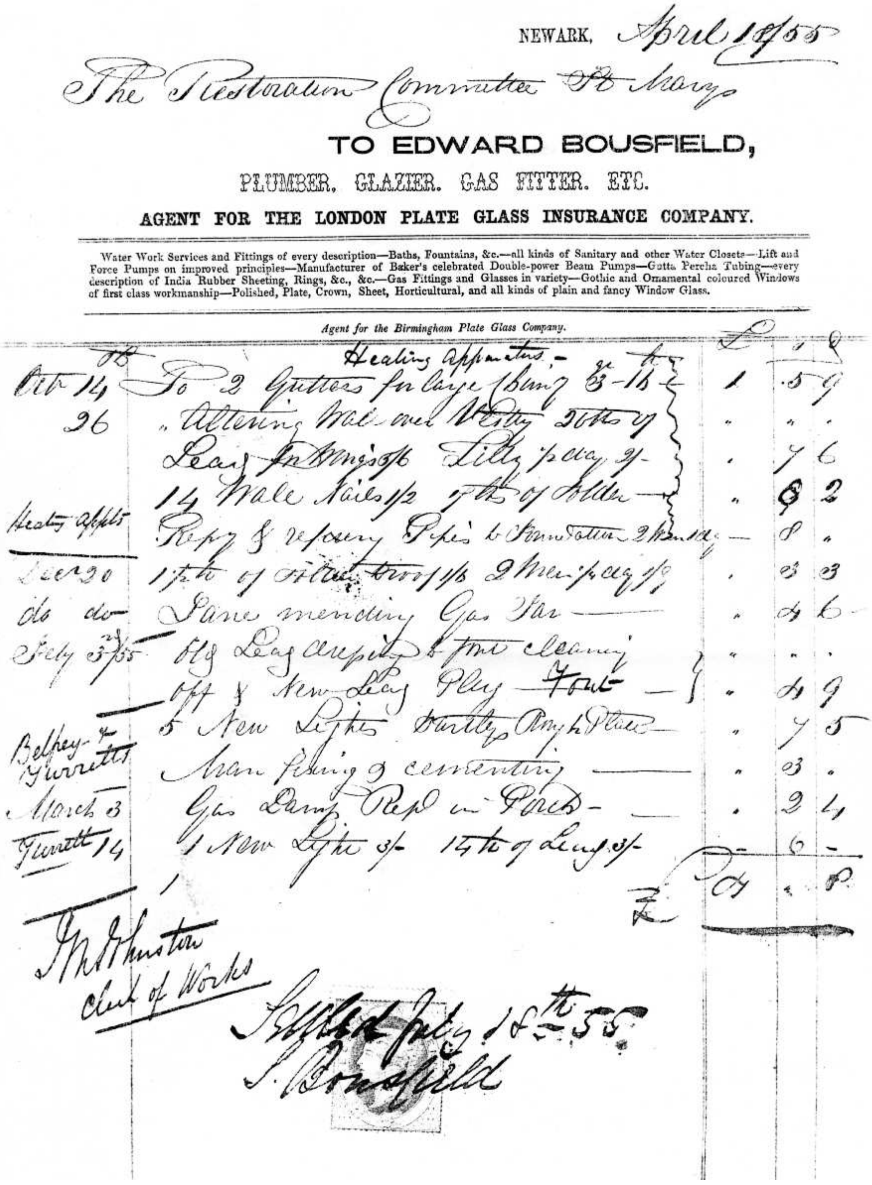
Edward Bousfield the plumber

Edward had every right to feel proud of what he achieved in his long life. He was born in 1815, the third of five children. His father Thomas died when he was only ten. His mother was left with these five young children to bring up and was not well off. What Edward received in the way of education is not known; it was probably very basic, but certainly enough to run a successful business. In some ways his career resembles that of his uncle and namesake, in that he established a business from scratch in Newark and was able to hand it over to his son as a going concern. But first he had to learn his trade. He became a plumber and glazier, two skills that had been closely associated for a long time, for windows had leaded panes while few houses had piped water indoors before the nineteenth century.

In 1837, by his own account, when he was just 22, he set himself up in business in Newark. He prospered from the start. Even by 1840 he had gained the property qualification that gave him the vote in both local and parliamentary elections, something his father never achieved. He was soon married to Sarah Naylor from Sheffield. She was a couple of years younger than him. They first set up home in Lombard Street, where their only child, Edward Thomas, was born in 1841. Edward's mother Alice, now in her 50s, was running her grocery shop in Stodman Street, where William, Edward's teenage brother, lived with her. Soon Edward acquired much larger premises also in Stodman Street on a site almost as extensive as that owned by his cousin (and now Mayor) Edward Little, though Edward leased rather than owned his. Moreover he was a good enough businessman to avoid the troubles which led to the bankruptcies in 1845–6 that pulled down his ironmonger cousins (see Chapter Five).

For a time Sarah too set up as a milliner and dressmaker here, but it is perhaps another indication of Edward's rising prosperity that only the 1842 Directory shows Sarah in business. Edward was clearly an active, energetic man, adding many new business activities to his basic plumbing and glazing. In 1851 he took over the town's Fire Brigade. Under new powers acquired that year, the Town Council decided "that the whole of the existing Fire Brigade should be dismissed and others appointed, with Edward Bousfield, plumber, as Superintendent, with 11 firemen (later 12). The scale of payment was to be 2/6d per man for the first 2 hours, leading up to 6d per subsequent hour over 6 hours. The Superintendent was to be paid 50 per cent more. The engines were to be entirely under the control of Mr Bousfield, who offered a place on his premises for them at the rent of £5 p.a."[1]. He ran the Brigade for seventeen years and for most of the time he seems to have been given a free hand by the Watch Committee to whom he reported. But from 1865 this changed. The Borough Surveyor noted: "Superintendent to make a report quarterly of engines and men". The next year eight coats as well as leggings were ordered for the firemen and a fire escape ladder purchased. In August the following year the Committee decided to "inspect the firehose and if necessary get new hose", but the next month the "Clerk [had] to write to Mr Bousfield expressing dissatisfaction for not showing hose to the Committee". Edward seemingly did not like being too closely supervised. In January 1868 he was due "£14.3.9 expenses at Mr Grosse's and Mr Hodgkinson's fires", but that July he resigned. The parting was amicable: in August the Borough Surveyor noted that he had been "thanked".[2]

Perhaps Edward wished to devote his entire energies to his business. By 1851 he and his family had moved to Castlegate, just along the street from Bargate House. Here he operated as a "plumber and ironmonger employing 2 men".[3] The household consisted of himself, Sarah, their son Edward Thomas, a cook, a general servant, an apprentice and a civil engineer. The last two may have been the two employees and/or lodgers, but the presence of servants indicate that Edward had become fully 'respectable'. The following year saw the start of a major alteration and restoration programme for the parish church and Edward was successful in getting a significant part of the work. At a public meeting in March the Duke of Newcastle himself, seconded by the Mayor W.N. Nicholson, proposed "a judicious


NEWARK, April 1855

The Restoration Committee St Mary's

TO EDWARD BOUSFIELD,

PLUMBER, GLAZIER, GAS FITTER, ETC.

AGENT FOR THE LONDON PLATE GLASS INSURANCE COMPANY.

Water Work Services and Fittings of every description—Baths, Fountains, &c.—all kinds of Sanitary and other Water Closets—Lift and Force Pumps on improved principles—Manufacturer of Baker's celebrated Double-power Beam Pumps—Gutta Percha Tubing—every description of India Rubber Sheeting, Rings, &c., &c.—Gas Fittings and Glasses in variety—Gothic and Ornamental coloured Windows of first class workmanship—Polished, Plate, Crown, Sheet, Horticultural, and all kinds of plain and fancy Window Glass.

Agent for the Birmingham Plate Glass Company.

One of Edward Bousfield's bills for restoration work on Newark parish church. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bishop White Library, Newark Parish Church.

re-arrangement of the sittings" so that "the accommodation... would be considerably increased, while at the same time the magnificent beauty of the interior would no longer be obscured and disfigured by inappropriate galleries and unsightly pews."[4] At the Duke's bidding George Gilbert Scott, not then the famous figure he was to become, was appointed architect. The interior of the church had been filled with galleries, which were not only becoming dilapidated but made the nave "wretched and gloomy"[5] and cut the beautiful windows in half. Extraordinarily the ornamental woodwork of the ceilings and the screen had been patched up over the years with plaster and painted stone colour.

The windows also needed much repair work. Edward put in a tender for new glass. His original hand-written note survives: "Newark March 25/54 Gentlemen I will undertake to execute the glazing of Church Windows to Specification for the sum of £245 Your obedient servant Edw Bousfield".[6] He was successful in obtaining the contract. He also did some other work for the Restoration Committee, submitting two further bills in April 1855 for various jobs he had done over the previous six months, much of it for the vestry, totalling nearly £15. One of them is headed "Heating Apparatus" and contains such items as: "2 Gutters; Altering Wall over Vestry; Gas lamp repl in porch" and covering "5 new Lights Hartley Rough Plate" for the "Belfrey & Turretts" 7s 5d together with 3s for "Man fixing & cementing". There were also sums for cleaning the font and supplying a new plug for it. The other one includes: "Water pipe for Vestry 15s; Stone Basin 15s; Marble Basin to Wash Stand 7s 6d; Man 1 day 4/-; Washing Church down 3s." Much was still outstanding at Christmas when he submitted a further account with a few extra items:" To 1 st. [stone or stick?] of solder to repr leads 18s. To 2 Men 1 day 6s. To 3 Hartley Quarries Vestry 9d." And again "To Washing church down with [illegible] 5s."[7] Clearly the area in the church where he had been working had to be left clean. The account was finally settled in February.

These bills provide a useful insight into his work. He was not just a shopkeeper; he did much work that today would be the province of a builder. But he had also developed the retail side of the business by this time. His letter headings on the above accounts detail his many activities. These closely agree with the rather longer account of his business which he published towards the end of his life, which is given

just below. But he was always on the lookout for new business. In 1864 he tendered to the Council for what appears to be street watering: but his quotation of £180 for the first year and £190 for the second and third years was beaten by £10 a year. Around 1869 he went into aerated water manufacturing, but this was only temporary. Later that year he applied to the Newark Building Benefit Society for a loan of £130 on a building plot on Farndon Road, though the outcome of this is not known. The Directory in this year gives his address as 30 Castlegate, though this does not imply any change of premises, only that the streets were now numbered. In 1889 his 'advertorial' in *Industries of Nottingham and Midlands* describes his premises as possessing "a showroom and frontage to Castlegate of about eleven yards in length, but extending a distance of seventy-two yards to the rear in workshops and stores;... besides his business as a plumber etc, Mr Bousfield manufactures Baker's Celebrated Double Power Beam Pumps."[8]

He was also agent for two plate glass companies "and maintains an extensive and varied stock, among which may be mentioned polished, plate, crown, sheet, horticultural, and all kinds of plain and fancy window glass; baths, fountains, the most approved water-closets, lead piping, sheet lead, and all plumbers' requisites; gutta-percha, india-rubber, and iron-tubing; every description of rubber sheeting, rings, gauge glasses etc, chandeliers, hall lamps, brackets, oil lamps and globes in great variety, ornamental and Gothic lime lights.... He is doing a trade throughout the town and district, and is regarded as one of the oldest and most enterprising and deserving tradesmen in the town, and is much respected. He is a member of the Worshipful Company of Plumbers, London." He employed six men and two boys. It was clearly a substantial operation. By this time he had been in business 52 years and was 74 years old. He had acquired the freehold of a house in Eggleston's Yard, an alley off the Market Place. This was by way of investment, for it was full of tenements. Edward built much needed 'coal places' and, in 1881, two new privvies for the tenants. It was the appalling housing here that had been highlighted by the Sanitary Inspectors in 1865 (see above Chapter Five).

It is fair to say that his claim to be "much respected" was based on solid foundations. He was elected to the Town Council in 1862, and remained a Councillor for six years. In 1880–1 he served as Church Warden for a couple of years. In 1875 when his cousin Ann, the last of

the three sisters living in Kirkgate, died, he became her sole beneficiary. He thus inherited the whole of the property in Kirkgate and Paxton's Court that his uncle Edward had bought from Sir William Paxton in 1814. In spite of his being the only branch of the family still living in Newark, there must be some surprise that it was left to him rather than to his uncle Edward's direct descendants. Perhaps he had been particularly good to Ann, and supported her financially. The property was in any case in poor condition. The tax authorities described it as "very old and dilapidated".[9] But the ground floor where William had had his shop was now let to George Shepherd, estate agent and Borough Surveyor, for a rent of £13 p.a.; while the tenements brought in £44 a year in total. The mortgage of £400 taken out by the Rev Henry and the two sisters, however, was still outstanding. But Edward was able to redeem this and make a good profit by quickly selling the whole lot to Grosvenor Hodgkinson, who still owned the adjoining premises, for £805. Five years later Robert Hodgkinson, who was Grosvenor's son and heir, did even better, selling it on for no less than £2000, though it is probable he had had the expense of redeveloping the site.

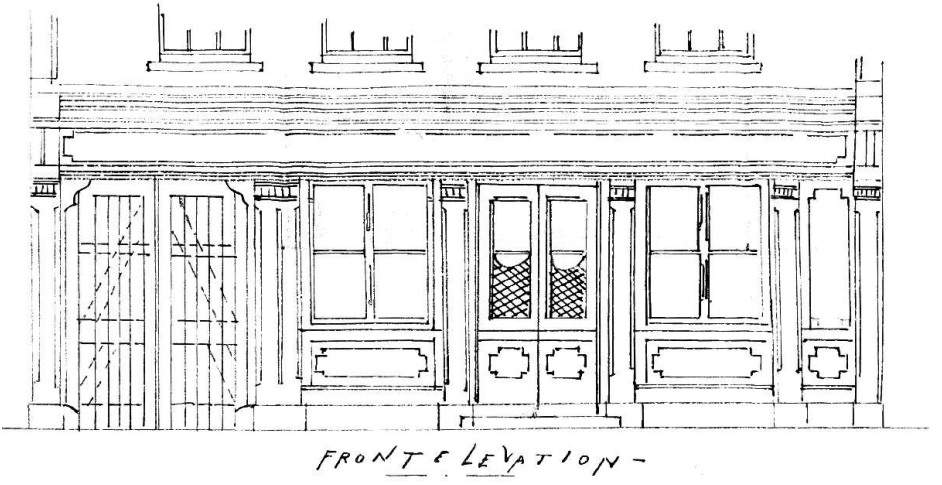
Edward died in October 1890 aged 75. His wife Sarah had already been dead a long time, having died in 1872 at just 55 years of age. Like most of the other women in this family history, no evidence survives of her personality or how she passed her days. Edward did not remarry, but took on a housekeeper, who, in 1881 at least, was helped by a 10-year old resident maid. His last months were saddened by the death of his only grandchild George Edward early in 1890. He had made a will the previous year and a few months later added a codicil. The legacies he made show him to be a kindly man. He not only left his younger brother William, who may well have been in straitened circumstances, £100 plus the rents for life from his Egglestone's Yard tenements; but he also made bequests of £50 each to his sister Mary's step-daughters, both living in London: out of sight was not out of mind, as far as he was concerned. Furthermore he left £50 each to his housekeeper and an employee, as well as to his daughter-in-law for her own particular use. But he did not leave anything to his recently widowed granddaughter-in-law Eliza or his fatherless great-grandchild Florence, though it is possible he had already made some provision for them immediately on George Edward's death earlier that year. The bulk of his estate, valued at £2654, went to his only child Edward Thomas.

Edward Thomas Bousfield and family

Edward Thomas was born on the day of the census in 1841, June 6th. Sometime in the 1850s he went to Magnus Grammar School, the top educational establishment in town.[*] By 1861 Edward Thomas was a plumber, still living at home and doubtless working for his father. He moved to Leicester for a time up to 1871, when he was living in Carlton Street in the centre of Nottingham, a continuation of Goose Gate, where just a few months earlier Jesse Boot had taken over running the family herbalist store from his mother. It was from here at the age of thirty that Edward Thomas got married. His wife was the twenty-eight year old Elizabeth Padgett Brothwell. The wedding was held at St Mary's Nottingham on 21st October 1871. She was the daughter of farm labourer John Brothwell and his wife Ann, and born around 1843 in Doddington in Lincolnshire. She seems to have been the only child. John was born in the village of Bathley in Nottinghamshire, but Ann came from Doddington. She may have gone "home" to have her baby, as the censuses of 1851 and 1861 list the family as living in Winthorpe, a village on the edge of Newark. But no birth registration or baptism of Elizabeth has been found. Where the name Padgett came from is also a mystery, as there is no evidence the Brothwells ever claimed it. At the age of nineteen Elizabeth had given birth to an illegitimate son, George, of whom more later. But she did not let this dominate her life. For in the census of 1871, taken a few months before she married, she is shown as running a pub in Newark. Moreover she is head of the household, which included her parents and her nine-year old son George. The entry lists her as a beerhouse keeper, with three lodgers and two thirteen-year old girls as servants. It could be her circumstances that led Edward Thomas to marry her in Nottingham rather than Newark.

Marriage transformed Edward Thomas's life. Though he did not give up plumbing, he moved into what is now called the "hospitality industry".

(*) A fellow pupil at that time was Frederick Heppenstall, who in 1875 was appointed headmaster of Sedbergh School. Although he died only four years later, he had by that time transformed its fortunes and laid the foundations of the great school it became. This is especially relevant here, because the Newark connection may well have been an indirect influence in the decision to send Jim Hamilton, William and Frances's great-grandson, to the school. Frederick's relationship to Robert Heppenstall, the eighteenth century butcher and friend of John Holland, has not been established.



The Waggon and Horses, Newark. The new fascia that Edward Thomas Bousfield added to the pub in 1878. The fascia is still in place to this day, although the pub is now called the Crown and Mitre. (Nottinghamshire Archives: Newark Building Plans 1875f DCNK 6/2/1/98)

There can be no doubt this was Elizabeth's doing. Within months of marriage he became licencee of the Malt Shovel in Newark's North Gate.

Then in October 1873 he took over the Black Swan in St Mark's Lane on a 6-year lease. As well as the inn, there were a brewhouse, stables and a 'haychamber'. He remained licencee here for the full six years, but already in 1877 he had bought the Waggon and Horses at 23 Castle Gate. This was to be his main interest for the next 10 years. He soon set about upgrading it and in 1879 gave it an entirely new fascia (see illustration overleaf) and turned it into an hotel.[10] He called it The Exchange Hotel as it was just across the road from the Corn Exchange built in 1847 close to the castle grounds. It was a superior establishment, which certainly earlier in the century – and perhaps still – had stabling for no fewer than 50 horses as well as its own brewhouse.

Edward Thomas's "son", the man who came to be known as George Edward Padgett Bousfield, was in fact the illegitimate son of Elizabeth Brothwell. He was born in Winthorpe, where she was living with her parents. His birth was not registered, but he was baptised as Gorge Henry on 29 June 1862 at Winthorpe parish church when Elizabeth was 19 years

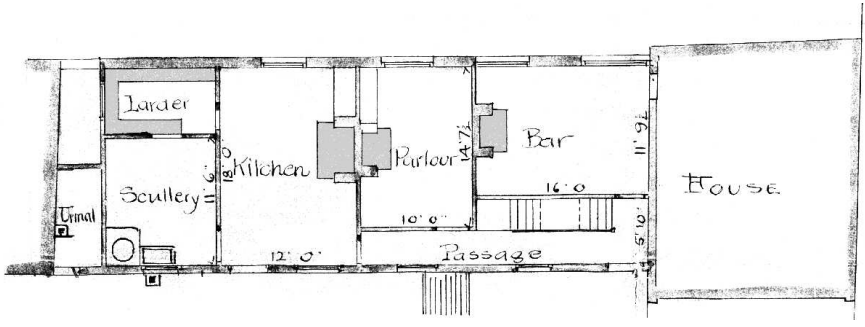
old. His father remains unknown. George turned out to be a man of many names. After his baptism Henry does not seem to have been used again. Instead official documents name him as George Edward Brothwell, Edward Brothwell, Edward Bousfield, George Edward Padgett Bousfield and finally on his gravestone simply George Bousfield. Whether Edward Thomas officially adopted him or not, he was fully accepted as his son. George gives Edward Thomas as his father on his marriage certificate, and at the age of twenty-five took over the Exchange Hotel from him. Moreover he is referred to as "my late husband's son" by his step-mother in her will, in which she leaves the bulk of her estate to his daughter.

Towards the end of 1886 Elizabeth died. She was only 43 years old. Strangely no record of her gravestone has been found. Her putative sister Sarah Ann, a year younger than her, had only in May of that year taken over as licencee of the Reindeer pub, which stood at the corner of Northgate and Slaughterhouse Lane, right next to where Edward Thomas's great-great-uncle John Holland had had his slaughterhouse and immediately opposite Bargate House. This pub was owned by Richard Warwick's company, Richard, as noted above, being married to a Bousfield. In August 1888 Edward Thomas and Sarah Ann married in Newark Parish church. He was 47 by this time and she 44 but still a spinster. He took over as licencee of the Reindeer once they were married, but it is likely that Sarah Ann continued to run it for the next couple of years. Another thing Edward Thomas did on marriage was to make a will leaving everything to his new wife, even though by this time he had not merely a son but a granddaughter too. But if he had dreams of building a substantial business they came to an abrupt end with the premature death of his only child.

At the age of 19 George Edward was living at home and working as an engineer's clerk. He then moved to Sneinton, a suburb of Nottingham. He still worked as a clerk, but this covered a wide variety of jobs in Victorian times. Here in August 1884 at the age of 22 he married Eliza Marriott, the daughter of a local baker (though she had been born in Newark). But three years later he and Eliza were back in Newark. At the age of 25 he took over as licencee of The Exchange Hotel from his father. It was here that their only child Florence Padgett was born in April 1888. Then in the autumn of 1889 his father handed the ownership of the hotel over to him. Doubtless he felt that after a couple of years as licensees George and Eliza were capable of running

The Exchange on their own, and left them to it, returning to work full-time with his elderly father. But less than five months later George was dead, passing away in January 1890 aged only 27, ten months before his grandfather. His father took The Exchange back into his ownership from his widowed daughter-in-law and immediately made some alterations to it. These consisted of a substantial addition to the existing structure, with a small bar, parlour, kitchen, scullery, larder and urinal downstairs and a large salesroom, small bedroom and boxroom upstairs. [11]

But in August that year he gave up the licences for both The Exchange Hotel and the Reindeer. This was presumably to concentrate on the plumbing business, since his father was within two months of his death, though he seems to have continued to work with his father even while running the pubs and the hotel. Certainly he now abandoned the licenced trade (instead his widowed daughter-in-law Eliza continued the business but in new premises – see below.). On his father's death, too, he and Sarah Ann moved into his father's old home at 30 Castlegate, but within three years they had moved again to 67–69 Castlegate and ran the business from there. They lived in no great luxury with only one resident servant. Sarah Ann's widowed mother Elizabeth Smith came to live with them. Thomas lived on into the new century, dying in November 1901 and being buried alongside his parents in the municipal cemetery. He was only 60 years old and his mother-in-law outlived him by a couple of years, dying in 1903 at the age of 80. Sarah Ann herself lived on for another 26 years. She was left reasonably well off by Edward Thomas: his estate at the time of his death was valued at £5271. In 1903 she was able to lend Frederick Duke a builder £1600 at four percent, money which was duly repaid a year later as agreed. She did not marry again. At some stage she moved to 115 Baldertongate and it was here she died in 1927 aged 83. She left nearly £12,000 (revised to £10,888 gross, £5017 net) mostly to her "late husband's granddaughter Florence Brooks" for life, with the reversion to Florence's children. She gave a cousin of hers a legacy of £300, and her maid the use of one of her cottages in Newark with some furniture and an annuity of £1 per week. Eliza, "widow of my late husband's son," was left just £1 a week. Unlike Sarah Ann, Eliza had not been left well off; so the notably ungenerous provision for her suggests some tension between step mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Further



The Exchange Hotel, Newark. Edward Thomas Bousfield's application for permission to build an extension to the back of the existing property in 1890. It remains in use to this day. (Nottinghamshire Archives Newark Building Plans 1875f DCNK 6/2/1/475)

evidence for this is provided by the family gravestones in the municipal cemetery. Edward's and Sarah's joint and rather elaborate gravestone stands alongside the similar one for Edward Thomas and Sarah Ann. George and Eliza's much more modest stone is some considerable distance away. But when George died, the only other member of the family who had passed away was his grandmother Sarah. Why then was he not buried in the family vault? Sarah Ann's mother was when she died in 1903.

No evidence survives on why George's widow Eliza agreed to hand The Exchange back to her father-in-law after George's death, but quite likely she found it too big to run on her own. It was not because she wanted to get out of the business. For the following year, 1891, she had taken over a pub in her own right – the Fox and Crown at 18 Appletongate. At the census that year she had with her there her younger sister Emily, her own daughter Florence Padgett aged two and a servant. Seven visitors from various parts of the country were also staying there, indicating she was running it as an hotel.

But she must have run into trouble financially, as in 1901 she is living in London and working as a nanny for a family in Hackney. By 1906 she had moved again and was in a mansion block on West End Lane in West Hampstead. We know this because she made a will in August of that year, which seems an odd thing to do: she can only have been in her forties, she had little to leave and she left it all to her daughter. She

appointed two Newark publicans as trustees and executors. Mary Ann and Joseph Randall, licencees of the 'Newcastle Arms' and 'King's Head' respectively, were clearly related, but whether mother and son (Mary is described as a widow) or brother and sister-in-law is not known.

Postscript

The two surviving Bedford daughters, Lottie and Hattie, both married professional men in the 1890s and immediately moved to Nottingham to be with their respective husbands, Alex Morton and William Hamilton. By 1900 the two families each occupied one of a pair of large late Victorian semi-detached houses in Alexandra Park, an exclusive development, at that time towards the northern end of the city. Both women and their husbands lived out the rest of their lives there. Their parents, Edward Tenney and Charlotte, left Bedford immediately after celebrating their Golden Wedding in 1903 at their old home, Alpha Villa. They moved to Nottingham to be with their daughters and settled at 44 Mapperley Road, only a few hundred yards from them. Though both well into their seventies they continued to be active, twice more going on energetic holidays in Switzerland. Charlotte also remained greatly involved in a variety of good works. Then in the summer of 1916 at the height of the First World War both Edward and his son-in-law William Hamilton died. A year later Charlotte went to live with her daughters, who had connecting doors built between the two parts of their joint home. She lived on to the extraordinary age of 105, dying in 1933. She was survived by a large number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Florence, the only child of George and Eliza, probably did not move to London with her mother. In 1901 when she was 12 she was living with her uncle and aunt Montague and Sarah Roads, who were by then running the George and Dragon pub in Castlegate. Three years later they actually took over The Exchange, then of course no longer owned by the Bousfields, and it is not known if Florence continued to live with them. There is no sign of her mother in 1901, but perhaps she was only away temporarily. In due course Florence married a plumber William

Archibald Brooks and lived in Harlaxton Drive in Nottingham, just behind The Park. They had at least one child, June, born about 1925.

By 1911 her mother Eliza had moved back to Nottingham and was working, again as a nanny, for a family in St Ann's. Although this is not half a mile from 44 Mapperley Road, there was no contact with the former Bedford cousins. Probably neither branch of the family knew the other existed. Eliza cannot have been well off, for her estate was valued at some £460 when she died in 1931. She survived her step mother-in-law Sarah Ann by little more than three years, dying at the home of her daughter Florence in Nottingham. She and Sarah Ann were buried alongside their respective husbands in Newark cemetery. With her burial the Bousfield name came to an end in the town just over 160 years after John and Elizabeth came to live there following their marriage in London in 1769.

Appendices

Wills

1. Rev John Silverwood

Vicar of Frisby on the Wreake 1632–34 [*] (Leicester Record Office)

In the name of god Amen in the one and twentieth day of June in the yeare of our Lord god one thousand six hundred thirty and two I John Silverwodd of Frisby super the Wreake in the County of Leicester Clarke being of whole mynde and in good and perfect remembrance laude and praise be unto Almyghty god make and ordaine this my present testament concerning give in my last will in manner and forme following:

That is to say: First I commende my soule into the hands of god my maker hopeing assured lie throug the merritts of Jesus Christe my onelie Saviour to be made partaker of life everlasting. And I commit my body to the earth from whence it came and whare of it was made.

Item I give to the poore of Frisbie aforesaid five shillings to be distributed amongst them by the direction of my executor hereafter named.

Item I give and bequeath to everie one of my children viz. William, John, Martyn, Bridget & Elisabeth twelve pence a peece in full satisfaction of everie theire childes partes and porc[i]ons.

And I give to Martyn Silverwodd my sonne all my bookes (my Englishe Bible and other English bookes which my sonne Samuell shall like onelie excepted) which I give to Samuell.

(*) The date(s) at the head of each will are those of the will and of probate; a single date indicating that these occurred in the same year.

Item I give to Samuell my sonne one Cottage house and tennem't which I bought in Asfordbie w'th the app'tinces to him and to his heyres for ever.

Item I make the saide Samuell my sonne sole executor of this my last will and testament, and I give unto him all the rest of my goods chattells and Cattill, my debts being first paide and my funerall expenses discharged.

And I intreate ..... to be signisers of my last will and testament John Siverwodd

These being witnesses John Milner(?) [etc]

> Note: John Silverwood was the great-grandfather of Martha Silverwood of Gonalston, Nottinghamshire, who married first John Ball then Robert Bousfield of Southwell in 1698. This will is included here as it had not been discovered when *Cool Sequestered Vale* was written.

2. William Knight of Newark

Baker 1646–7 (Nottinghamshire Archives)

In the name of God Amen. The twentieth day of June 1646 I Will'm Knight of Newark upon Trent in the county of Nottingham Baker beinge in good health and perfect memory thankes bee to God, concideri'g the mortality of all fflesh, willinge and desirous that my houses & goods might remain to my wife and Children, & doe make this my last will and testament in manner & forme followinge

First I committ my Soule to God Almighty, faithfully trustinge and assuringe my selfe to bee saved by the onelie merritts death & passion of my Lord & saviour Jesus Christ, & my bodie to bee buried in the parrish church of newarke aforesaid by my wife Jane Knight.

It. I give and bequeath unto my Sonne Samuel Knight that house where I no dwell w'th all edifices & Buildinges thereunto belonging with one Swineyard over against my house to him and his heires male for ever & for want of such heires to my sonne George Knight & his heires male for ever.

It'm I give unto my sone George Knight one house or Tennement wherein Nicho: Doore now dwelles in Barmbygate to him & his heires for ever. It I give unto my daughter sara Becke ijs vjd for ye rest of her childes p'te & portion. It I give to my daughter Bridgett if shee bee living one Tennemt. wherein one Burton now dwelleth to her and her heires for ever, but if she bee dead then my will is that my daught'r Eliz: Knight shall enjoy the said Tennem't to her & her heires for ever. And my will is further that if my sonne (please god) Samuel bee dead then yt x [that said] Tennem't wherein I now dwell inge [sic] shall remain unto my Sonne George w'th the Swineyard & in as full & ample manner as my Sonne Samuel should have enjoyed the same, & my will is if my Sonne George enjoy the sd dwellinge house where I now dwell then the said Tennem't in Barmbygate shall remaine unto Eliz: Knight my daughter and her heires for ever. all the rest of goods Cattle chattells not yet bequeathed I give unto my wife Ellenor Knight, & Samuell Knight my sonne whom I make excec. of this my last will & testament, my debts payed Legaces discharged & my f'nerall expenses disbursed. In witness wherof I have set unto my hand & Seale the day & yeare above written.

These beinge witneses William Knight

William Wilson

Her marke Jur't

Mary M Wilson

Note: William was the husband of Ellen, and father of Bridget and John – see wills no: 2,4 & 5 below.

3. Ellenor Knight of Newark

Widow 1646–7 (nuncupative will) (Nottinghamshire Archives)

By the last testament of widdow knight of Newarke late desceassed as widdow taylor[*] doth witnes 1646

£ s d

The first John Knight sonne of Will'm knight hath by his}			
father's will as is by the will proved before thus }	10	0	0
Item his mother's will is to bequeath him more	2	0	0
Sum	12	0	0
Item to Ellen knight by her father's will	13	13	4
& by her mother's will more	6	6	8
Sum	20	0	0
Item to Ann knight daughter to the said Will'm	13	13	4
Item by her mother's will more	6	6	8
Sum	20	0	0
Item by the will of the said Will knight to his daughter }			
Jane knight be queathed [sic] }	13	13	4
& more by her mother's will that shee bequeathed to }			
her daughter Jane }	16	16	8
Sum	30	0	0

Item further the last will was of widdow knight was [sic] that her daughter Jane[*] knight shall be sole executor of this her last will & testament

(*) 'jurat' (swears) was added later above the line at this point.

4. Robert Flintham of Newark

Whittawer 1665 (Nottinghamshire Archives)

In the name of god Amen I Robert Flintham of Newarke in the Countie of Nottingham Whittewar beinge sick in bodie but of good and perfect memorie Doth make this my last will and Testament in manor and forme followinge

Imp′ I Bequeath my soule to Almightie god my Creator and redemar hopinge to be saved by the Merits of Jesus Christe my Alone Sauvior and my bodie to be buried in the Church or Churchyard of Newarke at the discression of my Executor

It′ I give this house where in I now live to James Flintham my Brother and the heires lawfully begotten of his body and for want of such heires then to the right heires of the above said Robert forever payinge out of this house to Elizabeth Stanley of Norton Disney tenn pounds with in one yeare next after my death

It′ I give to my brother James Flintham all my house all goods

It′ I give all my stock belonginge to my trade both within dores and with out dores to John Flintham my brother and Elizabeth Flintham my sistar to be equallie divided betwixt them

It′ I give to Cristopher Heyenston my werein cloths I have now on and botes [boots] [*]

It′ I give to John White peare of New Cordivant[#] Gloves

It′ I give to Wm Killmar my great cote I were Everie day

It′ I make James Flintham my brother my full and sole Executor of all my goods and chattles undisposed of and to see this my last will and testament performd in Wittnes where of I have hereunto set my hand and seale this last day of Januarie in the seavetenth yeare of King Charles his raigne the secend and in the yeare of our lord 1665

(*) 'and botes' appears to have been added later.

(#) OED cordovan: made of leather of Cordova. cf. cordwainer. Probably a special pair of gloves made of Codovan-style leather.

Jo: White jurat Robert Flintam

the marke of William Killmar jurat

the mark of Mary Wate

5. Bridget Knight of Newark

Spinster 1667 (Nottinghamshire Archives)

In the name of God Amen I Bridgitt Knight of Newarke upon Trent in the Countie of Nottingham spinster doe ordaine and make this my last will and testament beinge sicke in body but of good and perfecte memory & thanks be god for it first I bequeathe my soule in to the hands of Almyty God who gave me it and my body to the earth from wence it came and all my houses lands and my other goods in maner as followeth

Item I give unto Elizabeth Knight my sister my house in Newarke with all the appurtenaces thereunto belonging now in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Randall for her use deueringe her naturall life and after her decease I give it to Robert Becke the younger my kynsman the son of Robert Becke my brother in law of Newarke aforesaide to him and his heires for ever

Item I give unto Sarah Becke my sister foure pounds to be payde her after my decease and likewise my lynnings and cloaths here

Item I give to Sarah Becke my kinswoman three pounds to be payde her after my decease

Item I give unto Eiliner Becke my kinswoman three pounds to be payde her after my decease

Item my cloaths and goods that I have in London I give unto Samuel Knight and to Elizabeth Knight my sister to be equally devided betwixt them and what other goods not given nor bequeathed I give unto Samuell Knight my brother whome I make my full and sole executor of this my last will and testament he paying all my debts and payinge and defrayinge my funerall charges in witnesse where of I have hereunto

sett my hand and seale the two and twentieth day of Jenuarie Ano Dom 1667

Signed and sealed in Bridget Knight

the p'sence of Robt Becke jurat

Tho [illegible]

Elizabeth Gabitas jurat her marke

Note: the words 'jurat' added in a different hand.

6. John Knight of Newark

Maltster 1698–1699 (Nottinghamshire Archives)

In the name of God Amen I John Knight of Newark upon Trent in the County of Nottingham maltster beinge sick in body butt of sound mind & memory Doe make this my last will and testament As followeth.

First I give and devise All that messuage house or tenem't Maltsteres Kilne yard garden and backside with the appurtenances thereunto belonginge scittuate standinge & beinge in Newarke aforesaid in the Tenure or occupacion of mee the said John Knight unto my Son William Knight for and dureinge the terme of his naturall life and from and after his decease then to and for the use and behoofe of the heires male of the said William Knight lawfully begotten and to bee begotten for and dureing theire naturall lives & the naturall life of the longer liver of them

for want of such Issue then to & for the use & behoofe of my Son Thomas Knight of Newark aforesaid Butcher for and dureinge his naturall life and from and after his decease to & for the use and behoofe of the heires male of the Body of the said Thomas Knight lawfully begotten and to bee begotten for and dureinge their naturall lives and the naturall life of the longer liver of them

and for and in default of such Issue to and for the use and behoofe of my Son John Knight of Newarke aforesaid Cordwainer for & dureinge

the terme of his naturall life and from and after his decease to and for the use and behoofe of the heires male of the said John Knight lawfully begotten and to be begotten for and dureinge theire naturall lives and the naturall life of the longer liver of them

and for and in default[*] of such Issue then to and for the use and behoofe of the daughters[?][*] of the said William Knight for ever.

Item I give and devise unto my Son Thomas Knight his heires and assignes for ever All that Cottage or tenement with the appurtenances thereto belonginge scittuate standinge & beinge in Newarke aforesaid in the tenure or occupacion of Bridgett Crewson widow her assignee or assignes.

Item I give and bequeath unto my Son John Knight and my daughters Elizabeth Knight and Jane Hunt wife of Edward Hunt of Newarke aforesaid malster & theire severall executors or assignes the sum of thirty pounds beinge part of a debt oweinge to mee by Elizabeth Moore & Anne Moore Daughters & Coheries of John Moore late of Newarke aforesaid Cordwainer dec'd to bee equally devided amongst them when it is paid unto my executor hereafter menconed [mentioned].

All the rest of my Goods & Chattells and personall Estate undisposed of after my debts legacyes and funerall Charges etc paid & discharged I give and bequeath unto my Son Thomas Knight whom I make full executor of this my last Will and testament.

In witness whereof I have herewith sett my hand & seale the fifteenth day of August in the yeare of my Lord God one thousand six hundred ninety eight and in the tenth yeare of King William the three over England etc.

Sygned sealed & declared & published

In the p'esence of John Knight

signed sign

Bridgett Crowson Eliz: EC Cutts

Nat. Betteidge *(Betteridge)* (+another?)

Note: The will has been paragraphed for easier reading.

An Inventory of the goods and chattles of John Knight dec'd made April 20th 99

	£ s d
Impr's his purse and apparrell	01 – 00 – 00
In the parlor one feather bed and } furniture with other huslements }	00 – 13 – 06
In the house one long table 4 stools } and other huslement }	00 – 10 – 10
It. 2 kitts 1s a skeel 1s @ 2s 6d	00 – 04 – 06
a great and flamston	00 – 15 – 00
a fan 5s & other implements all	00 – 14 – 00
a dripping pan, a harecloth a } bedstead & other Implem'ts }	02 – 08 – 02
a feather bed and bolster	00 – 07 – 00
Linnnen chaires & other huslem't	02 – 11 – 08
	09 – 04 – 08

Francis Alcock John Bradshaw

Summary of Bond

Thomas Knight butcher & Nath. Betteridge blacksmith bound for estate of John Knight. Thomas Knight named as executor. Signed Thomas Knight Nat Betteridg [N.B. Betteridge's signature is in the same hand as in the will but with different spelling]. Dated 29th July 1699.

Glossary

parlor	A ground-floor room usually used for sleeping
huslement	Odds and ends
house	The main room of a cottage

kitt	Staved wooden vessel or bucket
skeel	Wooden bucket or tub
great	Perhaps = grate (? especially for malting)
flamston	Not identified
dripping pan	Vessel placed beneath meat roasting on spit to catch the fat
harecloth	Probably = hardencloth, a coarse linen cloth used for sheets

7. John Holland of Newark

Butcher 1794–1795 (summary) (Nottinghamshire Archives)

Whereas I have handsomely provided for my sons Thomas Holland and John Holland.

First I devise and bequeath unto my friends, William Rumley of Newark ironmonger and Roger Ridge ditto tailor, all those my two messuages dwellinghouses or tenements with the gardens stables buildings yards and all appurtenances in Kirk Gate and in the respective possessions of me and my son-in-law Edward Bousfield and all other my real estate also all my household goods and furniture plate linens monies securities for money stock in trade book debts goods cattles chattels effects and personal estate to hold the same upon trust

The trustees to make sale of all my real and personal estates for the most money and best price either by public auction or private contract. Receipts of trustees to purchasers shall be sufficient discharge. The trustees shall pay apply and dispose of the monies arising to the uses intents and purposes hereinafter mentioned

In the first place to pay all costs and expenses of the sale. In the next place to pay all charges affecting my real estate and all my just debts funeral expenses etc.

(*) Writing partly illegible on fold of document.

Then in trust to pay the sum of five pounds unto my son Thomas to buy mourning with.

Then the trustees to put and place out at interest all the residue of my real and personal estates... upon government freehold copyhold or leasehold security and pay the interest... unto my dear wife Mary Holland during the term of her natural life for her sole use and benefit.

The Trustees may replace securities as they see occasion.

Immediately on the decease of my said wife the trustees shall pay fifty pounds to my daughter Ann Holland.

All the residue to be disposed equally to my children Edward Holland, Ann Holland and Mary Bousfield .

If my son Edward who is now abroad shall die without issue before his return to England, his share to be divided between the children of Thomas and Mary.

The Trustees appointed executors of this will. Signed John Holland 11 March 1794

William Rumley the only surviving executor of the will of John Holland deceased was duly sworn on 18 October 1795. Passed 11 December 1795.

8. Mary Bousfield of Southwell

Spinster 1816–17 (Nottinghamshire Archives PRSW 190/1)

The Will of Mrs [i.e Mistress] Mary Bousfield June 29th 1816 Inrolled liber 12 page 150.

This is the last Will and Testament of me Mary Bousfield of Southwell in the County of Nottingham Spinster which I make publish and declare in manner following. I give devise and bequeath all my share and interest in the Estate and effects of my late Uncle Edward Little deceased And all other sum and sums of money owing to me from any person or persons whomsoever and all other my real and personal

Estate and effects of what nature or kind soever and wheresoever the same may be Unto my brother Edward Bousfield and James Nicholson of Southwell aforesaid Joiner their heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns In Trust as soon as conveniently may be after my Decease to convert the same into money and after payment of my just Debts funeral and testamentary expenses to place the same out at Interest on good and sufficient security and to pay the Interest Dividends and annual produce of one moiety or equal half part thereof unto my sister Martha for her natural life and after her decease to divide the moiety or half part of such principal monies in four equal shares unto and amongst my three brothers William Edward and Thomas and my niece Sarah daughter of my said brother Edward their respective Executors or Administrators And upon further Trust to pay the Interest dividends and annual produce of the remaining moiety or equal half part of the said principal monies to my sister Sarah for her natural life and after her decease to divide... the principal monies in equal shares [as above].

And I nominate constitute and appoint my Trustees Edward Bousfield and James Nicholson Executors of this my Will [etc].

Executors Edward Bousfield and James Nicholson swore that her personal estate did not amount to the sum of £200 29th March 1817. 'Died 20 August 1816'.

Note: Mary was the eldest daughter of Robert and Sarah Bousfield of Southwell. In his family tree Henry gives the date of her death as July 24 1816, rather than 20th August, and this would seem to be correct; for she was buried on 26 July at Southwell. The words underlined were inserted into the already prepared text, suggesting that she decided at the last minute to do something for her niece Sarah. Her sisters Martha and Sarah lived in Nottingham unmarried – see Wills 13 and 14 below. Her Uncle Edward Little was their mother's brother. He lived in Southwell, and died unmarried and intestate – see *Cool Sequestered Vale*.

9. Martha Bousfield of Southwell

1821 (Nottinghamshire Archives PRSW 193/3)

Adm'on Bond dated Nov 30 1821 by her only surviving daughter Martha Revill, wife of William Revill joiner, and George Revill joiner both of Southwell.

Note attached dated 30th November 1821 refers to Martha Bousfield as 'one of the residual legatees of Elizabeth Frank late of Southwell'. Martha Revill swore that the personal estate of Martha Bousfield did not amount to the sum of £50.

> Note: Martha Bousfield – nee Frank or Franke – was the widow of William, the son of Robert and Sarah Bousfield. She had in fact died in 1790, but her cousin Elizabeth Frank , of whom Martha and her daughters were beneficiaries under her will, had only just died – more or less penniless. For Elizabeth's extraordinary will and the activities of her (Martha's) son-in-law William Revill, see *Cool Sequestered Vale*.

10. Robert Bousfield

Surgeon and apothecary of Lincoln 1828–9 (summary) (Lincoln Record Office M 5672/6)

Brother Edward Little Bousfield ironmonger of Newark and "my esteemed friend" William Deeping surgeon and apothecary of Newark appointed trustees.

Household furniture, plate, linen and china reserved for use of my wife during her widowhood unless she marries again.

Estate to be sold and proceeds invested in Parliamentary Stocks or Public Funds of Great Britain or at interest upon government or real securities in England.

All interest to be paid to my widow "to enable her to bring up, maintain and educate all my children during their respective minorities"

On death or remarriage of widow money to be equally divided and paid to sons on reaching 21 and daughters at that age or sooner if marrying.

If any son become an apothecary or similar, all books, materials etc from the practice to be made over to him.

Witnessed: Thomas Bousfield and Robt. Cooke. Dated 13 May 1828

11. Mary Bousfield of St Swithin's parish Lincoln

Widow 1829 (summary) (Lincoln Record Office M5673/2)

Appoints trustees as above and leaves estate to children. 15 Oct 1829

Note: Mary was the wife of Robert above.

12.Edward Bousfield of Newark

Brazier 1832–1833 (summary) (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York ref. PRNV 10f.12v.)

The residue of my personal estate bequeathed to my son Edward Little Bousfield

I bequeath to my dear wife Mary for her life my household goods and furniture, plate, linens and china and after her decease to my daughters Ann and Martha equally

I bequeath my other personal estate to my son Edward Little Bousfield subject the the following legacies twelve months after my decease

To my son William £150; to my daughters Ann and Martha £100 apiece

I bequeath the messuage or tenement now in the occupation of my son Edward Little and those eleven houses lying at the back of the said house purchased by me of Sir William Paxton unto my wife for her life for the maintenance of her self and my two daughters Sarah and Maria.

After my wife's death I give these to my two daughters Sarah and Maria for their lives

After their deaths I give these properties equally to my sons and daughters Edward Little, William, Thomas, Charles, Henry, Ann and Martha and their heirs for ever

I give my dwellinghouse in Kirkgate, stables, warehouses and premises and the warehouse purchased of Sir William Paxton and all my other real estate to my son Edward Little and his heirs for ever.

I nominate my sons Edward Little and William and my friend James Nicholson of Southwell architect joint executors.

Dated 21st Feb 1832. Died 2nd March 1832. Probate 2nd August 1833 under £1500.

13. Thomas Bousfield of Newark

Ironmonger Admon Bond 4 June 1835 (Nottinghamshire Archives ref. PRSW 204/4)

Alice widow of Thomas Bousfield ironmomger sworn: personal estate of Thomas less than £100. Bond by Alice, Edward Little Bousfield of Newark brazier & James Nicholson joiner of Southwell.

Note: Thomas was the younger brother of Edward above.

14. Sarah Bousfield of Nottingham

Spinster 1819–1833 (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York ref. PRNV12f.113)

It is my particular desire that my body be decently and respectably interred at Southwell and sung to the church

I give to my sister Martha Bousfield all my wearing apparel and it is my wish that she gives a gown apiece to Sarah, Marrianne and Elizabeth, daughters of James Nicholson of Southwell and a piece of print not made up to their sister Catharine

I give to James Nicholson all my money, securities and all my real and personal estate upon trust to sell and to put out at interest such sums at good and sufficient security and to pay the interest arising to my sister Martha during her life, and after her decease to pay the same to my three brothers Edward of Newark brazier and tinman, Thomas of Newark ironmonger, and William of Boston surgeon.

Dated 14th October 1819. Died 23rd June 1833. Probate 10th August 1835 under £200.

[Note on probate] This will was not proved earlier in consequence of not being able to obtain possession of sufficient cash for the purpose belong'g to the Trust.

> Note: Sarah and Martha of Nottingham below were the sisters of Edward, Thomas & Robert above.

15. Martha Bousfield of Nottingham

Spinster 1845–1846 (Nottinghamshire Archives)

Intestate: Ann Bousfield of Newark appointed administatrix. Probate granted 15 June 1846: value under £300. Bond by Ann Bousfield and 2 others (William Eddswer[?] of Newark & Ben Hawkridge[?] of Nottingham) lists "Frances Brackenbury Bousfield, Sophia Brackenbury Bousfield, Mary Brackenbury Bousfield, Sarah Brackenbury Bousfield, Amy Brackenbury Bousfield, Harriet Brackenbury Jepson, wife of George Jepson (heretofore Harriet Brackenbury Bousfield spinster), Edward Little Bousfield, William Bousfield, Thomas Bousfield, Henry Newham Bousfield clerk, Martha Bousfield, Sarah Bousfield, Thomas Bousfield, Edward Bousfield, William Bousfield, Mary the wife of Edward Thorston Whillock (heretofore Mary Bousfield spinster), and Martha Bousfield, the natural and lawful nephews and nieces and only remaining next of kin having the remainder[?]"

Note: The Brackenbury Bousfields were the children of William and Frances Brackenbury B. of Boston.

Edward Little, William, Thomas, Henry Newham, Martha and Sarah – also Ann: children of Edward and Mary (Holland) B.

Thomas, Edward, William, Mary and Martha: children of Thomas and Alice (Etches) B., proving they all survived to adulthood.

This document is the only evidence for the existence of Amy Brackenbury B., who has not otherwise been found.

16. Martha Bousfield of Newark

Spinster 1852 (Nottinghamshire Archives ref. DD1440/92/2)

I give devise and bequeath all my real and personal estate of every nature and kind to my sister Ann Bousfield for her sole and absolute use benefit and disposal and I appoint her sole Executrix. Witnesses William Bousfield, Geo Mabbott. Dated 6 May 1852.

Note: Martha, together with Rev Henry, Ann, Charles and William – see Wills 16–19 below – were all the children of Edward **–** see Will no. 11 above.

17. Rev Henry Newham Bousfield of Palgrave Place, Temple Bar, Strand, London

Clergyman 1871 (summary)

Left all his real and personal estate to his sister Ann. Sole executor nephew Edward Tenney Bousfield of Alpha Villa, Bedford

Dated 5th June 1871. Died 15th June 1871.

18. Ann Bousfield of Newark

Spinster 1875 (summary) (Nottinghamshire Archives)

Died 13th May 1875, leaving all her estate to her cousin Edward Bousfield

18a. Succession Duty payable by Edward Bousfield listing the property in Kirk Gate, Newark:

A house occupied by the successor and office occupied by Geo. Shepperd, surveyor

An office occupied by Geo. Shepperd assessed at £25

Eleven cottages occupied by weekly tenants, total rent £44

The above property was acquired on death of Rev Henry Newham Bousfield. "The property is very old and dilapidated – an average of £15 will be under the mark." Mortgage of £400 @ 4 ½ percent still outstanding.

Dated Oct 1875. Ref: NA DD1440/92/4/1

Note: This Edward was the son of Thomas – see Will no. 12. For Edward's own will, see no. 25.

19. Charles Bousfield of Mansfield

Ironmonger 1845–1846 (summary) (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York ref.PRNV 13f. 178)

I bequeath unto James Nicholson of Southwell architect all my estate and interest in certain freehold hereditaments in Newark; also all my copyhold messuage or dwellinghouse wherein I now reside together with the warehouses, shops etc belonging thereto; also my pew in the

parish church of Mansfield; and all my household goods and furniture, plate, linen, china, books, pictures, monies, securities, stock in trade, book and other debts, shares in the Mansfield Town Hall Company and all my other estate to hold upon trust

To permit my dear wife Marianne Bousfield to occupy and enjoy the same real and personal estate; and to receive the rents, profits and proceeds thereof for her own absolute benefit for life, she thereout [sic] maintaining, educating and bringing up all my children until they reach the age of twenty-one years respectively

At her death death I devise all my property equally amongst my children [and their issue].

Dated 25th June 1845. Died 24th March 1846. Probate 12th September 1846 "under £100".

20. William Bousfield

Brazier of Newark 1857–8 (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York ref. PRNV 10f. 146)

I bequeath unto my dear wife Frances Bousfield all and singular my personal estate and effects for her own absolute benefit and appoint her sole executrix.

Dated 17th March 1857. Died 19th Dec 1857. Probate 9th January 1858 under £600.

21. Edward Tenney Bousfield

1912–1916 (summary) (Nottinghamshire Archives)

Executors and Trustees: wife Charlotte Eliza , son William Robert and daughter Charlotte (Lottie).

Trustees shall pay my wife £500 at most 'as she may request'; the residue to be divided as below after my wife's death.

£1500 to each daughter, £500 each to sons William and Edward to 'equalise the shares of my five children having regard to the various amounts which I have given to them or expended on their advancement in life from time to time'.

The residue to be divided equally between the five.

I give to my eldest son the four portraits in oil of Major William Bousfield, my two grandfathers and my grandmother Tenney; the oil painting "The Apothecaries [sic] Shop" to son Edward, and the remaining pictures and other articles to be disposed of according to the attached schedule (not included with copy will).

Dated 29 Jan 1912. Died 29 June 1916. Probate 12 Aug 1916. Value: £6901.6.2d

22. Charlotte Eliza Bousfield

1930–1933 (summary) (Nottinghamshire Archives)

£500 from husband plus own property to be disposed of as follows:

£25 each to The London Missionary Society, The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and The British & Foreign Bible Society

£50 to Lottie 'in aid of religious work .. at the Wesleyan chapel at Southend, Bedford, and particularly .. in aid of the Sunday School and Women's Meeting', balance if any to the minister there.

Cottage at Hildersham, Cambridgeshire with furniture to Lottie 'as my daughter knows what I should like her to do with it'.

£200 to Lottie, £100 to Hattie. £40 to each living granddaughter, also to grandsons James and Robert Hamilton.

£40 each to Ida, grandson George's wife; Dorothy, grandson Eric's wife; Mona, grandson Bruce's wife; Violet, grandson Alex's wife; Gladys, grandson Malcolm's wife; Phyllis, grandson Guy's wife; and Margaret, grandson John's wife: to be used for their children if they have them.

£50 to my cousin Mary Gabrielle (Ella) Collins

£50 to my husband's niece Frances Ann Moore

£50 to Emma Catherine Morton [Lottie's sister-in-law]

£50 to my friend Charles N Barns

£100 to my executors on trust to apply it and any income from it for the benefit of my husband's nephew William Bousfield now living at Lincoln or his wife, at executors' discretion.

£50 to executors for the benefit of my great grandchildren, which I intend to state more particularly [Note: no statement attached to copy will].

Residue to daughters Lottie and Hattie equally. Executors Will and Lottie.

Dated 26 March 1930 [*when she was nearly 102 years old!*] Died 20 Sept 1933. Probate 17 Oct 1933. Gross estate £1680.18.9d.

Codicil 1 dated 22 April 1931

Legacy of £40 to Mona, Bruce's wife revoked, as already given to him.

Legacy of £40 to granddaughter Winifred B revoked, instead £40 to grandson John.

Legacy of £25 to Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society revoked.

£25 instead of £50 to C N Barns

£30 to Mrs Grace Moore, widow of my husband's nephew Rev Charles Moore.

Codicil 2 dated 7 Jan 1932

Legacy of £40 to grandson Robert Hamilton revoked as already given.

Codicil 3 dated 1 April 1933

Legacy to Phyllis, wife of grandson Guy revoked.

23. Edward Collins Bousfield of Camberwell, London

Doctor & researcher 1921

6 De Crespigny Park, Denmark Hill, Canberwell. Died 7th Jan 1921. Probate London 4th March 1921 ref: 379: value £5915.10.0

24. John Ebeneezer Bousfield of Rickmansworth, Middlx

Patent agent 1921–2

The Malm, Harefield Road, Rickmansworth. Died 14th Dec 1921. Probate London 2nd March 1922: value £29,788.18.8.

25. William Robert Bousfield of Ottery St Mary, Devon

Barrister 1943

St Swithin's, West Hill, Ottery St Mary. Died 16th July 1943. Probate Llandudno 15th Dec 1943: value £43,688.1.0.

26. Edward Bousfield of Newark

Plumber & glazier 1889–1890 (summary) (Nottinghamshire Archives)

Real estate in Egglestone's Yard, Newark: rents for life to brother William of 26 Charles Crescent, Surbiton, Surrey; then to son Edward Thomas for ever.

Legacies: £100 to brother William

£50 to my housemaid Elizabeth Parker

£50 to the wife of my son Edward Thomas

£50 to William Driver, my employee

Residue to my son Edward Thomas

Dated 24 Dec 1889 Died 23 Oct 1890 Ref: P/ND/1/33

Codicil 15 March 1890

Six shares in Newark Gas Co. to my niece Martha Rose of 20 Herbert Road, Stockwell, London

The same to my niece Mary Ann Bryant of 26 Union Square, Union Road, Borough, London

> Note: Edward was son of Thomas – see will no:12 above – and father of Edward Thomas below. Martha and Mary were in fact step-nieces, being the daughters of his sister Mary's husband Edward Whillock by his first wife.

27. Edward Thomas Bousfield of Newark

Plumber & innkeeper 1888–1903 (summary) (Nottinghamshire Archives)

Left everything to wife Sarah Ann.

Dated 16 Aug 1888 Died 12 Nov 1901 Probate Aug 1903. Gross value £5271.9.4 (revised 1903 £5518.6.10)

28. Sarah Ann Bousfield of Newark

Widow 1925–1928 (summary) (Nottinghamshire Archives)

115 Baldertongate, Newark. William Archibald Brooks of 117 Harlaxton Drive, Nottingham and Albert Chapman, Solicitor's Managing Clerk, appointed Trustees. Res? £11,899.2.4. Gross value £10,887.12.4: net value of personal estate £5016.16.10.

Legacies: to each trustee £50

to my cousin Mrs Ann Grace of Thorne, near Doncaster £300

to my maid Annie Sharpe the articles of household furniture listed; an annuity of £52 during her life, payable out of the rents of my real estate;

to Mrs Eliza Padgett Bousfield widow of my late husband's son an annuity of £52 during her life.

I devise all my real estate situate in Eldon Street and Elses Court, Newark, unto my trustees upon trust to permit the said Annie Sharpe to have the use of one of my cottages in Elses Court for life free of rents, rates and taxes. My trustees during the life of Annie Sharpe shall let and manage my property (as above). On her death (or leaving the cottage) all the property shall form part of the residue of my real estate.

I devise all my residue of my real estate unto my late husband's grandaughter Florence Brooks for her life, and on her death to her children. If she has no children, property devised on those whom she appoints by her will.

Residue of personal estate to be converted into cash and invested, the income to Florence for life and then devised as residue of real estate above.

Dated 4th July 1925. Died 3rd Dec 1927. Proved 16th Feb 1928.

Note: Sarah Ann was the widow of Edward Thomas above.

29. Eliza Padgett Bousfield of Nottingham

Widow 1906–1931 (Nottinghamshire Archives)

Of 14 Forest Grove, Colville St, Nottingham, formerly of 28 Buckingham Mansions, West End Lane, Middlesex, died 24th Feb 1931 at 117 Harlaxton Drive, Nottingham. Daughter Florence Padgett Brooks, wife of William Archibald Brooks granted Letters of

Administration 21st May 1931. Gross value of estate £464.11.6. "I bequeath all my real and personal property to Florence Paget [sic] Bousfield." Dated 31st August 1906.

Note: Eliza was the daughter-in-law of Edward Thomas above.

Gravestone inscriptions

Newark St Mary's church tombstones according to Richard Shilton in his *The History of the Town of Newark upon Trent*.

"On the pavement"
Frances wife of Richard Tenny ob.1804

"Along north wall extension" (tombstone not found)
In memory of THOMAS BOUSFIELD who died 25th May 1825 aged 48 years. Also of ALICE BOUSFIELD relict of the above who died 29th March 1848 aged 68 years.

Note: Thomas was the younger brother of Edward below.

St Mary's churchyard tombstones

Edward Bousfield March 2 1832 aged 70
Mary relict of Ed. Bousfield May 8 1832 aged 63
Maria d. April 9 1833 26 yrs
Sarah d. March 22 1852
May, John, George & Elizabeth children of Edw. & Mary Bousfield died in infancy.

Newark St Mary churchyard northern extension

In Memory of Thos. Bousfield who died 25th May 1825 aged 48 years. Also of Alice relict of the above who died 29th March 1848 aged 68 years. Honour thy father and thy mother. E. Marshall

Newark Cemetery Gravestones

In affectionate remembrance of MARTHA Daughter of Edward Bousfield
Who departed this life November 17th 1868 Aged 68 years "Her end was peace"
Also of ANN BOUSFIELD who departed this life May 15th 1875 Aged 85 years
In Remembrance of the Interred William Bousfield who died Dec 19 1857 Aged 62 Years
"The Memory of the Just is blessed"
In Loving Memory of Frances Bousfield late of Newark who died at Southport July 8 1884 Aged 86 Years "So he giveth his beloved sleep"

Note: These two gravestones are next but one to each other in the non-conformist part of the cemetery and opposite the two immediately below. Frances was the daughter of Frances and Richard Tenney – see above.

Sacred to the Memory of SARAH NAYLOR the beloved wife of Edward Bousfield
who exchanged mortality for life on 2nd of March 1872 Aged 55 years "Thy will be done"
Also EDWARD BOUSFIELD who died October 23rd 1890 Aged 75 years
"His end was peace"

Note: Edward was the son of Thomas and Alice Bousfield

Sacred to the Memory of my dear husband EDWARD THOMAS
the beloved only son of Edward and Sarah Bousfield
Born June 6th 1841 Died Nov 12th 1901 "The last step removed"
Also SARAH ANN BOUSFIELD his wife who died Dec 3rd 1927 aged 83 years
Also ELIZABETH SMITH the beloved mother of S.A.Bousfield
born March 2nd 1823, died July 22nd 1903 "Lord thy love is mine"

Note: This memorial is next to the previous one.

In loving memory of GEORGE BOUSFIELD who died Feb 5 1890 aged 27 years
"Thy will be done"
Also of ELIZA wife of the above who died Feb 24 1931 aged 69 years
"Re-united"

> Note: George's Christian names are given as GEORGE EDWARD PADGETT in the cemetery burial record: he was the son of Edward Thomas Bousfield.

Epperstone Gravestone Inscriptions

Thomas Huskinson of Epperstone died 31 July 1887 aged 69
Mary Lambe Huskinson died 5 July 1893 aged 74

> Note: Mary was Thomas's wife and the daughter of Robert Bousfield 1793–1829 and his wife Mary Lambe. Robert was Edward Tenney Bousfield's uncle, and Mary therefore his first cousin. Several other Huskinson graves of Mary and Thomas's children, grandchildren etc lie alongside those of Thomas and Mary.

Extracts from poems by Henry Newham Bousfield

The Power of Gold
A Poem in six cantos with Notes and Miscellaneous Pieces.

H.N. Bousfield, undergraduate of Queen's College, Cambridge: Published by S. & C. Ridge, Newark 1830.

Dedicated to the Rev J. Sikes LLB of the Chauntry House in Newark, Nottinghamshire. Sold mainly by subscription, though also available from St Paul's Churchyard, London. Subscribers listed, incl.: Rev W. Bartlett vicar of Newark, Rev J.T. Becher of Southwell, Mr.T. Bousfield of Lincoln (2 copies), J. King esq. Fellow & tutor of Queen's College, Camb., His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Rev J. Sikes (12 copies), T. Wilde esq. Serjeant at Law (later MP for Newark and latterly Lord Chancellor), Henry Willoughby esq MP for Newark, M.T. Sadler MP for Newark, and most of the top layer of Newark society. 135 subscribers in all.

Note: *The Power of Gold* runs to approx. 1,400 lines in total.

From Canto I

While some of states o'erthrown, of armies slain,
And purple tyrants swell the pompous strain;
Or loosely sing the Chief's indignant ire,
Whose "glaring eye-balls flash the living fire":
Then, while to terror of heroic deeds,
With happy skill a peaceful scene succeeds,
Dissolve in extacy [sic], or move to tears -
Delightful interchange of Hopes and Fears;
I strike a chord of deed and ardent tone,
Whose nice vibrations ev'ry breast must own;
I paint the horrors of a Tyrant-Power,

That sways events, and rules the varying hour,
And sing at once a demon and a god,
That shakes whole empires with his mighty nod; -
Man's highest honour, or his deepest stain,
The greatest blessing, and the greatest bane!

****

SECUNDUS in the clouded morn of life,
With wayward fortune held unceasing strife:
No blazon'd chariot thunder'd at his door:
His was the lot of many – to be poor....

One golden hour at length reliev'd his care,
And shew'd him to the world undoubted heir
To princely mansion, parks and rising grounds,
Where all the pride of rural scene abounds...

From Canto II

Man from his cradle asks the helping hand;
A thousand wants a thousand cares demand.
In life's first dawn, without the watchful eye,
This moment he were born, the next to die:
For such the tenure of his earthly state:
The human bud so frail, and delicate,
Affection still must guard from hour to hour
Or ne'er shall bloom the fair-expanding flower!

****

Here, lest the waving mind should haply slide,
The parent hand will gently lead aside,
To where fair Science, flowering paths invite,
And still present new vistas of delight.....

From Canto V

Thrice happy he whom Affluence empowers,
To pass in learned ease the swift-wing'd hours;
Whose ample study's far fam'd stores contain
An inexhausted mine of richest vein!
There, there, with unmolested comfort crown'd,
He sits, and travels half the world around...

Thus he recruits the Mind's exhausted powers,
And sips sweet nectar from a thousand flowers!
Not flowers alone the learned path adorn,
Who gathers roses, but expects a thorn?

****

[Authors]
More shameless still are some; whate'er they write,
As air expansive, and as bubbles light:
These oft ...
Mix for the publick, on some slight pretence,
A stone of paper to a grain of sense.
Then boast their wond'rous feats of mispent time,
In scribbling prose, or huddling into rhyme!

****

Oft, too, in artful Flatt'rings lavish hands,
The fulsome Dedication foremost stands:
There all the virtues, all the graces meet,
And wait subservient at his Patron's feet.....
But some there are whom modest worth befriend,
Whom friended worth may modestly commend:
Who the false praise of sycophants disclaim,

Nor court, contented, but to merit, fame;
Who scatter glory 'round their lofty birth,
And, blest themselves, are blessings, to the Earth!

****

[The Critic]
The volume clos'd, as hastily he writes
What spleen with ready eloquence indites:
His turgid work (he says) is arrant stuff,
Less – infinitely less – had been enough,
And bids him show no more his open face,
But fly to deep retirement from disgrace!

Scarce able to distinguish right from wrong,
And ill conversant with his mother tongue,
An Ignoramus next to Crito flies,
His labour'd tome with candour to revise,
But wisely soothes him first with ample fees,
As rogues with bread the snarling cur appease,
And mark the change! for now, in partial strain,
He cries - Who writes so well should write again;
His style, how eloquent, and yet how clear,
What brilliant strokes at intervals appear!

****

Thus injured Merit loses all its praise,
While Folly's brow is wreathed with ill-earned bays.

But Critics are there, who, to justice true,
To Folly shame, to Merit yield her due;
Who gently chide, or cordially commend,
With all the honest frankness of a friend;
And whether they withhold or give applause,
Fair Science aid, and favour Virtue's cause.....

Resignation (A Hymn)

I
When sorrow chills the mournful soul,
And griefs's dark billows widely roll;
And hope is clouded, comfort flown;
Thy will, thy blessed will, be done!

II
When sickness dims the languid eye,
And ev'ry breath is but a sigh,
And fades each joy beneath the sun,
Thy will, thy blessed will, be done.

III
When Death, with delegated pow'r,
Shall leads us to the mortal hour;
Then if the Christian race be run,
Thy will, thy blessed will, is done.

The Sparkling Eye

Bright is the diamond softly prest
On gentle Beauty's maiden breast;
And bright the sheen, whose vari'd glow
Is shed where beauty smiles below;
But brighter far the piercing ray,
That sparkling Eyes alone convey.

And brilliant is the Orb of light
When flaming from his mid-day height;
And beauteously the turrets gleam
When gilded with his farewell beam;
But day and tow'rs at daylight's fall
THE SPARKLING EYE OUTSHINES THEM ALL!

Newark: a Poem interspersed with occasional reflections. 1826.

(1) Ye Sacred Nine, a feeble bard inspire
With manly vigour, and poetic fire!
O! Haste, and hear me on the rapid wing
Of Fancy, while my native Town I sing:
My Native Town, that justly might demand
A better genius, and more skilful hand.

(3) Newark! I'd feign immortalize thy name,
And on the tablet of recording fame
In adamantine characters display
Thy well earned praise coeval with the day!
My infant hours here spied their happy flight,
Here live the friends and patrons of youth
The taught the devious feet to tread the path of truth.
Ev'n now as thy fair structures I survey,

And through the cleanly streets delighted stray,
Methinks, with such unrivalled beauty won,
A lovelier town ne'er smiled beneath the sun.

(4) Beyond your noble pile, whose ample base,
With sober grandeur fills the sacred place,
Whose steeple finely tapers to the sky,
To Heav'n directs the elevated eye.
Here Taste and Dignity their powers combine
And strength and grace in happiest union join.

****

There are who worship idols, wood and stone:
For these, for these, their mangled bodies mar,
Or sink spontaneous 'neath the rotting car!

And can we 'mid the noon of Gospel light,
Behold them thus involv'd in tenfold night,
Regardless? nor extend the saving arm?
Does Pity melt, or fellow feeling warm
Our alien hearts no more? Has mercy fled
The iron-soul, to soft compassion dead?
Millions are slaves to superstitious fear.
Millions cry, and we refuse to hear? -
It must not be. Where Charity survives, -
It cannot. – Torn from friends and home, their lives
A noblr few have berter'd to extend
God's kingdom, and oppression's fetters rend.

And O! May mercy smiling from above,
Prosper the work and labour of their love;
Till, from the rising to the setting day
Religion reign with universal sway!

****

The Church survey'd, we glance our eyes around
Where humbler temples consecrate the ground. -
Here Wesley, Calvin and each vari'd head
Of differing sects, their firm adherents lead. -
For England's happy children, doubly free,
Range uncontrolled in mental liberty!
Mild Toleration, friend of human race,
Clasps the whole nation in her wide embrace!

For me, be sect or party what it may,
If Conscience guide them and their life display
True Virtue, founded on God's Word alone,
In each, in all of these, I gladly own

A friend and brother, warmly as I love
The Church and all her pious forms approve.

****

Amidst these hallow'd domes around us spread,
The House of Industry erects its head
To Want's pale sons it opes the ready door,
A kind asylum for the native poor.
The young, whom keen distress had haply led
From paths of Virtue, here are cloth'd and fed.
The old that else had sunk into the grave

Neglected and forlorn – no friend to save -
Her rest in peace, as Nature's strength decays,
And comfort gilds the evening of their days.

****

But now alas! Our recent joy abates!
Harsh on its hinge the sullen portal grates;
And O! The dismal picture it reveals! ...
Free 'use of limb' deny'd, shut out from light,
And gall'd with fetters, the pale captives lie,
Forlorn, and pine in hopeless misery! -
Here ...
A hapless Youth laments (too late) the day
His steps, misled, deserted Virtue's way!
A father there reclines whose maniac-eye
Rolls anguish and unutter'd agony!

****

Hence turn we now where Classic walls appear,
To learning sacred and to memory dear.
By Magnus founded and endow'd, they raise
His pious glory, and extend his praise.
Here by kind parents was I plac'd, to store

A vacant head with Greek and Latin lore:
And here my wise preceptor, kind as they,
Illum'd my brighten'd path with Learning's ray;
Beneath his eye I turn'd the Classic page,
Explor'd the beauties of the Mantuan Sage... [etc]

Note: 'the Mantuan Sage' – Vergil.

The patents of Edward Tenney Bousfield

As listed in the Patent Name Indexes and Patent Abridgement registers.

Year	Date	Product Category	Ref. no.	Notes/ other applicants
1861	25/2	Windlasses & implements for steam cultivation	484	James Howard [JH]
	14/5	Apparatus for steam cultivation	1232	JH. void[*]
	8/6	Hay-making machines	1461	JH
1862	1/1	Apparatus for steam cultivation	15	JH
	11/4	Apparatus for steam cultivation	1052	JH & T. Phillips
1863	7/4	Steam engines for tilling land	880	JH & J. Pinney
1864	15/1	Steam engines for tilling land	114	JH & J. Pinney
1865	22/4	Machinery for tilling land for steam cultivation	1134	J.H. void
1866	23/1	Steam boilers	226	JH
	27/4	Implements for steam tilling	1192	JH
	10/7	Steam boilers	1811	JH
	24/8	Reaping and mowing machines (provisional for no. 3050)	2182	
	20/11	Reaping and mowing machines	3050	JH
1867	11/1	Tubular steam boilers	76	JH
	28/3	Machines for cutting and spreading grass	918	JH
	4/9	Machines for cutting grass and corn	2507	JH
1868	8/2	Steam boilers	430	JH
	14/11	Tubular steam boilers	3468	JH
1869	20/10	Steam boilers	3060	JH
	27/11	Apparatus for cutting and collecting crops	3437	JH
	30/12	Steam boilers	3770	JH
1870	19/8	Machines for cutting grass and corn	2295	JH
	6/12	Joints of steam boilers	3206	JH
1871	1/5	Tubular steam boilers	1163	JH

1872	23/3	Ploughs etc (provisional)	889	JH
	25/3	Steam boilers	905	JH
	8/5	Ploughs etc	1405	JH
	23/11	Steam cultivating	3516	JH
1873	3/4	Steam boilers	1237	JH
1874		Steam cultivators	178	JH
		Steam boilers	331	JH
		Tilling land	3080	JH
1875	19/3	Steam cultivators	1024	JH
	30/4	Furnaces	1603	JH
	29/6	Horse rakes	2363	JH
1876	3/4	Implements for tilling land	1429	JH
	13/4	Harvesting machines	1586	JH
	13/12	Horse rakes	4827	
1877	17/4	Ploughs	1497	JH
	7/12	Sheaf-binding machines	4802	JH
1878	20/9	Sheaf-binding mechanism	3726	JH
1879	10/2	Electric light	523	W.R. Bousfield
	9/5	Reaping machines	1857	JH & G. Gibbs
1880	24/2	Sheaf-binding mechanism	821	JH
	3/7	Hay-making machines	2726	JH
	29/11	Ploughs and other tilling implements	4963	JH
1881	10/3	Sheaf-binding mechanism	1032	JH
	22/9	Machines for cutting and binding corn crops	4092	JH
1882	8/6	Harrows	2699	JH
	30/6	Ploughs	3093	JH
	26/8	Harvesting machines	4093	JH
	29/11	Harrows	5687	JH
1883	24/1	Gas engines	388	JH
	27/1	Machines for binding sheaves and trusses	462	JH
	17/7	Horse rakes	3500	JH
1884	24/1	Sheaf-binding harvesting machines	2060	JH
	18/6	Silos	9159	JH
	9/7	Sheaf-binding and trussing machines	9967	JH
	10/9	Sheaf-binding and trussing machines	12,251	JH

(*) Abridgement headed "Letters patent void for want of final specification".

1885	7/2	Railways	1741	JH
	10/2	Straw trussing apparatus	1850	JH
	19/3	Railway sleepers and chairs	3528	JH
	25/8	Sheaf-binding harvesters	10,060	JH & G. Gibbs
1886	11/3	Unity ends of rails	3463	JH
	13/5	Railway sleepers and chairs	6464	JH
	6/11	Railway chairs and sleepers	14,358	JH & W.R. Bousfield
	2/12	Railway chairs and sleepers	15,781	JH & WRB
1887	3/3	Making gas	3291	JH
	2/4	Harvesting machines	4956	'Others'
	9/5	Railway sleepers	6797	JH
	13/7	Horse rakes	9855	JH
	2/12	Railway sleepers and chairs	16,613	JH
1888	27/2	Baling hay, straw, etc	2919	'Others'
	31/3	Straw-trussing and sheafing machines	4904	JH & G. Gibbs
	30/4	Railway sleepers, chairs etc	6399	JH
1889		Railway tip-waggons	14,806	
1890	6/6	Typewriters	8781	
	1/10	Harrows	15,886	'Another' [*]
1891	9/1	Presses for baling hay, straw, etc.	449	'Another'
1892	26/2	Steam boilers	3802	
	10/8	Steam boilers	14,476	
1893	11/2	Steam boilers	3121	
	7/4	Steam boilers	7208	
	14/12	Explosion engines	24,101	
1894	24/2	Explosion machines	4012	
	25/5	Presses for baling hay, straw, etc.	10,190	'Another'
	7/6	Explosion engines	11,101	'Others'
	1/12	Oil & gas engines	23,364	
1895	16/5	Explosion engines	9719	'Another'
	8/6	Explosion engines	11,282	J.H. Howard
	4/9	Transmitting rotary motion	16,567	
	7/12	Cutting instruments and files	23,508	
1896	29/1	Transmitting rotary motion	2113	'Another'
1897	3/2	Heating or cooling liquids	2927	
	6/11	Steam etc. generators	25,867	
1898	12/10	Cultivators	21,487	

(*) The later name indexes do not specify the other applicants.

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Note: Nottinghamshire Archives abbreviated to NA

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Alphabetical list of occupiers of pews at St Mary's Church, Newark 1824. NA C/QACP 5/2/73 & 74

List of persons rated above £10 a year who have not pews 1824. NA C/QACP 5/2/79

Accommodation in Dissenting Chapels July 1824. NA C/QACP5/2/83

Documents on the bankruptcy of Thos. Becket of Newark, mercer & draper 28 Nov 1836. NA DDH 180/15–19

Lease by W.F. Handley to Joseph Gilstrap, Edward Little Bousfield & others of Newark Castle grounds 6 April 1839. NA DDT 106/9

Duke of Newcastle leases to ELB & others as above of all the tolls for Newark Castle. 1 Oct 1839. NA DDT 106/10

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Newark Building Plans 1875–1973. NA DCNK 6/2/1:

98 Edward Thomas Bousfield: Castle Gate May 1879

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NA Nottinghamshire Archives

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